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**THE CREATION OF FOLK MUSIC PROGRAM
ON RADIO BELGRADE BEFORE WORLD WAR TWO:
EDITORIAL POLICIES AND PERFORMING ENSEMBLES***

Abstract: This paper deals with the establishing of the organizing models, on one side, and with folk music and its aesthetic characteristics in the interwar period, on the other. This problem significantly contributed to the present meaning of the term “folk music” (“narodna muzika”). The program of Radio Belgrade (founded in 1929) contained a number of folk music shows, often with live music. In order to develop folk music program, numerous vocal and instrumental soloists were hired, and different bands accompanied them. During that time, two official radio ensembles emerged – the Folk Radio Orchestra and the Tambura Radio Orchestra – displacing from the program the ensembles that were not concurrent to their technical and repertoire level. The decisive power in designing the program concept and content, but also in setting standards for the aesthetic values, was at the hands of music editorship of Radio Belgrade. The radio category of folk music was especially influenced by Petar Krstić (folk music editor in the period from 1930 to 1936) and his successor Mihajlo Vukdragović (1937–1940), who formally defined all of the aforementioned characteristics, but in rather different ways. A general ambivalence in the treatment of the ensembles that performed at the radio reflects the implementation of their policies. In comparison to the official orchestras, the tavern singers and players received poor reviews in the editors’ reports, despite their strong presence on the program. On the other side, the official orchestras were divided according to the regional folklore instrumentarium, but also according to the quality of playing. The Folk Radio Orchestra probably had double leadership, so it was possible to observe different approaches to the music folklore, which eventually resulted in a unique tendency towards cherishing folk music. This paper represents an attempt to show how the media term “folk music” was constructed and where it currently

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stands in comparison to the usual study objects of ethnomusicology and popular music studies. My argument is that the discourse of authenticity was fundamental for the creation of official folk music.

Key words: Radio Belgrade, editorial policies, folk music, performing ensembles

Radio Belgrade JSC officially started broadcasting on 24 March 1929 from the premises of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts. It was active until 1941, when the program was interrupted by German occupation, which resulted in a restructuration of Radio Belgrade into “Radio Sender Belgrad”. When the Radio was launched, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was in a difficult economic position, which meant that the solvency of the Radio’s potential customers and subscribers was weak. The introduction of the Sixth of January Dictatorship only three months earlier also had a great influence on the early days of the Radio (Марковић 1979: 16). Until 1940 the main financial supporter of Radio Belgrade was the London-based company “Marconi”, and later the state “nationalized the radio” (Марковић 1979: 14). These political and social circumstances certainly influenced the configuration of the entire program. The music program was affected too, because some of the associates, Belgrade’s leading musicians at that time, were members of the illegal League of Communists of Yugoslavia (e.g. the composer Vojislav Vučković and the eminent folk musicians Vlastimir Pavlović Carevac and Sima Begović). Aside from the employment of the leftists, the direct political influences on the content of folk music program at Radio Belgrade have not been observed in interwar period. Therefore, I will discuss the treatment of folk music and the editors’ attitudes. The firm foundations for the profile of music program were set in the periods until 1936, when the key person was Petar Krstić with Vladimir Slatin as his assistant, and from 1937 to 1940, when the leader was Mihajlo Vukdragović with Vojislav Vučković serving as his secretary (Коцић and Миљковић 1979: 111). It should be mentioned that in 1936 Vukdragović held the position of the officer for folk music at the Radio. Although Lovro Matačić founded the music program in 1929, and from the second half of 1940 Stevan Hristić, Svetomir Nastasijević and Kosta Manojlović took the lead (Коцић and Миљковић 1979: 111), the periods of

their responsibility for the music department will not be considered, because they did not determine the content of folk music program and the profile of radio ensembles as much as Krstić and Vukdragović.

