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UVODNA RIJEČ

Godina 2023. u hrvatskim je medijima proglašena godinom Dore Pejačević. Naime, mnogo je događaja bilo potaknuto obilježavanjem 100. obljetnice skladateljice smrti. Mnogi koncertni programi nisu prošli bez poneke njezine skladbe, postavljena je sjajna izložba u Muzeju grada Zagreba, organizirani su razgovori, okrugli stolovi, pa čak i jedan učenički festival. U međunarodnim je okvirima snimljen njemačko-hrvatski koprodukcijski dokumentarni film *Dora – bijeg u glazbu* (*Dora – Flucht in die Musik*), a na rasporedima europskih instrumentalista našla se skladateljčina simfonija, kao i njezini uspješni komorni radovi. Ni hrvatska je muzikologija nije zaboravila.

U javnim i privatnim raspravama koje su se odvijale za vrijeme simpozija »Dora Pejačević (1885. – 1923.) uz obilježavanje 100. godišnjice smrti skladateljice« (u organizaciji Hrvatskog muzikološkog društva, Odsjeka za povijest hrvatske glazbe HAZU-a i Zavičajnog muzeja u Našicama, skladateljčina omiljenog sjedišta) istaknula se potreba da se, osim njezinih skladbi koje govore univerzalnim glazbenim jezikom, i znanstveni diskurs o

INTRODUCTORY WORD

In Croatian media, 2023 was declared the year of Dora Pejačević. Indeed, many events were prompted by the commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the composer's death. Concert programs included at least one of her compositions, an excellent exhibition was set up at the Zagreb City Museum, discussions and round tables were organized, and even a student festival took place. Internationally, a German-Croatian co-production documentary film Dora – Escape into Music (Dora – Flucht in die Musik) was produced, and European instrumentalists included the composer's symphony as well as her successful chamber works in their repertoires. Croatian musicology has not forgotten her either.

In public and private discussions that took place during the symposium »Dora Pejačević (1885–1923) Marking the 100th Anniversary of the Composer's Death« (organized by the Croatian Musicological Society, the Department for History of Croatian Music of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, and the Našice Local History Museum the composer's favourite residence), there was an emphasized need to extend the scholarly discourse about the composer and her work beyond Croatian

skladateljici i njezinu radu u većoj mjeri prenese i izvan hrvatskih okvira. Iako su temeljni radovi Koraljke Kos – knjiga o Dori Pejačević na njemačkom (JAZU, 1987), kao i one na hrvatskom i engleskom jeziku (2008), obje u izdanju Muzičkog informativnog centra, te radovi u časopisu *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* (2012, 2019) – odškrinuli ta vrata, ovim smo brojem časopisa *Arti musices* željeti pridonijeti tom pomaku.

U tematskom broju obuhvaćena je većina izlaganja sa simpozija održanog u Zagrebu i Našicama, a bez obzira na to na kojem su se jeziku održala, ovdje se objavljuju na engleskome. Ne treba zanemariti ni činjenicu da ti radovi postaju odmah dostupni kao cjeloviti tekstovi na Portalu hrvatskih znanstvenih i stručnih časopisa Hrčak, kao i u RILM-u. Vjerujemo da će to omogućiti čitateljima izvan hrvatskoga govornog područja uvid u različite aspekte istraživanja života, skladateljskog rada i konteksta djelovanja Dore Pejačević, a zainteresiranoj domaćoj javnosti neće otežati pristup novim saznanjima.

Tematski blok donosi ukupno osam radova. Uokviren je dvama članicama koji se odnose na recepciju i percepciju skladateljice u hrvatskim novinama i časopisima (Stanislav Tuksar), odnosno na prisutnost njezine glazbe na Hrvatskom radiju (Tatjana Čunko). Dva se rada (Lili Veronika Békéssy, Andrea Rakitić) bave članovima obitelji Dore Pejačević: majkom Lillom Pejačević rođ. Vay de Vaya i prastricem Julijanom Pejačevićem, bratom Dorina djeda Ladislava Pejačevića, otvarajući

borders, in addition to her compositions which already speak in a universal musical language. Although the fundamental works by Koraljka Kos – the book about Dora Pejačević in German (JAZU, 1987), as well as those in Croatian and English (2008), both published by the Music Information Centre, and articles in the *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* (2012, 2019) – have already opened these doors, with this issue of the journal *Arti musices* we wanted to contribute to this expansion.

This thematic issue includes most of the presentations from the symposium held in Zagreb and Našice, and regardless of the language in which they were delivered, here they are all published in English. It should be kept in mind that these papers are immediately available as full texts on Hrčak, the Portal of Croatian Scientific and Professional Journals, as well as in RILM. We believe this will provide readers outside the Croatian-speaking area with insight into various aspects of research on Dora Pejačević's life, compositional work, and context of her activities, while not making it difficult for interested domestic audiences to access new findings.

The thematic block presents a total of eight papers. It is framed by two articles dealing with the composer's reception and perception in Croatian newspapers and journals (Stanislav Tuksar) and the presence of her music on the Croatian Radio (Tatjana Čunko). Two papers (Lili Veronika Békéssy, Andrea Rakitić) focus on Dora Pejačević's family members: her mother Lilla Pejačević née Vay de Vaya and her great-uncle Julijan Pejačević, brother of Dora's grandfather Ladislav Pejačević,

tako teme o širem okviru skladateljičina formiranja i obiteljskoga (glazbenog) nasljeđa. Širi kontekst skladateljičina kulturnog i glazbenog djelovanja prikazao se i problematizirao u radu Vjere Katalinić, i to kroz temu glazbenih salona kao mjesta muziciranja i društvenih okupljanja. Rad Domagoja Marića osvjetljava dosad slabo poznate podatke o boravku Dore Pejačević u Dresdenu i Münchenu, prije svega na temelju skladateljičine hemeroteke, ali i drugih izvora, dok rad Vilene Vrbanić predstavlja skladateljsko-izvođačku vezu Dore Pejačević i Svetislava Stančića na temelju gradiva u Stančićevoj ostavštini pohranjenoj na Muzičkoj akademiji u Zagrebu. Konačno, rad Kyre Steckeweh, koji je na simpoziju bio dio umjetničke prezentacije izbora klavirskih djela Dore Pejačević, donosi pogled interpretata na taj dio skladateljičina opusa.

Radovi na simpoziju ukazali su na neke nove smjerove istraživanja i nove pristupe izvorima vezanim uz skladateljicu i njezin rad, u čemu postoji još mnogo prostora za nove muzikološke i kulturološke izazove.

thus opening up topics of the broader framework of the composer's formation and family (musical) heritage. A broader context of the composer's cultural and musical life is presented and problematized in Vjera Katalinić's work through the topic of music salons as places for music-making and social gatherings. Domagoj Marić's work illuminates previously little-known information about Dora Pejačević's sojourns in Dresden and Munich, primarily based on the composer's press clippings collection and other sources, while Vilena Vrbanić's work presents the compositional-performance connection between Dora Pejačević and Svetislav Stančić based on materials in Stančić's legacy stored at the Zagreb Academy of Music. Finally, the article by Kyra Steckeweh, which was part of an artistic presentation of selected piano works by Dora Pejačević at the symposium, provides a performer's perspective on this part of the composer's oeuvre.

The symposium papers pointed to some new research directions and new ways of approaching the sources related to the composer and her work, where there is still considerable room for new musicological and cultural challenges.

Urednice / Editors
Vjera KATALINIĆ – Lucija KONFIC

PERCEPTION OF DORA PEJAČEVIĆ IN CROATIAN PUBLIC PRINTED MEDIA FROM 1905 TO 1945*

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Abstract

The perception of the female composer Dora Pejačević in the Croatian public media (newspapers and magazines) in the period from 1905 to 1945 can be traced through about fifty articles. Reports and comments on her character and work were published by a total of 24 newspapers, mostly in Zagreb and Osijek, and in addition to twelve anonymous authors and six signed only with initials, 18 authors were identified for 25 of these articles. The main part of this text consists of citing and analyzing the writings of the six most important authors who wrote about D. Pejačević in the mentioned period: Ern(e)st Schulz, Milutin Nehajev, Viktor Novak, Petar Konjović, Božidar Širola and Lujo Šafranek-Kavić. The writings of these six authors were singled out because of their opinion and evaluation of the life and work of D. Pejačević at a level higher than usual newspaper reports, as

creators of perception and not as mere chroniclers of reception, and because of the reputation they enjoyed among the public in their time as critics, composers and musicologists. These writings show a considerable diversity in the approach and evaluations of both individual works and the entire musical habitus of D. Pejačević.

Keywords: Dora Pejačević; Croatian newspapers and magazines; 1905–1945 period; Ernest Schulz; Milutin Nehajev; Viktor Novak; Petar Konjović; Božidar Širola; Lujo Šafranek-Kavić

Ključne riječi: Dora Pejačević; hrvatske novine i časopisi; razdoblje 1905-1945; Ern(e)st Schulz; Milutin Nehajev; Viktor Novak; Petar Konjović; Božidar Širola; Lujo Šafranek-Kavić

* This work has been fully supported by Croatian Science Foundation under the project IP-2020-02-4277 »Institutionalization of Modern Bourgeois Musical Culture in the 19th Century in Civil Croatia and Military Border« (MusInst19).

Before I move on to the presentation of the content announced by the title, I would like to emphasize a fact already widely known: that Dora Countess Pejačević's life and work took place on multiple levels, so its reflection and her perception in public printed media are equally multi-layered. Namely, thanks to the Countess's specific life trajectories in the physical, intellectual and artistic spheres, the aforementioned reflections and perception have the character of multiple concentric circles: public articles about her appeared – and still appear – in the foreign (mainly Hungarian, Austrian, German), Yugoslavian, wider Croatian, and finally Zagreb press in newspaper, magazine and book forms; furthermore, one circle of these writings refers to those created during her lifetime, another one to those in the next fifty years up to around the mid-1970s, and finally the last one to those that we could call the »era of Koraljka Kos«, i.e. from the beginning of Kos's rightly considered epoch-making work on Dora Pejačević, which encouraged a number of other researchers to pursue further work on the topic. A thorough and comprehensive research, structuring and evaluation of the entire corpus of these writings would probably require a work of the scope of a separate book.¹ Therefore, due to the limited space available here, this presentation should be understood as a spatial and temporal clip, that is, a fragment, which could serve as a kind of »case study« for the mentioned topic as a whole. It should also be noted right away that a solid work of a similar profile created from partially matching sources entitled »The Image of Dora Pejačević in Journalism and Musicology in Croatia« (in English translation) was carried out and published by Zdenka Veber 36 years ago in the Proceedings of a scientific meeting held in Našice in 1985,² and it can actually be understood as a representation of the reception of the character and work of Dora Pejačević at large. In order not to repeat what has already been said in that predominantly factually intoned and already known text, I will try to use the temporally narrowed template, articulated in the title of this communication,³ to offer a different approach to part of that material and its broader interpretation. This approach consists in giving critical emphasis to those personalities and their conceptual premises that articulated and shaped the perception of the character and oeuvre of Dora Pejačević in the Croatian public space, i.e. in the

¹ The scope of the work can be well illustrated by the fact that in the Hungarian online database ARCANUM, in the digitheca under the entry »Dora (Gräfin) Pejacevich«, we find as many as 1474 »hits«, i.e. references! (Accessed 27 September 2023).

² Cf. Zdenka VEBER: *Slika Dore Pejačević u publicistici i muzikologiji u Hrvatskoj*, in: Zdenka Veber (ed.): *Dora Pejačević, 1885 – 1923. Zbornik radova sa Znanstvenog skupa »Dora Pejačević – život, rad i značenje«, održanog u Našicama 7. i 8. rujna 1985. godine*, Našice: SIZ kulture i tehničke kulture općine Našice, 1987, 71-88.

³ We have limited ourselves to the period 1905–1945 for several reasons: the first article in newspapers about Dora Pejačević's musical activities was published in 1905, while the Yugoslav Lexicographical Institute bibliography of articles and discussions about musical events systematically included articles about music only up to 1945, and the last article about her in it appears in that period in 1944; after 1945, there is no such published systematic list, and a fundamentally different socio-political environment appeared compared to the previous one.

medium of words published in newspaper, magazine and book texts. This could also be characterized as all-encompassing observation, cognition and reflection of the phenomenon of Dora Pejačević, which builds on the phenomenology of reception itself.

Let's first recall some statistical data. The sources from which the bibliography for the period 1905–1945⁴ was drawn consist of 49 articles (including three texts in separate books) to which several more previously unregistered newspaper announcements should be added, so the number of articles rises to more than 50. Reports, reviews, and evaluations of her character and works were published by a total of 24 newspapers and magazines, among which there are – as far as is known – 21 in Zagreb (*Jutarnji list*, *Sv. Cecilija*, *Morgenblatt*, *Agramer Tagblatt*, *Hrvatsko pravo*, *Suvremenik*, *Obzor*, *Agramer Zeitung*, *Novosti*, *Novine*, *Hrvatska*, *Jugoslavenska knjiva*, *Almanah Društva hrvatskih književnica*, *Glas Slovenaca*, *Hrvata i Srba*, *Narodna politika*, *Narodna obrana*, *Suradnja*, *Hrvatski narod*, *Hrvatski list*, *Riječ*, *Hrvatski ženski list*) and three in Osijek (*Die Drau*, *Slawonische Presse*, *Hrvatska obrana*). Along with twelve unsigned inscriptions and six signed only with initials, 18 authors have been identified. They are: Josip Andrić, Janko Barle, Josip Canić, Vladimir Ciprin, I. Čačinović, Ivana Fišer/Fischer, Kazimir Krenedić, Milan Majer, Pavao Markovac, Dragan Melkus, Jakov Miličić, Milutin Nehajev, A. Novačan, Viktor Novak, Mira Radej, Ernst Schulz, Lujo Šafranek-Kavić and Božidar Širola, and among them there are only two female authors: Ivana Fišer/Fischer and Mira Radej. It is possible to notice that with one sporadic inscription in each of the three years (1913, 1928, 1938), most of the published texts are grouped into five time periods: 1905–1911 (7 inscriptions), 1916–1918 (12), 1920–1926 (16), 1930–1933 (6) and 1943–1944 (5). Authors such as Petar Konjović (*Ličnosti*, 1920) and Božidar Širola (*Pregled povijesti hrvatske muzike*, 1922) included the text about Dora Pejačević in their books, and Antonija Kassowitz-Cvijić introduced her in a separate entry in the collection *Znameniti i zazlužni Hrvati* (1925). It is interesting that later the most prominent historian of Croatian music, Josip Andreis, did not include Dora Pejačević in the first version of his history of music from 1942. Assessing thus that »in the transition to the last, newest age of Croatian music, several musicians stood out, who, although they do not stand firmly on the ground of musical nationalism, are consciously approaching it, trying to escape the influences of European musical currents from the beginning of this century«,⁵ and among such musicians he clas-

⁴ They are: Koraljka KOS: Bibliografija radova o Dori Pejačević, in: ID.: *Dora Pejačević*, Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti – Muzikološki zavod Muzičke akademije u Zagrebu, 1982, 210-212; Koraljka KOS: Spezielle Bibliographie, in: ID.: *Dora Pejačević. Leben und Werk*, Zagreb: Musikinformationszentrum, 1987, 146-149; Marija KUNTARIĆ (ed.): *Bibliografija rasprava i članaka. Muzika*, Zagreb: Jugoslavenski leksikografski zavod »Miroslav Krleža«, Book 13, 1984, and Book 14, 1986.

⁵ Josip ANDREIS: *Povijest glazbe s primjerima u notama, reprodukcijama rukopisa i slikama*, Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1942, 637-638.

sifies only Blagoje Bersa, Franjo Dugan Sr., Josip Hatze, Ivan Muhvić and Slavomir Grančarić. As expected, Pejačević did not enter even Andreis's list of so-called supporters of musical nationalism, which begins with Antun Dobronić and ends with Ivan Brkanović.⁶ The reasons for this non-inclusion today are difficult to fathom, because it is not possible to guess them even in the ideological reasons of the time, in order to interpret, for example, the non-inclusion of Dragan Plamenac, an author of Jewish origin in the socio-ideological framework of the Independent State of Croatia (NDH).

In order to further concentrate on the main topic of this paper, it is necessary to do two things beforehand: firstly, to briefly present the general features and technical data related to the character and work of Dora Pejačević, which are mentioned by almost all authors; secondly, to distinguish those authors who cited only such topoi from those who offered reasoned opinions and evaluations of a higher order, that is, to separate the creators of perception from the chroniclers of reception.

Practically all authors always state that Dora Pejačević was a countess. The social status of an aristocrat was obviously a kind of »critic's filter or glasses« through which it was probably easier to accept the fact that it was a woman-composer and readers could be additionally tickled with a dose of curiosity and intrigue due to the unusual combination of high birth and professional practice of art. The fact that her father was a Croatian Banus is also frequently emphasized.

Furthermore, the vast majority of authors emphasize her strong talent for music. Sometimes this acts as a counterweight to the fact that she is of aristocratic origin, almost as a kind of justification that due to the strength of her talent she simply had to do music professionally despite the social status she was born with.

Most of the authors have also registered the success of her compositions performed abroad. I see in this a reflex of some so-called innate toadyism that arose from a more or less pronounced provincialism complex, i.e. a value deviation from which Croatian society – especially the media but also a large part of the academic community – has unfortunately not recovered to this day.

However, in addition to these biographical and psychological determinants, categories that concern the stricter musical qualities of her works are also often highlighted. These are categories of taste, compositional knowledge in general, form, harmony and technical requirements for the performance of her works. Thus, her great taste, the seriousness of her compositional knowledge, the strictness of the form, but also a lot of feeling for it, rich harmonies, melodic invention, and great technical requirements for all performers of her works, especially for pianists, stood out. It can therefore be stated that the reception of common issues about Dora Pejačević in the Croatian press during the period of the first 40 years (1905–1945) was generally intoned on a neutral-positive plane, that is, that it

⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, 639-644.

fundamentally created a halo-effect in the public characterized by overwhelming sympathy and understanding for the young countess's work.

Things are somewhat different, however, with the perception of Dora Pejačević in reflections and evaluations of a higher order. There is a certain diversity in the approach and evaluations of both her oeuvre as a whole and the composer's general and musical habitus. For this section, we singled out six authors who have published several articles or longer texts on the topic we are dealing with here; these are, in order of publication of their first text: Ernst Schulz, Milutin Nehajev, Viktor Novak, Petar Konjović, Božidar Širola and Lujo Šafranek-Kavić. They are all well-known figures of Croatian (with Konjović also Serbian) musical culture from the end of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century. Here is a more detailed presentation and analysis of their writings.

Ern(e)st Schulz (1866–1943). Schulz was the critic who stressed the structural qualities of D. Pejačević's music. He is today the least known personality among the aforementioned six, although Jelena Vuković characterized him as follows: »From Schulz's criticisms, a good connoisseur of music history, compositional-technical and theoretical procedures and current events in European music production speaks«, and puts him next to Matoš and Nehajev regarding criticism in Zagreb in German.⁷ However, the central editions of the Lexicographical Institute – the *Encyclopedia of Music*⁸ and the *Lexicon of Yugoslav Music*⁹ – did not include him in their alphabet. Schulz worked as a music critic for the Zagreb dailies *Agramer Zeitung* from 1895 to 1908 and *Jutarnji list* from 1915 to 1918, and occasionally in the newspapers *Pobratim* (1898–1899) and *Agramer Tagblatt* (1916). He published a total of 222 texts in them.¹⁰ He wrote about Dora Pejačević on three occasions, in 1916 and twice in 1918, of which two texts are of particular importance. Thus, in the extensive text »The First Symphonic Concert of Croatian Composers«¹¹ from 1916, Schulz writes, along with a general review and presentation of the works of other composers, Širola, Dobronić, Baranović, Stančić and Dugan Sr., about the piano concerto by D. Pejačević. He points how interesting her development as a musician is, from small compositions in chamber music to pieces for orchestra, and points to her highest artistic aspirations with respect for »old forms« as well

⁷ Jelena VUKOVIĆ: Opera u Zagrebu od 1890. do 1920. u orisu glazbene kritike na njemačkom jeziku, *Arti musices*, 31 (2000) 1-2, 27.

⁸ Krešimir KOVAČEVIĆ (ed.): *Muzička enciklopedija*, Zagreb: Jugoslavenski leksikografski zavod »Miroslav Krleža«, Vol. 3, 1977.

⁹ Krešimir KOVAČEVIĆ (ed.): *Leksikon jugoslavenske muzike*, Zagreb: Jugoslavenski leksikografski zavod »Miroslav Krleža«, Vol. 2, 1984.

¹⁰ See the list of his criticisms in: M. KUNTARIĆ (ed.): *Bibliografija rasprava i članaka. Muzika*, vol. 14, 13-18.

¹¹ E. Sch. [Ernst Schulz]: Prvi simfonijski koncert hrvatskih skladatelja, *Jutarnji list*, 5 (12 February 1916) 1398, 2-3.

as a sense for »modern development«.¹² In another text entitled »The compositional evening of Dora Pejacsevich«¹³ from 1918, Schulz repeats some topoi (distinctive harmonization, talent, melodiousness), but also reveals some new qualities of her music: »an extension of the rules of the sonata in its classical form«, perhaps following »Bruckner's example«, increased demands on the listeners, composing »absolute music« and going one's own way, rich contrapuntal and »mature thematic work«, and even traces of »Sturm und Drang« in the string quartet. He additionally warns of the Russian character in the first movement of that quartet, while in the scherzo he finds a similarity with a Slavonian song. Regarding the violin sonata, he asserted that »even though this sonata is called 'Slavic', it seems that the composer felt more 'Croatian' «.¹⁴

Milutin Nehajev (1880–1931). Writer and music critic, Nehajev found Pejačević's music to be a product of a gifted and zealous musician. According to Sanja Majer-Bobetko, along with A.G. Matoš he was the main representative of the so-called impressionist criticism between the two world wars in Croatia.¹⁵ He was otherwise also a fine amateur violinist¹⁶ who published between 1896 and 1928 (the last text posthumously in 1932) 190 texts in 14 newspapers and magazines,¹⁷ mostly in the dailies *Agramer Tagblatt* (mainly between 1916 and 1919) and *Jutarnji list* (mainly between 1921 and 1926). He wrote about Dora Pejačević only twice: in 1916 and 1918. In a text from 1916, published in the magazine *Savremenik* under the title »After the concert. Symphony concert of young Croatian composers in the Royal National Croatian Theater in Zagreb«,¹⁸ he mentions Dora Pejačević *en passant* in just two sentences, noting that her piano concerto is »of a very strict form«, and that she »has already created several works« in chamber and symphonic music.¹⁹

However, in the text »Kompositionsabend Gräfin Dora Pejacsevich«²⁰ from 1918, Nehajev provides a series of interesting evaluations of her string quartet, piano quintet and violin sonata, performed at the aforementioned composer's evening. In addition to some general points (a gifted musical nature, a soul that lives only its art, mature taste), according to Nehajev, Pejačević has »the reputation

¹² *Ibid.*, 2.

¹³ E. Sch. [Ernst Schulz]: Kompozicijona večer Dore Pejacsevich, *Jutarnji list*, 7 (7 April 1918) 2182, 4.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Cf. Sanja MAJER-BOBETKO: *Glazbena kritika na hrvatskom jeziku između dvaju svjetskih ratova*, Zagreb: Croatian Musicological Society, 1994, 64–65.

¹⁶ ***: Nehajev-Cihlar, Milutin, *Leksikon jugoslavenske muzike*, Vol. 2, 1984, 73.

¹⁷ They are: *Nada, Nova nada*, *Agramer Tagblatt*, *Obzor*, *Balkan*, *Savremenik*, *Jutarnji list*, *Narodno djelo*, *Domovina*, *Sv. Cecilija*, *Der Morgen*, *Glazbeni vjesnik*, *Književnik* and *Hrvatska revija*.

¹⁸ Nehajev M.: Poslije koncerta. Simfonijski koncert mladih hrvatskih skladatelja u Kr. Zemaljskom hrvatskom kazalištu u Zagrebu, *Savremenik*. *Mjesečnik Društva hrvatskih književnika*, 11 (1916) I-II, 28–31.

¹⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, 29 and 31.

²⁰ Nv.: Konzerte. Kompositionsabend Gräfin Dora Pejacsevich, »Feuilleton«, *Agramer Tagblatt*, 33 (6 April 1918) 89, 1–2.

of a zealous composer, aware of the goal in uplifting work»,²¹ she »kept [...] that sympathetic feature of musical self-listening and creation«,²² she »[...] creates obviously from herself and for herself – and this seems to us the greatest praise of her creativity«,²³ her spirit completely devoted to the greatness of her art which »[...] above all kinds of programmatic musicianship longs for the realm of the absolute and finds it«. ²⁴ However, one error crept into the published text: it is stated that in the quintet a »Slovenian« (*slovenska*) instead of a »Slavonian« (*slavonska*) theme was treated as a Slavic motif. In addition, Nehajev makes two mild critical remarks: in the third movement of the quartet, »here and there the technical work betrayed the examining reason«,²⁵ and »[...] the leading of the parts or [...] the formation of a sonata setting would surely deserve a more detailed critical treatment«. ²⁶ In accordance with the above, Koraljka Kos considers that Nehajev »hits with amazing intuition on some of the essential features of Dora Pejačević's art«. ²⁷

Viktor Novak (1889–1977). Historian (Latin paleography, diplomacy studies, political thought of the South Slavs) and music writer, Novak stressed D. Pejačević's individuality and generally good musicianship. He first worked in Zagreb, and from 1924 in Belgrade as a professor of Croatian history and auxiliary historical sciences at the University of Belgrade. ²⁸ As a music writer and critic, he published between 1913 and 1937 a total of 243 texts in eight Croatian and ten Serbian publications. ²⁹ He published only two articles about Dora Pejačević in Croatia: in 1918 and 1920. Here we will analyze only his text from 1918, because the one from 1920, entitled »The success of Countess Dora Pejačević in Dresden« and published in *Jutarnji list*, ³⁰ was dedicated only to information about one performance abroad.

²¹ »Ruf der strebsam und zielbewusst sich emporarbeitenden Tondichterin«. *Ibid.*, 1-2.

²² »[...] behält [...] jene sympathische Linie des musikalischen Sich-selbst-hörens und Schaffens bei«. *Ibid.*

²³ »D.P. schöpft offenbar aus sich selbst und für sich selbst – und dies scheint uns das beste Lob ihrer Schöpfung zu sein«. *Ibid.*

²⁴ »[...] welcher über alles programmatische Musizieren nach dem Reich des Absoluten sich sehnt und es auch findet«. *Ibid.*

²⁵ »[...] mag hie und da (der III. Satz des Quartetts) die technische Arbeit die prüfende Vernunft verraten«.

²⁶ »Stimmenführung oder im [...] Satzbau der Sonate würde gewiß eine aufsichtser kritische Behandlung verdienen«. *Ibid.*

²⁷ Koraljka KOS: Ishodišta. Djelo Dore Pejačević u zrcalu kritike i muzikologije, in: ID.: *Dora Pejačević*, Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti – Muzikološki zavod Muzičke akademije u Zagrebu, 1982, 2.

²⁸ ***: Novak, Viktor, *Leksikon jugoslavenske muzike*, Vol. 2, 1984, 82.

²⁹ They are: in Croatia – *Obzor*, *Sv. Cecilija*, *Narodne novine*, *Hrvatska prosvjeta*, *Jutarnji list*, *Savremenik*, *Jugoslavenska njiva* and *Nova Evropa*; in Serbia – *Politika*, *Reč*, *Srpski književni glasnik*, *Bratstvo*, *Reč i slika*, *Vreme*, *Jevrejski glas*, *Muzički glasnik*, *Zvuk* and *Novosti*. See the list of his critiques in: M. KUNTARIĆ (ed.): *Bibliografija rasprava i članaka. Muzika*, Book 13, 561-566.

³⁰ N(ovak) V(iktor): Uspjeh Dore grofice Pejačević u Dresdenu, *Jutarnji list*, 9 (19 March 1920) 2926, 4.

However, in the text »Chamber Music. Composition evening of Countess Dora Pejacsevich«, in the »Listak« column, published in the newspaper *Glas Slovenaca, Hrvata i Srba*,³¹ along with some general points (strong and young up-and-coming talent; considerable musical taste; declamatory, pathetic melody; skillful technical operation; strong form; rich polyphony; virtuosic power; »an interesting musical portrait of one of our aristocrats, who entered the life of music with all her soul«), Novak made quite a number of positive judgments about the style and general characteristics of Pejačević's composition: she is a »sympathetic musical individuality«; »works a lot, interestingly and – good!«; »develops a particularly appropriate strength and skillful ability to navigate in modern musical technique and architecture«; »her soul [...] has not strayed far from the romantics«; »strong and original trait, and with this very originality she boldly tries to separate herself from any influence or eclecticism«; »she always has the ability to preserve the conciseness of expression«; and about particular works: »This sonata is a particularly elegant composition, which is permeated with great and deep sensitivity, and the Slavic motifs [...] are excellently and skillfully used, and give the sonata a special value«. However, Novak also adds some mild critical notes to his narrative: »stuff that is crowded in places«; »excessive search for strong, large and energetic effects«; »The second movement [in the quintet] is somewhat tiring with too broad and too long thematic treatment«. Novak's allusion to gender psychology is also interesting: »this female artist is clearly trying [...] to achieve a stronger and more energetic touch of some masculinity«.

Petar Konjović (1883–1970). Serbian composer, conductor, musicologist and music writer, Konjović judged extremely negatively Pejačević's general and musical education, as well as her compositional orientation. He lived and worked in Serbia until 1917, then on several occasions in Croatia (Zagreb, Osijek), and from 1939 permanently in Belgrade.³² He was also engaged in music criticism and journalism, so in the period from 1903 to 1940 he published about fifty texts in 14 newspapers in Croatia and 17 in Serbia. In Croatia, he published mostly in the magazines *Savremenik* and *Hrvatska njiva*, and in Serbia in *Letopis Matice srpske*, *Srpski književni glasnik*, *Politika*, and in *Srbobran* and *Novi Srbobran*.³³ In the book of essays *Ličnosti* (Personalities), published in Zagreb in 1920, in the chapter »From musical Zagreb«, there is also a review, report and commentary under the title »Compositional evening of Countess Dora Pejacsevich«. ³⁴ The complete intonation

³¹ Dr. N.: Komorna glazba. Kompoziciono veče Dore grofinje Pejacsevich, column »Listak«, *Glas Slovenaca, Hrvata i Srba*, 1 (6 April 1918) 70, 2-3.

³² ***: Konjović, Petar, *Leksikon jugoslavenske muzike*, Vol. 1, 1984, 446-448.

³³ Cf. the list of Konjović's texts in: M. KUNTARIĆ (ed.): *Bibliografija rasprava i članaka. Muzika*, Book 13, 401-402.

³⁴ Petar KONJOVIĆ: *Ličnosti*, Zagreb: Izdanje knjižare Čelap i Popovac, 1920, 173-177.

of Konjović's text about Dora Pejačević is a blatant example of an approach guided by ideological prejudice. Namely, in addition to the already seen standard positive topoi (pure music; very regular and very defined architecture; sovereign rule over form; her technique has a high level; technical maturity), Konjović is extremely critical of Dora's complete human and musical habitus (= »artistic personality traits«): »[...] through work, culture and – I firmly believe that it is so – thoughts, Countess Pejacsevich developed in an environment that is completely foreign and alien to our art and the atmosphere in which our artistry wants and can develop«. A logical question arises: which is »ours« that is completely alien to German art and atmosphere? Furthermore, Konjović sets postulates and prescriptions on which path Dora should follow if she wants to become a »Croatian [or national] artist« and if she wants »[...] to have a share in the creation of a new art«: »Get rid of everything learned, listened to, formal... to get rid of the German view of art and German school... to get rid of the German cultural environment and its influences«. But for that »[...] a great process of renewal, forgetting, coping is needed; [...] man therefore learns that he has something to forget«. These are attitudes that even the Soviet Stalinist socialist realism of the 1930s with its concept of »soul engineering« would not be ashamed of. Advocating some different, new nationalism, Konjović says: »Nationalism is in the blood, in the thinking, and that, first of all, must be expressed in art.« Could it be that Dora was supposed to completely change her spiritual blood with some conceptual meta-transfusion? And after such Konjović's »Blut und Boden« excursion, his psychological-aesthetic prescription comes as a climax: »In our artistic sphere, it must be done by touching the primitive psyche of our people with the personal sensitivities of the artist«. So, in summary: Konjović advocates a complete distancing from the European cultural circle, for some koiné of a new integral Yugoslav nationalism, to which the profile and content of the art of somebody like Dora Pejačević are diametrically opposed.

In her aforementioned text, Zdenka Veber gave a good assessment of such views, albeit with a mild formulation: »But while Konjović's assessment is very critical, it is also unfair because it is one-sided.«³⁵ However, in this case, the well-known anti-German spirit of a new Franjo Ksaver Kuhač was not resurrected, but there is undoubtedly something announced on the musical horizon that will soon, in the period 1921–1926, appear as a concept of the so-called the »barbarogeny-decivilizer« of the Serbian author Ljubomir Micić, the initiator of Zenitism, the »philosophical-poetic-demagogic doctrine according to which the only salvation for Europe is the unfettered barbaric energy of the Serbian (super)man, which will destroy injustice, hypocrisy and Western traditionalist culture«.³⁶ However, at the

³⁵ Z. VEBER: Slika Dore Pejačević u publicistici i muzikologiji u Hrvatskoj, 75.

³⁶ Nedim SEJDINOVIĆ, Barbarogenije decivilizator, *Danas*, (30 July 2021), <<https://www.danas.rs/kolumna/nedim-sejdinovic/barbarogenije-decivilizator/>> (Accessed 2 October 2023).

end it should be noted that it seems that Konjović, as the only one with Novak, discovered some hidden gender issue in Dora's psychological profile: »[...] in all [her] compositions, the superiority and power of masculinity emerges and clearly wants to emerge«; »masculinity [is] in the basic character of all [her] works«. It seems that in this aspect of the analysis, Konjović was on the right track: both Koraljka Kos (»but she had primarily a male personality«) and the German psychologist Marianne Hassler (»It seems that Dora Pejačević was an androgynous personality, that she united the feminine and masculine personality traits«)³⁷ confirm Konjović's hunch.

Božidar Širola (1889–1955). Music historian, ethnomusicologist and prominent composer of the so-called neo-national trend in Croatian music between the two world wars,³⁸ Širola was the most prominent name among the six music writers mentioned here. We include him here as a unique curiosity, i.e. a person who brought Dora Pejačević into the canon of Croatian musical history during her lifetime. Namely, the then 33-year-old Širola included – as the first and for a long time the only music historian! – Dora Pejačević with a separate entry in chapter 5 »Contemporary music« of his *Pregled povijesti hrvatske muzike* from 1922.³⁹ In it, in addition to listing a dozen of her works, he summarized her life and work in five lines and two sentences. I am quoting those five lines here in their entirety: »DORA COUNTESS PEJAČEVIĆ, a descendant of an old noble Croatian family, appeared in Zagreb as a composer first in the concerts of the Committee for the Promotion of Chamber Music. At first, she devoted herself completely to the study of chamber music, and later she ventured to compose larger works as well«. Širola placed her between Rudolf Matz and Jakov Gotovac, as the third name before the end of the entire book. Too little and too little for the life and work that will be unexpectedly abruptly ended a year later with Dora's death, and a lot in comparison to what we said earlier about her not being included in Andreis's first book on Croatian music history in 1942.

Lujo Šafranek-Kavić (1882–1940). Composer and music critic, graduated from the military academy, studied music in Zagreb and Graz, Šafranek-Kavić latently assigned a marginal importance to Pejačević's music. As a music critic, he published from 1921 to 1940 in 21 publications⁴⁰ an incredible amount of texts of various pro-

³⁷ Marianne HASSLER: Ličnost Dore Pejačević u svjetlu najnovijih psiholoških istraživanja muzikalnosti u doba djetinjstva i adolescencije, in: Zdenka Veber (ed.): *Dora Pejačević, 1885 – 1923. Zbornik radova sa Znanstvenog skupa »Dora Pejačević – život, rad i značenje«, održanog u Našicama 7. i 8. rujna 1985. godine*, Našice: SIZ kulture i tehničke kulture općine Našice, 1987, 37.

³⁸ ***: Širola, Božidar, *Leksikon jugoslavenske muzike*, Vol. 2, 1984, 405-407.

³⁹ Božidar ŠIROLA: *Pregled povijesti hrvatske muzike*, Zagreb: Edition Rirop, 1922, 330.

⁴⁰ They are (in order of publication): *Zagrebački dnevnik*, *Dom i svijet*, *Kritika*, *Nova Evropa*, *Sv. Cecilija*, *Obzor*, *Srpski književni glasnik*, *Naša muzika*, *Hrvatska pozornica*, *Jutarnji list*, *Savremenik*, *Muzika*, *Morgenblatt*, *Zagreb*, *Komedija*, *Zagorski list*, *Hrvatski list*, *Termini*, *Večer*, *Muzičar* and *Zagrebački list*.

files – a total of 1,340 of them!⁴¹ He was a permanent critic of *Obzor* (1923–1933), *Jutarnji list* (1926–1927; 1932–1938) and *Zagrebački list* (1939–1940) and a permanent chronicler in the journal *Sv. Cecilija* (1923–1936). He was included in our list of music writers for one and only reason: because in all of his 1,340 writings, he dedicated only 11 lines to Dora Pejačević in a single review published in 1930!⁴² It was dominated by a panegyric to the performer, and not to the composer (although he conventionally compliments her). We quote that paragraph in its entirety: »The second item on the programme was dedicated to the local author, Countess Dora Pejačević, who died prematurely. In her *Phantasie concertante* for piano and orchestra, written interestingly and soundly with a lot of knowledge and mastery of the apparatus, our respected artist Mrs. Antonija Geiger-Eichhorn stood out as always with extraordinary virtuoso sovereignty, who gave her interpretation zeal and brilliant shine.«⁴³ This case certainly falls into the category of, in fact, a latent »negative perception«: the most prolific critic of the period between the two world wars in Croatia devotes (in original) only 18 words to Dora Pejačević and one of her works! Isn't this a clear sign of her complete negligence and marginalization?

And to conclude:

1) Despite the relatively small number of about fifty articles about Dora Pejačević, published during the first 40 years since she first appeared in public, it was possible to broadly reconstruct the reception and perception of her character and oeuvre.

2) It is possible to state that in the period 1905–1945, despite the basically positive-neutral reception, perception – that is, observation, cognition and reflection on her appearance – shows a certain quality of musical-theoretical analysis regarding her most important works, but the critical-aesthetic evaluations cover a wide range of different attitudes conditioned by the musical and general ideological starting points of the evaluators themselves, sometimes in mutually contradictory statements.

3) The immanent and explicit objections about the lack of a national component in most of her compositions are reminiscent in the Croatian context of similar objections placed earlier on parts of the oeuvre and compositional orientation of Vatroslav Lisinski and Ivan Zajc, and on a global scale to those directed against Pyotr I. Tchaikovsky in the context of Russian musical culture in the second half of the 19th century.

4) It was necessary for half a century to pass following her death so that in a completely changed intellectual and musical-historical environment and within

⁴¹ According to M. KUNTARIĆ (ed.): *Bibliografija rasprava i članaka. Muzika* (Book 14, 54-83) 1, 319 units, but Sanja Majer-Bobetko added 21 more unsigned from *Sv. Cecilija* (op. cit., 144-148).

⁴² Lujko ŠAFRANEK-KAVIĆ: Koncert Zagrebačke filharmonije, *Obzor*, 71 (17 March 1930) 63, 2-3.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 3.

the atmosphere of affirmation of the idea of the right to pluralism in creativity, thanks in large part to the efforts of the prominent musicologist Koraljka Kos, Dora Pejačević and her work finally began to be valorized according to the immanent values of her music, devoid of ideological influences of any provenance. After all, this is evidenced by a real little »doromania« that has been spreading both in Croatia and the world in recent years.

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Sažetak

PERCEPCIJA DORE PEJAČEVIĆ U HRVATSKIM JAVNIM TISKANIM GLASILIMA OD 1905. DO 1945. GODINE

Percepciju skladateljice Dore Pejačević u hrvatskim javnim glasilima (novine, časopisi) u razdoblju od 1905. do 1945. možemo pratiti kroz pedesetak napisa. Izvještaje i osvrtne na njezin lik i djelo objavila su ukupno 24 glasila, pretežno u Zagrebu i Osijeku (*Jutarnji list*, *Die Drau*, *Sv. Cecilija*, *Morgenblatt*, *Agramer Tagblatt*, *Hrvatsko pravo*, *Savremeni*, *Obzor*, *Agramer Zeitung*, *Novosti*, *Hrvatska obrana*, *Novine*, *Hrvatska*, *Jugoslavenska njiva*, *Almanah Društva hrvatskih književnika*, *Glas Slovenaca*, *Hrvata i Srba*, *Narodna politika*, *Narodna obrana*, *Slawonische Presse*, *Suradnja*, *Hrvatski narod*, *Hrvatski list*, *Riječ*, *Hrvatski ženski list*), a uz dvanaest anonimnih autora i šestero potpisanih samo inicijalima identificirano je 18 autora za 25 tih napisa. To su: J. Andrić, J. Barle, J. Canić, V. Ciprin, I. Čačino- vić, I. Fišer, K. Krenedić, M. Majer, P. Markovac, D. Melkus, J. Miličić, M. Nehajev, A. Novačan, V. Novak, M. Radej, E. Schulz, L. Šafranek-Kavić i B. Širola (među njima su samo dvije autorice: Ivana Fišer i Mira Radej). Moguće je zamijetiti da je, uz po jedan sporadični napis u pojedinim godinama, većina objavljenih tekstova grupirana u pet vremenskih skupina: 1905-1911. (5 napisa), 1916-1918. (12), 1920-1926. (16), 1930-1933. (6) i 1943-1944. (5). Glavnina ovog teksta sastoji se od navođenja i analize napisa šestorice najvažnijih glazbenih kritičara koji su u navedenom razdoblju pisali o D. Pejačević: Ernesta Schulza, Milutina Nehajeva, Viktora Novaka, Petra Konjovića, Božidara Širole i Luje Šafranek-Kavića. Četvorica među njima objavila su svoje tekstove u novinama, dok su skladateljicu u svojim knjigama spomenuli Petar Konjović (*Ličnosti*, 1920) i Božidar Širola (*Pregled povijesti hrvatske muzike*, 1922). Neovisno o tome, Antonija Kassowitz-Cvijić uvrstila ju je u zbornik *Znameniti i zaslužni Hrvati* (1925).

Napisi ove šestorice izdvojeni su zbog mišljenja i vrednovanja života i djela D. Pejačević na razini višoj od uobičajenih novinskih izvješća, kao kreatora percepcije, a ne tek pukih kroničara recepcije, te zbog reputacije koju su u svoje vrijeme uživali u javnosti kao kritičari, skladatelji i muzikolozi. Ti napisi odaju stanovitu raznolikost u pristupu i ocjenama kako pojedinih djela tako i cjeline glazbenog habitusa D. Pejačević.

LILLA'S HERITAGE. CULTURAL SKETCHES OF THE VAY BRANCH IN HUNGARY

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Abstract

The Vay family, from which Dora Pejačević's mother Erzsébet (Lilla) hailed, played a significant role in shaping the formative years of the young composer, Dora. There is however, little research on that topic regarding the cultural heritage Dora inherited. The lineage of this family, though only partially documented from a musicological point of view, unveils a significant impact on Dora's abilities and sensitivities by diligently scrutinizing press and archival records from that era. These records highlight a legacy of academic, political, and artistic achievements associated with her background.

Lilla Vay was involved in various cultural events and dedicated much of her time to representing causes promoting the interests of Hungarian literature and art, in addition to her social and philanthropic activities. Meanwhile she was active as a *Liebhaver* performer, too. Lilla Vay placed significant importance on providing her children with musical education, in harmony with the aristocratic upbringing's emphasis on arts education. Her children were engaged in chamber music performances at various social gatherings, showcasing their musical talents on numerous occasions. Károly

Noseda, the initial music instructor of the Pejačević children, had a deep personal bond with the church on Servita Square, where Lilla may have attended worship services. Noseda later held a considerable position in musical life, functioning as the choirmaster at the Royal Opera House in Budapest and as a director at the National Conservatory.

The influence of Lilla Vay, along with the musical background of their family, probably exerted a substantial impact on the musical inclinations of young Dora Pejačević and her siblings. It is evident that Dora's musical performances received frequent mentions in the press; however, she occupied a comparatively minor position in the texts when compared to her mother, Lilla.

Keywords: the Vay family; Lilla Vay; Dora Pejačević; Central Europe; Budapest aristocracy; Károly Noseda; music education; amateur musicians

Ključne riječi: obitelj Vay; Lilla Vay; Dora Pejačević; Srednja Europa; budimpeštanska aristokracija, Károly Noseda; glazbeno obrazovanje; amaterski glazbenici

Aristocratic women, such as Erzsébet ('Lilla') Vay, engaged in philanthropic endeavors, salon music-making, and cultural organization, offering novel perspectives on the role of aristocracy within the musical and artistic networks of their time.¹ As a composer, her daughter, Dora Pejačević navigated a world that provided limited acknowledgment and appreciation for female composers, rendering the cultural contributions of these two women particularly noteworthy.² This study focuses on the cultural and historical contexts of the Vay family to demonstrate how these circumstances could have influenced Dora Pejačević's artistic trajectory compared to her mother in the period's reception. Particular emphasis is placed on aristocratic music education, shifting gender roles, and the broader cultural networks of Central Europe during the 19th and 20th centuries. The research draws upon contemporary press sources, family archives, and musicological and historical literature, shedding new light on the underappreciated historical and cultural contributions of women in the Vay family.

Lilla Vay, the mother of composer Dora Pejačević, influenced the Croatian-Hungarian cultural landscape during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Dora's artistic growth was profoundly shaped not only by her musical education and social milieu but also by her family's historical and cultural legacy. By examining these dimensions, the study seeks not only to illuminate the cultural heritage of the Vay family but also to contribute to a broader understanding of the social and cultural roles of aristocratic women and the historical context of female composers. Were the lives and contributions of Lilla and Dora representative of the typical roles of aristocratic women of their time, or do they offer an unique perspective on musical and social engagement? This study aims to address these questions while offering a new lens through which to view 19th- and 20th-century aristocratic female identity.

Methodology

The status of aristocratic women composers in the 18th and 19th centuries was shaped by restrictive social norms and limited access to professional training. Despite music being a component of upper-class women's education, their opportunities to create and publicly perform music were constrained.³ Most compositions were confined to small-scale salon genres, aligning with societal expectations of feminine modesty and domesticity.⁴ Women were often patrons rather than creators, as public performances were seen as diminishing their social status.⁵

¹ Marcia J. CITRON: *Gender and the Musical Canon*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

² Aneta MARKUSZEWSKA: Music-Making Women-Aristocrats, *Musicology Today*, 16 (2019) 1, 4-30.

³ M. J. CITRON: *Gender and the Musical Canon*, 54-56.

⁴ A. MARKUSZEWSKA: Music-Making Women-Aristocrats, 5.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 12.

The cultural contributions of Erzsébet (Lilla) Vay and her daughter, Dora Pejačević, reflect broader trends in women's labor and cultural activism in Central and Eastern Europe during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Lilla's engagement in philanthropy and salon culture exemplifies the gendered forms of aristocratic contribution to social and cultural networks: Her efforts mirror the patterns described in studies of aristocratic women's activism, where cultural production and organizational skills were employed as both public service and personal expression.⁶ Dora's emergence as a composer within this environment highlights the influence of aristocratic women's roles in fostering artistic education and engagement, as seen in similar cases across Europe.⁷

Lilla and Dora's work connects with microhistorical approaches that illuminate the intersection of personal narratives and structural conditions, such as the cultural expectations of women in aristocracy.⁸ As with other underrepresented figures, their contributions reveal the potential for integrating gender, class, and transnational perspectives to reshape narratives about Central and Eastern European cultural history.⁹ By doing so, this study enriches understandings of women's roles in shaping cultural and social landscapes during transformative historical periods.

As the foundational research on Dora Pejačević has been largely overlooked in Hungary, there remains a wealth of tasks awaiting scholars in this area. So, the present paper aims to offer a broader view on cultural heritage based on her family history from the perspective of the Vay branch, using the period's press and archival material. Though the cultural legacy of Pejačević's maternal lineage and the history of her family have been the subject of ongoing historical investigations, a broader outline can be drawn. This study aims to provide an overview of the Vay family history, the life trajectories of Dora Pejačević's mother, Lilla Vay, and to outline Pejačević's musical connections in Budapest, including the possible circumstances surrounding the activities of her teacher, Károly Noseda. In addition to drawing upon secondary historical and musicological literature, this paper will leverage contemporary press accounts, institutional records, and photographic evidence to offer deeper insights into the cultural background of the Vay lineage, particularly Dora Pejačević's childhood and her mother's, Lilla's role.

⁶ Susan ZIMMERMANN: Women's Labour Struggles in Central and Eastern Europe and Beyond: Toward a Long-Term, Transregional, Integrative, and Critical Approach, in: S. Çağatay et al. (eds.): *Through the Prism of Gender and Work Women's Labour Struggles in Central and Eastern Europe and Beyond, 19th and 20th Centuries*, Leiden: Brill, 2024, 1-80, here 16.

⁷ Aneta MARKUSZEWSKA: Music-Making Women-Aristocrats, 4-30.

⁸ Hans RENDERS – Binne de HAAN (ed.): *Theoretical Discussions of Biography: Approaches from History, Microhistory and Life Writing*, Leiden: Brill, 2014, <<https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004274709>> (Accessed 18 November 2024).

⁹ Magdolna RÉBAY: When People Still Had Enough Time to Live: Education of Girls from Hungarian Aristocratic Families, 1860s–1947, *Hungarian Educational Research Journal*, 14 (2024) 1, 43-60.

