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# Salons in Belgrade in the Nineteenth Century: The Coexistence of Different Cultural Models

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*The aim of this study is to describe the emergence of court and bourgeois salons in the nineteenth-century Principality of Serbia, in the context of the socio-historical circumstances and geopolitical background. A selection of examples of salon gatherings organized in Belgrade from the 1830s to the 1870s show the emergence of a new cultural identity through the coexistence and merging of different cultural models: Western European, Ottoman and Serbian. Starting with the first salons, organized in the 1830s in the home of Tomanija and Jevrem Obrenović, salon gatherings will be viewed through the prism of selected court and bourgeois salons. Special attention is paid to salons in which only women took part. In the period of the construction of the modern Serbian state, these salon gatherings contributed to the emancipation of women and their step from the private to the public sphere of society. In order to more comprehensively understand the role and significance of salon, the multi-layered salon practices are observed, with a focus on (1) analysis of the symbolism of interior decoration and clothing and of the social status of salon guests; (2) a reconstruction of the atmosphere through details of refreshments (food and drink), specific decorations of individual salons and dances performed; (3) analysis of the artistic and intellectual content: music, literature, poetry and science.*

## Introduction

The nineteenth century was a significant one for the Serbian people, both politically and socially. The struggle against the centuries-old Ottoman rule<sup>1</sup> culminated in the First (1804) and Second (1815) Serbian Uprisings, after which the Principality

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<sup>1</sup> From the fall of the last territories of the Serbian medieval state under Turkish rule (1459) until the early nineteenth century, Serbia did not exist as an independent state. In the period from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, during the Ottoman–Habsburg wars, there were large migrations of Serbs to the north (Southern Hungary) and northwest (Croatia), with the largest one taking place in 1690 under Serbian Patriarch Arsenije III Crnojević. See Danica Petrović, ‘Serbien’, in *Oesterreichisches Musiklexikon Online*, [www.musiklexikon.ac.at/ml/musik\\_S/Serbien.xml](http://www.musiklexikon.ac.at/ml/musik_S/Serbien.xml) (accessed 14 Jan 2020).

of Serbia was formed, ruled by Prince Miloš Obrenović (1780/83?–1860).<sup>2</sup> With rapid economic growth, Ottoman cultural patterns were gradually replaced by those of bourgeois Europe. Thanks to trade contacts as well as family ties, a substantial number of educated Serbs from the Habsburg Empire moved to the Principality of Serbia. And these prominent and educated Serbs from the Habsburg Empire played an important role in the development of the young Principality of Serbia.<sup>3</sup>

The initial steps in cultural life appeared after the Second Serbian Uprising, during the first reign of Prince Miloš Obrenović. The first piano was brought at the prince's request and placed in the home of his personal physician, Vito Romita, from whose wife the Prince's daughter Jelisaveta Obrenović (1814–1848) received not only piano lessons, but 'a European education'.<sup>4</sup> Princess Jelisaveta started learning the piano in 1823, when she was ten years old. Compositions for her were sent from Pest by Josif Milovuk (1787–1850), a merchant and book publisher, and one of the founders, in 1826, of *Matica Srpska*, the oldest Serbian literary, scientific and cultural institutions in Pest.<sup>5</sup> Important from the musico-sociological point of view is that the piano was 'acquired by a member of the richest and most powerful family in Serbia, in order to allow his daughter, a representative of the newly formed courtly elite, to further emphasize her privileged status by playing on it'.<sup>6</sup> As early as 1829, the children of the prince's younger brother, Jevrem Obrenović (1790–1856), also learned to play the piano as well as guitar with Joseph Schlesinger (1794–1870), who came from Novi Sad, where he served as a conductor of the City Orchestra.<sup>7</sup> The piano was quickly adopted by the upper classes as well, and became an integral part of the salons of wealthy merchants, civil servants, and intellectuals, as well as the settled foreigners, who were of great importance in nurturing playing

<sup>2</sup> Miloš Obrenović ruled the Principality of Serbia for two periods: from 1815 to 1839 and from 1858 to 1860. The Principality of Serbia was completely liberated from the Ottoman military presence in 1867 by Prince Mihailo Obrenović (1823–1868), the son of Prince Miloš Obrenović, when he secured the withdrawal of the Ottoman army from the garrison on the territory of the Principality of Serbia. Upon liberation from the Ottoman rule, the Serbs raised not only a national revolution, but also a social one, thus enabling the essential transformation of society within the ideological coordinates on which modern Europe of that time was based and developed. See 'Kneževina Srbija' [Principality of Serbia], in *Srpska Enciklopedija* [Serbian Encyclopedia], [www.srpskaenciklopedija.org](http://www.srpskaenciklopedija.org) (accessed 19 Jan 2021).

<sup>3</sup> Darko Ivanović, *Srpski učitelji iz Habzburške Monarhije u Srbiji (1804–1858)* [Serbian Teachers from the Habsburg Monarchy in Serbia] (Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike, 2006): 5–8.

<sup>4</sup> In October 1829, the travel writer Otto Dubislav von Pirch met Princess Jelisaveta Obrenović, who he pointed out was educated, spoke Italian and played the piano. Otto von Pirch, *Reise in Serbien in Spätherbst 1829*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Ferdinand Dümmler, 1830): 148–9.

<sup>5</sup> Tihomir R. Đorđević, *Iz Srbije kneza Miloša: kulturne prilike od 1815. do 1839. godine* [From Serbia under Prince Miloš: Cultural Circumstances from 1815 to 1839] (Belgrade: Izdavačka knjižarnica Gece Kona, 1922): 168.

<sup>6</sup> Dragana Jeremić Molnar, *Srpska klavirska muzika u doba romantizma (1841–1914)* [Serbian Piano Music in the Age of Romanticism (1841–1914)] (Novi Sad: Matica srpska, 2006): 35.

<sup>7</sup> See Marijana Kokanović Marković, 'Das Musikleben in Novi Sad vor 1848', in *Musik und Revolution: Die Produktion von Identität und Raum durch Musik in Zentraleuropa 1848/49*, ed. Barbara Boisits (Vienna: Hollitzer Wissenschaftsverlag, 2013): 3.

music at home.<sup>8</sup> And along with the piano, playing the guitar also enjoyed great popularity.<sup>9</sup>

In 1831, at the initiative of Prince Miloš Obrenović, Joseph Schlesinger founded the first military orchestra in Kragujevac, then capital of the Principality of Serbia,<sup>10</sup> under the name *Knjaževsko-srbska banda* (Serbian Princely Band). At that time, in Belgrade, the Turkish vizier had his own orchestra led by a *mehterbaşı*, which included violins, bass drum, cymbal, tambourine and triangle. Very similar were the Romani orchestras, which mainly consisted of stringed instruments and percussion. Although Prince Miloš Obrenović himself enjoyed listening to the Romani orchestras, he wanted to establish an orchestra composed of European musical instruments, following the example of other European courts. By introducing the first pianos, giving their children music lessons, and founding the first military orchestra, Prince Miloš Obrenović and his brother Jevrem were the initiators of 'Europeanization' in the newly formed Principality of Serbia.<sup>11</sup>

The arrival of Joseph Schlesinger, and later Alojz Kalauz<sup>12</sup> and Milan Milovuk (1825–1883), the son of Josif Milovuk, from the Habsburg Empire to the Principality of Serbia, marked the beginning of the founding of musical life in the newly formed Serbian state. In addition to giving piano lessons to the children of the princely family and founding the first military orchestra, Schlesinger made significant contributions in many areas of musical life in Serbia. He performed with the Serbian Princely Band at various military and civilian occasions: at military exercises and parades, as well as at court, concerts, public ceremonies, welcoming foreign diplomats and, from 1835, in the newly founded Princely-Serbian Theatre. Schlesinger composed primarily marches and salon social dances for balls and various national occasions, as well as music for theatrical plays. He harmonized folk songs which were gladly performed accompanied by the piano or the guitar in bourgeois homes and at various public events alike.