The beginning of broadcasting contributed to the popularization of all music genres, from Western classical music to various local folk music practices. More than anything, it gave rise to the establishing of popular music genres. Before that, the commercially released records were the main media for mass distribution and consumption of music; however, they did not have the impact of a medium such as radio, because it broadcast the program from different locations and for different audiences. The gramophone records were the most common sound carriers in Serbia, and their content constituted a large part of the radio music program – but as its extension. Radio was very important for the development of today's popular music studies, because it mediated between the listeners, musicians and music industry, and it created specific national repertoires and increased the speed of launching and spreading new musical trends (Negus 1996: 77–79). Radio played a key role in establishing a widely accepted label of folk music as the music of “the people” (more on the concept of “folk culture” in relation to this problem in general in Vidić Rasmussen 2002: XXIII); moreover, it also influenced the changes in later rural music folklore. At the beginning, radio was regarded by some as the system that would channel and halt the development of folk music (Bingulac 1968: 531). My argument is that the beginning of radio program broadcasting is one of crucial moments for the institutionalization of folk music, because the radio helped establish what is nowadays widely considered a “folk song”: namely, a supposed sample from a given local folklore practice paired with an instrumental accompaniment derived from everyday music entertainment venues in urban areas.

According to Kocić and Miljković, the basic radiophone categories at Radio Belgrade in the interwar period were: serious, light, dance and folk music (Коцић and Миљковић 1979: 74). The term “folk music” encompassed amateur rural singing and playing from different parts of Yugoslavia, but also musical practices of entertainment ensembles from the urban areas, often including professional musicians. Although these categories of folk music were

nominally separated, they intertwined in everyday repertoire and performing style. Folk music was broadcast throughout the day, especially in the evenings, with the shows such as “Music on Gramophone Records” (“Muzika sa gramofonskih ploča”), “Folk Music” (“Narodna muzika”), “Folk Songs” (“Narodne pesme”), “Folk Evening” (“Narodno veče”), and including the live broadcasts from various Belgrade taverns and restaurants.

The already mentioned apprehension of the adjective “folk” is in accordance with today’s discourse of both music editors and the wider audience (see also Golemović 1997). However, this is not a usual meaning of the term “folk music” in Serbian ethnomusicology, because the common notion of this term implies rural ritual music with supposed archaic origin (in Serbian both these practices are called “narodna muzika” /“folk music”/, but a more appropriate term for the latter practice in English would be “traditional music”). Although this type of music was represented on Radio Belgrade before World War Two (e.g. performances by *gusle* and bagpipe players, sometimes accompanied by expert lectures), it did not prevail. Rural folk music differed from the music discussed in this paper both because it contained high religious, ethical and aesthetic values for the nation, and because it primarily served to educate the listeners (Матавуљ 1940: 2). On the other hand, the folk music repertoire performed at Radio Belgrade was intended to entertain the wider audience, as confirmed by the recorded comments and wishes of the listeners (more on statistics related to radio music categories in Nikolić 2006: 73). In Serbian ethnomusicological discourse, this repertoire is usually labeled as “new ‘folk’ music” (Девећ 1963); additionally, it can be observed with respect to the notion of vernacular (Jakovljević 2012: 298). From observing the historical, actual and different local usages of the term “folk music”, it becomes clear that it has multiple meanings. According to concepts that define media expansion as crucial for the development of local popular music genres (Manuel 1988: 2; Dimov 2012), the radio folk music can be labeled as regional popular music, i.e. the category that connects traditional and popular music. However, since it is different from these categories, but also because I wish to preserve the original terminology found in the material that I have studied, I will refer to this music as “folk music”.

The main source of information for this paper is *Radio Belgrade: Radiophony Illustrated Weekly* (*Радио Београд: Недељни илустровани часопис за радиофонију*), the Radio Belgrade newspaper where weekly programs and short articles on specific topics and performers were published. This magazine had been printed since the official beginning of Radio broadcast until the bombing of Belgrade 6 April 1941. Researching folk music on Radio Belgrade in the interwar period is technically limited – namely, it is presumed that there are no official sound documents of radio program from that period because of World War Two destructions. On this occasion, I will analyze the Medium and Long Wave frequencies, since that was the program broadcast every day in Serbia. The available material is related to live performances, so it points to the performing possibilities and contexts related to contemporary folk music practice. Quite often, the exact repertoire was not announced in the magazine, therefore for a number of shows there are no records on performed vocal and/or instrumental tracks. Although playing commercial gramophone records constituted a large and important part of music program, this issue will be considered another time. It should be mentioned that folk music on Radio Belgrade in the interwar period was not the subject of comprehensive ethnomusicological studies, however the radio historians (Коцић and Миљковић 1979; Симовић 1989) and amateur researchers (e.g. Janoš 2008) observed the tendencies of music development and collected data on radio performers.

