

See discussions, stats, and author profiles for this publication at: <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/341480846>

Karel Moor in Sarajevo: A Contribution to the Research into Czech Composer's Life and Work

Chapter · December 2019

CITATIONS

0

READS

27

1 author:



Fatima Hadžić

University of Sarajevo

30 PUBLICATIONS 9 CITATIONS

[SEE PROFILE](#)

Some of the authors of this publication are also working on these related projects:

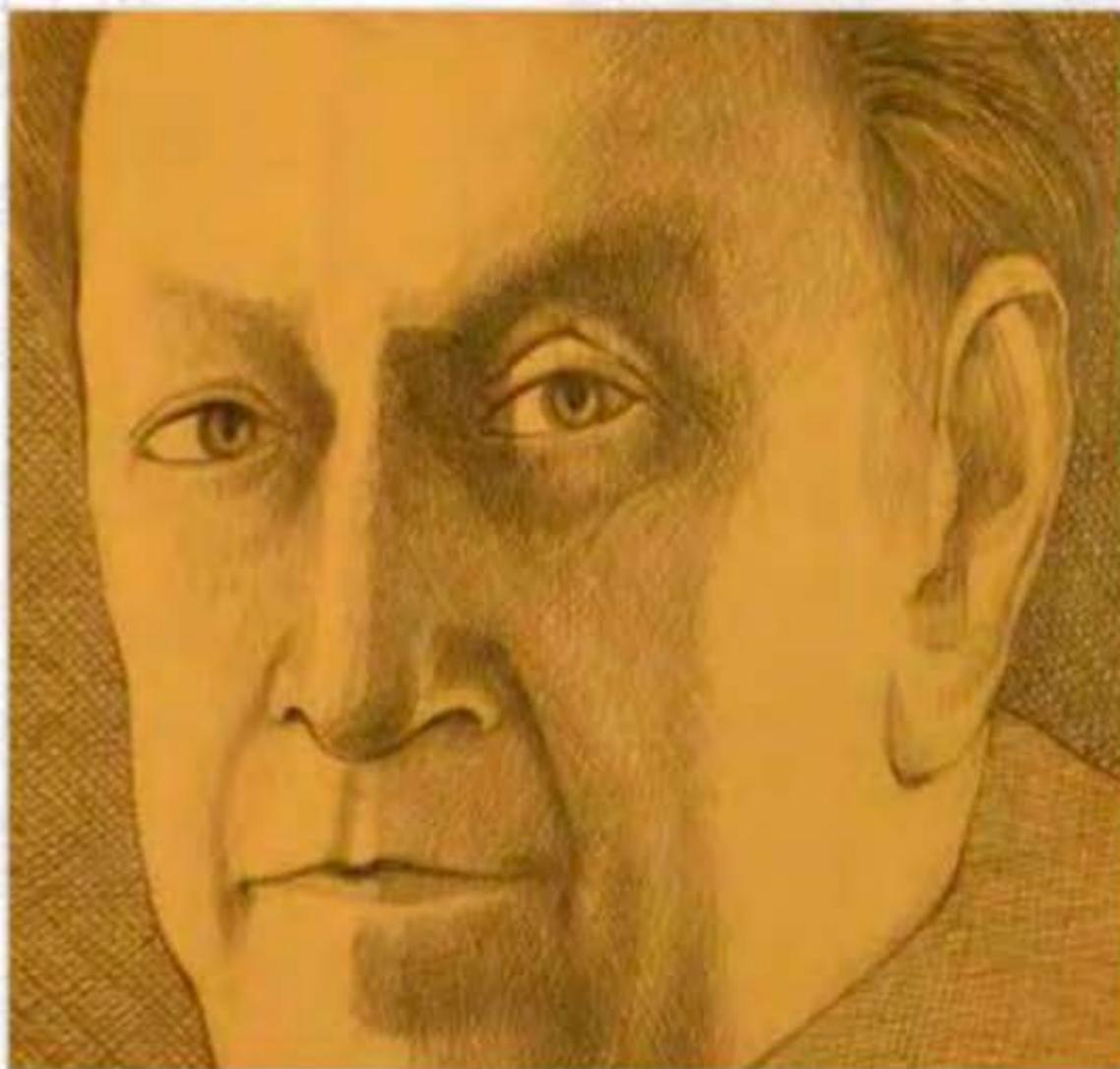


Czech musicians in Bosnia and Herzegovina [View project](#)

a cura di
MASSIMO FAVENTO

Karel Moore

"Musicista migrante" nella Mitteleuropa del '900
dalla Praga di Antonín Dvořák
alla Trieste di Italo Svevo
fino ai nuovi paesi slavi del Sud
Studi e Testimonianze



Sonora Archivi Sonori del Friuli Venezia Giulia - 2018

Profili Musicali

Gruppo Strumentale - Associazione
Lumen Harmonicum

*"Our heritage:
Where the past
Meets the future"*



Karel Moor

“Musicista migrante” nella Mitteleuropa del '900
dalla Praga di Antonín Dvořák alla Trieste di Italo Svevo
fino ai nuovi paesi slavi del Sud

Studi e Testimonianze

a cura di
MASSIMO FAVENTO

Sonora
Archivi Sonori del Friuli Venezia Giulia - 2018

Profili Musicali
Gruppo Strumentale - Associazione
Lumen Harmonicum

SONORA - PROFILI MUSICALI - ARCHIVI SONORI DEL FRIULI VENEZIA GIULIA

Sonora - Profili Musicali è un progetto di *ricerca e bibliografia musicale*, e non, con il quale si intende recuperare il *profilo* di artisti, letterati, musicisti, compositori ed esecutori, troppo facilmente dimenticati, attraverso la divulgazione delle loro opere, l'esecuzione della loro musica nell'ambito di eventi o rassegne appositamente concepite e correlate da convegni, seminari, conferenze e pubblicazioni di carattere scientifico, storico e musicologico. L'edizione d'esordio di *Profili Musicali* ha avuto l'imprimatur dell'Università Popolare di Trieste, Ente Morale che promuove la cultura a Trieste e nell'intera area giuliana da più di cent'anni. Con *La Città Musicalissima di Eugenio Visnoviz. Studi e Testimonianze in occasione del Centenario (1906-2006)* sono stati pubblicati gli atti del seminario e della rassegna concertistica organizzata in occasione del centenario della nascita di Eugenio Visnoviz, talento musicale della Trieste mitteleuropea del primo '900. Nel 2012 il Gruppo Strumentale **Lumen Harmonicum**, protagonista dell'edizione d'esordio di *Profili Musicali*, ha ripreso il progetto con l'avvio di *Sonora in Echi e Tuoni della Serenissima. La musica di Giuseppe Cervellini (1744-1824) "Abate irriverente" tra il Friuli e la Venezia Giulia napoleonica*. Nel 2014 si è proseguito con il progetto *Triestiner Quartett 1914 Quartetto Triestino. Gloria fin de Siècle - Disgregazione bellica - Redenzione. Studi e Testimonianze*, progetto nato nell'ambito delle celebrazioni dello scoppio della Grande Guerra. Nel 2015, in occasione della ricorrenza delle battaglie dell'Isonzo che portarono nell'agosto del 2016 alla "Presa di Gorizia", il **Lumen Harmonicum** si è dedicato ad una comparazione tra autori di testi letterari, anche stranieri, poco noti o inediti nel panorama della memorialistica storico-musicale su motivi e spunti sonori dell'epoca, al di qua e al di là del fronte, con l'intento di mettere a fuoco *Gli occhi su Gorizia! Der Blick auf Görz! S Pogledom na Gorico!* Il 2017 è stato l'anno di *Pace alla Guerra. Reportage virtuale storico-musicale*, una rassegna dedicata a *Note di vita bellica in Carnia (1916-1917)*, ovvero un modo nuovo di rileggere la prima guerra mondiale, lontano dalla retorica e vicino alla quotidianità, alle contraddizioni umane, alla vita del territorio. Il **Lumen Harmonicum** ha gestito una rassegna di spettacoli, una serie di incontri tra bizzarre *interviste impossibili* in forma teatrale ed accompagnamenti musicali realizzati dal vivo. Cardine del progetto è stata la ricerca di musiche, testi e testimonianze originali del patrimonio storico regionale, tutte fonti utilizzate nella redazione dei copioni teatrali e della scaletta musicale. Per il 2018 *Sonora Profili Musicali* ha comportato l'avvio di un intenso rapporto internazionale con più istituti culturali ed universitari per ricostruire il *profilo* di un artista legato alle nostre terre: *Karel Moor. Musicista "migrante" nella Mitteleuropa del '900 dalla Praga di Antonín Dvořák alla Trieste di Italo Svevo fino ai nuovi Paesi slavi del Sud*. Del musicista e letterato ceco Karel Moor, «Carlo» per gli amici triestini dell'epoca, sono rimasti diversi manoscritti nei nostri archivi per la cui valorizzazione storica e musicale il **Lumen Harmonicum** ha avviato con impegno questo progetto.

