

DOI: 10.2298/MUZ1416227P

UDK: 78.071.1 Мокрањац Стојановић С.
78(497.6)“1878/1918”

Reception of Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac's composing creativity in the musical life of Bosnia and Herzegovina: Austro-Hungarian period

Lana Paćuka¹
Academy of Music (Sarajevo)

Abstract

With the arrival of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, Bosnia and Herzegovina encountered Western European social trends, which affected the shaping of musical life physiognomy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. In this extremely intricate relationship between national and pro-European-oriented cultural trends, Serbian composer Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac had a special position as a unique musical phenomenon, since he was a composer whose musical talent imposed itself as an authority in strengthening the national musical expression and serving as a guideline for numerous BH artists.

Keywords

Austria-Hungary, Bosnia and Herzegovina, musical life, Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac, reception, rukoveti.

Socio-political contexts

Pursuant to a decision of the 25th Congress of Berlin, Austria-Hungary was granted the right to territorial administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina (1878), and shortly after it also embarked on the social and political occupation thereof, working out each subsequent political move.² The careful organization of administration

¹ lana_sehovic@yahoo.com

² The armed resistance to occupation put up by people, as well as the permanent fear of new political and social unrest led to a series of drafted laws and ordinances aimed, among other things, at imperceptibly taking control over all segments of socio-political and ultimately cultural life of B&H. The most significant laws implemented in the period under discussion include Novi Pazar Convention of 1879, owing to which the sultan's sovereignty and Turkish currency remained in force in B&H. Austria-Hungary broke its word by the Law of 1880, since it repealed Turkish currency and included B&H into its own customs zone, declaring B&H inhabitants its own subjects in terms of consular protection. The most significant ordinances also included the Military Act passed on 4th November 1881, which pertained to including and recruiting B&H citizens into the Austro-Hungarian army. Its coming into force in 1882 resulted in a storm of resentment, which reached its climax in the so-called Herzegovinian rebellion. The rebellion was quelled after three months, and authorities declared amnesty (Skarić 1985; Šehić 2007).

system was based on the political, strategic and economic importance of B&H for the Monarchy. The central B&H position within the Balkans was supposed to prevent the formation of a Slavic state on the southern frontier of the Monarchy, allowing Austro-Hungarian active participation in deciding upon the destiny of European part of Turkey and ultimately to prevent and disallow Russian politics to get more deeply involved and exert force on the Balkans. Besides the political, it also had strategic goals, since by occupying B&H Austria-Hungary acquired the dominating position for all the significant Balkan roads, while B&H's geographical position was a good stronghold for any potential conquest of Balkan regions (Kraljačić 1987). The significance of B&H for Austro-Hungarian foreign and domestic policy made the new state administration extremely agile in taking all necessary political, social, welfare and cultural measures aimed at securing and strengthening its dignity in these regions.

In their attempts to present B&H as an example of successful Austro-Hungarian policy, Monarchy leaders soon realized that this task must be entrusted to a person whose political leadership abilities could resist difficulties and challenges to political and social order in these regions. Benjamin von Kállay possessed the described features of a young and promising diplomat with clear political visions.³

While holding his years-long office as the minister of Joint Ministry of Finance (henceforward JMF) (1882–1903), Kállay made use of his years-long experience and knowledge of Balkan circumstances to become the first to actually start working on bringing to reality the idea that would make B&H and Sarajevo, as the main administrative center, the ideal example of Austro-Hungarian socio-political, and then cultural activity.⁴ Political principles that he whole-

³ Benjamin von Kállay was born in Budapest in 1839. In his early youth he showed an interest in politics, particularly in the so-called Eastern issue. He took a great interest in studying foreign languages, among them Greek, Turkish, Croatian and a few Slavic languages. His studies at Budapest University took the same direction, since besides foreign languages he also studied Serbian political issues. Relying upon his brilliant knowledge of Serbian language, culture, history and current politics, and in order to ensure himself a position in Hungarian parliament, Kállay launched an unsuccessful campaign among local Serbs, lobbying for their votes. His knowledge of Balkan or, more accurately Serbian circumstances yielded fruit only somewhat later, and he was appointed Austro-Hungarian consul in Belgrade in the 1868–1875 period. In 1872 he travelled across B&H learning about local features and political conditions. In 1877 he wrote a piece entitled *Historija Srba*, which was published in Hungarian and German a year later. A significant date in his political career was certainly 4th June 1882, when he was appointed Austro-Hungarian Minister of Finance and Governor to B&H. He remained in this office until his death, in Vienna in 1903 (Donia 2006; http://hr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Benjamin_Kallay, accessed May 2013).

