

THE TRIESTE PHILHARMONIC IN SERBIA

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Received: 15 September 2018

Accepted: 1 November 2018

Original scientific paper

ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the Trieste Philharmonic Orchestra's tour in Serbia in the spring of 1946 and its political connotations. A sketch of the orchestra's foundation in the context of the concurrent political efforts to solve the Trieste question is then followed by a detailed outline of the journey itself, presented from the two points of view. First, the perspective of the Yugoslav authorities is illustrated and then an insight into musician's everyday life during the tour is given.

KEYWORDS: Trieste Philharmonic, music and politics, political propaganda, Trieste question

On 1 May 1945, the units of the Yugoslav partisan army marched into Trieste, reaching the city a mere half-a-day before the British Eighth Army under Field Marshal Alexander. For the Yugoslav side, winning the race to conquer this important Northern Adriatic port (along with the whole of the Julian March) was under no circumstances a simple matter of war prestige. For them, it was a decisive step towards the correction of (in the eyes of Slovenes undoubtedly unfair) border line with Italy, as it had been set by the Treaty of Rapallo after the World War I.

Since Emperor Charles VI at the beginning of the eighteenth century declared it a free port, Trieste had witnessed rapid economic and demographic growth. By the beginning of the twentieth century, with about 60,000 Slovene inhabitants, it also became the largest Slovenian city, while the suburbs were inhabited only by Slovenes. Trieste became an important Slovenian political and economic, but also intellectual and cultural centre; therefore, the claims for joining it with Slovene territory were not at all surprising.

The demands for the annexation of Trieste and the Julian March to Yugoslavia with the necessary revision of the Rapallo border were put forward particularly strongly during the last years of World War II. At that time, it was the Yugoslav communists lead by Tito who above all others made the effort (also with a lively

international diplomatic activity) to fulfil these demands. However, it soon became clear that with the growing bloc division of the World the Trieste question (that is, the question of Trieste's place and status) would not be at all easy to solve.²

Even if the Yugoslavs were the first to reach Trieste, the Western Allies would under no circumstances relinquish the city to them. Already on 8 May, General Morgan, Field Marshal Alexander's chief of staff, flew to Belgrade and demanded that Tito withdraw his forces to behind the so-called Morgan line. The Yugoslav army's decision not to submit to this request led to the so-called May Crisis. Given the strong international pressure (even from the Soviet Union) it became clear that the Yugoslav government would not be able to go ahead with their maximal plan. Finally, on 9 June 1945, an agreement was signed in Belgrade, followed by the withdrawal of the Yugoslav forces from the newly-set Zone A of the Julian March a mere three days later, on 12 June 1945; Zone B remained under Yugoslav administration.³ Even though the Yugoslav army had to leave Trieste and even though the leading Yugoslav politicians were probably aware of the fact that the annexation of the city under these new circumstances would be extremely difficult, they did not want to give up on their claims. From the military chessboard, the solving of the Trieste question moved to the diplomatic parquet where Yugoslavia's diplomatic efforts were accompanied by intense political propaganda, intended for both domestic and foreign publics. An important part of this propaganda was also the activity of the Trieste Philharmonic Orchestra (1945–1946).

THE FOUNDATION OF THE TRIESTE PHILHARMONIC AND THE PLANS FOR THE PROPAGANDA TOUR

The Trieste Philharmonic was established in the summer of 1945, during the reorganization of Trieste musical institutions carried out by the Western Allies after they assumed control of the city. The heart of Trieste musical life was the Verdi Theatre, where during the War the number of opera productions and symphonic concerts even increased and where in March 1944 a permanent orchestra was engaged.⁴ Also lively was the musical activity of the Trieste radio station where several musical ensembles were maintained, including the large orchestra (*grande orchestra*) led by Jakov Cipci.⁵

2 The role of Trieste in Slovenian political, economic and cultural life along with the genesis of the Trieste question from the mid-nineteenth century onwards are discussed in detail in Pirjevec 2007. The main landmarks in the political efforts to solve the Trieste question after the World War II are sketched in Nečak 1998. The broader international context of the Trieste question is discussed in the collection of lectures *Trst 1945: zbornik predavanj* (1985). The listed bibliography only offers a superficial insight into the Trieste question, which has otherwise attracted the attention of many Slovenian and other scholars; a broader list of relevant studies is available in Prijevec's book.

3 For a detailed account see Nečak 1998: 205–208.

4 For a more detailed account of the Verdi Theatre's activity during World War II see Levi 1968: 137–140.

5 For a detailed account see Candussi 2003: 911–918; 925–927; 930–947. Engineer Guido Candussi (born 1916) worked at the Trieste radio station for a brief period already during the war. After the war,

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Largely because of the Trieste radio station's financial problems, the Western Allies joined the two institutions (radio and theatre) into a new one.⁶ This new arrangement was formalized by *Order no. 30*, issued by the senior civil affairs officer, Colonel Alfred C. Bowman, on 20 October 1945 (with the retroactive effect). In accordance with this order, a new Radio Theatre Trieste Entity (*Ente Radio Teatro Trieste*) was constituted, which "shall administer and manage the business and affairs of the Radio Station of Trieste, the Verdi Communal Theatre of Trieste and the Philharmonic Orchestra of Trieste" (Bowman 1945: 3–4).

In practice, the reorganization, which was only carried out after the end of the Trieste opera season, on 21 July 1945 ([Anon.] 1945f: 2), brought the dissolution of all of the musical groups active at the Trieste radio station, the dissolution of the orchestra of the Verdi Theatre, and, finally, the creation of a new, larger orchestra under the name of *Trieste Philharmonic* (*Orchestra Filarmonica Triestina*); the orchestra was supposed to give both symphonic concerts and opera performances.⁷ The Allies made an effort to explain the reasons for this reorganization (perhaps because of several harsh complains that followed⁸) in the newspaper *Giornale Alleato*:

When the Allies came to the city, there were two orchestras active, one of 60 members at the Verdi Theatre and the other of 50 members at the Radio. It was evident that neither of them could function as a proper symphony orchestra; furthermore, the best musicians of the first were not available to play in the second and vice versa. The Radio Orchestra was established by the Germans who spent a great deal of money on successful propaganda. It would be unreasonable to keep spending this amount of money; it would not have been in the interest of either the Radio or the Verdi Theatre, which means it would also not have been in the interest of the people.

Therefore, from both artistic and financial perspectives, it seemed convenient to

he was first the chief of the technical sector and later the director of the RAI branch. In his monumental work *La storia della radiodiffusione* in three large volumes he – among other things – presents a detailed description of the Trieste radio station's history, also providing us with information he collected from many of the key individuals that were in fact making this history. This way his books are a priceless source of data that would otherwise probably be forever forgotten (especially given the fact that the radio archives are lost).

6 The reorganization and its main reasons are thoroughly explained in Candussi 2007: 11–12; 84.

7 In fact, this was nothing new: The symphonic concerts were performed already by the above-mentioned permanent theatre orchestra, established in March 1944; on these occasions, the orchestra performed under the name of *Permanent orchestra of the city of Trieste* (*Orchestra Stabile della Città di Trieste*). The programmes of these concerts are preserved in the conductor Luigi Toffolo's fonds (Fondo Luigi Toffolo) in the Carlo Schmidl Museum in Trieste (Civico Museo Teatrale Carlo Schmidl, fonds Luigi Toffolo, folder 5, file 1944).

8 Candussi mentions that the joining of the radio and theatre orchestras was strongly opposed by Mario Bugamelli, the last radio director under Yugoslav rule. According to Candussi, his successor, the British captain Edward Astley, is supposed to have removed him from the radio, also because politically he was a sincere pro-Yugoslav communist (Cf. Candussi 2007: 13).

create a new, larger symphony orchestra of 85 or 90 members. At the same time, it would have been taken care of the employment of all those musicians who would not be able to take part in this orchestra. This plan was supported by the Allies as well as all those who care for the musical future of the city. The joining of two orchestras, each of them with its own history and individual character, is not an easy task. In order to be fair towards the musicians and to be able to keep the spirit of democracy in the new orchestra, a selective commission was formed, composed of maestro De Vecchi, maestro Toffolo, and of one musician from each of the orchestras; the commission's secretary was maestro Cervi-Pelizzoni from Radio Trieste. This commission performed its duties so well that all of those who were invited to join the new orchestra (and among them all of the best musicians), except for ten, signed the contract.