SONORA - PROFILI MUSICALI (edizione 2018-2019)

Partner internazionali

- Faculty of Fine Arts, University of Ostrava (Repubblica Ceca)
- Dipartimento Culture e Società, Università di Palermo (Italia)
- Dipartimento di Italianistica, Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, Università di Turku (Finlandia)
- Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts of Zagreb (Croazia)
- Unione degli Esperantisti Croati (Croazia)
- Musicological Society of Sarajevo (Bosnia Erzegovina)
- Faculty of Education, Trakia University (Bulgaria)

Altri partner

- Biblioteca Statale "Stelio Crise" di Trieste
- Associazione Sklad "Mitja Čuk" di Opicina (Trieste)
- Associazione Culturale "Friedrich Schiller" di Trieste
- Associazione Esperantista Triestina

Si ringrazia per la collaborazione:

- Conservatorio di Musica "Giuseppe Tartini" di Trieste
- Civico Museo Teatrale "Carlo Schmidl" di Trieste

Gruppo di Ricerca

Profilo Musicale: (chair) Ivano Cavallini, Viktor Velek, Marco Guidarini, Massimo Favento, Vjera Katalinić, Marijana Kokanović Marković, Stefanka Georgieva, Fatima Hadžić

Profilo Letterario: (chair) Antonio Donato Sciacovelli, Viktor Velek, Michaela Šeböková Vannini, Samanta Francescutti, Cinzia Franchi

Traduzioni (inglese, tedesco, ceco, ungherese)

Giovanni Dequal, Samanta Francescutti, Lucie Kuchařová, Helena Jovanović, Corrado Maurel, Stefania Mella, Eleonóra Papp, Michaela Šeböková Vannini, Antonio Donato Sciacovelli, Franca Tissi

Supervisione del progetto

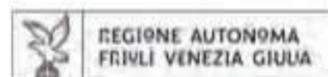
Massimo Favento

Progetto a cura del:



Gruppo Strumentale
Lumen Harmonicum

con il contributo della:



REGIONE AUTONOMA
FRIULI VENEZIA GIULIA

con l'autorizzazione della:



MINISTERO
PER I BENI E
LE ATTIVITÀ
CULTURALI

nell'ambito del:



2018
ANNO EUROPEO
DEL PATRIMONIO
CULTURALE

Indice

MASSIMO FAVENTO

(Trieste, Italia - *Лимен Хармоничним*)

Karel Moor, perché?

- 10 1. - Karel Moor e Trieste nella *koinè* culturale della Mitteleuropa
- 13 2. - Verso un primo profilo di Karel Moor, musicista "ceco"
- 15 3. - Con la *Mladá česká hudební generace* a scacciare l'ombra di Smetana e Dvořák
- 20 4. - A caccia di commissioni di opere liriche per il *Národní divadlo*
- 25 5. - La scommessa dell'operetta "d'autore" con il *Pan profesor v pekle* e anticipando il *Brouček* di Janáček
- 27 6. - Sul mercato editoriale boemo a colpi di *curricula*
- 30 7. - Impresario ed operatore culturale nei Balcani. Le disavventure della Grande Guerra
- 32 8. - 1918. Il miraggio della "Liberazione" e il ritorno nei Balcani
- 34 9. - Autunno 1922. Fine della carriera "transnazionale". Il ritorno definitivo in Boemia
- 39 10. - Karel Moor: artista di valore?
- 44 - Bibliografia

Atti del Convegno

(Trieste, 21 gennaio 2019)

Profilo Musicale

IVANO CAVALLINI

(Palermo, Italia - Dipartimento Culture e Società, Università di Palermo)

- 51 **Mitteleuropa oltre il mito. Rinuncia, nostalgia, il caso Moor**
- 55 - Bibliografia

VIKTOR VELEK

(Ostrava-Praga, Czech Republic - Faculty of Fine Arts, University of Ostrava)

Known Unknown: Karel Moor

- 57 1. - Introduction
- 58 2. - Karel Moor from the perspective of Czech Musicology
- 59 3. - Karel Moor from the perspective of regional studies
- 60 4. - Karel Moor - interest abroad
- 60 5. - Karel Moor's composing work - scores
- 61 6. - Karel Moor's composing work - recordings
- 62 7. - Composing work - evaluation
- 63 8. - Literary work
- 64 9. - Karel Moor's biography
- 64 10. - A relic or living work?
- 64 - Bibliography

MARCO GUIDARINI

(Genova, Italia - Direttore d'Orchestra)

- 67 **Karel Moor e la musica ceca fra i due secoli. Le tracce di un percorso**
- 71 - Bibliografia
- 73 - *Hjördis e Vj* - Scheda sinottica (a cura di VIKTOR VELEK)

MASSIMO FAVENTO

(Trieste, Italia - *Лимен Хармоничним*)

«Moor Karel (Carlo)»: un'anima boema per il Quartetto Triestino

- 75 1. - Una voce nel *Dizionario Universale dei Musicisti*
- 79 2. - Trieste e il mare, luogo letterario catartico per le ansie praguesi: il *Karel Martens*
- 80 3. - La scoperta della *Gioia* beethoveniana, sbornia inevitabile per incominciare il nuovo secolo
- 85 4. - All'ombra del secondo titano: Richard Wagner
- 87 5. - *Schillerverein*, Piazza Grande, febbraio 1902. «Karl» Moor compare sui palcoscenici triestini
- 89 6. - Un bicchiere di vino a Montebello con Marie Hänel val bene una visita ad Antonio Zampieri
- 93 7. - Nelle grazie di Enrico Schott, "il" mecenate della Trieste del primo '900
- 101 8. - Con il Maestro Alberto Castelli
- 108 9. - Al lavoro per il Quartetto Triestino
- 112 10. - 2 maggio 1902. Il debutto con il Quartetto Triestino alla Filarmonico-Drammatica
- 118 11. - 9 maggio 1902. L'altro debutto, quello con i "tedeschi" dello *Schillerverein*
- 122 12. - In Boemia a caccia di conferme, affermazioni e successi con il Quartetto Triestino
- 127 13. - 2 giugno 1902, Praga...

- 132 14. - 1903. Tra Praga e Trieste tentando l'opera e cercando nuovi sbocchi
 142 15. - Primavera 1904. Karel Moor sinfonista per lo *Schillerverein* di Trieste
 150 16. - Autunno 1904. Mentre *I Tessitori* spariscono con l'Orchestrale, Moor chiude con la prima di *Život (Vita)*
 155 17. - 1905. Mentre Moor debutta con *Hjördis* a Praga, Enrico Schott porta Gustav Mahler a Trieste
 158 - Bibliografia

VJERA KATALINIĆ

(Zagreb, Croatia - Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Zagreb)

Karel Moor and His Czech Contemporaries in the Network of Croatian Music Institutions (1890s-1920s)

- 163 1. - Preface
 164 2. - The Theatre
 165 3. - Music Pedagogy
 166 4. - Music Societies
 166 5. - Military Musicians
 167 6. - Guest performances
 168 7. - Karel Moor in Croatia
 170 8. - Conclusions
 171 - Bibliography

MARIJANA KOKANOVIĆ MARKOVIĆ

(Novi Sad, Serbia - Academy of Arts, University of Novi Sad)

Karel Moor's Artistic Activity in Belgrade in the Context of Socio-Political and Cultural Conditions (1913-1914)

- 173 1. - Introduction
 173 2. - Karel Moor in Belgrade
 174 3. - Choirmaster of the "Serbo-Jewish Singing Society"
 176 4. - Engagement in the Serbian Royal National Theatre
 177 5. - The beginning of the "Great War" and the end of Moor's artistic activity in Belgrade
 181 - Bibliography

STEFANKA ANGELOVA GEORGIEVA

(Stara Zagora, Bulgaria - Faculty of Education, Trakia University)

- 183 **In the whirlpool of the WW I: Karel Moor's way from Belgrade to Štip and to Sofia (16th May 1915 - 16th February 1916)**
 195 - Bibliography

FATIMA HADŽIĆ

(Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina - Musicological Society of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina)

Karel Moor in Sarajevo. A Contribution to the Research into Czech Composer's Life and Work