The Czech musician Alojz Kalauz arrived in Belgrade in 1843, where he worked as a piano teacher, performed as a pianist and composed salon piano music.<sup>13</sup> His activity as a folk music collector is of special importance, since he compiled Serbian traditional and urban songs and published them in

<sup>8</sup> Marijana Kokanović Marković, *Društvena uloga salonske muzike u životu i sistemu vrednosti srpskog građanstva u 19. veku* [The Social Role of Salon Music in the Life and Value System of Serbian Citizens in the Nineteenth Century] (Belgrade: Musicological Institute of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 2014): 116–35.

<sup>9</sup> See Đorđević, *Iz Srbije kneza Miloša: kulturne prilike od 1815. do 1839. godine*, 168: 'Step by step, playing the piano and the guitar had become widespread, especially in Belgrade.'

<sup>10</sup> From 1841 Belgrade became the capital of the Principality of Serbia.

<sup>11</sup> See Anton Kvaternik, 'Prva srpska vojna muzika' [The First Serbian Military Music], *Zvuk* 60 (1963): 715; Stana Đurić-Klajn, 'Orkestri u Srbiji do osnivanja Filharmonije' [Orchestras in Serbia until the Founding of the Philharmonic], in *Beogradska filharmonija 1923/1973* (Belgrade: Belgrade Philharmonics, 1977): 15–27; Biljana Milanović, 'Evropske muzičke prakse i oblikovanje nacije kroz kreiranje nacionalne umetničke muzike u Srbiji u prvim decenijama XX veka' [European Musical Practices and the Shaping of a Nation through the Creation of National Art Music in Serbia in the First Decades of the Twentieth Century] (PhD diss. University of Belgrade, 2016): 51–52.

<sup>12</sup> Life dates are unknown.

<sup>13</sup> Marijana Kokanović Marković, 'Kalauz, Alojz', in *Srpski biografski rečnik 4* [Serbian Biographical Dictionary] (Novi Sad: Matica srpska, 2009), 787–8.

Vienna under the title *Srpski napjevi* (Serbian Songs; 1850, 1851).<sup>14</sup> Both volumes contain prefaces in Serbian, French and German, in which Kalauz indicates his criteria for selecting songs, and points to a clear difference between the songs found in rural and urban milieus, and between those with foreign influences and the folk ones. Kalauz also noted tonal and rhythmic particularities in Serbian folk songs. These collections also reflect the music repertoire that was popular in Belgrade bourgeois salons at that time. Kalauz's salon compositions for piano were also very popular, among them: *Fantazija Bisenija* (Bisenija Fantasy), *Beogradski kadril* (Belgrade Quadrille), *Varijacije na pesmu 'Što se bore misli moje'* (Variations on the Song 'So Restlessly, Why Do I Dwell'), and others.

Milan Milovuk, who came to Belgrade from Pest, also gave a significant boost to the musical life in Belgrade. Though primarily a lawyer and economist, Milovuk obtained his music education at an early age and devoted his entire life to music.<sup>15</sup> He organized salon gatherings in his home, together with his wife Katarina (née Đorđević, 1844–1913).<sup>16</sup> The First Belgrade Singing Society was founded in 1853, during one of such salon evening. Milovuk was the first conductor of this originally all-male choir, which was established on the model of the Austrian and German singing societies, for 'leisure, mutual amusement and music training', in order to enrich the modest cultural and social life in the capital of the Principality of Serbia.<sup>17</sup> Under Milovuk's leadership, the repertoire was based on simple compositions by German, Hungarian and Czech composers. Milovuk founded a private school within the Belgrade Singing Society, where he taught violin, cello and music theory.<sup>18</sup> He also published the first theoretical

<sup>14</sup> *Србску наневу I* [Serbische Volksmelodien: Sammlung von National Lieder und Tänzen, Heft I] (Vienna: Franz Wesely, 1850); *Србску наневу II* [Serbische Volksmelodien: Sammlung von National Lieder und Tänzen, Heft II] (Vienna: Franz Wesely, 1851).

<sup>15</sup> Vladimir Đorđević, *Prilozi biografskom rečniku srpskih muzičara* [Contributions to the Biographical Dictionary of Serbian Musicians] (Belgrade: Musicological Institute of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 1950): 33.

<sup>16</sup> Katarina Đorđević Milovuk was educated in Russia, where she completed secondary school and passed a state exam in Education at the University of Odessa. She spoke Russian, French, German and English, and was musically educated. She founded the Belgrade Women's Society (1875), as well as the Women's Workers' School exclusively for girls from the poor families. Within the Women's College, she founded the Women's Music Society (1889). The capital's elite gathered at the music evenings of the Women's Music Society. Latinka Perović, 'Modernost i patrijarhalnost kroz prizmu ženskih institucija: Viša ženska škola (1863–1913)' [Modernity and Patriarchy through the Prism of Women's Institutions: Women's College (1863–1913)], in *Između anarhije i autokratije: Srpsko društvo na prelazima vekova (XIX–XXI)* [Between Anarchy and Autocracy: Serbian Society at the Turn of the Century (XIX–XXI)] (Belgrade: Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia, 2006): 294; Ljiljana Stankov, *Katarina Milovuk (1844–1913) i ženski pokret u Srbiji* [Katarina Milovuk (1844–1913) and the Women's Movement in Serbia] (Belgrade: Museum of Pedagogy, 2011): 7–9.

<sup>17</sup> Danica Petrović, 'Osnivanje i prvih šest decenija' [Founding and the First Six Decades], in *Prvo beogradsko pevačko društvo* [The First Belgrade Singing Society], ed. Dinko Davidov (Belgrade: Musicological Institute of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts Gallery of Visual Arts and Music, 2004): 17–22.

<sup>18</sup> The first music school in Serbia was founded in 1899 within this singing society, where all major Serbian composers from the second half of the nineteenth century were engaged.

books on music in Serbian: *Teorički osnovi muzike* (*Theoretical Foundations of Music*; 1866) and *Nauka o muzici* (*The Science of Music*; 1867).<sup>19</sup>

Together, Schlesinger, Kalauz and Milovuk laid the foundations for the development of musical art in the Principality of Serbia. Their work was followed by the activity of the first Serbian-educated musician Kornelije Stanković (1831–1865),<sup>20</sup> who is recognized in Serbian music historiography as a founder of the national movement in music and whose work as a composer, pianist, folk music collector and conductor draws on the achievements of his predecessors, but also provides guidelines for the further direction of Serbian music in the nineteenth century.<sup>21</sup> His education in Vienna, which was at the time the centre of the Slavic elite and under Simon Sechter (1788–1867), a renowned professor of the Conservatory, was crucial for his artistic development. Stanković published collections of Serbian folk songs arranged for voice and piano, solo piano and mixed choir (*Srbske narodne pesme*, Vienna, 1858, 1859, 1862 and 1863). And his collections provided a resource of Serbian folk melodies for composers such as Johann Strauss, Rimsky Korsakov and Tchaikovsky.<sup>22</sup> In Vienna he also published three books of the traditional church chant of the Serbian people (1862, 1863 and 1864). Kornelije Stanković's work on establishing a national style in Serbian music was supported by prominent intellectuals in the Habsburg Empire and the Principality of Serbia alike.<sup>23</sup>

Salon gatherings organized in Belgrade from the 1830s to the 1870s point to the emergence of a new cultural identity through the coexistence and merging of different cultural models: Western European, Ottoman and Serbian.<sup>24</sup> This article

<sup>19</sup> *The Science of Music* is a remake of Johann Christian Lobe's *Katechismus der Musik*. Stana Đurić-Klajn, 'Prethodnici Kornelija Stankovića' [Predecessors of Kornelije Stanković], in *Historijski razvoj muzičke kulture u Jugoslaviji* [Historical Development of Music Culture in Yugoslavia], ed. Josip Andreis, Dragotin Cvetko and Stana Đurić-Klajn (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1962): 584.