Sources and research history

The scholarly research and discussions in Hungary pertaining to the cultural background of Dora Pejačević are unable to rely on existing work, thus making additional foundational research necessary. The primary sources for this research should include Koraljka Kos's publications,¹⁰ as well as the urban and family histories used later in the present study. While historians have partially covered the history of the Vay family, the individual members' roles are still under investigation.¹¹ The research of historians entails a meticulous study of various documents sourced from the archives of the Vay family. Special attention is given to documents originating from locations in Hungary, namely Golop, Sáropatak, and the Hungarian National Archives. However, the archival records primarily focus on the maintenance of family estates, their association with the Reformed Church, and the parliamentary engagements of the family members.¹²

In particular, the absence of reliable sources and personal documents significantly hampers our understanding. Regarding the history of the Vay family, a separate monograph provides a focused investigation into the life and accomplishments of Baron Miklós Vay.¹³ It is crucial to emphasize the significance of personal accounts, such as the memoirs of Johanna Adelsheim,¹⁴ the great-grandmother of Lilla Vay, and the writings of the younger Miklós Vay,¹⁵ who was Adelsheim's eldest son and the brother of Dora's grandfather. Moreover, apart from the personal recollections of Lilla and Dora, no other sources have been identified in Hungary.¹⁶

In any case, the writings, memoirs, and important documents, including archival records of individual family members, school certificates, and other data related to Dora Pejačević's former music teacher, Károly Nosedá, are essential for understanding the circumstances surrounding Nosedá's employment as a private music teacher. Additionally, referencing the press from that era is essential for understanding the public perception of the family and supplementing the limited existing secondary literature.

¹⁰ Koraljka KOS: *Dora Pejačević: Leben und Werk*, Zagreb: Muzički informativni centar Koncertne direkcije, 1987; Koraljka KOS: *Dora Pejačević*, Zagreb: Muzički informativni centar Koncertne direkcije, 1998.

¹¹ A doctoral dissertation on the life of Baron Miklós Vay is currently being researched by historian Helga Angelovics.

¹² László BENDEFY: A Vay-család golopi levéltára a Sáropataki Református Levéltárban [The Vay Family's Golop Archives in the Sáropatak Reformed Archives], *Levéltári Szemle*, 19 (1969) 2, 290-326.

¹³ Orsolya SZAKÁLY: *Egy vállalkozó főnemes. Vay Miklós báró. 1756–1824* [An Enterprising Nobleman. Baron Miklós Vay. 1756–1824], Budapest, ELTE, 2003.

¹⁴ Etelke JÓKAI (ed.): *Emlékek B. Vay Miklósné Adelsheim Johanna báróné leveleiből* [Memories from the letters of Baroness Johanna Adelsheim the wife of Miklós B. Vay], Pest: Atheneum, 1888.

¹⁵ [Miklós VAY]: *Emléklapok vajai báró Vay Miklós életéből*. Lévy József bevezetésével [Memoirs from the life of Baron Vay of Vaja. With an introduction by József Lévy], Budapest, Franklin-Társulat, 1899.

¹⁶ There is no available evidence of Lilla Vay's musical manuscripts in Hungarian archives.

In these terms, it is worth detailing that the members of the Vay family were predominantly renowned for their contributions as scientists and statesmen, suggesting an environment that fostered intellectual curiosity and engagement with public service. Lilla Vay herself appears to have embodied these family traits, as evidenced by her active involvement in social and charitable initiatives, which ranged from organizing cultural events to providing aid to those in need. This multifaceted approach to social engagement was certainly an influence on the young Dora, both as a role model and as a barrier that weighed on her. Nevertheless, it seems that Lilla's own receptiveness to the arts, as demonstrated by her participation in various cultural activities, likely played a significant role in nurturing Dora's burgeoning musical talents and her keen aesthetic sensibilities.

Panoramic view of the Vay de Vaya family

The Vay family has a long and prominent history in Hungary, Szabolcs County. According to Iván Nagy, in his volume *Magyarország családai* [Families of Hungary], the family derived its name from the Vaja village in the county, which it likely owned. The family's lineage can be traced back to the 14th century, as documented in authentic historical records.¹⁷ According to the new research, the Vay family tried to solve the multifaceted uncertainties and economic crisis caused by the Turks, and later the Habsburgs, by allying with other families in the turbulent decades of 17th and 18th century in Hungary. The strategy was to marry in alliance with the wealthy noble families of Transylvania. It can be seen that from the end of the 17th century onwards, the daughters of Ádám Vay (1657–1719), yet not baron, married nobles almost exclusively, mainly Transylvanian counts. The Count Teleki family was later intertwined with the Baron Vay family in several ways, as was the case with the Transylvanian Wass, or Bethlen families. This marriage strategy clearly helped the social advancement of the Vay family.¹⁸ Following the beneficial marriage of Ábrahám, the centre of the Vay family became Alsózsolca and Golop in Borsod county from the end of the 17th century. Then a new chapter in the family history began: Generations of the Vays grew up in Alsózsolca, including Lilla.¹⁹

¹⁷ Iván NAGY: *Magyarország családai czimerekkel és nemzedékrendi táblákkal*, XII. [Families of Hungary with coats of arms and genealogical tables, XII], Pest: Ráth Mór, 1865, 91-109.

¹⁸ See e.g. Helga ANGELOVICS: A vajai Vay család. Vay Miklós báró (1802-1894) ősei [The Vay of Vaja Family. Ancestors of Baron Miklós Vay (1802-1894)], *Zempléni Múzsza*, 17 (2017) 4(68), 13-23.

¹⁹ The Vay Castle situated in Alsózsolca was meticulously restored and ceremoniously unveiled to the public in 2023. Similarly, in Golop, the legacy of the esteemed Vay family is ardently upheld, as evidenced by the ongoing preservation efforts. The castle has witnessed a remarkable restoration effort in recent years, led predominantly by the local community, aiming to revitalize and preserve its historical integrity.



Figure 1: The Reformed church in Alsószolca and the Vay castle built around 1720. Drawing by Wilhelm Egger, the Vay family's tutor from 1815, Hungarian National Archives

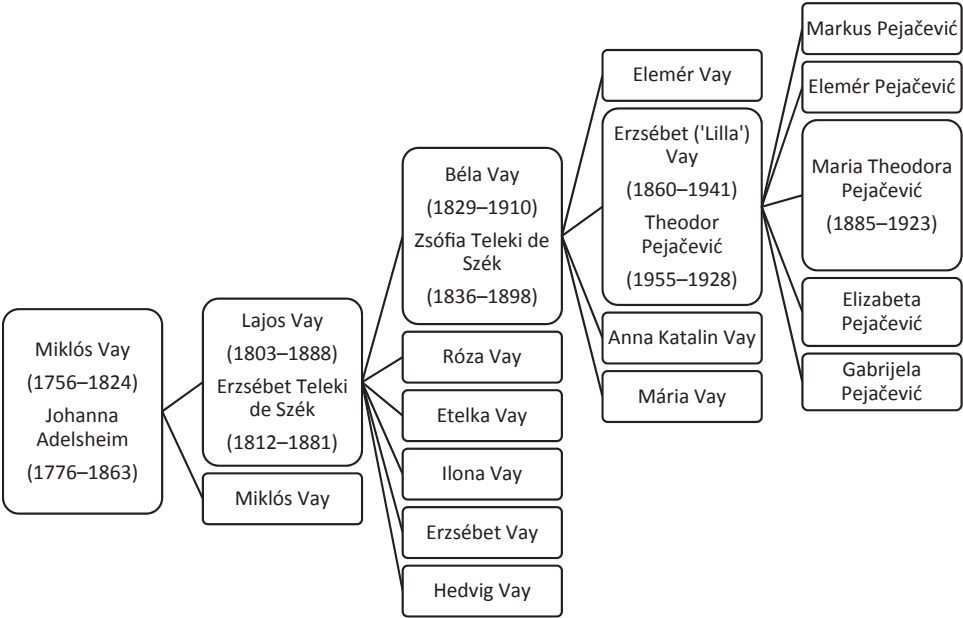
From the family tree, (**Table 1**) the well-documented members are the elder and younger Barons Miklós Vay and Johanna Adelsheim, but the data concerning the activities of men is commonly preserved in the primary and secondary literature.

The life of the elder Baron Miklós Vay (1756–1824) is marked by a series of significant academic and cultural experiences. After completing his studies in the nationally recognised Sárospatak,²⁰ he pursued further education at the Academy of Military Engineering in Vienna, a remarkable institution that graciously welcomed Protestants. The period he spent in Vienna had a significant impact on Baron Miklós Vay's personal development, as he immersed himself in the atmosphere of the era and visited Freemasonic lodges. Notably, his extensive journey across the German Lowlands, with France, and Great Britain serving as substantial waypoints, exerted an even greater influence on him. Notably, he also ventured to Ireland during this time.²¹ In the year 1787, he endeavored to secure membership in the prestigious Royal Society of London, a remarkable accomplishment that was made possible by his extensive scientific acumen and the unwavering backing of his benefactors. The acknowledgment of his membership as the 3rd Hungarian representative in the British Society of Scientists, supported by fourteen esteemed individuals, signifies the high regard he held in the scientific community.

²⁰ The Reformed College of Sárospatak is one of the oldest educational institutions in Hungary, founded in 1531 by the crown guard Peter Perényi in the spirit of the Reformation.

²¹ H. ANGELOVICS: A vajai Vay család. Vay Miklós báró (1802-1894) ősei, 16.

Table 1. Simplified family tree of the Vay family



»The Baron Nicolas Vajj [!] de Vaja, of Hungary Captain in the Corps of Engineers in the Service of the Emperor, a Gentleman well skilled in Mathematics and various branches of natural Philosophy being desirous of becoming a Fellow of the Royal Society, and being qualified by having resided upwards of six months in England; we whose names are subscribed do, upon our personal knowledge, recommend him as deserving of that honour, and likely to become an useful and valuable Member.«²²

The individuals who publicly supported him included Sir Charles Blagden (1748–1820), a significant figure in the fields of medicine and chemistry, and Henry Cavendish (1731–1810), a distinguished chemist acclaimed for his discovery of various gases, including hydrogen, which he recognized as an independent element (Table 2).

²² Certificates of election and candidature for Fellowship of the Royal Society, Reference number: EC/1787/08, <<https://catalogues.royalsociety.org/CalmView/Record.aspx?src=CalmView.Catalog&id=EC%2f1787%2f08>> (Accessed 18 November 2024).

Table 2. The list of the supporters of Baron Miklós Vay for the membership of the British Society of Scientists

Name (date)	Profession
Count Johann Moritz Bruhl (1736–1809)	diplomat and astronomer
Sir Charles Blagden (1748–1820)	physician and chemist
Jesse Ramsden (1735–1800)	mathematician, astronomical and scientific instrument maker
Henry Cavendish (1731–1810)	philosopher, experimental and theoretical chemist and physicist
Alexander Aubert (1730–1805)	astronomer and businessman
Samuel Foart Simmons (1750–1813)	physician
John Mervin Nooth (1737–1828)	physician, scientist, and army officer
John Smeaton (1724–1792)	engineer
Alexander Dalrymple (1737–1808)	explorer, cartographer, and hydrographer
William Roy (1726–1790)	military engineer, surveyor, and antiquarian
William Marsden (1754–1836)	orientalist, numismatist, and linguist
James Rennell (1742–1830)	geographer, historian, oceanographer
Pasquale de Paoli (1725–1807)	Corsican statesman, military leader
Tiberius Cavallo (1749–1809)	physicist and natural philosopher

Miklós Vay then returned to Hungary, to Alsózsolca, and commenced the modernization of the family estate. He contracted matrimony later in life, taking as his spouse Johanna Adelsheim (1776–1863), then a widow hailing from the Margraviate of Baden.

Johanna Adelsheim was the daughter of the chief forester to Karl Friedrich, Grand Duke of Baden. Johanna was raised at the court of the Duke of Baden following the passing of her parents. Eventually, during her teenage years, she became a court lady to the princesses and maintained contact with them. The subject in question maintained a particularly strong friendship with Caroline of Baden (1776–1841), the daughter of the Grand Duke. Caroline subsequently assumed the role of Queen consort of Bavaria and eventually became the grandmother of Franz Joseph I. It is worth noting that Caroline became the godmother to Johanna's firstborn son, the younger Baron Miklós Vay.

The letters of Johanna Adelsheim were compiled into a memorial volume in Vienna in 1864, first in German, and they were soon published in a Hungarian translation, too.²³ Her writings contain no material related to music, instead, they predominantly consist of educational notes pertaining to her teaching. The profound impact of Johanna's aristocratic education becomes apparent through the notable encounters she had in her upbringing, such as her early acquaintance with the renowned Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, as eloquently expressed in her correspondences.

²³ E. JÓKAI (ed.): *Emlékek B. Vay Miklósné Adelsheim Johanna báróné leveleiből.*

»I also had another family who I spent many pleasant hours with and who always encouraged me to do good. It was the house of the Schlosser, secret councillor of Baden. Schlosser was a generally respected statesman and poet, and his daughter Lulu (later Nicolovius) was my most trusted friend. We got our lessons together, we played together. Lulu's deceased mother was Goethe's sister, and her uncle often visited the orphans of the deceased sister. I frequently had the privilege of witnessing not only the renowned poet, but also other noteworthy individuals of the time. As a child, I didn't fully understand how important they were, but now I consider these moments the most special memories from my childhood.«²⁴

The writings of Adelsheim unmistakably convey that her upbringing was largely steeped in faith, with a strong emphasis on modern sciences such as economics and estate management, a profound acquaintance with literature, and a fervent embrace of contemporary educational practices, particularly the Pestalozzi method. The descendants, the younger Miklós and Lajos,²⁵ who were brought up in Alsózsolca, were able to directly witness this groundbreaking educational approach in Sárospatak, as they continued the family tradition and pursued their education in an establishment that embraced progressive methodologies.²⁶ Despite the younger Miklós and Lajos holding opposing political views in Parliament, they exhibited close-knit behavior as brothers.²⁷

Their first-born son, Béla Vay, also entered politics as the *főispán* of Borsod county. He held his position for 22 years, until 1894. According to the address

²⁴ »Volt még egy másik családi kör is, melynek sok kellemes órát köszönhetek s a hol mindenkor csak a jóra buzdítottak. Schlosser badeni titkos tanácsos háza volt az. Általánosan tisztelt államférfi és költő volt Schlosser, leánya Lulu (a későbbi Nicolovius) pedig legbizalmasabb barátnőm. Együtt kaptuk tanóráinkat, együtt játszottunk. Lulu elhalt édes anyja Goethének nővére volt, s a nagybátyja gyakran meglátogatta az elköltözött nővér árváit. Itt nemcsak a világhírű költőt, hanem egyéb nevezetes kortársait is gyakran volt alkalmam láthatni, mit akkor ugyan még gyermek észszel nem igen tudtam méltányolni, de most mégis gyermekkori emlékeim legnevezetesebbjei közé számítom.« See E. JÓKAI (ed.): *Emlékek B. Vay Miklósné Adelsheim Johanna báróné leveleiből*, 12.

²⁵ Lajos Vay (1808–1888), the grandfather of Lilla Vay held a prominent political position and possessed substantial knowledge of the Alsózsolca estate. In 1829, Lajos married Count Erzsébet Teleki of Szék. It is believed that the nickname Lilla may have originated in the family through grandmother Elisabeth.

²⁶ The Reformed College of Sárospatak exhibited an exceptional receptiveness during the late 18th and early 19th centuries to various new ideas, educational objectives, subjects, and organizational methodologies that provided a comprehensive framework for teaching. This is widely acknowledged among historians specializing in education and culture. The institution is notable for having introduced innovations, including the establishment of secondary level education on the banks of the Bodrog, which was the first of its kind in Hungary in 1796. Additionally, the introduction of instruction in the Hungarian language at the academic level in 1818 also deserves mention. See e.g. János UGRAI: A gyakorlatias népoktatás jegyében. Pestalozzi eszméinek sárospataki megjelenése [In the Spirit of Practical Public Education. The Emergence of Pestalozzi's Ideas in Sárospatak], *Iskolakultúra*, 18 (2008) 1-2, 39-49; Irén VIRÁG: *A magyar arisztokrácia neveltetése (1790–1848)* [The Education of the Hungarian Aristocracy (1790–1848)], Eger: Líceum, 2013, 91-114.

²⁷ H. ANGELOVICS: A vajai Vay család. Vay Miklós báró (1802-1894) ősei, 18.

book of the Parliamentary Directory of 1892, it can be deduced that he was involved in parliamentary endeavors in Budapest during that particular year. It also offers the address of his wife's and her mother's family palace, the Teleki Palace. The location specified is the Palace at 10 Szervita Square.²⁸ Béla was a philanthropist, making donations to numerous organizations and viewing charity as a duty. Béla Vay also married a Teleki daughter, Zsófia Teleki of Szék in 1854.²⁹

Erzsébet (Lilla) Vay, the daughter of Béla Vay and Zsófia Teleki, was born in 1860 in Alsózsolca, just like her ancestors. During her childhood years she resided with her mother's and grandmother's family, the Telekis, at their mansion located on the aforementioned 10 Szervita Square in Budapest. The history of Szervita Square is closely intertwined with that of the Teleki family, who acquired the land in 1782 and held it for nearly 150 years. The first and second floors of the palace were consistently occupied by family members. **(Figure 2 and 3)** Adjacent to the Teleki Palace was the Church of Servita Square, which boasted a musical community. It is probable that Lilla would have encountered her children's, including Dora's prospective music teacher, Károly Noseda (1863–1944), the choirmaster of the church situated in Servita Square. However, prior to delving into the musical education of the Pejačević children, it is important to provide a succinct overview of Lilla Vay's connections in Budapest and her contributions to the cultural life of the city.

Musical education, cultural life, and the network of Lilla in Budapest

The role of Hungarian women composers during the 19th and early 20th centuries offers critical insight into the intersection of gender, culture, and aristocracy in Central Europe. While aristocratic women were primarily expected to fulfill roles as cultural patrons and facilitators, a small yet significant number engaged directly in music composition and performance. This period saw a gradual shift in opportunities for women, as formal education expanded to include musical training beyond the domestic sphere. Despite this progress, female composers often faced societal limitations that framed their work as amateur or supplementary to male-dominated traditions.³⁰

Hungarian aristocratic women were particularly influential in shaping salon culture, where their compositions, often characterized by intimate and lyrical

²⁸ 1885-ik évi VII. t.-cikk alapján szervezett s az 1892 évi február hó 18-ára összehívott s február hó 22-én megnyitott országgyűlés főrendi háza tagjainak név-és lakjegyzéke [The National Assembly, organized on the basis of Article VII of the Constitution of 1885, convened on 18 February 1892, and opened on 22 February, Register of Names and Residences of the Members of the House of Lords], Budapest: Pesti könyvnyomda-részvény-társaság, 1892, 28.

²⁹ H. ANGELOVICS: A vajai Vay család. Vay Miklós báró (1802-1894) ősei, 18.

³⁰ M. RÉBAY: When People Still Had Enough Time to Live: Education of Girls from Hungarian Aristocratic Families, 1860s–1947, 44-55.



Figure 2: Szervita Square on a photograph by György Klösz in 1900. Fortepan 82551, Budapest City Archives.



Figure 3: The collapsed corner of the Teleki Palace in 1945. During World War II, the building was destroyed. Fortepan 60153.

styles, flourished. These private settings enabled women to express their creativity while adhering to societal norms of modesty and domesticity. However, a few women transcended these boundaries, utilizing the increased visibility afforded by public performances and publishing opportunities.³¹ Figures like Erzsébet Vay and her daughter, Dora, together with contemporaries reflect the nuanced role of women as both preservers of cultural heritage and contributors to a broader musical identity.

Little is known about the documents of Lilla Vay's upbringing, early years, and musical background. The activities of Lilla Vay in Hungary can currently only be gleaned from the press of the period and inferred from secondary literature. It can be stated that after her marriage to Count Teodor Pejačević in 1881, and having raised their children, Lilla continued to actively engage in Budapest's social scene, as recorded by the press of the period. She demonstrated her extraordinary singing talents in salons, orchestrated lavish balls, and generously engaged in philanthropic affairs, whether by means of vocal performances or theatrical productions, which is proven by examples.

The nobility and aristocracy came together several times a year as *Liebhabs*, collaborating for charitable performances according to the press and memoirs of the time. One of these notable occasions took place on 11 May 1886 at the Buda Castle Theatre (=budai Várszínház), which Lilla Pejačević graced with her presence. The newspapers diligently provided the public with regular updates on the ongoing rehearsal proceedings. At that time, Dora had not yet reached the age of one. The *Pesti Napló*, in an account of the event, reported the following:

»The organizing committee held a meeting last evening at Countess Sándor Károlyi's residence to discuss the arrangements for an upcoming charitable theatrical production led by the esteemed aristocratic elite of the capital. Following the thorough discussion, the details pertaining to the inaugural theatrical presentation were duly finalized. The decision has been made to hold the performances at the castle theater [Várszínház or Burgtheater], with the first one scheduled for the 8th of the current month and featuring the staging of two comedies. [...] It was stipulated that the performances would be complemented by the accompaniment of an amateur orchestra. [...] The aristocracy is showing exceptional dedication to ensuring the success of the inaugural spectacle, which has received the promise of attendance from His Majesty the King [Franz Joseph I].«³²

It is unknown whether Franz Joseph I actually attended the lecture. However, it is certain that Lilla's performance was exceptionally successful.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² ***: A fővárosi arisztokrácia által rendezendő jótékony célú színelőadás ügyében... [In the cause of a charitable theatrical performance to be organized by the aristocracy of the capital...], *Pesti Napló*, 37 (2 May 1886) 121, [2].

»(Countess Theodor Pejacevic) Baroness Lilla Vay, who was generally noticed for her excellent acting and artistic temperament during the Liebhaber performances at Buda, which far exceeded the amateur standard, received an original, honorary compliment. Count István Keglevich sent her a formal contract, offering her a salary of 7,000 forints a year and 20,000 forints a year *in toilette* from the national theatre, accompanied by a letter expressing his admiration for her talent as an actress. The Countess replied with a witty, humorous letter. The offer of a contract caused a sensation in theatrical circles, as it was significantly higher than any previous *toilette* fee offered by the National Theatre [in Pest]. [...]»³³

The programme presented at the Castle Theatre has received coverage in the press. The one-act plays were reportedly complemented by musical compositions from Xavér Ferenc Szabó (1848–1911), who subsequently assumed a professorial role at the Academy of Music in Budapest, as detailed in the issue of *Pesti Napló*. The performance featured the overture to his opera *Nero*, the Adagio movement of his unidentified string quartet performed by 16 violins, and presumably the Allegro movement of the same string quartet. The musicians were students of the National Conservatory, and Szabó himself conducted the orchestra. Lilla, as actress, played a leading role in an one-act comedy of Abraham Dreyfus, *A Little Storm*. The list of other performers represents clearly a distinguished selection of Hungarian aristocrats, with Countess Irén Teleki,³⁴ Count Hadik, and the younger Count Aladár Zichy among the artists.³⁵

This was not the sole occasion; it is also known that Lilla used to perform arias at the aristocratic soirées. At the Károlyi Palace in Budapest Józsefváros, in the year 1901, Count István Károlyi graciously arranged a gathering, wherein the esteemed presence of Prime Minister Kálmán Széll was ardently welcomed. The newspapers of the era documented that a gala concert commenced at 10:30 p.m. in the banquet hall of the Károlyi Palace. The event showcased performances by Lilla Vay, as well as the Count Géza Zichy.³⁶ Count Zichy, a renowned composer-pianist and former director of the Opera House, was also recognized as a close acquaintance of Franz Liszt. The program for the evening was as follows:

»The concert commenced at half past eleven in the concert hall, featuring distinguished performers and maintaining a high artistic standard. Count Géza Zichy had the privilege of initiating the piano recital, wherein he eloquently performed one of Mendelssohn's captivating reveries. He presented his own collection of compositions,

³³ ***: (Pejacevics Tódorné) [(Mrs. Teodor Pejačević)], *Pesti Hírlap*, 8 (16 May 1886) 135, 5.

³⁴ The mother of Count Pál Teleki, the former prime minister of Hungary.

³⁵ ***: A jótékony czélú színi előadásra tegnap délután tartották [The charity theatre production was held yesterday afternoon], *Pesti Napló*, 37 (9 May 1886) 128, 2.

³⁶ ***: Estély gróf Károlyi Istvánnál [Evening reception at Count István Károlyi's], *Szatmármegyei Közlöny*, 27 (24 February 1901) 8, 2.

which included a waltz taken from a ballet piece by him. The virtuosic performance was met with enthusiastic applause and admiration from the audience. Subsequently, Baroness Lilla Vay, formerly known as Countess Tivadar Pejačević, delivered an aria from the opera *Gioconda*, along with two songs, showcasing her well-educated and magnificent voice, accompanied by precise vocal skills, much to the delight of all those present. The German Consul Below-Schlattau was greeted with enthusiastic ovations and surprised the esteemed audience with his performance of two compositions by Count Géza Zichy. At the stroke of midnight, the excellent concert concluded. The attendees proceeded to the restaurant following the event, where they enjoyed refreshments amidst tables adorned with flower garlands, thereby culminating the evening perfectly.³⁷

In addition to her acting and singing activities, Lilla was actively engaged in various cultural events as an organizer. She was involved in representing causes that helped to promote the interests of Hungarian literature and art in society.³⁸ Besides, she was a member of several women's associations, organized charity events throughout Hungary and Croatia and took part of the activities of the Red Cross.³⁹ The aforementioned information further underscores the notion that Lilla Vay, during the 19th and 20th centuries, was held in high regard and widely admired within Hungarian social circles. Lilla's remarkable persona was so widely acclaimed that the holiday estate of the Bethlen family, near Miskolc as Lillafüred [Lillabad] was named in her honor in 1892.⁴⁰

Early musical experiences: The Pejačević children at the Budapest social life

The aristocratic upbringing included a strong emphasis on arts education, as was common at the time. In Hungarian aristocratic families of the 19th and 20th centuries, musical education was a vital part of a girl's upbringing, reflecting broader social and cultural expectations of refinement and cultural sophistication. Music was often taught alongside foreign languages and fine arts, with piano and vocal instruction being particularly prominent. However, despite its prominence in their education, the goal of music training was rarely professional.⁴¹

³⁷ ***: Estély gróf Károlyi Istvánnál [Evening reception at Count István Károlyi's], *Hazánk*, 8 (23 February 1901) 47, 6.

³⁸ ***: Az arisztokrácia és a magyar irodalom [The aristocracy and Hungarian literature], *Buda-pesti Hírlap*, 9 (15 January 1889) 15, 6.

³⁹ ***: A grófnő szíve [The countess's heart], *Pécsi Napló*, 2 (21 March 1893) 66, [4]; János Ferenc SÁRKÁNY (ed.): *Az Athenaeum nagy képes naptára* [The Athenaeum Calendar with Pictures], Budapest: Athenaeum, 1908, 242.

⁴⁰ The estate, which graciously accommodated esteemed guests, has sustained its rich heritage through the years. The palace hotel in Lillafüred was opened in 1930, and is still functioning.

⁴¹ M. RÉBAY: When People Still Had Enough Time to Live: Education of Girls from Hungarian Aristocratic Families, 1860s–1947, 48–52.

Mothers played a pivotal role in overseeing this education, ensuring that their daughters acquired the necessary skills to participate in aristocratic salon culture and represent their family's status. While governesses and private tutors typically conducted the formal training, mothers frequently acted as coordinators, selecting instructors and monitoring progress.⁴² Therefore Lilla also placed great importance on providing her children with musical education. Living in the neighbour, there is a huge possibility that Lilla was acquainted with Károly Noseda, the first music teacher of her children through his church services at Szervita Square.

The details of Károly Noseda's life and family are unclear, since they are not well documented and researched.⁴³ He was born in Pest in 1863, and it seems that from the age of 16, he held the positions of organist and choirmaster at the church on Servita Square, demonstrating a profound personal connection to the establishment. Information about his studies at the Academy of Music is limited to the institution's yearbook from 1883/84. This scarcity may be due to the recent opening of the organ studies program at the Academy. Hans von Koessler (1853–1926), the later master of Béla Bartók, Ernő Dohnányi, and Zoltán Kodály, served as Noseda's professor, who was an organ student at that time. According to the same yearbook, in addition to organ playing, students were obligated to study composition and choir, too. Notable teachers of Noseda include the influential Kornél Ábrányi⁴⁴ and possibly the leader figure of Hungarian opera, Ferenc Erkel, although the latter is not conclusively proven. Noseda's initial certificate during his first year may have been hinted at his future career path. While his grade in the main subject, organ, was lacking, he excelled in choir singing.⁴⁵ It is plausible that this grade may have influenced his decision to skip the subsequent academic year and at the same time change the direction of his musical career.

Noseda persisted, however, in his pursuit of a vocation as a choir instructor and successfully secured a position at the Royal Opera House in Budapest, com-

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ Agnes KENYERES et al.: Noseda, Károly, *Magyar életrajzi lexikon* [Hungarian Biographical Lexicon], II (L–Z), Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1969, 302; Aladár SCHÖPFLIN (ed.): Noszeda Károly, *Magyar színművészeti lexikon: A magyar színjátszás és drámairodalom enciklopédiája* [Hungarian Dramatic Arts Lexicon: Encyclopedia of Hungarian Drama and Dramatic Literature], Vol. III. (Kornél Ábrányi – Püspöki Imre), Budapest: Az Országos Színészegyesület és Nyugdíjintézete, [1930], 376.

⁴⁴ See the website of current research at the Department for the Hungarian Music History, HUNREN Institute for Musicology: <<https://zti.hu/files/mzt/abranyi/index.html>>; Lili Veronika BÉKÉSSY: »... a son of our country asks for the patronage of your esteemed journal.« Sen. Kornél Ábrányi's Network, in: Lili Veronika Békéssy – Martin Eybl – Gesa Finke (eds.): *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft – Beihefte der Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich, Band 62. Musical Practice in the Long Nineteenth Century. Unknown Ego Documents from Central Europe*, Wien: Hollitzer Verlag, 2024, 85–118.

⁴⁵ »Orgona: elégséges; Köteles melléktárgyak. zeneszerzés: jó; karének: kitünő« [Organ: sufficient; Required minor subjects. composition: good; choir singing: excellent], *Az Országos Magyar Királyi Zeneakadémia évkönyve az 1882/1883-iki tanévről* [Yearbook of the Royal Hungarian Academy of Music for the academic year 1882/1883], Budapest: Athenaeum, 1883, 36.

mencing on 1 February 1894, and concluding on 31 December 1902. Subsequently, he served as the choirmaster from 1 January 1903 to 1914.⁴⁶ During this period at the Opera House, several of his compositions were published by Schubert & Co. in Leipzig, such as his German songs *Die erwachte Rose* (1894) and *Frühling* (1895). In 1913, Noseda began teaching at the National Conservatory and eventually became its director general from 1938 to 1940.⁴⁷ On 7 November 1944, during his years of retirement, Noseda tragically took his own life, presumably in connection with the events of World War II, but the specific reasons remain unclear.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, his professional experience and background exerted a noteworthy influence on the musical inclinations of young Dora Pejačević and her siblings.

Károly Noseda frequently engaged in chamber music performances with the Pejačević children at various social gatherings at the same time that Lilla was introducing her young children to social life at balls and other social events throughout Hungary. The Pejačević children had to showcase their talents on such occasions.

The charity concert and ball organized by the Budapest Catholic Circle, held in 1899, was a highly esteemed event that took place early in the year as the local newspaper, the *Pesti Hirlap* presented.⁴⁹ At the aforementioned event, Lilla's three children, Countess Dora, Count Márk, and Elemér, were in attendance at the preceding concert, accompanied by another child prodigy, the violin virtuoso Stefi Geyer (1888–1956). The report indicates that Dora Pejačević exhibited exceptional piano skills, while Stefi Geyer displayed great proficiency in violin playing. Károly Noseda offered piano accompaniment for the evening,⁵⁰ and a military orchestra contributed to the dance music.⁵¹ The program's specific details remain somewhat limited; nevertheless, the evening reached its pinnacle with a distinguished ensemble performance of a chamber music composition for the piano featuring eight hands. Károly Noseda, Dora Pejačević, and her brothers, Counts Mark and Elemér, sat at the pianos and skillfully executed Tito Mattei's *Le tourbillon*, Op. 22.⁵²

⁴⁶ ***: *A Magyar. Kir. Operaház 1884 – 1909. Adatok a színház huszonöt éves történetéhez. Az intézet megnyitásának negyedszázados évfordulóján* [The Hungarian Royal Opera House 1884 – 1909. Data on the Twenty-five-year History of the Theatre. On the Quarter-century Anniversary of the Opening of the Institution], Budapest: M. Kir. Operaház igazgatósága, 1909, 310.

⁴⁷ See Zenede-Lexikon [Music Lexicon], in: Lujza TARI – Mónika Iványi PAPP: *A Nemzeti Zenede* [The National Music], Budapest: Liszt Ferenc Zeneművészeti Egyetem Tanárképző Intézete, 2005, 358.

⁴⁸ Per the death certificate, the cause of death of the former 81-year-old music school principal was a gunshot wound to the head. Budapest City Archives, Budapesti halotti anyakönyvi kivonatok [Budapest death certificates], August 1944, 2604.

⁴⁹ ***: A katolikus kör bálja [The Catholic Circle Ball], *Pesti Hirlap*, 21 (26 January 1899) 26, 6.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ ***: A Katolikus Kör bálja [The Catholic Circle Ball], *Pesti Napló*, 50 (26 January 1899) 26, 7.

⁵² ***: A Budapesti katolikus kör hangversenye... [Concert of the Budapest Catholic Circle...], *Zenelap* 13 (5 February 1899) 4, 6.

Stefi Geyer prominently featured Dora Pejačević's compositions in her performances on multiple occasions.⁵³ The event featured a significant performance on 12 March 1902, in the banqueting hall of the Royal Hotel in Budapest.⁵⁴ Her repertoire was enhanced by compositions from renowned artists such as Bach and Sarasate. Furthermore, the Hungarian-language press frequently highlighted the joint performances of Lilla and Dora in Našice. In a notable instance, as reported in a 1903 issue of the *Pécsi Napló*, Dora performed on the violin alongside her mother, who sang an *Ave Maria*. The article primarily focuses on Lilla's talent, with little regard for the young Dora.

»The spouse of the Croatian Ban as a church singer. Countess Vay, wife of Count Dr Teodor Pejačević, the Croatian-Slavonian Ban, is passionate about art, especially music. Notwithstanding her husband's recent appointment as a ban, she maintains her unwavering dedication to her love of singing and derives immense joy from it. Our friend in Našice told us that a special mass was held on Sunday in the church to celebrate the Pope's coronation. The faithful, who filled the church to its capacity, were filled with immense joy as they witnessed the soul-stirring performance of the *Ave Maria*. The wife of the esteemed landowner of Našice graced the congregation with her angelic voice, while her daughter, Countess Dora, added a mesmerizing touch by playing the violin in perfect harmony. Countess Teodor Pejačević has a rich, beautiful contralto voice, which she had once heard in Eszék [Osijek], when she was promoting a charitable cause, and the people of Našice were pleased to find that the gracious lady was just as much a friend of church singing as the worthy lady was.«⁵⁵

It is unclear how exactly Dora was influenced by these concerts and subsequent reports. Dora's musical performances received frequent mention in the press, and on occasion, her compositions were showcased. However, it is evident that when compared to her mother, Lilla, Dora occupied a comparatively minor position in the texts. A thorough examination of this issue would require in-depth press research, which would undoubtedly illuminate the complex mother-daughter relationship between Lilla Vay and Dora Pejačević. Dora Pejačević likely faced challenges due to her constant performances since childhood, her family's esteemed cultural legacy, and the historical background of the Vay family. Further research is required for this particular chapter, given the fact that during that specific era, the occupation of being a female composer lacked proper appreciation.⁵⁶

⁵³ László VIKÁRIUS – Helga VÁRADI (eds.): *Geyer Stefi hegedűművész életútja: Levelezése Bartók Bélával* [The Life of Violinist Stefi Geyer: Her Correspondence with Béla Bartók], Budapest: Balassi, 2024, 322.

⁵⁴ ***: Hangversenyek [Concerts], *Budapesti Hírlap*, 22 (2 March 1902) 60, 11.

⁵⁵ ***: A horvát bán felesége – mint temploménekesnő [The wife of the Croatian Ban – as a church singer], *Pécsi Napló*, 12 (12 August 1903) 183, 3.

⁵⁶ Sarah KIRBY: »The Only Thing 'Womanish' is the Composer«: Music at Nineteenth-Century Exhibitions of Women's Work, *Music and Letters*, 100 (2019) 3, 420-446, <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ml/gcz043>> (Accessed 18 November 2024).

Lilla Vay's work as a philanthropist, performer and cultural organiser is an example of the role of aristocratic women in Central European society in the 19th and 20th centuries. Lilla's upbringing and talents led her to become a committed participant in the social and cultural life of Budapest, where she organised and regularly performed in charity concerts and theatrical performances. Her musical upbringing and social contacts, particularly through Károly Nosedá, the Pejačević children's first music teacher, shaped her children's early exposure to music. Nosedá's expertise and influence, as well as Lilla's active participation in cultural events, underlined the importance of music in the Pejačević household.

Although Dora Pejačević's childhood performances and compositions were covered in the Hungarian-language press, her figure was often overshadowed by the prominence of her mother's personality and charisma. However, an assessment of Lilla's relationship with Dora, the possibilities and limitations of the mother-daughter relationship, and the role and prospects of aristocratic women in the arts, reveals a number of other characteristics. These include how difficult it must have been for aristocratic women to succeed in a career with few opportunities, and how Dora must have experienced the spotlight that her mother received.

This dynamic underscores the duality of their relationship: while Lilla's influence opened doors to musical education and public performance, Dora had to navigate the constraints of societal expectations and familial precedence. Examining this interplay not only enriches our understanding of Dora Pejačević's artistic achievements but also provides a broader lens through which to view the complexities of female creativity in aristocratic contexts. The Pejačević household stands as a microcosm, showcasing how women like Lilla and Dora negotiated their identities and roles within a rapidly evolving cultural landscape, shedding light on the often-overlooked narratives of aristocratic women as both creators and enablers of artistic legacy.

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Sažetak

LILLINA BAŠTINA: KULTURNE SKICE O OBITELJSKOJ GRANI VAY U MAĐARSKOJ

Obitelj Vay, iz koje potječe majka Dore Pejačević, Erzsébet (Lilla), imala je značajnu ulogu u oblikovanju formativnih godina mlade skladateljice. No, postoji vrlo malo istraživanja povezanih s kulturnom baštinom koju je Dora naslijedila. Loza ove obitelji, iako djelomično dokumentirana iz muzikološkog aspekta, otkriva znatan utjecaj na sposobnosti i senzibilitet Dore Pejačević, do čega se dolazi pomnim istraživanjem onodobnog tiska i arhivskih zapisa. Ti zapisi ističu nasljeđe akademskih, političkih i umjetničkih postignuća povezanih s njezinim porijeklom.

Lilla Vay bila je uključena u razna kulturna događanja i posvetila je velik dio svojega vremena promicanju ciljeva koji su bili u interesu mađarske književnosti i umjetnosti, uz ostale društvene i filantropske aktivnosti. Međutim, nastupala je i kao amaterska glazbenica. Lilla Vay pridavala je znatnu važnost osiguravanju glazbenog obrazovanja svojoj djeci u skladu s naglaskom aristokratskog odgoja na umjetničkom obrazovanju. Njezina djeca sudjelovala su u izvedbama komorne glazbe na raznim društvenim događanjima pokazujući svoje glazbene talente. Károly Noseda, prvi glazbeni učitelj potomaka obitelji Pejačević, bio je duboko osobno povezan s crkvom na Trgu Servita, gdje je Lilla mogla prisustvovati bogoslužju. Noseda je kasnije imao značajnu ulogu u budimpeštanskom glazbenom životu obnašajući funkciju zborovođe u Kraljevskoj operi u Budimpešti i ravnatelja Nacionalnog konzervatorija.

Utjecaj Lille Vay, kao i glazbeno nasljeđe cijele obitelji, vjerojatno se snažno odrazio na glazbene sklonosti mlade Dore Pejačević, njezine braće i sestara. Jasno je da su se glazbene izvedbe Dore Pejačević često spominjale u tisku. Međutim, u tim je napisima bila znatno manje zastupljena u odnosu na svoju majku Lillu.

SOLO SONGS BY COUNT JULIJAN PEJAČEVIĆ IN THE NAŠICE LOCAL HISTORY MUSEUM

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Abstract

The Pejačević Collection of the Našice Local History Museum holds 28 solo songs by Count Julijan Pejačević (1833 – 1906) in the German language for voice and piano. Although he is remembered primarily as a royal chamberlain and family historian, he was also a pianist and a composer. His musical oeuvre consists of at least 70 works (though some sources would point to far more), including solo songs and piano pieces, most of which are today lost due to a plethora of reasons concerning the history of the Pejačević family library. The collection of solo songs in question is the only known

presently surviving part of Count Julijan's musical oeuvre. This paper aims to shed light on the compositional work of another member of the Pejačević family by presenting and interpreting the results of the analysis of his surviving solo songs (Op. 56 – Op. 83) through a selection of examples.

Keywords: Julijan Pejačević, Našice, compositional work, solo songs, piano, analysis

Ključne riječi: Julijan Pejačević; Našice; skladateljski rad; solopjesme; klavir; analiza

When it comes to musicians in the aristocratic family of Pejačević, the first person to come to one's mind is, naturally, the composer Dora Pejačević. Her impressive and by now quite well researched musical oeuvre has immortalized her and has deservedly placed her alongside other important Croatian composers. Her family, however, had another musically talented member, Count Julijan Vicencije Marko Pejačević (1833 – 1906), who has until now stayed somewhat in the shadow of his famous successor, generally obscure to the wider musical public. Count Julijan was the son of Ferdinand Karlo Rajner Pejačević (1800 – 1878) and brother of Croatian viceroy and Dora's grandfather, Ladislav Pejačević (1824

– 1901). Born in Našice in 1833, he is best known for his position as a royal chamberlain and family chronicler. He had carried out extensive research of his family history and subsequently wrote a book: *A Research into the Family of Barons and Counts Pejacsevich and the related Barons of Parchevich*. He had lived in Salzburg and Vienna, serving the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, but spent most of his life in Sopron, Hungary. Apart from his historiographic work, he also left a valuable contribution of artwork he acquired for the family estate in Sopron.¹ Julijan never married and had no children. He died in Vienna in 1906 and was buried in Našice.² A perhaps lesser-known fact is that Count Julian was also an adept pianist and a composer. He wrote around 70 pieces, including solo songs with piano accompaniment and piano pieces, most of which are today, unfortunately, lost. This paper aims to offer an insight into his compositional work by presenting 28 of his previously unknown solo songs that presently form a part of the Pejačević Collection, kept in the library of Našice Local History Museum.

Legacy of Count Julijan Pejačević in Našice Local History Museum

The Pejačević Collection in the library of Našice Local History Museum is a collection of materials pertaining to the members of the Pejačević family and relates to the period of their arrival in Našice from the beginning of the 18th century until World War II. The content of the family library was enlisted in the 1935 catalogue³ by Josephus Verbóy, who was the family's private tutor. The exact number of books in the family library is still undetermined. It is suspected that it was much larger than Verbóy's catalogue suggests and stands somewhere between 4000 and 5000 units. Said catalogue also separately lists a body of work that belonged to Count Julijan Pejačević, including his musical works. Tracing the history and the whereabouts of the family library and its contents is quite challenging, for it has gone through a rather long and mystifying journey over the course of the last century. The moving of the family library began in 1941, when Count Petar Pejačević (1908 – 1987), last owner of the Našice estate, left for Madrid. It is presumed that he had taken only a small number of books on this occasion, the rest of the library having remained in the castle. During World War II, the family castle was used by the German army, and most of the library contents remained within it. Members of the National Liberation Army had subsequently burned a

¹ More on the subject of family artwork curation in: Jasminka NAJCER SABLJAK – Silvija LUČEVNJAK – Yordanka GESHEVA – Franjo PAJRIĆ: *Obitelj Pejačević. Povijest – kultura – umjetnost*, Zagreb: Self-publishing, 2014.

² Renata BOŠNJAKOVIĆ: Knjižnica obitelji Pejačević u Našicama i njezina muzealizacija, *Muzeologija*, (2012) 48-49, 134.

³ *Illustrissimi Domini Petre comitis Pejacsevich CATALOGUS Bibliothecae Nasiciensis Anno Domino MCMXXXV*, Našice Local History Museum, Department of the Museum Library, Pejačević Collection.

significant portion of objects, books and documents in the castle. Whether the parts of the collection that are today lost had then been burned, stolen, or otherwise taken by person or persons unknown is now impossible to determine. Part of the collection was transferred to the Museum of Slavonia in Osijek, some of it is kept in Croatian State Archives,⁴ and around 1000 units are presently kept in the library of Našice Local History Museum.⁵ As Julijan Pejačević never married and had no children, his possessions, including his books, research materials, and music ended up in the family library in Našice.⁶ Among the part of the collection in Našice Museum, one can now find 28 musical works, all of which are solo songs in German for voice and piano by Count Julijan Pejačević. According to the 1935 catalogue, his entire oeuvre contains at least 70 works. The aforementioned solo songs are the only part that remain today, the rest having been lost. Although the 1935 catalogue mentions 70 pieces, it is difficult to speculate about the ultimate number of his musical works. The Croatian Music Institute in Zagreb keeps four printed editions⁷ published in Vienna and Leipzig that contain, among others, works by Count Julijan. In these editions, one can find his opus numbers ranging from 6 to 151, although some of the works listed on the cover pages have been lost. This number suggests an oeuvre much larger than the one in the 1935 catalogue. However, between the complicated history of the family library and such a high portion of Julijan's works being lost, one can only guess what the final number might be. Only four of the surviving solo songs in the Leipzig editions aren't present in the Našice Museum – opus numbers 14, 15, 17, and 20. The rest are either lost or otherwise printed editions of works already kept in the Našice Museum.

Solo songs by Count Julijan Pejačević

All 28 of the solo songs kept in the Našice Museum were printed using the lithography technique and had been compiled into a single volume. They are arranged according to the opus numbers, starting with 56 and ending with 83. The entire volume is rather well preserved, with both text and music notation being clearly legible. Some of the pieces are featured as standalone works, like Op. 73, 82, and 83, while others have been grouped into small groups of two to six songs. Although texts of the songs of one group are thematically similar, speaking of

⁴ Including the manuscript of *A Research into the Family of Barons and Counts Pejacevich* by Julian Pejačević.

⁵ Renata BOŠNJAKOVIĆ: Knjižnica obitelji Pejačević u Našicama i njezina muzealizacija, 138-143.

⁶ Silvija LUČEVNJAK: Zavičajni muzej Našice i glazbena baština obitelji Pejačević, *Muzeologija*, (2014) 51, 173.

⁷ These editions are being kept in the Archives of the Croatian Music Institute, in the Dora Pejačević Collection under identifiers II-Pej-V--B.15, II-Pej-V--B.16, II-Pej-V--B.17, II-Pej-V--B.18 (see: Sources).

similar ideas about love and nature, there is otherwise no specific criteria in these groupings, as they have different lyrics, authors,⁸ keys, and moods. All the cycles and standalone songs have a title page containing the title of the song or cycle, an opus number, and Pejačević named as a composer. Rare examples, like Op. 62 or 63, have a title page indicating the type of voice the work is meant for. Only one piece, Op. 68, has a dedication on its title page, one to Countess Marija Terezija von Seilern (born Pejačević), Julijan's niece. Alongside the opus number, under the title of each of the pieces, the name of the text's author is stated in brackets. Each piece has a tempo and/or articulation mark indicated as well. None of the title pages, however, contain information regarding the year of completion of the songs or any printing information. All songs have clearly numerated pages and are complete. The following table contains a full list of solo songs together with opus numbers and lyrics authors.

Table 1: Songs by Count Julijan Pejačević

no.	ORGANIZATION	NAME	OPUS NO.	TEXT AUTHOR
1.	grouped under the title <i>Sechs Lieder für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte</i>	Lebewohl	56	Eduard Mörike
2.		Alte Liebe	57	Friedrich von Bodenstedt
3.		Weiter ziehn die Nachtigallen	58	Georg Scherer
4.		Abendruhe	59	Karl Stieler
5.		O trockne diese Thräne nicht	60	Robert Hamerling
6.		In der Fremde	61	Joseph Freiherr von Eichendorff
7.	grouped under the title <i>Zwei Dichtungen von H. Lingg in Musik gesetzt v. J.P.</i>	Sommerabend	62	Hermann Lingg
8.		Julinacht	63	Hermann Lingg
9.	grouped under the title <i>Vier Lieder für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte</i>	Ich wanderte schon lange	64	Theodor Storm
10.		Es ist ein Flüstern	65	Theodor Storm
11.		Bettlerliebe	66	Theodor Storm
12.		Viel Träume	67	Robert Hamerling
13.	grouped under the title <i>Fünf Lieder für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte</i>	Rosenzeit	68	Paul Heyse
14.		Ohne Licht	69	Johann Georg Fischer
15.		Entschuldigung	70	Friedrich Halm
16.		Über ein Stündlein	71	Paul Heyse
17.		Im Lenz	72	Paul Heyse
18.	stand-alone piece	Verzogen, verflogen	73	Paul Heyse

⁸ Except for *Sommerabend* and *Julinacht*, two songs grouped together, both to poems authored by H. Lingg.

no.	ORGANIZATION	NAME	OPUS NO.	TEXT AUTHOR
19.	grouped under the title <i>Sechs Lieder für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte</i>	Verwandlung	74	Paul Heyse
20.		Ein Gruss	75	Albert Träger
21.		Der Bach mit seinem Rauschen	76	Peter Cornelius
22.		Du bist so schön	77	Peter Cornelius
23.		Ich habe die Blumen so gern	78	Peter Cornelius
24.		Osterlied	79	Adolf Böttger
25.	grouped under the title <i>Zwei Lieder für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte</i>	Sängers Vorüberziehn	80	Ludwig Uhland
26.		Siehst Du am Weg ein Blümlein blühn	81	Albert Träger
27.	stand-alone piece	Erwachen	82	Albert Träger
28.	stand-alone piece	Sonnenblicke	83	Albert Träger

This research and its conclusions were based upon an analysis⁹ of listed solo songs that included creating an inventory of poems and their authors as well as detailed musical analysis of each piece.¹⁰ The following sections will explore the oeuvre of Julijan Pejačević based on several selected examples of his solo songs and draw conclusions about his compositional language.

Texts and Form

All 28 of Count Julijan's solo songs are in German, being settings of poems by his contemporary German authors, apart from two Austrian poets, Friedrich Halm and Robert Hamerling. Distinguished between them are Theodor Storm, one of the leading poets of German realism, Paul Heyse, Hermann Lingg, Eduard Mörike and J. F. von Eichendorff whose texts have been used by other composers like Johannes Brahms.¹¹ The most common author in this volume is Paul Heyse, five of whose poems Pejačević set to music, followed by Albert Träger (4), Theodor Storm (3), Peter Cornelius (3), and Herman Lingg (3).

Thematically, the texts of Julijan's solo songs can be divided into three categories. The first two categories are poems about love and about nature (or some combination of the two), a common trope choice among the Croatian and German Lied composers of the 19th century. The third category contains only three texts unique in this sense, those of Op. 71, which speaks about the insignificance of

⁹ Considering the limitations and format of this article, text contains a limited number and scope of musical examples to illustrate the points of analysis.