*The treatment of folk music on Radio Belgrade
before World War Two*

The editors' attitudes towards folk music on Radio Belgrade during the interwar period were generally ambivalent; consequently, this affected the performing ensembles and the content of program. This epoch of folk music history can be observed as a period of two different policies and even if they were not opposed, their musical outcomes were different.

During the period of Petar Krstić's leadership, Rikard Švarc wrote numerous articles on music, but I have not found any transparent documents

of Krstić's editorial policies concerning folk music. His approach can be discerned by analyzing the program framework. Radio Belgrade folk music scheme could be divided into live performance broadcasts and playing of commercial records (78 rpm gramophone records released by "His Master's Voice", "Pathé", "Columbia", "Edison Bell Penkala", "Odeon", etc.). Live music was broadcast in two ways: either from a tavern or from a studio. This also indicates a dichotomy that will later escalate in the program – i.e. the separation between the professional and amateur performers. At the very beginning, singers from the theatre and the opera often performed on the radio, but in the course of time, their presence diminished. On the other side, the presence of the most popular and a number of new amateur singers was constantly increasing during the twelve-year period. The binary model can also be observed in the division of instrumental accompaniment into folk ensembles (these will be discussed separately) and piano accompaniment. The latter type of accompaniment was strongly criticized by reputable Radio Belgrade musician Sima Begović (Anonymous 1936a: 6), and since Vukdragović's appointment, it was abandoned altogether. The piano parts were usually played by Dimitrije Gerasimenko, and the stores that rented out the pianos ("Jovan Frajt", "Harmonija") were promoted in printed programs. The soloists (both male and female) and duets sang the main vocal parts, while the solo instrument was usually the accordion (*harmonika*).

According to the analyzed programs, available reports in the magazine and Vukdragović's personal testimony, his editorial mission was primarily directed towards a regulation and improvement of folk music program (Anonymous 1939a: 9, Anonymous 1939b: 2). His most active period coincides with the early culmination of Radio Belgrade in terms of organization, program and technical aspects, which was from 1937 to 1939 (Nikolić 2006: 47).

The regulation of folk music repertoire, performing ensembles and performing styles are considered to be Vukdragović's most important achievements in this area (see also Стојановић Новичић 2008). In 1936, the management of the radio aimed "to improve the quality of folk music" (Вукдраговић

1983: 63) by employing him as an officer for folk music. The policy of the Radio was to achieve the elitist ideal of “pure” folk music, because after a while it became quantitatively overridden by the music considered to be of lesser value:

“Improvised folk music (so called *sevdalinka*) has been one of the most popular segments of our shows since the establishing of our station until today. During that time, it was one of the most delicate problems of our music program, and nowadays it is even more so. There is no doubt that placing it in the program of Belgrade radio station was a huge concession to the widest strata of radio listeners. But ten years ago (during the 1930s, *M.D.*), nobody knew how much this type of music would expand, and what difficulties from year to year the editors would have in order to make that improvised music appropriate, so that it could legitimately exist on our program as both primitive and artistic at the same time” (1983: 63).

Belgrade radio station was even a corrective for the folk music in everyday practice (Anonymous 1939d: 3). Although it was a city radio station, urban music practices were seen as negative:

“From the multiple ideal, aesthetical and social aspects, radio folk music has its own justification as an authentic sound image from the original field, or as an artistically shaped object, made with an absolute respect for the original. All the other so-called improvised music with multiple twisted influences – Gypsy, oriental or urban – leads to a distortion of the originals” (Вукдраговић 1983: 64).

