

THE GERMAN DAYS OF DORA PEJAČEVIĆ

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

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

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

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

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

Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

»Dresden, 2 March 09

Most gracious Countess Dora,

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

Greetings from (~~your~~) Your

Ensemble leader

Paul Knoring.

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

Yours sincerely!⁹

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

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

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

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

Dora Pejačević's concert presence in Germany during her lifetime

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

²⁹ »Tonschön und in jeder Beziehung reizvoll«.

³⁰ »Kompositionsschülerin von Professor Percy Sherwood«.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Conclusion. The importance of the German days of Dora Pejačević

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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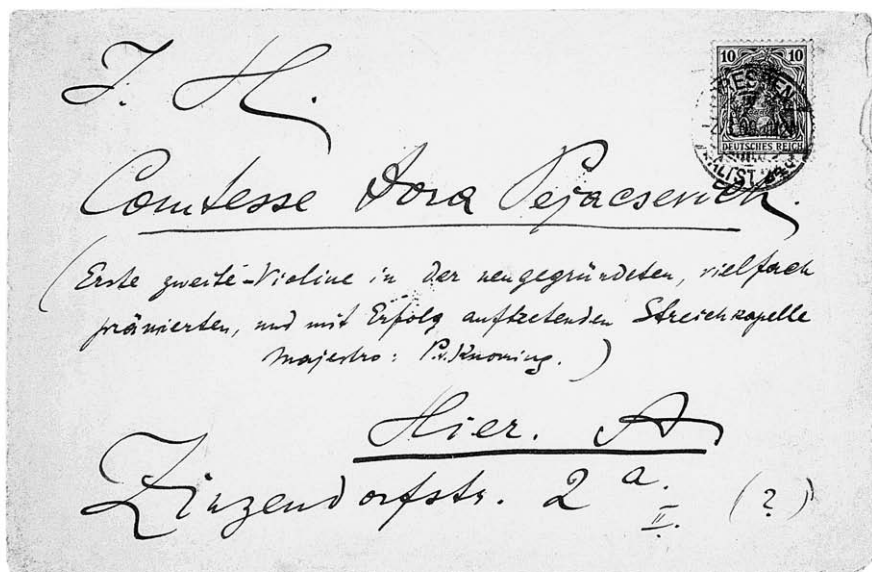
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Zufriedenheit erwarten.

Also auf Wednesday
am Samstag bei
Schalls!

Es grüßt (Sie) Sie
(Sie) Ihr

Kapellmeister.

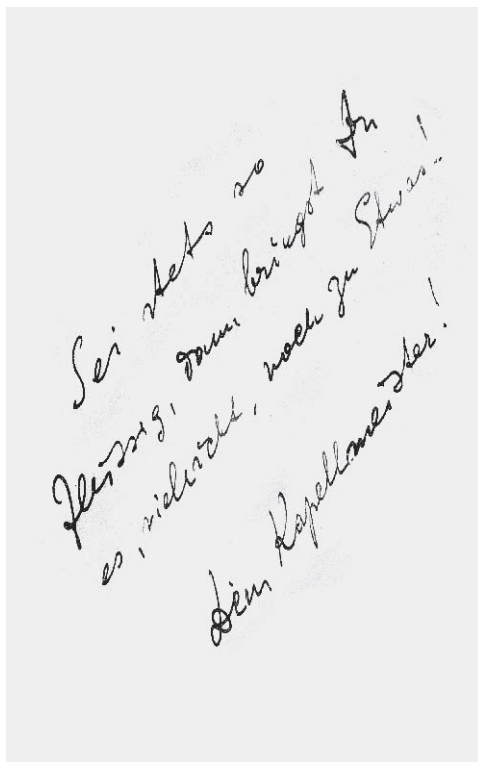
Paul Rönning.

Fr. 2. II. og.

Allergnädigste

Comtesse Dora,

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



Sei stets so
Pfeif, dann bringst du
es, nicht, noch zu Sten!

Dein Kapellmeister!

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

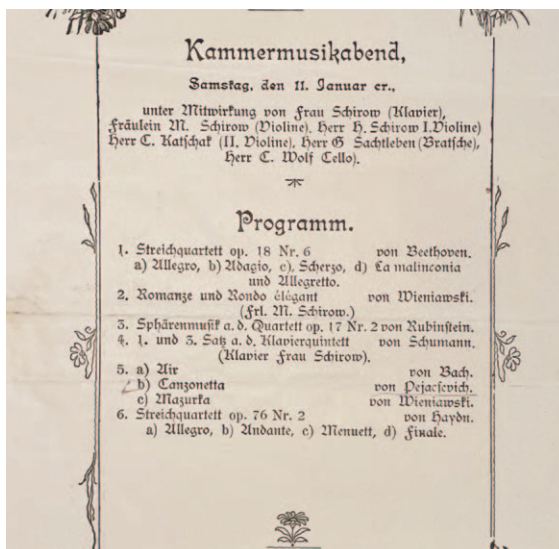


Figure 4: Program of the concert held in the restaurant H. Lentholz in Wickrathberg near Düsseldorf, 11 January 1902, Dora Pejačević's newspaper album, University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna.