¹⁰ I would like to use this opportunity to thank Ms. Silvija Lučevnjak for her kind help with procuring the copies of this volume of solo song by Julijan Pejačević in the interest of preserving the state of the originals.

¹¹ For a full list of authors, consult **Table 1**.

earthly goods, Op. 73, a melancholic poem about the passage of time, and Op. 76 which describes the dream an author had about fairies and his sudden awakening. The trope of love is explored from many angles, ranging from a bliss of young love, through to sad loneliness caused by unrequited love to loss and despair. How personal these poems could have been to Pejačević and how much of his own experience he could have poured into their musical interpretation is inconclusive, as he was never married, and details of his private life remain mostly unknown. Such knowledge is, of course, not requisite when analyzing and interpreting a composer's work but can sometimes offer new angles for musical interpretation. Poems about nature demonstrate a common relationship with nature that 19th century poets and composers both shared. This relationship includes nature as a source of artistic inspiration, a setting of peace for processing one's thoughts and emotions. Also encompassed in this relationship is the personification of various aspects of natural life (brooks, birds, wind, etc.) to which an artist communicates their thoughts. Ideas about love are frequently intertwined with such thoughts.¹² Most of the poems are rather short, ranging from one to three verses, with only a couple of exceptions. Considering that Pejačević had spent a certain amount of his life in Austria, his treatment of the German language, in the context of musical settings and voice part building, is expectedly adept and natural.

Sixteen out of twenty-eight songs have a strophic or varied strophic musical setting, the rest being through-composed. All of the songs, however, have musical forms clearly shaped after the meaning and logic of the text, most of them in binary and ternary form. The tonality of each piece also follows the form and meaning of the lyrics, and Pejačević makes a point of employing musical contrasts that align with mood changes and similar contrasts in the lyrics, as later examples will show. All this aligns Julijan Pejačević with Croatian composers of solo songs like Vatroslav Lisinski, in contrast to others like Baron Karlo Hillebrand von Prandau, who, although an amateur aristocratic composer with a much smaller oeuvre of solo songs, does not have such clear formal structures in his works. Attempting to similarly compare Pejačević with internationally recognized paragons of solo song such as Schubert, Schumann or Wolf seems almost unavailing. Pejačević was an aristocrat, primarily a writer and a historian, to whom music composition represented an avocation. This point is also reflected in the size of his solo song oeuvre, which is, when compared to Schubert's (c. 600), Schumann's (c. 300) or Wolf's (c. 300) quite small. This aristocratic background must also be taken into account when considering the scope of Julijan's music education. Furthermore, such comparison would be difficult given the plurality of styles, traditions, and histories surrounding Lied as a genre in Europe. Considering this, it would be incorrect, as

¹² Similar representation of nature can be found in Franz Schubert's *Die schöne Müllerin* and *Winterreise* cycles and other songs like *Am Bach im Frühling* and *Im Abendrot*.

Dahlhaus points out,¹³ to assume that there is one »true« or »ideal« form of Lied or a composer that can serve as a point of comparison, thus deeming Pejačević (in)sufficient.

Music

As the examples will show, Julijan's solo songs faithfully reflect Koraljka Kos's description of the characteristics of Croatian solo songs of that period. She describes them as most often being in strophic form, with simple and mellifluous melodies as well as simple harmonization with right-hand piano parts corresponding to the melody of the voice. Romanticism of the 19th century deepened this structure with contrasting musical sections following the poem strophes, musically deepening and interpreting the text.¹⁴

With several exceptions, Pejačević had not indicated a type of voice for any of his solo songs. These exceptions are opus numbers 62, 63, and 73 which all have »middle voice« (*mittlere Stimme*) indicated on their title pages, as well as Op. 82, which is for a tenor with a baritone transposition also being present. Opus 62 was additionally arranged as a duet for a soprano and baritone, also indicated on the piece. Although the rest of the songs have no type of voice listed, conclusions can be drawn when observing the ranges of the vocal parts. They are fairly consistent throughout the volume, ranging from c4 to f-sharp5, suggesting a soprano, and, in some cases, an alto.

Example 1 shows the beginning bars of *Du bist so schön*, Op. 77. This charming opening melody set to lyrics by Peter Cornelius is representative of Julijan's voice-building principles throughout the volume. His settings are predominantly syllabic, except for occasional cases of cadential ornaments. Melodies don't exhibit much coloratura floridity or vocal ornamentation and remain gradual in their movement and expression. There are no big or noticeably dissonant leaps, and no outbursts of dramatic expression. This type of vocal simplicity is a symptom of salon Lied that distinguished itself against 'artistic' operatic style and, in the cases of composers like Count Julijan or baron Prandau von Hillebrand, was aimed to be performed by amateurs in an intimate salon setting. Such melodic simplicity, however, doesn't always indicate lack of musical skill. Melodies of similar quality can be found in oeuvres of other Croatian and international Lied composers. Pieces that can seem melodically unostentatious are often embellished by underlying musical ideas expressed by other means. Schubert, for example, often embellishes his melodies by nuancing them musically with harmonic ironies such as in *Erlkönig*. Utilizing harmony and piano parts by means such as descriptive chord figura-

¹³ Carl DAHLHAUS: *Glazba 19. stoljeća*, Zagreb: HMD, 2007, 99-104.

¹⁴ Koraljka KOS: *Hrvatska umjetnička popijevka*, Zagreb: HMD, 2014, 13-15.

tions, onomatopoeia or mediant harmonic relationships,¹⁵ Schubert builds an interpretative correspondence between poetry and music that neither could express alone. This type of nuancing can be found with Croatian Lied composers as well, such as Dora Pejačević or Vatroslav Lisinski, who has a famous example of harmonic irony in his song *The Fisherman*. Although both voice part and a poem by P. Preradović seem unassuming, Županović describes how Lisinski, by using piano ostinato, harmony and tonality creates a thought-provoking allegory of political circumstances in the Croatia of his time.¹⁶ Although perhaps not at a comparable level, such nuancing exists in Julijan's oeuvre as well, as some later examples will demonstrate, showing that Pejačević did indeed put some thought into more subtle musical interpretations of the lyrics and their meaning. This is one of the important points to be drawn from Julijan's solo songs oeuvre, as understanding the close connection between poetry and music and using their respective potentials to convey a certain message is a valuable artistic skill within the genre and is so often appreciated among the great western composers of *Lieder*.



Example 1: *Du bist so schön*, Op. 77

All of the solo songs by Pejačević contained within this volume feature very simple piano accompaniments, modeled, to a greater or lesser extent, after the vocal parts. **Example 2** is an excerpt from the piece *Sonnenblicke*, Op. 83 and shows piano accompaniment that is a complete instrumental double of the voice part. Further harmonization in this case is developed by building a homophonic texture through lining four-part chords and using the voice-part as a basis. This appears to be his main technique of accompaniment building throughout the volume, as none of his solo songs feature an accompaniment completely melodically independent from the voice part, though one that comes the closest in this respect is the piece *Sängers Vorüberziehn*, Op. 76. Another way of harmonizing the doubled voice part is by utilizing various chord figurations such as arpeggios or by using triplets.

¹⁵ Susan YOUENS: Franz Schubert: The Prince of Song, in: Rufus HALLMARK (ed.): *German Lieder in the Nineteenth Century*, New York: Schirmer Books, 1996, 31-75.

¹⁶ Lovro ŽUPANOVIĆ: *Vatroslav Lisinski (1819-1854): Život, djelo, značenje*, Zagreb: JAZU, 1969, 148-151.

In most pieces, this doubling of the voice part is absolute, with only a couple of examples of accompaniment excerpts being freed from this symbiosis. These examples are almost exclusively the cases where Pejačević had attempted to relay the meaning of the text through music, using tone painting under specific words in the text or else building musical contrasts following the logic of the lyrics (see examples 4 and 5). Piano parts otherwise remain mostly on the level of a harmonic support device to the voice. As the whereabouts of Julijan's considerable number of piano works are presently unknown, any kind of definite judgement on the quality of his piano writing would be inconclusive. Further efforts that could reveal at least some of his piano pieces should undoubtedly therefore be made in the future, as it would not only help complete the picture of his general musical output, but also deepen the understanding of his solo songs.

Example 2: *Sonnenblicke*, Op. 83

As with piano parts, a similar thing could be described in terms of harmony, considering the mentioned musical doubling. Pejačević had used voice parts as a backbone in harmony building, creating simple four-part progressions. Despite this, his musical factures are fairly clear and deft, leaving the listener with an impression of well executed, complete work. Exceptions similar to the ones in piano parts can also be found in this instance, with dissonant harmonies or modulations serving the function of embellishing the specific word, mood change or contrast in the lyrics. Such an example can be found in the piece *Sommerabend*, Op. 62. The poem by Hermann Lingg describes the peace of a Sunday evening that is suddenly interrupted by a summer storm. The beginning idyll is pictured in a bright F-sharp major key and tempo Andante. The piano part doubles the dreamy melody of the voice part describing the empty streets, babbling of water in the fountain, and distant sounds of a rooster. At the words »suddenly, the lightning flashed with a bright light« the key changes into B minor, bringing along a piano accompaniment as shown in **Example 3**. The tempo changes into Presto and together with the brisk semiquaver movement, coupled with tremolo in the piano part, perfectly depicts a sudden outburst of thunder and rain, using seventh chord

harmonies. It is brief, as most summer storms are, lasting only six bars, after which the key changes back to F-sharp major and Andante, bringing the words »we are alone and just the smell of flowers reaches us through the old stone balcony«. The music shifts back to the dreamy peace.

Presto

Auf ein - mal zuckt der Blit - ze gre - ller Schein, der Sturm - wind braust, es

Example 3: *Sommerabend*, Op. 62

An example of the aforementioned tone painting in piano parts can be found in the piece *Der Bach mit seinem Rauschen*, Op. 76. The poem juxtaposes the sounds of nature, the babbling brook, and its birds who announce their presence loudly, with a quiet heartbeat of a loving heart belonging to a man who dares not make his feelings known. The piece begins in E-flat major and tempo Andantino, the flowing and babbling of the brook being musically painted with a repeating figure of broken chords arranged into triplets, as seen in **Example 4**. The entire opening, describing a brook, is in mezzo forte, as the text itself suggests. Contrastingly, words »but my heart beats so secretly my love« bring a haunting pianissimo. The key changes into A-flat minor and playful triplets are replaced with the usual instrumental doubling of the voice part in piano accompaniment. The effect is magnificent, musically embellishing the literal point of the text in such a simple, yet surprisingly effective way.

Andantino

Der Bach mit sei - nem Rau - schen, mit ih - rem Schlag die

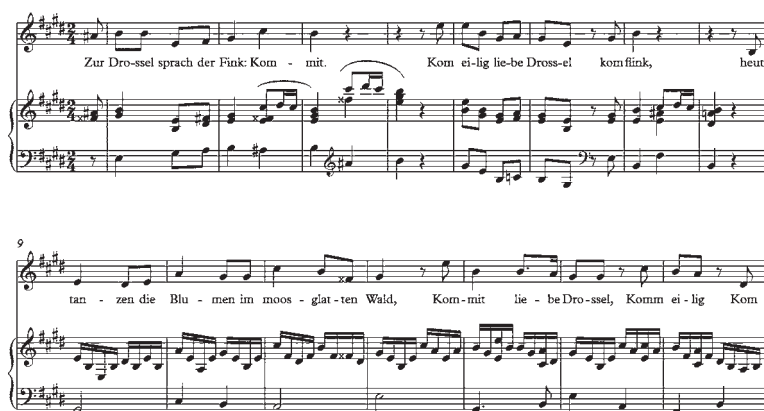
Example 4: *Der Bach mit seinem Rauschen*, Op. 76

A similar example can be found in the piece *Sängers Vorüberziehn*, Op. 76, with text by Ludwig Uhland. The poem speaks about a man that had fallen asleep on a bed of flowers on the side of the road and dreamed a beautiful dream in which he

had grown wings and flown to a golden land of fairies. He suddenly awoke and felt as if he had fallen off a cloud, feeling his back where his wings were just moments ago. In his musical setting, Pejačević juxtaposes two essential ideas, a state of sleeping and all the beautiful things and feelings present in the dream against the sad reality of consciousness after waking up. The piece starts dreamily, interchanging subdominant and dominant harmonies of E-flat major. By using seventh and ninth chord suspensions, Pejačević reinforced the blurred effect of the dreaming state. The word »awoken« is coupled with a modulation into the relative key of C-flat minor, bringing a somber mood of reality. In this piece, Pejačević used two main musical tools to depict the contrast between a dream and reality: tonality and harmony. While key changes are very obviously building upon the juxtaposition in the text, his use of harmony as a storytelling tool is a bit more subtle. While the dreamer is still drowsy, rubbing his eyes and searching for his wings, slowly realizing he is awake, the listener experiences four long bars of dominant harmonies, building suspense before finally moving to tonic when the dreamer realizes he was awoken by a passing musician singing on the road. The tonality of C-flat minor remains for eight more bars, until the dreamer can only distantly hear the musician's song through the trees. As he again thinks of his dream, the mood quickly shifts back coupled with a return of E-flat major, ending with a short optimistic coda. Though smaller in scale, an array of similar examples of tone painting and utilization of harmony and tonality for the purpose of embellishing the meaning of specific words and ideas can be found throughout the entire volume.

Ich habe die Blumen so gern, Op. 78 is set to the lovely poem by Peter Cornelius about joyful goings on in nature in spring. It is based on a simple narrative carried by two birds, a finch and a thrush. The finch is excited about the upcoming dance festival of the flowers in the forest and invites the thrush to accompany him so they can sing for the flowers while they dance. Although simple at first glance, the way Pejačević uses music to bring the feelings and atmosphere of the text to life is just the type of nuancing and intertwining of text and music that separates him from the more amateur salon Lied composers (**Example 5**). The solo song has a strophic setting and three stanzas with similar moods and tropes. Well placed ornaments in the piano part depict happy twittering as the finch starts his invitation to the thrush, with quaver rests in the voice part between each »Komm!« relaying his growing anticipation. At the mention of the flowers upcoming dance, the piano accompaniment separates itself from the voice part, bringing a playful semiquaver figure, depicting the dancing. The structuring of the strophic setting is indeed clever in this regard, as this figured accompaniment matches the lyrics' meaning with equal effectiveness in all three stanzas. In the second stanza it follows the happy exclamation of the finch to the flowers to now dance, after the two birds have settled on the branches above them and finally, in the third, an all-round happiness of the birds and flowers saying goodbye to each other after

the dance. Though present in the rest of the accompaniment, the usual doubling of the piano and voice parts is somewhat loosened in this piece. Julijan's choice of the key, E major, also seems interesting in the context of the work, as this key is described by different authors as a key of ecstasy and joyful excitement. In his *Ideas Towards an Aesthetic of Music*, Christian Schubart characterized E major as the key for »loud shouts of joy and laughing pleasure«.¹⁷ Ernst Pauer once described E major as »the brightest and most powerful key, that expresses joy, magnificence, splendor and the highest brilliancy.«¹⁸ Such usage of this key is often found among music literature of 18th and 19th centuries and, considering the lyrics in addition to the joyful atmosphere, it fits perfectly in the context of this piece.



Example 5: *Ich habe die Blumen so gern*, Op. 78

Note on performance

Tracing the history and circumstances of the performance and reception of Julijan Pejačević's solo songs is an arduous undertaking which would require a separate research effort. The principle performance venues of the nineteenth-century aristocracy were the salons, semi-private spaces of their own homes, as well as the homes of their family and friends.¹⁹ In the case of Julijan Pejačević, these would be salons in his apartment in Vienna²⁰ and palace in Sopron,²¹ where he spent most of his adult life. As Julijan was a passionate devotee of art, it is highly

¹⁷ Christian SCHUBART: *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst*, Vienna: J. V. Degen, 1806, 379.

¹⁸ Ernst PAUER: *The Elements of the Beautiful in Music*, London: Novello and Company, 1901, 24.

¹⁹ For more on the context of the salon as a focal point of music performance, artwork sharing and networking. see in Vjera Katalinić's paper in this issue.

²⁰ A photograph of the salon in Julijan's Viennese apartment can be found in: J. NAJČER SA-BLJAK – S. LUČEVNĀK – Y. GESHEVA – F. PAJRIĆ: *Obitelj Pejačević. Povijest – kultura – umjetnost*, 24.

²¹ More on the history of Pejačević family and their properties in Sopron in: *Ibid.*, 57-59.

likely that his salons in Vienna and Sopron were spaces where he shared and perhaps even performed his solo songs, among other standard salon repertoire. The fact that some of his solo songs were published in Vienna could also imply sharing and performing these pieces with his Viennese friends, again in the context of their salon meetings. Further details on specific performances would require an independent research that would take a deep look into family books, correspondence, inventory lists of named spaces and similar sources that could uncover who participated in Julijan's salon meetings, what repertoire was performed and possible reactions as well as opinions on Julijan's music.

Conclusion

A deeper look into the 28 solo songs by Count Julijan Pejačević reveals a different side to the family historian, one of an all-round lover of the arts who used his knowledge and experience of music, literature, and visual arts alike, to create salon Lieds not unlike those of Vatroslav Lisinski. Through his choice of poems, he explored the most common tropes of nineteenth-century Lieder, those of love and nature, in various respects, interpreting them with an array of different musical ideas. The musical language of his solo songs is characterized by a simplicity and also corresponds to the common principles within the genre. While these musical settings could, at first glance, point to the more amateur style of composition tied to the aristocratic composers of salon music, Pejačević shouldn't be judged too quickly for it, as it was demonstrated through centuries of classical music that simplicity doesn't always necessarily mean lack of skill. Pieces throughout his solo song oeuvre demonstrate an understanding of the deep connection between poetry and music within this genre as well as subtle nuancing of musical meaning. As shown in a number of examples, the combination of dynamics, tonality, and occasional tone painting that Pejačević so often uses throughout his work demonstrate his ability to bring out the psychological impressions, moods, and meaning of each poem. He uses them in order to embellish simplicity of vocal lines and piano accompaniments. It is often said that the devil is in the details, and more and more details and subtleties can be discovered the deeper one immerses oneself into Julijan's work. Another point that separates him from more amateur aristocratic composers is clear and well-structured musical forms, as well as adept use of harmony as both a functional and interpretative tool. His music fits perfectly into the intimate context of nineteenth-century salon music-making, where it was undoubtedly performed and shared during his life. Probably not long after his death, it went back into obscurity, a destiny that has befallen so many Croatian composers to date, including his brother's granddaughter, Dora, whose definite renaissance started with the research carried out by Koraljka Kos and is growing in motion to the present day. Breaking this long hiatus of Julijan's music with a

modern printed edition of his solo songs, followed by a discographic edition is an achievement that would certainly make a fine contribution to the history of Croatian music and the legacy of the Pejačević family alike.

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Sažetak

SOLOPJESME GROFA JULIJANA PEJAČEVIĆA U ZAVIČAJNOME MUZEJU NAŠICE

Na mnogim stranicama ispisanim o povijesti obitelji Pejačević grof Julijan Pejačević (1833-1906) ostaje zapamćen kao kraljevski i carski komornik, povjesničar i obiteljski kroničar. Manje je poznata činjenica da je grof Pejačević također bio vrstan pijanist i skladatelj. Njegov opus, koji čine djela za klavir te popijevke na njemačkom jeziku za glas i klavir, broji više od sedamdeset djela, kojih je velik dio danas izgubljen ili zametnut uslijed raseljavanja obiteljske knjižnice tijekom prve polovice 20. stoljeća. U Zavičajnome muzeju Našice unutar Zbirke obitelji Pejačević danas se čuva dvadeset i osam popijevki (op. 56 – op. 83) grofa Julijana. Kao što je slučaj i s mnogim drugim hrvatskim skladateljima, nakon njegove smrti ove su skladbe ostale gotovo zaboravljene na policama muzejske knjižnice, a svezak, jedini zasad poznati dio Julijanove glazbene ostavštine, još je jedan u nizu neistraženih doprinosa hrvatskoj glazbenoj baštini. Tekstovi koje je grof Pejačević uglazbio izbor su iz poezije njemu suvremenih njemačkih i austrijskih autora, a obrađuju klasične teme ljubavi i ljepote prirode. Uvid u njegov glazbeni jezik otkriva jednostavnost vokalnog izražaja i klavirskih dionica, no detaljnijim poniranjem u Pejačevićev opus postaje evidentno njegovo razumijevanje dubokih veza između poezije i glazbe, kao i sposobnost da te veze istraži i dočara sa skladateljske strane. Ovaj rad kroz nekoliko odabranih primjera prikazuje jasne glazbene oblike i harmonijski jezik, kao i Pejačeviću sposobnost da glazbom ocrtava atmosfere, psihološke impresije i značenje svakog teksta kojeg je odabrao. Sve se ove popijevke i stilski i tematski uklapaju u kontekst aristokratskog muziciranja u salonima tijekom 19. stoljeća, gdje su se za života grofa Pejačevića nesumnjivo i izvodile. Daljnja potraga za ostalim Julijanovim djelima te nova notna i diskografska izdanja njegove glazbe bile bi stoga vrijedan doprinos hrvatskoj glazbenoj baštini i daljnji korak u oživljavanju ovog drugog skladatelja obitelji Pejačević.

DORA PEJAČEVIĆ AND MUSIC SALONS IN CONTINENTAL CROATIA AS HUBS OF CULTURAL NETWORKING*

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Abstract

The term »salon music« has been generally defined as both a space of music making and as a type of music that is performed there. In the first instance (concerning space), it can be observed from three perspectives: as a distinguished space of music-making within the aristocratic or bourgeois house, as a socially exclusive event, and as a convivial gathering. Yet, the use and the interpretation of the notion »salon« is connected more with urban environments, although the aristocracy and the affluent citizens organized such gatherings on their summer estates as well.

This paper deals with occasions when such music gatherings were organized on various occasions in Zagreb and its vicinity

during the »long 19th century«. The second part is focused on such events within the family of the composer and aristocrat Dora Pejačević and in the houses of her friends where she participated as well, all in the context of musical life within the local environment. It also presents a series of speculations on further possible places of such events and suggests some starting points for future investigations.

Keywords: Dora Pejačević; music salons; musical networking; »long 19th century«

Ključne riječi: Dora Pejačević; glazbeni saloni; umrežavanje glazbom; »dugo 19. stoljeće«

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Introduction

Continental Croatia entered the 19th century with only a few larger towns where

»representative residential architecture, apart from Varaždin, can only be found in Zagreb, where there are even two important blocks of buildings: noble palaces in Gornji Grad (Upper Town) and cannons' manors in Kaptol (Chapter). A certain number of high-quality civil and officers' houses were built in the towns Osijek and Karlovac, and more modest ones in Petrinja, Vukovar, Požega and Vinkovci, and only a few in Sisak, Koprivnica, Križevci, Bjelovar and Čakovec. Residential architecture is predominantly a reflection of the civic and commercial organization of towns, so even though it is realized with regard to the more modest financial possibilities of the client, and is determined by the averagely small size of the town acres, its articulation, modelled after noble palaces or public buildings, will not be missing.«¹

If the bourgeois houses model themselves on the aristocratic model, the bourgeois way of life will also try to follow that of the nobles. The issue of representation will also manifest itself in the intellectual spheres of education, culture (attending theatre and concert performances), and time for relaxation in which socializing filled with conversation and playing music occupied an important place. In the floor plans of noble palaces and castles, in addition to the ballroom for numerous guests, there was often also a chamber space for more intimate gatherings – a salon. In civil houses and some more modest palaces, these two entities intended to unite.

When interpreting the term »salon«, German and French researchers usually turn to French dictionaries, but in today's Croatian research space, the *Croatian Encyclopaedia* can also serve this purpose. The first interpretation is that it is a »larger room in an apartment, usually richly decorated and furnished, which serves to receive guests«, but also a »representative room« in residences and public institutions and hotels.² In the interpretation of the term »salon«, the historiography related to the concept of the French salon is also indispensable, in which since the end of the 18th century, and following on from learned gatherings in earlier private courtly and later bourgeois homes, conversations about literary topics had to be supplemented with (more or less) representative pieces of chamber music. Regarding music and the salon, it is necessary to distinguish the salon as a larger

¹ Peter PUHMAJER: *Barokne palače u Varaždinu*, Zagreb: ArTresor naklada – Institut za povijest umjetnosti, 2022, 151.

² In addition, it is also a »room for exhibiting art or products« (furniture showroom, etc.); then »a place where services are provided« (hair salon, etc.), but also »the name of some exhibitions, especially the figure of art« (Spring Salon, etc.). See: ***: salon, *Hrvatska enciklopedija, mrežno izdanje*, Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2021, <<http://www.enciklopedija.hr/Natuknica.aspx?ID=54218>> (Accessed 23 September 2023).

representative space where music was played,³ as a type of socializing with music, as well as the music itself that was intended for such a performance. In such a representative home atmosphere of the wealthier middle class, the ladies-hosts usually excelled in treating their guests and encouraging them to conversation and to play music. There they could freely express and freely show their cultural and intellectual achievements. However, by introspecting a number of case studies in the Croatian area, a series of types of social gatherings in which music was played are revealed: they are marked by various characteristics that significantly expand the ideal encyclopaedic meaning of the salon, ranging from the intimate, domestic, to the semi-public in a kind of garden restaurant, and even with the payment of the entrance ticket.

Through political and economic frameworks on the territory of continental Croatia during the 19th century, gradual stability and development was enabled, especially after the imposed reforms in the era of neo-absolutism. Thus, towards the end of the 19th century and immediately before World War I, lively entrepreneurial activity was intensified. It enabled, consequently, more and more spaces for representation in civic houses. However, while public musical and cultural events can mostly and increasingly be followed in the daily press and other periodicals, private gatherings in the closed circle of salons shyly found their way into the public media and could be mostly read from personal documents, such as letters, diaries and memoirs, or from other people's statements, and even from obituaries.⁴

Consequently, the aim of this paper is twofold: in its first part, the task has been to establish a list of examples of private music making in Zagreb and in some other towns of the Croatian Kingdom, and to specify their types. It seems to be necessary to shed light on the complex general salon culture in the Kingdom of Croatia, quite unknown to the broader scholarly audiences as yet, in order to better understand the specific position of private music making where the Countess Dora Pejačević participated either as an active musician, or as a mere listener to her and other composers' pieces, performed by her friends or family members. That is the topic of the second part of the paper, where her relations with her friends and her dedications of her pieces to them point to possible places of private performances.

The sources for presenting private music making are scarce: newspapers were mostly oriented towards public events and did not mention the salon gatherings, even though it was the meeting place of the highest nobility (in the case of Dora

³ Studying newspaper ads and reports, we notice that such a space was not necessarily »under the roof«, but also in a limited exterior, and the main limitation to participation was a select, chosen audience. Therefore, even the external salon gatherings were not open to everyone. Only later, towards the end of the century, along with the growth of economic potential, did the number and quality of civil or combined civil-noble salon gatherings in private space grow.

⁴ An example of this is the obituary of Alfred MAKANAC: Josip pl. Vančaš Požeški, *Katolički tjednik*, 8=11 (25 December 1932) 52, 2-4, from which we learn various private details including information on his involvement in music, which will be discussed later.

Pejačević, even gatherings at her father's official palace when he held the position of the *Ban* of Croatia).⁵ Valuable bibliographical entries give information on musical life in Varaždin, Zagreb, Osijek and other towns, coming from the testimonies of the participants in this home music-making as well as from some published or manuscript ego-documents. The variety of locations, origins of the musicians, and programmes of the private musical encounters ask for the detection of their typology and their systematization.

Types and places of private gatherings with music in the »long 19th century«

Various private gatherings dealing with music can be traced from the end of the 18th century in the cities of civil Croatia – for example, in the Prandau noble family in Osijek and Valpovo, in Ozalj on the estate of Count Theodor Batthányi (1729–1812) and his wife Filipina, née Eszterházy de Galantha (1734–1811);⁶ at the courts of counts Drašković and Erdődy in Varaždin, Trakošćan and Novi Marof,⁷ etc. On the other hand, in the palace of the Zagreb bishop and patron Maksimilijan Vrhovac (1752–1827), local musicians – amateurs and professionals – played music, but guest virtuosos also honoured him with their private performances.⁸

In Zagreb, the centre of turbulent political life in the first half of the 19th century, members and supporters of the national (Illyrian) movement gathered in private houses, discussed politics, and the appropriate music was performed there as well. Thus, such intellectual gatherings with a strong political charge in the houses of the Illyrians were organized, for example, in the house of the writer and publicist Dragutin Rakovac (1813–1854) at St Mark's Square, the lawyer Tadija Ferić (1778–1857) in Mesnička Street (but also in his other houses),⁹ in the palace of Ljudevit Gaj (1809–1872) in Ćirilometodska Street, where his printing office was also located,¹⁰ as well as in the house of merchant Đuro Popović, one of the found-

⁵ There might be some documentation on such highest private soirées among the Parliament documentation, which should be researched in detail. Besides the newspaper reviews on that issue, it was not inspected in detail for this purpose.

⁶ Emilij LASZOWSKI: *Grad Ozalj i njegova okolina: mjestopisne i povijesne crtice*, Zagreb – Ozalj: Družba Braća Hrvatskoga Zmaja – Ogranak Matice hrvatske, 1993 [reprint of the 1929 edition].

⁷ Ladislav ŠABAN: *Glazba u dvorovima Draškovića u 18. stoljeću*, *Arti musices*, 36 (2005) 1, 3-12; Ladislav ŠABAN: *Glazbene mogućnosti Varaždina u 18. i u prvoj polovici 19. stoljeća*, *Rad JAZU*, Vol. 377 (1978), 129-194.

⁸ More about this in Antun GOGLIA: *Komorna muzika u Zagrebu* (Special offprint from *Sv. Cecilija*), Zagreb: Tisak nadbiskupske tiskare, 1930.

⁹ T. Ferić held various city offices in addition to his legal practice. For more information, see the website of the Croatian State Archives, Creators: ***: Ferić, Tadija, *Hrvatski državni arhiv: ArhiNet* <http://arhinet.arhiv.hr/details.aspx?ItemId=3_6544> (Accessed 16 September 2023). It is also mentioned by Snješka KNEŽEVIĆ: *Zagrebački povijesni trgovi, parkovi i neke ulice*, Zagreb: ArTresor, 2020, 62.

¹⁰ Gaj's palace with the printing house was in Ćirilometodska street: S. KNEŽEVIĆ: *Zagrebački povijesni trgovi*, 81.

ers of the Zagreb *Musikverein*, and its first treasurer before and during the establishment of the Society. Famous *salonières* were Marija Jakčin (born Švagelj of Bogačevo, 1828–1920), wife of the lawyer Andrija Jakčin (1806–1901) and the even more famous Josipa Vancaš (1824–1910), wife of the city physician Aleksa (1808–1884). They took care of poets and musicians not only by providing them with a warm meal, but also by supporting them, offering them a creative environment, and even offering them the first audience for their poetry or songs (for example, the works of Stanko Vraz (1810–1851), and especially the composer Vatroslav Lisinski (1819–1854). In the Illyrian salons, various classes came together, meeting in private spaces, for example, at the houses of the noblemen Janko Drašković (1770–1856), Đuro Jelačić (1805–1901), as well as at the houses of some other members of the wider Jelačić family (such as Stjepan Jelačić, a lawyer and member of parliament, who »in 1853 donated a collection of musical instruments to the Music Society in Zagreb«),¹¹ and in favourite halls, such as those in *Streljana* [Shooting Society Club], or from the 1840s in the National House.¹²

Political opponents of the Illyrians met not only in private houses, but also in the *Casino* lounge,¹³ while military gatherings and dances (official and private) were held in the palace of the current commander of the Zagreb General headquarters.¹⁴

Coming from many noble houses in Gornji grad, music echoed with learned (or more casual) conversation outside the main political frameworks, such as in the palace of parliament deputy Mirko Inkéy von Pallin (1787–1848),¹⁵ a great music lover and member of the theatre board. During the second half of the century, the especially vivid musical life took place in the representative palace of Klotilda Buratti, née Vranyczany-Dobrinović (1835–1912) on St Catherine Square (today known as Dverce Palace), where the hostess regularly held receptions and

¹¹ Tatjana RADAUŠ: Jelačić, *Hrvatski biografski leksikon, mrežno izdanje*. Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2005, <<https://hbl.lzmk.hr/clanak/jelacic>> (Accessed 10 September 2023).

¹² About salons in the era of Illyrian movement see the article by Vjera KATALINIĆ: Ideology and/ in Music: Music in Zagreb Salons and Gatherings in the First Half of the 19th Century, *Musicology Today: Journal of the National University of Music Bucharest*, 11 (2020) 41, 13-27, <<https://www.ceeol.com/search/article-detail?id=979093>> (Accessed 10 September 2023).

¹³ *Casino* is a common name for a reading room, and it is found primarily in the places of Italian influence, but also in continental Croatia, including Zagreb. Ljudevit Jelačić (1792–1851) started a casino in his house in 1831, which then influenced the foundation of the *Ilirska čitaonica* [Illyrian Readingroom] in 1838. Another political party, the pro-Hungarian one, met in the palace of Antal Amadé de Várkonyi (1760–1835), after the theatre was moved in 1834 from his palace to the newly built Stanković's Theatre. Finally, in 1905, the Croatian Catholic Casino was founded. All these associations organized not only literary but also musical gatherings, mostly for a closed circle of members. Cf. ***: *čitaonica, Hrvatska enciklopedija, mrežno izdanje*. Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2013–2024, <<https://www.enciklopedija.hr/clanak/citaonica>> (Accessed 14 February 2024).

¹⁴ In the 18th century, this palace was owned by the then high commanding officials Ivan Bužan (1799–1767) and Antun Raffay (cf. S. KNEŽEVIĆ, *Zagrebački povijesni trgovi*, 94-95).

¹⁵ He later sold the house in Čirilometodska 4 to Ljudevit Gaj.

balls, and also financially supported various cultural and musical events in the city. Some other members of the Vranyczany family did not lag behind with their musical involvement, so, for example, Julija Halper Sigetska née Vranyczany (1858–1937) organized lively musical evenings on (today's) Vatroslav Lisinski Street.¹⁶ Music was intensely present on the neighbouring hill, the siege of the Church – Kaptol, in the residence of Bishop Aleksandar Alagović (1760–1837), as well as his successor Juraj Haulik (1788–1869), a prominent patron of the Zagreb *Musikverein*, and an excellent pianist himself, where chamber ensembles played pieces composed by the Society members.¹⁷

Meeting places were also salons in country houses. In the summer of 1846, at Count Denis Sermage's estate in Oroslavlje, Franz Liszt entertained the noble society,¹⁸ and Stjepan Jelačić undoubtedly did not give up music at his summer estate in Gornji Laduč either. The Illyrians also »gathered at the property of the Vančaš family in the Kostel manor near Pribić«.¹⁹ Architect Josip Vančaš (1859–1932), nephew of the doctor Aleksa and brother of the prematurely deceased composer Antun (1867–1888), was also gifted and musically well educated. Already in his parents' house in Zagreb, as well as at the estates of his sister Marija, married Thierry, (1846–1942)²⁰ in Našice, during the holidays, he founded a quartet of singers and performed both at home festivities and public events.²¹ In Varaždin, private musical and literary soirées were organized by merchant and landowner Albert Leitner (1823–1897), »who in his home in Varaždin, as well as in the vineyard estate on Varaždinsbreg [...] gathered a wide circle of good musicians and enthusiastic listeners«, where a number of various chamber music and songs were performed with piano accompaniment. Members of his family regularly participated in these gatherings, primarily four musically educated daughters Berta,

¹⁶ Zvonimir MILČEC: *Galantni Zagreb*, Zagreb: Mladost, 1989, 16; also in Ivana KATARINČIĆ: Zagrebačke plesne zabave s kraja 18. i tijekom 19. stoljeća, *Narodna umjetnost*, 42 (2005) 2, 51-52.

¹⁷ A. GOGLIA: *Komorna muzika u Zagrebu*, 49-50.

¹⁸ Cf. Vjera KATALINIĆ – Sara RIES: Franz Liszt's Contacts with Croatian Musicians and Dignitaries, *Arti musices*, 49 (2018) 1, 49-68.

¹⁹ Jelena BOŽIĆ, Novi prilog životopisu Josipa pl. Vančaša (1859. – 1932.): obiteljski temelji, uzori i poticaji društvenog i kulturnog djelovanja, *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru*, (2020) 62, 287.

²⁰ Her husband, Alojz baron Thierry, was a judge there.

²¹ In 1884, however, Josip Vančaš moved to Sarajevo, where many buildings were built according to his designs. There, he continued his social involvement with various concerts and in 1885 he 'started the initiative to establish the Male Singing Society'. Cf. according to J. BOŽIĆ: Novi prilog životopisu Josipa pl. Vančaša, 298, in Alfred MAKANEC: Josip pl. Vančaš Požeški, *Katolički tjednik* (Sarajevo), god. 8=11 (25 December 1932) 52, 2-4. For more data on Vančaš's activities in Sarajevo, see Robert J. DONIA: *Sarajevo: biografija grada*, Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju, 2006. On his musical activity there, see: Lana PACUKA: Josip Vančaš – arhitekt koji je gradio muzički život Sarajeva s kraja 19. i početka 20. stoljeća, in: Jasmina Talam – Tamara Karača Beljak (eds.): *Zbornik radova u čast 120 godina rođenja prvog bosanskohercegovačkog etnomuzikologa fra dr. Branka Marića*, Sarajevo – Mostar: Institut za muzikologiju, Muzička akademija Univerziteta u Sarajevu – Hercegovačko franjevačka provincija, 2016, 40-52.

Olga and Sofija, led by the pianist and pedagogue Dragica (1854/55?–1940), later married to the philosopher Franjo Marković (1845–1914).²²

Besides, the musicians themselves, such as the guitar virtuoso Ivan Padovec (1800–1873), or the composer Juraj Karlo Wisner von Morgenstern (1783–1855) often organized in Zagreb cheerful social gatherings. In Samobor, music was played in the house of the composer Ferdo Wiesner-Livadić (1799–1879). Gjuro Eisenhuth (1841–1891), a violinist, composer and teacher at the school of the Croatian Music Institute, played in various chamber ensembles, such as at home of the forestry director Franjo Keller (1813–1892), or in his own house, often with his brother Josip (1844–1896), a cellist, and later with his daughter Marija, married Rac, a pianist, who continued the family tradition in her own home.²³ In Varaždin, violinist, conductor and critic Ernest Krajanski (1885–1941) joined forces with his brother Artur (a pharmacist and cellist, 1884–1941)²⁴ and his wife Jelisava (1891–1942), a pianist educated in Vienna, and weekly chamber concerts were held in their home.²⁵

A series of names of music lovers with whom music was played, who were skilled amateur musicians themselves, and their wives who hosted the company, belong to the second half of the 19th century. Back in 1930, Antun Goglia (supplemented by several later researchers) identified some fifty private locations in Zagreb where music was played in the 19th century and in first half of the 20th – regardless of whether they were music lovers and amateurs, professional musicians, or combined social groups,²⁶ but there were certainly even more such gatherings.²⁷ Thus, in 1889, the then fifteen-year-old Ivana Mažuranić (1874–1938), granddaughter of the Croatian *Ban*²⁸ and a future prominent children's writer, evokes in her diary her visits to the theatre, but also to a party with music and

²² Cf. Tamara JURKIĆ SVIBEN: *Glazbenici židovskoga podrijetla u sjevernoj Hrvatskoj do 1941.*, PhD theses, Zagreb: University of Zagreb, Faculty of Croatian Studies, 2016, 194; Krešimir FILIĆ: *Glazbeni život Varaždina*, Varaždin: Glazbena škola Varaždin, 1972, 86; 413–414. Dragica Leitner was the first piano teacher of Vatroslav Kolander, a classmate of her brother Julio, who also occasionally gave him music lessons.

²³ A. GOGLIA: *Komorna muzika u Zagrebu*, 51–53.

²⁴ Both of them Croaticized their original surname Kräuterblüth in Krajanski. Unfortunately, this did not prevent their tragic fate, which ended in 1941 in the Stara Gradiška camp. Cf. K. FILIĆ: *Glazbeni život Varaždina*, 472.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 480.

²⁶ Goglia's data on chamber music in Zagreb served as basis for the works of musicologists who have subsequently added to them such as Zdravko Blažeković, Tamara Jurkić Sviben, Nada Bezić, Stanislav Tuksar and others, by the research of art and architecture historians Nada Premrl and Snješka Knežević and historians Josip Horvat, Lelja Dobronić and Iskra Iveljić. The author of this paper collected some additional cases.

²⁷ About music salons in the second half of the 19th century, see the text by Stanislav TUKSAR: *Zagreb Salon Music in the Second Half of the 19th Century: 'The Darker Side of the Moon'?*, *Musicology Today: Journal of the National University of Music Bucharest*, 11 (2020) 41, 29–44, <<https://www.ceeol.com/search/article-detail?id=979096>> (Accessed 12 September 2023).

²⁸ Ivan Mažuranić (1814–1890) was Croatian *Ban* from 1873 to 1880 and was one of the implementers of numerous reforms, particularly important in the field of education.

dance at the Marić family, where she talked about her travels and where quadrille was danced.²⁹ The famous Croatian writer Miroslav Krleža (1893–1981) was impressed by the literary salon of Irina (1900–2002) and Božidar Aleksander (1900–1976) in the Zagreb Đorđićeva Street, where the so-called salon leftists gathered between the two world wars.³⁰ However, the musical salon of the musician family Strozzi-Pečić was much more important: the singer Maja Strozzi (1882–1962) and the pianist Bela Pečić (1873–1938) gathered the cultural and artistic elite, including excellent musicians. They met them mostly during their music tours. For example, in 1918, in a letter from Switzerland to the composer Antun Dobronić (1878–1955), Bela Pečić described his meeting with Igor Stravinsky, who later visited them in Zagreb in 1926.³¹

In particular, the period after the Austro-Hungarian and Croatian-Hungarian settlements (in 1867 and 1868, respectively) represented the beginning of a more stable period for its inhabitants, which would be interrupted by World War I, but the next generation would try to continue with a usual life-style during the 1920s. In the emerging civil society, salons were one of the representative indicators in which ladies of the house could show everything that was expected of them: sociability, the skill of running a household, the art of dancing and playing music, knowledge of fine arts, literature and theatre, mastering foreign languages, as well as the ability to conduct a smooth conversation and finally, running a salon. Music performed in their salons should be technically accessible, it should present the performers' abilities in the best possible light, and had to be interesting to listeners.³² In the light of cultural studies and the study of the overall values of civil society, as well as technical achievements related to cheaper sheet music editions (even in the newspapers and journals)³³ and the heated production of pianos,³⁴ in certain environments that were far from strong musical centres, some specificities

²⁹ Ivana BRLIĆ-MAŽURANIĆ: *Moji zapisci*, Slavonski Brod: Ogranak Matice hrvatske Slavonski Brod, 2016, 97.

³⁰ Iskra IVELJIĆ: *Očevi i sinovi. Privredna elita Zagreba u drugoj polovici 19. stoljeća*, Zagreb: Leykam international, 2007, 291-292.

³¹ Letter from Bela Pečić to Antun Dobronić on 2 August 1918, Correspondence in NSK, Dobronić Korr II/553; cf. Andrea RAKITIĆ: *Iz korespondencije Antuna Dobronića u Nacionalnoj i sveučilišnoj knjižnici u Zagrebu*, graduate thesis, Music Academy, University of Zagreb, 2021, 167. See also S. KNEŽEVIĆ: *Zagrebački povijesni trgovi, parkovi i neke ulice*, 68.

³² On music in the salon see also: Andreas BALLSTAEDT – Tobias WIDMAIER: *Salonmusik: Zur Geschichte und Funktion einer bürgerlichen Musikpraxis*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1989.

³³ An excellent example of such publicly available music pieces is the French newspaper series *Cent-et-un*, which also published the *Pregghiera* by the Dubrovnik aristocrat Antonio Sorgo (1775–1841), a typical salon composition to a text by Carlo Pepoli (1796–1881). *La Pregghiera* is stylistically distant from Antonio's chamber compositions from the turn of the 18th to the 19th century, and heralds compositions such as the paradigmatic *La prière d'une vierge* by Thekla Baderszewska (1834–1861).

³⁴ In Croatian lands, too, many piano teachers and other musicians were intensively involved in the trading of pianos (such as Franjo Ks. Kuhač), as evidenced by newspaper advertisements, as well as Kuhač's correspondence, for example, in letters No. II/25, II/28, II/30, II/34, II/39 and others (cf. Franjo

are evident. They were related either to the individual efforts of a single person, or to some local social and political movements. Certainly, sentimentalism, which characterizes a large part of salon culture (and not only music), and is related to the then understanding of the sensibility of the female part of the audiences and their ideals, goes hand in hand with the encouragement of amateurism through simplified and technically adapted editions. They were both stimulated since the end of the 18th century,³⁵ as well as by popular collection of arrangements with operatic arias and other large settings into fantasies, potpourris, etc.³⁶ Unfortunately, the repertoire at private musical gatherings remained largely unknown, although it can be assumed of what type it was, based on several known programmes, as well as from a selection of salon works preserved in private and public collections in Zagreb.

Dora Pejačević and salons in her musical and cultural circle

At the end of the 19th century, in Zagreb, music was played in the houses of noblemen and in the houses of citizens – merchants, judges, physicians, and also professional musicians – in specially arranged representative spaces. The owner of the salon and the lady of the house usually gathered visitors and musicians of similar social status, whereas mixed audiences were rare.

The home of the Granitz family stands out as one of the prominent salons where citizens and aristocrats met: the four daughters of the printer and patron, freemason Ignjat Granitz (1845–1908),³⁷ received an excellent general and musical education with a Central-European background. In his house in Margaretska Street, built in 1886,³⁸ they were visited by intellectuals and musicians. Their regular guests were not only the internationally famous Wagner singer Milka T(e)rnina

Ks. KUHAČ: *Korespondencija*, II/1, Vjera Katalinić (ed.), Zagreb: HAZU – HMD, 2023, 72-73, 75, 76-77, 84-85, 94 etc.

³⁵ There are numerous examples of compositions gathered in collections of the type *Etrennes pour les dames* and similar, or numerous arrangements of demanding works for several variants of chamber ensembles in Viennese editions by Anton Diabelli and other publishers.

³⁶ One of the Croatian composers who especially nurtured this type of composition – albeit of a virtuoso character – was Ivan Padovec; cf. a list of his works in Zdravko BLAŽEKOVIĆ: *Popis skladbi Ivana Padovca*, in: Vjera Katalinić – Sanja Majer-Bobetko (eds.): *Ivan Padovec (1800.-1873.) i njegovo doba / Ivan Padovec (1800-1873) and his time*, Zagreb: HMD, 2006, 275-354, and especially the text of Rozina PALIĆ-JELAVIĆ: *Operni i operetni predloži u Padovčevim gitarskim transkripcijama*, in: *Ibid.*, 209-246.

³⁷ Josip HORVAT: *Živjeti u Hrvatskoj*, Zagreb: Sveučilišna naklada Liber, 1984, 241-243. It seems that I. Granitz was also the first publisher of school textbooks, which were printed in Vienna until 1877. Cf. Lelja DOBRONIĆ: Ignjat Granitz, hrvatski industrijalac, dobrotvor i mecena, *Povijesni prilozi*, 15 (1996) 15, 191.

³⁸ Later, the house was attached to Preradović Square, and was demolished in 2007 due to the construction of the shopping centre (Centar Cvjetni). Granitz entrusted the interior decoration to the architect Herman Bollé, who also designed the new neo-Gothic Zagreb Cathedral, the cemetery Mirogoj and some other houses; cf. L. DOBRONIĆ: Ignjat Granitz, 192.

(1863–1941), but also Dora Pejačević, who was especially associated with Olga Granitz (1875–1940)³⁹ even after Olga's marriage to the music critic Ern(e)st Schulz (1866–1943). Dora Pejačević often stayed with her during Dora's sojourns in Zagreb. She dedicated her Sonata for cello and piano, Op. 35 in E minor to the Schulz-Granitz couple and for Olga she composed *Zwei intermezzi* for piano, Op. 38 (1916). Through Ignjat's daughter and Olga's sister Janka (1873–1917) and her husband Slavko Wolf (1862–1936),⁴⁰ she met the composer Antun Dobronić (1878–1955), and through Olga she became acquainted with the pianist Svetislav Stančić (1895–1970), as evidenced by the correspondence in the Stančić legacy.⁴¹ Being part of that circle, Ernest Schulz was also devoted to music. Although he was employed as a printing office manager, he was also active as a music critic, as well as an amateur composer and member of the *Kvak* Club.⁴² The couple was well embedded in Zagreb's musical and cultural milieu, also belonging to the network of particularly close friends of Dora Pejačević, so it was the two of them who made the first catalogue of the composer's works after her death in 1923.⁴³

However, the family tradition of home music making in the Pejačević family goes back to Dora's childhood. She grew up in the castle in Našice, which was one of the regional centres in Slavonia of chamber theatre and music.⁴⁴ There local nobility and citizens, professional musicians and amateurs met together to play music – similarly to the Prandau family on their estates in the nearby Osijek, Valpovo and Donji Miholjac. Thus, the composer's integration into similar social models in Zagreb, as well as in other European areas where she stayed, represented a continuity of her usual communication model. Her musically gifted and active mother Lilla (1860–1941) also took care of her children's musical education. Given the family status, education was based on private lessons from teachers and governesses or companion.⁴⁵ Károly Nos(z)eda (1863–1944), a conductor and composer from Buda-

³⁹ Olga Granitz is also mentioned by Tamara Jurkić Sviben in her thesis *Glazbenici židovskoga podrijetla u sjevernoj Hrvatskoj*, 282.

⁴⁰ Janka Granitz married Slavko Wolf; their son Pavao Wolf Croatianized the surname to Vuk-Pavlović and married the historian Lelja Dobronić, the daughter of the composer Antun Dobronić. More about it in: Lelja DOBRONIĆ: Ignjat Granitz: hrvatski industrijalac, dobrotvor i mecena; Lelja DOBRONIĆ: Slavko Wolf, in: ID.: *Splet sudbina. Riječi prethodnika i sabrani spisi o djedovima*, Zagreb: Self-publishing, 2000, 110-117, and Milan POLIĆ: *Život i djelo Pavla Vuk-Pavlovića*, Zagreb: Hrvatsko filozofsko društvo, 2011, 19-21.

⁴¹ About the relationship between Dora Pejačević and Svetislav Stančić see Vilena Vrbanić's text in this volume.