⁴ JMF ministers, Leopold Friedrich Freiherr von Hofmann (1822–1885) and József Szlávy de Érkenéz et Okány (1818–1900), who held this office before Kállay left only a pale trace in the implementation of the process, due to their insufficient knowledge

heartedly tried to implement in all the pores of B&H life resulted in a specific political ideology, whose main guidelines defined the course of development of all the significant happenings in social and cultural area. Kállay tried to describe the occupation as a civilizing mission aimed at bringing progress and well-being to B&H people by means of their enlightenment, construction, and inclusion into new trends. In line with this, it was necessary to create a climate that would present, to the broad public, the real political, social and strategic reasons for occupation as the only possible and true choice. However, political, national and confessional disunity of B&H, as well as its constant gravitation toward Serbian and Croatian politics in no way fitted into Kállay's vision of a unified kingdom that would glorify and praise the Emperor as the supreme ruler (Donia 2006).

The goals set within Kállay's political vision implied a complete internal social, welfare, economic and cultural transformation of B&H, which could be achieved only by means of systematically elaborated plan of activity. Transformation elements were in a causal relation, and were directly reflected in the cultural, and then musical life in the period under discussion. Through promoting enlightenment, and the cultural and humane goals of the occupation, such as the development of industrialization, economy, building country infrastructure, opening educational institutions, starting regime-backed periodicals, and nourishing public life in Western European style, the new administration became omnipresent in all social segments of activity, thus fulfilling its political task at the same time. Bosnia and Herzegovina was to be transformed into an Austro-Hungarian province that would fully gravitate toward the idea of the unified Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. According to Vujković Sarita (2009: 21), such an approach achieved the "conceptualized and actually implemented transition of B&H oriental society to Western culture."

In order to carry out the described process as quickly and easily as possible, it was necessary to establish socio-political and cultural models as symbols of Austro-Hungarian identity and Western-European culture in these regions. On the other hand, it also implied the suppression of the already existing national identities, i.e. the promotion of the unique, Bosnian and Herzegovinian identity that would support only differences in religion. Quite expectedly, at grass roots this view was accepted with reservations, perceiving the new social and cultural achievements as imposed elements.

and insufficient relating to B&H socio-political climate, and it was only with Kállay that it somewhat came to life in practice (Kruševac 1960; http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Leopold_Friedrich_Freiherr_von_Hofmann, accessed May 2013; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/J%C3%B3zsef_Szl%C3%A1vy, accessed May 2013)

Music in the service of expressing national identity

However, due to political, social and cultural pressures, the omnipresent distance started to subside, and the public decided to join only those aspects of Western-European culture that they believed suitable for achieving their own goals, which in turn pertained to the struggle for national independence and autonomy. Thus, the local population soon recognized music as a necessary medium for expressing their national strivings indispensable in the struggle for autonomous rights (Paćuka 2010).

Special alertness in this area was shown by B&H Serbs, who first revealed the awakening of national awareness and attempts to consume Western-European values serving national expression. Trying to reach a balance between the newly-arrived trends and ties with their Serbian roots, they nourished and emphasized forms of musical activity that could embrace completely different cultural achievements. The given principle of reasoning and activity was primarily expressed through affinity for artists and composers whose works revealed ties with their own national identity. In this respect, a special position was held by Serbian composer Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac (1856–1914), greatly admired and esteemed by B&H Serbs, who found, in his artistic expression, support for their struggle to preserve national values. Interestingly, however, Mokranjac's artistic postulates exceeded the framework of a single national group, which resulted in the inviolable admiration for his work in all the segments of B&H musical life, as well as in the creation of a distinctive Mokranjac cult. The given privilege implied a presence in the most significant reproductive (presence in the programs of public get-togethers, ceremonies, parties and singing societies' concerts) and productive aspects of musical life (Mokranjac's composing style impact on B&H composers' creations) of the time. A similar privilege was enjoyed only by a dozen prominent creators of the region, e.g. Ivan pl. Zajc (1832–1914) or Josif Marinković (1851–1931), with Stevan Mokranjac certainly dominating among them.