From the beginning of his employment, Vukdragović aimed towards an ideal of an authentic national folklore, performed by local people, “untainted” with foreign melodic, rhythmical, ornamental and textual influences. The only permitted way of reworking the folklore was by employing the methods of Western classical music:

“We insist more and more on the singer’s closeness to the original, to the melody and its distinctions, as it had originated from somewhere in Bosnia, Metohija, Dalmatia. We are trying to purify the folk song from alien influences, be it Hungarian, Gypsy, or tavern music. We are systematically promoting the artistically arranged song” (Anonymous 1936c: 3).

In other words, Vukdragović was advocating academic approach to the folk music, but he was also opposed to the improvised, i.e. unregulated musicianship that was common in the taverns. This also reveals negative attitudes towards Gypsy music practice among music editors and writers of that time (based on Ђорђевић 1910). Vukdragović was also trying to improve on Krstić's editorial legacy by excluding piano accompaniments from folk songs and by introducing obligate ensembles (Anonymous 1936c: 3).

Still, although there is no doubt that he contributed towards the standardization of accompanying orchestras, "raised the level" of folk music by writing folk melodies' arrangements, and probably insisted on establishing of a regular informative column in *Radio Belgrade* which published ethnographical data and transcriptions of some folk tunes ("Our Folk Singing" /"Naše narodno pevanje"/ since 1939), Vukdragović failed to eliminate the music that he was opposed to. The reason could be an acknowledgement of the results of the examination of listeners' opinions from 1935, because according to them no less than 39,5% of examinees voted for Gypsy ensembles in the program (Васић 1935: 2), or from 1937, when folk music again had the highest voting score (Радио А. Д. 1937: 1). Moreover, Vukdragović introduced much more shows with folk music than his predecessors (since 1939, one of the highlights in the program was the show with a populist title "Show for Folks" /"Emisija za narod"/), as well as more evening shows with local folk music practices ("Serbian Evening" /"Srpsko veče"/, "Skadarlija Evening" /"Skadarlijsko veče"/, "Bosnian Evening" /"Bosansko veče"/, "Rudnik Evening" /"Rudničko veče"/, "South-Serbian Evening" /"Južnosrbijansko veče"/, "Šumadija Evening" /"Šumadijsko veče"/, "Krajina Evening" /"Krajiško veče"/, "Potisje Evening" /"Potisko veče"/). Also, there were shows with undefined musical content ("Folk Evening" /"Narodno veče"/, "Vivid Evening" /"Šareno veče"/), and there were more singers and soloist on the instrument than it had been the case during Krstić's leadership (including the shows with extensive repertoire, such as: "Yugoslav Evening" /"Jugoslovensko veče"/, "Vojvodina Evening" /"Vojvodansko veče"/, "Bosnia and Herzegovina Even-

ing”/“Bosanskohercegovačko veče”/, “Balkans Evening”/“Balkansko veče”/, “Bohemian Evening”/“Boemsko veče”/, “Folk Evening”, “Vivid Evening”, “Serbian Evening”).

Activities of music editors’ associates should be considered, too, admitting that the relevant documentation on Krstić’s assistants was not found. One of the most prominent folk musicians in Vukdragović’s time was Sima Begović, who worked at the Radio as a guitar player and singer since its establishing, and it is likely that he was one of the leaders of the later Folk Radio Orchestra. From 1937, he became the officer for folk music, which meant that he participated in committees for “reduction and admission of new singers”, but also that he was rehearsed with vocal soloists “texts and intonations” (Simić 2009). Begović was collecting folk tunes and interpreting them on the Radio; he even published a collection of folk song lyrics (see Беговић 1938). Although Begović’s anthology does not contain music, this publication still qualifies him as a folklore collector because he preserved important data about the repertoire performed at radio (it is assumed that that repertoire was well loved by the listeners, too). With this activity based on the idea of folk music preserving and reviving, Begović followed his contemporaries such as Vladimir Đorđević, Danica and Ljubica Janković, Kosta Manojlović and Miloje Milojević, although Begović did not reach their field work, melography and analytical-interpretative levels, based on their academic discourse. Being aware of the power of the media such as radio, Sima Begović conceived his “radio duet” performances (with his sister Lela /Begović/ Đorđević) as an educational program for promoting authentic folklore (Simić 2009), so he endeavoured to prepare the songs from all regions of Yugoslavia and to present some new songs in every show (M. 1939: 1). He also aimed towards an improvement of the repertoire and quality of interpretation in general, as in the editors’ opinions, it was threatened by the broadcasts of taverns performances. Begović enthusiastically used printed scores, especially from the area of music folkloristic, which implies that he considered printed templates as more valuable than oral tradition, but also as a conserved source that was more convenient for arranging (such as adding the second vocal part and chords in instrumental accompaniment). Unfortunately,

