

Adolf Berman and Josef Schlesinger

Two German Contributors to Serbia's Internal Development in the 19th Century

By PHILIP J. ADLER (Greenville, USA)

After years of tortuous maneuvering, the erstwhile rebel leader *Miloš Obrenović* had the satisfaction of seeing his regime internationally recognized in 1830 as the autonomous Principality of Serbia. The *Hattisherif* issued by the Porte in that year limited the Turkish presence to a few garrisons, while granting the Serbs the right to their own internal administration, culturally and politically¹).

While the robust autocrat *Miloš* could take understandable pride in this accomplishment, autonomy brought with it the need to create in Serbia a milieu which would not stand in such marked retardation when compared to western or central Europe. The final decade of *Miloš*' first reign (1830—1839) saw the first systematic effort to bring the levels of Serbian administration, law, education and other aspects of national life to acceptable nineteenth century standards.

The quasi-medieval socio-economic circumstances of the population placed severe limitations on such efforts, and these were compounded by the Prince's nature. Himself but lately risen from the ranks of a crude *guerrilla*, the Prince had a pathological suspicion of any who might threaten his newly won authority through creation of an independent power base. One result of this was that the apparatus of the state was peculiarly the prince's creature: the state *Cassa* was in fact indistinguishable from the ruler's personal treasury, government contracts were let at the Prince's pleasure and subject to his revision, etc. Another consequence was the prevalence of foreigners in the small bureaucracy. As much to obviate possible competition from his Serbian associates as because of the scarcity of native talent, *Miloš* preferred to bring in individuals from outside the borders to assist in the vital task of government. Within the political bureaucracy, these recruits were normally Serbs from the Habsburg monarchy, who either volunteered their services or were sought out by the Prince's agents. These "prečani" came in large numbers during the 1820s and especially after the normalization of Serbian con-

¹) The Hatti-shefir was a direct result of the Russian victory over the Porte in the war of 1827—1828. Among other things, it granted *Miloš* the title of Hereditary Prince and allowed the Serbs to set up their own school system and press.

stitutional affairs in 1830. By the end of *Miloš* first reign they were playing a major part in the workings of every aspect of the government except the military.

Important as these Habsburg Serbs were to *Miloš*, they could not fill all the demands for skilled personnel which faced the new government. Despite their much higher levels of education and expertise when compared to the local Serbs, the *prečani* were themselves yet in apprentice status to the more highly developed elements of the multinational empire. It was to the Germans, particularly, that the Serbs on either bank of the Danube looked for access to the crafts and arts of the modern era. In fields as diverse as metalworking, pedagogy, historiography, and the applied sciences, the Germans served as the predominant models. When the Serbian prince was not able to find suitable *prečani*, or to induce them to accept his rather parsimonious contracts, it was natural that he turn next to the German Habsburg residents. Two such, *Adolf Berman* and *Josef Schlesinger*, were contracted into Serbian service during the year 1830, and contributed in substantial though sharply varying fashions to the life of the new nation. *Berman* was the founding director of the first Serbian press, and *Schlesinger* introduced the Serbs to modern European musical culture²).

Adolf Berman (Pyrmont 1798—Jassy 1862) was a Hannoverian by birth, and Evangelical by religion. About his youth nothing is known; at some point after elementary schooling he moved to Berlin and there learned the printer's trade. Either directly from Prussia, or more probably via way-stations in the handful of cyrillic printeries in the Habsburg empire, he arrived in St. Petersburg in early 1830 to begin a contract with a Russian press. Soon after, he was contacted by a pair of Serbian emissaries, sent to Petersburg by *Miloš*

²) The major documentary source on *Berman* is the Knjaževska kancelarija (KK) archive, particularly section XXXIX, Štamparija, now held in the Narodni archiv in Belgrade. A few items have appeared on him in Serbian prints: *Alexandar Arnautović, Štamparije u Srbiji u XIX veku* [Presses in Serbia in the nineteenth century], Beograd 1912; *Lazar Plavsić, Srpske Štamparije od kraja XV do polovine XIX v.* [Serbian presses from the end of the fifteenth to the middle of the nineteenth century], Beograd 1959; *Jovan Skerlić, Istoriski pregled srpske štampe 1791—1911* [An historical survey of the Serbian press 1791—1911] Beograd 1911 and *Svetislav Šumarević, Štampa u Srba do 1839 god* [Publications among the Serbs to the year 1839], Beograd 1936 each contain some mention of his Serbian activity. One article has come to my attention: M. Podoljski's "Adolph Berman" in the *Srpski književni glasnik*, 1932, nr. 35, pp. 589 ff.