- 197 1. - Arrival to Sarajevo
 199 2. - Choirmaster of Croatian Singing Society "Trebević"
 200 3. - *Česká beseda*, a favorite socializing spot
 200 4. - Conductor and composer at National Theatre
 205 5. - Departure from Sarajevo
 205 6. - Conclusion
 206 - Bibliography

Profilo Letterario

VIKTOR VELEK

(Ostrava-Praga, Czech Republic - Faculty of Fine Arts, University of Ostrava)

Karel Moor and his Life after 1918 in the Light of the Correspondence with the Office of the President of the Czechoslovak Republic and the employee file in the Czech Radio Archive

- 211 1. - Preface
 212 2. - 1926
 213 3. - 1930
 215 4. - 1931
 215 5. - 1934
 216 6. - 1936
 217 7. - 1939
 217 8. - Conclusion
 217 - Bibliography

MICHAELA ŠEBŮKOVÁ VANNINI

(Padova, Italia - Traduttrice)

- 219 **Tra Musica e Letteratura. Karel Moor e il suo *Io* allo specchio**
 231 - Bibliografia

ANTONÍN SIXL

- 233 «Il 15 giugno 1945 moriva a Praga...» (trad. di SAMANTA FRANCESCUTTI - note di MICHAELA ŠEBŮKOVÁ VANNINI)

KAREL MOOR*Nelle braccia del Destino. Memorie di un Musicista Ceco* (trad. di MICHAELA ŠEBŮKOVÁ VANNINI)

- 239 - [Premessa]
 240 I - Gli anni della gioventù, degli studi e delle prime fioriture
 277 II - All'estero e durante la guerra
 309 III - La lotta per il pane

SAMANTA FRANCESCUTTI

(Udine, Italia - Traduttrice)

- 333 **Le Memorie (*Vzpomínky*) di Karel Moor. Note di traduzione**
 339 - Bibliografia

KAREL MOOR*Memorie. Pilsen 1917* (trad. di SAMANTA FRANCESCUTTI)

- 341 - Premessa
 342 I - Belgrado
 349 II - Aleksinac
 353 III - Capitoli tristi
 358 IV - Štip

ANTONIO DONATO SCIACOVELLI

(Turku, Finlandia/Szombathely, Ungheria - Dipartimento di Italianistica, Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, Università di Turku)

- 367 **Nel giardino incantato della Musica. Géza Csáth, contemporaneo di Karel Moor**
 372 - Bibliografia

GÉZA CSÁTH

- 375 **Musici** (trad. di ANTONIO DONATO SCIACOVELLI)

ANTONIO DONATO SCIACOVELLI

(Turku, Finlandia/Szombathely, Ungheria - Dipartimento di Italianistica, Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, Università di Turku)

- 381 **Quanti immaginari per la Mitteleuropa?**
 383 - Bibliografia

GYULA KRÚDY

- 385 **Sedici Fanciulle di Sedici Città** (trad. di ELEONÓRA PAPP)
 387 I - Il pegno di Re Sigismondo
 390 II - Anna si trasferisce in un'altra terra
 394 III - Due principesse
 396 IV - Nubi
 396 V - Attacco notturno
 398 VI - L'amica pronta a sacrificarsi
 401 VII - Le aquile
 404 VIII - La corona va alla figlia del tessitore

Altro...**MASSIMO FAVENTO**"Spett. karel@moor.cz #figliastrodidiointerra-#bohémienadriatico-#ultraromanticismo".**Breve epistolario d'uso moderno per un'analisi discografica di opere cameristiche di Karel Moor**

- 409 1. - Premessa
 411 2. - CD 1 - "per Karel Martens"
 412 3. - CD 2 - "per Trio"
 413 4. - CD 3 - "per Quartetto (I)"
 414 5. - Nell'alveo della *Musica pura* del primo '900
 415 - Bibliografia
 417 - "Pregiatissimo Maestro, Karel Moor..." Trieste, lunedì 11 marzo 2019
 424 - "Alla cortese attenzione di Karel Moor..." Trieste, lunedì 18 marzo 2019
 428 - "Gentilissimo Maestro, Karel Moor..." Trieste, lunedì 25 marzo 2019

ANTONIO DONATO SCIACOVELLI

- 433 **Viva la Mitteleuropa, regione dell'Anima...**

Appendice

- 439 **Karel Moor - Scheda biografica** (a cura di VIKTOR VELEK)
Karel Moor - Elenco delle opere (a cura di VIKTOR VELEK)
 443 1. - Precisazioni
 444 2. - Elenco delle opere secondo Josef Maršálek (1947)
 445 3. - b) per *cronologia*
 447 4. - a) per *genere*

Karel Moor in Sarajevo

A Contribution to the Research into Czech Composer's Life and Work

FATIMA HADŽIĆ

SARAJEVO - BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

MUSICOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF THE FEDERATION OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

Karel Moor a Sarajevo

Un contributo alla ricerca su vita e opere del compositore ceco

Karel Moor fu uno dei numerosi musicisti cechi che lavorarono in Bosnia ed Erzegovina. In circa dieci anni fu attivo nell'area jugoslava in più località (Zara, Signo, Spalato, Belgrado, Štip, Lubiana). Poi, dalla primavera del 1921 fino all'ottobre 1922, operò a Sarajevo come direttore della Società Corale Croata "Trebević" e come direttore d'orchestra e compositore per il Teatro Nazionale. La sua breve permanenza a Sarajevo può essere analizzata nel contesto del contributo dei musicisti cechi allo sviluppo della cultura musicale in Bosnia ed Erzegovina. Infatti, con la costituzione di strutture musicali professionali come il Teatro Nazionale di Sarajevo (1921), la mancanza di strumentisti formati in situ si poneva come ostacolo fondamentale per la loro attività. Tale mancanza di uno staff musicale in loco fu colmata da musicisti stranieri. I musicisti cechi furono sicuramente il gruppo più numeroso. Moor lavorò a Sarajevo per un tempo così breve da non consentirci oggi di considerare la sua attività sufficientemente significativa e fertile. Proprio quando si era appena inserito nell'ambiente del Teatro Nazionale la sua attività fu interrotta da seri problemi di salute. In quel breve periodo compose comunque musiche per alcuni spettacoli teatrali, quali Snješka, cioè Biancaneve (1922) e Hajduk Veljko (1922). Diresse inoltre musiche per il Borghese Gentiluomo di Molière. Con il peggiorare del suo stato di salute a fine ottobre del 1922 lasciò Sarajevo e ritornò in patria. Questo contributo tenderà di ricostruire la vita e l'attività di Moor a Sarajevo sulla base di ricerche d'archivio presso le istituzioni in cui si trovò ad operare e di recensioni tratte dalla stampa locale.

Karel Moor (Lázně Bělohrad, 1873 - Prague, 1945), a conductor, music critic and composer, worked in Yugoslavia on several occasions (Zadar, Sinj, Split, Belgrade, Štip, Ljubljana). He came to Sarajevo in the spring of 1921 and worked as a choirmaster of the Croatian Singing Society "Trebević" and as a conductor and composer for the National Theatre⁶⁸⁹.

In his autobiography *V dlani osudu. Vzpomínky českého hudebníka* (*In the Palms of Fate: a Czech Musician's Memories*, 1947) Moor provides a brief overview of his life in Sarajevo; he mentions colleagues he worked with, the people he socialized with, institutions where he worked, and provides his observations on Sarajevo cultural life, his feelings and aspirations. The autobiography is a precious source for studying Moor's life and work, as well as a precious source for studying the musical past of the environments he worked in. This paper uses Moor's autobiography as a basis for reconstructing his life and work in Sarajevo, with the help of additional research into the institutions he was active in and the newspapers articles.

1. Arrival to Sarajevo

Karel Moor⁶⁹⁰ came to Sarajevo invited by Aleksandr Lukinič⁶⁹¹, a friend from student days at Conservatory whom he had not seen for fifteen years. Dissatisfied with his job in Split, Moor moved to Sarajevo for a better job that could help him sustain his family. He arrived to Sarajevo with the entire family, his wife and three children, after a 24-hour journey from Split via Metković, on the 21st May 1921. Lukinič had sent him 1000 K

⁶⁸⁹ In the period between the two World Wars (1918-1941) Bosnia and Herzegovina were part of the first Yugoslav state, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. The first Yugoslav state was formed on the 1st December 1918 under the name of "Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes". After the 6th January dictatorship in 1929 the state was renamed "Kingdom of Yugoslavia".

⁶⁹⁰ In some Bosnian sources, his name has been written phonetically, as "Karel Mor".