because Begović's complete repertoire was not preserved and there are very few sound examples of the duet's performance, it is not possible to consider his treatment of folklore samples, which is considered very important for clarification of today's complex relation between traditional and popular music, the categories labeled in different contexts as "folk music" ("narodna muzika"). But, it is clear that Begović approached the issue seriously, and by doing so he led the way for his successors:

"The first one who gave me an idea about cultivating folk repertoire was Pavle Stamatović, the manager of Belgrade's electric power plant. As suggested by him, I started going to the National Library and I found old scores of traditional songs, published as early as 1850. We have the editions with the oldest songs from Bosnia and Herzegovina. And we only learn from the scores. I was digging through the library shelves for months; I looked over a bunch of books until I was covered with dust, black as a sweep. But this is how I found nearly four thousand songs, which we would not be able to sing during our lifetime. Maybe it is not so well known that we sing a new repertoire in every show" (1939: 1).

Aside from that, Begović wrote one of the first reviews of Western popular music in Serbia, pointing out that it suppressed genuine folk music and that it modified its musical characteristics (see Беговић 1941).

The narratives on the processes of working with the folk music samples and the qualifications of "folk" in music were very important too. Vukdragović's employment as an officer in 1936 meant "a careful choosing of participants for the shows, compulsory rehearsals with an orchestra for renowned singers and expert control over the shows" (Вукдраговић 1983: 63). His successor Branko Čobanić left valuable information on his own work on creating music for broadcasts (Anonymous 1939d: 3). His criteria relied on the already mentioned discourse of authenticity:

"In order to be a good folk singer, it is not sufficient to have a beautiful voice and good hearing. The singer needs to understand a song, to feel it, to give it tone and shape. And only a person who loves the people and feels their soul can do that" (1939d: 3).

The description of his job is significant not only for the reconstruction of the history of the Radio, but also because at the time that was the only way for the Radio Belgrade listeners to learn how the program was made. Therefore, Čobanić was working with the musicians who knew the basics of folk singing style and repertoire. The process of learning a new song started from its lyrics, i.e. its semantics and emotions. Giving priority to the meaning of the text, he insisted on repeated pronouncing of a song, simultaneously correcting the performer's manner of emphasising. The melody was regarded as easier to understand, so it was dealt with later on, and that process was not described precisely. However, the basic rule was formulated as such: "(...) men sing male songs and women sing female songs; everyone sings what suits them, not what is fashionable"; moreover, usually everyone sang the songs from his/her own region (1939d: 3). This pedagogical process lasted for about fifteen hours with every singer and Čobanić was writing down these changes in music scores. From the beginning of the Radio it was acknowledged as very important for the national culture to document and archive both written and recorded music and there was a strategy for preserving music heritage very similar to some present-day practices:

"Folk song is chosen, arranged, classified according to its emotion and origin, and given back to people after the correction. Also, some beautiful old songs that had been forgotten have been installed in the repertoire after being studied by folk singers, and that is a regenerative process" (1939d: 3).

*Radio Belgrade folk music ensembles
before World War Two*

Folk music ensembles played a very important role in the implementation of editorial program policies, but also in "sounding" of folk music. During this period, the staple of today's representative folk music performance was founded – the Radio orchestra for folk music, the role of which was to accompany the singers and to perform folk dances (*kolo*). The leaders of these orchestras who had their own aesthetic criteria also participated

in creating of the profile of folk music. It should be mentioned that, aside from the folk orchestras, another ensemble for the “light”, salon music was also established in the interwar period, and that there were live broadcasts of this kind of popular music from Belgrade restaurants and hotels.