On *Schlesinger*, besides occasional mention in the KK and its successor archives in Belgrade, there is the short treatments in the various essays of the leading Serbian musicologist *Stana Djurić-Klayn* (notably her contribution to the collective work *Historijski razvoj muzičke kulture u Jugoslaviji* [Historical development of musical culture in Yugoslavia], *Josip Andreis*, ed., Zagreb 1962) and the same author's "Josip Šlezinger" in the *Jevreski almanah* for 1961/1962, Beograd 1963. Also, *Tihomir Djordjević, Srbija pre što godina* [Serbia one hundred years ago], Beograd 1946, pp. 67 ff.

to purchase equipment for a new governmental press in Belgrade, the first in Serbia³). Upon receiving their report on the well recommended German "Faktor", Miloš authorized his men to contract *Berman* for an initial period of two years as the operational head of the *Knjaževska Tipografija* (later *Štamparija*). *Berman* was instructed to hire two assistants prior to coming to Belgrade, and after some searching he was able to secure the services of one *Anton Okenfuss*, currently employed in Buda, and a certain *Hammerle* of the same city⁴).

Berman arrived in Belgrade in the middle of 1831, shortly after the two presses and other equipment obtained in Russia were off-loaded from a Danube barge after a wearisome voyage via Moldavia. For the ensuing year and one-half, he functioned as superintendant and operational chief of the *Tipografija*, enjoying direct access to the Prince⁵). His contractual duties included the hiring of German and Serbian personnel; obtaining or casting type-fonts in several languages; serving as purchasing agent, training a number of Serb apprentices in typesetting and setting, and exercising general editorial and financial responsibility, save only for the censorship of submitted works. This latter remained in *Miloš*' hands, through his subordinates in the governing *Savet* (council). The press was to be the instrument of the government (in actuality, of the Prince); it could accept private contracts, provided that they had passed the censorship, but its main task was to provide the regime with official documents.

Difficulties of every sort soon made *Berman*'s confident statement to the Prince concerning the ability to commence work by the end of the summer of 1831 appear uncomfortably naive⁶). The design of the Serbian type was a slow process⁷). Its casting, once designed, proved more of a problem than expected, thanks in part to *Hammerle*'s delay in arriving⁸). *Berman* complained that the Serbian apprentices were incompetent, and that he had to undertake every minor task himself. *Berman*'s relation with his German

³) The emissaries were *Cvetan Rajović* and *Avram Petronijević*, who completed their mission with some delay by purchasing two older model presses and several sets of type-matrices in Russian, German and French.

⁴) *Okenfuss* was originally from Stuttgart. Both he and *Hammerle* apparently were employees of the Cyrillic press at the University of Buda and thus possessed some experience with the Serbian language.

⁵) *Berman* corresponded initially in German with the prince; he was able to learn passable Serbian after about a year, partly through marriage to a Serbian woman. German language letters from *Berman* to *Miloš* in KK XXXIX, nr. 4/1831, 12, 15, 18 and 27/1832; from this point (Nov. 1832) onwards the correspondence is in Serbian.

⁶) Letter dated 28 July, 1831, *Berman* to *Miloš*.

⁷) At this time the Serbs were still using a variation of Church Slavonic for their script, and as they had been unable to purchase a set in either Petersburg or Buda, they had to design and cast their own type font using earlier imprints as a model.

⁸) *Hammerle* had held out for a larger salary and travel expenses before agreeing to come to Belgrade. He arrived sometime in the late summer of 1831.

underlings was strained from the outset. After adding a third typesetter in the person of *Gottfried Schroppel*, another German from Hungary, he was faced with the defection of *Okenfuss*, who pled health reasons for going back to the empire in early 1832⁹).

Apart from a few minor official imprints, the press began to produce only in March 1832, when the galleys of the first part of *Dmitrije Tirol's* "Geografija" were completed¹⁰). This work ran into censorship difficulties, however, and the first work released for public sale was a selection of *narodne pesme* (folk ballads) collected by G. Kovačević and N. Stematović, and placed on sale in May 1832 in an edition of 500 copies¹¹). Small editions of other works by private authors followed at long intervals during 1832 and 1833. Most of the output continued to be governmental regulations, passports, etc. A notable exception was the circus poster featuring the first picture of an elephant ever seen by the majority of the Belgrade population¹²).