<sup>20</sup> Kornelije Stanković was born into a bourgeois Serbian family in Buda. He spent his early years in Buda, Arad, Szeged and Vienna, and received his first piano lessons in Arad at the home of his elder sister, who took care of him after the death of their parents. As a grammar school student in Pest he studied music and, thanks to his father's wealthy friend Pavle Riđički von Skribešće, in 1850, Stanković continued his music training in Vienna. See Danica Petrović, 'Kornelije Stanković', in *Kornelije Stanković. Piano music*, vol. 1, ed. Danica Petrović and Marijana Kokanović (Belgrade: Institute of Musicology, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts; Novi Sad: Institute for Culture of Vojvodina, 2004): 9–13.

<sup>21</sup> See *Kornelije Stanković i njegovo doba* [Kornelije Stanković and his Time], ed. Dimitrije Stefanović (Belgrade: Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, SASA Institute of Musicology, 1985).

<sup>22</sup> Đorđe Perić, 'Bibliografija Kornelija Stankovića [Bibliography of Kornelije Stanković]', in *Kornelije Stanković i njegovo doba*, 303–7.

<sup>23</sup> See Petrović, 'Kornelije Stanković', 9–13.

<sup>24</sup> When exploring nineteenth-century Serbian culture, it is necessary to bear in mind the existence of cultural pluralism, conditioned by complex and dynamic socio-historical movements, as well as by the fact that the private and public life of the Serbian people took place in different social and state systems: the Habsburg/Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Ottoman Empire and the Principality/Kingdom of Serbia. Nenad Makuljević singles out three cultural models: the model of "limited privacy" (Ottoman Empire), the model of "balanced civil society" (Habsburg Monarchy/Austro-Hungarian Empire), and the model of "home-grown situation" and ideological privacy (Principality/Kingdom of Serbia). Nenad Makuljević, 'Pluralizam privatnosti – Kulturni modeli i privatni život kod Srba u 19. veku' [Pluralism of Privacy – Cultural Models and Private Life of the Serbs in the 19th Century],

draws on a selection of these gatherings from this period. Starting with the first salons, organized in the 1830s in the home of Tomanija and Jevrem Obrenović, salon gatherings will then be viewed through the prism of exclusively women's salons (for example, the salons of Princess Anka Obrenović (later) Konstantinović, and her friends Marija Milutinović, the first woman lawyer in the Principality of Serbia, and Meira, the wife of the last Belgrade Vizier Ali Rizâ Paşa), followed by salons in which members of both sexes took part. These mixed-sex salons are represented here by the salons of Princess Anka Obrenović, Count Teodor Herbez and his wife Jelenka, and the bourgeois salon of grammar school professor Gavriilo Vitković and his wife Lujza.

### Institution of the Salon

Salon gatherings provided a wide range of social, cultural, artistic and political practices in the nineteenth-century Principality of Serbia. While Serbs in the Habsburg Empire had been already hosting salons since the eighteenth century, in the Principality of Serbia they appeared only in the late 1830s, first in Belgrade.<sup>25</sup> The overall appearance of the family home, including interior design, was changed in the new principality by the gradual abandonment of the oriental lifestyle. In the new principality, the architecture of the family home changed from an Ottoman model in which privacy separation living space was a high priority to a Central European one characterized by salons – rooms for entertaining large groups of visitors.<sup>26</sup> The salon was a unique environment in which the public and private spheres were intertwined. The most important room in bourgeois homes, the salon was where the family presented itself to the public.

Salons were organized in both court and bourgeois circles. They differed not only in terms of the type and scope of socializing (regular weekly visits and salon evenings organized for a large number of guests), or the time of day or season for which they were organized, but above all in relation to their participants. Thus, there were exclusively women's salons as well as mixed ones in which both sexes took part. Court salons in princely houses in the Principality of Serbia had a similar function to those held in bourgeois homes. Guests were welcomed in court salons on specific days, which made it possible for 'a ruler to appear before the people in, so to say, a less authoritative way'.<sup>27</sup>

In the period from the mid-nineteenth century to the World War One, every fine house in Belgrade had a salon, and salon gatherings were an integral part of the bourgeois lifestyle. Salons were furnished with comfortable salon sets, armchairs, two-seaters and three-seaters, as well as small tables and other furniture

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in *Privatni život kod Srba u 19. veku* [Private Life of the Serbs in the Nineteenth Century] (Belgrade: Clio, 2006): 18–53.

<sup>25</sup> Miroslav Timotijević, 'Privatni prostori i mesta privatnosti' [Private Spaces and Places of Privacy], in *Privatni život kod Srba u 19. veku*, 177.

<sup>26</sup> Aleksandar Kadijević, 'Arhitektura – okvir privatnog života u srpskim zemljama od početka 19. veka do Prvog svetskog rata' [Architecture – the Framework of Private Life in Serbian Countries from the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century to the First World War], in *Privatni život kod Srba u 19. Veku*, 251–8.

<sup>27</sup> Ana Stolić, 'Privatnost u službi reprezentacije – dvor poslednjih Obrenovića' [Privacy in Service of Representation – the Court of the Obrenović Family Last Members], in *Privatni život kod Srba u 19. Veku*, 343–6.

characteristic of Biedermeier culture.<sup>28</sup> Family valuables (silver, porcelain, glass) were displayed in showcases, while paintings, photographs, and portraits of family members hung on the walls. The items in the salon were diverse: from 'modern European furniture, carpets, Pirot carpets, curtains and lace, to tapestry, silver candlesticks, Viennese porcelain and selected books'.<sup>29</sup> Through illustrated catalogues, Viennese innovative home furnishing ideas reached small towns in the Balkans. In addition to the works of local writers, French adventure novels could also be found in private libraries. Since the 1830s, the most precious and the most representative object in the salon of a Serbian bourgeois family was the piano. And in the 1860s, a family photo album became a staple of the salon where it 'secured its position on one of the tables near the piano'.<sup>30</sup>

Friendly conversation was a key aspect of socializing. The hosts of salons tried to ensure that all guests participated in the conversation, and that the conversation was refreshed and aimed in the desired direction or interrupted by a musical intermission if necessary. Conversation topics were mostly current events – theatre, artists' guest appearances, the latest ball, a new engagement, a novel, weather and the like – though the idealized image of socializing was not always realistic: in the ever-present conversations about politics there were sharp differences of opinion. A buffet in the form of small refreshments was also a common practice. A significant portion of the entertainment programme was filled with music, with the piano being given priority and four-handed playing being a favourite. However, music was also played on other instruments in the salons and people also gladly sang. As a rule, salon gatherings ended with the performance of national and foreign dances. The entertainment programme did not always have a precise order, perhaps starting with various board games, before moving to playing, singing, reading poetry and dancing.<sup>31</sup>

### The First Intellectual and Artistic Circles in Belgrade: Salons of Tomanija and Jevrem Obrenović

The first salon gatherings were held in Belgrade in the 1830s in the house of Tomanija (1796–1881) and Jevrem Obrenović, during the reign of Prince Miloš Obrenović. One of the most important patrons of his time and an avid advocate of enlightenment, Jevrem Obrenović was highly influential in the political and cultural life of the Principality of Serbia. He gathered prominent writers in his home, financially supported the establishment of the National Library in Belgrade, as well as publishing new books as a sponsor, and also contributed to the education of students abroad.<sup>32</sup> His cultural and educational mission was reflected in the education of his children. His only son, Miloš, studied French and German with the writer Dimitrije Tirol (1793–1857). Jevrem also had five daughters – Jelena,

<sup>28</sup> Miroslav Timotijević, 'Enterijer građanskog doma' [Interior of a Bourgeois Home], in *Privatni život kod Srba u 19. veku*, 239.