Concerning the employment of the musicians dismissed from both orchestras who were assured to be employed by the Allies if needed, in active collaboration with professors Jancovich and Kuhacevic a core of another orchestra under the leadership of maestro Cipci has been formed. This orchestra has already signed a contract with Ljubljana and will probably leave for a tour in Yugoslavia ([Anon.] 1945c: 2).

The first concert of the newly founded orchestra, in general positively greeted by Trieste newspapers (compare: [Anon.] 1945h: 2; [Anon.] 1945g: 2), took place on Saturday 18 August 1945 at the Verdi Theatre ([Anon.] 1945d: 2). With the foundation of the new orchestra, the programme of Radio Trieste changed significantly: The last performance of the large orchestra under the leadership of Cipci was on 21 July ([Anon.] 1945k: 2), and until 10 August the other musical groups also ceased their performances ([Anon.] 1945l: 2). The subsequent shortage in programming was filled with musical productions of the British Armed Forces Radio and the BBC News ([Anon.] 1945b: 2). A note on the changes at Trieste Radio Station, showing them in a somewhat different perspective, was also published in the Slovenian newspaper *Ljudska pravica* (*People's Justice*) on 9 August:

The dismissal of Radio Trieste's musicians

The management of Radio Trieste, which is in the hands of the Allied Military Government, has dismissed all the musicians. Since from this point on, the station will mostly broadcast music on discs and work in connection with the relay station in Udine, it will no longer be needing its own permanent orchestra. Until now, the Trieste Radio Station has employed around 100 musicians, organized in three orchestras: the symphony orchestra, the light music orchestra and the dance music orchestra.

The majority of symphony orchestra members, all of them Italians from Trieste, have decided to move to Zagreb. They have already signed the relevant contracts. The members of other orchestras are also planning to move to Yugoslavia ([Anon.] 1945i: 2).

It clear then, that during the reorganization of Trieste musical institutions in the summer of 1945, another orchestra was established, which, however, did not remain

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in the city but worked in Yugoslavia; this orchestra too performed under the name of *Trieste Philharmonic* (*Orchestra Filarmonica Triestina*). The Yugoslav newspapers often wrote that the Allies had dismissed the entire Trieste Radio Orchestra, which had already been performing under the name of *Trieste Philharmonic* and that, consequently, the whole orchestra moved to Yugoslavia, where it continued with its work, being unable to do so in its home town (Compare: [Anon.] 1951/1952: 35–36; Cvetko 1946: 28; [Anon.] 1945j: 2–3; [Anon.] 1945a: 6; [Anon.] 1946c: 3; [Anon.] 1946g: 2). However, it seems that the orchestra's foundation was not so unambiguous at all. Taking into consideration the above-quoted Allied explanation from the *Giornale Alleato*, the following is clear: (1) The Trieste Philharmonic that moved to Yugoslavia was not just the dissolved Trieste Radio Orchestra performing under a different name, but a newly founded musical group. (2) Certainly, several of the dismissed radio orchestra members (including the conductor Jakov Cipci) and possibly some of the musicians of the dissolved theatre orchestra as well joined the Trieste Philharmonic that moved to Yugoslavia;⁹ in addition, musicians that were newly recruited also took part in the orchestra. (3) Paolo Janković and Karlo Kuhačević played an important role in the foundation of the Trieste Philharmonic that moved to Yugoslavia. (4) Although possible political reasons for the dissolution of the radio orchestra should not be completely disregarded, it seems that the main cause for the reorganization of Trieste musical institutions was of a financial nature.

Given the circumstances in which the Trieste Philharmonic that moved to Yugoslavia was founded, questions pose themselves about the possible political background of its foundation; it seems that the foundation of the orchestra was politically motivated. Already during the war, the above-mentioned chief organizers of the Trieste Philharmonic, Karlo Kuhačević and especially Paolo Janković, were active in several resistance organisations,¹⁰ while after the war they played an important role in the forming of the Professional Musicians' Trade Union.¹¹ Furthermore, their important role in post-war Trieste political activities was confirmed by the Trieste conductor Luigi Toffolo, who in one of his letters maintains that in May 1945, Janković and

9 This refers to members of both dissolved orchestras (theatre, radio) who either did not pass the audition for the newly established Trieste Philharmonic that remained in the city or did pass it but, nevertheless, decided not to join this orchestra.

10 Amongst others, an illegal committee of the city's liberation front, connected to the Slovenian Liberation front (*Osvobodilna fronta*), was set up at the radio. ([Anon.] 1946g: 2; [Anon.] 1946q: 5; [Anon.] 1945a: 6).

11 [Anon.] 1945e: 3 and AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. u. 1 (Zapisniki MOS 1945), "Appunti per la stazione Radio Trieste". Besides Janković and Kuhačević, one another member of the Trieste Philharmonic was active in the trade union's action committee, namely Alberto Nicoletti. Furthermore, in the book *Radio Trieste 1931–2006* we can read that the conductor Jakov Cipci was supposed to be "some sort of Yugoslav 'agent'" as well (Botteri and Collini 2007: 33). It was not possible to confirm this information: there is no source cited in text, the author (Guido Botteri) has passed away, and the editor (Roberto Collini) did not answer author's questions sent to him by e-mail by the time this paper had to be submitted.

Kuhačević had warned him that “the life of maestro Antonicelli is in danger”.¹² After the war, Janković was also a member of the Trieste *Consulta* and therefore heavily involved in the political life of the city.¹³ It is easy to imagine that the leading organizers of the Trieste Philharmonic (and among them especially Janković) had to work closely with Yugoslav authorities. It was, after all, the Yugoslav authorities who had to take the decision to bring the orchestra to Yugoslavia and to provide the money for its existence.¹⁴

That the foundation of the orchestra and its transfer to Yugoslavia were politically motivated may also be confirmed by the content of a collective contract for the musicians, signed at the end of July 1945.¹⁵ According to this document, the orche-

12 Civico museo teatrale Carlo Schmidl, fonds Luigi Toffolo, folder 2 (Corrispondenza Giuseppe Antonicelli – Luigi Toffolo), “The letter of Luigi Toffolo”, undated, 1.

13 AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. u. 1 (Zapiski MOS 1945), “Membri della consulta”, p. 2. Information on Paolo Janković’s political activities may be gathered from some other preserved documents as well. In the Archives of the Republic of Slovenia there is a folder in fonds AS 1583 (*Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst, Trieste Liberation Council*), described in the inventory as the archive of the Trieste Philharmonic. After a closer examination, one can see that it actually contains part of this orchestra’s archive, including many documents, important for the study of its work. In addition to some sort of personal registration sheets, incoming and outgoing mail, various notifications, and several financial documents, two notebooks are preserved, containing the minutes of the executive committee (*comitato direttivo*) and the general assembly (*assemblea generale*) meetings.

As can be concluded from the content of various documents preserved in the Trieste Philharmonic archive, even after the orchestra left for Yugoslavia, Paolo Janković remained closely connected with Trieste political life. Comp. AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. u. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), folder I, “Paolo Janković’s letter to the members of the Trieste Philharmonic”, 26 March 1946; “Paolo Janković’s letter to the members of the Trieste Philharmonic”, 27 March 1946.

As the secretary of the Women’s Antifascist Front (WAF) Paolo’s wife Vlasta Janković also played an active role in Trieste political life; she too joined the Trieste Philharmonic, where she was employed as a secretary. For information on the connection between Paolo and Vlasta Janković, gathered from family sources, I thank Dr Luisa Antoni. Compare also [Anon.] 1945m: 1, and AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. u. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), Vlasta Janković’s personal registration sheet.