In early 1833, the Prince moved to make new arrangements in the press' administration. For some months previous, a *prečani*, *Dmitrije Isailović*¹³), had been acting as "Administrator" of the *Tipografija*, with undefined jurisdiction. *Berman* resisted this diminution of his previous authority, and for some time the lines of command had been unclear in terms of the press' finances and contractual affairs. Also, the materials thus far printed had been filled with orthographical and typographical errors of every sort. *Berman* had been forced to defend himself against accusations of incompetency from several quarters, writing the Prince that it was the unfamiliarity of the Germans with the Serbian language, the shortcomings of his apprentices and the multiplicity of hands through which the final product passed that were to blame. All of these would be cleared up, allegedly in short order¹⁴).

However, a rather individious domestic dispute broke out among the German employees in December 1832, which led so far as fisticuffs (*Rauferei*)¹⁵).

⁹) His return to Hungary was only temporary, as it turned out. Some months later he returned to work, but again left, this time permanently, in September 1833. *Hammerle* also departed, in April 1833, to manage a *Gasthaus* in Zemun. Upon hearing of *Okenfuss's* defection, he applied for and received his old job back, staying in the prince's employ until at least 1836 when his name is listed under the employees of the *Tipografija* in a February payroll.

¹⁰) *Tirol* was a leading Serbian author-educator of the era. His *Političko zemljopisanije za upotrebljenje Srbske mladezi* or Geography book for Serbian Youth was the first textbook printed in the Principality.

¹¹) The work was paid for by a Belgrade bookseller, a certain *Vožarević*, who also sponsored an edition of *Dositej's* Life and Adventures in 1833. On the earliest products of the press, see *Arnautović*, op. cit., pp. 53—60.

¹²) Letter, *Berman* to *Miloš*, 5 June 1832. KK XXXIX, nr. 15/1832.

¹³) *Isailović* had a distinguished career in the Principality, coming there in 1830 to act as tutor to *Miloš* children and to teach in the newly founded *Više Škola* (high school) in Belgrade.

¹⁴) Letter *Berman* to *Miloš*, September 1832. KK XXXIX, nr. 27/1832.

¹⁵) Reports on this to *Miloš* from *Isailović* and *Atanasije Teodorović*, dated 8 and

This was the final straw for *Miloš*' sense of dignity, and in January 1833 he issued a *Nastavlenije* (Fundamental Law) for the press which made *Isailović* the general overseer and controller, while reducing *Berman* to operational head only. In his report¹⁶⁾ to the Prince on the quarrel among the Germans, *Isailović* depicts *Berman* as technically competent, but overbearing and difficult to work with. *Hammerle* and *Okenfuss*, on the other hand, were "grasping and uncultured". Some time later, he characterized the whole group as "those infuriating Schwabs"¹⁷⁾. Other Serb officials had an equally low opinion of *Berman* and his associates¹⁸⁾. From the documents, it is impossible to know what *Miloš* himself thought: perhaps he believed that no replacement could be easily found, or perhaps he was in this instance, as in many others, not adverse to a little mutual friction among his subordinates.

In September 1833, *Miloš* decided to move the Tipografija to his current residence in Kragujevac, in interior Serbia. Other government agencies were already there; and besides the autocrat's desire to keep every aspect of the bureaucracy under his watchful eye, *Miloš* wanted to commence the distribution of an official newsheet¹⁹⁾. Since its proposed editor, *D. Davidović*, was to continue serving as *Miloš*' private secretary, it would be necessary to move the press. Accordingly, *Berman* supervised the setting up of the Tipografija in an old barracks in Kragujevac in mid-September.

Besides the *Novine Srpske* (which commenced printing in early 1834), the press continued to produce mainly official items. Some books were printed, also; mostly they were elementary texts for the few Serbian schools and didactic tracts and readers for Church usage. *Berman*'s relations with *Isailović* and *Jakov Jaksić*, the State Treasurer, settled into a type of mutual irritation without evident resolution. His days in Kragujevac were made more enjoyable, one may assume, by the company of *Josef Schlesinger*, with whom he came into contact primarily through their association in the newly founded princely theatre²⁰⁾. Under the artistic direction of *Joakim Vujić*, this amateur group had its stage in a part of the Tipografija; and it was apparently a labor of love

20 January 1833, respectively. KK XXXIX, nrs. 36 and 40/1833. The trouble apparently originated in petty arguing between *Berman*'s wife and the *Hammerle*'s cook.

¹⁶⁾ Ibidem.