<sup>29</sup> Milanka Todić, 'Konstrukcija identiteta u porodičnom foto-albumu' [Construction of Identity in a Family Photo Album], in *Privatni život kod Srba u 19. Veku*, 529.

<sup>30</sup> Todić, 'Konstrukcija identiteta u porodičnom foto-albumu', 529.

<sup>31</sup> Kokanović Marković, *Društvena uloga salonske muzike u životu i sistemu vrednosti srpskog građanstva u 19. veku*, 145–7.

<sup>32</sup> Nebojša Jovanović, 'Jevrem Obrenović – skica jedne političke karijere' [Jevrem Obrenović – A Sketch of a Political Career], *Istorijski časopis* 50 (2003): 113.

Simona (Simka), Anka, Jekaterina and Stana, among whom Princess Anka Obrenović (1821–1868), who studied the piano and the guitar as well as German and French, stood out. From an early age, her translations of short works of German fiction were printed in Serbian periodicals. She published the first book of translated German stories *Naravoučitelne povesti* (Educational Stories) in 1836. In the same year she began a diary, which she kept for less than two years, until the beginning of 1838.<sup>33</sup>

The salons of Tomanija and Jevrem Obrenović, have all the characteristics of the nineteenth-century salon culture. In spacious rooms furnished in a modern style, guests were served specialties prepared especially for the occasion, which were a novelty in the Principality of Serbia at that time: 'the rooms were large, comfortable, warm, and richly lit with millihertz candles. There were always a lot of wonderful sweet and savoury delicacies on the big table to eat, which at that time in Serbia could only be found in the residence of master Jevrem'.<sup>34</sup> The home of Jevrem Obrenović hosted the first intellectual circle of Belgrade, where local and foreign prominent citizens and diplomats gathered. In addition to current topics from everyday life, the guests enjoyed literature, poetry and music. The conversation was often conducted in German. The works of mostly Serbian, German and French poets and writers were read, and various literary issues were also discussed.

The Austrian consul at the Serbian court Antun Mihanović (1796–1861) lent a special spirit to the salon gatherings.<sup>35</sup> There he gladly talked about the cities in which he had lived and served (Zagreb, Rijeka, Naples, Venice, Padua), recited his poems or discussed literature and language.<sup>36</sup> The English consul George Lloyd Hodges (1790–1862), who began his diplomatic career in the Balkans when he was appointed the first British consul in the Principality of Serbia on 30 January 1837, was also a welcome guest.<sup>37</sup> Hodges actively participated in discussions on various topics. Konstantin Ranos (1812–1866),<sup>38</sup> who was a professor of French language and literature to the sons of Prince Miloš Obrenović, read the

<sup>33</sup> Živana Vojinović, *Princeza Anka: skica za portret Ane Obrenović, prve spisateljice obnovljene Srbije* [Princess Anka: a Sketch for a Portrait of Ana Obrenović, the First Woman Writer of Renewed Serbia] (Belgrade: Stubovi kulture, 2010): 29–30, 132.

<sup>34</sup> Poleksija Dimitrijević Stošić, *Posela u starom Beogradu* [Evening Gatherings in Old Belgrade] (Belgrade: author's edition, 1965): 18.

<sup>35</sup> Antun Mihanović was a Croatian writer, lawyer and politician. He is also the author of the lyrics for the Croatian anthem 'Lijepa naša domovino' [Our Beautiful Homeland]. Holly Case, 'The Quiet Revolution: Consuls and the International System in the Nineteenth Century', in *The Balkans as Europe*, ed. Timothy Snyder and Katherine Younger (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2018): 118.

<sup>36</sup> Jovanović, 'Jevrem Obrenović – skica jedne političke karijere', 115.

<sup>37</sup> George Lloyd Hodges came to Belgrade on 14 May 1837 and handed over an accredited letter to Prince Miloš Obrenović on 3 June 1837, when diplomatic relations between Great Britain and Serbia were officially established. He remained in the Principality of Serbia until 1839, and his task was to work on suppressing the influence of Russia. Ljubodrag P. Ristić, *Velika Britanija i Srbija (1858–1862)* [Great Britain and Serbia (1858–1862)] (Belgrade: Institute of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts for Balkan Studies, 2008): 22–4. George Lloyd Hodges was on friendly terms with Prince Miloš Obrenović, and he often organized balls in his home. Đorđević, *Iz Srbije kneza Miloša. Kulturne prilike od 1815. do 1839. godine*, 181.

<sup>38</sup> Bulgarian Konstantin Ranos, a native of Plovdiv, was a scholarship holder of the Serbian government during his studies in Paris, and upon his return a teacher of French to

verses of his close friend Alphonse de Lamartine (1790–1869).<sup>39</sup> He was also happy to talk about French contemporary writers, and gave several lectures on ancient Greek woman poets, especially Sappho.

The daughters of Tomanija and Jevrem Obrenović – Jelena, Simona and Anka, along with their teacher Kristina Tirol – were responsible for the musical part of the programme. They played the piano solo or in four hands.<sup>40</sup> In addition to playing the piano, Serbian folk songs were often sung. The Austrian consul Antun Mihanović wrote the sonnet 'Viđenje' (Vision) and the poem 'Kamena dieva' (The Stone Maiden) in honour of Princess Anka, with whom he was in love (Fig. 1). A setting of 'Kamena dieva' by the Croatian composer Ferdo Livadić (1799–1879) became very popular. According to Stošić, 'it was sung all over Serbia and Vojvodina in the nineteenth century'.<sup>41</sup>

In their salons, Tomanija and Jevrem Obrenović (Fig. 2) hosted distinguished visitors to Belgrade, among them Michal Jaborsky (1805–1894), a violinist and director of the Timișoara City Theatre Orchestra<sup>42</sup> who played in the Obrenović salon in addition to his three public concerts during his stay in Belgrade in 1842.<sup>43</sup> After the departure of Consul Mihanović from Serbia, at the end of 1838, the salon gatherings in the home of Jevrem Obrenović lost their earlier momentum.<sup>44</sup>

### Women's Salons

In the 1860s, Princess Anka Obrenović, now married to Aleksandar Konstantinović,<sup>45</sup> organized salons that represented important social and cultural gathering places of the capital, hosting the most prominent fellow citizens and foreigners who stayed in Belgrade. In addition to general women's salons, she

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Prince Mihailo Obrenović and a Professor at Belgrade schools. Vladimir Stojančević, *Srbija i Bugari 1804–1878* [Serbia and the Bulgarians] (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1988): 122–3, 254, 383.