⁶⁹¹ Moor writes that Lukinič lived in Russia before coming to Sarajevo. Disappointed with the political situation in Russia he briefly returned to his country, and then moved to Sarajevo where he got a job as a cello teacher in the District School of Music. MOOR, *V dlani osudu. Vzpomínky českého hudebníka*, 135. Alexandr Lukinič (Brandýs nad Labem, 1875 - Lovosicích, 1942), a Czech cellist, conductor and music pedagogue. He studied music at the Organist School in Prague (1891-1892), cello at the Prague Conservatory (1892-1898) in the class of the famous Czech cellist Hanuš Wihan, and at St. Petersburg Conservatory (1905-1906) in the class of Nikolai-Rimsky Korsakov and A. Wierzbielowicz. After the graduation, he stayed in Russia, where he worked as a choirmaster and conductor of a singing society in Voronezh. He led symphony orchestras in Crimea (1908-1911), in Omsk and Tobolsk (1913-1917). He then founded a symphony orchestra in Nikolayev (Ukraine). In 1920, he briefly returned to his country, and then moved to Sarajevo in 1921. From 1921 to 1926 he worked as a piano and cello teacher at the District School of Music, the first conductor of String Orchestra of Philharmonic Association of District School of Music and conductor of Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra in the 1923-1924 season. In Sarajevo, besides appearing as a conductor Lukinič also appeared as a solo cellist. In 1926 he returned to Czechoslovakia, where he managed the School of Music in Litoměřice. After retiring, he lived in Lovosicích. He also composed, although it is not known whether he composed during his stay in Sarajevo (his compositions can be found in Russia). HADŽIĆ, *Muzičke institucije u Sarajevu 1918-1941: Oblasna muzička škola i Sarajevska Filharmonija*, 170-171.

- Alexandr Lukinič (1875-1942)
(BiH - SMLTA)



- Sarajevo. National Theatre in the early 1930s

Češka beseda priređuje sutra u subotu 31. o. mj. u dvorani srpskog pjevačkog društva »Sloge« veliku silvestarsku zabavu. Izvođanje programa preuzeli su gđa prof. M o r o v a, pa P e š e k, virtuoz na violini, R o ž d a l o v s k i, vojni kapelnik, K. M o o r, komponista, Henig R i b i č k a i dr. Iza programa je igranka do zore. Početak zabave je u 8 sati na večer, a ulaznica dobrovoljni prilog.

- Narodno Jedinstvo, "Česka beseda"

for the trip, and looked after him and his family until he settled down in Sarajevo.

Very soon, well connected with consul dr. Andrijal⁶⁹², Moor got a job as a choirmaster of the Croatian Singing Society "Trebević"⁶⁹³. However, several months passed before he was able to rent a flat. Therefore, his wife Tereza and the children Karlik, Pavla and Máňa temporarily went to Czechoslovakia. Moor initially stayed in the Hotel Ghazi, in the Turkish part of Sarajevo⁶⁹⁴, and, after his family's departure, at his friend Lukinič's house, as he stated. Finally, in early September, owing to a loan, Moor managed to rent a flat with the furniture he bought from the violinist Joža Ulehla⁶⁹⁵. Moor points out a special gratitude to piano tuner Wustinger⁶⁹⁶, who lent him 9000 K and made the beginning of his life in Sarajevo considerably easier.

2. Choirmaster of Croatian Singing Society "Trebević"

Moor's first professional engagement in Sarajevo was the position of choirmaster of the Croatian Singing Society "Trebević"⁶⁹⁷, established in 1894. It had a significant role in cultural empowering of the Croatian nation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Croats' cultural amateurism in Sarajevo mostly proceeded under the auspices of this institution, since all Croatian and Catholic societies closely cooperated with it. "Trebević" was a committed participant in celebrating the national and religious dates regarding the Croatian history and Catholic Church. In the Austro-Hungarian period, "Trebević" gained the reputation of the best Croatian singing society in Bosnia and Herzegovina, while in the period between the two wars, through its successful tours outside Sarajevo, it also built the reputation of one of the most significant singing societies in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes/Yugoslavia. "Trebević" had several sections. Besides the Women's, Men's and Children's choir, it had the Orchestra (brass and string), and a few groups of *tambura* orchestras⁶⁹⁸.

The available sources about the activities of "Trebević" do not reveal many data about Moor's engagement. The same in the Moor's autobiography, where we also cannot find a lot of data about his activities in this society. A monograph about "Trebević" briefly described that Karel Moor worked as a choirmaster from 1921 to 1922, having succeeded Josip Chládek, who returned to the position after Moor's departure⁶⁹⁹. It also says that in late 1922, choirmaster Karel Moor resigned⁷⁰⁰. Moor's engagement in "Trebević" does not particularly stand out, and it therefore seems that he did not leave a deep stamp in the society's activity.

In that sense, data from the newspaper articles are also significant. For example, "Trebević" performed at the major annual charity event of Croatian Cultural Society *Napredak* marking the centenary of the birth of franciscan father Grga Martić, the Croatian poet, on the 1st February 1922. At the same event Moor also performed as a pianist companion to violinist Blanda Höller⁷⁰¹ who performed two compositions⁷⁰². On the occasion, it was recorded in the press that "Trebević" led by Moor should take part in the concert programme of the Muslim Cultural Society "Gajret"⁷⁰³. Although announced, "Trebević" did not perform as summarily

692 Andrijal dr Henrich (Czechoslovakia, 1888 - ?) is mentioned as a consul general of Czechoslovakia in Belgrade. See: "Masonske lože u Jugoslaviji 1919-1940. (1872-1958)".

693 Moor writes that Lukinič tried to find him a job as a teacher at District School of Music but did not manage to do so because of the opposition of the school's principal Josip Chládek. MOOR, *V dlani osudu. Vzpomínky českého hudebníka*, 136.

694 Moor uses the words *Turkish* and *Turks* a few times when writing about the old part of Sarajevo, *i.e.* about the part of Sarajevo built in the Oriental style during Ottoman rule, which he calls the *Turkish* part of Sarajevo and about Bosnian Muslims, population of Slavic origins in Bosnia and Herzegovina that converted to Islam during the Ottoman rule. Both terms are wrong and as such are no longer used.

695 Joža Ulehla (Úlehla) (Těšice, Hodonin, 1893 - Stamford, Fairfield, Connecticut, 1971) graduated from the School of Violin in Brno in 1917. In 1918 he passed the state license exam in music in Prague. His wife, Vlasta Ulehlova (née Váňova) (1892 or 1893 - Stamford, Fairfield, Connecticut, 1965) studied at the Brno Conservatory. She appeared as a pianist at concerts of Brněnské filharmonické besedy. Vlasta and Joža Ulehla married in 1919. According to available sources, it can be assumed that the couple moved to Sarajevo the same year, and worked there until 1921, when they emigrated to the USA, where they founded a school of music. HADŽIĆ, *Muzičke institucije u Sarajevu 1918-1941: Oblasna muzička škola i Sarajevska Filharmonija*, 144.

696 The list of companies (Metalworking and machine industry - musical instruments) includes Anton Wustinger with the head office in Sarajevo. See: "Compass. Industrielles Jahrbuch 1927: Jugoslawien, Ungarn".

697 The Society was named after a mountain of the same name southeast of Sarajevo.

698 HADŽIĆ, *Muzičke institucije u Sarajevu 1918-1941: Oblasna muzička škola i Sarajevska Filharmonija*, 61-62.

699 MILOŠEVIĆ, *Slavuj povrh Trebevića*, 174.

700 *Ibid.*, 54.

701 Blanda Höller Tržeševska (no data on dates and place of birth and death), violinist and music pedagogue. After completing her violin studies in Vienna, she was active as the soloist, chamber musician and music teacher in Sarajevo. HADŽIĆ, *Muzičke institucije u Sarajevu 1918-1941: Oblasna muzička škola i Sarajevska Filharmonija*.

702 *Narodno Jedinstvo*, "Napretkova dobrotvorna zabava".

703 *Narodno Jedinstvo*, "Velika Gajretova zabava"; *Narodno Jedinstvo*, "Program Gajretove zabave".

stated and shown in newspaper⁷⁰⁴.

Moor took the position in “Trebević” for a very short period, at the time when the society longed for thorough reorganization, which was handled by his successor, Chládek⁷⁰⁵. Although “Trebević”’s activities during Moor’s engagement are well known, there are no data whether Moor took part in them as the society’s choirmaster⁷⁰⁶, since the society’s archives include only one document that mentions Karel Moor⁷⁰⁷.