Reception of Stevan Mokranjac's creativity in reproductive aspects of musical life in B&H

Reception of Stevan Mokranjac as an artist and creator was multilayered in B&H musical life, and corresponded to the circumstances and degree of its development during the Austro-Hungarian administration. The beginnings of B&H population's public musical activity were primarily associated with national parties, get-togethers, balls and the unavoidable St. Sava ceremonies,

especially beloved in B&H Serbs' tradition.⁵ Prepared and organized by Serb-Orthodox municipalities and Orthodox schools, they gathered both Serbian youth and members of all the other confessions and nations. They were celebrated across B&H, and were recognizable by the great number of guests and diverse programs, typically consisting of pieces permeated with national features. Actually, the ceremonies were one of the first forms of nationally-labeled public musical activity before the emergence of the practice of associating, i.e. forming nationally-based singing societies (Pačuka 2010). The ceremonies' repertoire included performances of a couple of Western-Europe oriented pieces and, in greater number, pieces by Serbian composers such as Josif Marinković, Kornelije Stanković (1831–1865), Jovan Paču (1847–1902) and, naturally, Stevan Mokranjac, whose presence in their repertoire was increasingly evident towards the end of autonomy struggle (1905), and the beginning of musical dilettantism and its rising to a higher performing level.⁶

Still, it should be noted that even before 1905 Mokranjac's compositions were included in the ceremonies' repertoire. Although they were not permanently present on concert stages, better-organized ceremonies in bigger B&H towns would necessarily include Mokranjac's compositions in the musical part of their program. Mostar was the most advanced town in this respect, since its ceremonies were characterized by carefully conceived repertoires. It was true of a ceremony of 1898, which featured Serbian-Orthodox church singing society "Gusle", who performed the sacred compositions *Tebe Boga hvalim* by Ukrainian composer Dmitrij Stjepanović Bortnjanski (1751–1825), *Kaiserhymne* by Joseph Haydn (1732–1809), *Uskliknimo* by Tihomir Ostojić (1865–1921), *Ao nebo* by Aleksandar Jorgović, and the Rukovet No. 8 by Stevan Mokranjac (Šečić-Miličević 2012: 33). Besides, Mokranjac had a

⁵ Orthodox primary and secondary schools considered St. Sava as the patron saint of school youth, and therefore schools across B&H organized St. Sava ceremonies on St. Sava's Day (27th January).

⁶ Upon its arrival to B&H, Austro-Hungarian administration was trying to prevent the independence of the Serbian part of population in the area of religious and education issues, and the ultimate epilogue of these intentions were decisions by Land Government of 1889, 1892 and 1901, which abolished Serbian municipalities and schools' independence in administration. These decrees led to the population's dissatisfaction and the start of the struggle for autonomy, with active participation of all singing, support and cultural Serbian societies. Party, get-together and concert programs had the task of arousing Serbs' national awareness, and therefore program contents often had a fighting and national nuance. In the given period, which lasted until 1905, when the Office of Serbian Orthodox Church and School Self-Management of B&H returned the autonomy to municipalities, especially favored pieces included *Ja sam Srbin srpski sin, U boj* (Jovan Paču), *Sabljo moja, Oštre su naše sablje* (Davorin Jenko, 1835–1914), *Srpske narodne pjesme* (Tihomir Ostojić 1865–1921) (*Spomenica* 1938; Šečić-Miličević 2012).

vital position in the programs of Sarajevo ceremonies, extremely well-liked and visited at the time. Actually, performing pieces by the great Serbian composer within ceremonies in B&H capital eventually grew into a kind of tradition, and they could hardly be imagined without the presence of his pieces. This applies, among other things, to a ceremony of 1911, which featured girls from Serbian Girls' College, Serbian-Orthodox church singing society "Sloga", and the famous musician with a B&H address, Czech Bogomir Kačerovský (1873–1945). *Pjesme iz srpskih krajeva* by Stevan Mokranjac was performed by "Sloga", whose performance won the full liking of the audience (Anonymous 1911a).⁷

Another segment of this Serbian artist's presence in the performing segment of musical life pertained to the activity of singing societies, the foundation of which started after 1886. Singing societies founded on the national basis first emerged among B&H Serbs, and it is in the practice of organizing St. Sava ceremonies that roots of their foundation should be sought. It was the case with the first singing society in these regions, Donja-Tuzla Serbian Church Singing Society, formed in 1886 at the initiative by a small group of singers who had been performing at St. Sava ceremonies (Zulić 2012).⁸ However, Donja-Tuzla Serbian Church Singing Society, like other national singing societies in the period of Kállay's administration, subordinated their artistic activity to national ideas and strivings, while the concern with artistic quality was typically missing. This can be illustrated by a meeting of Serbian singing societies "Gusle" and "Sloga" in Sarajevo (1896), tainted with patriotic feelings whose conception in the given period apparently did not fit in with Mokranjac's compositions (Anonymous 1896).

More systematic care of the quality of singing societies' musical programs can be observed after 1900, when the hard burden of struggle for national rights was transferred to cultural-educational and support societies as well. Consequently, singing societies started to pay far more attention to national musical content characterized by prominent artistic values. On the other hand, efforts to improve the members' performing abilities through opening the society-sponsored singing and playing schools contributed to more purposeful

⁷ The other compositions performed were: *Uskliknimo s ljubavlju, Pjesme iz srpskih krajeva* (several authors) i *U ljetni suton* (Vjenceslav Novak, 1859–1905) (Anonymous 1911a).