<sup>39</sup> In his book *Voyage en Orient*, published in Paris in 1835, Alphonse de Lamartine wrote about the situation in Serbia and the struggle of the Serbian people for liberation from Ottoman rule. Alphonse de Lamartine, *Voyage en Orient II* (Paris: Typographie de Henri Plon, 1859): 260–86.

<sup>40</sup> See Dimitrijević Stošić, *Posela u starom Beogradu*, 19, who notes that 'the compositions of the then most famous European composers were performed on the piano'.

<sup>41</sup> Dimitrijević Stošić, *Posela u starom Beogradu*, 19.

<sup>42</sup> He studied violin at the Pest Conservatory with Michal Taborksy and Josef Karl Lipinsky. He was appointed the principal violin of the orchestra of the cathedral church in Timișoara (Domkirche) in 1832, and at the same time he was engaged as a soloist and the orchestra director at the theatre. Every year in Timișoara, Michal Jaborsky organized a concert (Musikalisch-Declamatorische Academie), as well as concert tours in the country and abroad. When Temeswarer Musikverein founded the music school in 1846, he was appointed violin teacher. Michal Jaborsky was esteemed as a violin pedagogue, as evidenced by the fact that the famous violinist and professor at the Vienna Conservatory, Josef Hellmesberger, sent his son Josef Hellmesberger Junior to Jaborsky to work with him on Kreuzer's etudes. Franz Metz, *Der Temeswarer Philharmonische Verein: Eine Chronik südosteuropäischer Musikgeschichte 1850–1950* (Munich: Edition Musik Südost, 2005): 70–71.

<sup>43</sup> P. P., 'Teatar i muzika' [Theatre and Music], *Dodatak srbskim novinama* [Serbian Newspaper supplement] 19 (May 1842): 76.

<sup>44</sup> Dimitrijević Stošić, *Posela u starom Beogradu*, 19.

<sup>45</sup> She married a financial magnate from Timișoara Aleksandar Konstantinović in 1842.

The image shows a musical score for the song 'Kamena dieva' (The Stone Maiden) by Ferdo Livadić, specifically bars 11-18. The score is written in G major and 2/4 time. It consists of two systems, each with a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: 'Die - va sje - di po - kraj mo - ra na ka - me - nu stu - de - nom,'. The piano accompaniment features a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes in the right hand and sustained chords in the left hand.

Fig. 1 Ferdo Livadić, 'Kamena dieva' (The Stone Maiden), bars 11–18

organized art salons, both for women only and for both sexes.<sup>46</sup> The difference between women's salons and women's art salons was in the guests who took part, as well as in the thematic content of the gathering. It is important to mention that women's salons were also organized in middle-class homes. After the arrival in Belgrade of the sultan's Vizier from Vidin, Ali Rizâ Paşa,<sup>47</sup> and his wife Meira, Princess Anka introduced the women only art salons. Meira, who had become a close friend of Anka's was not allowed to attend the mixed salons. Ali Rizâ Paşa (d. 1876) arrived in Serbia in 1862, after the Turkish bombing of Belgrade, at a time of very tense relations between Serbia and Turkey. Being a wise politician, he significantly contributed to the improvement of relations between the two countries. Hailing from an aristocratic family in Istanbul, Ali Rizâ Paşa was educated in Paris. He spoke French, German and English, and upon his arrival in Belgrade he studied Serbian. During his stay in Belgrade, he often went to the theatre, as well as to the balls organized by Prince Mihailo Obrenović.<sup>48</sup> For the social and cultural life of Belgrade, it is important to consider the role of Ali Rizâ Paşa's first and

<sup>46</sup> Kokanović Marković, *Društvena uloga salonske muzike u životu i sistemu vrednosti srpskog građanstva u 19. veku*, 123–8.

<sup>47</sup> Ali Rizâ Paşa was appointed Vizier of the Pashalik of Belgrade in 1862 and was the last Ottoman commander of the Belgrade Fortress. Mehmed Süreyya states that he served as military commander of the Belgrade Fortress from August 1864 to March 1867. Ali Rizâ Paşa's biography can be found in Mehmed Süreyya, 'Ali Rizâ Paşa', in *Sicill-i Osmani I*, ed. Nuri Akbayar (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfi, 1996): 301–2.

<sup>48</sup> Marinko Paunović, *Beograd večiti grad* [Belgrade, the Eternal City] (Belgrade: Svetozar Marković National University, 1968): 510–13.



**Fig. 2** Jevrem Obrenović with his son Miloš and daughter Anka

chief wife, Meira, who arrived in Belgrade with him along with a large entourage of officials and a harem. Greek by her father and French by her mother, Meira was born on the Greek island of Tinos, where she was educated by French teachers. In addition to her knowledge of Turkish, Greek and French, she studied Serbian and German in Belgrade.

Women's salons had an educational function: they served to discuss innovations in education and the upbringing of women and young ladies. Princess Anka Obrenović Konstantinović organized women's salons for wives of higher ranked officials and wealthy merchants. The guests brought their daughters to the salons to have them learn 'instructive European things': good manners, home decorating, flower growing and gardening. Princess Anka advised her

guests to read and visit theatre performances as much as possible.<sup>49</sup> On the other hand, the teacher and the first woman lawyer in Serbia, Marija S. Milutinović (1810–1875),<sup>50</sup> organized women's salons in her home on Tuesdays, which had two parts: practical-instructive and educational. Very educated and gladly seen among writers and poets, she instructed guests of her salons on 'how to culturally manage the whole household' (furnishing apartments 'according to the Viennese model', preparing various dishes, handicrafts, growing flower gardens), and then she avidly read Serbian folk epic poems, especially those on the heroism of women, and told French and German stories of didactic character. Milutinović was a close associate of Vuk S. Karadžić (1787–1864),<sup>51</sup> and she spoke about his work. Such gatherings regularly ended with the singing of folk songs, and often with the performing of some of the Serbian folk dances, which were played on the piano. These types of salons were primarily aimed at the education and upbringing of young women, with a clear aspiration to cultivate patriotic self-awareness.

The women's art salons were primarily organized to give women of the courtly elite and the highest state circles the opportunity for entertainment and art appreciation. Gatherings in the women's art salons of Anka Obrenović started at 2 p.m. and ended in winter at 5 p.m. and in summer at 6 p.m. at the latest. In addition to prominent Belgrade women, Anka invited wives of foreign diplomats accredited at the Serbian court, as well as wives of senior Austrian officers from military garrisons in Vojvodina<sup>52</sup> (Zemun, Pančevo, Petrovaradin), mostly Serbian and Croatian women. The dress of these women included both traditional and modern European styles. Princess Anka and her mother Tomanija, and the wives of foreign diplomats and Austrian officers, dressed in European fashion, although Anka sometimes wore 'luxurious Serbian folk costumes'. The wives of foreign diplomats pointed out that the women guests at salons of Princess Anka Obrenović Konstantinović were as fashionable as those at the most elegant European salon gatherings.<sup>53</sup> During the programme intermissions, guests were offered a 'rich buffet'.

Everything was served from the finest porcelain, and solid silver cutlery. Water, mineral and natural and various wines were drunk from glasses made of multicoloured glass, with different flowers and figures design. Chefs brought from Vienna, Pest and Timișoara prepared the most exquisite savoury pastries and modern cakes, which had not been seen in Belgrade before. The first exquisite cakes in Serbia were served at Anka's gatherings.<sup>54</sup>

Gatherings began with courtesy stories from the everyday life of the guests, and then the hostess read poems by French and German romantic poets, in the original

<sup>49</sup> Dimitrijević Stošić, *Posela u starom Beogradu*, 69–70.