During the entire interwar period at Radio Belgrade, the folk music ensembles were divided into tavern ensembles and studio orchestras. In the beginning, the bands were not standardized, but since Vukdragović took his position, two folk orchestras became official, mirroring the dichotomy in the styles in folk music of the time.

During the time of Krstić’s leadership several folk ensembles dominated the program; those were the ensembles that performed in Belgrade taverns, restaurants and hotels. Krstić was not directly opposed to this kind of musical practice, which is not surprising considering that he had worked as an entertainment musician during his studying in Vienna (Đurić Klajn 1957: 397). In addition, he was familiar with tavern music as a head of the Literature and Art Department at the Ministry of Education of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, which implied administrative contact with the associations of musicians. These ensembles were kept on air even after Krstić’s period, but unfortunately, there are no records on their repertoire. Although Vukdragović generally criticized tavern music style as detrimental for folk music, during his period there were performances of various ensembles, but tavern musicians mostly remained anonymous.

Because a firm distinction between the folk and “light” music repertoires in actual performances cannot be confirmed, I will consider both these types of tavern musical practices. The live performances from the city taverns were usually broadcast in the evening. As expected, the exact record on repertoires was not kept, but there is some information on performance venues and bandmasters (e.g. broadcasts from “Moskva” /with bandmaster Kučera/, “Građevinska kasina” / Stevica Nikolić/, “Dva jelena” / Dušan Popaz /, restaurant “Zanatski dom” etc.). In the first years, one of the most distinguished ensembles was “Serbian Gypsies” („Srpski Cigani”) led by Ante Grujić, and the gramophone records by Gypsy orchestras were played too (e.g. Stevica

Nikolić). During Krstić's period, there were often performances of other Gypsy chapels (e.g. Šandor Radu, Predrag Gračanin etc.) and it is plausible that an emphasis on the Gypsy and tavern credentials of the musicians was placed for commercial purpose. Still, this practice had not been institutionalised later on as a regular part of radio program.

Vukdragović influenced the establishing of two folk music orchestras – the Folk Radio Orchestra (Narodni radio-orkestar) and the Tambura Radio Orchestra (Tamburaški radio-orkestar). However, they had predecessors in earlier independent or accompanying ensembles that had performed on the Radio. Their leading musicians played in the aforementioned older ensembles, but the official establishing of these two orchestras was important for defining their structure and their participation in the program. It is interesting that the leaders of the orchestras (Aranicki, Begović, Pavlović) and some of the members (e.g. Radivojević) were reputable Belgrade citizens of that time, thanks to their formal education and playing skills. This fact is in opposition with a common assumption of folk music spontaneity, and it affirms thesis that folk music was directly influenced by these musicians' educational and aesthetical experiences.

Until the official founding of the Folk Radio Orchestra, the radio program featured the following ensembles: Dr. Milutin Radivojević's Ensemble (Družina dr Milutina Radivojevića), Vasa Simić's *Sevdah* Orchestra (Sevdalinski orkestar Vase Simića), Maksimović Brothers (Braća Maksimović), Paunović – Simić's Ensemble (Družina Paunović – Simić), Todorović – Milenković's Amateur Ensemble (Amaterska družina Todorović – Milenković), Milutin Stojanović's Orchestra (Orkestar Milutina Stojanovića), Pupils' Folk Quintet from Zemun (Narodni đачki kvintet iz Zemuna), Pera Živković's Ensemble (Družina Pere Živkovića), Milan Urošević's Orchestra (Orkestar Milana Uroševića), Pera Paunesku's Orchestra (Orkestar Pere Pauneska), Joca Dimitria's Gypsy Chapel (Ciganska kapela Joce Dimitrie), Dušan Popaz's Orchestra (Orkestar Dušana Popaza), Steva Nikolić's Orchestra (Orkestar Steve Nikolića), as well as the orchestras that played other ethnic music, such as Đerđ Oanče's Orchestra (Rumunski orkestar Đorđa Oančea).