⁸ The Tuzla region was well known for organizing St. Sava ceremonies, the organization of which in the town started as early as in 1879. Owing to their public success, and their national significance for local Serbian population, an initiative was launched to found a singing society aimed at nourishing church music, participation in public parties and ceremonies, as well as practicing pieces by national composers and performing them at concerts and performances (Zulić 2012).

musical activity, as well as to the fact that amateurs could more easily respond to demanding music pieces. These facts resulted in a more frequent selection of Mokranjac's compositions, most of which were considered, by B&H singing societies, as an ideal prototype of merging national values with elements of contemporary musical achievements.

The extremely good reception of the Serbian composer's creations was also aided by his own personal openness and interest in musical events in the countries of the region, which in turn was a result of his responsible position as the Belgrade singing society choirmaster, which Stevan Mokranjac held for a number of years. The society nourished friendly relations with most Serbian singing societies in B&H ("Gusle", "Sloga", Serbian-Orthodox church school singing society "Zastava", Serbian-Orthodox church school singing society "Jedinstvo", etc.), which implied mutual exchange of scores and organizing joint appearances during celebrations of significant jubilees.⁹ Due to the mutual contact, significant annual celebrations, flag-blessings, jubilees, church festivals, as well as B&H societies' concerts were filled with Mokranjac's pieces. Moreover, organizers of some significant social celebrations invited the Belgrade Singing Society led by Mokranjac, and the latter gladly accepted the invitations, if socio-political circumstances allowed. A visit of the kind, though unofficial, took place in Tuzla in 1902, on the occasion of the 15th anniversary of Donja-Tuzla Serbian Singing Society existence, which included the blessing of the society flag. Belgrade Singing Society, with Stevan Mokranjac as a conductor appeared as a special guest and performed a few rukoveti by its choirmaster. Besides the guests from Belgrade, Serbian singing society "Srbadija" sang the Rukovet No. 6, while the mixed choir of Tuzla society enriched the program with Polka by Dmitrij Slavjanski, and composition *Oj Đurđevdane* by Hugo Doubek (1852–1897). The very end of the ceremony was reserved for the joint performance of Aleksa Šantić's (1868–1924) composition *U kolo*, and *Bolje naše* by Davorin Jenko. (Zulić 2008) Besides this, sources recorded three more Mokranjac's visits to these regions, the first two of which were with the Belgrade Singing Society. These events certainly additionally contributed to his already great popularity. The first visit took place in Banja Luka on St. Peter's Feast in 1905, when, during the sanctifying of the flag of Serbian-Orthodox church and singing society, "Jedinstvo" prepared a three-

⁹ In the disorderly archives of Serbian-Orthodox church singing society "Sloga" kept in the Old Serbian Orthodox church in Sarajevo, one can find a few scores that were donated, to the society, by the Belgrade Singing Society. The donated scores include, among other things, Stevan Mokranjac's musical piece *Božanstvena liturgija*.

day celebration.¹⁰ The second one included visits to Sarajevo and Mostar within the Belgrade Singing Society's tour (1910), while the third was less formal and pertained to his personal visit to Bijeljina within the so-called *Mokranjac's Evening*. *Mokranjac's Evening*, as the name suggests, was devoted to the performance of rukoveti, and was organized by Serbian singing society "Srbadija" during 1911. Some particularly interesting data reveals that, at the concert, Stevan Mokranjac honored the audience with his conducting skill by leading the performance of the Rukovet Nos. 1 and 10 (Zulić 2008).

Reception of Stevan Mokranjac's personality and work was not present only within Serbian singing societies; his artistic postulates were also recognized by other confessional, national and social groups of B&H population. This phenomenon was becoming increasingly evident with the development of musical life and its rising to a higher level; consequently, Mokranjac was increasingly frequently found in other societies' repertoire in the last decade of Austro-Hungarian administration. A brilliant example of the reception of his creations is the charity party by Female support society "La Humanidad" and (Sephardic) Spanish-Jewish singing society "La Lira", held in Sarajevo Community Center on 18th November 1911. The ceremonial occasion of humanitarian character included the performance of pieces such as *Sijevaju koplja* (Christoph Willibald Glück, 1714–1787), extracts from opera *Madame Butterfly* (Giacomo Puccini, 1858–1924), *Slavic Dance* No. 8 (Antonin Dvořak, 1841–1904), as well as compositions *Hej zagrljeni* (Isidor Bajić, 1878–1915), *Čini ne čini* (Stanislav Binički, 1872–1942) and *Mekam* by Stevan Mokranjac (Anonymous 1911b). In addition, many workers' singing and tambura societies were including Mokranjac's pieces into their concert and party repertoire. This primarily applied to Sarajevo-based Workers' singing and tambura society *Proleter*, and its example was then followed by other workers' associations.¹¹ Still, *Proleter's* parties stood out with their program diversity, and in terms of national composers Stevan Mokranjac was unavoidable. It was proved on the occasion of the so-called "Farewell party with the old labor centre" that took place on 12th November 1911, when the mixed society choir performed Rukovet No. 3 (Anonymous 1911c).