<sup>50</sup> Marija S. Milutinović graduated from the Faculty of Law in Buda. She was the wife of the poet Simo Milutinović Sarajlija, and the couple moved from Buda to Belgrade in September 1838. Gordana Stojaković, 'Marija Milutinović – Punktatorka', in *Znamenite žene Novog Sada* [The Important Women of Novi Sad], ed. Gordana Stojaković (Novi Sad: Futura publikacije, 2001): 74–5.

<sup>51</sup> Vuk Stefanović Karadžić was a Serbian philologist, reformer of the Serbian language, folklore collector and author of the first Serbian dictionary.

<sup>52</sup> Today, Vojvodina is an autonomous province in the Republic of Serbia. In the nineteenth century, it was part of the Habsburg/Austro-Hungarian Empire.

<sup>53</sup> Dimitrijević Stošić, *Posela u starom Beogradu*, 74.

<sup>54</sup> Dimitrijević Stošić, *Posela u starom Beogradu*, 73–4.

or translation, but she would also always read one Serbian folk poem or story. Other guests also took part in reading poetry and prose, as well as the daily press, so political issues in Europe were also discussed, as well as Serbia's position on the socio-political map of the time. Playing and singing was an indispensable part of women's art salons, with playing the piano in four hands being the favourite one. The women's art salons gatherings ended with performing on the piano Serbian folk dances, waltzes and *csárdáses*, which were very modern in 1860s Belgrade.<sup>55</sup>

It is interesting that Ali Rizâ Paşa's wife Meira also held women's art salons, whose regular guests, in addition to the prominent women of Belgrade, included women from Vojvodina. The luxury salons were decorated with Persian carpets and items made of porcelain, silver, gold and amber. The guests sat on feather pillows made of velvet and satin, which were placed on the carpets and floor, with the exception of the women guests from Vojvodina, who sat on chairs, 'because of their large corsets like armour'.<sup>56</sup> Guests were served traditional Turkish dishes. Paşa's wife Meira dressed in a more European way in the house, but she wore a Turkish traditional costume with *niqab* when she went for a visit or when she received guests.

Since she played the piano, the violin and the guitar very well and sang beautifully, Meira often entertained her guests by performing on one of the instruments or singing to them. Her favourite song was 'Sunce jarko, ne sijaš jednako' (Bright Sun, You Do not Shine Equally). The lyrics of this song were written by Isidor Ćirić (1844–1893) and it was published by Kornelije Stanković in Vienna in 1862, in the first book of *Srbske narodne pesme* (*Serbian Folk Songs*) dedicated to Prince Mihailo Obrenović. Tchaikovsky was also attracted to the beauty of this folk song and used it in the *Marche Slave* in B-flat minor, Op. 31. The women of Belgrade sang Serbian folk songs, while guests from Vojvodina, in addition to old Serbian and Croatian songs, also gladly performed German and Hungarian ones.<sup>57</sup>

It is especially interesting to consider the dance segment of the gatherings in the salons of Ali Rizâ Paşa's wife Meira, which ended with dancing *čoček* (*choček*),<sup>58</sup> as well as European dances, of which women guests from Vojvodina were particularly fond. 'Famous *čoček* women dancers Zaida and her daughters Ajša and Zaza'<sup>59</sup> danced in the salon of Ali Rizâ Paşa's wife Meira. Thus, the guests, and some of them for the first time, could see the belly dancing of these excellent dancers. The most popular dance was the waltz, which Meira danced very well.<sup>60</sup> The women guests in the salon danced with each other, most often to the piano. In the end, each guest received a gift basket with southern fruit, yellow sugar, *rahat lokum*, candies, musk soap, rose oil and a bottle of Western European fragrance. Meira's

<sup>55</sup> Kokanović Marković, *Društvena uloga salonske muzike u životu i sistemu vrednosti srpskog građanstva u 19. veku*, 151–3.

<sup>56</sup> Dimitrijević Stošić, *Posela u starom Beogradu*, 66.

<sup>57</sup> Marijana Kokanović Marković, 'Forms of Sociability and Entertainment in the Principality of Serbia: Princess Anka Obrenović's Salons', *Musicology Today* 10/4 (40) (Oct–Dec 2019): 270.

<sup>58</sup> In *čoček*, dancers make movements with their bellies. *Čoček* came to Serbia with Ottoman conquests. Vasić states that it was customary for 'the Gypsies at that time to dance *čoček* all around the small towns'. Olivera Vasić, *Etnokoreologija opstajanje* [Ethnochoreology Persistence] (Belgrade: Art Grafik, 2005): 51–2.

<sup>59</sup> Paunović, *Beograd večiti grad*, 510.

<sup>60</sup> Dimitrijević Stošić, *Posela u starom Beogradu*, 66–7.

salons offer a window into the semi-private world of the wife of a high-ranking Ottoman official. Extremely well-read and musically educated, Meira was the heart of her art salons, achieving a unique blend of East and West through her own activity and the diversity of the women she hosted, their clothes, different languages and alternating 'sounds' of *čoček* and waltzes.<sup>61</sup>

The salons of Meira and of Princess Anka were visited by the same guests, who were friends with each other. In addition to prominent Belgrade women, the wives of foreign diplomats, accredited at the Serbian court, and the wives of senior officers from military garrisons in Vojvodina, there were also actresses, poets and distinguished guests from abroad. Among them was the wife of the Italian Consul Stefano Scovasso who was noted to have read Giacomo Leopardi's verses and excerpts from Alessandro Manzoni's *I promessi sposi* in the original, and who played the popular Italian patriotic song of the time *Viva l'Italia* on the piano.<sup>62</sup> During their stay in Belgrade, from September 1863 to April 1864, the English suffragists Adelina Paulina Irby and Georgina Muir Mackenzie also visited these women's salons.<sup>63</sup> During that period, they studied Serbian with Professor Nikola Krstić (1829–1902) and prepared for publication the notes from their travels.<sup>64</sup> The women's salons of Anka Obrenović and Ali Rizâ Paşa's wife Meira are an interesting testimony to the cultural coexistence of members of the Orthodox, Catholic and Muslim religions.

### Mixed Salons

Mixed salons drew a much wider circle of distinguished guests, since all key positions in the social life of the capital belonged to men. Prominent politicians, diplomats, professors, artists and other important people attended such gatherings. It is also important that these gatherings had no curfew, unlike women's salons which ended by 5 p.m., and in summer no later than 6 p.m.

The mixed salons organized by Princess Anka Obrenović Konstantinović in the 1860s had an artistico-political character: poems and stories were read, the piano, violin and guitar were played, and domestic and foreign affairs were discussed. These salons were more diverse than the women's only ones in their inclusion of intellectual content along with music and literature; the guests were often university professors, and the political dimension was very pronounced in conversations – a feature that was present, but much less prominent in the women's salons.

<sup>61</sup> Kokanović Marković, *Društvena uloga salonske muzike u životu i sistemu vrednosti srpskog građanstva u 19. veku*, 153–4.

<sup>62</sup> For more details, see Kokanović Marković, 'Forms of Sociability and Entertainment in the Principality of Serbia, 270–71.