14 In the first months after its foundation, the state paid the monthly sum of 268.000 dinars to the Orchestra. In December 1945 this amount increased to 280.000 dinars. The way in which the Trieste Philharmonic was financed is evident from the following documents: AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. u. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), folder I, “Note from the National Theatre in Zagreb to Pavel Šivic”, 11 March 1946, and “Note from the Federal Ministry for Education to the management of the National Theatre in Zagreb”, 14 January 1946; AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. u. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), folder II, “A proposal for a new contract with the Trieste Philharmonic”, undated [October 1945], “Note from the Trieste Philharmonic to minister Vladimir Ribnikar”, 9 November 1945, and “Confirmation of the funding received for March 1946”, 14 March 1946.

15 Unfortunately, the contract is not preserved in the Trieste Philharmonic Archive. However, we can learn about some of its contents (including the date of the signature) from the surviving documents of the violin player Josipina Kalc (1915–2003), kept in the biographical archive of the Section for History and Ethnography at the National and Study Library in Trieste (Odsek za zgodovino in etnografijo Narodne in študijske knjižnice v Trstu). Kalc played in the orchestra throughout its existence and was one of those musicians who before joining the Trieste Philharmonic did not play in either of the

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stra was first supposed to perform in a few concerts in Zagreb and then immediately engage on a “propaganda tour” of the republics’ capitals and some other important Yugoslav cultural centres.¹⁶ The musicians were first supposed to visit Belgrade, Niš, Skopje, Novi Sad, Subotica, Osijek and Varaždin, and then – in the second part of the journey – Rijeka, Pula, Zadar, Šibenik, Split, Dubrovnik, Mostar and Sarajevo ([Anon.] 1945m: 5). However, it seems that there was a great deal of confusion and inconsistency around the organization of the tours as well as around the organization of the orchestra’s work in general: From Zagreb (where between 4 October and 16 November 1945 the musicians performed in four successful concerts¹⁷) the orchestra did not leave for a journey around Yugoslavia, but came to Ljubljana on 25 November instead ([Anon.] 1945o: 2; [Anon.] 1945o: 8). During the following months of winter and spring 1946, the Trieste Philharmonic organized a genuine season of seven concerts, furthermore, the musicians also performed in several occasional concerts and took part in the programmes of Radio Ljubljana.¹⁸

According to some of the extant documents and newspaper reports, the tour in Yugoslavia was postponed several more times during the following months.¹⁹ Further-

previous Trieste orchestras (radio or theatre). Among her documents a statement is preserved (dated on 30 July 1945) about her agreeing with the conditions defined by the collective contract, which on 28 July 1945 was signed with the then-intendant of the Zagreb theatre Ivo Tijardović. See Section for History and Ethnography NSL Trieste, archive Bio, folder Josipina Kalc, “Josipina Kalc’s statement of agreement with the conditions defined by the collective contract,” 30 July 1945.

We are also able to learn about some details of the collective contract’s contents from an undated document (probably written in October 1945), preserved in the Trieste Philharmonic Archive. Amongst other things, the document contains a proposal for a new contract with the Trieste Philharmonic and some details from the contract with intendant Tijardović. AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. u. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), folder II, “Proposal for a new contract with the Trieste Philharmonic”, undated [October 1945].

16 AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. u. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), folder II, “Proposal for a new contract with the Trieste Philharmonic”, undated [October 1945].

17 The Zagreb concerts were well documented by the two major Croatian newspapers *Vjesnik* and *Nardoni list*. Furthermore, the information on the Trieste Philharmonic’s concerts may be found in conductor Cipci’s biographical albums *Vita artistica di Jakob Cipci* which, amongst other things, also include many programme booklets; the albums are currently kept in the Ephemera Collection at the University of Maribor library.

18 The activity of the Trieste Philharmonic in Ljubljana at the end of 1945 and in the first half of 1945 is well documented in the reports published by two major Slovenian newspapers, *Ljudska pravica* and *Slovenski poročevalec*, and by the materials (especially programme booklets) preserved in the *Vita artistica di Jakob Cipci* albums.

19 According to *Il Lavoratore* from 3 January 1946, the orchestra was supposed to leave for the tour by the end of the month (see [Anon.] 1946g: 2). The serious intentions of organizing the tour at this time may be confirmed by Paolo’s Janković journey to Belgrade between 9 and 14 January 1946 (AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. u. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), folder III, “Hotel receipt for the stay of Paolo Janković in Belgrade from 4 to 14 January 1946”, undated). However, the tour was once more postponed, and at the end of March Janković was again trying to find a way to organize it. In a letter to one of the orchestra members, Gianni Bertolini, he maintains that the guest performances in the envi-

more, when in May 1946 the orchestra finally left for its journey to Belgrade, up to the last days before the departure it was still not clear when exactly the musicians would leave Ljubljana, for how many times and when exactly they were supposed to perform, whether they would only perform in Belgrade or in some other Yugoslav city as well, and even when would they come back.²⁰ Regardless of that, with the journey to Serbia the Trieste Philharmonic undoubtedly reached the peak of its political propaganda activities.

THE TOUR OF THE TRIESTE PHILHARMONIC IN SERBIA: THROUGH THE EYES OF THE AUTHORITIES

Although the postponement of the Trieste Philharmonic's tour in Yugoslavia was to some extent undoubtedly a consequence of financial and organizational difficulties, it seems that the political decision makers in Belgrade and Ljubljana were also waiting for an appropriate moment in international political circumstances before allowing the orchestra to leave for its propaganda journey: It was precisely in the spring of 1946 that activities intended to solve the Trieste question were intensified. In September 1945, the Council of Foreign Ministers decided to form an expert commission to resolve the border issue. The task of this commission was to prepare proposals (based especially on the findings in the field) for a new border between Yugoslavia and Italy, the draft of which should have taken into account the ethnicity of the population.²¹ Members of the commission were gathering the information in the field between 7 March and 15 April 1946. Based on their findings, in May and June 1946, the Council of Foreign Ministers again tried to find an appropriate solution. Although the expert commission prepared a unified report, this did not bring the positions of the four deciding superpowers any closer, as each of them came with its own border proposal, while the status of Trieste remained the key issue. At the beginning of May, the French Foreign Minister Georges Bidault presented his proposal, according to which, following the pattern of resolving the issue of Gdansk after the World War

rons of Ljubljana were certainly handy, but the journey to Belgrade should have remained the main objective. It seems, however, that out of financial and organizational reasons, this journey was difficult to organize. Consequently, Janković came up with a proposal to ask the government for three sleeping cars in order for the musicians to be able to live on the train during the tour, "as the Russians do". (AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. u. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), folder I, "Paolo Janković's letter to the members of the Trieste Philharmonic", 26 March 1946.)

20 AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. u. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), folder II, "Note from the Trieste Philharmonic executive committee to Luigi Girlanda", 7 May 1946, and AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. u. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), folder I, "Note from the Secretary General of the Government of the People's Republic of Slovenia Danilo Dougan to the railway direction", 7 Maj 1946.

21 A letter to this commission was also written by the executive committee of the Trieste Philharmonic. In it, the executive committee members advocate the joining of Trieste with Yugoslavia as a seventh federal republic. See AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. u. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), folder II, "Letter from the executive committee of the Trieste Philharmonic to the expert commission", 8 March 1946.