¹⁷⁾ Letter, *Isailović* to *Miloš*, March 1833. KK XXXIX, nr. 51/1833.

¹⁸⁾ See for example the reference to state Treasurer (Blagajnik) *Jakov Jaksic*'s complaints in *Berman*'s letter to *Miloš* of July 1832 (KK XXXIX nr. 18/1832) and the letter of the German printer *M. C. Adolf* to *Miloš* dated January 1834. *Adolf* has "heard" that the prince and others are not satisfied with *Berman*'s work, and asks for the press directorship. KK XXXIX, nr. 88/1834.

¹⁹⁾ This was the *Novine Srpske* promoted by *Isailović* from the time of his arrival in Serbia. It was the first newspaper printed in Serbia.

²⁰⁾ The *Knjaževsko-srpski teatar* gave its first production in February 1835. Its history is outlined in Svetislav Šumarević, *Teatar kod Srba* [Theatre among the Serbs], Beograd 1939, pp. 113—145.

for *Berman* to act as its “mašinst” (stage director), with his Serbian wife, *Jesa*, functioning as the company’s makeup artist. The Prince’s boyish enjoyment of their presentations was occasionally expressed in solid coins. These bonuses — a favorite device of the ruler to assure loyal service without being bound to high-paying contracts — were most welcome to *Berman*, who, like most of the foreign contractees, frequently complained of his low salary²¹).

It was, therefore, even more difficult for *Berman* to accept the decision to remove the *Tipografija* back to Belgrade, in May 1835, while the theatre remained in Kragujevac with the princely court. There was no choice in the matter, of course, and in mid-June the equipment was again by the Danube’s banks. A general inventory, repeatedly postponed, was to be taken simultaneous with the relocation²²).

Whether for fear of the results of the inventory or no, *Berman* crossed the river to the Austrian town of Zemun (Semlin) on the 24th of June and declared himself to the military authorities as a refugee. This totally unexpected development was announced to *Miloš* via a letter posted the next day by *Berman*²³). In it, he claimed that he could no longer resist the unjustified oppression he allegedly had suffered, which prevented him from fulfilling his contract. Further, since he was owed a substantial sum, he had taken some money and the official seals from the *Tipografija*, which he would return upon satisfactory resolution of his demands. Upon receipt of this startling news, *Isailović* was detailed by *Miloš* to go over and speak with the refugee and attempt to get him to return to his job. A few days later, *Isailović* reported that *Berman* remained adamant, and that he had appealed to the Austrian authority for the return of the seals and the 585 forints which *Berman* had taken. Eventually, the stolen seals were returned, but the money was held in escrow by the Petrovaradin *Generalkommando* because *Berman* was bringing suit against the Serbian government in the Austrian courts²⁴).

²¹) I have been unable to find a reference to *Berman*’s salary. His successor received 52 forints per month in 1836. KK XXXIX, nr. 136/1836.

²²) Supervisory control of the press had passed from *Isailović*’s to *Jaksic*’s hands in 1834, and was to go to *C. Rajović* coincident with the move back to Belgrade.

²³) *Berman* to *Miloš*, 25 June 1835. KK XXXIX, nrs. 116, 118 and 119 of 1835 give information about *Berman*’s alleged motivations via his statements to *Isailović* and the Austrian authorities.

²⁴) Letter, *Rajović* to *Miloš*, August 19, 1836. KK XXXIX, nr. 124/1835. The outcome of the suit cannot be followed in the documents. *Berman* remained in Zemun for a few weeks only before going to Budapest. The money, which he claimed was owed him for salary and expenses, remained temporarily in the hands of the *Generalkommando* before its presumptive return to the Serbs.

It is impossible to know what *Berman*’s motives were in his flight from the Principality, but he apparently resented the increasingly stringent controls upon his activity as Director of the press’ operations, construing them as a vote of no confidence in his ability. There is no evidence that *Berman* was in fact owed money by the Prince’s treasury, nor that he had engaged in actions which would have induced the government’s displeasure. Perhaps, as *Podoljski* intimates, *Berman* was

This *contretemps* did not entirely end *Berman's* connections with the Serbs. After passing a short time in Budapest, he emigrated to Bucharest in 1836, working there in a German-owned printery. In 1838 he moved on to Jassy; and in the next year he wrote *Miloš* a letter begging forgiveness for his hasty conduct, and asking re-employment in the *Tipografija*²⁵). *Miloš*, who was quite unpredictable in such affairs, agreed, and *Berman* returned to Belgrade for about six months in 1839, working as a subordinate to his successor, the Viennese *Philipp Walter*. Either as a result of a better offer, or more probably because of the sudden abdication of his princely patron, *Berman* left Serbia for good in late 1839 and returned to Jassy for the rest of his life. In 1855 he was able to purchase his own press there, and died in 1862.