3. *Česká beseda*, a favorite socializing spot

Moor and his wife made many friends in Sarajevo. They socialized with other Czechs who lived and worked there, such as Johánek, head of emigration office in Czech consulate, Josef Šmid, head of passport department, also in Czech consulate, and the already mentioned consul dr. Andrijal. Moor points out that Johánek, who was also a good singer, violinist, actor and accompanist, took him and his wife to *Česká beseda*, a Society of Czech minority in Sarajevo⁷⁰⁸. At *Česká beseda*, the Moors expanded the circle of friends and felt at home.

Česká beseda in Sarajevo had several hundred members, mostly Czech immigrants. The society regularly organized lectures, amateur theatre and puppet-theatre performances, excursions *etc.*, to allow members to socialize. Cultural activity of *Česká beseda* resulted from the aspiration to preserve Czech language, Czech customs, Czech culture in general and their national identity in a foreign environment.⁷⁰⁹ Archival sources do not confirm that *Česká beseda* included a music club or music ensembles but the Society regularly organized parties, gatherings and ceremonies that included music numbers. A particular significance had the organization of concerts of artists from Czechoslovakia⁷¹⁰.

Moor takes a particular pleasure in describing socializing at *Česká beseda*, where he took part in various activities together with all his family as early as in late September, 1921. At regular Wednesday gatherings of *Česká beseda* members, parties, concerts and lectures were organized, as «events that no other Sarajevo society could boast of»⁷¹¹. For example, New Year’s Eve party of *Česká beseda* in the hall of the Serbian Singing Society “Sloga” is announced for the 31st December 1921 by the daily press. Among other participants of music programme there were also «Ms. professor Morova [and] K. Moor, composer»⁷¹².

4. Conductor and composer at National Theatre

During his stay in Sarajevo, Moor witnessed the beginning of work of the National Theatre, one of the most significant cultural institutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina even today. National Theatre was the first local professional theatre ensemble. It was established after the First World War, based on the decision of having a theatre in the new state by the Government of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes of the 1st October 1919 as National Theatre for Western Regions in Sarajevo⁷¹³, whose center of District gained its first state theatre⁷¹⁴. However, two years had to pass before the Theatre ensemble could perform before Sarajevo audience,

704 *Narodno Jedinstvo*. “Gajretova zabava”.

705 MILOŠEVIĆ, *Slavuj povrh Trebevića*, 55.

706 “Trebević” archives were mostly destroyed after the ban on the society’s activities in 1948. From 1893 to 1945, the Archives of Bosnia and Herzegovina contain several documents for each year. See: Sarajevo, Archives of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Holding: “*Hrvatsko pjevačko društvo Trebević*”. According to them, in the period of Moor’s engagement, “Trebević” took part to the following activities:

- 31st July 1921, Đakovo (Croatia), 25th anniversary of Croatian Singing Society “Preradović” - among eleven choirs, “Trebević” was placed third at contest; “Trebević” performed compositions by Zajc, Novak and Heidrich,
- Late autumn 1921, opening ceremony of Croatian Centre in Vareš hosted by Croatian Singing Society “Zvijezda”;
- February 1922, the centenary of fr. Grga Martić’s birth;
- Guest performance by Prague-based *Smetana* and Ljubljana-based *Glasbena Matica* (“Trebević” performed at the National Theatre);
- Traditional gatherings with other singing societies and contest; - 15th August 1922, celebration of the 25th anniversary of Croatian Singing Society *Majevica* in Tuzla; *Trebević* performed compositions *Noć na Savi*, *Kuklin Staroslavenska misa* and two patriotic songs, and won the second prize at the contest.

707 The contents of the document are discussed later in the paper.

708 MOOR, *V dlani osudu. Vzpomínky českého hudebníka*, 136-137.

709 During the First World War, activity of “Česká beseda” was prohibited. After the War, the society was restored and worked until 1941, when it ceased to exist, *i.e.* when most societies got banned. KLARIĆ, *Vodič Arhiva Bosne i Hercegovine*, 277.

710 Sarajevo, Archives of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Holding: “Češka beseda”, sign. ČB, box 1, file 5, Society’s archives 1932.

711 MOOR, *V dlani osudu. Vzpomínky českého hudebníka*, 137.

712 *Narodno Jedinstvo*, “Česka beseda”.

713 National Theatre of Sarajevo was established as the “National Theatre for Western regions in Sarajevo”, later as “National Theatre of King Petar II”; henceforward, we will refer to it as “National Theatre of Sarajevo”.

714 Sarajevo, Archives of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Holding: “Zemaljska vlada za Bosnu i Hercegovinu”, sign. ZVS2, 1921, 243a (32a), 92/14/32 2.

i.e. before some problems about the building and the management were resolved⁷¹⁵. After its opening, National Theatre became the most popular spot for organizing different events, concerts and parties. Besides plays, the *repertoire* regularly included “music” performances, popular pieces with singing and operettas. Staging of pieces with singing and operettas in local production required employing professional musicians (conductor, vocal soloists), as well as forming music ensembles (choir and orchestra), which had a favorable impact on strengthening musical professionalism. After two years of preparatory activities, National Theatre finally opened in late September, 1921. Theatre orchestra first presented itself at the opening ceremony that took place between the 22nd and the 24th October 1921.

In his autobiography, Moor described the pomp with which National Theatre was opened, at the presence of top officials from Belgrade, the center of political power of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes/Yugoslavia. Indeed, the establishment of theatre in Sarajevo was a political decision. Sarajevo was not the center of political power in the Kingdom, and therefore the professionalization of cultural institutions as the most significant achievement of the inter-war policy in Sarajevo was carried out to a lesser degree. In the period between the two wars, the National Theatre of Sarajevo was the only professional cultural institution, the center of theatrical and cultural life of the city.

Tracing the events related to the beginning of Theatre operation, Moor particularly points out the data that Chládek (Hladek), a person with no theatre experience, was appointed head of opera: «Head of opera, who could not reach the piano, a man with no theatre practice!»⁷¹⁶ At the time, Sarajevo lacked qualified artistic staff, and Moor says that members of the theatre were mostly Serbs and Russians. Moor clearly describes conditions in the theatre which, without routine orchestra, qualified manager, soloists and choir was not able to perform operas. The *repertoire* included local, Russian and other, mostly patriotic pieces (comedies) with music (*Koštana*, *Hasanaginica*, *Sudžaje*)⁷¹⁷. Moor is very critical when writing about the first theatre attempts. He never says it explicitly, but he obviously believed that he was far more qualified for the job than the appointed manager Chládek.

According to him, it was only after several attempts that he was invited with “other forces, also without proper practice” and after the repertoire had reached a deadlock, to compose for the theatre⁷¹⁸.

In early February 1922, the theatre manager professor Stevan Brakus⁷¹⁹, invited Moor to compose music for the full-length fairy tale *Snješka* (Snow White), whose opening night was scheduled for early April. *Snješka i sedam patuljaka* (Snow White and Seven Dwarves), «a story of a winter night in three acts, twelve tableaux with a prologue and epilogue and singing»⁷²⁰ after the text by Oto Kerner⁷²¹ and directed by Radivoj Dinulović⁷²² premiered on the 23rd April 1922. The music was composed by Moor, who also conducted. According to the articles in the newspapers, the score of *Snješka* counted 24 numbers, and some of the numbers stand out in

715 Due to the adaptation of building, Ensemble spent its first season at guest performances in Tuzla, Brčko and Dubrovnik. LEŠIĆ, *Sarajevsko pozorište između dva rata (1918-1929)*, 1: 76-77.

716 «Šéf opery, který neuměl ani sáhnout na piano, člověk bez divadelní parxe!». MOOR, *V dlani osudu. Vzpomínky českého hudebníka*, 137.

717 The musical part of National Theatre's repertoire comprised pieces with singing and operettas. This genre, very popular in Serbia until the First World War, was intensively nourished in Sarajevo from the establishment of National Theatre to the Second World War, when it disappeared from the theatre stage. Pieces with national-romantic and folk contents owed their popularity to simple topics, close to grassroots (faithful sweetheart, camaraderie, fraternity, respect for parents and older people, virility and bravery etc.), as well as to abundance of stage effects that were to conjure up scenes from everyday life. Musical numbers (newly composed melodies, melodies composed “after folk motifs”, or popular folk songs adjusted to stage performance) were plentifully represented but were never firmly attached to the plot.

718 MOOR, *V dlani osudu. Vzpomínky českého hudebníka*, 137.

719 Stevan Brakus (Otočac 1876 - Dubrovnik 1943) was the first manager of National Theatre. He completed classical gymnasium in Sremski Karlovci and philosophical sciences in Vienna and Paris. From 1903 to 1908 he worked as a literature teacher in Osijek. From 1908, he worked in Sarajevo as a teacher at the General Program Secondary School, head of secondary-school teaching at the Ministry of Education, and then as the first principal of female gymnasium until he retired in 1940. BEGIĆ, “Brakus Stevan”, 47-48.