<sup>63</sup> Adeline Irby (1833–1911) was born in England, where she received her education. After completing her studies, she travelled to Germany, Belgium and France, Hungary, Romania and European Turkey (1859–61) with her friend Georgina Muir Mackenzie. In 1862, they decided to visit parts of Turkey inhabited by the Southern Slavs. They also stayed in Belgrade and later moved to Bosnia and Herzegovina. On her return to London, Irby published a travelogue *Travels in the Slavonic Provinces of Turkey-in-Europe* in 1867. Branko Momčilović, 'Irby, Adeline Paulina', in *Srpski biografski rečnik* [Serbian Biographical Dictionary] 4 (Novi Sad: Matica srpska, 2009): 183–5.

<sup>64</sup> Milanka Todić, 'Heroine kolonijalizma u Srbiji' [Heroines of Colonialism in Serbia], *Kultura* 134 (2012): 11–23.

Although politics was discussed primarily by men, women also took part in the conversations. Among the active women participants in such discussions was Katarina (Đorđević) Milovuk, the first woman principal of the Women's College in Belgrade and wife of the choirmaster of the Belgrade Singing Society Milan Milovuk. Ali Rizâ Paşa was also a welcome guest, and the *spiritus movens* of the salons was the painter Stevan Todorović (1832–1925), who spoke to the guests about contemporary German and Hungarian fine arts. Todorović was a good friend of composer and pianist Kornelije Stanković (Fig. 3), and he often performed as an amateur singer (baritone) with him at concerts. Their friendship had begun during their studies in Vienna, and they brought ideas from the Habsburg capital and the pan-Slavic circle of intellectuals and artists to Belgrade and the Belgrade Singing Society – ideas that helped to establish a Serbian national art. Todorović



Fig. 3 Stevan Todorović, Portrait of Kornelije Stanković, 1850

was first a member of the Belgrade Singing Society and later their notary, secretary and president.<sup>65</sup>

During Stanković's stay in Belgrade, in May and June 1861, Princess Anka Obrenović Konstantinović organized several salon gatherings in his honour, in order to present him to respectable Belgraders. In addition to folk songs, her guests 'played classical pieces on the violin, guitar and piano'.<sup>66</sup> Stanković's repertoire included, in addition to his own works (variations on Serbian folk songs, quadrilles, Serbian folk dances), compositions by Franz Liszt and Sigismund Thalberg, as well as then-popular and today-forgotten salon pianists-composers such as Jacob Blumenthal (1829–1908), Louis Lacombe (1818–1884), Rudolf Willmers (1821–1878) and Josef Eduard Maximilian Pirkhert (1817–1881). His repertoire primarily included compositions showing technical bravura – opera paraphrases, etudes and fantasies. Contemporary articles and concert programmes show that often performed the following compositions: F. Liszt, *Illustrations du Prophète – Les Patineurs*, S. 414; Schubert/Liszt, *Ständchen*; J. Blumenthal, *La Source. Caprice pour le Piano*, Op.1; R. Willmers: *Sehnsucht am Meere*, Op. 8; *Ein Sommertag in Norwegen*, Grosse Fantasie, Op. 27; L. Lacombe: *Grosse Octaven Etude*; E.M.J. Pirkhert: *Etude*, Op. 10, No. 5, D-flat major; S. Thalberg: *Marche funèbre variée*, Op. 59; *Grand caprice sur des motifs de l'opéra la Sonnambula di Bellini*, Op. 46.<sup>67</sup> In the salons of Anka Obrenović Konstantinović, Stanković played alone or in four hands with the guests or he accompanied Stevan Todorović's baritone. His piano variations on the song 'So Restlessly, Why Do I Dwell', Op.6 (Fig. 4), which he published in Vienna in 1857,<sup>68</sup> were very popular, as were his arrangements of Serbian folk songs for voice and piano on love themes, such as 'Aj, sjela moma na pendžeru' (Ah, a Maiden is Sitting on a Window; Fig. 5). The guests danced waltzes and csárdáses with Stanković and taught him Serbian folk dances – kolos.<sup>69</sup>

In addition to the ruling Obrenović dynasty, salon gatherings were held in the home of Teodor Herbez (1790–1866) and his wife Jelenka, as well as in other bourgeois houses. Herbez was educated in Padua, where he received his doctorate in Law; after completing his studies he moved to Russia, where he earned a higher military rank. From 1844, the Herbez held salons in their large, elegant house, equipped with furniture from Vienna, in the evenings, and especially in the winter period. Their home was the centre of social life in the capital; the regular participants of these gatherings included members of the courtly elite, members of the State Council, professors of the Belgrade Lyceum, intellectuals, artists, politicians, military officers, and others.<sup>70</sup> Other welcome guests included Prince Mihailo Obrenović, Princess Anka Obrenović Konstantinović, the President of the State Council Stojan Simić and his wife, professors of the Belgrade Lyceum Konstantin Ranos, Konstantin Branković, Josif Pančić, and the writer and diplomat

<sup>65</sup> Petrović, 'Osnivanje i prvih šest decenija', 18.

<sup>66</sup> Dimitrijević Stošić, *Posela u starom Beogradu*, 77.

<sup>67</sup> Marijana Kokanović Marković, 'Pijanistički repertoar Kornelija Stankovića – između evropske prakse i nacionalne ideologije' [Kornelije Stanković's Piano Repertoire – from European Practice to National Ideology], *Muzikologija* 25 (2018): 103–17.

<sup>68</sup> *Air Nationale Serbién, varié pour le Piano. Serbisches Nationallied der löblichen Pancsovaer Gemeinde achtungsvoll gewidmet von Cornelius Stankovits*, op. 6 (Vienna: Gustav Albrecht, 1857).

<sup>69</sup> Dimitrijević Stošić, *Posela u starom Beogradu*, 77.

<sup>70</sup> 'Teodor Herbez', in *Srpska enciklopedija*, <http://srpskaenciklopedija.org/doku.php?id=start> (accessed 23 August 2020).

**Andante**

Fig. 4 Kornelije Stanković, 'Što se bore misli moje' (So Restlessly, Why Do I Dwell), piano variations, Op. 6, bars 22–25

**Andante con anima**

Fig. 5 Kornelije Stanković, 'Aj, sjela moma na pendžeru' (Ah, a Maiden is Sitting at the Window), bars 1–4<sup>71</sup>

Matija Ban with his wife. Mrs. Jelenka Herbez was a role model for distinguished Belgrade ladies: she spoke Turkish and Romanian and, thanks to her husband, she also had the opportunity to learn French and German, as well as to take piano lessons. Also a something of a fashion leader, Mrs. Herbez played the piano and entertained guests dressed in the latest European dress.<sup>72</sup> The salon evenings organized by the Herbez contributed to his reputation and expanded the network of social contacts. At the salon gatherings, people sang and played, and discussed domestic and foreign politics as well as contemporary writers. The guests also enjoyed popular international and Serbian folk dances.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>71</sup> *Србске народне песме I* [Serbian Folk Songs], dedicated to Prince Mihailo Obrenović (1862).

<sup>72</sup> Dimitrijević Stošić, *Posela u starom Beogradu*, 41–3.

<sup>73</sup> Dimitrijević Stošić, *Posela u starom Beogradu*, 23–31; Kokanović Marković, *Društvena uloga salonske muzike u životu i sistemu vrednosti srpskog građanstva u 19. veku*, 137–8.