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I, the city would receive international autonomy. Although the Yugoslav politicians protested against this proposal by all available means (the vice-president of the Yugoslav government and one of the leading Slovenian politicians Edvard Kardelj strongly opposed it already on 16 May 1946), towards the end of May, it became definitely clear that the Council of Foreign Ministers would never accept a solution that would award Trieste to Yugoslavia. Even Stalin told this openly to Tito on the occasion of his visit to Moscow on 27 May 1946. When on 15 June 1946 the Council of Foreign Ministers met for another meeting, the French solution prevailed and on 2 July it was finalized in a proposal, which was then presented at a peace conference that began in the French capital at the end of the month. According to this proposal, the territory east of the border line, drawn by the French according to the principle of ethnic balance (a national minority of approximately the same size was supposed to remain on both sides of the border), would belong to Yugoslavia, whereas the territory west of it would be divided into two parts: the northern part (including Gorizia) would belong to Italy, whereas in the southern part the Free Territory of Trieste (FTT) would be formed, divided into Zone A FTT (Trieste and surroundings) under the Allied Military Government and Zone B FTT (Buje and Koper districts) under the Yugoslav Military Government.²²

Judging by the contemporary newspaper reports, in these crucial moments of solving the Trieste question on the international diplomatic parquet, the Trieste Philharmonic tour in Serbia and Macedonia (especially the Belgrade concerts) was an extremely important part of the political propaganda carried out by the Yugoslav authorities for the domestic public. An illustrative example of this is the meaningful statement from one of the announcements of the first Belgrade concert:

At a moment when all our nations closely follow the meeting of the Foreign Ministers' Conference in Paris and look forward to a fair solution to the Trieste question, the concerts of the Trieste Philharmonic in Belgrade deserve not only the artistic, but also the political, attention of our audience ([Anon.] 19460: 6).

The call was more than answered. The Philharmonics arrived in Belgrade by train on Tuesday 14 May, and in about two weeks, six concerts were organized in the capital.²³ Already the first one, given on 16 May at the Kolarac Concert Hall, turned into a great political manifestation. In the report for *Slovenski poročevalec* (*Slovenian reporter*), a picturesque description of the event was provided by the Slovenian composer Marjan Kozina, who at the time was teaching at the Belgrade Music Academy:

The concert turned into a cultural manifestation, rarely experienced by Belgrade before.

22 For a detailed account see Pirjevec 2007: 333–338, and Nećak 1998: 210–211.

23 The concerts organized by the Trieste Philharmonic during the Serbian tour are listed in the appendix.

The hall was festively decorated; besides the state flag and the picture of Marshal Tito, the Italian flag with a five-pointed star and the flag of the city of Trieste were hanging on the podium.

The hall was filled with crowds, present were the President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly Dr Ivan Ribar, the Vice President Jože Rus, the Chief of the General Staff Lieutenant General Koča Popovič, the President of the Committee for Culture and Arts Vladislav Ribnikar, the Serbian Minister of Education Mitra Mitrovič and many other ministers, deputies and cultural workers.

When the Trieste musicians appeared on the concert podium, they were welcomed by huge applause and loud greetings. This lasted until the last of the seventy orchestra members took his place and even increased when the conductor maestro J. Cipci came to the stage.

First, the orchestra played the national anthem and after that, the Trieste anthem of St Justus was performed, greeted by the public with enthusiastic applause. Already at the beginning, an atmosphere was created that I perhaps have never sensed in this hall before.

The orchestra that had virtually fled to "non-cultural" Yugoslavia to continue its recently-begun artistic mission here, stepped in front of the public of the capital of the country with which its home town wants to join, at the precise moment when the columns of all European newspapers are filled every day with articles mentioning Trieste already in their headlines, at the precise moment when the Foreign Ministers of the four superpowers concern themselves whether to go for a simple truth or a complicated lie. If we take into consideration that every Belgrade citizen is concerned with Trieste's destiny no less than any Slovenian, the feeling I described of a special atmosphere of enthusiasm, excited expectation in the hall, the feeling of sincere friendship for these artists who are foreigners at home and domestic abroad becomes understandable.

When both anthems had been played, Serbian writer Čeda Minderović was the first to speak in the name of the Committee for Culture and Arts, who in his welcome address, among other things, said: 'Their decision to move to Yugoslavia and continue their artistic mission here is the expression of their true love for Yugoslavia, which they regard as their true homeland. At the same time, this decision is yet another indictment, strong and persuasive against all enemies of progress and culture, who have dug their burrows in Trieste and the Littoral.

On behalf of the members of the Trieste Philharmonic, the pianist Dr Bruno Degrassi answered in Italian. Among other things he said: 'On its journey through Yugoslavia, the Trieste Philharmonic has the honour of fulfilling its great desire – a concert in the capital of that nation, which was one of the first to begin the struggle against fascist tyranny. On our way through towns and villages, big and small, we always aimed to bring the spirit of the working people of Trieste. We fought together with Yugoslavia and we wish for a solution to the Trieste question in the Yugoslav context. We, the Italians, the Trieste democrats, want to solve our problem in the Yugoslav way. We are convinced that this is not only important because of our economic reconstruction, but also because we believe in the words of your – I hope that we will soon be able to say 'our' – Marshal Tito, that the issue

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of nationality is sacred in Yugoslavia. Even today, the working people of Trieste must still cry 'Death to fascism', since fascism in Trieste is not yet dead. Let our music interpret for you Trieste's request: Peace, freedom, and unity.'

At first, his speech was translated into Serbian, but later on the bursting applause after every Degrassi's sentence showed that the public understood and that the translation was not necessary.²⁴

[...]

I will not give any expert criticism, since the qualities of this orchestra and all the pieces performed are well known to Ljubljana's audience (Kozina 1946: 3).

Claims for Trieste and the words about brotherhood and unity of Italians and Slavs could also be heard at the second public Belgrade concert of the Trieste Philharmonic on 23 May. On this occasion, as a sign of gratitude the orchestra and the city authorities exchanged silver laurel wreaths, while Paolo Janković stressed in his speech that "the Trieste Philharmonic is pleasantly surprised by cheerful and enthusiastic reception in Yugoslavia" ([Anon.] 1946p: 3).

The Belgrade concerts performed by the Trieste Philharmonic on 19, 20 and 24 May for the army and the trade unions developed into similar political manifestations. At these events too, the audience "enthusiastically and joyfully greeted the members of the Trieste Philharmonic", applauded loudly and "cried out to the brotherhood of Italians and Slovenes in Trieste and to the annexation of Trieste to Yugoslavia as the seventh people's republic" ([Anon.] 1946e: 4). On the first pages of the major Belgrade newspapers (*Borba*, *Politika*) the concerts were almost daily accompanied by headlines such as "Our fight for Trieste" ([Anon.] 1946h: 1), "We will not withdraw in the slightest from our fair requests" ([Anon.] 1946f: 1) "Justice for Trieste and the Julian March" ([Anon.] 1946j: 1), "The Julian March is ethnically Slovenian" ([Anon.] 1946d: 1), whereas the inner pages brought reports on how the Trieste Philharmonic "represents the feelings, desires, and beliefs not only of the Slovene nation, but also of the progressive Trieste Italians, that freedom and economic growth are only guaranteed in the Democratic People's Republic of Yugoslavia" ([Anon.] 1946l: 3)

During their stay in Belgrade, the Trieste Philharmonic also visited the grave of an unknown hero in Avala,²⁵ and on 25 May, just before their departure from the capital, they also performed at the reception on the occasion of Tito's birthday at the General Assembly. The Trieste question was at the forefront on this occasion as well. In his greeting speech to President Tito, conductor Cipci, among other things, said that "the happiest day [...] will be for us when Trieste is joined with the FPRY. Long live Trieste as the seventh republic in Tito's Yugoslavia! Long live Tito, Marshal of Yugoslavia! Long Live the FPRY!" ([Anon.] 1946q: 1). Tito thanked the musicians and assured them that "your and our wishes – the wishes of Yugoslav nations are the

24 Several other newspaper reports mention that Degrassi's speech was constantly interrupted by cries such as "Long live the Italian antifascists!" or "Long live the free Republic of Trieste as a part of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia!" Compare [Anon.] 1946k: 4.

25 AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. u. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), folder II, "Report from the tour in Yugoslavia", 19 June 1946.

same” and that they “will continue [...] our work and our struggles to get you a place in the people’s union of nations of the FPRY” (Ibid.)