720 *Snješka i sedam patuljaka*, «a story of a winter night in three acts, twelve tableaux with a prologue and epilogue and singing». «Directed by: Radivoj Dinulović. Music by: K. Moor. Conducted by: K. Moor. Performers: Slava Dinulović (Grandmother), M. Dinulović (Zorica), P. Dinulović (Dragan), Dušan Radenković (King), Zora Čurčić (Queen), Desa Marković (Sneška), Andra Čurčić (Marshal), Ljubica Stefanović (Božana), Julka Matić (Zagorka), Jovan Gec (Prince), Ljubiša Stefanović (Village headman), L. Jovanović (Prince Royal Zlatokos), Nikola Lerec (Golijat), D. Naerlović (First guard), Dušan Kremenović (Second guard), Ljubica Jovanović (Witch Krezubica), Jelena Kešeljević (Vid), Danica Novaković (Prstić), Zora Crnogorčević (Palčić), M. Dinulović (Klapčić), N. Semencova (Malčić), Ljubica Dragić (Dragić), P. Dinulović (Kameni Dvor priest). SARAJLIĆ-SLAVNIĆ, “Teatrografija premijernih izvedbi Drame, Opere i Baleta Narodnog pozorišta u Sarajevu (1921-1996)», 57.

721 No biographical data were found.

722 Radivoj Dinulović (Belgrade, 1880-1941) worked for Sarajevo theatre as a director, technical manager and administrative secretary. LEŠIĆ, “Radivoj Dinulović”, 84.

particular, such as: the *Introduction* to the story, the *Overture*, the *Mirror song*, the *Choir of the dwarfs*, the *Song of Snješka*, the *Storm*, the *Melodrama* and the *Dance of the witch*⁷²³.

After the premiere, *Snješka* was performed on the 26th, 27th and 28th April (for students of elementary and secondary schools) and again on the 30th April⁷²⁴. The success of this performance secured Moor an order for the piece *Hajduk Veljko, i.e. čučuk (Turkish dance)* for the ballet in the first act.

During the first (summer) holiday, Sarajevo was the host to Osijek opera⁷²⁵. It was the occasion for Moor to meet his friends and acquaintances, conductor Mirko Polić⁷²⁶, tenor Zdeněk Knittl⁷²⁷, actor Grund⁷²⁸ and many orchestra musicians. At one of the concerts, Chládek's composition *Pjesna zorjezd i cvječa* was performed; orchestration for the composition was done by Moor, and the grand solo was performed by Mrs. Moor. According to the press, it was a solemn performance held on the June 8th, 1922, on the occasion of the wedding ceremony of His Majesty King Alexander and Her Royal Majesty Princess Mariola. Opera from Osijek (Croatia) performed the opera *Zrinjski* by Ivan Zajc. Chládek's composition, on the text of the Sarajevo writer Milan G. Čurčić, *Pjesma zvijezda i cvijeća (The song of the stars and flowers)*, especially composed for this occasion, was performed by choir of hundred students (girls) with the solo of «Mrs. Mor», the members and choir of Opera from Osijek, as well as the male choirs of Sarajevo's singing societies⁷²⁹.

Writing about this composition by Chládek, Moor tells an interesting story that reveals his relationship with the colleague whom he had known even before he moved to Sarajevo⁷³⁰. Actually, Chládek⁷³¹ and Moor discussed Moor's making the instrumentation for this composition for a hefty fee for a long time. Moor's daughter Mňa was a courier - she brought finished parts to Chládek and took new ones:

[...] When she brought the first "batches" I broke into hearty laughter. Five or six pages of carefully copied piano parts were suddenly followed by several blank pages, with only a note written in pencil: 'And now comes the storm ----.

Anyway, Chládek did not even notice when I once hastily made a typo in the harmonization of French horns. Although otherwise, he was a really generous person. When I submitted the finished score he sent me a far higher fee than what we agreed upon⁷³².

After the summer holiday, Moor got a job as the conductor at National Theatre; his wife was also employed

723 *Narodno Jedinstvo*, "Nedjelja u Narodnom Pozorištu".

724 *Narodno Jedinstvo*, "Repertoar Narodnog Pozorišta".

725 Osijek opera gave guest performances in Sarajevo in June 1922. See: *Dvadeset godina Narodnog Kazališta u Osijeku 1907. -1927*. Osijek: Uprava Narodnog Kazališta u Osijeku, 44.

726 Mirko Polić (Trieste 1890 - Ljubljana 1951), a conductor and composer. He studied composing at Conservatory "Giuseppe Verdi" in Trieste. In Slovenian Theatre in Trieste, he staged opera performances. He was a conductor at Osijek Opera (1914-1923), secretary and conductor of Zagreb Opera (1923-1924) and Belgrade Opera (1924-1925), conductor and director at Ljubljana Opera (1925-1939) and Belgrade Opera (1939-1941), and manager of Ljubljana Opera (1945-1947). ŠPENCAL, "Polić, Mirko".

727 Zdeněk Knittl (Prague 1889-1955), a singer, tenor and director. He learned music from his father, composer Karl, and then as an attendant at demonstration classes at Prague Conservatory. He started the career as opera singer in theatres in Plzeň in 1914, and then in Brno and Bratislava in 1920. From 1921 to 1924 he was the first tenor of the Opera of Croatian National Theatre in Zagreb, and a visiting singer in Osijek Opera. In the 1924/1925 season he directed a cycle of operas by Bedřich Smetana in Bratislava. In 1925 he was at Zagreb Opera again, and from 1926 on he worked as opera director at Slovenian National Theatre in Ljubljana. From 1930 to 1931 he worked in Belgrade, from 1931 to 1936 as a member of Land's Theatre in Brno, and from 1936 to 1945 as an associate of Czech radio in Prague. AJANOVIĆ-MALINAR, "Knittl, Zdeněk (Zdenko)".

728 Arnošt Grund (Prague 1866 - Zagreb 1929), an actor, singer, director. Having dropped out from studies in architecture at Higher Technical School in Prague in 1891, he joined the travelling acting troupe in Lenešice. He played on stages in Brno and Plzeň, and in 1895, invited by S. Miletić, he arrived to Zagreb, where he stayed until his death, except for a year-long engagement at Raimund-Theater in Vienna. ČAVKA ET AL., "Grund, Arnošt".

729 *Narodno Jedinstvo*, "Svečana predstava u Narodnom pozorištu".

730 Moor mentions Chládek, several times although he obviously does not hold in high regard. Whether his opinion is grounded or not, Moor hints that Chládek prevented his engagement in Split theatre and, later on, in the District School of Music. MOOR, *V dlani osudu. Vzpomínky českého hudebníka*, 133 and 136.

731 Josip Chládek-Bohinjski "Hladek" (Mokrice kod Brežica, Slovenia 1879 - Maribor, 1940), a conductor, music teacher, composer. He received music education in Philharmonic Society in Ljubljana and with F. Lehár in Vienna. Until the arrival to Sarajevo he worked in Croatia. During the First World War he conducted the military band in Sarajevo, where he formed a symphony orchestra of conscripted musicians. After the war he was a teacher of singing and music at the Great Gymnasium in Sarajevo, the first principal of District School of Music, where he taught violin, viola and theory (1920-1923), a member of the philharmonic association's Quartet (Chládek violin, Sternberg viola, Jungić cello, Menšik piano), the immediate predecessor of Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra, whose founders included Chládek. In the 1921-1922 season, he was engaged as a conductor at National Theatre. He was the choirmaster of Croatian Singing Society twice, 1914-1920, and 1922-1925. The choir achieved a desirable success under Chládek's leadership. From 1925 to 1933 he led the choir and orchestra of Music Center in Maribor and acted as the principal of music school (1926-1929). He also worked as a composer. HADŽIĆ, *Muzičke institucije u Sarajevu 1918-1941: Oblasna muzička škola i Sarajevska Filharmonija*.

732 «Když donesla první 'várku', zasmál jsem se srdečně. Asi po pěti až šesti stranách, pečlivě popsanych klavírním partem, přišla najednou řada stran prázdných, přes něž bylo načrtnuto obyčejnou tužkou: "Ted přijde bouřka - Ostatně Chládek ani nepoznal chybu, když jsem se jednou ve chvatu přepsal v ladění lesních rohů. Ale jinak byl vskutku kavalir. Při odevzdání úplně hotové partitury poslal mi daleko větší honorář, než jaký byl mezi námi smluven». MOOR, *V dlani osudu. Vzpomínky českého hudebníka*, 138.

on favorable terms. However, his first employer, Croatian Singing Society “Trebević” made it quite clear that they did not approve of his engagement. Moor replied that theatre is closer to him than a singing society⁷³³. Therefore, it is not surprising to see the following memo that “Trebević” sent to its choirmaster⁷³⁴.