From the beginning, Sima Begović's Trio (Trio Sime Begovića) occupied a prominent position because it performed frequently, and from 1935 it became Sima Begović's Orchestra (Orkestar Sime Begovića). Since May 1937, the Folk Radio Orchestra started appearing in the program. In *Radio Belgrade* magazine, there is conflicting information on the leadership of the Folk Orchestra, and this has translated into the histories of the Radio. There is no doubt that the most important performers were Sima Begović, often mentioned in the magazine, and Vlastimir Pavlović Carevac, eagerly described in the memories of his colleagues. In his report on folk music at the Radio from 1936, Vukdragović mentions that the orchestra consists of three violins, viola, cello and double bass (Anonymous 1936c: 3), which implies Carevac's primacy. Carevac came to Radio Belgrade from the workers' society „Abrašević” (Дробац 2011: 49). Carevac's testimony is important for the history of the orchestra:

“In the summer of 1929 I received a call from Radio Belgrade to come and perform with my orchestra, in the studio, for the show. At that time, all members of the orchestra were music amateurs, intellectuals. Here are the members' names, basically of the entire orchestra: Milutin Radivojević, M.D; judge Čupić – also a singer; Siniša Savić, an architect; Milan Lukić, PTT officer; Dr. Bata Živković; Boža Todorović, lawyer; and others. Except for Dr. Radivojević and me, the membership was constantly changing. We were all young and we played well” (according to Марковић 2011: 26).

On the other side, Sima Begović had been active at the Radio since its establishing and he worked towards founding an accompanying orchestra:

“Gradually the folk orchestra was created. The accompaniment was changeable up to 1936, when Sima Begović Orchestra was founded, now known as the Folk Radio Orchestra. As a singer, Sima Begović appeared for the first time with his sister Lela Đorđević in 1935. From that moment, they sang together seven hundred songs from our various regions, mostly *sevdalinka*” (Anonymous 1939c: 2).

Based on a photo taken in early 1930s (Обрадовић 1997: 1), it is obvious that both Begović and Carevac were playing in the orchestra and that the orchestra itself was expanding by time. This ensemble was not active during World War Two – Begović died in 1942, while Carevac was imprisoned. After he was released, the orchestra was led and promoted into an institution of proper folk music performing by Vlastimir Pavlović Carevac. He has been worshipped at Radio Belgrade (e.g. Обрадовић 1997; Белобрк 2011; Марковић 2011) and that probably contributed to the fact that Begović was all but forgotten.

The authors who wrote about Carevac's virtuoso playing style, orchestration, pedagogy and defining of "folk" in music (Димитријевић 2011; Рацков et al. 2011), complement their opinions with the memories on Carevac from the interwar period, and some of the contributors from the collaborations with him after World War Two, documented by sound recordings. Carevac was regarded as a credible folk music interpreter, because he played both at the Radio and at his own tavern "Savinačka kasina" in Belgrade. He performed with some famous radio musicians (according to Марковић 2011: 16, some of them were Milica Bošnjaković, Vera and Bogdan Butaš, Dobrica Grozdanović), and it is underlined that they played there "for their own pleasure" (2011: 16). The discourse on Carevac performing style regards it as exemplary: "Carevac would say that the melody is alive only if it is sung or played with soul and balance" (Обрадовић 1997: 37). In an ethnomusicological foreword to the only CD release of the archival sound recordings made by Carevac's orchestra, his essentialist approach to folk music is noted. This means that his priorities included the origin of a song and a singer, the understanding of lyrics and the responsorial relation between the soloist and the orchestra. The outcome of these was expected to be an artistic piece based on the transformed folk citation (1997: 37). Nevertheless, it is difficult to understand Carevac's attitude toward "folk citation" because there are no references for possible comparison with those "products". In spite of different historical data, Begović's and Carevac's ideas were apparently similar; thus, even if the Folk Radio Orchestra had double leadership, it nevertheless had a single policy on folk music aesthetics.