⁴² Nada BEZIĆ: Zagrebački klub »Kvak« i glazba, *Arti musices*, 43 (2012) 1, 8.

⁴³ Koraljka KOS: *Dora Pejačević*, Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti – Muzikološki zavod Muzičke akademije u Zagrebu, 1982, 187.

⁴⁴ Gordana GOJKOVIĆ: Zaboravljena majka Dore Pejačević Lilla grofica Pejačević, in: Zdenka Veber (ed.): *Dora Pejačević, 1885. – 1923. Zbornik radova sa Znanstvenog skupa »Dora Pejačević: život, rad i značenje«*, Našice: SIŽ kulture i tehničke kulture općine Našice, 1987, 13-32.

⁴⁵ Richer bourgeois children (both boys and girls) would often attended a general school (in Osijek in the 1880s it was a normal school with the Croatian language, but there existed also a German

pest who belongs to the Budapest circle,⁴⁶ is currently known as one of Dora's music teachers. He was a student of Ferenc Erkel (1810–1893), Sándor Nikolits (1834–1895), Kornél Ábrányi (1822–1903) and János Koessler (1853–1926), and probably supported himself by private tuition, at least until he was 31 (in 1894) when he became a member of the Royal Opera.⁴⁷ However, even after that, he continued to come to Osijek for some time and participated in public concerts organized by Lilla Pejačević (who herself participated in them, as well as her children) both as a pianist and as a composer of salon songs that the countess Lilla performed herself on one occasion.⁴⁸ Noseda was probably also an intermediary in the engagement of Lilla Pejačević when she participated at the Budapest Servites as a soloist in Saint-Saëns' *Requiem* in 1896, and probably owing to her he got the position of organist and conductor in that church the following year (he held it from 1897 to 1913). Along with the basics in music theory, Noseda must have taught Dora how to play the piano. It is currently unknown whether she received any basic violin lessons from him or from some other local violinist. Certainly, Osijek's newspapers recorded Dora's performance in 1902 as a very successful one. Perhaps she was encouraged to study violin more intensively by Stefi Geyer (1888–1956), a student of Jenő Hubáy (1858–1937), who performed as an eleven-year-old child prodigy in Osijek in 1899, performing two movements from the second concerto by Henryk Wieniawski. In the same year, 14-year-old Dora dedicated her *Canzonetta* in D major, Op. 8 (for violin and piano) to her, which is in fact Dora's first composition to bear a dedication. Stefi Geyer performed it two years later in Arad and Sombor, and then in Budapest. »Die kleine Geigenhexe«, as the Viennese newspapers called her, performed as part of a Central-European tour in Zagreb in December 1903, but Ernest Schulz did not share the

school in Tvrdá), and after four years of institutional education, in accordance with the family possibilities, they were left to private tuition. Osijek writer Vilma Vukelić also writes about this in her memoirs (cf. Vilma VUKELIĆ: *Tragovi prošlosti*, Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Matice hrvatske, 1995, 27).

⁴⁶ Cf. ***: Noseda, Karoly, ScorSer – Search system for musicians, <<http://en.instr.scorser.com/C/All/Noseda%2c+Karoly/All/Alphabetically.html>> (Accessed 12 September 2023). More about the Budapest circle in the text by Lili Békéssy in this volume.

⁴⁷ Maybe he occasionally came to Našice later as well. It is certain, that he came to Zagreb and participated in the concerts with Pejačević family. Hungarian lexicons regularly mention him, including the following entry: 'He was appointed director of the Opera, where he remained until 1914. From 1879 to 1920, he was the organist and choirmaster of the Servite Church. From 1913 he was a teacher of National Music Band, and from 1927 its executive director. He is one of the most prominent Hungarian music pedagogues and has enriched our musical literature with many works. He composed mainly church compositions and patriotic songs for a male choir. In 1926, he was given the title of Chief Government Adviser.' Cf. Géza SZENTMIKLÓSSY (ed.): Noseda, Károly, *A magyar feltamadas lexikona*, Budapest, 1930, 883, <https://adt.arcanum.com/en/view/Lexikon_MagyarFeltamadasLexikona/?query=noseda+k%C3%A1rly&pg=840&layout=s> (Accessed 13 September 2023).

⁴⁸ Gordana Gojković singles out two concerts, one in November 1895, and the other in December 1899, when Noszeda (as his name was mentioned in the Osijek newspaper) was present on the programs both as a pianist and as a composer of salon music (cf. G. GOJKOVIĆ: *Zaboravljena majka Dore Pejačević*, 30-31).

enthusiasm of foreign critics, considering her choice of compositions to appeal to a simpler audience that loves virtuosity and *bravoure*.⁴⁹ With this brilliant violinist, to whom Béla Bartók dedicated his first violin concerto (and some other composers their works as well), Dora remained a permanent friend. Her name appeared on many pages of the Našice family album, and Stefi occasionally performed her works there as well.

A big change in Dora Pejačević's life occurred when she moved to Zagreb, probably at the beginning of 1903, when her father was appointed Croatian *Ban*. In the same year, Václav Huml (1880–1953), then a twenty-three-year-old Czech violinist, also arrived in Zagreb. He was one of the most prominent students of Otákar Ševčík (1852–1934), and started working as a teacher at the *Musikverein* School⁵⁰ on September 11 of that year, after the departure of his Czech predecessor Stanislav Ondříček (1885–1953). Dora Pejačević became one of his private students, thus gaining an excellent foundation for further studies abroad. In 1905, Huml also accepted chamber music lessons, and the data testify to their joint music making in a private circle in 1907, where the young countess performed as a violinist in Beethoven's Piano quartet in E-flat major with a family friend, Hugo Mihalović (1874–1956)⁵¹ at the piano, her professor Huml playing the viola, and the cellist Umberto Fab(b)ri (1880–1960).⁵² She also presented her early piano miniatures *Blumenleben*, *Berceuse* and *Valse Caprice*, which she performed alternately with Ada Werhonig, one of the students of the successful teacher Emilia pl. Makanec, the first female piano teacher at the *Musikverein* school, from whose class Svetislav Stančić made his name.⁵³ The same compositions were performed that

⁴⁹ E. Sch. [Ernst SCHULZ]: Kunst-Chronik. Concert Stefi Geyer, *Agramer Zeitung*, 77 (9 December 1902) 282, 7. Namely, the critic believed that she no longer belonged to the category of »child prodigies« and that she had to stop being presented with a usual selection of music pieces, but instead should devote herself to more serious repertoire.

⁵⁰ »Dne 11. rujna 1903. imenovan je Vaclav Huml, koncertni meštar česke filharmonije, redovitim učiteljem guslanja, pošto se je dosadašnji redoviti učitelj guslanja Stanislav Ondriček dne 9. lipnja 1903. na svojoj službi zahvalio.« [»On September 11, 1903, Vaclav Huml, concertmaster of the Czech Philharmonic, was appointed a full-time violin teacher, since the previous full-time violin teacher Stanislav Ondriček thanked him for his service on 9 June 1903.«] Cf. ***: *Izvoješće glazbene škole Hrvatskoga zemalj. glazbenoga zavoda u Zagrebu za školsku godinu 1903. – 1904.*, Zagreb: Tiskara F. Bogović, 1904, 28.

⁵¹ At that time, Hugo Mihalović was the prefect of the Noblemen's boarding school and a professor at the Catholic Theological Faculty in Zagreb, and after the death of J. J. Strossmayer in 1905, he was also a candidate for the bishop of Đakovo (and later also for the bishop of Zagreb). Cf. ***: Mihalović, *Hrvatska enciklopedija, mrežno izdanje*, Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2013–2023, <<https://www.enciklopedija.hr/clanak/mihalovic>> (Accessed 15 September 2023).

⁵² Twelve years later, two professionals – Huml and Fabbri – founded the Zagreb Quartet, in which they were joined by Ladislav Škatula (Miranov) and Milan Graf.

⁵³ Martina MIČIJA PALIĆ: *Pijanistice zagrebačke sredine s kraja 19. i prve polovine 20. stoljeća u svjetlu suvremenoga pijanizma i glasovirске pedagogije*, PhD theses, University of Zagreb, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, 2019, 91. In 1911, after two years of activity, Ada Werhonig ended her career due to her marriage (cf. M. MIČIJA PALIĆ: *Pijanistice zagrebačke sredine*, 136). The management of the Zagreb *Musikverein*, by the conclusion of the meeting of the *Musikverein* school on March 12, 1909,

year by Dora Pejačević and Olga Schulz in a private circle in Budapest, perhaps even in the same environment where her *Impromptu* from 1899 was performed in 1903 (possibly by the composer herself).⁵⁴ After all, the list of her compositions, preserved in the legacy kept in the Croatian Music Institute, occasionally contains notes on performances, in which data on private (primary) performances also appear. However, the Zagreb private concert from 1907 was not recorded in that source, unlike the concerts in the Ban's Palace that the reporter(s) of *Agramer Zeitung* described in detail.⁵⁵ From these reviews, we learn that already in the parents' house of the previous Ban from the Pejačević family, Ladislav (1824–1901), music was also cherished, but Dora's beautiful mother Lilla⁵⁶ gave it a prominent place in the Našice castle, and also later in Zagreb.⁵⁷ The presented concerts were attended by professors (Hinko Geiger, Karl Noszeda, V. Huml), Dora herself and her mother, the often present Hugo Mihalović and the aristocrats Irena von Turković (née Živković, 1866–1942), Tilda (Klotilda) Vranyczany-Dobrinović (1881–1947) and Ljuba Bayer, with whom Lilla often acted as patron of parties related to charity actions for the Red Cross.⁵⁸

There are several possible directions for further studying the supposed salon gatherings in which Dora Pejačević participated, either as a member of the audiences, performer or/and as an author.

Considering the prominent role of her father in the political life of Croatia, it is not unusual that famous visiting virtuosos performed in their official premises

»appointed Miss Ada Werhonig as substitute piano teacher«, and she took the place of Hedviga pl. Hergešić, who thanked her for her service on 1 March 1909. ***: *Izvjješće glazbene škole Hrvatskoga zemalj. glazbenoga zavoda u Zagrebu za školsku godinu 1908-1909*, Zagreb: Tiskara F. Bogović, 1909, 26.

⁵⁴ I assume that the *Valse Caprice* mentioned in the programme is actually the *Valse de concert* in B flat major, Op. 21 (1906), that was composed after the *Berceuse*, also in B flat major, Op. 20. Cf. Koraljka KOS: *Dora Pejačević*, 190–191.

⁵⁵ ***: *Musikalische Soirée im Banalpalais*, *Agramer Zeitung*, 79 (17 March 1904) 63, 4–5; K.: *Musikalische Soirée im Banalpalais*, *Agramer Zeitung*, 80 (16 March 1905) 62, 4.

⁵⁶ Journal and newspaper articles often stress the beauty of Lilla Pejačević (later also of her daughter and Dora's sister Gabriella), such as in the review in footnote 55. In general, the physical attraction seems to be an important aspect of the reports towards the end of the 19th century. Thus, the reviewers almost regularly describe the dresses of the aristocratic ladies, especially for some special occasions, carnival balls, etc. Such description is never given when the report presents the qualities of Dora Pejačević, where she was always described as a gifted musician (cf. ***: *Musikalische Soirée im Banalpalais*, 4).

⁵⁷ The involvement of the Pejačević family, but even more so the organizational aspects of Ernest Schulz and like-minded people in the activities of the Committee for the Promotion of Chamber Music, is unquestionable. See more about that institution in Vjera KATALINIĆ: »Die edelste und künstlerischste aller Kunstformen«: The Committee for the Promotion of Chamber Music – A *Fin-de-siècle* Initiative in Zagreb, in: Catrina Flint de Médecis – François de Médecis (eds.): *Chamber Music in Europe (1850-1918). Composition, Mediation and Reception*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2024, 250–263.

⁵⁸ Such, for example, was the elite ball in favour of the Red Cross in December 1903: ***: *Verein vom »Rothen Kreuz«*, *Agramer Zeitung*, 78 (29 December 1903) 297, 4; the afore mentioned Countess Clotilda Buratti-Vranyczany also participated in the committee – along with Lilla Pejačević.

– in the Ban's Palace – but in a closed circle for an invited audience. This practice was evident as early as 1815, when in Zagreb, the visiting pianist Johann Nepomuk Hummel played in the salon of Bishop Maksimilijan Vrhovac, and there were certainly such cases later as well. Czech violinist Jaroslav Kocian was a frequent guest of the Zagreb concert stage. The Zagreb audiences were pleased with his performances in Zagreb in January 1904, and on his return visit in October of the same year, with at least two performances;⁵⁹ he also performed Dora Pejačević's *Menuett* in A major dedicated to him at the *Musikverein* hall. It is possible that the composer met her already at the beginning of the year at a private gathering, which then resulted with this dedication. During the era of Teodor Pejačević as the Croatian *Ban*, many soloists visited Zagreb, who could attract the attention of the *Ban*, as well as his musical and gifted wife and daughter: the violinists Stanislav Ondříček (April 17, 1903), the already mentioned Kocian (again in 1907) and S. Geyer, another child prodigy, the 13-year-old Ferenc von Vecsey (7 October 1906), Willy Burmester (early 1903 and 7 November 1906), Bronislav Hubermann (February 1907), pianists Ernest von Dohnány (19 March 1904, 11 December 1905, four concerts in November 1906) and Leopold Godowsky (four performances in January 1905) as well as a number of chamber ensembles. It would not be unusual if he had hosted at least some of them in the family circle and even in his residence.

From the several examples given here, it follows that Dora Pejačević dedicated her works exclusively to people she knew and appreciated well, either as members of her family, friends or musical circle with whom she became acquainted, and not just to any prominent personalities with whom she had no direct connection. Among them is Baroness Elza Szentkereszty de Zágon (1882–1969),⁶⁰ who was – along with her brother Bela (1885–1944) – the last owner of Árkos Castle on the edge of Transylvania, to whom the composer dedicated the piano miniature *Chanson sans paroles* in A-flat major, Op. 10. There is also the piano miniature *Erinnerung* with dedications from 1904 and 1908 to Maria Theresia Schall Riaucour.⁶¹ They were followed by other compositions she dedicated to Olga and Ernest Schulz, the Nádherný brothers, then to her sister Gabriella (1894–1977) and her nephew Nikola. In the group of professional musicians with her dedications, Jaroslav Kocian has already been mentioned, and later there will be more of them.

⁵⁹ Antun Goglia provides information about Kocian's performance in the *Musikverein* Hall on 14 October 1904 with the pianist Margareta Volavy and on the next day in the hall of the Catholic seminary with Vatroslav Kolander. Cf. Antun GOGLIA: *Strani violinisti u Zagrebu. 1. dio: Od početka XIX-stoljeća do g. 1910.*, (Special offprint from *Sv. Cecilija*), Zagreb: Tisak Narodne tiskare, 1944, 23-24.

⁶⁰ ***: A Szentkereszty-kástely, <<http://users.atw.hu/szabokinga/fuggelek.html>> (Accessed 13 September 2023).

⁶¹ Assumably, this person might be Maria Theresia Mathilde Franz de Paula Josephine Ignatia Gräfin von Bray-Steinburg (Gräfin von Schall-Riaucour) (1887–1987), <<https://www.geni.com/people/Maria-Theresia-Mathilde-Franz-de-Paula-Josephine-Ignatia-Gr%C3%A4fin-von-Bray-Steinburg/6000000004097978366>> (Accessed 10 October 2024).

From the period of her study in Dresden and Munich, the dedication (in 1910) to Percy Sherwood (1866–1939), her teacher in composition, is not surprising, nor to Walter Bachmann (Trio from 1910), a Dresden pianist, one of the gifted recipients of the Franz Liszt scholarship (1896),⁶² who at the time of Dora's arrival in that city already held the title of a *Kammervirtuoso* (since 1906). Their coming together, his performances of the composer's miniatures *Blumenleben* (in 1910), his arrival in Zagreb with his Trio will be highlighted in this volume in a presentation about Dora's German days. In Zagreb she developed contact with Zlatko Baloković, 10 years younger, one of Huml's most successful students. All these encounters were permeated with conversations and music playing in various contexts. At the same time, it must be kept in mind that Dora Pejačević always and exclusively studied privately, so these meetings were more private than institutional.

Salon music-making as a variant of sociability is an expression of intense private contact with close persons. In the case of the Pejačević family, especially Dora, it seems that musical and friendly links were intertwined, so one should also look for them in family documents. The list of participants of the soirée organized on the occasion of her wedding to Otto von Lumbe in Našice on 13 September 1921 can serve as the most striking example of intimate socializing in the circle of family and friends. The *Brautsoirée* was attended by friends and relatives with whom Dora had long-standing ties: again there are pianists Olga Schulz and Hugo Mihalović, with whom she played music in private settings; friends – members of prominent noble families: Sidonija Nádherný, the photographer Jelisava/Elizabeta (Madi) Drašković, Greta Jellachich and friend Josip (Pepi) Drašković. There is also Anka Schlegel, a member of the Našice family, 'who was in a family relationship with Lila Pejačević through Berta Schlegel b. Countess Wurmbrandt'.⁶³ Finally, there are representatives of her husband's family, with whom Dora was befriended, especially Rosa Lumbe-Mladota and Josefina (Juža) Lumbe, to whom she dedicated her later works. All these people were involved in regular salon gatherings, so by studying the names from the album we can get an impression of their composition.

Concluding remarks

Playing music in 19th-century salons represents an intimate form of intellectual and pleasant socializing in which, along with entertainment, its aim was to cherish the creativity of the spirit. People with artistic professions – poets, writers

⁶² ***: Stipendien der Felix-Mendelssohn-Bartholdy-Stiftung (1879–1934), <<https://www.fmb-hochschulwettbewerb.de/wettbewerb/archiv/preistraegerinnen/stipendien-1879-1934/>> (Accessed 12 September 2023).

⁶³ Jasminka NAJČER SABLJAK – Silvija LUČEVNJAK – Yordanka GESHEVA – Franjo PAJRIĆ: *The Pejačević Family. History – Culture – Art*, Zagreb: Self-published [Marco Pejacevics], 2014, 28.

and musicians – in such an environment found support for their activities, and the positive attitude of a well-meaning audience. Their appearance in such an environment represents a kind of litmus paper for later more professional evaluations and assessments of artistic scope and thus prepared them for a professional performance in public. If the focus, however, is placed primarily on entertainment, so dancing is put in the foreground. On the other hand, joint music making by professional musicians (occasionally even with amateurs) represents a special category of private music making.

However, making music at home is a dominant model of musical sociability.⁶⁴ Yet, the question arises whether all home music making is also salon music making. What is the primary role of the salon: entertainment with song and dance, socializing with joint music making, representation of the host/hostess of the salon, presentation of a new composer/performer and his range? The variants shown here and known from the literature are numerous, and often depend on the presented repertoire:⁶⁵ from sentimental ‘fantasies’ to questioning new musical tendencies. Of course, it is always the chamber music that is performed, in which both, family members and their guests can participate. The repertoire can also depend on the location – in the urban framework of the primary residence, it will generally be more serious, while the country atmosphere often encourages ‘lighter’ types of music such as dance music and fantasies. Did the profile of the participants in chamber music making also influence the type of music performed? Weren’t some quite intimate dedications – from Jelena Pucić Sorkočević in the early 19th-century Dubrovnik to her husband, to the miniature *An eine Falte* by Dora Pejačević intended for her friend Sidonija Nádherný – intended for performance in the closest circle of family and friends, while compositions for a larger ensemble or of a more virtuoso nature were intended for a wider circle of participants? In the sphere of home and salon music making, a whole scale of variants could be established, such as, for example, Mary Sue Morrow set up for the concert life of Vienna in Haydn’s time.⁶⁶ Thus, all given data on home music making (especially during the second half of the 19th century) can be ranged from private (completely private music making by the family members only), with various degrees of invited guests (spontaneous music making with family and invited friends),

⁶⁴ More about models of civic music making, see in: Gunilla-Friederike BUDDE: Musik in Bürgerhäusern, in: Hans Erich Bödeker – Michael Werner – Patrice Veit (eds.): *Le concert et son public. Mutations de la vie musicale en Europe de 1780 à 1914 (France, Allemagne, Angleterre)*, Paris: Éditions de la Maison des sciences de l’homme, 2002, 427-428.

⁶⁵ In the collection of papers Anja BUNZEL – Natasha LOGES (eds.): *Musical Salon Culture in the Long Nineteenth Century*, Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2019, many individual examples are also presented that indicate the wide range of this umbrella theme, similar to this article.

⁶⁶ The author articulates the concert life from the aspect of privacy and public. Mary Sue MORROW: *Concert Life in Haydn’s Vienna, Aspects of a Developing Musical and Social Institution*, Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1988.

musicians meetings with music, combination of amateur and professional musicians playing together, up to the highest rank of invited virtuosi to represent themselves, represent the high level of the salon and entertain the hosts with their society. The political/national or international issue might have played a role, especially with invited guests and in connection to the performed repertoire.

In the case of the Pejačević family, and especially of the composer Dora, as in many other salon meetings, the society was on the one hand heterogeneous in terms of social affiliation – from higher social classes (citizens like the Granitz family, nobles, priests⁶⁷), but also homogeneous in a relation to their mutual cultural interests. Most of them were also members of the *Musikverein*, its supporters, and Lilla was actually its patron. They are also connected by networking in the Croatian and/or Zagreb environment, and Ernest Schulz can serve here as a good example. He was an entrepreneur, music critic, member of the *Kvak* band, member of the Committee for the Promotion of Chamber Music – all these were his engagements by which he was connected within circles of acquaintances, like-minded people, collaborators, and some of these circles even overlapped.

Dora Pejačević lived in such company, she was extremely emotionally involved in her compositions and also emotional when dedicating her works to people she appreciated in various ways – from warm friendship to professional respect, perhaps even admiration. Of the 58 compositions, almost half (25) of them bear a dedication, which acts as an additional and solid connection between the composer and her chosen circle. Many of these music pieces, especially those written for a chamber ensemble (and not only intended for a salon atmosphere), could have been performed first in the private circle of family and friends before being publicly presented. She participated in similar types of salon gatherings not only in Našice and Zagreb, but also in Budapest and in the home of her close friend Sidonie Nádherný von Borutin who was well-known as a salonière,⁶⁸ and undoubtedly also during her German years. Such an overview of personal contacts might serve as the basis for future research. In her output, there are some early miniatures that contain traces of salon music, but with the majority of her compositions she stepped far outside this circle.

⁶⁷ Like Hugo Mihalović, who was intensely involved in music and held piano concerts. On the other hand, in the first half of the 19th century, the Franciscan monk Fortunat Pintarić (1798–1867) participated in Illyrian gatherings with his compositions.

⁶⁸ More on Dora's relation to Sidonie was presented in K. KOS, *Dora Pejačević*.

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Sažetak

DORA PEJAČEVIĆ I GLAZBENI SALONI U KONTINENTALNOJ HRVATSKOJ KAO SREDIŠTA KULTURNOG UMREŽAVANJA

Pojam »glazbeni salon« općenito se definira i kao prostor muziciranja i kao vrsta glazbe koja se u njemu izvodi. U prvom redu (vezano uz prostor) može se promatrati iz triju perspektiva: kao istaknuti prostor muziciranja u aristokratskoj ili građanskoj kući, kao isključivo društveni događaj, ali i kao ugodno i opušteno okupljanje. No, uporaba i tumačenje pojma »salon« više je vezana uz urbane sredine iako su aristokracija i imućniji građani organizirali takva druženja i u svojim ljetnim rezidencijama (dvorcima, kurijama).

U prvome dijelu rada prikazuje se djelovanje nekih tipova glazbenih salona (tj. druženja u kojima je bilo prisutno i muziciranje). U prvoj polovici stoljeća izrazitija su politički obojena druženja Iliraca ili njihovih oponentata, dok su se glazbenici družili izvan političkih ideologija. U drugoj polovici stoljeća, osobito nakon obiju Nagodba (1867. i 1868), privatna okupljanja s glazbenom komponentom manje se oslanjaju na političke istomišljenike, a više na stalešku pripadnost. U drugome dijelu ovoga rada propituje se kakva su se glazbena druženja organizirala u obitelji Dore Pejačević i kućama njezinih prijatelja u kojima je i sama sudjelovala te kakva je bila publika, a sve u kontekstu glazbenog života sredine. Nadalje, donosi se i niz spekulacija o mogućim mjestima takvih događaja i polazištima za neka buduća istraživanja s obzirom na to da je javnih izvora (prije svega novinskih članaka) vrlo malo, pa se valja oslanjati na relativno skromne privatne dokumente (korespondenciju, dnevnike, uspomene i sl.).

THE GERMAN DAYS OF DORA PEJAČEVIĆ

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Dražđani and Monakovo, older Croatian names for Dresden and Munich, were important stops on Dora Pejačević's life path. Excluding shorter trips that are difficult to trace, e.g. during the First World War, Dora Pejačević stayed in Germany on two occasions – the first time from March 1909 (?) to March 1913, and the second time from the autumn of 1921 until her death in March 1923. On both occasions, Pejačević lived in both cities: on the first occasion, she attended composition classes with composers who are largely forgotten today, Percy Sherwood and Walter Courvoisier. The second occasion was due to her permanent move immediately after her marriage to the Austrian nobleman Ottomar von Lumbe.

There is a whole series of questions about the time that Dora Pejačević spent in Germany – in the first place, why did she choose those two German cities, and not, for example, Vienna, Budapest, or Prague? (The question primarily refers to Dresden, since Munich was still a bigger musical centre. After all, in the same period as Dora Pejačević, the Croatian composer Krsto Odak studied in Munich, but there are no known contacts between them.)

On both occasions, Pejačević achieved more significant success in Dresden. This is where the publisher Heinrich Bock published at least seven of her works (Op. 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, and 25). On 10 February 1920, before her second move to Germany, her Symphony, Op. 41 was performed in its entirety in Dresden for the first time. In addition to private lessons with Percy Sherwood, Pejačević's first stay in Dresden was marked by cooperation with Trio Bachmann, with whom she went on tour in October and November 1910 to Budapest, Pécs, Osijek, and Zagreb. Finally, Germany was not only Pejačević's second homeland but also the first place of her burial, from where her body was transferred to Našice, Croatia, three months after her death. In Našice Dora Pejačević found her final resting place.

Keywords: Dora Pejačević; Germany; Dresden; Munich; Trio Bachmann

Ključne riječi: Dora Pejačević; Njemačka; Dresden; München; Trio Bachmann

Introduction

The German cities of Dresden and Munich are chapters that we encounter in every biography of Dora Pejačević. The composer lived there on two occasions, from March 1909 (?) to March 1913, and again from September 1921 to March 1923, which are commonly known as the first and second German periods in Dora Pejačević's life. In addition, her works were performed in Germany during the years when Pejačević lived in Croatia (for example, the integral premiere of the Symphony in F-sharp minor, Op. 41 was held on 10 February 1920). Therefore, we can rightly conclude that Germany was the second homeland of the most famous Croatian female composer.¹

Based on the data available to us today, we unfortunately cannot answer the question of how many German days there were in Dora Pejačević's life, primarily because it is not possible to determine with certainty the beginning of the first of the composer's two longer stays in Germany. The attempt to reconstruct Pejačević's German period is further complicated if we take into account that, in addition to two longer stays, the composer visited Germany several more times. We are aware of this thanks to other sources, for example her reading diary named *My Book Record*. However, these were rather short visits, so the composer's biographies are focused mostly on her two longer periods in Germany.²

At the beginning of the paper, let us concentrate on the confirmed data regarding Dora Pejačević's two longer stays in Germany. It is possible to trace the end of

¹ On the general aspects of the two German periods of Dora Pejačević, see: Koraljka KOS: *Dora Pejačević*, Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1982; Koraljka KOS: *Dora Pejačević: Leben und Werk*, Zagreb: Muzički informativni centar Koncertne direkcije Zagreb, 1987; Koraljka KOS: *Privatno i javno: prilozi biografiji Dore Pejačević*, in: Ivano Cavallini – Jolanta Guzy-Pasiak – Harry White (eds.): *Glazba, migracije i europska kultura: svečani zbornik za Vjeru Katalinić / Music, Migration and European Culture: Essays in Honour of Vjera Katalinić*, Zagreb: Hrvatsko muzikološko društvo, 2020, 201-217 and Elena OSTLEITNER: Maria Teodora Paulina Pejačević, in: Elena Ostleitner (ed.): *Dora, sie, die Lieder, sie, die Töne hat: die Kroatische Komponistin Dora Pejačević (1885-1923)*, Kassel: Furore Verlag, 2001, 10-31. An updated account of Dora Pejačević's German days can be found in the book: Domagoj MARIĆ: *Dora Pejačević. Životi i svjetovi*, Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2023. In order not to repeat the data and narratives from that edition, the emphasis in this paper will be on the recorded concerts at which Dora Pejačević performed, i.e. at which her works were performed in Germany during her life. People and places from Dora Pejačević's German days will be presented in the context of the concerts that will be discussed.

² In the case of the first German period, it is mostly correctly stated that Dora Pejačević attended composition classes in Dresden and Munich, but in the case of the second, the same error is often encountered – the information that she moved to Munich after her wedding in Našice, where she died shortly after. This error probably occurs due to the lack of information about Dora Pejačević's activities in Dresden during her second German period. Nevertheless, based on several sources, for example, the composer's two passports preserved in her legacy at the Croatian Music Institute in Zagreb (CMI), it is clear that Dora Pejačević lived in both mentioned cities both times (Yugoslav passport of Dora Pejačević, CMI, II-Pej-IV, 20 and Austrian passport of Dora Pejačević, CMI, II-Pej-IV, 21). For more information about the legacy of Dora Pejačević in CMI, see: Nada BEZIĆ: *Život ostavštine Dore Pejačević*, in: Silvija Lučevnjak (ed.): *Izazovi baštine Dore Pejačević: zbornik radova znanstveno-stručnog skupa*, Našice: Zavičajni muzej Našice – Osnovna glazbena škola Kontesa Dora, 2022, 9-18.

the first German period, i.e. the tentative date of Dora Pejačević's return from Dresden to Našice in 1913. In a letter she sent to the Czech nobleman Johannes Nádherný in March 1913, the composer informed her crush that she returned to Našice a little earlier than she had planned, motivated by the death of Gabriela Pejačević, her paternal grandmother. The composer's grandmother passed away on 7 March, and the funeral was held on 10 March 1913, so we can date the end of the first German period roughly between those two dates. The exact date of the second move to Germany can also be reconstructed. We consider the departure of Dora Pejačević and Ottomar von Lumbe to Dresden on 15 September 1921, just one day after their wedding in Našice, the beginning of the second German period in the composer's life, which lasted until her death in Munich on 5 March 1923.

However, it is not known when Dora Pejačević first came to Dresden, i.e. when the first German period began. The first known trace about the possible presence of Dora Pejačević in Dresden was provided by the Zagreb daily *Obzor* in the edition of 17 September 1907. The Croatian readership learned from the column »Domestic news« that the young composer, accompanied by her mother, planned to go to Dresden:

»Personal news. Her Highness Lilla Countess Pejacsevich, the spouse of the former ban, will arrive in Zagreb on the 19th of the month to say goodbye to the societies she patronizes. In addition, we learn that the family of the former ban and his spouse will spend the winter in Dresden, where Countess Dora Pejacsevich will study music.«³

In the following issues, *Obzor* does not provide a report on the announced event, but if it was held according to the newspaper announcement, Lila Pejačević's patronage activity did not end in 1907. The composer's mother remained a patron of the Croatian Music Institute (CMI) until 1918, even in the years when she was hospitalized in Austria and when she certainly was not able to significantly contribute to the work of the oldest Croatian music institution.⁴ It is also not known

³ ***: Osobna viest, *Obzor*, 48 (17 September 1907) 250, 4. [»Osobna viest. Nj. Preuzvišenost bivša banica Lilla grofica Pejacsevich prispjet će dne 19. o. mj. u Zagreb, da se oprosti od društava, kojima je pokroviteljicom. Osim toga saznajemo, da će obitelj bivšeg bana i banice sprovesti zimu u Draždjanima, gdje će se komtesa Dora Pejacsevich baviti glazbenim studijem.«]. Osijek's German-language journal *Slavonische Presse* reported on 20 September 1907 the same news: »The wife of the former ban Dr. Teodor Count Pejačević arrived in Zagreb yesterday, where her excellency will say goodbye to the societies she patronized. As reported by *Obzor*, Her Excellency Countess Lila Pejačević will stay with her daughter Countess Dora Pejačević in Dresden this fall and winter, where Countess Dora will devote herself to higher studies in music.« [»(Gräfin Lilla Pejacsevich) Die Gemahlin des früheren Banus Dr. Theodor Grafen Pejacsevich ist gestern in Agram eingetroffen, wo sich Ihre Exzellenz von den Vereinen, deren Protektorin Sie war, verabschieden wird. Wie der 'Obzor' meldet, wird Ihre Exzellenz Gräfin Lilla Pejacsevich den heurigen Herbst und Winter über mit ihrer Tochter, der Komtesse Dora Pejacsevich, in Dresden Aufenthalt nehmen, wo die Komtesse Dora den höheren Musikstudien obliegen wird.«] ***: Gräfin Lilla Pejacsevich, *Slavonische Presse*, 23 (20 September 1907) 215, 2.

⁴ For more information about Lila Pejačević, see the most detailed work on the composer's mother so far: Gordana GOJKOVIĆ: Zaboravljena majka Dore Pejačević, in: Zdenka Veber (ed.): *Dora Pejačević*

whether the second announcement from the *Obzor* article was realized, i.e. whether Dora Pejačević already came to Dresden in the fall of 1907 and started music lessons there. If that occurred, then the composer's first arrival in Dresden can be directly linked to the termination of her father Teodor Pejačević's mandate as ban in June 1907. Namely, bearing in mind the involvement of Lila Pejačević in numerous protocol duties of her husband, the composer's mother could obviously leave Zagreb only when Teodor Pejačević was no longer the head of the executive power in Croatia, which opened the way for their eldest daughter to continue her education in Dresden.

Therefore, the period from the fall of 1907 to the spring of 1909, when we have the first unquestionable proof of her presence in Dresden, is still unknown in the composer's biography. This is somewhat surprising, because the years before 1907, including the first half of that year, are relatively well recorded in primary sources about Dora Pejačević. At that time her father held the position of ban, and her mother patronized numerous artistic and especially musical societies, which gave the young composer a privileged position on the Zagreb music scene. It is precisely with this in mind that we can examine numerous concert programs and accompanying reviews from those years.

The first unequivocal evidence of Dora Pejačević's presence in Dresden dates back to March 1909 when she received a letter from the musician Paul Knoring (quoted in the paper), and when she performed in the salon of the Dresden composer and pianist Bertrand Roth, playing three pieces from her piano cycle *The Life of Flowers* (*Blumenleben*). A possible indication of an earlier presence in Dresden could be hidden in the dedications of two of her compositions by, which, according to the list of her works from 1923, were composed in 1907 and 1908. Pejačević dedicated the song *Trustworthy Sign* (*Sicheres Merkmal*) from Op. 23 to the soprano Eva von der Osten, and the piano miniature *Memory* (*Erinnerung*), Op. 24 to Marie Therese Schall Riaucour. Both musicians lived in Dresden, so we can assume that Pejačević came into contact with them before 1909. However, this is still not an unequivocal confirmation that Pejačević really came to Dresden before March 1909.

We can discover the addresses where the composer lived in Dresden based on the correspondence between Dora Pejačević and Johannes Nádherný.⁵ Nádherný

1885-1923: zbornik radova sa Znanstvenog skupa »Dora Pejačević: život, rad i značenje« održanog u Našicama 7. i 8. rujna 1985. godine, Našice: SIZ kulture i tehničke kulture općine Našice, 1987, 13-32.

⁵ The correspondence between Pejačević and Nádherný, stored in the State regional archive in Prague, is one of the most important primary sources for the biography and compositional work of Dora Pejačević. In relation to only a few letters (preserved in copies and only partially) in her legacy in the CMI, the Prague source is particularly important because it contains letters and postcards that Pejačević wrote to Nádherný, but also those that Nádherný sent to Pejačević, so it is possible to reconstruct the entire correspondence in detail. See: Davor MERKAŠ: Strogo kontrolirani tragovi: uz novopronađene dokumente o Dori Pejačević u ostavštini Sidonie Nádherný von Borutin, *Arti musices*, 32 (2001) 1, 3-27.

sent several letters and postcards to her in Dresden to three addresses: Hotel Westminster, Bernhardstraße 1; Wiener Straße 7 and Zinzendorfer Straße 2a. In addition, ten years later, the composer lived with her husband Ottomar at the address Josefstraße 7.

Of the four known Dresden addresses, we can best trace the home of the Schall family, which was located at Wiener Strasse 7. Nádherný's letter to Dora Pejačević on 31 May 1911, sent to that address, reveals that the composer lived there with the Schall family. Nádherný announces that he will come to Dresden on 7 June of the same year and asks the composer where he will meet her. The young Czech nobleman is not sure if it is appropriate for him to come to the home of the Schall family, because »admittedly he knows Countess Schall personally«, but »not well enough to visit her«.⁶ Dora Pejačević sent a letter to Johannes Nádherný dated 2 June 1911 from the address Wiener Straße 7 in Dresden.

The presence of Dora Pejačević in the home of the Schall family is also confirmed by a letter sent to her by musician Paul von Knoring.⁷ The charmingly worded letter is addressed to »Countess Dora Pejačević (first second violin in the newly established string ensemble, which has premiered with success on several occasions, majestro [sic!] P. v. Knoring«).⁸ The letter states:

»Dresden, 2 March 09

Most gracious Countess Dora,

Here is the promised praise; I hope that ~~you~~ (You) were very diligent, that ~~you~~ (You) transcribed everything accurately and conscientiously, and that ~~you~~ (You) thereby ensured my satisfaction. Goodbye until Saturday at Schall's!

Greetings from (~~your~~) Your

Ensemble leader

Paul Knoring.

Always be so diligent, so maybe there will be something from you!

Yours sincerely!⁹

⁶ »Ich kenne zwar Gräfin Schall – wenn es die Schwiegermutter v. M. R. Sch.-Lobk. ist –, doch nicht gut genug, um ihr einen persönlichen Besuch zu machen.«

⁷ Letter from Paul Knoring to Dora Pejačević (copy), Croatian Music Institute, Zagreb, Archival Collection, Legacy of Dora Pejačević, without shelfmark.

⁸ »Comtesse Dora Pejacsevich (erste zweite-Violine in der neugegründeten, vielfach prämierten, und mit Erfolg auftretenden Streichkapelle Majestro [sic!] P. v. Knoring)«. Letter envelope, Letter from Paul Knoring to Dora Pejačević (copy).

⁹ »Dr. 2. III. 09. / Allergnädigste Comtesse Dora, / Hier die versprochene Belohnung, hoffentlich (~~bist Du~~) sind Sie recht fleißig gewesen und haben alles gut und gewissenhaft abgeschrieben, und (~~hast Du~~) haben Sie damit meine Zufriedenheit erworben. Also auf Wiedersehen am Samstag bei Schalls! / Es grüßt (~~Dich~~) Sie (~~Dein~~) Ihr / Kapellmeister / Paul Knoring. / Sei stets so fleißig, dann bringst Du es, vielleicht, noch zu Etwas! Dein Kapellmeister!«

Dora Pejačević's concert presence in Germany during her lifetime

After establishing the basic temporal and spatial determinants of Dora Pejačević's presence in Germany, the following text will discuss the concerts at which Dora Pejačević performed or at which her works were performed in Germany. The central source for insight into these concerts is the composer's newspaper album, insufficiently known but at the same time one of the most important primary sources for the study of Dora Pejačević. Since the composer's widower Ottomar von Lumbe did not hand it over to the CMI in 1972, the source remained unknown to most researchers. It probably came into the possession of the Viennese musicologist Elena Ostleitner at the end of the 20th century, and today it is in her legacy stored at the Institute for the Sociology of Music of the University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna.¹⁰ As the focus of the paper is primarily on the composer's newspaper album, which contains about a hundred pages, the article can be seen as a sort of analysis of Pejačević's collecting activities and self-promotional strategies.

In contrast to the solid number of programs and reviews from concerts that confirm that Dora Pejačević's works were performed in Dresden quite a lot, and that some of them were publicly performed by the composer herself, her newspaper album does not record a single concert held in Munich. Since the album contains programs and reports from concerts held all over Europe, for example in Romania and Sweden, one can conclude that the composer carefully collected evidence on the performance of her works.

The fact that we do not find any program or review after a concert in Munich in the rich and carefully arranged newspaper album is proof that Dora Pejačević's compositions were probably not performed publicly in that city during her lifetime. The only confirmed link between Dora Pejačević and Munich is her second professor of composition Walter Courvoisier, to whom, unlike her first professor of composition Percy Sherwood, Dora Pejačević did not dedicate a single piece. Courvoisier did not publicly perform any work of his Croatian student, which we cannot say about Sherwood. In addition, a letter written by Dora Pejačević to Johannes Nádherný from March 1913 confirms that she returned to Našice from Dresden – and not from Munich, as one would conclude at first glance according to the information that she studied composition in Dresden and Munich – and afterwards returned to Croatia. Based on all of the above, one can conclude that the Munich period was much less significant compared to the Dresden period, and that Munich was a kind of episode during Dora Pejačević's longer stay in Dresden. In short, the role of Dresden in the biography and compositional development of the most famous Croatian female composer is significantly greater than the role of

¹⁰ Unless otherwise stated, all information about concerts (place, time, program and performers) comes from preserved concert programs from the newspaper album. If some information is taken from the reviews, it is specially emphasized.

Munich, and the vast majority of concerts that will be discussed in the rest of this paper were held precisely in the capital of the German province of Saxony.

11 and 12 January 1902: The first known performances of a composition by Dora Pejačević in Germany were already recorded at the beginning of 1902, just a few months after the first public performance of any of her works at all (in a concert by violinist Stefi Geyer and pianist Valérija Ipolyi on 25 October 1901 in Sombor, now in Serbia). The concert programs both in Sombor and Germany included the *Canzonetta* for violin and piano in D major, Op. 8. While the path by which *Canzonetta* reached the program of the Sombor concert is clear (the work was dedicated to the violinist Stefi Geyer), we cannot establish the same for the two German concerts. The violinist Maria Schirow, who is not mentioned in the known sources about Dora Pejačević, performed *Canzonetta* on 11 and 12 January 1902. At the first concert, held in the restaurant H. Lentholz in Wickrathberg near Düsseldorf, the piano part was played by »Ms. Schirow«, and at the second in Elberfeld (today part of Wuppertal) by the pianist Arthur Schmittbetz. Unlike the programs, reviews of two concerts have not been preserved in the newspaper album.

1904: It is not known whether Dora Pejačević attended the above-mentioned first public performances of any of her compositions outside the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in 1902, but she probably attended the Wagner Festival in Bayreuth two years later. In 1904, Osijek's German-language newspaper *Die Drau* announced that Lila and Dora Pejačević would soon visit the Wagner Festival in Bayreuth.¹¹ In addition, we learn about Dora Pejačević's presence in Bayreuth from her correspondence with Johannes Nádherný. Johannes Nádherný sent Dora Pejačević a postcard from Bayreuth in 1908, on which he wrote that he thought that »she was there once«.¹² Dora Pejačević was a great admirer of Richard Wagner, and it was in the years after 1904 that she intensively studied literature about him, which supports the assumption that she actually visited the Bayreuth Festival that year.¹³ However, apart from the newspaper announcement and Johannes Nádherný's assumption, there is no known clear evidence of Dora Pejačević's presence in Bayreuth.

14 March 1909: After an apparently isolated case of two early German performances of *Canzonetta*, it was necessary to wait seven years before the next public performance of a composition by Dora Pejačević took place in German Empire. This time, on 14 March 1909, the composer herself performed the pieces *Rose*, *Lily* and *Lily of the Valley* from the piano cycle *The Life of Flowers* at the 118th matinee in Bertrand Roth's salon. The newspaper album contains the program and a review from the concert where, in addition to three pieces by Pejačević, compositions by Oskar Hoffmann, Anna Teichmüller and Karl Kämpf were performed. The review,

¹¹ ***: Gräfin Lila Pejacsevich in Bayreuth, *Die Drau*, 37 (31 July 1904) 92, 6.

¹² »Ich glaube, auch Sie waren einmal hier.«

¹³ About the presence of Richard Wagner in Dora Pejačević's reading diary, see: Dinko ŽUPAN: Books I Have Read: Dora Pejačević kao čitateljica, *Scrinia Slavonica*, 12 (2012), 115-177.

entitled *Music Salon of Bertrand Roth (Musik-Salon Bertrand Roth)*, was signed with the initials »E. P.«, and the newspaper clipping was preserved without an indication of the source. Thanks to the critics, we learn that the first public presentation of Dora Pejačević in Dresden was a solid success. According to the review, Dora Pejačević was at that moment already a student of Percy Sherwood.¹⁴

Finally, on the same page of the newspaper album there is also a shorter news item without title and information about the source, in which it is stated that Mr. and Mrs. Sherwood organized a musical evening at which Lila Pejačević performed songs by Percy Sherwood and her daughter Dora Pejačević, as well as some other Hungarian compositions.¹⁵ The presence of Lila Pejačević on the Dresden music scene, where she also performed her own daughter's compositions, confirms that she played an important role in the popularization of the work of the young composer – even in Germany.

9 and 10 March 1910: A year later followed two charity concerts of the Dresden Bachmann Trio, in which performed the pianist Walther Bachmann, violinist Rudolf Bärtich and cellist Arthur Stenz. Proceeds from the two concerts benefited the Maria-Ana children's hospital and the Austrian-Hungarian Aid Society (Österreichisch-Ungarischer Hilfsverein), and both concerts were held in the Neustädter Kasino hall.¹⁶ The organizer of the concerts was the Dresden musician Heinrich Bock, whose name we will encounter as one of the first publishers of Dora Pejačević. Namely, Bock was the owner of the Dresden musical instrument store located at Prager Straße 9, which published several of Pejačević's works.¹⁷

The programs of the two concerts from March 1910 were mostly the same, and they included the Piano Quartet in D minor, Op. 25 by Dora Pejačević (the

¹⁴ »Dora Pejačević, a Hungarian noblewoman studying with Percy Sherwood, played from her *The Life of Flowers* Op. 19 three pieces for piano: *Rose, Lily* and *Lily of the Valley*, charming, colorful pictures of atmosphere, which exude musicality and considerable creativity. The gifted lady, who was the subject of intense tributes, distinguished herself as a solidly educated pianist.« [»Dora Pejačević, eine ungarische Edle, die bei Percy Sherwood studiert, spielte aus ihrem Op. 19. Blumenleben drei Stücke für Klavier: *Rose, Lilie* und *Maiglöckchen*, anmutige, farbfrische Stimmungsbilder, die musikalischen Sinn und beachtliche Gestaltungskraft befanden. Auch als solid geschulte Pianistin zeichnete sich die talentierte Dame aus, die Gegenstand lebhafter Huldigungen wurde.«]

¹⁵ »At a soiree given by Mr. and Mrs. Sherwood ...« [In einer von Herrn und Frau Sherwood gegebenen Soiree...]. The author of the short news is signed with the initials A. I.

¹⁶ The Dresdner Neustädter Kasino was not destroyed in the bombing in February 1945, and today it houses the institution Kulturrathaus Dresden.

¹⁷ In the newspaper album of Dora Pejačević an advertising flyer from Heinrich Bock's shop for published compositions by Dora Pejačević is preserved about the compositions Op. 18, 19, 20, 22, 24, 25 and 27. Most of the copies of the mentioned Bock's editions have been preserved, but it is still questionable what the publisher meant when he included the piano cycle *The Life of Flowers*, Op. 19 on the advertising leaflet. Namely, that cycle of piano miniatures was published by another Dresden publisher, L. Hoffarth (one copy of Hoffarth's edition of *The Life of Flowers* is preserved in the composer's legacy at CMI). It is not entirely clear whether there was another edition of *The Life of Flowers* by Heinrich Bock at the same time, or whether Bock's shop also sold Hoffarth's edition.

viola part was played by guest violist Georg Naumann). Of the four preserved reviews in the newspaper album, only one has a source (*Dresdner Neueste Nachrichten*, but without a publication date). All four reviews describe the young composer in extremely positive and complimentary terms. Even though both the programs of the two concerts and the reviews stated that it was a premiere performance, the Piano Quartet, Op. 25 was performed publicly for the first time half a year before, on 11 November 1909 in the music school of Dragutin Kaiser, Zagreb professor of instrumentation (certainly with elements of composition teaching) of Dora Pejačević, which was located in Berislavićeva Street in Zagreb. Therefore, the performances on 9 and 10 March of the following year should be considered the Dresden premieres of the mentioned four-movement composition. In two preserved reviews after the concerts of 9 and 10 March 1910, the recent sheet music edition of *The Life of Flowers* is mentioned, which helps us to date the first edition of that important cycle to the first half of 1910. Finally, the young composer went with the Trio Bachmann on a multi-day tour, during which her pieces were performed in Budapest, Pécs, Osijek and Zagreb (11, 12, 13 and 15 November 1910).¹⁸

One of the four critiques mentions another interesting event, about which there are no further traces. Namely, after the Dresden premiere at two concerts, the Piano Quartet in D minor was repeated at a musical soiree »in the house of the composer's father, Count Pejačević, the former ban of Croatia«. At that concert, apparently of a closed type, Pejačević's earlier compositions, namely *The Life of Flowers* and several songs, were also performed.¹⁹

During the following year, in 1911, several concerts were held in Dresden where Pejačević's compositions were performed. The composer's newspaper album testifies that in March 1911 alone three concerts were held with works by Dora Pejačević:

18 March 1911: At the performance of the singing students of Doris Elisabeth Siebert, a Dresden singer and professor of singing at the local conservatory, works by several Dresden composers were performed, as evidenced by a review from the newspaper album entitled *Dresden Concerts (Dresdner Konzerte)*, published in the *Lokalanzeiger* newspaper on 24 March 1911. The unsigned critic cites Dora Pejačević as the first composer, emphasizing her meteoric rise as a composer in domestic

¹⁸ About the mentioned tour, see, for example: ***: Bachmann-Trio, *Obzor*, 51 (16 November 1910) 317, 2-3; ***: Koncertat Bachmann-trio, *Hrvatski pokret*, 6 (15 November 1910) 3; ***: Konzerte: Bachmann-Trio, *Agramer Tagblatt*, 25 (17 November 1910) 262, 5-6.