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Josef Schlesinger, played a substantially larger, and more permanent role in nineteenth century Serbian life²⁶). *Schlesinger* (Sombor 1790? — Belgrade 1870) was born into the small Jewish bourgeoisie in south Hungary. He completed his schooling in his birthplace, and began private study of music while in his teens. After playing in orchestras (used largely for theatrical accompaniment and civil ceremonies) for some years in Hungary, he was offered the post of *Kapellmeister* for the Novi Sad *Bürgergarde* and moved there with his family in the late 1820s. He accepted an offer to come to Serbia as house tutor of the children of Prince *Miloš'*, brother *Jevrem* in 1829, and arrived in the interior town of Šabac to take up these duties sometime the next year.

Šabac was one of the important military-administrative centers of the freshly-baked principality, and the local garrison stood under *Jevrem's* command. With his musical background, *Schlesinger* was naturally encouraged by his employer to begin training of a "banda" among the local soldiery. In the spring of 1831, *Miloš*, who was strongly attracted to Serbian folkmusic, ordered the creation of a more formal group, the *Knjaževska-srpska Banda*, in Kragujevac, and appointed *Schlesinger* at its *Kapelmaystor* with a salary of 360 *talir* (thaler) per annum²⁷).

At this juncture, *Schlesinger* was undoubtedly the only resident of the principality with any systematic knowledge of Western music. Prior to the

gripped by *Wanderlust* and felt that he had spent sufficient time in Serbia. But this does not, of course, explain the attempted embezzlement of funds.

²⁵) There had been some previous contact through intermediaries. See *Podoljski's* essay mentioned above.

²⁶) For much of the following I am indebted to S. Djurić-Klayn's essay mentioned above, and also to her *Muzika i muzičari* [Music and musicians], Beograd 1956, a collection which casts some light on *Schlesinger's* musical accomplishments.

²⁷) A *talir* was worth approximately five forints. Austrian coins were widely used during the first half of the nineteenth century in Serbia. This salary — later raised to 400 *talir* p. a. — certainly placed *Schlesinger* in the uppermost ranks of the Serbian bureaucracy.

creation of the princely band, Serbian music was composed entirely of Turkish influenced folk melodies, as dances or accompaniments to the traditional *narodne pesme*. The dominant instrument was a one-stringed version of a medieval lute (*gusla*), although the guitar, accordion, and fiddle were not unknown. Orchestral techniques and harmonies as understood in western and central Europe were entirely foreign to the Serbs, except as some of them had the opportunity to travel into the empire and hear German musicians. Needless to say, there were no schools or other forms of instrumental or vocal training available, excepting the transmission of folksongs through the generations.

Measured against contemporary standards, *Schlesinger's* own accomplishments were of no great order. He played several stringed instruments, was familiar with brass and percussion, and had an understanding of harmony and conducting. But he had no formal training in composition when he arrived in Serbia, and his numerous later works were generally unoriginal, though by no means negligible²⁸). Although Italian romantic opera (Bellini, Donizetti) was probably the strongest influence in his career, his later work shows many connections with the folk music of the Serbs and even the sacral music of the Orthodox church.

The creation of the princely "Banda" was no easy task. Its members were drawn — sometimes involuntarily — from the ranks of the army recruits. Most of these peasants sons were musically and otherwise illiterate. They often resented their assignment, as band duty was in addition to other work until 1837. Instruments taken from contemporary Austrian practice were imported and paid for by the Prince. Besides the usual brasses and percussion, *Schlesinger* also instructed and composed for guitar and violin. The Banda began with sixteen instrumentalists plus *tamburmažur* (drummajor); it was later increased to between thirty and forty-four²⁹).

As well as the usual parades and reviews, the band was expected to play for any and all occasions when the Prince desired. It was used for accompaniment of receptions for distinguished guests, balls, and concerts for the ruler's birthday. As *Kapelmajstor*, *Schlesinger* was responsible for composing and conducting a great variety of works, taken both from the European repertoire and from national motifs. He composed a large number of potpourri, fantasias, and marches taken from both these sources, as well as melodies for original and traditional *pesme*. After the creation of Vujic's theatre, the band played for all performances and was in fact the focus of attention for most of the

²⁸) Djurić-Klayn classifies his work as that of a gifted dilettante. Among his achievements was the composition of the first Serbian opera, to the text of the popular play by Atanasije Nikolić "Ženidba cara Dušan." Premiered in Kragujevac in 1840, it has not survived in printed form though it was apparently a great success. This was the only opera attempted by Serbian composers until almost a half-century later.