Indeed, even earlier that year, in a memo dated 4th April 1922 that “Trebević” sent to its choirmaster, he was informed of the decision of Managing Board made at the session of the 3rd April, which Moor attended as well. It was decided that from the 4th April to the society’s annual concert, singing rehearsals had to be organized four times a week (on Tuesdays, Wednesdays, Thursdays and Fridays from 20 to 22:30). The same memo cautioned Moor to hold rehearsals regularly, since lately it had often happened that he was absent from rehearsals without justified reasons. It was also noted that this request was based on verbal agreement, and that for this reason Moor’s salary was increased from 2000 to 3000 K a month. Finally, it stated that if Moor did not fulfill the listed requirements the contract with him as a choirmaster would be cut off⁷³⁵.

It is highly likely that the memo followed Moor’s engagement as a composer of *Snješka* at National Theatre, which resulted in “Trebević” management’s dissatisfaction both with his frequent absences and - as Moor claims in his autobiography - with political background that highly affected work of cultural institutions in Sarajevo. Indeed, Moor describes disunity of Sarajevo cultural scene, saying that National Theatre was “Serbian” while “Trebević” was “Croatian”. At the same time, Bosnian Muslims (whom Moor calls Turks) do not go to the theatre at all since it is an unfamiliar environment for them; Jews prefer to keep their distance, while Croats simply boycott the theatre’s work.

The theatre was in a sensitive and uncertain position. It was natural. A Serbian theatre in a city with Croatian majority! Turks almost did not go there at all, it was not familiar to them, Spanish Jews preferred going to a ‘familiar’ place, ‘abroad’, while Croats simply boycotted it⁷³⁶.

“Trebević” was indeed a national society, which is evident from the society’s official name - Croatian Singing Society “Trebević”. However, National Theatre of Sarajevo did not have an ethnic label, at least not an official one. Cultural history of Bosnia and Herzegovina recognized National Theatre of Sarajevo as one of the most significant cultural institutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina in general. Since the contemporary historiography has not explored this, political context of the establishment and the first year of the National Theatre’s activity, testimonies by individuals involved are really a valuable source. In this sense, Moor’s subjective view on the conditions in Sarajevo culture is very useful.

Moor’s first public appearance as conductor and composer at National Theatre took place on the 10th September 1922, at the *première* of Jovan Dragašević’s piece *Hajduk Veljko (Veljko the Highwayman)*, a «historical drama in five acts with singing» directed by Dušan Radenković⁷³⁷. The orchestra, conducted by Moor, performed the following compositions:

Boieldieu - *Le calife de Bagdade*, Tosti - *Melodie d’amour*, Frajt - *Biljana platno belješe [Biljana was bleaching canvas]*, B. Keler - *French comedy: Overture*, Dvořák - *Slavene dance* [n. 8], Moor - *Narodni motivi [Folk motifs]*⁷³⁸.

In less than a month, on the 5th October, Molière’s *The Bourgeois Gentleman*, «a comedy with singing and ballet in five acts» premiered, with music by J. B. Lully and directed by Vereščagin. The visiting director, Aleksandar A. Vereščagin⁷³⁹, a director at National Theatre of Zagreb, tried to near the old French style, and

733 *Ibid.*

734 It is the only document of “Trebević” archives where Karel Moor is mentioned. See: SARAJEVO, ARCHIVES OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA, Holding: “Hrvatsko pjevačko društvo Trebević”, Box 2, “Memo to choirmaster Karel Moor of the 4th April 1922”.

735 *Ibid.*

736 «Divadlo mělo celkem choulostivé a nejisté postavení. Přirozeně. Srbské divadlo v městě s chorvatskou většinou! Turci do něho skoro nechodili, bylo jim to cizí prostředí, španělští Židé si raději zajeli na ‘vypíchnuté’ věci do ‘zahraničí’ a Chorvati je prostě bojkotovali». MOOR, *V dlani osudu. Vzpomínky českého hudebníka*, 138.

737 «Stage design: Petar Tiješić. Performers: Dušan Radenković (Hajduk Veljko), Ljubiša Filipović (Janko), Svetozar Milutinović (Milutin), Mara Vučićević (Stana), Milan Bandić (Nedeljko), Obren Đorđević (Mirko), Andra Ćurčić (Branko), Nikola Hajdušković (First senator), Ilija Vučićević (Second senator), Andra Ćurčić (Third senator), Obren Đorđević (Fourth senator), L. Jovanović (Messenger Miljko), Fran Novaković (Mula Paša), Milan Bandić (Mehmed), Svetislav Đurkić (Alija), Nikola Hajdušković (Derviš), Ilija Vučićević (Lautar), Andra Ćurčić (Slavko), Svetislav Đurkić (Miloje), Milan Bandić (First boy), Svetislav Đurkić (Second boy), Andra Ćurčić (Third boy), Obren Đorđević (Fourth boy), Petar Petrović (Fifth boy), L. Jovanović (Sixth boy), Petar Petrović (Servant in Senate), Micika Hrvojić (First dancer), Jelena Kešeljević (Second dancer), Županska (Third dancer), Ljubica Stefanović (Fourth dancer), Danica Marković (Fifth dancer)». SARAJLIĆ-SLAVNIĆ, “Teatrografija premijernih izvedbi Drame, Opere i Baleta Narodnog pozorišta u Sarajevu (1921-1996)”, 58.

738 According to the poster for performance of *Hajduk Veljko* kept in the Museum of Literature and Theatre Art of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo.

739 Aleksandar Aleksandrovič Vereščagin (Moscow 1885 - USA 1965), director and actor. He studied direction and acting in Petrograd.

even reduced the orchestra to the composition typical of Molière's time. The performance was a great success, and had many reruns. It is interesting to note that also Moor's wife appeared in it⁷⁴⁰.

5. Departure from Sarajevo

The theatre *premières* were followed by the first signs of mental fatigue and depression. Moor writes that it did not appear suddenly, since a similar thing happened in Sinj, while his health conditions worsened in Split. Theatre manager Brakus intended to send Moor and his family to the Adriatic coast. However, after the examination, the doctor prescribed Moor a treatment in Prague, to the same sanatorium where he already was in 1917⁷⁴¹.

In the second part of October the Moors went home to Czechoslovakia. Moor bid farewell to Sarajevo with profound sadness. He did not want to go to Prague, but he had no other chance. He bid farewell to his friends in *Česka beseda* by singing *Zapadlo slunéčko* with his wife and manager Pacovsky:

How I suffered when I took the last look at the picturesquely positioned Sarajevo from our small flat, and when my gaze wandered all the way up, to the massif of Trebević⁷⁴².

National Theatre approved Moor's temporary leave (sick leave); however, his departure was final. He returned to Prague on the 23rd October 1922, and although there were moments when he wanted to go back to Sarajevo, the return was impossible.

6. Conclusion

Moor was one of the numerous Czech musicians who worked in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and his stay in Sarajevo can also be discussed in the context of Czech musicians' contribution to the development of musical culture in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Czechs' professional musical activity was part of the Czech professionals' general contribution to the development of economy, science, culture and arts in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Beside setting up professional performing ensembles, such as National Theatre of Sarajevo (1921), Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra (1923) and National Theatre of Vrbaska Banovina in Banjaluka (1930), a lack of local educated instrumentalists emerged as the basic problem in these institutions' activity. The deficit in local musical staff was met by recruiting foreign musicians; Czech musicians certainly being the most numerous among them. Professional musicians came with the intention of getting a job in professional cultural institutions, worked for a shorter or longer period of time before final re-emigration to their homeland or third countries. Only few of them attached themselves to Bosnia and Herzegovina professionally or privately and remained there until the end of their career or life⁷⁴³.

Moor worked in Sarajevo too shortly to allow him the assessment of his activity as particularly significant and fertile. It was just when his work at National Theatre produced the first results that the illness, unfortunately, prevailed. On the other hand, Moor's short description of his life and work in Sarajevo in his autobiography is a precious source for researchers of the history of music in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is an individual's testimony of the cultural development of Sarajevo, and his autobiography will therefore be a subject of enquiries in musicological research in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

During the revolution he emigrated to Yugoslavia where he continued his theatrical career (Belgrade, Sarajevo, Zagreb, Novi Sad, Osijek, Skopje). In 1944 he emigrated to USA. LEŠIĆ, "Vereščagin, Aleksandar Aleksandrovič", 568.