¹⁹ »The good impressions were reinforced by the repetition of the composition at a musical soiree in the house of the composer's father, Count Pejačević, the former ban of Croatia. At the same time, earlier works, songs and *The Life of Flowers* for piano were heard, which show the composer's talent for the small form in the best light.« [»Bestärkt wurden die guten Eindrücke bei einer Wiederholung des Werkes bei einer musikalischen Soirée im Hause des Vaters der Komponistin, des Grafen Pejacsevich, ehemaligen Banus von Kroatien. Gleichzeitig kamen frühere Arbeiten, Lieder und Blumenstücke für Klavier zu Gehör, die die Begabung der Künstlerin auch für die kleine Form im besten Lichte zeigen.«].

music circles. In addition to the performance of three songs by Dora Pejačević on that occasion (the titles are not given, and the program from the concert has not been preserved), the popularity of the young composer is confirmed by the announcement that her work will soon be performed by violinist Joan Manén.²⁰ The announced concert of the Catalan violinist and composer Manén took place a week later.

19 March 1911: The concert from which only the program is preserved in the newspaper album was held on 19 March 1911 at the address Zinzendorfer Straße 2a, apparently at the same place as the »musical soiree at the house of the composer's father«. We can assume that it is the Pejačević family's home in Dresden, where mother Lila spent a lot of time, and most likely father Teodor as well. Namely, this period was a kind of career intermezzo in the life of Teodor Pejačević, who, after resigning as ban of Croatia in June 1907, moved to the next important position in July 1913, the post of Minister for Croatia in the Hungarian government. The concert program from 19 March consisted of four blocks. In the first, Dora Pejačević on the violin, »Mr. Smith« on the cello and »Mr. Cossart« on the piano performed the Piano Trio in E-flat major, Op. 40 by Johannes Brahms, followed by a block where Lila Pejačević performed four pieces by Richard Riess, Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky, Hugo Wolf and Richard Strauss (pianist not listed). After the third block, in which Walther Bachmann played three pieces by Mendelssohn, Brahms and Chopin, it was the composer's mother Lila Pejačević's turn again. She performed Two Songs for Voice and Piano, Op. 27 by Dora Pejačević (*I walk the Streets Slowly – Ich schleiche meine Straßen* and *Blown Away – Verweht*) followed by two additional songs, one by L. Cossart (probably the pianist who performed previously) and Percy Sherwood.

25 March 1911: Sonata for violin and piano in D major, Op. 26, the first of a total of five sonatas composed by Dora Pejačević, was premiered in the Palmengarten Hall in Dresden on 25 March 1911. The organizer of the concert was the previously mentioned Heinrich Bock. The violin part of the Sonata was performed by the Catalan violinist and composer Joan Manén, who, as we know from a review published in the *Dresdner Journal*, was known to the Dresden public until then only as a composer and as the author of the opera *Acté*. Along with Joan Manén, two pianists

²⁰ »Many Dresden authors presented their compositions, some of which were completely new. Three songs by D. Pejačević were performed, whose musical atmosphere was amazing and with their inventiveness and talent for form, they fulfilled all the expectations that arose from the previously heard works of the same composer. Soon, Jean Manén will also perform the compositions of D. Pejačević, which means that the young composer achieved her well-deserved success unusually quickly.« [»Es produzierten sich viele Dresdner Autoren mit teilweise ganz neuen Kompositionen. Von D. Pejačevich erschienen drei Lieder, deren musikalischer Stimmungsgehalt entzückte, auch Erfindungsgabe und Formtalent erfüllten alle Erwartungen, die früher gehörte Werke desselben Komponisten (sic!) aufkommen ließen. In der nächsten Zeit wird auch Jean Manén Sachen von D. Pejačevich vortragen, womit gesagt sein soll, daß die junge Komponistin ungewöhnlich rasch zu dem ihr gebührenden Erfolg gekommen ist.«].

played at the concert: Percy Sherwood performed the piano part of Dora Pejačević's Sonata, and the American pianist of Russian origin Louis Theodor Grünberg played works by Mozart, Liszt and Saint-Saëns. Already from the above data one can conclude that at the beginning of 1911 Dora Pejačević was in a somewhat privileged position compared to other young composers on the Dresden music scene. In addition to the works of three world-famous composers, the prominent violin virtuoso performed a piece by a Croatian composer while studying in Germany. In addition, since Percy Sherwood played only this piece, we can assume that the Sonata for Violin and Piano, Op. 26 was created under his mentorship.²¹

Sherwood's involvement as a pianist is very significant. In addition to this, one of Dora Pejačević's next works, *Whimsical Waltzes* (*Walzer-Capricen*), Op. 28 is dedicated to Sherwood, which we can consider as evidence that Pejačević composed those two pieces while attending composition lessons with Percy Sherwood. This fact is supported by the stylistic affinity of the Sonata, Op. 26 and *Whimsical Waltzes*, Op. 28. Both works are created in the academic compositional tradition of the first half of the 19th century, without the traces of impressionism that we encounter in Dora Pejačević's earlier piano cycles *Six Fantasy Pieces* (*Sechs Fantasiestücke*), Op. 17 and *The Life of Flowers*, Op. 19. The opinion of the author of this paper is that Percy Sherwood contributed to the basic compositional technique of Dora Pejačević and thus prepared her for great works, for example the Piano Concerto in G minor, Op. 33 and the Symphony in F-sharp minor, Op. 41, but also that he simultaneously curbed the development of Pejačević's original compositional language. The innovation and originality of *Six Fantasy Pieces* and *The Life of Flowers* is far more pronounced compared to the later *Whimsical Waltzes*, created apparently during the work with Sherwood. Hypothetically speaking, if Dora Pejačević had worked with a compositionally more contemporary mentor, or even if the collaboration with Sherwood had been completely absent, Dora Pejačević would probably have developed her own compositional language to a greater extent, i.e. she would have accepted the guidelines of contemporary music from the beginning of the 20th century to a greater extent.

Four reviews from the third concert from March 1911 have been preserved in the newspaper album. Thanks to a handwritten note by the composer herself, we learn that they were published in the German newspapers *Dresdner Journal*, *Lokal-anzeiger*, *Dresdner Neueste Nachrichten* and *Dresdner Nachrichten*. The author of the review from the *Dresdner Journal*, signed with the initials »N. S.« (illegible), wrote that the composer was »a young lady from our Austro-Hungarian colony«,²² prob-

²¹ For more information about Sherwood (and Courvoisier), see: Dalibor DAVIDOVIĆ: Zagonetka njezine samotnosti, in: Silvija Lučevnjak (ed.): *Izazovi baštine Dore Pejačević: zbornik radova znanstveno-stručnog skupa*, Našice: Zavičajni muzej Našice – Osnovna glazbena škola Kontesa Dora, 2022, 23-75.

²² »Eine junge Dame unserer österreichisch-ungarischen Kolonie«.

ably referring to the Austro-Hungarian community in Dresden. The largest part of this criticism is dedicated to the new work of Dora Pejačević, who was apparently not unknown to the Dresden audience at that time. Highlighting especially the quality of the first and second movements, while giving the characteristics of an Italian dance tarantella to the third movement, the author of the review from the *Dresdner Journal* wrote: »The characteristics of a true talent for composing were immediately apparent in the natural and completely melodious musical language. In this regard, Dora Pejacsevich speaks in a lovely and immediately appealing idiom: her musical lyrics are warmed by some poetic-dreamlike enthusiasm.«²³

A shorter review, signed with the initials »A. I.« (handwritten Ingman), was published in the *Lokalanzeiger* newspaper and provides information only about Dora Pejačević's Sonata, without referring to the performances of other works. In the text, the author praised the melodiousness and form of the piece, while called the composer »a young Hungarian author« of »very nice appearance«. ²⁴ The third criticism, signed with the initials »hg.« and published in the daily *Dresdner Neueste Nachrichten*, also praises the composition of Dora Pejačević the most, but states that »her reputation despite Op. 26 has not yet penetrated the general public«. From the text we learn that the audience rewarded the performance of the piece with applause after the first and third movement.²⁵ The fourth review, signed with the initials »Kx« and published in the *Dresdner Nachrichten* newspaper, highlights the performance of the other works from the program, and only then gives a (nevertheless positive) verdict on the newly performed Sonata for violin and piano in D major, Op. 26 by Dora Pejačević.

On 17 May 1911 the singing students in Elisabeth Kaiser's class held a performance, where Dora Pejačević's song *Hidden in the leaves* (*In den Blättern wühlt*) from Op. 23 was performed. Not a single criticism of the production has been preserved in the newspaper album, but thanks to the program leaflet we learn that the musical evening was held in Dresden's Belvedere, a representative building destroyed in the Second World War. Dora Pejačević's song was sung by Marta Neumann, the accompanist during the entire concert was Roland Boquet, and tickets could be

²³ »Die Kennzeichen einer echten Begabung für die Komposition offenbarten sich gleich in der ungezwungenen und durchaus melodiosen Tonsprache. Es ist ein liebenswürdiges, unmittelbar ansprechendes Idiom, das Dora Pejacsevich in dieser Hinsicht spricht: musikalische Lyrik, erwärmend in einem gewissen poetisch schwärmerischen Aufschwung.«

²⁴ »Im Konzert von Joan Manén wurde ein beachtenswertes Werk von einer jungen ungarischen Autorin als Uraufführung herausgebracht: eine Sonate für Violine und Klavier von D. Pejacsevich op. 26, die zu den besten Hoffnungen berechtigt. [...] Die Neuheit wurde mit großem Beifall aufgenommen und erzielte zahlreiche Hervorrufe des Violinisten Joan Manén, des Pianisten Percy Sherwood sowie der jungen Komponistin Pejacsevich, einer sehr sympatischen Erscheinung.«

²⁵ »Es folgte die Uraufführung einer D-Dur-Sonate von D. Pejacsevich, ein Komponist, dessen Ruf trotz Opus 26 noch nicht in die breitere Öffentlichkeit gedrungen war. [...] Es war ein idealer Zusammenklang, und der starke Beifall (namentlich nach dem ersten und letzten Satz) war wohl verständlich.«

purchased at four places, including the shop of music publisher Heinrich Bock. The connection between the students' performance and Bock's shop suggests that the frequency of concerts with Dora Pejačević's works during 1910 and especially 1911 should be seen as a repercussion of Bock's musical editions. Namely, in the newspaper album there is an advertising flyer from Bock's store with the information that the sheet music of seven works by Pejačević can be obtained there: *Menuett* for violin and piano, Op. 18, *The Life of Flowers*, Op. 19,²⁶ *Lullaby (Berceuse)* for piano, Op. 20, *Romance (Romanze)* for violin and piano, Op. 22, *Memory* for piano, Op. 24, *Quartet* for piano, violin, viola and cello, Op. 25 and *Seven Songs (Sieben Lieder)*, Op. 23, listed as the last work on the flyer.²⁷

On 2 June (1911?)²⁸ a concert took place from which only the program without much information has been preserved. The concert was held at the address Schweizer Straße 16, most likely in Dresden (an attempt to search for a space at that address did not bear fruit, so it was probably a closed house music session, presumably in Percy Sherwood's home). Sherwood performed two scores – Sonata for violin and piano in D major, Op. 26 by Dora Pejačević and his own four-movement Sonata in C minor for two pianos. In the first part of the program, Miss Sherwood, probably his wife, performed *Rhapsody*, Op. 79 No. 2 by Johannes Brahms. Most of the other performers refer to English names (»Miß Wilson, Miß Annie and Miß Helen Hodgson, Miß Mc. Lean«), as well as the date on the program sheet (»June 2nd« – written in English). The violin part of Dora Pejačević's Sonata was performed by Rudolf Bärtich, a member of Trio Bachmann.

12 November 1911: After the summer break in 1911, two more concerts with works by Dora Pejačević were held in Dresden. The first one was organized by the Women's Club Dresden 1910 (Frauenklub Dresden 1910), the organization that gathered mainly noblewomen and organized numerous musical, artistic and other manifestations. On 12 November 1911 at the Künstlerhaus works by four female composers were performed. Along with Dora Pejačević the audience could hear works by Adele aus der Ohe, Anny von Lange and G. Batchelder (the name is not given but based on the label »female composer« / »Komponistin«, it is clear that she is the fourth composer from the program). The concert program included three violin miniatures by Dora Pejačević: *Romanze*, *Canzonetta* and *Menuett*. As we learn from the preserved program, the composer herself performed the piano part, while German musician Gertrud Matthaes played the violin. After the musical part, the Austrian writer Ossip Schubin gave a lecture. In the newspaper album we

²⁶ It is probably an edition of another Dresden publisher, L. Hoffarth, the only copy of that edition of *The Life of Flowers* has been preserved. All other editions on the list were undoubtedly published by Bock.

²⁷ On the advertising leaflet, it is incorrectly listed as Op. 27.

²⁸ The preserved program does not indicate the year, but thanks to the order of the concerts in the newspaper album it can be concluded that it was 1911.

find one single review of the concert, without an indication of the source but with the signature »-dt«. From it we learn that the works of the four female composers were performed only by female musicians (among them were all four composers) and that the entire event was defined as a »musical-literary afternoon tea«. The performance of Dora Pejačević's violin miniatures was described as »beautiful in tone and charming in every way«.²⁹

On **17 November 1911** the last concert during Dora Pejačević's first German period took place at which some of her works were performed. In the newspaper album the program is preserved, but not the critique of the concert organized by the musical club Tonkünstlerverein zu Dresden, which is still active today. The venue of the concert was not specified, but the program included chamber works by Ludwig van Beethoven, Dora Pejačević, and the club member Otto Wunderlich. The Piano Quartet in D minor, Op. 25 by Pejačević was performed by Bachmann Trio and violist Naumann (the same musicians as on 9 and 10 March 1910). As an interesting detail, we can point out that the preserved program states that Dora Pejačević »is a student of composition of professor Percy Sherwood«.³⁰ Thanks to sources from Dora Pejačević's newspaper album, we can trace her collaboration with Sherwood from March 1909 to November 1911, i.e. in a period of two and a half years.

Unfortunately, after the concert in November 1911, we have no trace of Dora Pejačević's public performances until December 1912. However, it was a chamber concert in Našice, apparently during a visit to the family castle for the Christmas holidays. Therefore, the end of 1911 and the whole of 1912 in the biography of Dora Pejačević is still a big enigma for now, especially since it is obviously the year that the composer spent in Munich, where she studied composition with Walter Courvoisier. As already pointed out, the newspaper album does not offer any information about some concert held in Munich at which the composer played or at which her work was performed during her lifetime. Bearing in mind the scope of the newspaper album with numerous reviews and programs, as well as the composer's additions in pencil which are also absent from the Munich period, we can conclude with great certainty that such a concert was not held.

For the next public performance of a work by Dora Pejačević in Germany one had to wait until 1920. It was the integral premiere of the Symphony in F-sharp minor, Op. 41 performed by the Dresden Philharmonic. In the meantime, the composer achieved several great successes, mainly in Zagreb – first of all, performing at the »Symphonic Concert of Young Croatian Composers« in 1916 and at the »Composer's Evening« in 1918, a concert dedicated to her chamber works. A little more than two months before the »Composer's Evening« held in April 1918 at the CMI, the two central movements of her Symphony in F-sharp minor, Op. 41 – the

²⁹ »Tonschön und in jeder Beziehung reizvoll«.

³⁰ »Kompositionsschülerin von Professor Percy Sherwood«.

piece that the composer herself called »her greatest work« in a letter to the painter Maksimilian Vanka³¹ – were played in the Great Hall of the Vienna Musikverein.

10 February 1920: The full performance of the Symphony in F-sharp minor came after the end of the First World War and the chaotic year of 1919, in which the composer was forced to flee with her family from Našice to Hungary due to the rebellion of the Green Cadres, Austro-Hungarian Army deserters in the First World War. About a year later, the Dresden Philharmonic premiered the Symphony in its entirety, apparently as a confirmation that Dora Pejačević's ties to Dresden had not ended during the almost ten-year period since her last public performance in 1911. The concert, conducted by Edwin Lindner, was held in the later demolished Gewerbehaus hall. The program began with Dora Pejačević's Symphony and continued with shorter works by Max Schillings and Richard Wagner, whose names were listed in full on the concert program, unlike the Pejačević's, which was quoted only by initials (D. Pejacsevich). The nine preserved reviews in the newspaper album demonstrate the great interest of the media in the concert and the almost unanimously praise the new work of the most famous Croatian female composer.

More than half of the article *Philharmonic Concert (Philharmonisches Konzert)* from the newspaper *Dresdner Nachrichten – Vorabend-Blatt* from 12 February 1920 was dedicated to Dora Pejačević. According to the author, who signed with the initials »E. P.«, »Lindner's performance of the new composition stood out for its accuracy and tender devotion.« We also learn that »the reception of the work was extremely cordial« and that »it turned into delight when it was discovered that the author of the superbly crafted work is a lovely lady«.³²

On the same track are the praises from the review called *Seventh Philharmonic Concert (Siebentes Philharmonisches Konzert)* from the newspaper *Dresdner Neueste Nachrichten* from 13 February 1920. The author, who signed with the initials »W. Pz.« claimed that the composer speaks an »educated, fluent and well-sounding musical language«.³³ A review of the same title, published in the newspaper *Elbtal-Abendpost* on 13 February 1920, signed with the initials »-d.-«, states that the work is very interesting, that the themes are impressively treated, the climaxes are powerfully performed, and the instrumentation is particularly beautiful.³⁴

³¹ Koraljka KOS: Dora Pejačević i Maksimilijan Vanka, in: Nikša Gligo – Dalibor Davidović – Nada Bezić (ed.): *Glazba prijelaza: svečani zbornik za Evu Sedak / Music of Transition: Essays in Honour of Eva Sedak*, Zagreb: ArTresor naklada – HRT, 2009, 176.

³² »Die Wiedergabe der Neuheit unter Lindner zeugte von Sorgfalt und liebevoller Hingabe. Die Aufnahme war überaus herzlich und steigerte sich zur Begeisterung, als eine lebenswürdige Dame sich als Schöpferin des talentkündenden, hervorragend sauber gearbeiteten Werkes zeigte.«

³³ »Sie spricht eine gebildete, fließende, wohl lautende musikalische Sprache.«

³⁴ »Das Werk ist hochinteressant. Die Themen sind wirkungsvoll verarbeitet, die Steigerungen machtvoll durchgeführt, die Instrumentation einzig schön.«

The author, signed as »L.«, stated in the article *The Seventh Philharmonic Concert* (*Das siebente Philharmonische Konzert*) from the *Dresdner Anzeiger* newspaper of February 11 that the performance of the Symphony lasted almost an hour, while the author signed with the initials »-sta.-« in the *Dresdner-Pirnaer Tagblatt* newspaper (edition of 14 February 1920) called the composer the Hungarian lady, probably because at that time the part of Croatia from which the composer came was in the Hungarian part of the Monarchy. An unsigned critic from the *Lokal-Anzeiger* newspaper concluded, however, that the Symphony is »a talented work whose beginning promises more than the slightly overstretched ending delivers.«³⁵

The information we find in the review also titled *Seventh Philharmonic Concert* (*Siebentes Philharmonisches Konzert*, *Dresdner Lokal-Anzeiger* newspaper) is important because it mentions Dora Pejačević as a piano student of Walther Bachmann, which completes the already known list of music professors of Dora Pejačević. Bachmann is cited in the literature thus far just as a performer of Dora Pejačević's works, but not as her piano professor. Namely, Janko Barlè states in the obituary of Dora Pejačević in the Croatian journal *Sv. Cecilija* in 1923 only the Dresden professors of composition (Percy Sherwood) and violin (Henri Petri), without mentioning her piano professor.³⁶ Nevertheless, Dora Pejačević attended piano lessons with Bachmann probably during the first German period in her biography – after all, in 1920 Dora Pejačević did not even live in Dresden but in Našice and it was just a short visit to Germany.

The remaining two of nine reviews from the newspaper album also praise the composer's new work. The author, who signed as »hn.« in the article *7th Philharmonic Concert* (*7. Philharmonisches Konzert*), included in the newspaper album without an indication of the source, particularly highlighted the first movement, while the critic signed with the initials »r.« in the *Volksblatt* newspaper states that it is a »young, very talented Croatian lady«³⁷ and announces the concert with her chamber works from 22 February of the same year.

Thanks to the last cited criticism, we conclude that the concert of **22 February 1920**, at which Dora Pejačević's chamber works were performed, was not spontaneously organized after the apparently unexpected success of the Symphony performance, but had been a previously planned event. Dora Pejačević's music was played again in the Women's Club Dresden 1910 (*Frauenklub Dresden 1910*), but this time the concert was dedicated only to her works. The *Slavic* sonata for violin and piano in B minor, Op. 43 was performed by Pejačević as violinist and pianist Anny von Lange, whose name we will meet in the list of persons to whom Dora Pejačević dedicated her compositions. In the central part of the program, the

³⁵ »Sie ist eine talentvolle Arbeit, deren Anfang mehr verspricht, als der etwas zu ausgedehnte Schluß hält.«

³⁶ Janko BARLÈ: Dora grofica Pejacsevich, *Sv. Cecilija*, 17 (1923) 3, 81.

³⁷ »Im Philharmonischen Konzert war die Uraufführung einer fast einstündigen Sinfonie von Dora Pejasevich (sic!), einer jungen hochbegabten Kroatian, der Mittelpunkt des Interesses.«

composer performed with her sister Gabrielle, listed as Gabrielle Edelsheim – after the surname of her first husband, from whom Gabrielle divorced in the same year. The Pejačević sisters performed several of the composer's songs. Today, unfortunately, we do not know which songs were on the program. The previously announced cycle *Girl Characters* (*Mächengestalten*), Op. 42 is crossed out in pencil on the preserved copy of the program, and in the only one preserved critique the song titles are not mentioned.

The concert of 22 February 1920 ended with the Piano Quintet in B minor, Op. 40, Dora Pejačević's greatest chamber work, also performed by a female ensemble. Violin parts were played by Bertha Havemann and the composer, viola by Juanita Brockmann, cello by Charlotte Axt and piano by Anny von Lange. The critic »E. P.« praised the work in the text *Musical Afternoon* (*Musikalischer Nachmittag*) in the edition of *Dresdner Nachrichten* dated on 24 February 1920, but still to a lesser extent compared to the previous criticism in which he focused on the Symphony in F minor, Op. 41. He assessed the composer as »too restless«, which is why, according to him, Dora Pejačević »must work on concentration«.³⁸

On **19 April 1921** the last known concert at which one of the composer's works was performed in Germany during her lifetime was held. Exactly ten years after the premiere of her first sonata – Sonata for violin and piano in D major, Op. 26, her first Piano sonata in B minor, Op. 36 was premiered in the same Palmengarten space. The three-movement sonata was first publicly performed by Walther Bachmann, at the recital that also included works by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, Scarlatti, Beethoven, Brahms and Chopin. Thanks to a handwritten note by the composer herself, we learn that the same concert was repeated in Chemnitz. Three reviews of the two concerts have been preserved in the newspaper album, but the composer did not cite the sources along with the newspaper clippings. One of the criticisms refers to the performance in Chemnitz, which we conclude, based on the information, was held in the Small Hall of the Kaufmännisches Vereinshaus, a Chemnitz hall which was destroyed in 1945. The critic Otto Böhme praised the success of the composer, linking it to the integral premiere of the Symphony, after which, as Böhme states, »Prof. Nikisch procured the work for Leipzig«³⁹ – which, as we know, did not happen due to Nikisch's death. Prof. Siegert stated in another surviving critique that the Piano Sonata in B minor contains »rich, noble music whose austere forms are filled with exuberant life«.⁴⁰ The author of the third

³⁸ »Sie gibt sich zu unruhig, gar zu gewollt leidenschaftlich, mit zuviel Hochspannung. Sie muß sich der Konzentration befleißigen.«

³⁹ »Diese schaffende Künstlerin hat in letzter Zeit mehrfach von sich reden gemacht, vor allem durch die Uraufführung einer Symphonie in Dresden mit so tatkräftigem Erfolge, daß Prof. Nikisch das Werk für Leipzig erworben hat.«

⁴⁰ »Soweit man nach dem ersten Anhören, ohne Einsicht in das Manuskript, urteilen kann und darf, bietet diese Sonate eine gehaltvolle, vornehme Musik, deren straffe Formen von einem blühenden Leben erfüllt sind.«

review, preserved in the newspaper album only partially and without a signature, pointed out that it is necessary to »know in advance that the work originates from a woman«, because »it cannot be understood from the music«. ⁴¹

There is no trace that some of the composer's other works was publicly performed in Germany between Walther Bachmann's two concerts in 1921 and her death. The previous success, especially from 1920 and partly in 1921, was probably decisive for Dora Pejačević and her husband Ottomar von Lumbe to move to Dresden after their wedding in Našice in September 1921, but based on several clues, we conclude that the composer's health deteriorated immediately after her arrival. The rest of the German days, both in Dresden and in Munich, were not filled with creative successes like the previous year. Until the end of her life, Dora Pejačević composed only her last work, the String Quartet in C major, Op. 58. At the same time, she stopped keeping a reading diary *My Book Record*. One of the few known records from that time is a farewell letter to her husband dated on 29 October 1922, from which we get the impression that the composer was not only in poor health, but also in a deeply melancholic state. After her death in Munich and temporary burial in Munich's Old North Cemetery (Alter Nordfriedhof), the composer's body arrived in Našice at the beginning of May 1923, where Dora Pejačević's grave is still located today.

Conclusion. The importance of the German days of Dora Pejačević

Based on the presented concerts and other information from her biography, it is possible to get a picture of the importance of the German periods in Dora Pejačević's life. The two German periods strongly marked the biographical and compositional path of the most famous Croatian female composer, and since she died in Munich, we assume that Germany would play a key role in the rest of her life as well. In addition, German was Dora Pejačević's mother tongue. Thanks to the postcard sent to her brother Markus in English ⁴² and her sister Gabrielle's dedication on the *Musik-Skizzen* notebook, ⁴³ we conclude that she communicated with her brother and sister in English and especially in German, which was apparently the language spoken between the members of the Pejačević family. ⁴⁴

⁴¹ »Man muß es sonst woher (vorher?) wissen, dass da Werk von einer Frau stammt, die Musik läßt's nicht erraten.«

⁴² Postcard from Dora Pejačević to Markus Pejačević, CMI, II-Pej-IV, 29.

⁴³ *Musik-Skizzen*, CMI, II-Pej-VII, 2.

⁴⁴ We have no written record of direct communication between Dora Pejačević and her mother or father, but it is likely that this communication, especially with her mother, took place in German. Thanks to Dora Pejačević's letters and other writings, we conclude that she spoke Croatian, French and English, but that she made grammatical mistakes when speaking those languages, in Croatian and French more than in English. Although she undoubtedly spoke Hungarian, not one of her letters or any other text written in Hungarian has been preserved. On the other hand, her command of the German

As far as it is known, Dora Pejačević's works were performed at 16 concerts in Germany during her lifetime. Judging by the preserved programs in Pejačević's newspaper album, by far the most fruitful year was 1911, when seven concerts were held at which Dora Pejačević's compositions were publicly performed. Before that, her compositions were heard twice in 1902, once in 1909, and twice in 1910. After the First World War, her pieces were performed at two concerts held in 1920 and the following two in 1921. At some of them, Dora Pejačević's compositions were performed alongside the works of globally popular composers (e.g. Mozart, Liszt and Saint-Saëns on 25 March 1911), while on others they were alongside lesser-known composers (e.g. on 14 March 1909, on which occasion compositions by Oskar Hoffmann, Anna Teichmüller and Karl Kämpf were played).

Dora Pejačević did not attend formal musical education in Germany, but we learn from the newspaper album that German singing students performed her compositions on two occasions in 1911, which sheds new light on the role that Pejačević played on the Dresden music scene. If we analyze the discourse from critics regarding the degree of popularity the composer enjoyed in the new environment, we will come to the conclusion that over the years she became an increasingly well-known name as a composer, which culminated in the occasion for the premiere of the Symphony in F-sharp minor in February 1920. The successes that Dora Pejačević achieved in Germany during the first period, as well as a total of four concerts with her works held in 1920 and 1921, were probably the main reason for the composer to look for a new home in Germany after her marriage. However, a sudden deterioration in health resulted in a relatively sudden death. The newspaper album of Dora Pejačević, as the central source used in this paper, revealed that Pejačević's German days were extremely fruitful, accompanied by numerous performances, which the local media covered. Finally, the centenary of the death of the composer was marked in Germany on several occasions.⁴⁵

However, despite all the information presented, there are still many open questions about Dora Pejačević's German days. Bearing in mind that during her stay in Germany Pejačević made numerous friendships and acquaintances, it is possible that more primary sources will be discovered in the future, primarily correspondence, which will give us a more detailed insight into this important period in the composer's biography.

language was at an extremely high level. Six partially preserved letters written to Rosa Lumbe Mladota and one letter to her husband Ottomar von Lumbe (in copies preserved in the legacy of Dora Pejačević in CML, II-Pej-IV, 1 – II-Pej-IV, 7), originally written in German, testify to high awareness of language expression and careful selection of each word. To that extent, the translation of the mentioned letters into Croatian was one of the most difficult tasks in the preparation of the book *Dora Pejačević. Životi i svjetovi* by the author of this paper.

⁴⁵ Domagoj MARIĆ: Obilježavanje spomena na skladateljicu Doru Pejačević u Njemačkoj: iz druge domovine najveće hrvatske skladateljice, *Vijenac*, 31 (9 March 2023) 757, 6.

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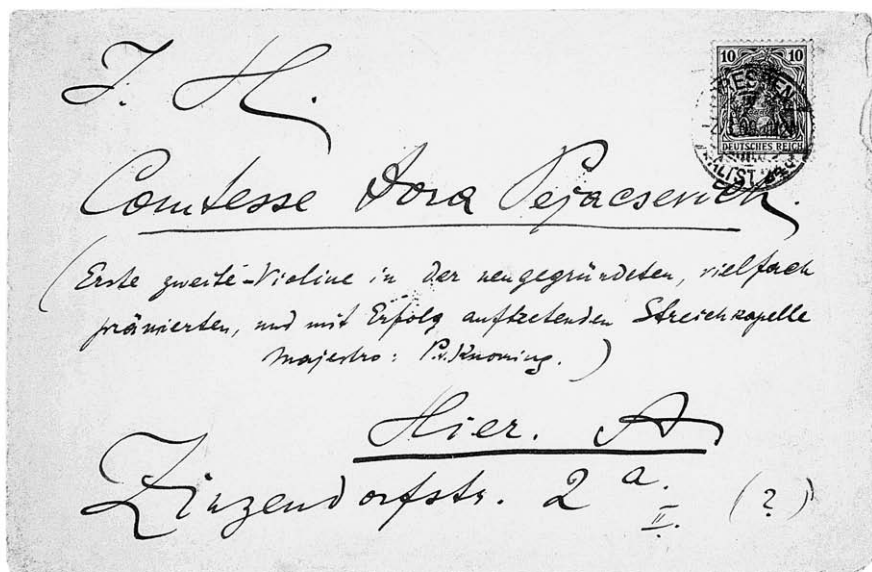
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 Letter from Dora Pejačević to Ottomar von Lumbe, CMI, II-Pej-IV, 7
 Letter from Paul Knoring to Dora Pejačević (copy, without shelfmark)

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Zufriedenheit erwarten.

Also auf Wednesday
am Samstag bei
Schalls!

Es grüßt (Sie) Sie
(Sie) Ihr

Kapellmeister.

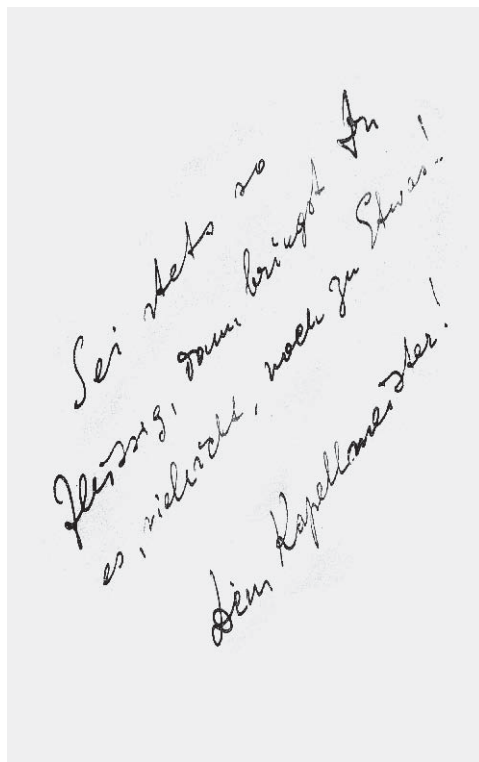
Paul Rönning.

Br. 2. II. og.

Allergnädigste

Comtesse Dora,

Hier die versprochene
Belohnung; hoffentlich
(bist du) sind Sie recht
glücklich gewesen und ha-
ben alles gut und ge-
wissenhaft abgeschrieben,
und (hat Sie) haben
Ich damit meine



Sei stets so
flüssig, dann bringst du
es, nicht schlecht, noch zu stehen!
Dein Kapellmeister!

Figure 1-3: Letter from Paul Knoring to Dora Pejačević, 2 March 1909, Croatian Music Institute, Zagreb.

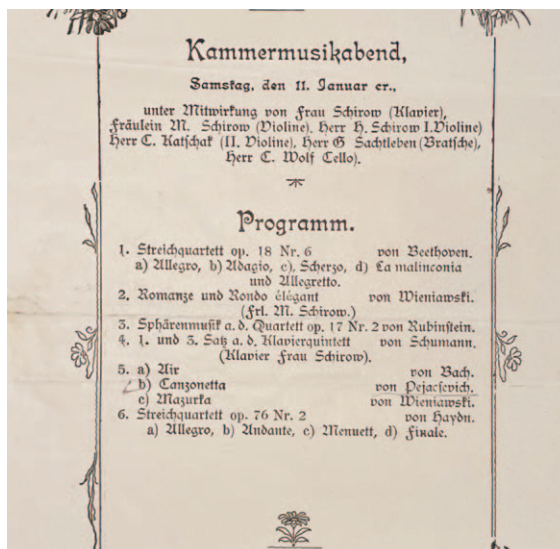


Figure 4: Program of the concert held in the restaurant H. Lentholz in Wickrathberg near Düsseldorf, 11 January 1902, Dora Pejačević's newspaper album, University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna.

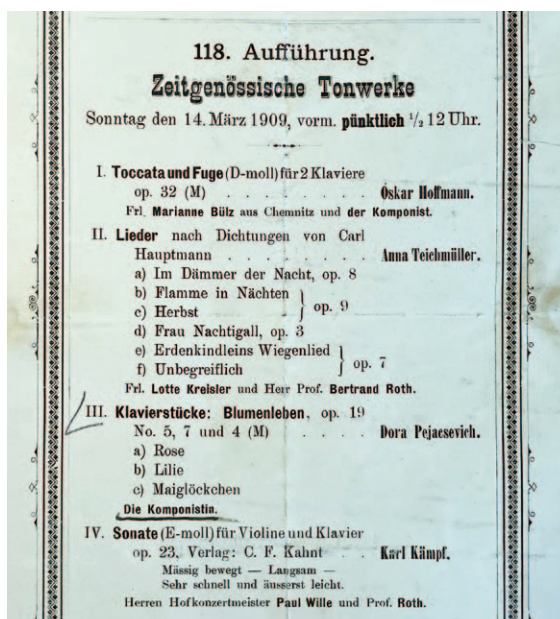


Figure 5: Program of the 118th matinee in Bertrand Roth's salon, 14 March 1909, Dora Pejačević's newspaper album, University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna.

von
Elisabeth Kaiser
Gesanglehrerin

Mittwoch, den 17. Mai 1911, abends 8 Uhr im grossen Saale des Kgl. Belvedere.

—→ Vortrags-Folge. ←—

1. a) Mitternacht Felix Draeseke	11. Zwei Arien der Fatime
b) Du bist ja doch der Herr Reinhold Becker	aus „Oberon“ C. M. v. Weber
Frau Marie Hurling, Gesanglehrerin u. Konzertsängerin in Zittau,	Frl. Felice Rübenkamp.
2. a) Im Volkston Eugen Hildach	12. a) Lied der Walküre . . . Heinrich v. Eyken
b) „Vergiss mein nicht“ . . . Heinrich Hofmann	b) Traum durch die Dämmerung Richard Strauss
Fräulein Suse Selbmann.	c) Heimliche Aufforderung
3. a) „In den Blättern wüht“ D. Pejacsevich	Frau Fr. Fleischer-Steche, Gesanglehrerin
b) Ganz leise Reinhold Becker	und Konzertsängerin.
Frau Marta Neumann.	13. Terzett aus „Tell“ G. Rossini
4. a) Arioso aus „Paris und Helena“:	Frl. G. Beck, Frau D. Brehm, Frl. Ch. Gantzer.
„Spiagge amate“ . . . Ch. W. Gluck	14. a) Minnedienst Erik Meyer-
b) Arie der Zerline aus „Don Juan“:	b) Altdeutsch. Liebesreim Helmund
„Vedrai çarino“ . . . W. A. Mozart	Fräulein Claire Wolter.
Fräulein Käthe Behrendt.	15. a) „Die Trepp' hinunter
5. Zwei Duette für Sopran und Alt Peter Cornelius	gesungen“ C. Löwe
a) In Sternennacht	b) „Zur Drossel sprach der Fink“ E. d'Albert
b) Verrathene Liebe	Fräulein Lisi Canzler.
Frl. Lisi Canzler, Frl. Claire Wolter.	16. Zwei Duette für Sopran und Alt:
6. a) Lied des Pagen aus „Romeo u. Julia“	a) Die Bescheidene Anton Dvorák
b) Lied des Siebel aus „Margarete“	b) Der Ring
Frl. Charlotte Gantzer.	Frl. F. Rübenkamp, Frl. R. Hesse.
7. Arie aus den „Jahreszeiten“:	17. Arie der Zerline aus „Don Juan“:
„Nun beut die Flur“ Josef Haydn	„Batti, batti“ W. A. Mozart
Frl. Johanna Fleischer, Konzertsängerin.	Frl. Gertrud Beck aus Nossen.
8. a) „Ein Obdach gegen Sturm“ Robert Kahn	18. a) Es kehrt die dunkle Schwalbe Joh. Brahms
b) Suleika F. Mendelssohn	b) Aufenthalt Franz Schubert.
Fräulein Rosi Hesse.	Frau Marie Hurling.
9. Romanze des Aennchen aus „Freischütz“ . . . C. M. v. Weber	19. Zwei Lieder:
Frau Dora Brehm.	a) Himmelschlüssel August Ludwig
10. a) „Leb' wohl, liebes Gretchen“ N. W. Gade	b) Wir Drei
b) „C'est mon ami“ . . . J. B. Weckerlin	Frl. Johanna Fleischer.
c) Frühlingslied Edm. Kretschmer	20. Ständchen für Alt-Solo und Frauen-Chor . . Franz Schubert.
Frl. Carola Lichtenstern	Alt-Solo: Frau Fr. Fleischer-Steche.

Am Klavier: Herr Roland Boquet.

Flügel: C. Bechstein aus dem Lager von F. Ries, Kaufhaus.

Figure 6: Program of the production of the singing students in Elisabeth Kaiser's class, 17 May 1911, Dora Pejačević's newspaper album, University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna.

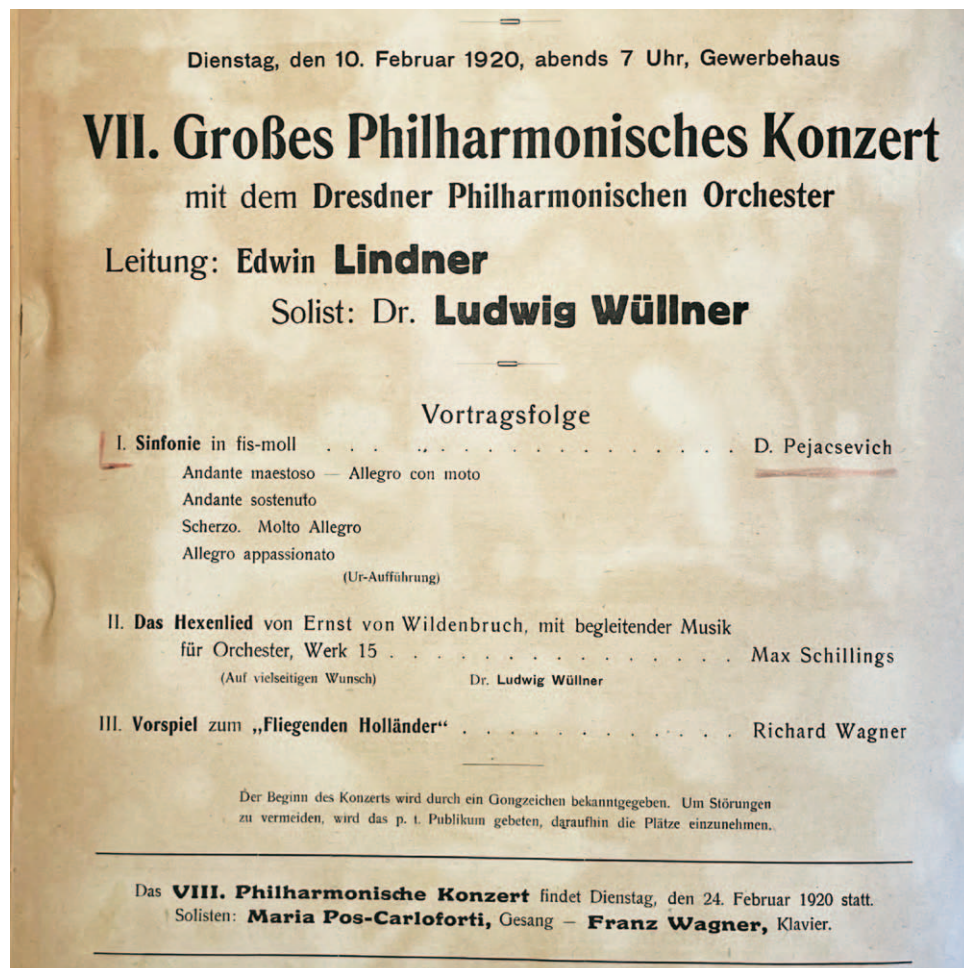


Figure 7: Program of the concert of the Dresden Philharmonic, 10 February 1920, Dora Pejačević's newspaper album, University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna.

Sažetak

NJEMAČKI DANI DORE PEJAČEVIĆ

Dražđani i Monakovo, kako su glasili stariji hrvatski nazivi za Dresden i München, korišteni još za skladateljčina života, bili su važne stanice na životnom putu Dore Pejačević. Ne računajući kraća putovanja kojima je teško ući u trag, npr. tijekom Prvoga svjetskog rata, skladateljica je u Njemačkoj boravila u dvama navratima – prvi put od ožujka 1909. (?) do ožujka 1913. i drugi put od jeseni 1921. do smrti u ožujku 1923. U obama navratima Pejačević je živjela u obama gradovima: prvi se put radilo o studijskim boravcima tijekom kojih je pohađala satove kompozicije kod danas uglavnom zaboravljenih skladatelja Percyja Sherwooda i Waltera Courvoisiera, a drugi put o trajnoj selidbi neposredno nakon udaje za austrijskog plemića Ottomara von Lumbea. Cijeli je niz upitnika o danima koje je skladateljica provela u Njemačkoj – u prvom redu zašto je pokraj monarhijskih centara Beča, Budimpešte i Praga odabrala baš te gradove (pitanje se ponajprije odnosi na Dresden, s obzirom na to da je München ipak bio veće glazbeno središte, a u istom razdoblju kao Dora Pejačević u Münchenu je učio i Krsto Odak, no eventualni kontakti među njima nisu poznati). I prvi i drugi put skladateljica je ostvarila značajnije uspjehe u Dresdenu, gdje je izdavač Heinrich Bock objavio (barem) sedam njezinih opusa (op. 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24 i 25) i gdje je 10. veljače 1920, dakle, prije druge selidbe u Dresden, integralno praizvedena njezina Simfonija, op. 41. Uz privatne sate u klasi Percyja Sherwooda, prvi je drezdenski boravak obilježila suradnja s Triom Bachmann, s kojim je skladateljica u listopadu i studenome 1910. otišla na turneju u Budimpeštu, Pečuh, Osijek i Zagreb. Konačno, Njemačka nije bila samo druga skladateljčina domovina nego i prvo mjesto ukopa, odakle je tri mjeseca nakon smrti njezino tijelo preneseno u Našice, gdje je pronašla svoje krajnje počivalište.

PIANO WORKS BY DORA PEJAČEVIĆ – A PERSONAL PERSPECTIVE OF AN INTERPRETER

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781.6

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Abstract

This article illuminates the significance and impact of Dora Pejačević's piano compositions through the lens of a performing artist. Dora Pejačević (1885–1923), a Croatian noblewoman and composer, emerges as a figure of profound musical depth and innovation. The article begins with an evocative description of Pejačević improvising at the piano, a scene recounted by Countess Sidonie Nádherný von Borutin in a letter to the poet Rainer Maria Rilke dated 5 October 1914. This anecdote serves as a poignant entry point into Pejačević's world.

Central to the article is the exploration of Pejačević's Piano Sonata, Op. 36, composed during the First World War. The interpretative perspective sheds light on the nuanced relationship between Pejačević's compositional process and her personal experiences. The author argues that Pejačević's music is not merely a reflection of her inner world but also a response to the external realities she faced. This dual focus highlights Pejačević's ability to channel her emotional and intellectual energies into a musical language that is both deeply personal and universally resonant.

The discussion extends to the broader context of Pejačević's piano compositions, which are categorized into three distinct phases: early works reflecting her Romantic and Classical influences, middle-period compositions showing a mature late-Romantic style, and late works characterized by far-reaching harmonies and formal freedom, marking a stylistic turning point in her oeuvre. The article highlights Pejačević's precision in musical notation and her ability to clearly communicate her musical ideas. Moreover, the article underscores the significance of Pejačević's piano works within her broader musical oeuvre, noting that these compositions represent the largest body of her work and showcase her evolution as a composer. Through an examination of specific pieces, the author illustrates Pejačević's stylistic development.

Keywords: Dora Pejačević; piano works; interpretation

Ključne riječi: Dora Pejačević; klavirska djela; interpretacija

*Dora improvises on the piano for hours,
thus one forgets the war and the beginning of winter.¹*

Written on 5 October 1914, this single sentence in a private letter captures a valuable impression of a daily scene for us. The writer is Countess Sidonie Nádherný von Borutin. She was one of Dora Pejačević's closest friends and guest at Našice Castle (Croatia), where the composer still lived at the time. The letter quoted here was addressed to no one less than the famous author Rainer Maria Rilke. By writing him about her friend Dora, Sidonie Nádherný pursues her good intention to bring those two artists together somehow (which never really worked out, but that is another story).

»Dora improvises on the piano for hours...« We immediately have a picture in mind: Dora Pejačević at her Blüthner grand piano in her music room at Našice Castle – just as it is caught in this picture (**Figure 1**).



Figure 1: Dora Pejačević at the piano. Picture taken by Countess Elizabetha Drašković von Trakošćan (private property), photo by Tim van Beveren (2021).

What an immense privilege Sidonie Nádherný had to hear her play, developing ideas, inventing music on the piano... We can assume that improvisation was a routine for Dora Pejačević. It must have been wonderful to hear that.

¹ »Dora fantasiert stundenlang am Klavier, darüber vergisst man Krieg und den Winter-Anfang.« Rainer Maria RILKE – Sidonie NÁDHERNÝ VON BORUTIN: *Briefwechsel 1906-1926*, ed. by Joachim W. Störck with the assistance of Waltraud and Friedrich Pfäfflin, Göttingen: Wallenstein Verlag, 2006, 220.

»Dora improvises on the piano for hours, thus one forgets the war and the beginning of winter.« Sidonie Nádherný wrote this sentence in the autumn of 1914. The First World War had been going on for two months and it seems that, for her, music was a welcome distraction from the outside world, as it is probably for most people.

But evidently for Dora Pejačević, it was not that simple. Music did not have a clear function to her, it was more like a manifestation of her inner world. She describes this in a letter to her friend Countess Rosa Lumbe Mladota:

»Actually, I am here only physically, everything I feel within me floats beyond what is present and visible [...]. Floating away into this most invisible world of my own inwardness, I am completely myself, and this self, which then feels too full of itself in this heavenly hiddenness, is looking for an expression, for a relief from this psychological high pressure which is actually a kind of enthusiasm – and this enthusiasm becomes when a composition is created!«²

Although this description sounds self-centered in a very *romantic* way, Dora Pejačević was not at all an individual who shut herself away from the world (which she could have easily done as a noblewoman in a castle). We can derive that from her charity work as President of the Red Cross in Našice, where she had frequent contact with wounded soldiers and thus saw the effects of the war with her own eyes. From letters to Rosa Lumbe Mladota³ we know how much she was moved by those impressions. It therefore makes sense to consider her compositions of those years also in the context of the political and social situation.

In the autumn of 1914, she was working on a piece that has and will always have a special place in my repertoire: her Piano Sonata, Op. 36. Whenever I play this piece, I find it difficult not to think of the time in which it was composed. The consistent expressivity and tension of the work at least suggest that the First World War has left musical traces here. Sidonie Nádherný was probably one of the first persons who heard fragments of the Sonata, which is Dora Pejačević's most extensive work for piano.

A few months later, in February 1915, the two women go on a journey to Rome together as we know from another letter by Sidonie Nádherný to Rainer

² »Eigentlich bin ich nur körperlich hier, alles was ich am Leben und Erleben in mir fühle schwebt über das Gegenwärtige und Sichtbare hinweg [...]. In diese unsichtbarste Welt eigenster Innerlichkeit entschwebt, bin ich erst ganz mein Selbst, und dieses Selbst, das sich dann in dieser himmelweiten Verborgenheit zu sehr erfüllt von sich selbst fühlt, sucht nach einem Ausdruck, nach einer Entlastung von diesem seelischen Hochdruck, der an und für sich eine Art Begeisterung ist – und diese Begeisterung wird dann, wenn eine Komposition entsteht!«, Croatian Music Institute, Zagreb (Hrvatski glazbeni zavod, Zagreb), Archival Collection, Legacy of Dora Pejačević, II-Pej-IV, 5.

³ *Ibid.*, II-Pej-IV, 2.

Maria Rilke.⁴ During their stay in Rome, Sidonie Nádherný might have witnessed the evolution of the second movement of the Sonata, Op. 36, as we can see in the autograph manuscript where Dora Pejačević noted: *Roma. Febr.* (Figure 2). Or did she compose the piece only in her mind? We do not know.

