

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 hold 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 Vranczyany-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 Varaždinebreg [...] 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 *Preghiera* by the Dubrovnik aristocrat Antonio Sorgo (1775–1841), a typical salon composition to a text by Carlo Pepoli (1796–1881). *La Preghiera* 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 Vrbančić'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: SIZ 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 Tvrđa), 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 zemaljskog 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 glasovirske 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. ***: *Izviješće 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 Médicis – François de Médicis (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 Zágón (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/Elizabetha (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 Pejacsevics], 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 opuštano 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.).