At the beginning of the 1870s, the salon type gatherings from court and aristocratic luxurious salons became widespread in the more modest homes of Belgrade intellectuals. For example, in the house of grammar school professor and historian Gavriilo Vitković (1829/30–1902) and his wife Lujza, the gatherings were held twice a week and lasted until the early morning hours. Gavriilo Vitković had completed primary and secondary school in Buda, and had studied technical sciences at the University of Pest. He moved to Serbia in 1855 and worked as a professor in grammar schools in Kragujevac and Belgrade.<sup>74</sup> In the salon of the Vitković family the guests read political dailies and discussed current socio-political issues. They also discussed translated excerpts from the works of contemporary French, Russian and German realist writers and talked about ‘contemporary political doctrines of the new socialism in Europe’.<sup>75</sup> Lujza Vitković and her sister Jelena actively participated in the discussions and played the piano. Russian romances were sung and played in Belgrade for the first time in the Vitković family home. Prominent guests included the politician and founder of socialism among Serbs, Svetozar Marković (1846–1875) and his brother Jevrem. The sisters Milica and Anka Ninković, originally from Novi Sad, were also regular participants. The Ninković sisters, who studied pedagogy in Zurich, were avid supporters of socialist ideas.<sup>76</sup> At salon gatherings, they talked about Russian women socialists who had been forced to emigrate to Switzerland due to their political activity. At the end of the 1870s, the first woman doctor in Serbia, Draga Ljočić (1855–1926), who completed her studies in Zurich and was a prominent fighter for gender equality, joined this circle. The salons in the home of the Vitković family indicate different educational and cultural goals, both in the choice of guests and in the content of such gatherings. Women actively discussed current political, social and economic issues and the position of women in society, and they did not hesitate to act publicly.<sup>77</sup>

In the city milieu, taverns often ‘substituted’ for the institution of salon. Only men gathered in them, so the possibility of making male–female acquaintances was excluded, as was the possibility of the lady–host as the central person in the salon. Such gatherings took place in a public space, and everyone had to pay for their own order. The participants were connected by common interests. There were present ensembles (mostly wind or tamburitza ensembles) that performed a popular repertoire.<sup>78</sup>

## Conclusion

Foreign diplomats who were accredited at the Serbian court, as well as teachers of children of the princely family Obrenović and educated Serbs from the Habsburg Empire, played a significant role in the cultural transfer and adoption of European musical

<sup>74</sup> Petar V. Krestić, ‘Vitković, Gavriilo’, in *Srpski biografski rečnik* [Serbian Bibliographical Dictionary] vol. 2 (Novi Sad: Matica srpska, 2006), 228–9.

<sup>75</sup> Dimitrijević Stošić, *Posela u starom Beogradu*, 78.

<sup>76</sup> Gordana Stojaković, ‘Milica i Anka Ninković’ [Milica and Anka Ninković], in *Znamenite žene Novog Sada*, ed. Gordana Stojaković (Novi Sad: Futura publikacije, 2001): 115–17.

<sup>77</sup> Dimitrijević Stošić, *Posela u starom Beogradu*, 78; Kokanović Marković, *Društvena uloga salonske muzike u životu i sistemu vrednosti srpskog građanstva u 19. veku*, 138–40.

<sup>78</sup> Kokanović Marković, *Društvena uloga salonske muzike u životu i sistemu vrednosti srpskog građanstva u 19. veku*, 140.

practices and customs in salon gatherings in the Principality of Serbia during the nineteenth century. The process of transforming Belgrade from an oriental city to a modern European one is evident in the furnishing of salons, the clothing, the dishes that were consumed, and the types of socializing and entertainment that were organized. The ethnic diversity of the population, as well as the intersection of diverse cultural flows (Serbian, Ottoman and Western European) was also reflected in salon gatherings.

There is no doubt that different types of salons were of great importance for the cultural and social life of Belgrade. In their various forms, whether they were limited to conversations over coffee or included a wider programme (music, singing, reading poetry and prose, dancing, exchange of patriotic ideas, and so forth), private salons compensated for the lack of public associations and professional institutions, which were just beginning to develop at the time. Both adults and younger people also wanted to see each other in a wider circle, to talk to each other, dance, play music, play board games and make new acquaintances.<sup>79</sup>

The programmes of the selected salons examined here show a variety of literature was read aloud: Serbian folk poems and tales as well as works by Serbian poets and writers, and the works by French, Italian and German authors, either in the original or in translation. Current events were also a feature: excerpts from the local and foreign press were often read out and commented on, and various topics were discussed, with the conversation conducted in Serbian, French or German. Salons were important for the organization of social and cultural life, for the realization of various aspects of education, and for the attainment of national and political goals. It was in the salons that the need for institutions of importance for the cultural life – such as the establishment of the first Belgrade Singing Society or the construction of the building of the National Theatre – of the capital was discussed. Finally, dancing was perennial favourite. Socializing could spontaneously turn into dancing, and sometimes dancing was the expected conclusion to the evening. In court and bourgeois salons in Belgrade, gatherings, almost as a rule, ended with performing popular international and Serbian folk dance, and this contributed to the popularity of dances in piano literature.

Since public life offered few opportunities to hear music, the music in salons was an important aspect of the city's musical life. Playing the piano in four hands, a common practice throughout Europe at the time, was a favourite.<sup>80</sup> The repertoire included dances, marches, arrangements of folk songs and dances in the form of variations, potpourris and fantasies. Arrangements of orchestral or choral works were often performed on the piano, as well as arrangements of popular songs from operas and operettas, which were intended for public musical life. The repertoire of these is preserved in music albums – bound collections, from the private property of Serbian families, with collected printed music editions and transcriptions of selected compositions.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> Kokanović Marković, *Društvena uloga salonske muzike u životu i sistemu vrednosti srpskog građanstva u 19. Veku*, 168–9.

<sup>80</sup> See *Nineteenth-Century Piano Music*, ed. R. Larry Todd (New York: Routledge, 2004); *Musical Salon Culture in the Long Nineteenth Century*, ed. Anja Bunzel and Natasha Loges (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2019); Nancy November, *Beethoven's Symphonies Arranged for the Chamber: Sociability, Reception, and Canon Formation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021).

<sup>81</sup> Nataša Marjanović, *Muzika u životu Srba u 19. veku* [Music in the Life of Serbs in the Nineteenth Century] (Belgrade: Musicological Institute of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts: Belgrade, 2019): 82–3.

Through the salons, enlightened women forged a new role for women in society. These women were able to break with the previous traditions in which they were tied only to the family, and they established new values based on education and intellectual potential.<sup>82</sup> An examination of the content of gatherings in Belgrade's court and bourgeois salons reveals the significant role of women, not only socially and culturally, but also in the political life of the capital. Following the example of the European model of salons, the women played an important role in the emancipation of women in society during the construction of the modern Serbian state. The step from the private sphere to the public, at first available only to the wives and daughters of the ruling Obrenović dynasty and high-ranking foreign officials, gradually spread to the upper and middle class. In the salon atmosphere, women had the opportunity to show their knowledge and skills: playing an instrument (mostly the piano), conversation in foreign languages, dance skills, or knowledge of literature and poetry. However, this 'decorative form of education',<sup>83</sup> was accompanied by the active participation of women in conversations on women's rights in society and by their participation in discussions about the national and international press and political scene, as well as by their advocacy of innovations in the life of the capital.

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<sup>82</sup> Katarina Mitrović, 'Dvor kneza Aleksandra Karađorđevića' [The court of Prince Aleksandar Karađorđević], in *Privatni život kod Srba u 19. veku*, 317–18.

<sup>83</sup> Kokanović Marković, *Društvena uloga salonske muzike u životu i sistemu vrednosti srpskog građanstva u 19. veku*, 94–116.