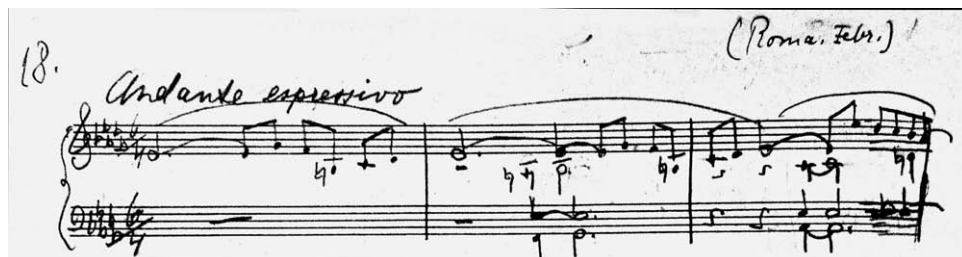


Figure 2: Autograph manuscript of Piano Sonata, Op. 36 (2nd movement).
Hrvatski glazbeni zavod (HGZ), Zagreb, Ostavština Dore Pejačević (muzikalije),
II-Pej-V-A.19 (1), photo by Tim van Beveren (2018).

Although there are big gaps, we can at least put together some details to get a vague image of the creation process of Op. 36. It takes another month until the whole Sonata is finished. In the autograph manuscript, Dora Pejačević writes at the end of the third movement: *Fine. Našice, 29. III. 1915.* (Figure 3) The 29-year-old composer succeeds in creating a real masterpiece despite the great external upheavals.

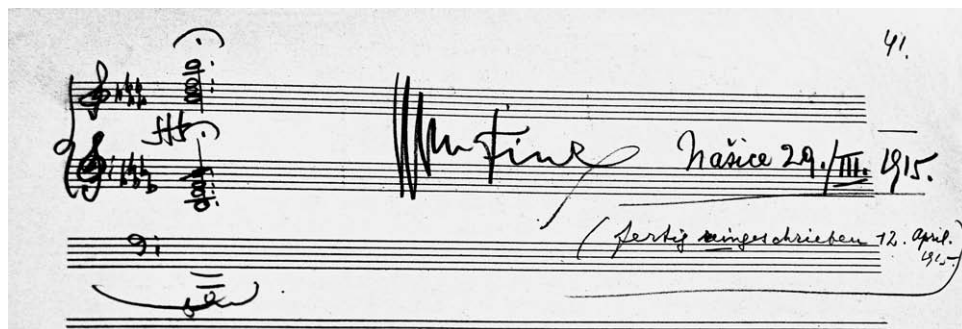


Figure 3: Autograph manuscript of Piano Sonata, Op. 36 (3rd movement).
Hrvatski glazbeni zavod (HGZ), Zagreb, Ostavština Dore Pejačević (muzikalije),
II-Pej-V-A.19 (1), photo by Tim van Beveren (2018).

For me, as an interpreter, the information »Dora improvises on the piano for hours« was an important affirmation of my own approach to the Sonata, Op. 36.

⁴ Rainer Maria RILKE – Sidonie NÁDHERNÝ VON BORUTIN: *Briefwechsel 1906-1926*, 228.

Playing the beginning of the second movement, for example, I had the idea of improvisation immediately in mind: it starts totally open with a single tone, then a melodic movement around it, disguising rhythm and metrics by ties. The harmonic frame stays vague at first, too. Formally, one could call those first bars an *introduction*, but the sound result is far away from that. It seems as if the main theme grows, evolves from the single tone in the first bar; it sounds just like an improvisation. But although this is the effect Dora Pejačević creates here, the music is far from being improvised, of course. The composer is very accurate in a philological sense (actually, she is one of the most accurate composers I know). In all of her autograph manuscripts, we have primary sources that show her strong will to put on paper her precise musical ideas. The path to that might have been improvisation, but the results are thoroughly fixed works.

I have the impression that from a very early age Dora Pejačević had the performance of her works in mind. Performing music was something she grew up with. Her mother, Countess Lilla Pejačević (née Vay de Vaya), often organized musical salons at Našice Castle, where she performed as a singer. Young Dora also had the opportunity to play her earliest works to this audience.⁵ In that environment, she must have developed her strong sense for musical dramaturgy, for the outside perspective of a work and also for practical aspects. I can derive that from many details in her scores like special fingerings, expression marks, phrasings, etc. As an interpreter, I am able to benefit from that very much, of course. It is not difficult to *read* her works, to get an idea of what she wanted to hear.

Her piano works are the largest group in her musical oeuvre (57 works in total, 24 for piano). The earliest surviving work is the *Berceuse*, Op. 2, which she composed at the age of 12. Her last piano work is the Piano Sonata, Op. 57, written one year before her death. Looking at her piano works, we can follow Dora Pejačević's growth as a composer and her different stylistic phases. I would suggest to divide those works into three subgroups.

The early works for piano are short single pieces that always show a clear ABA form. They stick to Romantic and even Classical traditions (*Menuet*).

- *Berceuse*, Op. 2 (1897)
- *Gondellied*, Op. 4 (1898)
- *Chanson sans paroles*, Op. 5 (1898)
- *Papillon*, Op. 6 (1898)
- *Menuet*, Op. 7 (1898)
- *Impromptu*, Op. 9a (1899)
- *Chanson sans paroles*, Op. 10 (1900)
- *Trauermarsch*, Op. 14 (1902)

⁵ Koraljka KOS: *Dora Pejačević. Leben und Werk*, Zagreb: Muzički informativni centar Koncertne direkcije Zagreb, 1987, 28-29.

At the age of 18, she composes her first cycle for piano, *Sechs Fantasiestücke*, Op. 17.

In the following years, this cycle is followed by two others: *Blumenleben*, Op. 19 and *Walzer-Capricen*, Op. 28. In the Sonata, Op. 36 she reaches her mature and unmistakably late romantic style.

- *Sechs Fantasiestücke*, Op. 17 (1903)
- *Blumenleben*, Op. 19 (1904-1905)
- *Berceuse*, Op. 20 (1906)
- *Valse de concert*, Op. 21 (1906)
- *Erinnerung*, Op. 24 (1908)
- *Walzer-Capricen*, Op. 28 (1910)
- *Vier Klavierstücke*, Op. 32a (1912)
- *Impromptu*, Op. 32b (1912)
- *Sonate in b-moll*, Op. 36 (1915)
- *Zwei Intermezzi*, Op. 38 (1915)

The third group starts for me with *Zwei Klavierskizzen*, Op. 44. These two pieces seem to mark a turning point in Dora Pejačević's oeuvre. New elements can be found here: far reaching harmonies, freedom in form and melody. The composer seems to allude to that in the title *Klavierskizzen* (*Piano Sketches*), as if she wants to prepare the listener and the performer for an experiment. I would say that these little piano pieces are the opening of her *late works* / *Spätwerk* (if there is such a thing for a person who died at the age of 37).

- *Zwei Klavierskizzen*, Op. 44 (1918)
- *Blütenwirbel*, Op. 45 (1918)
- *Capriccio*, Op. 47 (1919)
- *Zwei Nocturnes*, Op. 50 (1918 / 1920)
- *Humoreske und Caprice*, Op. 54 (1920)
- *Sonate As-Dur*, Op. 57 (in einem Satz) (1921)

The two pieces of *Zwei Klavierskizzen*, Op. 44 have programmatic titles: *I. An Dich* [To You] and *II. Vor Deinem Bild* [In front of your picture]. Working on these pieces, I asked myself several questions: What inspired these titles? Is it a real person, a real *picture* she refers to? Where does this totally new style come from? Are there influences I can trace? What sources are left behind?

The pieces are dedicated to her close friend Anny von Lange (just like the Sonata, Op. 36, by the way). Is she the person in the *picture*? I did lots of research on her: she was also a composer, living in Dresden, coming from a family of (military) nobility in Saxony. She became a follower of Rudolf Steiner's philosophy in 1920 and stopped composing music in 1931.⁶ Sadly, her whole estate and all of her

⁶ Rita JACOBS: von Lange, Anny, *Forschungsstelle Kulturimpuls Biographien Dokumentation* <<https://biographien.kulturimpuls.org/detail.php?&id=1410>> (Accessed 24 February 2024).



Figure 4: Pavillon at Našice Castle. Picture taken by Countess Elizabetha Drašković von Trakošćan (private property), photo by Tim van Beveren (2021).

works were destroyed during the bombardment of Dresden in 1945.⁷ There are no other traces left in Dora Pejačević's estate either, except for one picture that (probably) shows Anny von Lange at the small lake near Našice Castle. (Figure 4)

When I rehearsed *Zwei Klavierskizzen*, Op. 44 I had to learn a new musical language that Dora Pejačević seemed to have invented out of the blue (I did not really benefit from having played already the Sonata, Op. 36 and *Fantasiestücke*, Op. 17). To get closer to that new style, I searched for possible influences. Koraljka Kos points out that Wagner's *Tristan* might have been an inspiration for the free tonal layout of *Vor Deinem Bild*.⁸ I share this assumption. Even the notes are the same, if you compare the first bars. I also had in mind Alban Berg's Sonata, Op. 1. Just like in Wagner's *Tristan*, the chords evolve from linear, chromatic movements in different voices. But although it is possible to find musical works that might have influenced Dora Pejačević, we can only speculate here. There are no sources

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ K. KOS: *Dora Pejačević. Leben und Werk*, 63.

that give insight into the creation process. In the estate of Dora Pejačević there are four manuscripts⁹ of *Vor Deinem Bild*, of which only one is an autograph manuscript. The other manuscripts are copies by unknown writers. It is also unknown why that piece has been copied three times (an extraordinary case compared to her other works). For my interpretation of *Vor Deinem Bild*, I decided to follow only the autograph manuscript.¹⁰¹¹

In the last few years, I have played numerous concerts with piano works only by Dora Pejačević. The great variety of her piano music made this easily possible without the risk of resulting in a too one-sided program. For me (and for the audience as well) it is highly interesting to follow her path as a composer from her very early piano works to the free tonal style of her late works, just from the perspective of the piano.

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⁹ Croatian Music Institute, Zagreb, Legacy of Dora Pejačević, II-Pej-V-A.13b (1), II-Pej-V-A.13b (2), II-Pej-V-A.13b (1) [3?], II-Pej-V-A.13.

¹⁰ Croatian Music Institute, Zagreb, Legacy of Dora Pejačević, II-Pej-V-A.13.

¹¹ It shows some distinctive differences which made this decision quite easy. For example, on the last quarter note of bar 5 the upper voice in the autograph manuscript shows an added (although unnecessary) natural on e². The other manuscripts write *b* as an additional here. The sound result then is an e-flat² followed by a d-sharp² on the first quarter note of bar 6, which is melodically much less interesting since it is a repetition of the same tone. Unfortunately, I had no insight into the sources before my recording of *Zwei Klavierskizzen*, Op. 44, which is why I play an e-flat² there, according to the only printed edition. This edition provides no information about the sources and questionable aspects in connection with them.

*Sažetak*KLAVIRSKA DJELA DORE PEJAČEVIĆ – IZ OSOBNE PERSPEKTIVE
INTERPRETA

Članak osvjetljava značaj i utjecaj klavirskih skladbi Dore Pejačević kroz prizmu izvođača/ice. Dora Pejačević (1885-1923), hrvatska plemkinja i skladateljica, izranja kao lik velike glazbene dubine i inovativnosti. Članak počinje evokativnim opisom improvizacije za klavirom Dore Pejačević, scenom koju je opisala grofica Sidonie Nádherný von Borutin u pismu pjesniku Raineru Mariji Rilkeu od 5. listopada 1914. Ova anegdota služi kao dirljiva ulazna točka u svijet Dore Pejačević.

Središnji dio članka istražuje Klavirsku sonatu, op. 36 Dore Pejačević, skladanu tijekom Prvoga svjetskog rata. Interpretativna perspektiva rasvjetljava nijansirani odnos između Pejačevićina skladateljskog postupka i njezinih osobnih iskustava. Autorica tvrdi da glazba nije samo odraz njezina unutarnjeg svijeta nego i odgovor na vanjske okolnosti s kojima se suočavala. Ovaj dvostruki fokus naglašava sposobnost Dore Pejačević da kanalizira svoju emocionalnu i intelektualnu energiju u glazbeni jezik koji je duboko osoban i univerzalno rezonantan. Rasprava se proširuje na širi kontekst Pejačevićinih klavirskih skladbi, koje su kategorizirane u tri različite faze: rana djela koja odražavaju njezine romantičarske i klasične utjecaje, skladbe srednjeg razdoblja koje pokazuju zreli kasnoromantični stil i kasna djela koja karakteriziraju bogate harmonije i sloboda forme označavajući stilsku prekretnicu u njezinu opusu. U članku se ističe preciznost notnog zapisa Dore Pejačević i njezina sposobnost jasnog prenošenja glazbenih ideja. Konačno, u članku se naglašava značaj klavirskih djela Dore Pejačević u njezinu širem glazbenom opusu, uz napomenu da te skladbe predstavljaju najveći korpus njezina stvaralaštva i prikazuju njezin razvoj kao skladateljice. Taj se stilski razvoj ilustrira karakterističnim primjerima.

THE ARTISTIC LINKS OF DORA PEJAČEVIĆ AND SVETISLAV STANČIĆ VIEWED THROUGH THE STANČIĆ LEGACY IN THE LIBRARY OF THE ACADEMY OF MUSIC IN ZAGREB

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Abstract

Just as interesting as the lives and works of prominent personalities from the history of Croatian music are the relations among and between these persons and the circle of people around them. Such things, on the one hand, tell of their networking, their influences on each other, the interweaving of their lives and artistic paths. On the other hand, they provide a wider picture of the persons themselves, about musical culture and the time in which they lived and worked. The aim of this paper is to shed light on the previously unknown artistic links between Dora Pejačević and Svetislav Stančić, respectable Croatian musicians and contemporaries, through the prism of his legacy in the Library of the Academy of Music in Zagreb. Of interest for this topic are boxes 1 and 2 in the archives, in which there are con-

cert posters, programs and reviews of Stančić's renderings of Dora's works. Other testimonies to the way they worked together are the autograph of Dora's Piano Sonata in A-flat major, Op. 57, and a message from her friend Olga Schulz-Granitz. Outside the Stančić Legacy, there is one more source that throws light on their relationship: the recording of a conversation broadcast as part of the *Tragom glazbe* series on the Third Program of Croatian Radio.

Keywords: Dora Pejačević; Svetislav Stančić; artistic links; legacy; musical sources; Library of the Academy of Music, Zagreb

Ključne riječi: Dora Pejačević; Svetislav Stančić; umjetničke veze; ostavština; glazbeni izvori; Knjižnica Muzičke akademije u Zagrebu

Introduction

The piano pedagogue, pianist, and composer Svetislav Stančić (1895–1970) studied piano at the music school of the Croatian Music Institute with Emilija Makanec (1851–1933), and composition with Vjekoslav Rosenberg-Ružić (1870–1954) and Franjo Dugan Sr. (1874–1948). In Berlin, from 1918 he studied piano with Heinrich Barth (1847–1922) and from 1920 piano with Conrad Ansorge (1862–1930) and composition with Ferruccio Busoni (1866–1924).¹ On his return to Zagreb, he taught piano at the Academy of Music from 1922 to 1941 and from 1945 to 1965.² Stančić »conveyed his great artistic and professional experiences in his own way to his students, and during more than fifty years of intensive work, he brought up a number of generations of excellent concert pianists and well-trained pedagogues, which means it makes good sense to speak about the *Zagreb piano school*«. ³ Among his students were (in alphabetical order): Zvezdana Bašić, Željko Brkanović, Dubravko Detoni, Ranko Filjak, Mira Flies Šimatović, Dora Gušić, Pavica Gvozdić, Milan Horvat, Božidar Kunc, Melita Lorković, Darko Lukić, Vladimir Krpan, Ivo Maček, Sretna Meštrović, Jurica Murai, Branka Musulin, Margita Neustadt-Matz, Stjepan Radić, Branko Sepčić, Ladislav Šaban and Evgenij Vaulin.⁴

After his death on 15 January 1970, Stančić's spouse Linda Stančić-Carnelutti donated his entire musical legacy – the music library and archival materials – to the Piano Department of the Academy of Music. The Stančić Library consists of printed and handwritten sheet music, books, journals, and gramophone records.⁵ At the time when the Academy of Music's classes were held at the Croatian Music Institute at Gundulićeva Street 6, the Stančić Library was located in room 21, where Stančić had taught. After the Academy of Music moved to its new building in 2015, it became, as a separate collection, part of the holdings of the Library of the Academy of Music.⁶ On 10 October 1977, the Piano Department decided that the archi-

¹ Krešimir KOVAČEVIĆ: Stančić, Svetislav, in: ID. (ed.): *Muzička enciklopedija*, Zagreb: Jugoslaven-ski leksikografski zavod, 1977, vol. 3, 441; ***: Stančić, Svetislav, *Hrvatska enciklopedija*, Zagreb: Leksiko-grafski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2021, <<http://www.enciklopedija.hr/Natuknica.aspx?ID=57753>> (Accessed 1 June 2024).

² Ladislav ŠABAN: Odjel za klavir, orgulje i čembalo (V), in: Koraljka Kos (ed.): *Muzička akademija u Zagrebu 1921-1981: spomenica u povodu 60. godišnjice osnutka*, Zagreb: Muzička akademija, 1982, 38-40.

³ »[Svetislav Stančić] je svoja golemu umjetnička i stručna iskustva umio na njemu svojstven način prenositi na svoje učenike te je tijekom svog više od pedesetogodišnjeg intenzivnog rada odgojio niz generacija vrsnih koncertnih pijanista i stručno dobro potkovanih pedagoga pa se s pravom može govoriti o *zagrebačkoj pijanističkoj školi*.« Cf. *ibid.*, 39.

⁴ Ljubomir GAŠPAROVIĆ (ed.): *Svetislav Stančić*, Zagreb [s. n.], [1990], 7; Jakša ZLATAR: Enigma Stančić (u povodu 50. obljetnice smrti Svetislava Stančića i uz 100. obljetnicu Muzičke akademije), *Tonovi: časopis glazbenih i plesnih pedagoga*, 36 (2021) 2: 78, 32-33.

⁵ Aleksandra MEŽNARIĆ KARAFIN: Zbirka Svetislava Stančića u Knjižnici Muzičke akademije u Zagrebu: Knjižnica Stančić s osvrtnom na autografe pohranjene u Osobnom fondu Stančić, *Arti musices*, 54 (2023) 1, 137.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 138.

val materials be entrusted for safekeeping to the Croatian Music Institute archives.⁷ On 25 February 2021, they were permanently relocated to the Library of the Academy of Music.⁸ There, they were entered as the Svetislav Stančić Personal Collection. They are kept in 27 archival boxes containing concert programs, posters, reviews, newspaper clippings, photographs, documentation related to Stančić's artistic and teaching work, and the autographs of his compositions.⁹

Exposition

The earliest source used in this article is a message from Dora's friend, the pianist Olga Schulz-Granitz (1875–1941) dated 19 July 1915. (**Figure 1**) She invites Stančić to visit her so that he can play for Dora Pejačević.

»Dear Mr. Stančić, you can come to us today at 5 o'clock in the afternoon. Countess Pejacsevich would love to hear you play! – If you are not at home now, please call to let me know if you will come. Best regards, O. Schulz.«¹⁰

Olga Schulz-Granitz was the daughter of the publisher and owner of a printing works and benefactor Ignjat Granitz (1845–1908) and the spouse of the conductor and music critic Ernest Schulz (1866–1943?), with whom she played four-handed piano duos.¹¹ (**Figure 2**) The Granitz family was friends with, and made music with, the opera singer Milka Trnina (1863–1941).¹² In their home on Margaretska ulica 8 (today Preradovićev trg 9),¹³ said to be the only Zagreb salon before

⁷ L. ŠABAN: Odjel za klavir, orgulje i čembalo (V), 39; Vedrana JURČIĆ (ed.): *Vodič kroz glazbene knjižnice i zbirke Zagreba*, Zagreb: Hrvatsko muzikološko društvo – Hrvatsko bibliotekarsko društvo – Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti – Odsjek za povijest hrvatske glazbe, 1997, 81-82.

⁸ A contract for the restitution of the material was signed on 25 February 2021 by Nada Bezić, head of the library and archival collection of the Croatian Music Institute and Željka Radovinović, head of the Library of the Academy of Music in Zagreb.

⁹ A. MEŽNARIĆ KARAFIN: Zbirka Svetislava Stančića, 139.

¹⁰ »Dragi gospodine Stančić, možete danas poslije podne u 5 sati k nama doći. Grofica Pejacsevich bi Vas rado čula svirati! – Ako niste sada kod kuće, molim telefonirajte, jel ćete doći. Lijepo Vas pozdravlja, O. Schulz.«

¹¹ Dora Pejačević showed her friendship with the Schulzes by dedicating to them the Sonata for Cello and Piano, Op. 35. To Olga Schulz Granitz she dedicated the *Two Intermezzi for Piano*, Op. 38. When she died, the Schulzes compiled the first list of her works. Cf. Koraljka KOŠ: *Dora Pejačević*, Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1982, 187 and 193-194; Koraljka KOŠ: *Privatno i javno: prilozi biografiji Dore Pejačević*, in: Ivano Cavallini – Jolanta Guzy-Pasiak – Harry White (eds.): *Glazba, migracije i europska kultura: svečani zbornik za Vjeru Katalinić / Music, Migration and European Culture: Essays in Honour of Vjera Katalinić*, Zagreb: Hrvatsko muzikološko društvo, 2020, 209-210; Domagoj MARIĆ: *Dora Pejačević: život i sojetovi*, Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2023, 12 and 115.

¹² Lelja DOBRONIĆ: Ignjat Granitz: hrvatski industrijalac, dobrotvor i mecena, *Povijesni prilozi*, 15 (1996), 196.

¹³ This was a Neo-Renaissance three storey house put up in 1886, probably designed by Herman Bollé. On the first and second floor was the residential part, and on the ground floor the office. Bollé

1914, prominent figures from the social and artistic worlds would come together.¹⁴ Dora would stay with Olga when she was in Zagreb.¹⁵

Stančić had a productive pianistic career for sixteen years – from his student performance on 31 January 1911, to his last concert on 26 March 1927. During this period, as far as is known, he gave 57 concerts. He performed as a soloist (he organized 24 piano evenings), as a chamber musician, and with orchestral accompaniment.¹⁶ Musicologist Krešimir Kovačević (1913–1992) writes about his performances: »His concert appearances from 1915 onward were significant cultural events. Not only because he was our first concert pianist, but also because as an artist he always championed the performance of works by local composers, and in this respect he put our creative life greatly in his debt.«¹⁷ Pianist and musicologist Ladislav Šaban (1918–1983) had the same opinion: »Without attaching more importance than it merits to the criticism from the time of Stančić's youth, in the history of our piano playing, Stančić still marks the beginning of an era when amateurism in piano teaching came to an end and a period of truly professional piano playing began.«¹⁸

Stančić performed more than 120 compositions by 45 foreign and local composers.¹⁹ Among them were five works by Dora Pejačević (1885–1923), a Croatian composer educated in Našice, Zagreb, Dresden, and Munich, whose artistic legacy comprises 57 opuses (some containing several compositions), 54 of which are extant.²⁰ They include piano, vocal, chamber, and orchestral music composed over a period of 26 years from 1897 to 1922. According to Koraljka Kos, »[Dora Pejačević] in the last decade composed a series of masterpieces which – along with the compositions of Blagoje Bersa and Josip Hatze – constitute Croatian musical mod-

also did the interior decoration for the flat. In 1941 the building was confiscated. From 1945 to 1995 it was occupied by Vjesnik's printing works. In August 2009 it was demolished by the Hoto Group. Cf. *ibid.*, 191.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 195.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 196.

¹⁶ Željka DOLIĆ: *Reproduktivna djelatnost pijanista Svetislava Stančića u ogledalu kritike: diplomski rad*, Zagreb: Muzička akademija, 1987, 16; ID.: Repertoar pijanističkih nastupa Svetislava Stančića, *Arti musices*, 19 (1988) 1, 77-78.

¹⁷ »Njegovi koncertni nastupi od 1915. nadalje bili su značajan kulturni događaj. Ne samo zbog toga što je on bio prvi naš koncertni pijanist, već i zato što se on kao reproduktivni umjetnik uvijek zalagao za izvođenje djela domaćih kompozitora, pa je u tome pogledu znatno zadužio naše stvaralaštvo.« Cf. Krešimir KOVAČEVIĆ: Svetislav Stančić, *Zvuk*, 3 (1957) 9-10, 384.

¹⁸ »Ako ne pridamo kritici iz vremena Stančićeve mladosti veće značenje od onoga koje ona zaslužuje, u povijesti našeg pijanizma Stančić ipak znači početak jedne epohe, epohe definitivnog prestanka diletantizma u klavirskoj nastavi i početak ere pravog stručnog pijanizma.« Cf. Ladislav ŠABAN: In memoriam Svetislav Stančić, *Sveta Cecilija*, 40 (1970) 1, 6.

¹⁹ Ž. DOLIĆ: *Reproduktivna djelatnost pijanista Svetislava Stančića u ogledalu kritike*, 12; ID.: Repertoar pijanističkih nastupa Svetislava Stančića, 78.

²⁰ The total number is 58, but opus 1 is not included in the list of works. It is lost, as is *Albumblatt* for piano (Op. 12), String Quartet in F major (Op. 31) and the first miniature from the Op. 32 (*Vier Klavierstücke*). Cf. K. KOS: *Dora Pejačević*, 43-44 and 188-201.

ernism in line with the more moderate current of international modernism». ²¹ Dating precisely to that period – with the exception of *Red Carnations* – are the works that Stančić first performed and that will be discussed below.

Development

In Stančić's legacy, there are eleven reviews from four concerts in which he played Dora Pejačević's compositions. The word is about clippings on which Stančić noted the place and time of publication. The reviews missing from his legacy have been supplemented according to the *Bibliografija rasprava i članaka* [Retrospective Bibliography of Articles Catalogue] from the Lexicographic Institute, ²² bringing the total number to 19 reviews. These are writings from the Zagreb daily newspapers *Agramer Tagblatt*, *Der Morgen*, *Glas Slovenaca*, *Hrvata i Srba*, *Hrvatska*, *Jutarnji list*, *Male novine*, *Narodne novine*, *Novine*, *Novosti*, *Obzor* and *Zagreber Tagblatt*, then the Osijek *Hrvatska obrana*, the weekly *Hrvatska njiva*, and the monthly *Savremenik*. The periodical *Sv. Cecilija* is also represented. In alphabetical order the authors are: Milan Graf, Petar Konjović, Kazimir Krenedić, Dragan Melkus, Milutin Cihlar Nehajev, Anton Novačan, Viktor Novak, Ernest Schulz and Lujo Šafranek-Kavić. It is entirely possible there are some other reviews too, but the focus here is primarily on the materials from Stančić's legacy, or those relating to his performances of Dora's works.

1. Piano Concerto in G minor, Op. 33 – first performance

This concerto, the composition of which began in 1913, was premiered by Stančić at the *Symphonic Concert of Young Croatian Composers*, held on 5, 7 and 11 February 1916 at the Royal Croatian National Theatre in Zagreb (today the Croatian National Theatre), with the Theatre Orchestra conducted by Fridrik Rukavina (1883–1940). ²³ On this, Koraljka Kos writes: »That first piano concerto in the history of Croatian music will remain one of the composer's few known and occasionally performed works and will shape (one-sidedly) perceptions of her style and expres-

²¹ »[Dora Pejačević] u posljednjih desetak godina skladala je niz majstorskih djela koja – uz skladbe Blagoja Berse i Josipa Hatzea – konstituiraju hrvatsku glazbenu modernu sukladno umjerenjima struji međunarodne moderne.« Cf. Koraljka KOS: Pejačević, Dora, in: *Hrvatski biografski leksikon: mrežno izdanje*, 2015. Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2021, <<http://hbl.lzmk.hr/clanak.aspx?id=11908>> (Accessed 1 June 2024).

²² Marija KUNTARIĆ (ed.): *Bibliografija rasprava i članaka: struka VI: muzika*, vol. 13 (A–R) and vol. 14 (S–Ž; Indeksi), Zagreb: Jugoslavenski leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 1984–1986.

²³ In Stančić's legacy, the poster and program of this concert are kept in: box 2, folder Programs 1911–1919; reviews: box 1, folder Reviews 1913–1919.

sion in the minds of musicologists and the public.«²⁴ Kos concludes that »The concert held on 5 February 1916 at the Croatian National Theatre in Zagreb marks the beginning of [Dora Pejačević's] affirmation in her homeland. The performance of the Piano Concerto in G minor, Op. 33, interpreted by S. Stančić under the baton of F. Rukavina at that 'historic concert', along with works by B. Širola, F. Dugan Sr., A. Dobronić, K. Baranović and Stančić, connected her with the generation of young composers, who – although of different creative poetics – signified new directions in Croatian music.«²⁵ Stančić's *Symphonic Scherzo* was also first performed at the concert, and others who presented works were: Krešimir Baranović: *Concert Overture*; Božidar Širola: *Notturmo* for Soprano and Orchestra; Franjo Dugan Sr.: *Symphonic Andante*; Antun Dobronić: *Carnival*. The »historic concert« was later recognized as the turning point that marked the end of the so-called Zajc Era (although Ivan Zajc himself had died in December 1914) and the beginning of the era – depending on the perspective of music periodization involved – of the national style or of musical modernism.

As the details below show,²⁶ the largest number of reviews is associated with this concert:

- ***: Prvi simfonijski koncerat mladih hrvatskih skladatelja, *Narodne novine*, 82 (7 February 1916) 29, 1-2.
- ***: Simfonijski koncerat mladih hrvatskih skladatelja, *Obzor*, 57 (8 February 1916) 38, 2-3.
- A. K.: Futurizam u glazbi: simfonijski koncerat mladih hrvatskih skladatelja u kr. zem. kazalištu dne 5. veljače 1916, *Hrvatska: glavno glasilo Stranke prava za sve hrvatske zemlje*, 6 (7 February 1916) 1284, 1-2.
- Cihlar Nehajev, Milutin: Poslije koncerta: simfonijski koncerat mladih hrvatskih skladatelja, *Savremenik*, 11 (January–February 1916) 1/2, 28-31.*
- Krenedić, Kazimir (K.): Simfonijski koncerat mladih umjetnika, *Novosti*, 10 (12 February 1916) 43, 2.*
- Melkus, Dragan (–s.): Prvi hrvatski simfonijski koncert mladih hrvatskih skladatelja, *Hrvatska obrana*, 15 (10 February 1916) 32, 3-4.*
- Mp.: Hrvatski simfonijski koncert, *Novine* (evening issue), 3 (7 February 1916) 29, 3.

²⁴ »Taj prvi klavirski koncert u povijesti hrvatske glazbe ostat će jednim od rijetkih poznatih i povremeno izvođenih skladateljičinih djela i oblikovat će (jednostrane) predodžbe o njenu stilu i izrazu u svijesti muzikologa i publike.« Cf. K. KOS: *Dora Pejačević*, 8.

²⁵ »Koncert održan 5. II. 1916. u HNK u Zagrebu početak je afirmacije [Dore Pejačević] u domovini. Izvedba *Glasovirskoga koncerta u g-molu*, Op. 33, u interpretaciji S. Stančića pod ravnanjem F. Rukavine na tom *povijesnom koncertu*, uz djela B. Širole, F. Dugana st., A. Dobronića, K. Baranovića i Stančića, povezala ju je s naraštajem mladih skladatelja, koji – premda različitih stvaralačkih poetika – najavljuju nova kretanja u hrvatskoj glazbi.« Cf. K. KOS: *Pejačević, Dora*.

²⁶ Reviews missing from Stančić's legacy are marked with an asterisk (*).

- Novak, Viktor: Osvrt na hrvatsku glazbenu literaturu u ovogodišnjoj zagrebačkoj glazbenoj sceni, *Sv. Cecilija*, 10 (1916) 4, 111-114.*
- Schulz, Ernest (E. Sch.): Prvi simfonijski koncerat hrvatskih skladatelja, *Jutarnji list*, 5 (12 February 1916) 1398, 2-3.
- S. T.: Hrvatsko kazalište: simfonijski concert, *Hrvatska: glavno glasilo Stranke prava za sve hrvatske zemlje*, 6 (7 February 1916) 1284, 3.*

In their accounts, the reviews mainly focus on the compositions and the composers, and much less on the performers and their accomplishments. Stančić's performance was praised, but is mentioned only in passing. Ernest Schulz, the author of one of the most detailed reviews, writes:

»The Piano Concerto by Dora Pejačević clearly shows her talent for the chamber music genre. The development of this musician is very interesting. From small compositions for piano, violin and *Lieder*, she has been tirelessly creative in the field of chamber music, in which she has already made a name for herself in the foreign music world with her piano trio and string quartet. Now she is addressing larger works in this field, orchestral pieces. In all her works one sees an artist who is striving for the highest; even if she adheres to the old forms, at the same time nevertheless her works demonstrate a sense for modern development. The first part, with its energetic main theme, as if moulded out of a single piece, provides the pianist a chance to show his skills in modern piano technique. The cadenza in particular prompts a whole series of piano effects with its combined use of both themes in the form of variations. The second movement draws attention to itself with a beautifully broadly developed cantilena, starting in the double basses but then taken up and developed further by the piano in full chords, finally taken over by a pretty, subordinate theme. This movement ends gently with rising *quartengängen* [fourth progressions], which die away in pianissimo. The last movement with its fresh rondo theme is elaborated extremely well, putting very great demands on the soloist's technique. Svetislav Stančić proved that he could rise to the challenge.«²⁷

²⁷ »Koncert za glasovir od Dore Pejacsevich pokazuje jasno njenu nadarenost za pravac komorne glazbe. Razvoj te glazbenice veoma je interesantan. Od malenih kompozicija za glasovir, gusle i umjetnu pjesmu [umjetničku popijevku], prelazi ona neumornim stvaranjem na polju komorne glazbe na kojem je već ubirala lijepih priznanja i pred stranim glazbenim svijetom sa svojim glasoviračkim triom i jednim gudalačkim kvartetom. Sada pristupa i većim djelima na tom polju, djelima za orkestar. I u svim se njenim djelima vidi umjetnica koja teži za najvišim, pa ako se i drži starih oblika pokazuje ipak u isto doba smisao za moderni razvoj u svojim djelima. Prvi dio sa svojom energičnom glavnom temom kao od jednog komada saliven pruža i glasoviraču priliku da pokaže svekoliko vještinu moderne glasoviračke tehnike. Naročito donosi kadenca cio niz glasoviračkih efekata svojom kombiniranom uporabom obiju tema u obliku varijacija. Drugi stavak svraća na sebe pažnju lijepo naširoko razvedenom kantilenom, koju počinje kontrabasima, da ju onda preuzme i dalje vodi glasovir punim akordima i da ju napokon preuzme ljupka sporedna tema. Taj se stavak završava blago s uzdižućim *quartengäng-ima* [kvartnim pomacima], koji zmiru u pianissimu. Posljednji stavak sa svježom rondo-temom vanredno je izrađen i stavlja najveće zahtjeve na tehniku glasovirača. Svetislav Stančić pokazao je da je posvema

Other reviews show that both Dora Pejačević's Concerto and Svetislav Stančić's interpretation received whole-hearted appreciation. About Stančić's qualities as a pianist, it was noted that »the composer and artist Stančić performed the extremely difficult but beautiful piano concerto by Countess Dora Pejačević with a strong artistic insight, mastering all the difficulties with bravura and facility«²⁸ and that »Mr. Svetislav Stančić played this difficult work with admirable technical skill and a refined sense of rhythm and phrasing«.²⁹

In the context of the artistic connections between Dora Pejačević and Svetislav Stančić, another interesting item is associated with this concert. In box 9, there is a photograph on the back of which Ladislav Šaban wrote: »Photograph of D. P. from 1915. Picture of Countess Dora Pejačević, Croatian composer. The composer gave this framed picture to Svetislav Stančić, probably on the occasion of the performance of her work in 1916.«³⁰ (Figure 3a and 3b) On the same photograph, which is kept in the composer's legacy in the Croatian Music Institute, it says: »In dankbarer Erinnerung / das 4. April 1918. Zagreb / Dora Pejacsevich« [»In grateful remembrance / 4 April 1918, Zagreb / Dora Pejačević«].³¹ There was a *Composer's Evening* featuring Dora Pejačević's works at the Croatian Music Institute on that date, to be discussed later. Šaban graduated from Stančić's class at the Academy of Music in 1941.³² He compiled the first list of books and an outline list of archival materials in the legacy of his teacher.³³ Since he also organized the composer's legacy, preserved in the Croatian Music Institute since 1972 thanks to his initiative, Šaban is in a unique way an »archival link« between Stančić and D. Pejačević. Koraljka Kos dates this photograph to around 1916.³⁴ But since Šaban was in direct contact with Stančić, his earlier dating of 1915 is very likely to be accurate. The photograph, a segment of her personal life, suggests that D. Pejačević and Stančić had a relationship that was not only professional but also one of friendship.

dorastao tim zahtjevima.« Cf. Ernest SCHULZ: Prvi simfonijski koncert hrvatskih skladatelja, *Jutarnji list*, 5 (12 February 1916) 1398, 2-3.

²⁸ »Skladatelj i umjetnik Stančić izveo je vanredno teški, ali krasni glasovirski koncert od grofice Dore Pejacsevich snažnim umjetničkim razumijevanjem savladavši bravurozno i s lakoćom sve poteškoće.« Cf. ***: Prvi simfonijski koncert mladih hrvatskih skladatelja, *Narodne novine*, 82 (7 February 1916) 29, 2.

²⁹ »Gosp. Svetislav Stančić igrao je ovo teško djelo zamjernom tehničkom vještinom i istančanim osjećajem za ritmiku i fraziranje.« Cf. ***: Simfonijski koncert mladih hrvatskih skladatelja, *Obzor*, 57 (8 February 1916) 38, 2.

³⁰ »Fotografija D. P. iz 1915. god. Slika Dore grofice Pejačević, hrvatske skladateljke. Ovu sliku, ova-ko uramljenu, poklonila je skladateljica Svetislavu Stančiću, valjda u povodu izvedbe njenog djela 1916.«

³¹ The photo is kept in the Croatian Music Institute under the signature I-16. I thank Nada Bezić for this information.

³² Koraljka KOS (ed.): *Muzička akademija u Zagrebu 1921-1981: spomenica u povodu 60. godišnjice osnutka*, Zagreb: Muzička akademija, 1982, 111 and 120.

³³ V. JURČIĆ (ed.): *Vodič kroz glazbene knjižnice i zbirke Zagreba*, 81; A. MEŽNARIĆ KARAFIN: *Zbirka Svetislava Stančića*, 139-140.

³⁴ K. KOS: *Dora Pejačević*, illustration before page 33.

On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the *Symphony Concert of Young Croatian Composers* in Zagreb in 1966, a round table was held, moderated by the music critic and publicist Nenad Turkalj (1923–2007). The main participant was Svetislav Stančić, one of the two composers from the 1916 concert who was still alive at the time. The other living composer was Krešimir Baranović (1894–1975), but he had been working outside Zagreb since 1943 (first in Bratislava, and from 1946 in Belgrade), so it can be assumed that it was for this reason that he was not present. The round table was recorded, and Stančić's words form the only extant audio record of the concert.³⁵ At the same time, this is also currently the only known source in which Stančić himself talks about Dora.

When asked »What kind of person was Dora Pejačević?«, Stančić replied:

»She was a very composed person, who was quite passionate and idealistic about art. She had the means and the possibilities, and with respect to creating, she was 100 percent devoted to it. Only, I think, given all her connections and so on, there could have been more actual musical events, some stronger musical activity earlier in Zagreb, because her father was the ban (viceroy) of Croatia for many years. So, in terms of financing, more could have been achieved.«³⁶

In Stančić's opinion, then, Dora Pejačević could have made better use of the considerable social influence she had as the granddaughter of Ladislav Pejačević (1824–1901)³⁷ and daughter of Teodor Pejačević (1855–1928).³⁸ About the piano he played on, he said: »Unfortunately, I don't remember. I know it was black and small and sounded bad. The acoustics in the theatre were very poor, and I know it was quite uncomfortable. The orchestra was well-rehearsed.«³⁹ Here again Dora

³⁵ The concert could not have been recorded because Radio Grič, the first Croatian station, was founded in 1918. Radio Zagreb was set up in 1924, and Radio Station Zagreb, from which developed Radio Zagreb and ultimately Croatian Radio, and in a more general sense, today's Croatian Radiotelevision. The sound recording of the round table can be found in the archives of Croatian Radiotelevision.

³⁶ »Ona je bila vrlo sređena osoba, koja je bila prilično zagrijana i idealistična za umjetnost. Kod nje su mogućnosti bile odgovarajuće i, što se tiče stvaranja, ona je bila sto postotno uz to. Samo, mislim, kroz njezine veze i tako, moglo je u Zagrebu još ranije doći do konkretnijih muzičkih pojava, nekog muzičkog jačeg djelovanja, jer je njezin otac bio dugi niz godina ban Hrvatske. Dakle, tu se financijski moglo i više postići.« Transcription from the emission *Povijesni koncerti 1916: Simfonijski koncert mladih hrvatskih skladatelja* (52:14–53:12), broadcasted as part of the *Tragom glazbe* series on the Third Program of Croatian Radio on 6 February 2021. Author and host: Domagoj Marić. Editor: Gordana Krpan. See also D. MARIĆ: *Dora Pejačević: Život i svjetovi*, 27.

³⁷ Ladislav Pejačević was an influential Croatian politician, member of Croatian Parliament from the Unionist Party of Croatia and member of the delegation of Parliament that signed the Croatian-Hungarian Agreement in 1868. In 1880 the Sabor (the Parliament of Croatia) elected him as Ban of Croatia. He remained in office until 1883.

³⁸ Teodor Pejačević, the eldest son of Ladislav Pejačević, was a long-term župan (the head of the administrative unit) of Virovitica County and Ban of Croatia from 1903 to 1907. He also took part as the Minister for Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia in the Hungarian Government from 1913 to 1917.

³⁹ »Nažalost ne sjećam se. Znam da je bio crn i mali i da je loše zvučao. Akustika u pozorištu [kazalištu] je jako loša, a znadem da je bio prilično neugodan. Orkestar je bio nastudiran u redu.« *Ibid.* (55:35–56:00).

Pejačević comes in; the piano for the concert at the theatre was borrowed from the Croatian Music Institute precisely through her mediation. This is shown by the composer's letter of thanks to the Bishop of Križevci, Julije Drohobeczky (1853–1934), then president of the Croatian Music Institute, written in Budapest on 9 February 1916.⁴⁰

The 50th anniversary of the »historic concert« was actually the last round number anniversary that Stančić could be part of – he passed away on 7 January 1970. On 3 February 1971, on the occasion of the 55th anniversary of the concert, a concert by the Radiotelevision Zagreb Symphony Orchestra was held at the Istra Concert Studio (now the Zagreb Youth Theatre), conducted by Boris Papandopulo (1906–1991).⁴¹ The program was the same as in February 1916. The solo part in Dora's Piano Concerto was performed by Pavica Gvozdić,⁴² who graduated from Stančić's class in 1960 and obtained her master's degree in 1969, the very first master's degree given by the Piano Department of the Academy of Music in Zagreb.⁴³ The centenary of the »historic concert« was marked by the Croatian Radiotelevision Symphony Orchestra⁴⁴ performing the same works in their cycles over several concert seasons, between 2013 and 2016, and in 2021 with the release of the album *Povijesni koncert 1916: stoljeće poslije* [Historical Concert 1916: A Hundred Years On].⁴⁵ Accompanied by the Croatian Radiotelevision Symphony Orchestra and conducted by Aleksandar Marković, Martina Filjak, daughter of Stančić's student Ranko Filjak, took the solo part in Pejačević's Piano Concerto.

⁴⁰ Nada BEZIĆ: Mozaik o Hrvatskom glazbenom zavodu u Prvom svjetskom ratu, in: Stanislav Tuksar – Monika Jurić Janjik (eds.): *Prvi svjetski rat (1914–1918) i glazba: skladateljske strategije, izvedbene prakse i društveni utjecaji / The Great War (1914–1918) and Music: Compositional Strategies, Performing Practices, and Social Impacts*, Zagreb: Hrvatsko muzikološko društvo, 2019, 649; Antun GOGLIA: *Hrvatski glazbeni zavod 1827.–1927.*, Zagreb: Tisak Nadbiskupske tiskare, 1927, 73–74; Ladislav ŠABAN: *150 godina Hrvatskog glazbenog zavoda*, 209 and 227.

⁴¹ In Stančić's legacy the poster of this concert is kept in: box 2, folder Posters 1917–1927; program: box 2, folder Programs 1911–1919.

⁴² As a soloist in Dora's Piano Concerto, Pavica Gvozdić performed with this orchestra twice more: at the Dubrovnik Summer Festival on 25 July 1974 and in the Vatroslav Lisinski Concert Hall on 28 January 1999. Pavica Gvozdić also performed it the Vatroslav Lisinski Concert Hall on 9 November 2007, accompanied by the Zagreb Philharmonic Orchestra and conducted by Nada Matošević. Cf. Tatjana ČUNKO: *Hrvatska glazba i hrvatski radio*, Zagreb: Hrvatski radio – Treći program, 2012, 441.

⁴³ L. ŠABAN: Odjel za klavir, orgulje i čembalo (V), 44.

⁴⁴ The Croatian Radiotelevision Symphony Orchestra developed from the first radio orchestra, founded in 1929, three years after Radio Zagreb started broadcasting. From 1957 it operated as the Radiotelevision Zagreb Symphony Orchestra. From 1975 to 1990 it was named the Zagreb Symphonists of the Radiotelevision Zagreb, and since 1991 it has had its current name.

⁴⁵ *Povijesni koncert 1916: stoljeće poslije*, performed by Simfonijski orkestar Hrvatske radiotelevizije; Jurij Simonov, conductor; Mladen Tarbuk, conductor; Ilijana Korać Teklić, soprano; Daniel Smith, conductor; Pavle Dešpalj, conductor; Aleksandar Marković, conductor; Martina Filjak, piano; Patrick Gallois, conductor. Includes compositions by Krešimir Baranović, Božidar Širola, Franjo Dugan Sr., Svetislav Stančić, Dora Pejačević and Antun Dobronić. Zagreb: Hrvatska radiotelevizija, 2021, CD 049 (2 CDs).

2. *Rote Nelken* [Red Carnations], no. 6, Op. 19

This piece was performed by Stančić at a solo concert titled *Piano Evening* in the Concert Hall of the Croatian Conservatory (now the Croatian Music Institute) on 16 May 1917. The program also featured the following works: Georg Friedrich Händel: *Harmonious Blacksmith* [HWV 430]; Ludwig van Beethoven: Piano Sonata in C major, no. 21 Op. 53 (*Waldstein*); Frédéric Chopin: *Nocturne* in D-flat major, no. 2 Op. 27; Frédéric Chopin: *Ballade* in F major, no. 2 Op. 38; Frédéric Chopin: *Polo-naise* in A-flat major, Op. 53; Richard Wagner: *Magic Fire Music* [from Act III of *Die Walküre*, WWV 86B]; Franz Liszt: *La Campanella*; Franz Schubert: *Marche Militaire* [no. 1 Op. 51, D. 733, arranged for piano by Carl Tausig]. He played on a Bösendorfer piano.⁴⁶ *Red Carnations* is part of the cycle *Life of Flowers* [*Blumenleben*],⁴⁷ Op. 19, which was composed during 1904 and 1905. In Budapest in 1907, it was first performed by Dora Pejačević and Olga Schulz-Granitz.⁴⁸ In Dresden and Zagreb in 1910, it was performed by the pianist Walther Bachmann (1874–1938).⁴⁹ Although *Red Carnations* was the fourth piece on the program, there is an unavoidable impression that Stančić might have chosen it as a kind of interlude between the – relatively speaking – »challenging« Chopin and the »serious« Wagner. Among the reviews of the concert, there are no details relating specifically to this miniature.

3. *Sonata for Violin and Piano in B-flat minor (Slavic)*, Op. 43 – first performance

This piece was first performed by Stančić with the violinist Zlatko Baloković (1895–1965), to whom it is dedicated, at the *Composer's Evening* – an evening-long concert featuring the composer's works, held at the Croatian Music Institute on 4 April 1918.⁵⁰ (Figure 4) The piece had been composed in Našice the previous year. It is worth mentioning that in London and Zagreb in 1921, it was performed by Dora's Zagreb violin teacher Václav Huml (1880–1953) and her relative the pianist Hugo Mihalović (1874–1955).⁵¹

The concert at the Croatian Music Institute was the 85th soiree of the Committee for the Advancement of Chamber Music in Zagreb. The Committee was founded in

⁴⁶ In Stančić's legacy the poster of this concert is kept in: box 2, folder Posters 1917–1927; program: box 2, folder Programs 1911–1919; reviews: box 1, folder Reviews 1913–1919.

⁴⁷ Along with the *Red Carnations*, the cycle includes following compositions: *Snowdrops*, *Violets*, *Lilies of the Valley*, *Forget-me-nots*, *Rose*, *Lilies* and *Chrysanthemums*.

⁴⁸ In 1906, Olga Schulz-Granitz premiered Dora's previous piano piece – *Sechs Phantasiestücke*, Op. 17, composed in 1903. Cf. K. KOS: *Dora Pejačević*, 190.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 7 and 190.

⁵⁰ In Stančić's legacy program of this concert is kept in: box 2, folder Programs 1911–1919; reviews: box 1, folder Reviews 1913–1919.

⁵¹ K. KOS: *Dora Pejačević*, 9 and 198.

late 1896 by the architect Herman Bollé (1845–1926), music historian and writer Antun Goglia (1867–1958), landowner and politician Karlo Mihalović (1830–1918; father of Hugo Mihalović, an accomplished pianist and friend of Franz Liszt), conductor Franjo Rumpel, conductor and music critic Ernest Schulz, and engineer Robert Weiss.⁵² The Committee was at work from the beginning of 1897 until the end of 1918. During this period, it organized 41 chamber music concerts, making a significant contribution to Zagreb's musical life.⁵³ From 1903 to 1907, during the period of office of viceroy Teodor Pejačević, the composer's mother Lila Pejačević (1860–1941) was the Committee's patron. She was also the patron of the Croatian Music Institute from 1904 to 1918.⁵⁴ Since the Sonata in B-flat minor was premiered at the same concert as the next piece, the reviews will be presented together.

4. Piano Quintet in B minor, Op. 40 – first performance

The Quintet was composed between 1915 and 1918,⁵⁵ and at the *Composer's Evening* it was premiered by Svetislav Stančić, Zlatko Baloković, Václav Huml, Miroslav Šlik (1898–1986) and Juro Tkalčić (1877–1957). The latter four, as the Croatian String Quartet,⁵⁶ also gave the first performance of the work that opened the program – Dora's String Quartet in F major, Op. 31 (lost).⁵⁷ So at this concert, three of Dora's chamber works were premiered.