²⁹) Djordjević, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

audience. *Schlesinger* was the originator of that form of play-with-music, modelled on the German Singspiel, which came to be the dominant form of Serbian musical culture during the latter half of the nineteenth century³⁰).

Most of the early stage works were Serbicized versions of contemporary German light comedy, or tableaux with music, based on Serbian medieval history. In either case, *Schlesinger* was expected to arrange musical "Einlage", songs by single actors or the whole group which might or might not have anything to do with the dramatic action, as well as incidental music. He was apparently very successful in this. *Miloš* particularly favored *Schlesinger's* adaptations of folksong, and frequently interrupted to demand a repetition of one or another of these vocal set-pieces³¹).

In 1836, the theatre in Kragujevac was closed, and *Schlesinger* concentrated on other work. During the confused events which surrounded the abdication of *Miloš* in 1839, *Schlesinger* was briefly imprisoned by the Constitutionals as a faithful adherent of the deposed prince. Upon release, he assisted in the organization of another amateur group, the *Teatar na Djumruk*, in the new capital of Belgrade³²). While this theatre, too, had a short existence, travelling players from Pančevo, Novi Sad, and other places in the Habsburg domains gave sporadic *tournees* in Belgrade during the 40s and 50s³³). *Schlesinger* composed much music for these groups, while continuing to give private and public concerts with the band in Serbia and, occasionally, across the Danube.

The rapid and sometimes violent changes in Serbia's rulers from 1839 to 1861 did not seriously affect the *Kapelmajstor's* position, which by the latter part of this period had become that of an institution³⁴). His longstanding devotion to the *Obrenović* family was rewarded by a substantial pension in 1864, during the reign of *Miloš's* son *Mihail*. As his successor, he secured the appoint-

³⁰) Djurić-Klayn, op. cit., p. 579—581.

³¹) For an interesting description of the theatre, see Wilhelm Richter, *Serbiens Zustände unter dem Fürsten Milosch bis zu dessen Regierungs-Entsagung im Jahre 1839*, Leipzig 1840. *Berman* is herein (p. 50) credited with inspiring the princely theatre's creation; this is very probably untrue, as is Richter's statement (p. 50) that some of the drama was given in German.

³²) The *Teatar na Djumruk* was founded by *Atanasije Nikolić* in a former warehouse, and existed for two years, 1840—41 as the first public theatre in Serbia. *Nikolić's* chief assistant, besides *Schlesinger*, was the noted playwright *Jovan Sterija Popović*.

³³) In 1842 a group from Novi Sad took up residence in the Serbian capital at the invitation of Prince *Mihail*, giving performances for several months. This was the first professional theatre in the principality. Later in the forties, it was succeeded by the group from Pančevo under *N. Djurković*, which gave several short seasons in Belgrade. During this period, *Schlesinger* and *Djurković* worked closely together on several plays with music which had considerable success.

³⁴) Until into the 1880s, "šlesingerima" was a common appellation for all musical conductors in Serbia.

ment of his friend and collaborator, the *prečani* Serb *N. Djurković*. After a few years of honored retirement, *Schlesinger* died in Belgrade in 1870.

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Their very different characters and fates apart, *Schlesinger* and *Berman* were representative of the Germans who came to *Miloš*' principality in order to advance their careers. Rarely of first rank capacities, they were sufficiently accomplished as to assure that there would be no serious rivals in their specialties among the native-born Serbs. In the case of *Berman*, his mastery of the printing trade was totally unparalleled among the Serbs of the Principality's early years, a period in which German craftsmen completely dominated printing and book publication in southeast Europe³⁵). His erratic and apparently arrogant nature brought him to conflict with his employers, who, beginning with Prince *Miloš*, would have much preferred to have a fellow citizen performing the sensitive tasks with which the *Tipografija* was entrusted. Not only were there none to be found at the time, but a full twenty years were to pass until a single Serb could be found in a leading post in the press.

Schlesinger on the other hand, was eminently acceptable, not only because of the much less politically delicate nature of his work, but also because of the man's ingratiating character, his sympathy towards the Serbian government, and his willingness to tie his personal fate to that of his adopted land.