¹⁰ The celebration also participated the following societies: Serb Orthodox Church Singing Society "Pobratimstvo" (Sanski Most), Serb Orthodox Church Singing Society "Vila" (Prijeedor), The Niš Church Singing Group "Branko" (Niš), Šabac Singing Society (Šabac), Academic Singing Society "Obilić" (Belgrade) and the Serbian Academic Singing Society "Balkan" (Zagreb).

¹¹ Workers singing and tambura society "Proleter" was in close contact with Labor Union of B&H (1905) and owing to the latter's care started its official activity in 1908. These organizations were also centres of the B&H labor movement, and their ideas and activity had a direct impact on all the other societies of similar orientation in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Spomenica 1932).

Reception of Stevan Mokranjac's creativity in productive aspects of musical life in B&H

The second segment of the reception of Stevan Mokranjac's work and personality pertained to the productive aspect of musical life, i.e. his influence on the composing creations by the first composers who lived and worked in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Actually, the composing activity in these regions started to develop in parallel to all the other segments of musical life that were in line with the regime's cultural orientation. At its inception, B&H composing relied exclusively on foreign elements, i.e. on professional musicians/immigrants, who stayed in these regions for the reasons of public service, for a longer or shorter time period. These artists, imbued with European musical trends, brought to B&H a completely new understanding of music art which, in contact with the traditional musical practice, produced results typical of the achievements of delayed Romanticism, thus creating a replica of national schools of the late nineteenth century (Čavlović 2011).

The first composing attempts inspired by B&H national treasure related to the strivings of Aleksandar Bosiljevac, a Croatian who came to B&H as early as in 1891, and engaged in rich teaching, artistic and composing activity there.¹² Having studied notations by Franjo Kuhač (1834–1911) and Ludvig Kuba (1863–1956), Bosiljevac published, in 1896, a collection of songs for voice and piano entitled *Album Bosansko-hercegovačkih pjesama*, published by Zagreb-based Lav. Hartman bookstore.¹³ Bosiljevac used folk tunes, mostly of urban origin with the present influences of B&H,

¹² Aleksandar (Šandor) Bosiljevac was born in Karlovac, Croatia on 7th March 1860. In 1885 he started his organ studies in Prague, where he soon found a friendly and humane support in his professor Franz Blažek. After the three-year study, Bosiljevac returned to his native town, where he started working as a town organist. In January 1891 he was appointed music teacher in the Teachers' School in Sarajevo, where he successfully worked for a number of years. As early as in 1900 he got an invitation from Hvar, from the Hektorović society, to take the job of society music teacher, which he accepted. In the same year, Bosiljevac moved to Hvar, where he remained until his death, which happened in 1918 (H. J. 1892; Širola 1922).

¹³ The collection consists of the following compositions: *Ej Sarajevo, Sindžirići zveče, Ej bistra vodo, Selo neveselo, San zaspala, Za svojim Ivom, Telal viče, Raslo drvo, Ja uranih, Izvor voda, Karanfilu, Cvati ružo, Ja posijah proju, Pod Mostarom, Moj pendžeru, Kičeni svatovi, Što te nema?, Mara djevojka, Soko pjeva, Pijem vino, Cura mala, Trula gragja, Kalino džube zeleno, Ljubim diku, Kiša pada, Što se sjaje, Za onom gorom, Što ću majko od muke, Podigla se prašina, Marice djevojko, Osu se nebo, Smilj Smiljana, Duni mi duni lagjane, L'jepa ti sam, Ivo Ružu kroz sviralu zove, Oj djevojko povijušo, Mujo gjogu, Crna zemljo, Tri bi plava, Čergo moja, Ravno polje, Sitan kamen, L'jepa Pava, Oj čobane, Ala j'l'jep ovaj sv'jet, Što no mi se, Angjelija vodu lila, Tri djevojke ružu brale, Sve se kunem, Igrali se vrani konji, S Bogom d'jevo* (LMDS, *Album bosansko-hercegovačkih pjesama*).

Gypsy, and regional folk music with simple harmonization, with the aim of bringing them closer to the broader public and placing them on the concert stage. Similar intentions and attempts to unify traditional and pro-European trends can be observed in works by Aleksa Šantić; however, the first significant results in this respect were achieved by two composers of Czech origin, Bogomir Kačerovský and František Matějovský (1871–1938).