The Trieste Philharmonic concerts that followed during the continuation of the tour retained a distinct political-propaganda character as well; many of them were intended for trade unions and the army. The violin player Josipina Kalc reports, that in each town they first had to contact the leader of the local party cell to agree on the organization of their stay and concerts; in these meetings, she participated as a translator.²⁶

From Belgrade, the orchestra first travelled to Niš, where by 29 May 1946, four concerts were organized. Upon the arrival of the Trieste musicians, the locals were invited to greet them at the railway station, in order to “show all their love for the brothers in Trieste and the Julian March and demonstrate their readiness to support them in their efforts to liberate themselves”.²⁷ If we are to believe the report of the tour, preserved in the Trieste Philharmonic archives, the orchestra was greeted by no fewer than 15.000 people.²⁸ During their stay in Niš, the Philharmonic also visited a cigarette factory, a textile factory and a factory where locomotives were repaired.²⁹

On 30 May, the musicians travelled to Macedonia, where they performed on five concerts in Skopje and Bitola. Returning to Serbia on 6 June, they played in a concert for the army in Belgrade (Zemun) on the very same day, after a 23-hour journey. In the morning of 8 June the orchestra moved to Novi Sad where the musicians were once again welcomed by a mass manifestation: Amongst others, the representatives of People’s Government, the People’s Front, the People’s Youth and the Association of Writers of Vojvodina all came to greet them, whereas the representatives of the Women’s Antifascist Front presented them with bouquets of flowers. On behalf of the City People’s Committee, the guests were welcomed by Obrad Dobanovački, who in his speech, amongst other things, claimed: “We only want justice for Trieste – Trieste to Yugoslavia!” Yet again the speech was interrupted by cries: “Long live free Trieste within the borders of Yugoslavia! Long live the heroic fighters for the freedom of Trieste and the Julian March!” On their way to the hotel where they stayed, a group of young people with banners and flags joined the Philharmonic, while the “brothers from Trieste” were enthusiastically saluted across all the city streets ([Anon.] 1946i: 4). On that same day, the Trieste Philharmonic already played on their first concert in Novi Sad with two more to follow in the next few days.³⁰ The first of them was organized for trade union members and was supposed to be attended by over 2,000 workers. On this occasion, the Trieste musicians were greeted by the Secretary of the City Trade Union Council,

26 See Section for History and Ethnography NSL Trieste, archive Bio, folder Josipina Kalc, “Josipina Kalc’s answers to the journalist’s questions”, undated, p. 13.

27 University of Maribor library, Ephemera Collection, *Vita artistica di Jakob Cipci I*, p. 38.

28 AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. u. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), folder II, “Report from the tour in Yugoslavia”, 19 June 1946.

29 AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. u. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), folder II, “Report from the tour in Yugoslavia”, 19 June 1946.

30 AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. u. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), folder II, “Report from the tour in Yugoslavia”, 19 June 1946.

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Milorad Petrović, who in his speech emphasized that “the only right solution is to join Trieste and the Julian March with Yugoslavia” ([Anon.] 1946b: 6).

To follow were two concerts in Subotica (11 and 12 June), where the orchestra was hosted by the Serbian Cultural Circle and the local music school, and Sombor (13 June). With the latter, the tour of Trieste Philharmonic in Serbia concluded: On the very same evening the orchestra moved to Osijek, where two concerts were given, to be followed by a one last (poorly organized) concert in Zagreb on 17 June. On 18 June, at 14.30, the Philharmonic returned to Ljubljana by train: in 35 days, they performed on 25 concerts and travelled 3,000 kilometres.³¹

Although the Trieste Philharmonic’s concerts in Serbia undoubtedly had a strong political connotation, political influences are not to be noticed in their musical content. It is clear from the surviving programme listings³² that these were quite ordinary symphonic concerts in which some of the well-known classical pieces were performed.

Thus, the repertoire that the Trieste Philharmonic performed in Serbia was limited to approximately 17 of the mostly wide-known compositions and the concerts were given by a set model: A symphony (Beethoven, Tchaikovsky, Dvořak) and an overture (Beethoven, Bersa, Dvořak, Rossini) were performed on each occasion, often (in eight of the thirteen concerts for which the programme listings survive) supplemented by solo compositions (Brahms, Dvořak, Fiorillo, Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Mozart) in which the solo parts were performed by orchestra members themselves. Finally, some minor symphonic works were added to the so-designed programme. At least one composition by a Slavic composer was performed at every single concert, often (in nine of thirteen concerts with surviving programme listings) written by a Yugoslav composer (Bersa, Bravničar, Hristić, Osterc).

Reading the newspaper reports of the Trieste Philharmonic concerts in Serbia, it is evident that the purpose of the tour was in fact political propaganda related to the solving of the Trieste question. Concert programmes and their performances are almost entirely in the background and are most often limited to a list of compositions that were performed at individual concerts. It seems that what was played in the concerts was not as important as who played it: in newspaper reports, the emphasis is on the (propaganda) fact that the members of the orchestra, the Italians, wished for Trieste to be joined with Yugoslavia.³³

31 AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. u. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), folder II, “Report from the tour in Yugoslavia”, 19 June 1946. In fact, in the document it is written that there were 26 concerts; however, if all the listed concerts are added together, the number is 25.

32 Programmes of individual concerts are listed in the Appendix.

33 Regarding the nationality of the members of the Trieste Philharmonic, which was regularly used for political-propaganda purposes in the news, different information may be found: Some articles state that both Italians and Slovenes played in the orchestra, some of them being very concrete in saying that 18 out of 67 members are Slovenian. (Comp. for example, [Anon.] 1945a: 6, and [Anon.] 1945c: 3.) Other newspaper reports emphasize that the orchestra consists mainly or even exclusively of Italians (Cf. for example [Anon.] 1946n: 2; [Anon.] 1946k: 4; and [Anon.] 1946m: 5). According to the documents preserved in the Trieste Philharmonic archive and in the Josipina Kalc folder, it would seem that the truth is somewhere in-between: the major part of the musicians were Italians; however, there were also a few Slovenian members (perhaps two or three).

THE TOUR OF THE TRIESTE PHILHARMONIC IN SERBIA: THROUGH THE EYES OF MUSICIANS

If the authorities saw and used the Trieste Philharmonic primarily as a means of political propaganda, it seems that for the musicians (except for the already-mentioned leading activists) the political motives were not as important: It seems that most of them did not join the orchestra because of their political beliefs, although it was precisely the opposite that was often emphasized in the Yugoslav newspapers. That the majority of the musicians did not participate in the orchestra because of their political beliefs is also evident from the fact that they were recruited primarily through personal acquaintances and direct contacts. In correspondence with them, the following statements may be read: “Comrade Girlanda mentioned that you are a tuba player. If you are willing to accept our terms, you may depart immediately [...]”³⁴ Or: “I’m currently in Yugoslavia with the Trieste Philharmonic Orchestra and – frankly – I feel great. At the moment I’m playing the first flute, but I would gladly change it for piccolo [...] if I found a flautist like you, whom I absolutely trust. [...] Please, let me know if in a month or so you would be prepared to take this position.”³⁵ From the answers of potential candidates, we can see that musicians were above all looking for opportunities for employment and for a safe life. An illustrative example of this is the violinist Primo Palazzi, who in a letter to the Trieste Philharmonic clearly says: “I’m available, because there isn’t much to do here [in Italy].”³⁶ Also characteristic is the statement of Josipina Kalc, who wrote in her biography: “Kalc didn’t think much about the causes and background of this, Paolo’s (adventurous) venture. The mere thought of her being a part of a ‘real’ orchestra again made all her doubts disappear.”³⁷

In the letters, the potential members of the orchestra were also informed about the conditions of employment. They were offered a contract of an indefinite duration (valid regardless of the outcome of the Trieste question), with a salary between 3,950 and 4,050 dinars plus 10 % of each concert’s income that was to be divided between all of them; upon arrival at the orchestra’s headquarters, travel expenses and costs of instrument transport would also be reimbursed.³⁸ Furthermore, it is emphasized that the orchestra signed a contract directly with the federal government of Yugoslavia and that the employment also brings the right to a pension and all other social benefits.