740 «Translation: Simo Matavulj. Decorations after the sketches by academy-trained painters: Karlo Mijić and Petar Tiješić. Cast of the comedy: Ilija Vučićević (Jourdain), Ljubica Jovanović (Madame Jourdain), Jelena Kešeljević (Lucile), Milan Bandić (Cleonte), Ljubiša Filipović (Dorante), Mara Vučićević (Dorimène), Fran Novaković (Covielle), Desa Marković (Nicole), Nikola Hajdušković (Music teacher), Svetislav Đurkić (His student), Rade Romanović (Dancing teacher), Dušan Radenković (Philosophy teacher), Andra Čurčić (Martial arts teacher), Obren Đorđević (Tailor), Aleksandar Cvetković (His assistant), Petar Petrović (First servant), Semencova (First dancer), Gorska (Second dancer), Ljubica Dragić (First female dancer), Letkovska (Second female dancer), Micika Hrvojić (First singer). Characters in inserts: P. Popović (Mufti), Mor (First singer), Samarska (Second singer), Morijani (Columbine), Semencova (Harlequin), Ljubica Dragić (Pagliaccio), Anko (First dancer), Slatkova (Second dancer), Gorska (First male dancer), Letkovska (Second male dancer). Characters in interludes: Viktor Starčić (Louis XIV), Masl (Molière), L. Jovanović (Majordomus)». SARAJLIĆ-SLAVNIĆ, "Teatrografija premijernih izvedbi Drame, Opere i Baleta Narodnog pozorišta u Sarajevu (1921-1996)", 59.

741 MOOR, *V dlani osudu. Vzpomínky českého hudebníka*, 138-139.

742 «Jak mi bylo teskno, když jsem se naposled díval z našeho bytu na malebně položené Sarajevo a když mé oči zabloudily až nahoru k mohutnému masivu Trebeviće!». *Ibid.*, 139.

743 HADŽIĆ, "Čeští hudebníci v Bosně a Hercegovině: jejich činnost a význam v kontextu dějin bosenskohercegovecké hudby".

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- AJANOVIĆ-MALINAR, IVONA. "Knittl, Zdeněk (Zdenko)". In *Hrvatski biografski leksikon* (Available online).
- BEGIĆ, HAMID. "Brakus Stevan". In *Narodno pozorište Sarajevo 1921-1971*, edited by VLAJKO UBAVIĆ, 47-48. Sarajevo: Narodno pozorište 1971.
- ČAVKA, ŽELJKA ET AL. "Grund, Arnošt". In *Hrvatski biografski leksikon* (Available online).
- *Dvadeset godina Narodnog Kazališta u Osijeku 1907.-1927*. Osijek: Uprava Narodnog Kazališta u Osijeku, 1927.
- HADŽIĆ, FATIMA. "Češći hudební v Bosně a Hercegovině: jejich činnost a význam v kontextu dějin bosenskohercegovské hudby". *Hudební věda*, L/1-2 (2013): 117-144.
- HADŽIĆ, FATIMA. *Muzičke institucije u Sarajevu 1918-1941: Oblasna muzička škola i Sarajevska Filharmonija*. Sarajevo: Muzička akademija, Institut za muzikologiju, 2018.
- KLARIĆ, SLAVICA, ed. *Vodič Arhiva Bosne i Hercegovine*. Sarajevo: Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine, 1987.
- LEŠIĆ, JOSIP. "Dinulović, Radivoj". In *Narodno pozorište Sarajevo 1921-1971*, edited by VLAJKO UBAVIĆ, 84. Sarajevo: Narodno pozorište 1971.
- LEŠIĆ, JOSIP. "Vereščagin, Aleksandar Aleksandrovič". In *Narodno pozorište Sarajevo 1921-1971*, edited by VLAJKO UBAVIĆ, 568. Sarajevo: Narodno pozorište 1971.
- LEŠIĆ, JOSIP. *Sarajevsko pozorište između dva rata (1918-1929)*. Vol. 1. Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1976.
- MILOŠEVIĆ, ZDRAVKO. *Slavuj povrh Trebevića*. Sarajevo: HKD Napredak, 1995.
- MOOR, KAREL. *V dlani osudu. Vzpomínky českého hudebníka*. Nový Bydžov: V. & A. Janata, 1947.
- N1 "Deset dobara proglašeno nacionalnim spomenicima". Accessed on the 20th December 2018. <http://ba.n1info.com/Vijesti/a29455/Deset-dobara-proglaseno-nacionalnim-spomenicima-BiH.html>
- *Narodno Jedinstvo*. "Napretkova dobrotvorna zabava". 30th January 1922.
- *Narodno Jedinstvo*. "Repertoar Narodnog Pozorišta". 25th April 1922.
- *Narodno Jedinstvo*. "Česka beseda". 30th December 1921.
- *Narodno Jedinstvo*. "Gajretova zabava". 20th February 1922.
- *Narodno Jedinstvo*. "Nedjelja u Narodnom Pozorištu". 22nd April 1922.
- *Narodno Jedinstvo*. "Program Gajretove zabave". 17th February 1922.
- *Narodno Jedinstvo*. "Svečana predstava u Narodnom pozorištu". 7th June 1922.
- *Narodno Jedinstvo*. "Velika Gajretova zabava". 16th February 1922.
- SARAJLIĆ-SLAVNIĆ, TAMARA. "Teatrografija premijernih izvedbi Drame, Opere i Baleta Narodnog pozorišta u Sarajevu (1921-1996)". In *Narodno pozorište u Sarajevu: izložba 75 godina rada Narodnog pozorišta, 100 godina zgrade sa osvrtom na teatarski život Sarajeva prije osnivanja Pozorišta: teatrografska studija Repertoar Pozorišta (1921-1996), Prilozi o razvoju Drame, Opere i Baleta i teatarskom životu*, edited by TAMARA SLAVNIĆ-SARAJLIĆ, 45-134. Sarajevo: Muzej književnosti i pozorišne umjetnosti BiH, 1998.
- ŠPENDAL, MANICA. "Polič, Mirko". In *Grove Music Online* (Available online).
- WIKIMEDIA COMMONS. "Sarajevo Tram Theatre.jpg". Accessed on the 20th December 2018. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Sarajevo_Tram_Theatre.jpg
- ZEDHIA. ZENTRALEUROPAISCHES DIGITALES WIRTSCHAFTS UND GESELLSCHAFTSHISTORISCHES INTERAKTIVES ARCHIV. "Compass. Industrielles Jahrbuch 1927: Jugoslawien, Ungarn". Accessed on the 20th December 2018. https://portal.zedhia.at/page/public/cpa_000084-94/compass-industrielles-jahrbuch-1927-jugoslawien-ungarn

ARCHIVES

- ARHIV JUGOSLAVIJE. "Masonske lože u Jugoslaviji 1919-1940. (1872-1958)". Accessed on the 20th December 2018. http://www.arhivju.gov.rs/active/sr-latin/home/glavna_navigacija/arhivska_gradja/fondovi_i_zbirke/fondovi_iz_perioda_do_1945_godine/lista_fondova_do_1945.html
- SARAJEVO, ARCHIVES OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA, Holding: "Češka beseda", sign. ČB, box 1, file 5, Society's Archives 1932.
- SARAJEVO, ARCHIVES OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA, Holding: "Hrvatsko pjevačko društvo "Trebević", Box 2, Memo to choirmaster Karel Moor of the 4th April 1922.
- SARAJEVO, ARCHIVES OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA, Holding: "Zemaljska vlada za Bosnu i Hercegovinu", ZVS2, 1921, 243a (32a), 92/14/32 2.
- SARAJEVO, MUSEUM OF LITERATURE AND THEATRE ART OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA, Poster "The Bourgeois Gentleman".
- SARAJEVO, MUSEUM OF LITERATURE AND THEATRE ART OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA, Holding: "Ostavština Bogdana Milankovića (Albumspomenica Sarajevske Filharmonije)", Photo of Alexandr Lukinič
- SARAJEVO, MUSEUM OF LITERATURE AND THEATRE ART OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA, Poster "Hajduk Veljko".

Gruppo Strumentale - Associazione

Lumen Harmonicum

Viale Raffaello Sanzio, 2

I - Trieste 34128

telefono 347 8927283

Sonora

Archivi Sonori del Friuli Venezia Giulia - 2018

Karel Moor. "Musicista migrante" nella Mitteleuropa del '900
dalla Praga di Antonín Dvořák alla Trieste di Italo Svevo fino ai nuovi paesi slavi del Sud

a cura di

MASSIMO FAVENTO

ISBN: 978-88-908837-4-3

© ***Lumen Harmonicum*** 2019