The musical (i.e. composing) activity of these two artists, who are at the same time two of the most fruitful composers of Austro-Hungarian B&H, coincided with the establishment of Stevan Mokranjac in the musical life of the time. Since the expansion of Mokranjac's compositional creations was evident after 1900, it expectedly influenced the composing imagination of Czech artists, who took a keen interest in musical tradition of these regions. It could be claimed that B. Kačerovský and F. Matějovský saw, in Mokranjac, the ideal module for including B&H music tradition into new artistic contexts. Naturally, their model and source of inspiration were some of the best known and most frequently performed compositions in B&H – Mokranjac's rukoveti.

The first to start this practice was Bogomir Kačerovský who, following the example of F. Kuhač and L. Kuba's melographic work occasionally collected folk tunes from his environment upon his arrival to B&H. It is believed that Kačerovský did not undertake any major melographic ventures but mostly noted tunes of urban, primarily Sarajevo environment, which he then appropriately harmonized and united into cycles for voice and piano, or into the form of potpourris, garlands or medleys adapted for choir and orchestra (Milić 1998). The guideline for B. Kačerovský's composing process was obviously Mokranjac's architecture of constructing a music form, and it was relying upon these principles that he created the collection *U kolo*, a medley of songs for choir and orchestra *Cvijeće sa Bosansko-hercegovačkih livada*, medley for the piano *Cvijeće sa bosanskih livada*, and *Bosanske sevdalinke* for the voice and piano. In these compositions, different folk tunes were strung together on the principle of contrast in rhythm, key and content, and homogenized after the model of Mokranjac in constructing the form, as well as of harmonic arrangement.¹⁴ Thus, for instance, in the *U kolo* medley¹⁵, more or less based on the principles of musical

¹⁴ The original score of *Cvijeće sa Bosansko-hercegovačkih livada* for choir and orchestra has been lost, and only its adaptation for the piano has been preserved. The rest of the listed compositions have mostly been preserved within Bogomir Kačerovský's legacy in the Croatian Music Institute and Sarajevo Historical Archives (HAS).

¹⁵ Collection *U kolo* consists of 84 notation of folk tunes harmonized into a simple piano syllable, and is in the same time one of the most extensive works of the kind created in the Austro-Hungarian period (Milić 1998).

theory and practice of the time and major-minor system of reasoning, somewhat more inventive procedures and solutions were applied in harmonizing folk songs. Attempts to listen to latent harmonies, as well as certain departures from usual harmonization formulas applied in tunes with archaic and oriental features, or else the use of so-called "Mokranjac's fifths" in cadences are direct references to the model in Stevan Mokranjac (Verunica 1991).

The described compositions had a remarkable response in the public of the time, and their premieres were frequently true cultural spectacles, reviewed in all the significant dailies and periodicals. The approach to B&H cultural heritage inspired by the postulates of one of the greatest Serbian composers proved to be suitable for the circumstances of musical life of the time, which encouraged other composers to start contemplating their creations in a similar way. This was, thus, the guidance for František Matějovský, a Czech composer who built an enviable artistic, teaching and composing career in Banja Luka and Sarajevo. František came to B&H or, more accurately, to Banja Luka in 1900 and immediately took interest in its traditional treasures; contrary to his contemporaries, he made notation of the most tunes by himself, without relying upon the already existing collection of songs collected by F. Kuhač and L. Kuba. Since during his artistic career F. Matějovský was a years-long choirmaster of Croatian singing society "Nada" (Banja Luka) and Serbian Orthodox church singing society "Sloga" (Sarajevo), it can be assumed that he became acquainted with melodies typical of urban tradition (greater melodic span, presence of oriental elements, richer ornamentation) owing to frequent contacts with amateur singers, who were close to the folk tradition. Besides, through active work with singing ensembles, F. Matějovský learned about Mokranjac's artistic creations, and as a choirmaster frequently included him into the programs of "Nada" and "Sloga"'s singing parties. These elements were directly reflected on Matějovský's composing, forming his creative opus of the Austro-Hungarian period.¹⁶

Since the range of F. Matějovský's creative activity in the period of Austro-Hungarian administration was determined by the needs and requirements of the environment, it is not surprising that he primarily composed vocal and vocal-instrumental pieces, and it was there that Stevan Mokranjac's influence is the most obvious.

¹⁶ Sarajevo Historical Archives store František Matějovský's legacy. Its thorough inspection determined that it consists of over 130 compositions which, in terms of the time frame they were created in and style characteristics could be classified into the Austro-Hungarian period and the period between the two wars. Creative opus of the first group is characterized by pieces of smaller dimension, mostly written for vocal ensembles of singing societies, as well as instrumental pieces intended for military bands of the time (HAS, O-FM-18).