34 AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. u. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), folder II, “Letter from the Trieste Philharmonic to Giorgio Tieghi”, 12 November 1945.

35 AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. u. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), folder II, “Letter from Alberto Nicoletti to Renze”, 11 November 1945.

36 AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. u. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), folder I, “Letter from Primo Palazzi to Jakov Cipci”, 14 August 1946, p. 1.

37 Section for History and Ethnography NSL Trieste, archive Bio, folder Josipina Kalc, “The biography of Josipina Kalc,” undated [12 August 1985], p. 7.

38 According to the documents preserved in the archives of the Trieste Philharmonic, the orchestra also covered the costs of consumables for the maintenance of the instrument (for example, the purchase of strings, rosin, etc.). See for example AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. u. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), “Confirmation of supplies of consumables”, 6 July 1946.

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Finally, it is explained that in the future, the headquarters of Trieste Philharmonic will either be in Trieste or in one of the other Yugoslav cities, chosen by the musicians themselves after the Trieste question is solved.³⁹ The orchestra also had 45 days of annual leave (*ferie annuali*).⁴⁰

Many of the members of the Trieste Philharmonic had families and they were allowed to take care of them either by sending them money (to Trieste or Italy)⁴¹ or by bringing them in Yugoslavia. The second option was chosen by many and consequently, together with some musicians, their partners and children also resided (and travelled on the tour). In order to join the musicians with their families, the orchestra's administration first had to take care of their permits for crossing the border,⁴² and later for their accommodation and food, which, however, they had to pay for themselves.⁴³

In the documents of Josipina Kalc, some excerpts from the everyday life of the musicians while they were touring Serbia are recorded. In her testimonies, one can read that the orchestra travelled by train, having at their disposal two huge wagons at all time. The long hours of travel were shortened by talks about reviews, concert comments, and various games. In the compartment that Kalc shared with the horn player Lusardi, violinist Nicoletti, and violist Bisotti, there was also a lot of singing:

39 For detailed information see AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. u. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), folder II, "Letter from Trieste Philharmonic to Girogio Tieghi", 12 November 1945, "Letter from Alberto Nicoletti to Renze", 11 November 1945, "Letter from the Trieste Philharmonic to comrade Siliotti", 11 July 1946, "Letter from the Trieste Philharmonic to Callegaro Venicio", 14 February 1946 and "Letter from the Trieste Philharmonic to Paolino", 12 November 1945.

40 AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. u. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), folder II, "Proposal for a new contract with Trieste Philharmonic", undated [October 1945].

41 In the above-quoted letters to potential orchestra members, it is explained that most of the musicians manage to send to Italy around 2,000 dinars each month. However, from the documents preserved in the Trieste Philharmonic archives, it is evident (although not surprising for the immediate post-war months) that there were often many difficulties with the exchange (at the rate of 1 dinar = 3.28 lira) and the transfer of money from Yugoslavia to Italy. Compare for example AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. u. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), folder III, "Spedizione rimesse alle famiglie", 11 December 1945, and AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. u. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), folder II, "Letter from Vlasta Janković to the Ministry of finance FPRY", 30 August 1946, and "Note from the Trieste Philharmonic to Minister Vladimir Ribnikar", 9 November 1945.

42 In the archive of the Trieste Philharmonic there are preserved several requests to the border authorities in Postojna to allow family members to cross the border. See for example AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. u. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), folder II, "Request to the border authorities for the border crossing of Vecchia Natalina", 6 April 1946, "Request to the border authorities for the border crossing of Bruno Giorgino", 5 April 1946, and "Request to the border authorities for the border crossing of Rosa Viviani and Lina Morcia", 5 April 1946.

43 The musicians only had to pay for accommodation and food at the headquarters of the Trieste Philharmonic, while their family members had to pay for the lodging and food on tour as well (if they decided to accompany the musicians). For a detailed information see AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. u. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), folder II, "Proposal for a new contract with the Trieste Philharmonic", undated [October 1945], in AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. u. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), "Sedute del Comitato Direttivo O. F. T.", p. 35, 38.

Passages from the symphonic repertoire, which in the orchestra are written for three horns, were sung with three voices. The music, copied from the score, was prepared by Argeo Lusardi, an outstanding horn player. The parts were divided this way: 1st horn – Pina, 2nd horn: Argeo, 3rd Horn: Bisotti. We had two ‘parade horses’: the wonderful solo of the three horns from the 2nd movement of the Dvořák Cello Concerto and a passage for three horns from the Scherzo from Beethoven’s Third (called ‘Eroica’). ‘Passengers’ from the nearby compartments (our colleagues) left the door of our compartment slightly open and crowded in the corridor to hear these performances.⁴⁴

According to Kalc, the orchestra was everywhere “enthusiastically welcomed, praised for its high-quality performances under the guidance of maestro Jakov Cipci.”⁴⁵ Undoubtedly, the Trieste musicians were particularly glad to hear the approval of their Yugoslav colleagues: after the first Belgrade concert, many musicians from the Belgrade orchestras, who came to listen to the Trieste Philharmonic, gathered at the exit to be able to see from a short range or even touch the horn player Argeo Lusardi, who had made an impression on them with his performance in Tchaikovsky’s *Symphony No. 5*.⁴⁶

During the tour, there were also many social opportunities. Thus, after their performance on the occasion of Tito’s birthday reception at the People’s Assembly on 25 May 1946, the musicians were invited to a luxurious banquet at the President’s residence. Kalc’s description of the event is quite picturesque:

When, during a time of severe shortages and food rationing, we found ourselves in front of the luxurious tables, which were laden with all kinds of goodies, we almost became dizzy. Besides selected dishes, skilfully served, there were all kinds of drinks, wine, beer, non-alcoholic drinks, but also fresh fruit, juicy and fragrant. There were no chairs around the table. We were walking, with a tray in the left hand, while trying to fill it with our right with whatever suited our taste. And that’s not all. In each of the four or five rooms, there was a ‘construction’ in the shape of a pyramid, made of about a hundred packs of the best cigarettes. If the abundance of dishes and drinks astonished us, these generous gifts of cigarettes seemed almost impossible to comprehend, even for non-smokers.⁴⁷

44 Section for History and Ethnography NSL Trieste, archive Bio, folder Josipina Kalc, “Josipina Kalc’s answers to the journalist’s questions”, undated, p. 8–9.

45 Section for History and Ethnography NSL Trieste, archive Bio, folder Josipina Kalc, “The biography of Josipina Kalc,” undated [12 August 1985], p. 7.

46 Section for History and Ethnography NSL Trieste, archive Bio, folder Josipina Kalc, “Josipina Kalc’s answers to the journalist’s questions”, undated, p. 15.

47 Section for History and Ethnography NSL Trieste, archive Bio, folder Josipina Kalc, “Josipina Kalc’s answers to the journalist’s questions”, undated, p. 16–17.