The reviews of this concert are as follows:

- ***: Kompozicijska večer grofice Dore Pejacsevich, *Novosti*, 12 (5 April 1918) 88, 5.
- Boris: Kompozicijska večer grofice Dore Pejačević, *Male novine*, 9 (6 April 1918) 90, 2.
- Cihlar Nehajev, Milutin (Nv): Kompositionsabend Gräfin Dora Pejacsevich, *Agramer Tagblatt* (morning issue), 33 (6 April 1918) 89, 1-2.
- Konjović, Petar (P. K.): Kompozicijska večer grofice Dore Pejacsevich, *Hrvatska njiva*, 2 (9 April 1918) 15, 266-267.⁵⁸

⁵² Antun GOGLIA: *Komorna muzika u Zagrebu*, Zagreb: Tisak Nadbiskupske tiskare, 1930, 40.

⁵³ L. ŠABAN: *150 godina Hrvatskog glazbenog zavoda*, 108.

⁵⁴ A. GOGLIA: *Hrvatski glazbeni zavod 1827.-1927.*, 92; D. MARIĆ: *Dora Pejačević: život i sojetovi*, 152.

⁵⁵ K. KOS: *Dora Pejačević*, 9 and 193.

⁵⁶ Although there were several attempts (in 1897, 1904, 1916, 1918) to found a permanent string quartet in Zagreb to play classical and contemporary chamber music by local and foreign composers, such efforts were short lived. The artists would play together in just a few concerts. A permanent quartet was founded in 1919, and was called the Zagreb String Quartet. It was founded by Václav Huml, Milan Graf, Ladislav Škatula-Miranov and Umberto Fabbri. Cf. A. GOGLIA: *Komorna muzika u Zagrebu*, 14-15.

⁵⁷ A. GOGLIA: *Hrvatski glazbeni zavod 1827.-1927.*, 116.

⁵⁸ The same review was published in Konjović's book *Ličnosti* (chapter *Iz muzikalnog Zagreba*), which brings his music and theater reviews written for Croatian periodicals. Cf. Petar KONJOVIĆ: *Ličnosti*, Zagreb: Knjižara Čelap i Popovac, 1919, 173-177.

- Novačan, Anton (dr. N.): Kompoziciono veče Dore grofinje Pejacsevich, *Glas Slovenaca, Hrvata i Srba*, 1 (6 April 1918) 70, 2-3.
- Schulz, Ernest (E. Sch.): Kompozicijska večer Dore Pejacsevich, *Jutarnji list*, 5 (7 April 1918) 2182, 6. (Figure 5)

The reviews state, among other things: »Mr. Stančić plays like a true musician. His phrasing is clearly elaborated, and the refined performance of the middle movement is unparalleled. All evening long, Countess Pejačević received whole-hearted praise and applause, as an artist who knows her vocation and whom we can sense in her works.«⁵⁹ Likewise, »the performance of the quartet and quintet by the Croatian Quartet was – especially in the quintet – at an artistic height. The combined playing of the quartet and Svetislav Stančić at the piano had an inner vigour, and on the other hand tender feelings, which outstandingly corresponded with the composer's intentions.«⁶⁰ Finally, »Mr. Stančić is a reliable and confident pianist. He proved this again last night. After the second and last piece, the composer received tumultuous applause, as did the performers.«⁶¹

5. Piano Sonata in A-flat major, Op. 57 – first performance

This is a single-movement work completed on 3 March 1921, which Stančić gave its first outing at a concert at the Croatian Music Institute on 21 December 1923. On this occasion, the *12th Intimate Music Evening* was put on in memory of a composer who had died before her time.⁶² (Figure 6) Stančić again participated in the performance of the Piano Quintet in B minor this time with the Miranov-Žepić Quartet (consisting of Ladislav Škatula-Miranov, Rudolf Dorfer, Milan Žepić and Stanko Žepić).⁶³ The first work on the program was Dora's Sonata for Cello and

⁵⁹ »Gospodin Stančić svira kao pravi glazbenik. Kod njega je fraza jasno razrađena, a rafinirana izvedba središnjeg stavka je bez premca. Groficu Pejačević cijelu se večer oduševljeno hvalilo i odobravalo pljeskom, kao umjetnicu koja zna posao i koju prepoznajemo u njezinim djelima.« Cf. Milutin CIHLAR NEHAJEV (Nv): Kompositionsabend Gräfin Dora Pejacsevich, *Agramer Tagblatt* (morning issue), 33 (6 April 1918) 89, 2.

⁶⁰ »Izvedba kvarteta i kvinteta po Hrvatskom kvartetu bila je – osobito u kvintetu – na umjetničkoj visini. Zajednička igra kvarteta i Svetislava Stančića kod glasovira imala je unutrašnjeg žara, a s druge strane nježnih osjećaja, koja je neobično odgovarala intencijama skladateljice.« Cf. Ernest SCHULZ (E. Sch.): Kompozicijska večer Dore Pejacsevich, *Jutarnji list*, 5 (7 April 1918) 2182, 6.

⁶¹ »Gosp. Stančić je pijanista pouzdan i siguran. To je sinoć ponovno dokazao. Poslije druge i zadnje točke skladateljica je zajedno s izvođačima bila burno aklamirana.« Cf. ***: Kompozicijska večer grofice Dore Pejacsevich, *Novosti*, 12 (5 April 1918) 88, 5.

⁶² K. KOS: *Dora Pejačević*, 10 and 201.

⁶³ Koraljka Kos says that Hugo Mihalović performed with the Miranov-Žepić Quartet. Cf. K. KOS: *ibid.*, 195. However, the reviews suggest that it was actually Svetislav Stančić, and Mihalović clearly appeared only with Tkalčić. In the Stančić legacy there is no program from this concert, but there is a reproduction in K. KOS: *ibid.*, 31. In Stančić legacy the poster of this concert is kept in: box 2, folder Posters, 1917–1927; reviews: box 2, folder Reviews, 1920–1927.

Piano in E minor, Op. 35, completed on 25 June 1915, which on this occasion was premiered by Juro Tkalčić and Hugo Mihalović.⁶⁴

The reviews of this concert are as follows:

- ***: Zwölfter intimer Musikabend, *Der Morgen*, 1 (23 December 1923) 200, 12.
- Graf, Milan (M. G.): XII. intimer Musikabend, *Zagreber Tagblatt*, 38 (24 December 1923) 294, 5.
- Šafranek-Kavić, Lujó: Iz glazbenog svijeta: opera i koncerti, *Obzor*, 64 (30 December 1923), 353, 3.

Among the reviews, the assessment of Lujó Šafranek-Kavić stands out in particular: »Of the works performed, which are only a small part of her [Dora's] rich musical legacy, the deepest impression was made by the Piano Sonata Op. 57 in the extraordinarily expressive interpretation of S. Stančić. Rich in its invention and the luxuriant elan of its rhythm, this dashing work is of lasting value.«⁶⁵

Non-Recapitulation

After this survey of the reviews of concerts where Stančić interpreted Dora's works, we move to another kind of source. In Stančić's legacy, the autograph of her Piano Sonata in A-flat major, Op. 57, is to be found.⁶⁶ (Figure 7) The title is in German (Sonate für Klavier Op. 57), and in the top right corner is a stamp »Academy of Music in Zagreb / Piano Department / S. Stančić Library«. Below the title, the following is written in pencil: »This is Dora Pejačević's original manuscript, with additional markings of fingerings and pedals by Svetislav Stančić, who performed this work. The manuscript differs from the also original one found in the Croatian Music Institute library under number [blank; referring to V/A-20] with some corrections being entered in this copy in the author's hand, some in the hand of the first performer, S. Stančić.«⁶⁸

The score was previously housed in the Division for the History of Croatian Music of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, in the legacy of the pianist

⁶⁴ K. KOS: *ibid.*, 10 and 194.

⁶⁵ »Od izvedenih djela, koja predstavljaju neznatni dio bogate njezine [Dorine] glazbene ostavštine, najdublji dojam ostavila je Sonata za klavir op. 57 u vanredno izražajnoj interpretaciji S. Stančića. Bogato invencijom i bujnim elanom u ritmici ovo poletno djelo predstavlja trajnu vrijednost.« Cf. Lujó ŠAFRANEK-KAVIĆ: Iz glazbenog svijeta: opera i koncerti, *Obzor*, 64 (30 December 1923), 353, 3.

⁶⁶ In Dora Pejačević's legacy in the Croatian Music Institute, another autograph of this composition is kept under the signature V/A-20. Cf. K. KOS: *Dora Pejačević*, 201. Signature in the Library of the Academy of Music: NR 786.2.082.2 PEJ op. 57/rkp*.

⁶⁷ »Muzička akademija u Zagrebu / Klavirski odjel / Knjižnica S. Stančić.«

⁶⁸ »Ovo je originalni rukopis Dore Pejačević, s dodatnim oznakama prstometa i pedala Svetislava Stančića, koji tu skladbu izveo. Rukopis se razlikuje od onoga, također originalnog, koji se nalazi u knjižnici HGZ pod brojem [prazno] utoliko, što su neke ispravke unesene u ovaj primjerak rukom autorice, dok neke rukom prvog izvođača S. Stančića.«

Jurica Murai (1927–1999). Murai was a private student of Stančić from 1935, and graduated from the Academy of Music in 1950 in his class. From 1951 he worked at the Academy of Music; first as Stančić's assistant, and in 1966 as a full professor.⁶⁹

Ivana Klajzner writes about these scores: »During the processing, it was realised that the item call number Murai-N-6/005.1 was Dora Pejačević's original manuscript. Since the copy bears the stamp of the library of the Piano Department of the Academy of Music in Zagreb, we concluded that it was a copy owned by the Academy of Music, which Murai borrowed. In the last years of his life he was working on editing this work, but death prevented him from completing the task, so the copy remained among his belongings. The item was assigned a call number and included in the analytical inventory, but will nevertheless not remain in Murai's legacy but will be returned to the Library of the Academy of Music.«⁷⁰ The scores were returned to the Library of the Academy of Music in 2020.

In addition to this, the Library of the Academy of Music has three more manuscripts of Dora Pejačević's works: Sonata for Piano in B minor, Op. 36 (transcription);⁷¹ Sonata for Violin and Piano in B minor (*Slavic*), Op. 43 (score in the transcription of Antun Dobronić, violin part is an autograph);⁷² *Meditation* for Violin and Piano, Op. 51 (autograph; **Figure 8**).⁷³ Stančić Library does not have any printed editions of Dora's works. This refers to early prints published during her lifetime, such as the collection 6 *Clavier-Stücke* (Budapest: Harmonia, 1902), *Canzonetta* Op. 8 (Budapest: Harmonia, 1902), *Fantasiestücke* Op. 17 (Budapest: Harmonia, n. d.), *Maštanja* Op. 17 (Zagreb: Edition Čaklović, 1920), *Menuett* Op. 18 (Dres-

⁶⁹ K. KOS (ed.): *Muzička akademija u Zagrebu (1921–1981)*, 109 and 124.

⁷⁰ »Prilikom sređivanja uočeno je da je jedinica pod signaturom Murai-N-6/005.1 originalni rukopis Dore Pejačević. Budući da na primjerku stoji pečat knjižnice klavirskog odjela Muzičke akademije u Zagrebu, zaključili smo da se radi o primjerku koji je u vlasništvu Muzičke akademije, a koji je Murai posudio jer je zadnjih godina života radio na redigiranju tog djela, ali zbog smrti nije dovršio taj posao pa je tako primjerak ostao među njegovim stvarima. Jedinici je dodijeljena signatura i uvrštena je u analitički inventar, ali unatoč tome neće ostati u Murajevoj ostavštini nego će se vratiti knjižnici Muzičke akademije.« Cf. Ivana KLAJZNER: *Postupak sređivanja notne građe na Odsjeku za povijest hrvatske glazbe i Arhivu HAZU s posebnim osvrtom na postupak sređivanja ostavštine Jurice Muraja: završni rad*, Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet, 2015, 46–47. See also Vedrana JURČIĆ: *Murajeva ostavština u Odsjeku za povijest hrvatske glazbe Zavoda za povijest hrvatske književnosti, kazališta i glazbe Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti*, in: Vjera Katalinić – Sanja Majer-Bobetko (eds.): *Muzikološka ostavština Jurice Muraja: zbornik radova s okruglog stola održanog u Zagrebu, 4. prosinca 2014*, Zagreb: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti – Odsjek za povijest hrvatske glazbe, 2016, 36–38. There are two editions of this sonata edited by Veljko Glodić, published in 1999 and 2006 respectively.

⁷¹ In Dora Pejačević's legacy in the Croatian Music Institute autograph and copies of this composition are kept under the signature V/A-19. Cf. K. KOS: *Dora Pejačević*, 194. Signature in the Library of the Academy of Music: NR 786.2.082.2 PEJ op.36.

⁷² In Dora Pejačević's legacy in the Croatian Music Institute an autograph of this composition is kept under the signature V/C-5. Cf. K. KOS: *ibid.*, 198. Signature in the Library of the Academy of Music: NR 787.1.082.2 PEJ sl.

⁷³ In Dora Pejačević's legacy in the Croatian Music Institute, another autograph of this composition is kept under the signature V/C-6. Cf. K. KOS: *ibid.*, 200. Signature in the Library of the Academy of Music: NR 787.1 PEJ m.

den: H. Bock, n. d.), *Blumenleben Op. 19* (Dresden: L. Hoffarth, n. d.), *Berceuse Op. 20* (Dresden: H. Bock, n. d.), *Romanze Op. 22* (Dresden: H. Bock, n. d.), *Erinnerung Op. 24* (Dresden: H. Bock, n. d.), *Quartett Op. 25* (Dresden: H. Bock, n. d.), *Sonate Op. 26* (Dresden: H. Bock, n. d.), *Walzer-Capricen Op. 28* (Budapest – Leipzig: Rózsavölgyi & Co, 1913), *Trio Op. 29* (Budapest – Leipzig: Rózsavölgyi & Co, 1913), *Élégie Op. 34* (Vienna: Edition Slave, 1919), *Zwei Intermezzi Op. 38* (Leipzig: Robert Forberg, 1922) or *Sonate Slave Op. 43* (Vienna: Edition Slave, 1919). Stančić played Dora's works from manuscripts (autographs or transcriptions), while he may have played *Rote Nelken* from Hoffarth's edition. This is supported by an entry in the inventory book of Stančić Library, where this edition is mentioned under number 1824, but it was not found during the revision in 2015.⁷⁴

A Pause on the Dominant – Coda

The artistic work of Dora Pejačević and Svetislav Stančić, accomplished while they were young, secured them a permanent place in the history of Croatian music. In September 1921, Dora married the Austrian officer Ottomar von Lumbe (1892–1978). The following year, she composed only one more work – her last – the String Quartet in C major, Op. 58. Her death on 5 March 1923 spelled the end for her creative path. For the next few years, Stančić successfully continued his concert career. However, on 25 February 1927, at the age of 32, he gave his last performance, in Zagreb.⁷⁵ After that, he devoted himself exclusively to piano teaching,⁷⁶ extinguishing any hope that he might perform any more of her works. The sources that tell of the intertwining of their artistic activities, mutual respect and subtle affinity are then the more precious. However, it should be borne in mind that these are mere fragments, and creating a more complete picture of their artistic connections and collaboration would require additional sources. Other sources, like correspondence, notes, other music materials or photographs, are not yet known – neither in her legacy nor in his.

⁷⁴ The inventory book of the Stančić Library (inventory of sheet music and gramophone records) was compiled by Jurica Murai. Cf. A. MEŽNARIĆ KARAFIN: *Zbirka Svetislava Stančića*, 141 and 145-146.

⁷⁵ Stančić gave his last concert in Belgrade on 26 March 1927, on the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of the death of Ludwig van Beethoven. In Stančić's legacy program of this concert is kept in: box 3, folder Programs 1926–1927.

⁷⁶ »I began my career as a pianist and composer. However, at the same time I was also engaged in teaching. And finally, I realized that doing the two was not working out and that one or the other would be harmed, whether piano performance, composition or teaching. In 1927, I stopped being both pianist and composer and devoted myself only to teaching. I think I did not make a mistake.« [»Ja sam počeo moju karijeru kao pijanist i kompozitor. Međutim, u isto vrijeme bavio sam se i pedagogijom. I konačno, uvidio sam da jedno i drugo ne ide i da bi bilo jedno ili drugo na štetu, bilo za pijanistiku, bilo za kompoziciju ili pedagogiju. Dvadesetisedme sam prekinuo kao pijanist i kompozitor i posvetio sam se samo pedagogiji. Ja mislim da nisam krivo učinio.«] Cf. Lj. GAŠPAROVIĆ (ed.): *Svetislav Stančić*, 3.

During the composer's lifetime and immediately after her death, Stančić was the most prominent domestic pianist to interpret her works. He certainly contributed to her developing reputation on the local music scene. He performed Dora Pejačević's compositions more than those of any other domestic composer.⁷⁷ Although there are seemingly few works, only five (four of which he premiered), represented in them are the genres of piano (*Red Carnations*, no. 6, Op. 19; Piano Sonata in A-flat major, Op. 57), chamber (Sonata for Violin and Piano in B minor, Op. 43; Piano Quintet in B minor, Op. 40) and orchestral music (Piano Concerto in G minor, Op. 33). He chose larger works (conditionally more demanding, in order to demonstrate his pianistic skills), selecting piano miniatures – which make up the bulk of her piano oeuvre – only once. Of the four concerts in which Stančić performed, Dora attended two – the *Symphony Concert of Young Croatian Composers* on 5 February 1916 and her own *Composer's Evening* on 4 April 1918. At Stančić's *Piano Evening* on 16 May 1917, only her *Red Carnations* was performed, while the *XII Intimate Music Evening* on 21 December 1923 was organized after her death. All concerts took place in Zagreb – the first at the Croatian National Theatre, and the remaining three at the Croatian Music Institute.

After Svetislav Stančić, the music of Dora Pejačević continued to be performed by his students, including (in alphabetical order): Ranko Filjak (1927–1983), Pavica Gvozdić (1937–2023), Vladimir Krpan (1938), Melita Lorković (1907–1987), Sretna Meštrović (1939), Jurica Murai, and Stjepan Radić (1928–2010). Among their students, those who had a special affinity for Dora's works included Ida Gamulin (1957; student of Jurica Murai), Ljubomir Gašparović (1951; student of Ivo Maček), Veljko Glodić (1958; student of Jurica Murai), and Ksenija Kos (1937–2017; student of Ladislav Šaban). They were succeeded by newer generations, such as Martina Filjak (1978; student of Vladimir Krpan), and most recently, Mia Pečnik (2000; student of Ivanka Kordić, who was a student of Ivo Maček). These distinguished musicians ensure that Dora Pejačević will have a permanent place in the repertoire of the Zagreb piano school, continuing the tradition initiated by Svetislav Stančić.

(Translated by Graham McMaster)

⁷⁷ Along with Dora Pejačević, the Croatian composers whose works he played include (in alphabetical order): Franjo Dugan Sr. (*Organ Toccata* – Stančić's arrangement), Oskar Jozefović (*Sonatina* – premiered), Fran Lhotka (*Three Pieces for Piano*, Op. 18), Ferdo Livadić (*Notturmo*; *Two Scherzos*), Fortunat Pintarić (; *Six Pastorelas*; *Sonatina*; *Two fantasias secundum stylum recentissimum*), Dragan Plamenac (*Gavotta*), Božidar Širola (*Prizori iz marijonetske igre* – premiered; *Tri karakteristične iz Šume Striborove* – Stančić's arrangement), Josip Štolcer Slavenski (Piano Sonata no. 4 – premiered) and Marko Tajčević (*Seven Balkan Dances* – premiered). Here we must not leave out Stančić's piano compositions that he interpreted himself (Piano Sonata in E-flat major; *Prelude in B minor*; *Three Piano Pieces*; *Variations*) and the orchestral ones he conducted (*Coronation Prelude*; *Croatian Rhapsody*; *Overture for Large Orchestra*; *Symphonic Scherzo*). Cf. Ž. DOLIĆ: *Reproduktivna djelatnost pijanista Svetislava Stančića u ogledalu kritike*, 14 and 77-78; ID.: *Repertoar pijanističkih nastupa Svetislava Stančića*, 79-80 and 83-97.

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19. VII. 1915

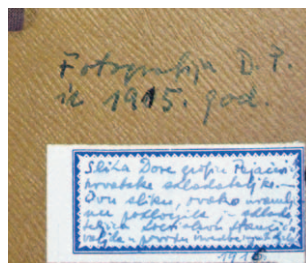
O. S. Droggi gosp. Stanić!
 Možete li mi poslati poštne
 u 5 sati R namu Doci
 grofica Pejačević bi vas rado
 čula svirati! – Ako niste
 sada kod kuće, molim,
 telefonirajte, jel ćete Doci!
 Lijepo Vas pozdravlja
 O. Schulz

Figure 1: Message from Dora's friend Olga Schulz-Granitz, addressed to Svetislav Stančić on 19 July 1915. Library of the Academy of Music, Zagreb, Svetislav Stančić Personal Collection, out of a box.

STANČIĆ / PEJAČEVIĆ

Š. Schulz bio je oženio frakcijski
 i tako dobio do savlas-
 nistra "Agramer Tagblatt".
 Stančić u doba Stanića u
 Trešnjevskoj ulici i bio je u
 u prvoj ulici u kuzari.
 20-odina Stanića su neposredni
 Doci i otkrili u ulici i
 u doba Stanića u Doci i u
 Doci.

Figure 2: Note Stančić / Pejačević by Ladislav Šaban. Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Division for the History of Croatian Music, Zagreb, Ladislav Šaban Legacy, box 245.



Figures 3a and 3b: Framed photograph of Dora Pejačević. The note on the back is by Ladislav Šaban. Library of the Academy of Music, Zagreb, Svetislav Stančić Personal Collection, box 9.

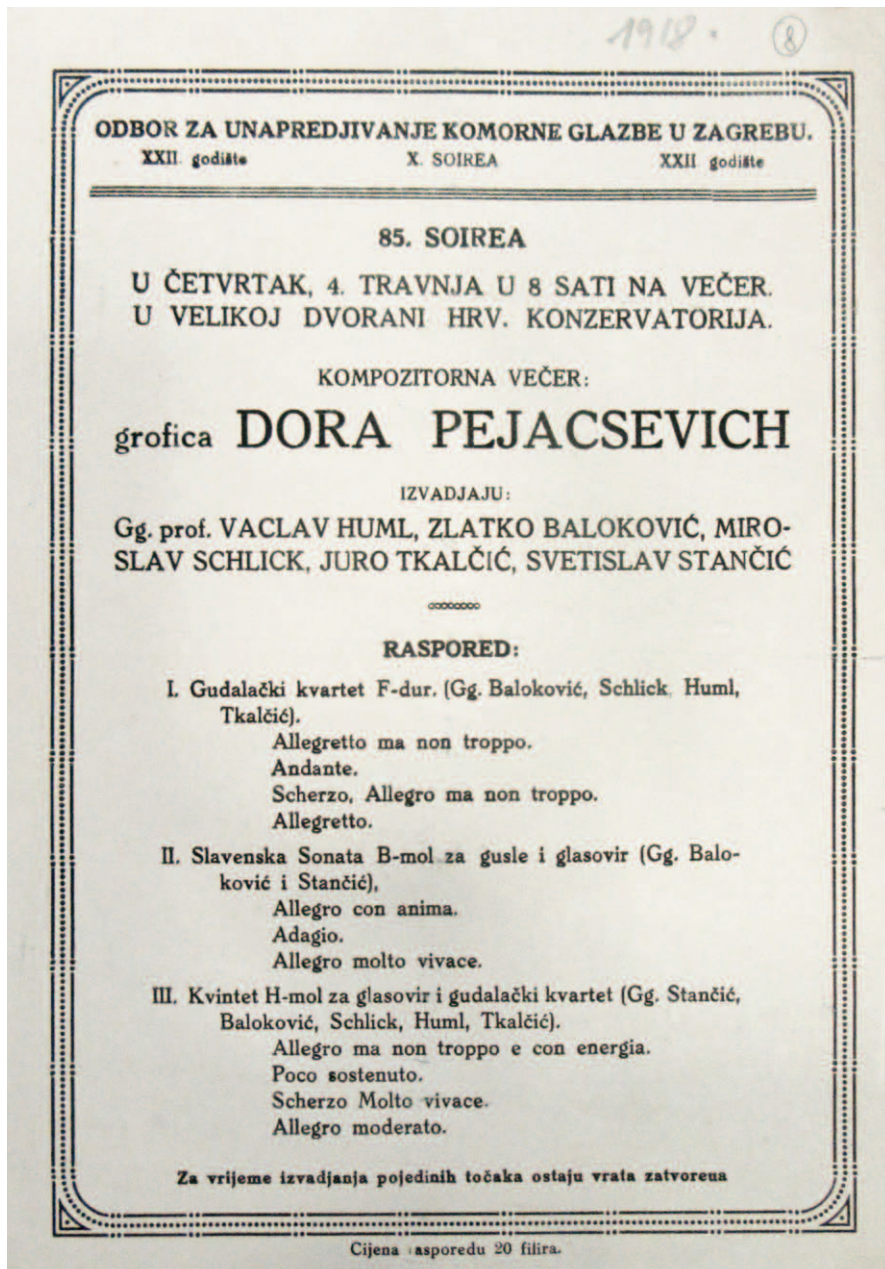


Figure 4: Program of the *Composer's Evening* concert featuring works by Dora Pejačević held at the Croatian Music Institute on 4 April 1918. Library of the Academy of Music, Zagreb, Svetislav Stančić Personal Collection, box 2, folder Programs 1911–1919.



Figure 5: Ernest Schulz: Kompozicijska večer Dore Pejacsevich, *Jutarnji list*, 5 (7 April 1918) 2182, 6. Library of the Academy of Music, Zagreb, Svetislav Stančić Personal Collection, box 1, folder Reviews 1913–1919.



Figure 6: Poster for the *XII Intimate Music Evening* concert held at the Croatian Music Institute on 21 December 1923. Library of the Academy of Music, Zagreb, Svetislav Stančić Personal Collection, box 2, folder Posters 1917–1927.

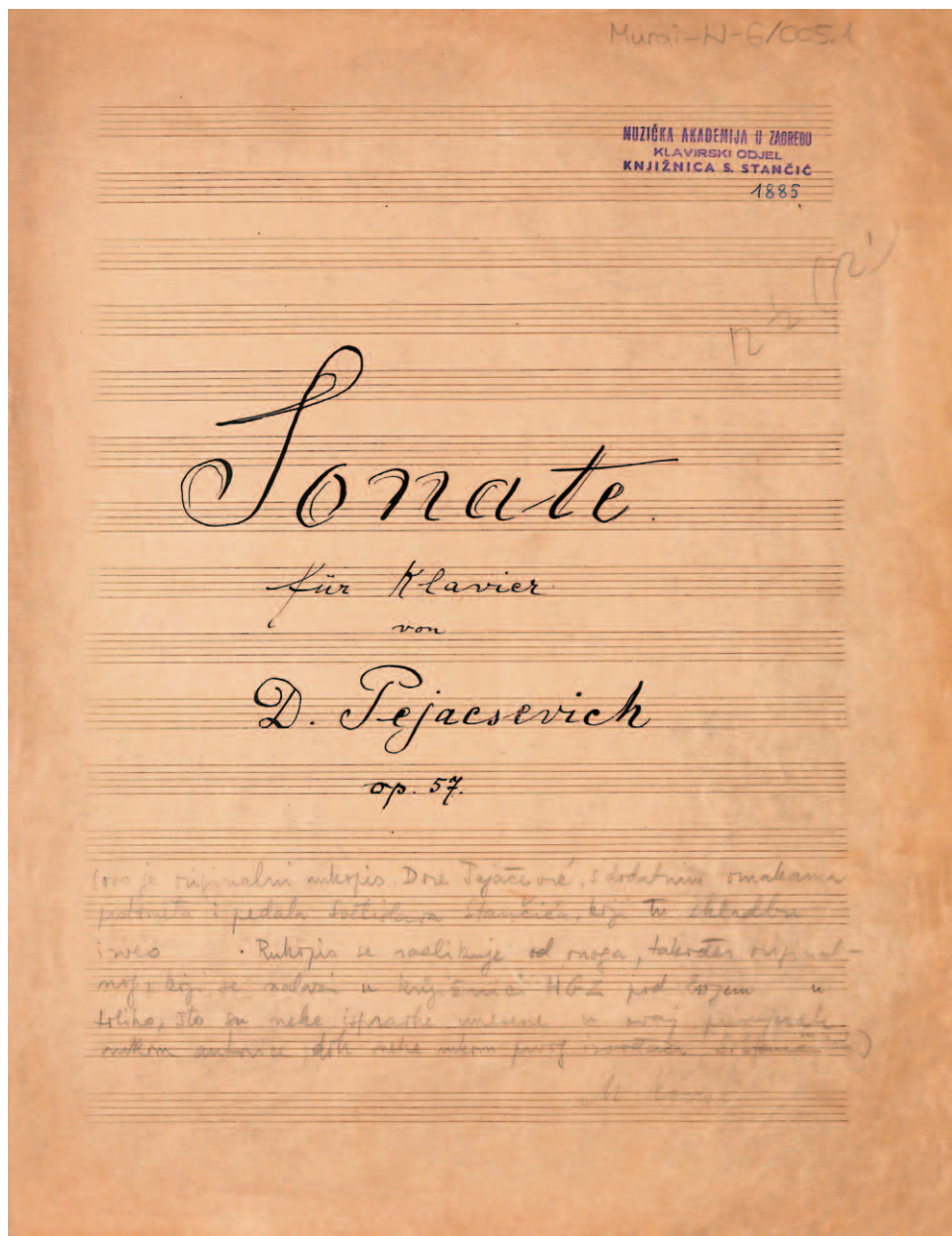


Figure 7: Autograph of Piano Sonata in A-flat major, Op. 57, by Dora Pejačević.
Library of the Academy of Music, Zagreb, Svetislav Stančić Collection,
NR 786.2.082.2 PEJ op. 57/rkp*.

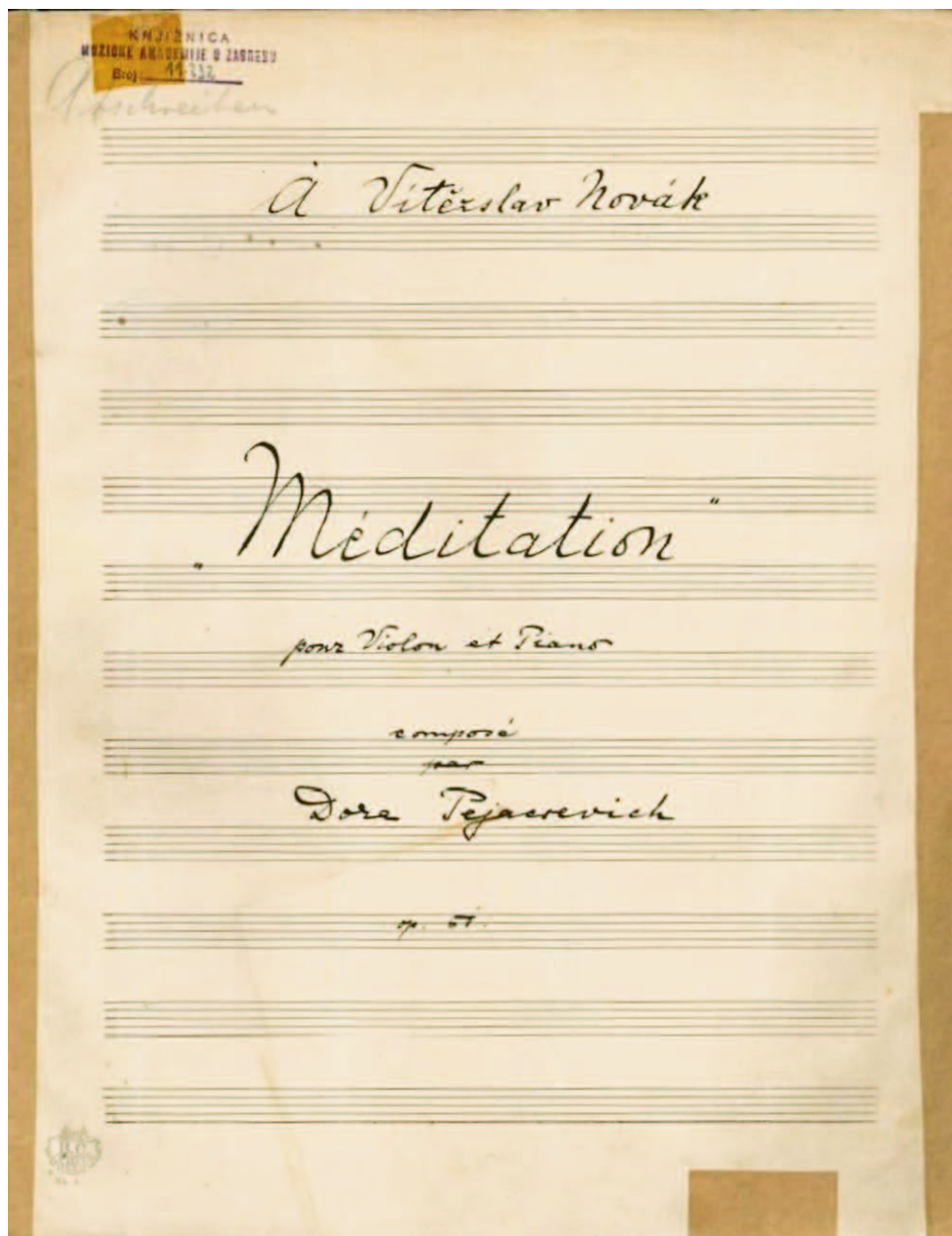


Figure 8: Autograph of *Meditation* for Violin and Piano, Op. 51, by Dora Pejačević.
Library of the Academy of Music, Zagreb, Svetislav Stančić Collection,
NR 787.1 PEJ m.

*Sažetak***UMJETNIČKE VEZE DORE PEJAČEVIĆ I SVETISLAVA STANČIĆA
KROZ PRIZMU NJEGOVE OSTAVŠTINE U KNJIŽNICI
MUZIČKE AKADEMIJE U ZAGREBU**

Podjednako kao što su zanimljivi životi i djela istaknutih osoba iz povijesti hrvatske glazbe (ne umanjujući pritom doprinose i onih uvjetno rečeno »manjih«), zanimljivi su i odnosi između tih osoba, kao i krug ljudi oko njih. Takvo što, s jedne strane, svjedoči o njihovom umrežavanju, međusobnim utjecajima te ispreplitanju životnih i umjetničkih putova. S druge strane, pruža širu sliku kako o samim osobama tako i o glazbenoj kulturi i vremenu u kojemu su živjele i djelovale. Cilj je ovog rada osvijetliti dosad nepoznate umjetničke veze između Dore Pejačević i Svetislava Stančića, dvoje znamenitih hrvatskih glazbenika i suvremenika, kroz prizmu njegove ostavštine u Knjižnici Muzičke akademije u Zagrebu. Za tu su temu zanimljive kutije 1 i 2, u kojima se čuvaju koncertni plakati, programi i kritike Stančićevih izvedbi Dorinih djela. U kutiji 9 nalazi se jedan osobni predmet – skladateljičina fotografija koju mu je darovala. Uz to, o njihovoj suradnji svjedoči skladateljičin autograf te poruka njezine prijateljice Olge Schulz, pohranjeni u Knjižnici S. Stančić Klavirskog odjela. Još jedan važan izvor koji rasvjetljava njihov odnos postoji i izvan ostavštine – snimka razgovora emitirana u ciklusu *Tragom glazbe* na Trećem programu Hrvatskoga radija.

ECHOES OF THE LIFE OF DORA PEJAČEVIĆ'S MUSIC ON CROATIAN RADIO

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Abstract

Radio Zagreb, today Croatian Radio (HR), began broadcasting on 15 May 1926, three years after the death of Dora Pejačević (Budapest, 10 September 1885 – Munich, 5 March 1923). Apart from two of the 24 opuses printed during her lifetime and one manuscript, her scores were not available in Croatia until 1972, when her legacy was deposited in the Croatian Music Institute. This article will first present an overview of the printed scores of the composer's works available in Croatia, whose availability is one of the conditions for their public performances. Afterwards, HR documentary audio recordings of selected concerts and recordings made in HR studios will be presented. HR sends the best documentary and studio recordings for international exchange through the European Broadcasting

Union (EBU), where they become available to all its members. Since HR rarely publishes its recordings as compact disc editions, but distributes them through the EBU network, and at the same time broadcasts Croatian and foreign discography editions, we will present them as well, and finally give an overview of the broadcasting of Pejačević's works on HR's channels from 2012 to 2023.

Keywords: Dora Pejačević; published scores; audio recordings; discography releases; broadcasting; Croatian Radio; Euroclassic Notturmo

Ključne riječi: Dora Pejačević; notna izdanja; snimke; diskografska izdanja; emitiranje; HR; Euroclassic Notturmo

Radio Zagreb, the oldest component of today's Croatian Radio and Television (HRT, ex Radio and Television Zagreb, RTZ),¹ began broadcasting on 15 May 1926, three years after the death of Dora Pejačević (Munich, 5 March 1923).² Since the first days of broadcasting, music made up the largest part of HR's programme content. Until after the Second World War, music was mostly performed live from the Radio Zagreb studio, where until 1934 the performances were not recorded.³ Only a small part of the programme was performed from gramophone records available on the market.⁴

HR recordings do not belong to that category – they are exclusively created for the needs of the HR channels and (unfortunately) are not available on the market, but only to the listeners of the HR channels and, through its mediation, to the members of the European Broadcasting Union (EBU). Since 1998, HR broadcasts the EBU night programme *Notturmo* which is listened to by more than a million listeners every night.⁵ According to the latest data we have, between 37,000 and 237,000 listeners listen to broadcasts on the HR channels. The Third Channel of Croatian Radio (HR3), which is specialized in art music, is listened to by 18,000 listeners every day.⁶ From that perspective, the music broadcasts on the HR

¹ For more on Croatian Radio and Television (HRT), see: ***: The Evolution of Croatian Radio and Television, HRT, web page, <<https://o-nama.hrt.hr/hrt/o-hrt-2-1057>> (Accessed 23 September 2024). On Dora Pejačević's (and other Croatian composers) music performed by Croatian Radio ensembles on public concerts between 1926 and 2010 see: Tatjana ČUNKO: *Hrvatska glazba i Hrvatski radio* [Croatian Music and Croatian Radio], Zagreb: Hrvatski radio – Treći program, 2012; Tatjana ČUNKO: Croatian Music and Croatian Radio, *Arti Musices*, 43 (2012) 2, 269-275; Tatjana ČUNKO: *Art Music and Croatian Radio*, Chişnău: Eliva Press, 2022.

² For more on Dora Pejačević's life and work see Koraljka KOS: Pejačević [Pejacsevich], Dora, *Grove Music Online*, <<https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000044994>> (Accessed 23 September 2024) and Koraljka KOS: Dora Pejačević, Zagreb: Croatian Music Information Centre, 2008.

³ That year, the Zagreb office of the Philips company lent the radio station a machine for recording wax-discs, however, the Radio station did not buy it, but used it only occasionally in exchange for a fee. See T. ČUNKO: *Hrvatska glazba i Hrvatski radio*, 22.

⁴ The recently completed project of the Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, »The Record Industry in Croatia from 1927 to the End of the 1950s« did not find a single work by Dora Pejačević recorded in that period. See Croatian e-discography, database (The Record Industry in Croatia from 1927 to the End 1950s, project), <<https://www.ief.hr/en/research/projects/project-diskograf/croatian-e-discography/>> (Accessed 9 April 2024).

⁵ EBU's title of that programme is *Notturmo*, while on HR3 channel it is called *Euroclassic Notturmo*. Cf. ***: *Notturmo*, The European Broadcasting Union, web page, <<https://www.ebu.ch/music/notturmo>> (Accessed 26 February 2024), and about that programme on HR3 see: ***: *Euroclassic Notturmo*, HRT Hrvatski radio, web page, <<https://radio.hrt.hr/slusaonica/euroclassic-notturmo>> (Accessed 29 February 2023).

⁶ Cf. Tatjana ČUNKO: Kako učiniti muzikologiju dostupnijom uz pomoć radija? [How Can Musicology Be Made More Accessible With the Help of Radio?], *Arti musices*, 52 (2021) 1, 101; Tatjana ČUNKO: How to Make Musicology More »Visible« With the Help of Radio, in: Jelka Vukobratović – Dalibor Davidović (eds.): *Musicology and Its Future in Times of Crises*, Zagreb: University of Zagreb – Academy of Music, Department of Musicology, 2022, 186.

channels have many more listeners than there are CD buyers in Croatia,⁷ and this is the main advantage of otherwise unavailable HR recordings.

Chart 1 shows the process which will be presented in detail in the article. The condition without which the public performance of a work is impossible is the availability of the manuscript or printed score. Once a concert has been selected for its interesting programme or attractive performer(s), the outside broadcast vehicle comes to the concert hall and an on-site editor, producer and sound engineer edit the sound recording of the concert for live broadcast, creating a documentary sound recording. In the event of a deferred broadcast, and before being sent to the phono archive, the documentary sound recordings are edited in the radio station's post-production studio. When the concert programme contains Croatian music or is performed by Croatian musicians, the editors invite the performer(s) to record the music in studio conditions (under the control of the editor, producer and sound engineer). Edited documentary and studio audio recordings are stored in the phono archive ready for broadcast.



Chart 1: The process from printed or manuscript scores to broadcasting

The oldest preserved recording of a work by Dora Pejačević in the HR phono archive dates from 1962.⁸ Since then, HR has recorded 231 sound recordings of her opuses, in whole or in part. Thanks to the fact that after the digitalisation of recordings, programmes were broadcast through the NETIA system,⁹ the broadcast plan

⁷ This hypothesis is proved by the latest published »Research on music listening habits in Croatia in 2023« conducted by the Croatian Discography Association in cooperation with of the Hendl agency and with the support of the Croatian Association of Employers according to which more than 79% respondents listen to music on the radio while only 36% listen to music from physical media (records, cassettes, CDs, DVDs). See Croatian Discography Association – Hendl Agency – Croatian Association of Employers: Istraživanje o navikama slušanja glazbe u Hrvatskoj 2023 [Research on music listening habits in Croatia in 2023], <<https://hdu.hr/publikacije/Istraživanje%20o%20navikama%20slusanja%20glazbe%202023.pdf>> (Accessed 29 February 2024).

⁸ Colleagues from the Archives and Programme Materials Department of HRT helped me in searching the digital repository in the phono archive of HR and sheet music archive of HRT: Željko Radišić, Head of the Phonography Department and archivist editors Martina Prebil and Vladimira Glasnović as well as Mario Koić, Head of the Department for sheet music, photos, multimedia and other materials and specialist archivist Marija Sardelić Spevec. Sanja Utješinović from the Legal and Personnel Affairs Working Unit of HRT helped me regarding access to data on broadcasting.

⁹ As explained to me by Mr. Antun Tomičić, Head of the Radio Broadcasting Department of HRT, it is a French-made recording, editing, storage and broadcasting digital system that HR has been using since 2000.

of each recording is automatically recorded in the MediARC database.¹⁰ As this database contains data on all documentary, studio, and discography recordings in the HR phono archive and the broadcast plans of the studio and discography recordings, it was the basic source of data for all aspects of this research. Unfortunately, data on broadcasts through the NETIA system are available in MediARC only since 2012, and only for broadcasts that were not previously recorded. The data for the recorded broadcasts was obtained by physically reviewing the editorial reports on each individual broadcast in the last twelve years.

The manner and dynamics of the creation of recordings reflect the context in which they were created. In this article, the socio-political context will not be discussed, rather those aspects that influenced their creation in the technical and artistic sense will be presented. For example, radio in Croatia in the 20th century went through three technological transformations: until the end of the 1970s, single-channel (mono) recordings were recorded, then two-channel (stereo) recordings, and since the beginning of the 21st century, HR began to use digital technology and both mono and stereo recordings were digitalised. This process, at least as far as the studio production of HR is concerned, influenced the production of new recordings of the same works with the new technology. For this reason, as well as the desire to perpetuate the interpretations of new performers, the number of recordings far exceeds the number of preserved works. Since scores and parts are necessary for the performance and recording of a piece of music, the availability of Dora Pejačević's scores, primarily printed sheet music editions in Croatia was considered,¹¹ although we are aware that manuscript copies of her works were also sometimes available to some artists. Then the presence of her works on concert programmes recorded by the HR, primarily in Zagreb, will be shown. Next, all the recordings of Dora Pejačević's opuses produced by various record companies, Croatian and foreign, that exist in the phono archive of the HR and which are also broadcast on its channels, will be presented, in order to compare the role of other productions in relation to the HR in promoting Dora Pejačević.¹²

Finally, based on the data available, the number of recordings of her works actually broadcast on HR channels will be presented, as the ultimate goal of their creation, as well as of this research.¹³

¹⁰ MediARC is a digital repository, which is added to by HR phono archive employees, and is used by HR music content editors.

¹¹ For this purpose, the catalogues of the National and University Library, the Zagreb City Libraries, the Library of the Academy of Music in Zagreb and the sheet music archive of HRT were reviewed.

¹² The sources for this data were the aforementioned systems NETIA, MediARC, and broadcast reports of music editors of HR.

¹³ It may seem like a trivial and easy task, but it involved opening and reading thousands of documents – the digitalised programme's Excel sheet for each day (365/364) for each year (12) and each aforementioned source.

All data on printed sheet music and their publishers, documentary and studio recordings (with associated data on performers, sound engineers, producers and editors), domestic and foreign discographies (with data on performers, sound engineers, producers and publishing houses) and broadcasting of each individual recording (from 2012 to 2023) were included in a table, which due to its comprehensiveness (110 pages) exceeds the given scope of this article, and therefore could not be presented.

Manuscripts and sheet music editions of Dora Pejačević's works and their influence on the creation of HR recordings

Dora Pejačević's legacy as a composer includes 58 works, four of which have been lost. Preserved manuscripts, transcripts, and printed compositions from the legacy are today housed in the Croatian Music Institute (HGZ). Pejačević's husband Ottomar von Lumbe (1892–1978) decided to entrust the composer's legacy to the HGZ in 1972.¹⁴

According to the recordings preserved in the HR phono archive, the old foreign editions of her works, printed between 1902 and 1922, were not available in Croatia, except for the only Croatian edition, *Sechs Phantasiestücke* for piano, Op. 17, published under the title *Maštanja* [Fantasies]. Dora Pejačević gave some manuscript copies of her works to individual Croatian performers and ensembles. This is proven by the recording of the never published *Verwandlung* for voice, violin, and organ, Op. 37a, which would not have been possible to record in 1971 without an existing copy, probably from someone's private archive. Or, as the composer's husband Ottomar von Lumbe testifies in his correspondence with pianist and musicologist Ladislav Šaban (the »keeper of the HGZ archives«),¹⁵ the manuscript copies of scores and parts of her orchestral works could have been borrowed from the Lumbe family.¹⁶

¹⁴ Nada BEZIĆ: Život ostavštine Dore Pejačević [The Life of Dora Pejačević's Legacy], in: Silvija Lučevnjak (ed.): *Izazovi baštine Dore Pejačević* [Challenges of Dora Pejačević's Legacy], Našice: Zavičajni muzej Našice – Osnovna glazbena škola Kontesa Dora, 2022, 11.

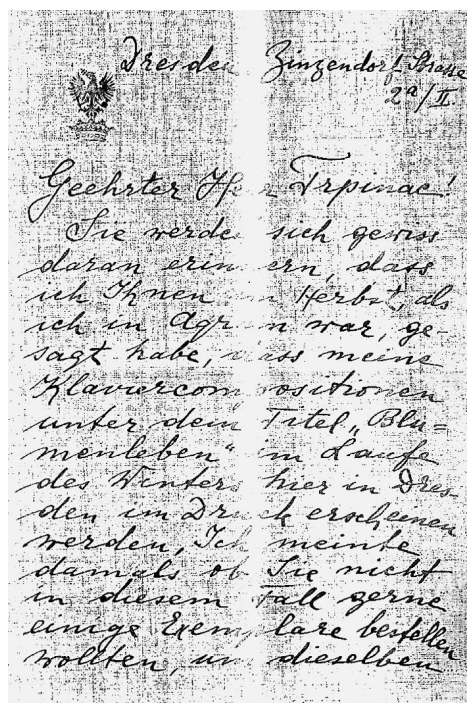
¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Cf. N. BEZIĆ: Život ostavštine Dore Pejačević, 11–12. It was probably transcripts of the scores and parts of the Piano Concerto, Op. 33 which was borrowed by Radio-television Zagreb in 1970 or earlier for the preparation of the public performances of the Concerto held on 3 February 1971 in Zagreb and recorded in a studio in the same year, and *Phantasie concertante* for piano and orchestra, Op. 48, performed on 13 October 1971 in Zagreb, of which only a studio recording made in the same year exists. Cf. T. ČUNKO: *Hrvatska glazba i Hrvatski radio*, 441.

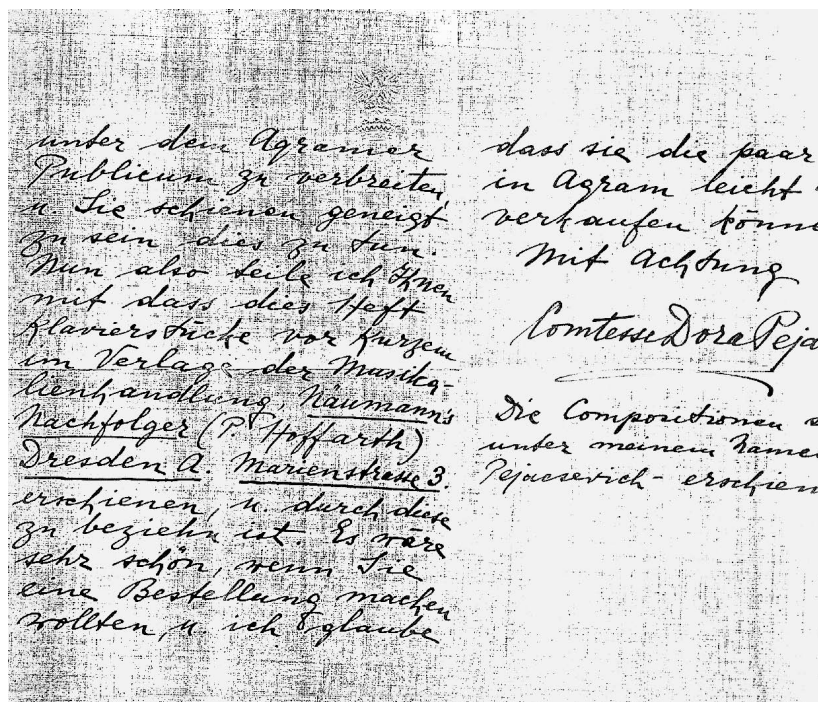
The Croatian musicologist Koraljka Kos was the first to publish information about music editions printed during the composer's lifetime in the monograph *Dora Pejačević*.¹⁷ The first printed composition of Dora Pejačević – *Canzonetta* in D major for violin and piano, Op. 8 – was published in 1902 by edition Harmonia in Budapest. The only opus printed in Croatia during the composer's lifetime was *Maštanja* [Fantasies] for Piano, Op. 17 in the Zagreb edition Čaklović (1920), and the last printed opus is *Zwei Intermezzi* for piano, Op. 38 in the edition Forberg from Leipzig (1922).