This primarily applied to choral compositions for mixed, men's and women's choirs written in *a capella* style or with piano and orchestra accompaniment, mostly based on folk elements. Having in mind the architecture of Mokranjac's rukoveti, Matějovský wrote garlands, round dances, potpourris and medleys where he made abundant use of original tunes, and frequently composed in the spirit of folk atmosphere. Besides, his very selection of folk tunes, and composition titles (rukoveti, *Pjesme iz srpskih krajeva*, *Međimurske pjesme*, *Bosansko cvijeće*, *Iz kršne Hercegovine*) point to the direct influence of Mokranjac's individual pieces (Verunica 1997). It is certainly supported by the fact that F. Matějovský's legacy includes a large number of S. Mokranjac's pieces, which Matějovský copied by hand and adapted for the needs of singing ensembles he was working with, as well as for the needs of his own private school of music, whose concerts included public performances of these pieces. A particularly well-liked composition at school concerts was the Rukovet No. 2, which Matějovský arranged for a four-part women's ensemble and piano accompaniment (HAS, O-FM-18).

The great Serbian composer's influence was certainly the most evident in Matějovský's rukoveti¹⁷, based on principles adopted by Mokranjac himself (Example 1). The principle of contrast is expressed in tempo, character, key, time signature, changes in choral fabric, changes in men's and women's singing apparatus, polyphonic and homophonic extracts indicated that Matějovský seriously studied Mokranjac's compositions, finding in them inspiration for his own work. Besides, Rukoveti was one of F. Matějovský's pieces that were extremely well-liked by the audience, which was certainly reflected in their frequent presence in the programs of concerts of the time. On the other hand, they were a distinctive homage to Stevan Mokranjac himself, whose artistic personality was thus fully interwoven into the musical life of the time.

Instead of a conclusion

Reception of the personality and work of one of the greatest Serbian composers, Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac in B&H musical life of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was multilayered, embracing all his most significant reproductive and productive segments. While some saw the great artist's creative opus as the ideal model for nourishing national musical values, which could contribute to maintaining ties with their national roots even in the hardest times of struggle for autonomous rights, others recognized

¹⁷ František Matějovský wrote a total of four rukoveti, while the No. 5 remained unfinished. It is possible to accurately determine the year of composing No. 1 Rukovet (1908), since the composer himself wrote it on the back of the score, while the exact years of composing the others remain unknown (HAS, O-FM-18).

in its artistic value capable of exceeding all known political, social, welfare and cultural barriers. The story of Stevan Mokranjac is therefore a story of a distinctive musical phenomenon, whose pure artistic talent imposed itself as the authority in the area of national musical expression, serving as a guidepost for a number of artists in B&H. His gift of clothing national values in the attire accessible to all music art consumers opened new vistas to B&H artists, giving them a module for placing B&H traditional practice into different artistic contexts, without its losing anything of its true value.