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The Trieste Philharmonic was warmly welcomed in Niš as well. First, the organizers surprised them with a visit to the nearby thermal baths of Niška Banja,⁴⁸ and afterwards

the well-known Serbian hospitality reached its peak. Two nearby villages, Belotinci [Belotinac] and another, have split the orchestra into ‘two parts’, and each of the villages treated their chosen ones in a way impossible to describe briefly. In the orchestra, only two members could communicate directly with the hosts. Therefore, it was necessary for each group to be assigned one. Kalc went to Belotinci. She had quite something to translate!⁴⁹

The musicians of the Trieste Philharmonic were also impressed with Novi Sad, “for which we have heard that – with a reason – it was also called ‘Little Budapest’”⁵⁰ During their stay in the city they were

honoured with a tamburitza orchestra in a big restaurant, in which gypsies, incredibly musical and educated, played. For us they performed by heart the works of the Italian opera repertoire (Verdi, Puccini, Donizetti, and Bellini) and left us speechless. It is possible to learn the melodies of these composers by heart quite easily, but how to play properly all the harmonies and accompaniment? [...] Our applause was so loud and convincing that a relationship of mutual respect and admiration was established between us at once.⁵¹

THE TRIESTE PHILHARMONIC AFTER THE TOUR IN SERBIA

After the tour in Serbia, Macedonia and Croatia, the Trieste Philharmonic went on vacation. When at the end of August 1946 they reunited, the peace conference had already been underway in Paris for nearly a month (29 July–15 October 1946). Despite the strong opposition of the Yugoslav delegation in determining the border between Yugoslavia and Italy, the conference entirely followed the French proposal, as defined by the Council of Foreign Ministers at the beginning of July. The treaty was then signed on 10 February 1947 and became active on 15 September 1947 when the Free Territory of Trieste also came to life.⁵²

Judging by the minutes of the executive committee and the general assembly, after the spring tour of Trieste Philharmonic, there was a great deal of confusion in

48 Section for History and Ethnography NSL Trieste, archive Bio, folder Josipina Kalc, “Josipina Kalc’s answers to the journalist’s questions”, undated, p. 17.

49 Section for History and Ethnography NSL Trieste, archive Bio, folder Josipina Kalc, “The biography of Josipina Kalc,” undated [12 August 1985], p. 7.

50 Section for History and Ethnography NSL Trieste, archive Bio, folder Josipina Kalc, “Josipina Kalc’s answers to the journalist’s questions”, undated, p. 6.

51 Section for History and Ethnography NSL Trieste, archive Bio, folder Josipina Kalc, “Josipina Kalc’s answers to the journalist’s questions”, undated, p. 6.

52 For a detailed account see Nećak 1998: 210–211.

the orchestra's activities. Thus, the musicians during one of the general assemblies, amongst other things, voted on where the orchestra's headquarters should be in the future. They were choosing between Rijeka (where a number of musicians wanted to move) and Belgrade (this was proposed by the federal government), and the majority chose Belgrade.⁵³ However, after their holiday, the Trieste Philharmonic did not gather in either Rijeka or Belgrade, but on 21 August 1946 first came to Opatija⁵⁴ for a couple of weeks and was then transferred to Portorož for a month. Obviously, at the meetings in Belgrade where Bertolini and Janković⁵⁵ travelled at the beginning of July, it was agreed that the orchestra would go on a tour in Istria at the end of summer and early autumn 1946. In this way, the orchestra in fact carried out the second part of the tour through Yugoslavia (although in a reduced version), which had already been planned when it was founded. During this journey, the Trieste Philharmonic held concerts in Zone B of the Julian March, in the disputed territory between Italy and Yugoslavia, at the precise moment when the discussions at the peace conference in Paris were at their peak.

It seems that when in mid-October the conference in Paris was over and it definitely became clear that Trieste would not be annexed to Yugoslavia, the Trieste Philharmonic Orchestra somehow lost its purpose; this was also reflected in a kind of emptiness in its work, which eventually led to its dissolution. At the end of October, the musicians moved from Portorož to Bled;⁵⁶ however, it was not entirely clear what would they do there and when would they be able to start performing again.

The documents preserved in the Trieste Philharmonic archive tell us nothing about the orchestra's fate: at the last executive committee and general assembly meetings held on 9 and 10 December, ordinary issues were discussed (the reimbursement of expenses and compensation for destroyed or lost property).⁵⁷ When, how and why the Orchestra was dissolved, we can only learn from the preserved writings of Josipina Kalc. In one of the documents she maintains that in Bled they did not have the possibility of performing in concerts, but the musicians were nevertheless practicing individually, because they knew that a special commission was to come from Belgrade to judge their individual auditions. She also explains that the propaganda purpose of the Orchestra had obviously been achieved through the well-managed tour in Yugoslavia.⁵⁸ She then gives us a glimpse of the Trieste Philharmonic's last days in her biography:

53 AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. u. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), "Registro Assemblée Generale", p. 9.

54 AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. u. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), "Letter of Jakov Cipci to the executive committee", 4 November 1946.

55 AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. u. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), "Sedute del Comitato Direttivo O. F. T.", p. 51.

56 AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. u. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), "Sedute del Comitato Direttivo O. F. T.", p. 73.

57 AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. u. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), "Sedute del Comitato Direttivo O. F. T.", p. 86; AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. u. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), "Registro Assemblée Generale", p. 28–29.

58 Section for History and Ethnography NSL Trieste, archive Bio, folder Josipina Kalc, "Josipina Kalc's answers to the journalist's questions", undated, p. 10.

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The orchestra named 'Trieste Philharmonic' was dissolved on 31 December 1946. It was stationed in Bled, arranged in three hotels. The commission composed of three prominent conductors, headed by maestro Vuk-Dragović, gave each member an audition and assigned him a place according to the results and the needs of various symphonic and theatre orchestras. Zagreb, Ljubljana, Sarajevo, Belgrade, Skopje, and Rijeka all accepted a few members tested in Bled into their 'gap-toothed' ensembles. Among them, there were over twenty top-level instrumentalists.⁵⁹

Thus, at the end of 1946, after the Trieste question was resolved and the borders between Yugoslavia and Italy confirmed, the Trieste Philharmonic was finally dissolved. Obviously, the musicians were offered the opportunity to stay in Yugoslavia and (after a successful audition) to join one of the existing orchestra that needed additional forces; Josipina Kalc moved to Rijeka, where she was then active until the end of her musical career.⁶⁰

Between 15 and 20 musicians remained in Slovenia to strengthen the ranks of the radio orchestra, which consequently increased to 70 members ([Anon.] 1946a: 4). Some of the Trieste musicians most certainly moved to Belgrade as well. The records of employees preserved in the archives of the Belgrade Philharmonic show that in 1951 there were still three ex-Trieste Philharmonic members playing in the Belgrade orchestra: oboist Livio Bendettelli, bassoonist Gian Luigi Cremaschi, and clarinetist Emo Marani.⁶¹

Obviously, individual Trieste Philharmonic members played an important role in the Yugoslav musical and cultural space for several years after the dissolution of the orchestra. However, despite its indisputable importance for Yugoslav musical life, the fact remains that in a given historical context, the Trieste Philharmonic was established for a specific purpose and that its work will be recorded in history also (or above all) as a model example of political propaganda and political manipulation through music.

59 Section for History and Ethnography NSL Trieste, archive Bio, folder Josipina Kalc, "The biography of Josipina Kalc," undated [12 August 1985], p. 7.

60 Section for History and Ethnography NSL Trieste, archive Bio, folder Josipina Kalc, "The biography of Josipina Kalc," undated [12 August 1985], p. 7 and the following.

61 Belgrade Philharmonic, Accounting archive, Register of employees [Matična evidencija zaposlenih]. I thank Danica Maksimović (Program Manager of the Belgrade Philharmonic Orchestra) for this information.