According to the preserved recordings, we can conclude that the edition of 6 *Clavier-Stücke von Cesse Dora Pejacevich* by the Budapest publisher Harmonia was available in Croatia, at least to the Croatian pianist Vera Bogdanov who made studio recordings of the piano miniatures published in that edition (*Gondellied*, Op. 4, *Chanson sans paroles*, Op. 5, *Papillon*, Op. 6 and *Impromptu*, Op. 9a) in 1970 and 1971.

We also know that the composer herself made sure that scores printed abroad reached Zagreb. This is evidenced by her letter to Gjuro Trpinac, who was the owner of the bookstore at Ilica 6 in Zagreb.



¹⁷ Koraljka KOS: *Dora Pejačević*, Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti i Muzikološki zavod Muzičke akademije, 1982, 188-201.



unter dem Agramer
Publicum zu verbreiten,
u. Sie scheinen geneigt
zu sein dies zu tun.
Nun also teile ich Ihnen
mit dass dies Heft
klavierstücke vor kurzem
im Verlage der Musik-
lienhandlung, Naumann's
Nachfolger (P. Hoffarth)
Dresden A. Marienstrasse 3.
erschienen, u. durch diese
zu beziehen ist. Es wäre
sehr schön, wenn Sie
eine Bestellung machen
wollten, u. ich glaube
dass sie die paar
in Agram leicht
verkaufen könne
Mit Achtung
Comtesse Dora Pejačević
Die Compositionen u.
unter meinem Namen
Pejačević- erschienen

Figure 1a and 1b: Letter from Dora Pejačević to Gjuro Trpinac, in a private collection (with permission)¹⁸

According to the data in the chronological list of the works made by Koraljka Kos,¹⁹ a total of 24 opuses were published by 1922 – 13 piano, 8 chamber, and 3 vocal works. However, the first Croatian/Zagreb edition, *Maštanja*, Op. 17, in the series titled »Yugoslav piano music«, edited by Antun Dobronić, was the only edition widely available to Croatian artists. Namely, already before the composer's bequest to HGZ was due, Croatian pianist Petar Dumičić first recorded a part (1962), and then the entire cycle (1966), parts of which were also recorded by Croatian pianists Pavica Gvozdić (1970) and Vera Bogdanov (1971).

¹⁸ A photocopy of the letter was given to me by my colleague Vladmira Glasnović, one of the heirs of Gjuro Trpinac.

¹⁹ K. KOS: *Dora Pejačević*, 188-201.



Figure 2a and 2b: Cover and title page of the Josip Čaklović's edition of Op. 17, Zagreb 1920, Library of the Academy of Music of the University of Zagreb.

The first modern Croatian edition, Sonata for Cello and Piano, Op. 35, was published in 1977 (55 years after the last old edition!) by the Musicological Institute of the Academy of Music. At that time, Šaban encouraged colleagues, performers, and musicologists to use and research the legacy, and edited several piano pieces himself that were published by HGZ in 1978 under the title *Dora Pejačević. Iz klavirske lirike* [Dora Pejačević. From Piano Lyrics].²⁰ Five years later (1982), the Musicological Institute of the Academy of Music published Šaban's arrangement for two pianos of the Piano Concerto. Along with the 100th anniversary of the composer's birth (1985), new editions followed. The Composers Society of Croatia (DSH)²¹ published two: *Solo pjesme* [Solo Songs]²² and *Pet minijatura za violinu i klavir* [Five Miniatures for Violin and Piano].²³ After that, editions appeared with a regular rhythm, and new publishers emerged: Music Play published only

²⁰ He chooses Opp. 24, 32/2, 38, 44, 45, 47 and 54.

²¹ At the time of publication this was the name of today's Croatian Composers' Society (HDS), and just one in a series of different names which the society had since its foundation in 1945. For further information, see: ***: Povijest HDS-a [History of HDS], Croatian Composers' Society (HDS), web page, <<http://www.hds.hr/o-nama/povijest-hds-a/>> (Accessed 24 September 2024).

²² Containing Opp. 11, 13, 16, 23, 27, 30, 37a, 39, 42, 46, 52, 54, 55 and 56.

²³ With Opp. 8, 18, 22, 34 and 51.

selected piano works (1992, 1995, 1996); the Croatian Musicological Society published the sonatas Op. 26 and 36 (1995, 2002); the Croatian Association of Orchestral and Chamber Artists published the Piano Trio, Op. 15 (1999); pianist Jakša Zlatar published the Piano Sonata, Op. 57 (1999); the Vatroslav Lisinski Concert Hall and Music Information Centre published a series of works (2001, 2005, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2013, 2015, 2018, 2021, 2023);²⁴ Editions Spiller published eight piano works (2006); the joint institutions of the city of Našice published arrangements of four opuses for tamburica orchestra (2010); the composer Tomislav Butorac published eight chamber opuses in Munich (2011, 2012, 2016); and Breitkopf & Härtel published *Gondellied*, Op. 4 (2018).

Since 1902, almost all works of Dora Pejačević have been published in one or more editions. Piano opuses, such as *Blumenleben*, Op. 19 (7 editions), *Gondellied*, Op. 6 and *Menuette*, Op. 7 (6 editions each), *Chanson sans paroles*, Op. 5 and *Sechs Phantasiestücke*, Op. 17 (5 editions each), were published most often, while other piano miniatures were published in at least three or four editions by different publishers. Only three works for violin and piano – *Canzonetta*, Op. 8, *Menuett*, Op. 18 and *Romanze*, Op. 22 – with 6 editions each come close to the piano opuses in terms of the number of editions and publishers.

The hypothesis presented in the introduction regarding the impact of the existence and availability of printed sheet music editions on the number of performances, and consequently on the number of recordings, will be demonstrated in the following sections. As an exception, this hypothesis does not apply to orchestral works that were performed exclusively from manuscript copies of scores and parts.²⁵

Concert performances of works by Dora Pejačević recorded on HR documentary recordings

The concert life of Dora Pejačević's works in Croatia followed the dynamics of the printing of sheet music editions and was divided by a large caesura into two parts – the first, which lasted from 24 January 1904 (when the Czech violinist Jaroslav Kocijan and pianist František Veselsky performed the *Canzonetta*, Op. 8, at the Croatian Music Institute) until 16 March 1930 (when an unnamed orchestra, probably a theatre one, conducted by Krešimir Baranović and with the participation of Croatian pianist Antonija Geiger-Eichhorn, performed the *Phantasie concertante* in

²⁴ Over the last 22 years, the Music Information Center (MIC) has published almost all of Dora Pejačević's works and made sure that they were published on sound recording carriers not only in Croatia but also abroad, produced by the companies Re Nova Classics and Classics Produktion Osnaabrück (CPO), which will be discussed later.

²⁵ Scores and parts of the Symphony and *Phantasie concertante* were published in 2009, the Overture in 2010, and the Piano Concerto in 2013.

the Croatian National Theatre). The continuation of concert performances of Dora Pejačević's works after the Second World War is partly evidenced by the documentary recordings of the then Radio Television Zagreb, from the already mentioned recordings of the Piano Concerto and the *Phantasie concertante* from 1971 to the concert held on the 100th anniversary of the composer's death in the Lisinski subotom [Lisinski on Saturdays] concert cycle at the Vatroslav Lisinski Concert Hall on 4 March 2023.

Documentary recordings of concerts have been created and kept since the founding of the Radio Zagreb phono archive in 1957. However, they are rarely broadcast in HR programmes because there is an unwritten rule that they may not be broadcast automatically (digitally), without the editor's supervision, that is, the broadcast of the documentary recordings must be pre-recorded. It is more common that they are broadcast partially and in special, thematic pre-recorded broadcasts, which are the rarest in the programme schedule.²⁶

As a reflection of concert life, mainly in Zagreb, the documentary audio recordings show which works of Dora Pejačević were included at what time in concert repertoire, and thus also in the HR's phono archive and programmes.

Only eight of the fourteen vocal works were documented on 25 recordings of concerts made between 1985 and 2023. The first vocal opus recorded was *Drei Gesänge*, Op. 53 interpreted by Croatian baritone Vladimir Ruždjak and pianist Jurica Murai, on 21 March 1977 in the HGZ. Other chamber vocal-instrumental works were performed in groups made of several opuses, or individual songs separate from the opuses. All four songs, Op. 30, were performed only once in Zagreb's Salon Očić, on 6 April 2014.

Vocal-orchestral works – *Verwandlung*, Op. 37b, *Liebeslied*, Op. 39 and *Zwei Schmetterlingslieder*, Op. 52 – were performed for the first time by Serbian alto Breda Kalef with the orchestra of the United Orchestral Artists of Osijek and Zagreb under the direction of Croatian Antun Petrušić at a concert held in Osijek, on the 100th anniversary of the composer's birth, on 8 September 1985. Each of Dora Pejačević's three vocal-orchestral works was recorded three times, while Opp. 16, 27, 37a, 46, 55a and b and 56 were never recorded at concerts.

Of the twenty-four preserved piano works, only eight works were documented on 19 recordings, at concerts held between 1982 and 2018. The most popular work among pianists is certainly *Blumenleben*, Op. 19, performed at 11 concerts. The oldest documentary recording of a piano piece is an *Intermezzo* from Op. 38, interpreted by Croatian pianist Stjepan Radić (4 June 1982 at the ITD Theatre in

²⁶ About the HR programme schedule see: T. ČUNKO: Kako učiniti muzikologiju dostupnijom uz pomoć radija, 105. The greatest value of these records is in documenting the event, the time of their creation and the style of interpretation, so they primarily serve as information for the editors. Very often they are valuable in cases where the broadcast aim is to document the changes in interpretations of vocal or instrumental soloists, orchestras or conductors during their careers.

Zagreb). Most of the piano compositions were recorded at the Evening of Dora Pejačević's Compositions organized on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of her death in the Vatroslav Lisinski Concert Hall in Zagreb, when Croatian pianist Ida Gamulin performed Opp. 4, 5, 6, 9a, 38 and the entire Op. 19. With that venture, this artist established herself as the main Croatian interpreter of the composer's piano miniatures. After fourteen-year-old Vesna Šepat performed the one-movement Sonata for piano, Op. 57, at the Darko Lukić Memorial in Osijek²⁷ (21 December 1986), young pianists began to perform individual movements from Op. 19 at various competitions such as the Radio Podium and the Dora Pejačević Piano Competition in Osijek.

Thirteen of the fourteen chamber works by Dora Pejačević (i.e. all except Op. 35) were recorded as many as 35 times at concerts held between 1994 and 2023. The most popular chamber work was the composer's first ever published work, *Canzonetta*, Op. 8 which had 11 performances, but other miniatures, published together as *Five Miniatures for Violin and Piano* in 1985 (*Menuett*, Op. 18, *Romanze*, Op. 22, *Elegie*, op. 34 and *Méditation*, Op. 51) were also often performed at concerts, especially by young artists. This again proves our hypothesis that earlier printed editions led to more concert performances and more sound recordings. At the same time, established artists began to include these miniatures in their recitals. Dora Pejačević's remaining chamber compositions, those of a cyclical character, gradually entered the concert repertoire too since 1994, when the *Slawische Sonate* for violin and piano, Op. 43, was recorded. Only in 2023 did the HR first record of the Trio in C major for violin, cello and piano, Op. 29. Of those chamber compositions, only Opp. 26 and 40 were recorded more than once.

The HR recorded two concertante and two orchestral works by Dora Pejačević as many as 23 times between 1971 and the end of 2023. Those recordings were mostly made at concerts marking her anniversaries – thus the first recording of the Piano Concerto, Op. 33 was made during the concert (3 February 1971) with which Radio-Television Zagreb marked the 55th anniversary of the first performance of the piece.²⁸ The Croatian conductor and composer Boris Papandopulo conducted and Pavica Gvozdić performed as a soloist. For the next 36 years, Gvozdić would remain almost the only interpreter of the composer's concertante compositions. Of the six existing documentary recordings of the Piano Concerto, she recorded four. At the concert given by the Zagreb Philharmonic conducted by Croatian conductor Nada Matošević on 9 November 2009, Pavica Gvozdić also played *Phantasie concertante*, Op. 48, which was recorded for the first time in her interpretation on

²⁷ The Darko Lukić Memorial is a biennial international meeting of young pianists in memory of one of the most outstanding Croatian pianist and piano pedagogue Darko Lukić (Osijek, 16 January 1922 – Zagreb, 23 September 1974).

²⁸ On 5 February 1916, at the National Theatre in Zagreb with Croatian pianist Svetislav Stančić as a soloist and Theatre orchestra conducted by Croatian Friderik Rukavina.

15 February 2002 with the HRT Symphony Orchestra conducted by Croatian Mladen Tarbuk. Thus it turns out that Gvozdić recorded two of the seven existing documentary recordings of that piece. With the performance of the Piano Concerto at the summer festival Osor music evenings²⁹ on 19 June 2013, young Martina Filjak became the next main Croatian interpreter of Dora Pejačević's concertante pieces. Three years later, Filjak added *Phantasie concertante* to her repertoire, performing it on 2 November 2016, and giving a second performance on 4 March 2023, both times with the HRT Symphony Orchestra conducted by the Russian Stanislaw Kochanowski and by Frenchman Pascal Rophé respectively. The first performer of that piece had been the Croatian pianist Jurica Murai with the Zagreb Philharmonic, conducted by the Croatian Pavle Dešpalj (20 February 1982). The Symphony, Op. 41, was recorded six times, between 20 February 1982 (performed by the Zagreb Philharmonic Orchestra conducted by Pavle Dešpalj) and 26 January 2023 (performed by the HRT Symphony Orchestra under the direction of the Croatian Ivan Repušić). Overture, Op. 49, was documentary recorded only five times (conducted by Pavle Dešpalj 1982, the Slovenian Uroš Lajovic 1982, Antun Petrušić 1985, Mladen Tarbuk 2006, and Pascal Rophé 2023).

Studio audio recordings of works by Dora Pejačević

The two earliest studio audio recordings of works by Dora Pejačević preserved in the HR phono archive date from 1962 and 1966. In both cases the piano piece Op. 17 (published in Zagreb in 1920) interpreted by Petar Dumičić was recorded. The question to which we do not have an answer is whether Dumičić recorded those two opuses in a studio, or whether these recordings were actually documentary takes of his earlier concert performances converted into studio audio recordings for practical reasons described above. In 1970, Vera Bogdanov recorded opuses 4, 5, 6, 9a and 17. A year later, in 1971, Pavica Gvozdić recorded the Concerto and *Phantasie concertante* with the Radio Television Zagreb's Symphony Orchestra – the first work under the direction of Boris Papandopulo, as well as in a concert held that year, and the second under the direction of the Croatian Igor Gjadrov. In the same year, *Verwandlung*, Op. 37a was recorded. In total, 10 opuses were recorded in that decade and all of them were new except Op. 17. That pattern – studio recording of a work after the work has been recorded in concert – was to continue. There are only five additional studio audio recordings beyond the already mentioned documentary ones.

In the following decade, between 1972 and 1981, the repertoire of studio audio recordings of vocal works was enriched by four new opuses – *Erinnerung*, Op. 24,

²⁹ For more on the Festival see: ***: Osor Musical Evenings, web page, <<https://en.osorfestival.eu/o-festivalu/o-festivalu>> (Accessed 23 September 2024).

Vier Lieder, Op. 30, *Mädchengestalten*, Op. 42 and *Three Children's Songs*, Op. 56. Of the piano compositions, *Blumenleben*, Op. 19, *Capriccio*, Op. 47 and *Zwei Nocturnen*, Op. 50 were recorded. Seven chamber works were recorded for the first time: String Quartet in C major, Op. 50, Sonata for Cello and Piano, Op. 35, Trio in C major, Op. 29, *Elegie*, Op. 34 and *Méditation*, Op. 51, Quartet, Op. 25 and Quintet, Op. 40. And finally, in that decade, the first studio audio recording of the Symphony was made (with Radio Television Zagreb Symphony Orchestra and Czech conductor Josef Daniel). A total of 22 works were recorded, of which 15 had not been recorded before.

Between 1992 and 2001 44 studio audio recordings were made, of which 17 were new: from the vocal *Warum?*, Op. 13 and *Ave Maria*, Op. 16 arranged for voice and tamburica orchestra to the vocal-orchestral *Liebeslied*, Op. 39, *Verwandlung*, Op. 37b and *Zwei Schmetterlingslieder*, Op. 52 in the original version for voice and orchestra. Of the piano compositions, the new recordings were *Berceuse*, Op. 2, *Gondellied*, Op. 4, *Menuett*, Op. 7, *Chanson sans paroles*, Op. 10 and *Trauermarsch*, Op. 14, all in the interpretations of Ida Gamulin. The novelty is that these same recordings – as well as some chamber compositions – were published by the company Croatia Records. Four new chamber works were recorded during that period: *Trio*, Op. 15, *Canzonetta*, Op. 8, *Menuett*, Op. 18, *Elegie*, Op. 34, *Romanze*, Op. 22 and *Impromptu* for piano quartet, Op. 9b and Piano Quintet, Op. 40. All in all, there were 15 first recordings of which 11 were published on CDs. In addition to Croatia Records, HR's recordings were also published by the Croatian companies Bestmusic and Dinaton.

During the past twelve years (2012–2023), the HR made only eight studio audio recordings of Dora Pejačević's works, and only of previously recorded works of hers. It seems as if the HR production unit and programme management felt that there was no need for new recordings, despite the proven fact that HR had not yet recorded three vocal and three piano opuses. They also did not fully fulfil the obligation³⁰ or at least showed an interest in re-recording already recorded works in interpretations of a new generation of Croatian artists. However, new recordings were probably made during 2023 when the 100th anniversary of Dora Pejačević's death was marked which have not yet been edited and sent to the phono archive. Recordings published by record companies that began to be released in that period are no justification for such an attitude because HR (as all radio-stations in the world) has to pay fees (publishing, mechanical, performing ...) if it broadcasts these sound recordings and therefore cannot use them in international exchange through the EBU.

³⁰ According to the contract with the Government of the Republic of Croatia, the owner of HRT, which establishes the public mission and programme obligations of the HRT.

Record labels' sound recordings in the HR phono archive

Of the 50 audio editions of Dora Pejačević's compositions known to us, 35 were published by Croatian and 15 by foreign record companies. The first opus published by a record company was *Zwei Intermezzi*, Op. 38 on the album of pianist Stjepan Radić. The first foreign record release that we know of, a recording of the Piano Concerto, Op. 33,³¹ does not exist in the HR phono archive, as well as several other, more recent foreign editions and a few domestic ones. In short, of the known 50 releases, HR's phono archive has 35 (26 domestic and 9 foreign) available for broadcast.

The Music Information Center (MIC), in cooperation with Jugoton, and later with CPO, published 11 editions of all the works of Dora Pejačević, except for *Tri dječje pjesme* [Three Children's Songs], Op. 56, while Jugoton's legal successor, Croatia Records, actually published only 29 opuses on 12 editions, some of them even four times.

It is important to emphasize that HR, if it broadcasts music published by commercial record companies, must pay not only for the performance rights (which last for 50 years and which HR also pays for the recordings in its own production) but also the discography rights (which lasts as long as copyright).

Broadcast of recordings of Dora Pejačević's music on HR channels

And, finally, the answer to the most important question for this research – how many recorded opuses of Dora Pejačević are broadcast on HR programmes over the last twelve years? The broadcast data will be presented in four groups, formed by the record-keeping method of the broadcast: 1) recordings that are broadcast automatically via the NETIA system with short announcements, 2) recordings that are also broadcast automatically from the NETIA system without announcements, 3) recordings that are broadcast in programmes previously recorded in studio, which are therefore not recognized and evidenced by the NETIA system, 4) the *Notturmo* programme produced by the BBC, the content of which is also not recognisable by the NETIA system.

1) Thanks to the fact that after the digitalisation of recordings (within the mentioned third technological change in HR, which started at the end of the last century), programmes were broadcast with the help of the NETIA system, and the broadcast plan of each recording is automatically recorded in the MediARC database. As this database contains data on all of HR's studio sound recordings and commercial compact discs in HR's phono archive and their broadcasting plans, it

³¹ Played by Sigrid Trummer and the Nuremberg Symphony Orchestra on the 1999 edition of Re Nova Classics.

was our basic source of data for all aspects of this research, including for broadcasting. Unfortunately, in MediARC there is data on broadcasts via the NETIA system only from 2012³² and only for broadcasts that were not pre-recorded or received from the BBC. Nevertheless, on HR channels, especially on HR3, where Dora Pejačević's works are mostly broadcast, the majority of programmes are broadcast automatically, so we can consider these data reliable. The data was collected in such a way that for each recording, a list of broadcasts from 2012 to the end of 2023 was reviewed and entered into a table and organized listing works and artists.

Over the last twelve years fourteen works of vocal music were the least frequently broadcast works of Dora Pejačević on the HR channels (175 times). They were broadcast more from compact discs of foreign productions than from those of Croatian productions (91:84). The exception is *Drei Gesänge*, Op. 53, which were broadcast 35 times, of which 26 came from the HR recordings. While several opuses were broadcast relatively often – *Das Liebeslied*, Op. 39 (24 times), *Mädchengestalten*, Op. 42 (20 times), *Vier Lieder*, Op. 30 and *Sieben Lieder*, Op. 23 (19 times each, but more often as individual songs than as a whole opus), and *Zwei Schmetterlingslieder*, Op. 52 (performed 18 times) – the broadcasting of other vocal opuses was very sporadic.

If we analyse the broadcasting of fourteen chamber opuses by Dora Pejačević (therefore the same number as vocal pieces), it is immediately noticeable that there are twice as many broadcasts of chamber works that of vocal works (400:175) and that domestic productions are more represented than foreign recordings (223:177). The least frequently broadcast chamber works in the past twelve years are the Sonata for Violin and Piano, Op. 26 and String Quartet in C major, Op. 58 (9 times), while the most performed chamber opuses were Sonata for cello and piano, Op. 35 (52 times)³³ and *Méditation*, Op. 51 (47 times). As a reminder, the Sonata for Cello and Piano is the first modern printed edition of a work by Dora Pejačević, which proves our hypothesis about the cause-and-effect between the appearance of sheet music editions and the appearance of sound recordings (and now also the number of broadcasts). The Piano Quintet, Op. 40 had slightly fewer appearances on the air (43 times).

Considering the number of piano opuses (24) and the number of recordings (16 documentary, 60 studio, 203 domestic discography and 60 foreign recordings), the number of broadcasts is relatively high (339), but not as high as could be

³² That year, the latest version of the NETIA system was installed, which is still used today. When switching from an older version of the system to a new one, broadcast data (if it existed in the older version) was not transferred to the new one.

³³ Of the 52 performances, 45 (!) were those of the internationally recognised young Croatian violoncellist Monika Leskovar with pianist Tatjana Kubala from the CD released by Re Nova Classics edition Frauentöne.

expected, compared to the chamber opuses. In addition, *Blumenleben*, Op. 19, stands far apart from other opuses for the piano with as many as 96 broadcasts, most of them from two CDs by Ida Gamulin. The first one, published in 1993, featured in the programme 39 times, and the second one, published in 1998, 18 times. The other 38 performances were studio recordings of the HR, mostly parts of the cycle, while the recording from a CPO production was broadcast only once. Two other opuses were broadcast very often – *Sechs Phantasiestücke*, Op. 17 (52 times from domestic discography) and *Zwei Intermezzi*, Op. 38 (36 times, all in interpretations by Ida Gamulin from two different CDs and documentary recordings).

Very interesting data is provided by the overview of broadcasts of orchestral recordings (which were broadcast 237 times in total). The Piano Concerto, Op. 33 alone was broadcast as many as 85 times over the past 12 years. At the same time, domestic production dominates (190:47), which corresponds to the number of HR recordings compared to foreign production (81:4). From domestic production, Pavica Gvozdić's recordings were broadcast 20 times, but the number of broadcast recordings with Martina Filjak as a soloist is fascinating (56!). By comparison, the foreign discography edition with Oliver Triendl was broadcast only four times. We have already explained the reasons for such a relationship: radio stations do not have to pay (all possible) rights for broadcasting their recordings, but they have to pay for broadcasting commercial ones. Thus, the total number of broadcasts of that great and important work by Dora Pejačević can perhaps be compared only with the total number of broadcasts of *Blumenleben*, Op. 19, but of course, not by the number of minutes on the air (because the Concerto is significantly longer work than Op. 19)! The Symphony, Op. 41 was broadcast 69 times,³⁴ *Phantasie concertante*, Op. 48, 30 times,³⁵ and the Overture, Op. 49 only 25 times.³⁶

From the above, it can be concluded that the HR's music editors strongly support Croatian artists and local production, which is in fact a statutory programming obligation of HRT as a national public service.

2) Dora Pejačević's short compositions broadcast without announcements in the breaks between shows, mostly on HR3 are considered in this group. As it happens, there are usually between five and nine such breaks during a day, and they are filled by the programme coordinator, last responsible person in the programme production chain before broadcast. Overly long pauses are not tolerated on the radio, so that is why the pauses between shows, which usually last from thirty seconds to five minutes, are mostly filled with instrumental pieces of a

³⁴ From the recording made under the direction of Mladen Tarbuk (2011) 30 times, 16 times under the conductorship of Ari Rasilainen in the CPO edition, and 11 times from the recording also made under the direction of Mladen Tarbuk (2003).

³⁵ Performed by Pavica Gvozdić (recorded in 1971) 16 times, performed by Volker Banfield from the CPO recording 23 times, and from several documentary recordings.

³⁶ Of which 21 times in domestic and 4 times in foreign production.

lyrical or meditative character, mostly by Croatian composers or performed by Croatian performers.³⁷ Since Dora Pejačević's works correspond to this description, between 2012 and 2023 they were broadcast 444 times for such purposes. The same works are mostly repeated: piano miniatures or movements from piano cycles (Opp. 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9a and parts of Op. 19, mostly in the interpretations of Ida Gamulin) and miniatures for violin and piano (Opp. 8, 18, 22, 34 and 51), initially in the interpretations of Josip Klima and Ranko Filjak and since 2016 more often in the interpretations of Anđelko Krpan and Nada Majnarić.

3) Over the same twelve-year period, pre-recorded broadcasts of works of Dora Pejačević were broadcast 175 times, mostly from studio recordings (89 times), and from foreign discography editions (37 times). As we pointed out in the chapter on documentary recordings, they are only broadcast in pre-recorded shows (33 times), to which we can also add live broadcasts, when documentary records were taken (10 times). Piano (66 times) and chamber compositions (57 times) are dominant in this category, followed by vocal (29 times) and orchestral works (14).

4) In addition to promoting the works of local composers, including Dora Pejačević, by broadcasting on HR's channels, HR's music editors also select recordings of works by Croatian composers and artists for international exchange via the EBU.

In particular, recordings are sent to the editors of the EBU night radio programme, *Notturmo*, which is edited and distributed by the BBC to countries that want it (and pay for the service). Dora Pejačević's works were broadcast on that programme in 2020 more than music by any other Croatian composer.³⁸ For the two previous years (2023 and 2022) data on the broadcasting of Dora Pejačević's works are available on the EBU website,³⁹ and data was extracted from the HRT archive for the period 2012–2021.

Over those twelve years, Dora Pejačević's works have been broadcast 226 times. From a total of 18 available opuses (send from HR to BBC), the producers of

³⁷ As Davor Živković, long-time HR programme coordinator, explained to me.

³⁸ Expressed in hours:minutes:seconds, works by Dora Pejačević were broadcast 06:25:04, while Franjo pl. Lučić 01:25:40, Boris Papandopulo 01:25:09, Blagoje Bersa 01:19:29, Leopold Ebner 01:09:10, Božidar Širola 01:03:48, Ivan pl. Zajc 00:49:16, Frano Parać 00:46:26, Vladimir Ruždjak 00:36:05, Fran Lhotka 00:35:01, Bruno Bjelinski 00:33:12, Krsto Odak 00:32:32, Marko Ruždjak 00:29:28, Luka Sorkočević 00:26:07, Srđan Dedić 00:26:01, Vatroslav Lisinski 00:20:45, Darko Petrinjak (arr.) 00:20:44, Ivo Parać 00:19:12, Mario Nardelli 00:18:58, Antun Sorkočević 00:15:53, Krešimir Baranović 00:15:05, Luigi Donora 00:14:46, Davorin Kempf 00:14:36, Ivan Lukačić 00:13:32, Igor Kuljerić/Ivana Bilić 00:13:12, Frano Matušić 00:12:24, Julije Skjavetić 00:10:58, Milko Kelemen 00:10:48, Jakov Gotovac 00:09:06, Pavle Dešpalj 00:07:35, Stanko Horvat 00:07:12, J. K. Wisner v. Morgenstern 00:05:47, Ivan Jarnović 00:04:54, Ferdo Livadić 00:04:05. Our thanks to Trpimir Matasović, the music editor of the Croatian night programme *Euroclassic Notturmo* in the HR Music Content editorial office, for kindly providing us with this information.

³⁹ See at the link: ***: Notturmo, The European Broadcasting Union, web page, <<https://www.ebu.ch/music/notturmo>> (Accessed 26 February 2024).

Notturmo most often chose the piano Opp. 4, 5, 6, 9a and the entire Op. 19 (performed by Ida Gamulin), vocal Op. 42 (performed by soprano Franziska Heinzen and pianist Benjamin Mead from a Swiss Radio recording, send to BBC by SRF) and 39 (performed by mezzo-soprano Katja Markotić, the HRT Symphony Orchestra and conductor Mladen Tarbuk); of the chamber works most often Op. 40 (performed by Ida Gamulin and the Zagreb Quartet) is broadcast, and from the orchestral compositions the Symphony (performed by the HRT Symphony Orchestra and conductor Mladen Tarbuk).

It is important to note that in addition to HR3, the programme is broadcast by 12 other European public radio stations, and to reiterate that more than a million listeners listen to it every night.⁴⁰ The only rule is that EBU and *Notturmo* never use commercial CDs.

Table 1: Total broadcast of Dora Pejačević's work on HR channels from the beginning of 2012 to the end of 2023

Broadcasts with short announcements (HR production)	1.151
Broadcasts without announcements (HR production)	444
Previously recorded programmes (HR production)	175
<i>Notturmo</i> (BBC production)	226
IN TOTAL	1.996

Conclusions about the echoes of the life of Dora Pejačević's music on Croatian Radio

The goal of this research was to demonstrate the cause-and-effect relationship between the availability of sheet music (handwritten and printed) and the presence of Dora Pejačević's works on concert stages; the connection between concert performances and documentary recordings; the relationship between documentary and studio recordings in the production of HR; the representation of CDs recorded by domestic and foreign recording labels in the HR phono archive; and, finally, the presence of Dora Pejačević's recordings on Croatian and European radio stations were analysed and presented. All this was undertaken to show the role of the HR in the promotion of Dora Pejačević's work, both through recordings from its own production and from discography releases.

It turned out that, after Dora Pejačević's family entrusted her legacy to the HGZ (1972), her works became widely available to both musicologists and editors of sheet music, as well as musical artists and performers. Starting in 1977, new sheet music editions began to be published, and now almost all works by Dora

⁴⁰ It is broadcast by public radio stations in Austria, Bulgaria, Great Britain, Greece, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Slovenia, Slovakia, Sweden, Turkey and Ukraine. Cf. *Ibid.*

Pejačević have been published in print. If we compare the number of her works published before 1972 (24) and subsequently (126), a more than clear cause-and-effect relationship between the availability of manuscripts and their publication in print emerges.

From printed editions, but also from available manuscripts, the works of Dora Pejačević began to be performed more and more, and some of these performances were recorded by Radio Zagreb, i.e. Croatian Radio, thus fulfilling its legal obligation, as well as the mission of the state, i.e. national radio. And there is a causal connection – piano works were performed the most, because from 1972 until today, 56 piano opuses were published, followed by chamber compositions (37 opuses published), while the 30 published opuses of vocal music did not find such a response in concert repertoires. Orchestral works were performed at concerts despite the non-existing printed materials. Documentary recordings showed how Pejačević's works were gradually included in the concert repertoire of Croatian and foreign musicians at concerts held mainly in Zagreb, but also in Osijek. Judging by the preserved documentary recordings, 18 of her opuses, mostly vocal opuses (16) and a few piano opuses (6), have not yet been performed on Croatian (Zagreb) concert stages. It is important to note that in addition to the performances by professional musicians, the HR also records the performances of young artists, and among the documentary recordings are many that document to the first steps of many distinguished musicians, such as Ida Gamulin, Monika Leskovic, Martina Filjak, Anđelko Krpan, Maksim Mrvica, and others.

An overview of the studio recordings shows that their number grew between 1962 and 2001, when it reached its culmination, which proves that the production of sound recordings followed the publication of sheet music editions of Dora Pejačević's works, which soon appeared on concert programs and were well received by both the artist and the audience. Since then, after most of Pejačević's opuses were recorded, the number of recordings has gradually decreased. The reason is obvious – the goal (to record as many Pejačević's works) was fulfilled. Nevertheless, we again counted by far greatest number of sound recordings of piano works (34), vocal and chamber works (27:27), while orchestral opuses were recorded the least (13). The number of sound recordings of orchestral works should be put into account, because Dora Pejačević wrote only four orchestral opuses. That means that each one was recorded at least three times, which is a lot for such large works.

Domestic record companies (that is, Jugoton, the only one at the time) joined the HRT in recording the works of Dora Pejačević in 1982, and over the course of twenty years released ten gramophone records, i.e. CDs with 44 recordings of 33

works. Since 2001, when foreign record companies also started publishing Dora Pejačević's works, the HR has acquired nine editions with all of her works, some of them in several interpretations. Therefore, in the phono archive of the HR, music editors have access to 231 recordings from HR productions, 98 recordings from productions of Croatian record companies and 61 recordings from foreign record labels and seven recordings from Radio Stuttgart.⁴¹ Analysis of the broadcasts revealed that the HR music editors prefer Croatian productions and Croatian musicians. The reason for that is the general orientation of HR to works of national composers, which is logical.

So far, HR editors have sent sound recordings of 18 works to the *Notturmo* editors, of which they regularly broadcast around 10 of the same opuses.

Between 2012 and 2023, piano pieces were broadcast most often on HR channels (825 times), followed by chamber music (655), orchestral works (282) and vocal opuses (234). They were reproduced mostly from studio recordings produced by the HR (960), from foreign (461) and domestic (424) discography releases, as well as from documentary recordings (116) and from Radio Stuttgart (SWR) recordings (35). That proves the domination of HR recordings over discography releases (1,076:885), especially the ones broadcasted by foreign radio stations (via *Notturmo*). During that period, Dora Pejačević's works were performed 1,996 times, that is, one work every other day (and night). As around 18,000 listeners listen to the daily programme HR3 every day, and the night programme *Euroclassic Notturmo* in 12 other countries is listened to by around one million people every night, these numbers cannot be surpassed by the sale of physical audio media, streaming platforms, or the concert-going public.

As much as we can be satisfied with the role of the HR in promoting the works of Dora Pejačević, it should be noted that it would be recommended that the HR record those works of Pejačević which it has not produced so far. These are: three piano pieces (*Berceuse*, Op. 18, *Valse de concert*, Op. 21 and *Blütenwirbel*, Op. 45) and three vocal works (*Zwei Lieder*, Op. 27, *An eine Falte*, Op. 46, *Zwei Lieder*, Op. 55), as well as to re-record some that were recorded ten, twenty, even thirty years ago. It would be recommended that HR send a few new recordings to the editors of *Notturmo*, so that they do not need to broadcast the same ten opuses in the same interpretations recorded back in the mid-90s over and over again.

This research has shown that Dora Pejačević's music, after a fifty-year hiatus without publications and concert performances, has been resonating more and more vividly over the last sixty years.

⁴¹ This is probably Süddeutscher Rundfunk (until 1998, then renamed as Südwestrundfunk, SWR).

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Sažetak

ODJECI ŽIVOTA GLAZBE DORE PEJAČEVIĆ NA SNIMKAMA HR-a

Radio Zagreb, danas Hrvatski radio (HR) počeo je s emitiranjem 15. svibnja 1926, tri godine nakon smrti Dore Pejačević (Budimpešta, 10. rujna 1885. – München, 5. ožujka 1923). Osim dvaju od 24 opusa tiskanih za njezina života i jednoga prijepisa, njezine partiture nisu bile dostupne u Hrvatskoj sve do 1972, kada je njezin suprug ostavštinu dao na pohranu Hrvatskom glazbenom zavodu. Ovaj je rad najprije predstavio tiskane partiture skladateljičinih djela dostupne u Hrvatskoj kao jedan od uvjeta za njihove izvedbe. Pokazalo se da su od starih izdanja, sudeći prema snimkama HR-a, hrvatskim umjetnicima bila dostupna samo dva – 6 *Clavier-Stücke von C^{esse} Dora Pejacsevich* (kako glasi naslov prvoga izdanja klavirskih opusa 4, 5, 6, 7, 9 i 10, objavljenog u Budimpešti 1902) i *Mašta-nja*, op. 17 iz 1920. Također, notne materijale za izvedbe orkestralnih skladbi Radio Zagreb posudio je od obitelji. Po pohrani ostavštine u HGZ-u notni su materijali postali dostupni i za muzikološka istraživanja i za pripremu tiskanih izdanja, tako da je od 1977. do zaključenja ovog teksta objavljeno još 126 opusa u izdanju 12 izdavačkih kuća ili privatnih izdavača. Ukupno je od 1902. do 2023. objavljen 151 opus (najviše klavirskih, potom komornih, zatim vokalnih i po jedno izdanje svakog orkestralnog djela). Veći broj izdanja i njihova dostupnost rezultirali su sve brojnijim izvedbama od kojih je Radio Zagreb, odnosno Hrvatski radio snimio 113. U studijskim je uvjetima na HR-u načinjeno još 118 snimki 48 različitih opusa, od čega su neke objavljene i na domaćim diskografskim izdanjima. Međutim, na međunarodnu razmjenu putem Europske radijske unije HR šalje samo svoje najbolje dokumentarne i studijske snimke koje tako postaju dostupne svim članicama

Unije. Na noćnom programu Unije, *Notturmu*, emitira se najčešće 10 istih opusa Dore Pejačević (5 klavirskih, 2 vokalna, jedno komorno djelo i Simfonija), što bi bilo dobro osvježiti novim opusima ili izvedbama. Za razliku od tog zajedničkog šestosatnog noćnog programa Europske radijske unije, koji je ispunjen samo snimkama iz produkcije javnih radija, HR na svojim kanalima emitira i snimke objavljene na domaćim i stranim diskografskim izdanjima. Od 50 nama poznatih diskografskih izdanja skladbi Dore Pejačević HR posjeduje 35 (26 domaćih i 9 stranih), s kojih najčešće emitira vokalne, klavirske i komorne opuse. Jedino orkestralne češće emitira iz svoje produkcije jer ima mnogo veći izbor izvedaba u odnosu na diskografska izdanja. U posljednjih dvanaest godina glazba Dore Pejačević vrlo je živo odjekivala na programima HR-a.

SAŽECI DOKTORSKIH RADOVA U MUZIKOLOGIJU – SUMMARIES OF DOCTORAL THESES IN MUSICOLOGY

THE RECEPTION OF BAROQUE MUSIC IN SELECTED WORKS BY ROCHBERG, SCHNITTKE, AND SZYMAŃSKI¹

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In my PhD thesis, I investigate the ways in which Baroque music has influenced the works of three significant postmodern composers: Alfred Schnittke (1934–1998), George Rochberg (1918–2005), and Paweł Szymański (1954–). While most studies of postmodernism in contemporary classical music examine the blending of various styles—historical, popular, and modernist—my dissertation takes a more focused approach by examining the singular influence of Baroque music within a postmodern context. This focus allows for a deeper understanding of how these composers referenced Baroque elements, not as simple quotations, but as reimagined components that were transformed within their postmodern compositional processes.

Key Themes and Objectives

One of the core aims of this thesis is to shed light on how Baroque music plays a pivotal role in the development of these composers' unique postmodern styles. The works of Schnittke, Rochberg, and Szymański show a distinct approach to

¹ The doctoral dissertation was supervised by Professor Christian Utz and was defended on 11 October 2023 at the University of Music and Performing Arts in Graz, Institut 1 (Composition, Music Theory, Music History and Conducting).

incorporating Baroque music, not as an isolated or static tradition, but as an evolving reference point that interacts dynamically with the musical language of the late 20th century.

1. Baroque Influence in Postmodernism

In my research, I analyze the significance of Baroque music in works like Schnittke's *Concerti Grossi Nos. 1–3*, Rochberg's *Nach Bach* and *Ora pro Nobis (Nach Bach II)*, and Szymański's *Concerto Grosso* and *Ceci n'est pas une ouverture*. These works highlight how Baroque music is recontextualized and reworked within a postmodern framework. Instead of treating Baroque music as a remote or static artifact of high culture, these composers engage with it dynamically, bringing it into conversation with contemporary compositional methods. In doing so, they not only revive Baroque forms and techniques but also reinterpret them to create new layers of meaning.

For example, Schnittke's *Concerti Grossi* draw directly from the Baroque concerto grosso form, but they integrate modern dissonances, micropolyphony, and non-linear structures that would be foreign to a purely Baroque idiom. Rochberg's *Nach Bach* takes the form of a musical dialogue with Johann Sebastian Bach, quoting from Bach's *Partita No. 6* while inserting contemporary harmonic language. Similarly, Szymański's *Concerto Grosso* engages with Baroque conventions and instrumentation, but then in a related work *Ceci n'est pas une ouverture* disrupts those conventions through fragmentation and recomposition, creating a postmodern reinterpretation of the Baroque style.

2. Intertextuality

A major component of my thesis involves the application of intertextuality—a concept from literary theory that examines how texts (or in this case, musical works) reference, echo, or transform previous texts. By adopting framework established by poststructuralists like Barthes, Baudrillard, Genette, and Bloom, I was able to explore how Baroque elements function within the broader postmodern practice of stylistic heterogeneity. Rather than merely quoting Baroque music, these composers employ intertextual references that are often subtle or indirect, requiring the listener to engage with the music on a deeper level.

For instance, Schnittke's polystylism involves an intricate layering of styles from different historical periods, with Baroque influences serving as one of many sources of inspiration. This intertextual approach means that Baroque music, while often central to the structure of a piece, is not presented in isolation but is woven into a rich tapestry of other stylistic references, including modernist atonality and popular music. The use of Baroque elements as part of this multilayered compositional fabric invites listeners to recognize and interpret these references, enriching their experience of the music.

In Szymański's major works, Baroque references are often more concealed but no less significant. His *Ceci n'est pas une ouverture* contains subtle allusions to Baroque orchestration and harmonic conventions, but these are constantly subverted by abrupt fragmentation and changes in texture. This playful engagement with Baroque forms reflects Szymański's technique of surconventionalism, where familiar musical conventions are used to compose an initial stylistic copy which is then through the surconventional techniques recomposed and presented to the public.

3. Stylistic Copies and Quotations

One of the key findings of my research is that these composers do not merely quote Baroque music or use it as a superficial stylistic reference. Instead, they often create stylistic copies—imitations of Baroque music that are transformed within a modernist framework. This transformation gives these works a depth that goes beyond simple pastiche. For example, Schnittke's *Concerto Grosso* No. 1 does not just mimic the form and texture of a Baroque concerto but uses Baroque elements to comment on the nature of musical history and tradition. By juxtaposing Baroque passages with more dissonant, modernist material, Schnittke highlights the contrast between the old and the new, inviting the listener to reflect on the evolving relationship between past and present.

As stated earlier, in Szymański's surconventionalism, where conventional musical forms are transformed into something radically new through subtle distortions and shifts, the stylistic imitation of Baroque elements often serves as a kind of playful subversion. Composing shorter pieces using conventions is an indispensable part of the compositional process.

In contrast, Rochberg's *Nach Bach* explores this tension by directly quoting from Bach's works, but then altering and fragmenting these quotations to create something entirely new. His transformations challenge the idea of Baroque music as a static tradition, suggesting instead that it can be a living and evolving source of inspiration for contemporary composers. In *Ora pro Nobis* (*Nach Bach II*) for flute and guitar, which is based on the second movement from Bach's Italian Concerto, Rochberg changed the meter from 3/4 to 4/4 and the tonality from D Minor to E Minor, added guitar solo cadences and an extensive cadenza, and rewrote solo melody and markedly altered accompaniment to achieve his goals.

4. Historical and Cultural Context

In my thesis, I place the reception of Baroque music within the broader cultural context of the Cold War and the evolving artistic movements of the late 20th century. The ways in which Schnittke, Rochberg, and Szymański engage with Baroque music reflect not only their personal compositional interests but also the cultural and political climates in which they worked. Schnittke, for example,

composed in the Soviet Union, where official state policies often dictated artistic direction. His use of polystylism, including Baroque references, can be seen as a reaction against the rigidity of Socialist Realism, offering a more pluralistic and open-ended approach to musical composition.

Rochberg's turn to tonality and Baroque references in the 1960s reflected his dissatisfaction with the serialist techniques that dominated American academic music at the time. His decision to abandon twelve-tone composition in favor of a more eclectic style was seen by many as a radical departure, and his use of Baroque elements played a key role in this transition. Szymański, working in Poland, also found in Baroque music a means of bridging the gap between tradition and modernity, using historical forms as a way to critique and expand upon contemporary musical conventions.

5. *Postmodernism and Personalized Compositional Techniques*

Each of the composers I examine developed unique compositional techniques that reflect the broader aesthetics of postmodernism.

- Alfred Schnittke is best known for his polystylism, a technique in which he blends multiple musical styles from different historical periods within a single work. In his *Concerti Grossi* Nos. 1–3, for example, Schnittke draws on Baroque forms, counterpoint and dance rhythms, but juxtaposes them with modernist harmonies and irregular structures that challenge the listener's expectations. This blending of old and new creates a rich and often disorienting listening experience, one that reflects the fragmented and pluralistic nature of postmodern art.
- George Rochberg, in contrast, developed a technique he called *ars combinatoria*, which refers to the combination of past and present musical languages. In works like *Nach Bach*, Rochberg incorporates direct quotations from Baroque music, but puts them in a contemporary harmonic and formal environment.
- Paweł Szymański, the youngest of the three composers, developed his own postmodern technique known as surconventionalism, in which he manipulates traditional musical forms to create new expressive possibilities. In his works Szymański at the first-level (pre-compositional) often uses Baroque orchestration and forms, but at the second-level distorts them through unexpected structural shifts. This technique reflects a broader trend in postmodern music, where historical forms are not simply revived, but reinterpreted and transformed.

6. *Postmodern Baroque and Its Connection to Modernism*

One of the central arguments of my thesis is that the use of Baroque music in postmodern compositions reflects a broader connection between postmodernism

and earlier trends of historicist modernism. While modernism is often characterized by its break with the past, the composers I study use Baroque music as a way to engage critically with musical history. Schnittke, Rochberg, and Szymański do not simply quote Baroque music for the sake of nostalgia; instead, they transform Baroque elements in ways that allow them to comment on the present.

For instance, Schnittke's polystylism is not just an eclectic blending of styles, but a deliberate attempt to highlight the contrasts between different historical periods. By juxtaposing Baroque music with modernist dissonances and other contemporary elements, Schnittke creates a tension between past and present that forces the listener to reflect on the nature of musical progress. Similarly, Rochberg's *Nach Bach* uses Baroque quotations to explore the relationship between historical continuity and modern fragmentation, while Szymański's surconventionalism challenges the listener's expectations by disrupting familiar Baroque forms.

7. Listener-Centered Intertextuality

In my analysis, I emphasize the importance of listener-centered intertextuality, where the listener plays an active role in interpreting the multiple layers of reference and meaning within a piece of music. In postmodern compositions, the recognition of intertextual references often relies on the listener's prior knowledge of musical history. As a result, these works require a certain degree of historical and stylistic literacy from the audience.

Schnittke's *Concerti Grossi*, for example, are filled with references to Baroque forms and idioms, but these references are often juxtaposed with other styles in ways that challenge the listener to make sense of the contrasting elements. Similarly, Rochberg's *Nach Bach* requires the listener to recognize the quotations from Bach and to understand how these quotations are used within the context of a contemporary composition. This dialogic relationship between the composer, the work, and the listener is central to the postmodern aesthetic, where meaning is often constructed collaboratively through the interaction of multiple perspectives.

Conclusion

In my thesis, I highlight how Baroque music serves as a unifying factor in the diverse and often contrasting works of Schnittke, Rochberg, and Szymański. These composers use Baroque elements not simply as historical quotations but as a means of engaging in a critical dialogue with the past. By incorporating Baroque music into their postmodern compositions, they challenge the notion of a linear progression of musical history and instead present a more pluralistic and dynamic view of tradition. An important part of the work of the three selected composers is the tension between »weak music« and stylistically heterogeneous concert works. While the heterogeneous works were commonly prepared for regular concert

stages or contemporary music festivals, the so called »weak works« are private pieces that are published just in exceptional cases. Whether they were composed for a film, as in the case of Schnittke, or composed as pre-compositional material, as in the case of Szymanowski, those pastiches provide an excellent view of the ways of working with the Baroque in postmodernism. Through the lens of intertextuality, I demonstrate how Baroque elements are transformed and reinterpreted in the works of these composers, contributing to the ongoing evolution of classical music in the late 20th century. From the huge corpus of Baroque-influenced 20th century works, just those selected cases by the three composers that represent different possibilities of working with Baroque in the late 20th century are interpreted intertextually. Even today I did not stop finding examples that are closely related to the incorporation of Baroque style like Luciano Berio's *Beatles Songs* which combine *The Beatles'* songs »Michelle«, »Ticket to Ride« and »Yesterday« with various Baroque ensemble sounds and accompanying Baroque figurations, or Thierry Escaich orchestral work titled *Baroque Song*. With that in mind, one of the incidental, but by no means insignificant, contributions of my dissertation is the list of the Baroque-influenced 20th century compositions which I compiled during my research.

Finally, by focusing on Baroque influences, my research offers a unique perspective on postmodern music, showing how the past can be reimagined to create new and innovative forms of expression in contemporary composition.

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