LIST OF REFERENCES

- Anonymous (1986) „Sastanak i udruženje srpskih pjevačkih društava ‘Gusala’ i ‘Sloge’ u Sarajevu”, *Bosanska vila*, 5 May, 10.
- Anonymous (1911a) „Sveto-Savska Besjeda u Sarajevu”, *Srpska riječ*, 10 January, 5.
- Anonymous (1911b) „Zabava”, *Srpska riječ*, 31 October, 223.
- Anonymous (1911c) „Zabava”, *Srpska riječ*, 12 November, 233.
- H., J. (1892) “Aleksandar Bosiljjevac”, *Oesterriche Musik-und Tehaterzeitung; Zeitschrift für musik und Theater* 20–21: 10.
- Čavlović, I. (2011) „Kompozitorstvo u Bosni i Hercegovini”, *Muzika* 38: 36–54.
- Donia, R. (2006) *Sarajevo: biografija grada*, Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju.
- Kraljačić, T. (1987) *Kalajev režim u Bosni i Hercegovini (1882–1903)*, Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša.
- Kruševac, T. (1960) *Sarajevo pod austro-ugarskom upravom (1878–1918)*, Sarajevo: Narodna Štamparija.
- Milić, M. (1998) „Sarajevski period Bogomira Kačerovskog”, *Muzika* 6: 19–42.
- Pačuka, L. (2010) *Muzički život u Sarajevu za vrijeme Austro-ugarske uprave kroz napise o muzici u Sarajevskom listu*, unpublished MA thesis defended at the Department of Musicology of Music Academy in Sarajevo, Library of Music Academy in Sarajevo, sign. MAG 372010.
- Skarić, V. (1985) *Izabrana djela. Prilozi za istoriju Bosne i Hercegovine i jugoslovenskih naroda*, Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša.
- Spomenica 25 godina radničkog pjevačkog društva Proleter, 1907–1932* (1932), Sarajevo.
- Spomenica srpskog pjevačkog društva „Sloga” u Sarajevu o pedesetogodišnjici 1888–1938* (1938), Sarajevo: Štamparija “Prosveta”.
- Šečić-Miličević, M. (2012) *Muzički život u Hercegovini 1878–1941*, unpublished MA thesis defended at the Department of Musicology of Music Academy in Sarajevo, Library of Music Academy in Sarajevo, sign. MAG 562012.
- Šehić, Z. (2007) *U smrt za Cara i domovinu! Bosanci i Hercegovci u vojnoj organizaciji Habsburške monarhije (1878–1918)*, Sarajevo: Sarajevo publishing.
- Širola, B. (1922) *Pregled povijesti hrvatske glazbe*, Zagreb: Edition rirop.
- Verunica, Z. (1991) „Bogomir Kačerovsky (1872–1945) i njegovo mjesto u razvoju muzičkog stvaralaštva u Bosni i Hercegovini”, In Ž. Stijačić (ed.) *Zbornik radova Muzičke akademije u Sarajevu II*, Sarajevo: Music Academy in Sarajevo, 15–27.
- Verunica, Z. (1997) „Franjo Mačejovski – ‘Bosanski Mokranjac’”, *Muzika* 1: 15–29.
- Vujković, S. (2009) *U građanskom ogledalu. Identiteti žena bosanskohercegovačke građanske kulture 1878 – 1941*, Banja Luka: Atlantik BB.

- Zulić, M. (2008) *Muzički život u Sjeveroistočnoj Bosni 1878–1992*, unpublished PhD thesis defended at the Department of Musicology of Music Academy in Sarajevo, Library of Music Academy in Sarajevo, sign. DOK 112008.
- Zulić, M. (2012) „Pjevačka društva u Tuzli za vrijeme austrougarske uprave u Bosni i Hercegovini”, In J. Talam, F. Hadžić and R. Hodžić (eds.) *7. Međunarodni simpozij Muzika u društvu*, Sarajevo: Musicological society FBH, Music Academy in Sarajevo, 35–42.

Archival sources

- Zaostavština Franje Mačejovskog*, scores, vol. 1–16, HAS, Porodični i lični fondovi (sign. O-FM-18).
- Album bosansko-hercegovačkih pjesama*, scores, LMDSF.

Лана Паћука

РЕЦЕПЦИЈА СТВАРАЛАШТВА
СТЕВАНА СТОЈАНОВИЋА МОКРАЊЦА
У МУЗИЧКОМ ЖИВОТУ БОСНЕ И ХЕРЦЕГОВИНЕ:
АУСТРОУГАРСКИ ПЕРИОД
(Резиме)

Друштвено-политичке прилике које су настале током аустроугарске окупације Босне и Херцеговине (1878–1918) значајно су деловале на друштвени, културни, а самим тим и музички живот тога времена. Нова власт са собом доноси њој блиске и знане облике животног стила, који у датим моментима постају део политичке идеологије ношене на крилима политичких визија заједничког министра финансија, Бенјамина фон Калаја (Benjamin von Kállay). Посматрајући окупацију као цивилизаторску мисију, Калајев систем настоји да промовише одговарајуће облике друштвеног и културног деловања, које је грађанство прихватало с резервом. Стога је за локално становништво било од изузетне важности да негује све музичке праксе усмерене на очување националног идентитета, при чему су посебан значај имали уметници који су свој стваралачки опус изграђивали на фолклорним елементима.

У тој надасве комплексној причи, српски композитор Стеван Стојановић Мокрањац заузима посебно место. Његови стваралачки импулси најпре допире до босанскохерцеговачких Срба, и то путем неговања традиције Светосавских беседа и националних певачких друштава, да би се касније проширили и на остале националне, конфесионалне и социјалне групе босанскохерцеговачког становништва, као и досељеника. Ово је резултирало афирмативном рецепцијом Мокрањчевог стваралаштва у најзначајнијим репродуктивним и продуктивним сегментима музичког живота БиХ. Мокрањчева дела била су заступљена на програмима различитих врста музичких догађаја, а значајно су утицала и на стваралаштво босанскохерцеговачких композитора. Тако је Мокрањац постао један од најцењенијих стваралаца у БиХ, будући да је уни-

верзалност његовог музичког језика била препозната на свим друштвеним и културним инстанцама.

Submitted February 6, 2014

Accepted for publication June 20, 2014

Original scientific paper