Appendix: List of concerts performed by the Trieste Philharmonics in Serbia

No.	Date	Place	Programme (if available)	Source
1.	16. 5. 1946	Belgrade	Tchaikovsky, <i>Symphony no. 6</i> in B minor, op. 74 (<i>Pathétique</i>) Bersa, <i>Dramatic Overture [Dramatska Ouvertura]</i> Mozart, <i>Sinfonia concertante</i> in Eb major, K. 364 Rossini, <i>William Tell Overture</i>	<i>Slovenski poročevalec</i> , 24 May 1946, p. 3.
2.	19. 5. 1946	Belgrade	/a concert for the trade union, Yugoslav army and workers/ Beethoven, <i>Symphony no. 7</i> in A major, op. 92 Bersa, <i>Dramatic Overture [Dramatska Ouvertura]</i> Bramljić, <i>Dance burlesque [Slovenska plesna burleska]</i> Borodin, <i>Polovstian dances</i> from <i>Prince Igor</i>	University of Maribor library, Ephemera Collection, <i>Vrta artistica di Jakob Cipci I</i> , koncertni list, 19 May 1946, p. 35.
3.	20. 5. 1946	Belgrade	/a concert for the trade union, Yugoslav army and workers/ Dvořák, <i>Carnival</i> , concert overture, op. 92 Histić, <i>The Legend of Ochril [Ohridska legenda]</i> Beethoven, <i>Symphony no. 3</i> in Eb major, op. 55 (<i>Eroica</i>) Rossini, <i>William Tell Overture</i>	University of Maribor library, Ephemera Collection, <i>Vrta artistica di Jakob Cipci I</i> , koncertni list, 20 May 1946, p. 35.
4.	21. 5. 1946	Belgrade (Zemun)	Tchaikovsky, <i>Symphony no. 6</i> in B minor, op. 74 (<i>Pathétique</i>) Bersa, <i>Dramatic Overture [Dramatska Ouvertura]</i> Bramljić, <i>Dance burlesque [Slovenska plesna burleska]</i> Borodin, <i>Polovstian dances</i> from <i>Prince Igor</i>	University of Maribor library, Ephemera Collection, <i>Vrta artistica di Jakob Cipci I</i> , koncertni list, 21 May 1946, p. 36.
5.	23. 5. 1946	Belgrade	Beethoven, <i>Overture to Koriolan</i> , op. 62 Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, <i>Piano Concerto</i> in G minor, op. 25 Dvořák, <i>Cello Concerto</i> in B minor, op. 104 Rossini, <i>William Tell Overture</i>	University of Maribor library, Ephemera Collection, <i>Vrta artistica di Jakob Cipci I</i> , koncertni list, 23 May 1946, p. 37. <i>Borba</i> , 26 May 1946, p. 3.
6.	24. 5. 1946	Belgrade	/a concert for the trade union/ Beethoven, <i>Overture to Koriolan</i> , op. 62 Tchaikovsky, <i>Symphony no. 6</i> in B minor, op. 74 (<i>Pathétique</i>) Dvořák, <i>Cello Concerto</i> in B minor, op. 104 Osterc, <i>Suite for orchestra (Presto)</i>	University of Maribor library, Ephemera Collection, <i>Vrta artistica di Jakob Cipci I</i> , koncertni list, 24 May 1946, p. 38. <i>Politika</i> , 26 May 1946, p. 4.
7.	25. 5. 1946	Belgrade	/a concert in the Federal assembly on occasion of president Tito's birthday/	AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. u. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), folder I, »Poročilo o turneji po Jugoslaviji«, 19 June 1946.
8.	27. 5. 1946	Niš		AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. u. 17 (Arhiv Tržaške filharmonije), folder I, »Poročilo o turneji po Jugoslaviji«, 19 June 1946. University of Maribor library, Ephemera Collection, <i>Vrta artistica di Jakob Cipci I</i> , p. 38.

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9.	28. 5. 1946	Niš	/a concert for the trade union/ /a concert for the Yugoslav army/ /an open-air concert of a popular character/	<p>/a concert for the trade union/ /a concert for the Yugoslav army/ /an open-air concert of a popular character/</p>	<p>AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. u. 17 (Arhiv Tízaške filharmonije), folder II, »Poročilo o turneji po Jugoslaviji«, 19 June 1946.</p> <p>University of Maribor library, Ephemera Collection, <i>Vita artistica di Jakob Cipci I</i>, p. 38.</p> <p>AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. u. 17 (Arhiv Tízaške filharmonije), folder II, »Poročilo o turneji po Jugoslaviji«, 19 June 1946.</p> <p>University of Maribor library, Ephemera Collection, <i>Vita artistica di Jakob Cipci I</i>, p. 38.</p> <p>AS 1583 (Mestni osvobodilni svet Trst), t. u. 17 (Arhiv Tízaške filharmonije), »Sedute del Comitato Direttivo. F. I«, p. 35.</p>
10.	29. 5. 1946	Niš			<p>University of Maribor library, Ephemera Collection, <i>Vita artistica di Jakob Cipci I</i>, koncertni list, 6 June 1946, p. 42.</p> <p>University of Maribor library, Ephemera Collection, <i>Vita artistica di Jakob Cipci I</i>, koncertni list, 8 June 1946, p. 43.</p> <p>University of Maribor library, Ephemera Collection, <i>Vita artistica di Jakob Cipci I</i>, koncertni list, 9 June 1946, p. 44.</p>
11.	29. 5. 1946	Niš			<p>University of Maribor library, Ephemera Collection, <i>Vita artistica di Jakob Cipci I</i>, koncertni list, 10 June 1946, p. 44.</p> <p>University of Maribor library, Ephemera Collection, <i>Vita artistica di Jakob Cipci I</i>, koncertni list, 11 June 1946, p. 46.</p>
12.	6. 6. 1946	Belgrade (Zemun)	<p>/a concert for the Yugoslav army/ Dvořák, <i>Symphony no. 9</i> in E minor, op. 95 (<i>From the New World</i>) Hristić, <i>The Legend of Ochrin</i> [Ohridska legenda] Fiorello, <i>Caprice</i> Rossini, <i>William Tell Overture</i></p>		<p>University of Maribor library, Ephemera Collection, <i>Vita artistica di Jakob Cipci I</i>, koncertni list, 12 June 1946, p. 46.</p> <p>University of Maribor library, Ephemera Collection, <i>Vita artistica di Jakob Cipci II</i>, koncertni list, 13 June 1946, p. 1.</p>
13.	8. 6. 1946	Novi Sad		<p>Tchaikovsky, <i>Symphony no. 6</i> in B minor, op. 74 (<i>Pathétique</i>) Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, <i>Piano Concerto</i> in G minor, op. 25 Rossini, <i>William Tell Overture</i></p>	
14.	9. 6. 1946	Novi Sad		<p>Beethoven, <i>Overture to Korolian</i>, op. 62 Brančić, <i>Dance burlesque</i> [Slovenska plesna burleska] Mozart, <i>Sinfonia concertante</i> in Eb major, K 364 Dvořák, <i>Carnival</i>, concert overture, op. 92</p>	
15.	10. 6. 1946	Novi Sad		<p>Bersa, <i>Dramatic Overture</i> [Dramatska ouvertira] Borođin, <i>Polovitsian dances</i> from <i>Prince Igor</i> Osterc, <i>Suite for orchestra</i> (<i>Presto</i>) Dvořák, <i>Symphony no. 9</i> in E minor, op. 95 (<i>From the New World</i>)</p>	
16.	11. 6. 1946	Subotica		<p>Rossini, <i>William Tell Overture</i> Mozart, <i>Sinfonia concertante</i> in Eb major, K 364 Dvořák, <i>Symphony no. 9</i> in E minor, op. 95 (<i>From the New World</i>)</p>	
17.	12. 6. 1946	Subotica		<p>Beethoven, <i>Symphony no. 3</i> in Eb major, op. 55 (<i>Eroica</i>) Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, <i>Piano Concerto</i> in G minor, op. 25 Bersa, <i>Dramatic Overture</i> [Dramatska ouvertira]</p>	
18.	13. 6. 1946	Sombor		<p>Rossini, <i>William Tell Overture</i> Brahms, <i>Violin Concerto</i> in D major, op. 77 Dvořák, <i>Symphony no. 9</i> in E minor, op. 95 (<i>From the New World</i>)</p>	

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НЕЈЦ СУКЉАН

ТРШЋАНСКА ФИЛХАРМОНИЈА У СРБИЈИ

(РЕЗИМЕ)

У овом раду разматрам турнеју оркестра Тршћанске филхармоније по Србији у пролеће 1946. године, као и њене политичке конотације. Најпре скицирам околности које су довеле до оснивања овог оркестра, у контексту оновремених политичких напора да се разреши спор око Трста; након тога, пружам детаљан опис саме турнеје, и то са два становишта. Прво од њих односи се на перспективу југословенских власти, а друго на свакодневни живот самих музичара током ове турнеје.

Кључне речи: Тршћанска филхармонија, музика и политика, политичка пропаганда, спор око Трста