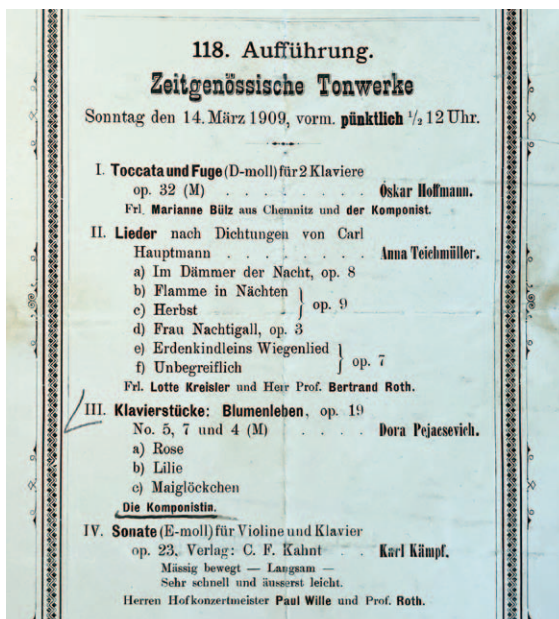


Figure 5: Program of the 118th matinee in Bertrand Roth's salon, 14 March 1909, Dora Pejačević's newspaper album, University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna.

von
Elisabeth Kaiser
Gesanglehrerin

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

—→ Vortrags-Folge. ←—

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

Am Klavier: Herr Roland Boquet.

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

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

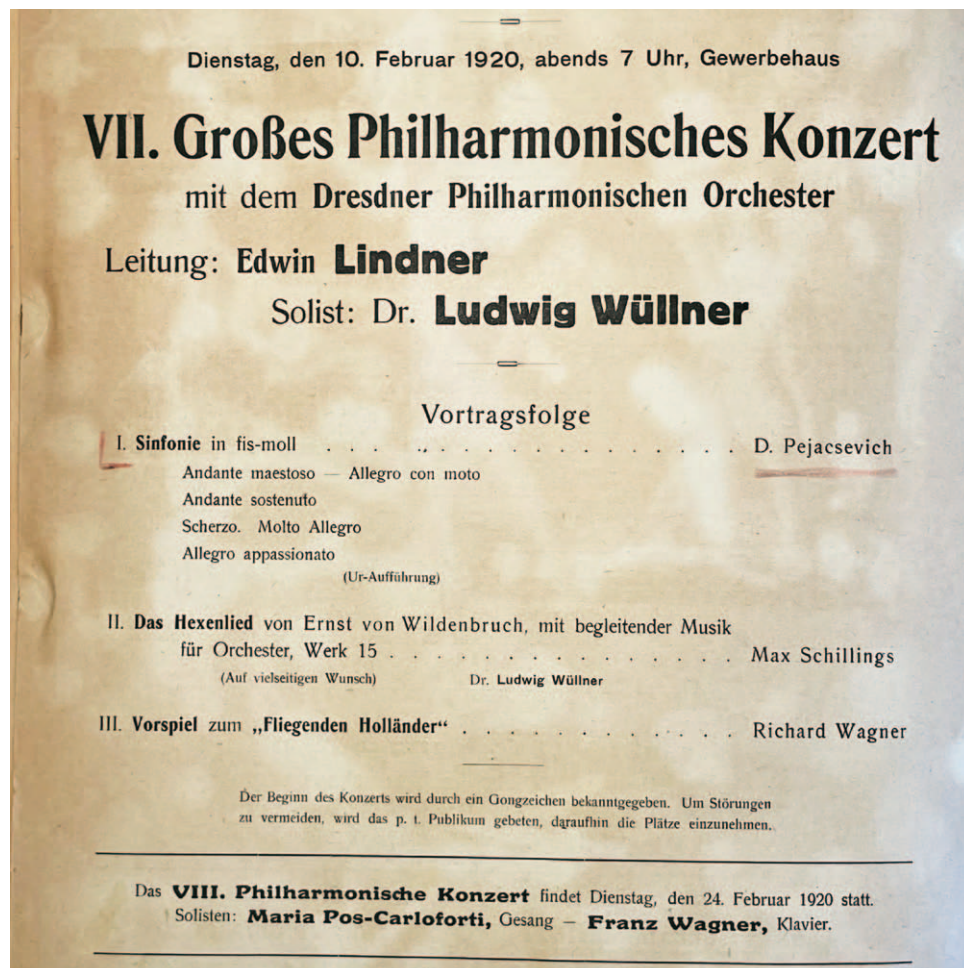


Figure 7: Program of the concert of the Dresden Philharmonic, 10 February 1920, Dora Pejačević's newspaper album, University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna.

Sažetak

NJEMAČKI DANI DORE PEJAČEVIĆ

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