The Tambura Radio Orchestra was established in 1936. Before that, there had been different balalaika and mandolin orchestra, but also: Vojvodina

Students' Tambura Orchestra (Tamburaški orkestar vojvodanskih studenata), Zemun Pupils' Tambura Orchestra (Đačko zemunsko tamburaško društvo), A. Švarc's Tambura Orchestra (Tamburaški orkestar A. Švarca), Pera Živković's Tambura Ensemble (Tamburaška družina Pere Živkovića), "Jorgovan" Tambura Band (Tamburaški zbor „Jorgovan”), Zemun Tambura Orchestra (Zemunski tamburaški orkestar), "Sloboda" Tambura Orchestra (Tamburaški orkestar „Sloboda”), Bosnian Tambura Chapel (Bosanska tamburaška kapela) with conductor Ahmet Tabaković, The Mačkaški Brothers from Mol Amateur Tambura Orchestra (Amaterski tamburaški orkestar braće Mačkaški iz Mola), The Kozarski Brothers from Stari Bečej Tambura Orchestra (Tamburaški orkestar braće Kozarski iz Starog Bečēja), Sokol Tambura Association (Sokolsko tamburaško društvo) with chief Pera Tumbas, Workers' Tambura Orchestra "Kožarac" (Radničko tamburaško društvo „Kožarac”), The Relić – Cicvarić Brothers Tambura Orchestra (Tamburaški orkestar braće Relić – Cicvarić).

From 1933, the most prominent ensemble was Aleksandar Aranicki's Orchestra, which became the official orchestra since 1936 (Anonymous 1936b: 8); it was active during World War Two. It is interesting that in the early days the tambura orchestras usually did not accompany the singers, while the Tambura Radio Orchestra was designed also for this purpose, as was the Folk Radio Orchestra, and they were even performing in the same shows (e.g. "Show for Folks", "Folk Evening"). The members of the Tambura Orchestra were Vladimir Himerlajh, Todor Familić, T. Stanković, A. Perlić, Steva Tumbas, Stevan Jovanović – "virtuosi and former band leaders" (1936b: 8). Radio Belgrade Tambura Orchestra was introduced as a folk music orchestra that would answer the criteria for "folk" set by the listeners in Vojvodina, because tambura was the most representative instrument in that area. Since the other listeners were not so fond of this instrument, Vukdragović (used to be also a tambura player) was looking for the performers of the highest calibre (1936b: 8). Aranicki, a violinist and *prim* player, lead the orchestra because he collected and arranged "around three thousand songs and four hundred dances, grouped into approximately two hundred potpourris without repeating a single song or dance" (1936b: 8). Aside from the music from Vojvodina, it is obvious from the programs that this orchestra also provided regular accompa-

niment for the singers of Bosnian music. This orchestra was technically better than the Folk Orchestra, according to the editor's criteria based on the model of the symphony orchestra:

“When the orchestras and their accompaniment are concerned, the great technical mastery of the Tambura Orchestra and its fascinating harmony-counterpoint synergy with a soloist surpassed the technical level of the Folk Orchestra, whose arrangements were too simplistic and who often struggled with chord progressions. Its leader Vlastimir Pavlović Carevac was an excellent interpreter of our dances and it was his highest achievement. Yet, when it comes to the Tambura Orchestra with its leader Aleksandar Aranicki, I gladly remember one scene with them playing in front of the composer and conductor of the highest European level. It was Czech Karel Jirák, my professor of composition at the Prague Conservatory, who was invited by the Executive Board of Radio Belgrade to come and get to know our music program. I did not have much to show him, the symphony orchestra had not existed yet. Nevertheless, he was listening the Folk and Tambura Orchestras. He was sceptical about Carevac and the Folk Orchestra (he liked one *kolo* and he also admired Carevac's playing). But the tambura players amazed him. ‘I have never heard anything like that in this genre. Those are inspired masters – virtuosi of their instruments’, he said” (Вукдраговић 1983: 64).

It is plausible that Aranicki's orchestra was a model for professional tambura ensembles after World War Two and that it contributed to today's perception of tambura as a typical folk music instrument in Vojvodina.

Based on the editor's affinities discussed here and their realisations, one may conclude that the folk music program on Radio Belgrade was shaped by the discourse of authenticity. The tools for achieving the effect of authenticity were: the employment of common traditional instruments (such as *tambura*); citing of the original source (specifically, Begović's research of folklore repertoire before the show); descriptions of real performance contexts (with live performances, especially from the taverns); participation of folk musicians (aside from Carevac as the most representative musician, there

were numerous singers, too); narratives on genuine music that originated from anonymous folk, referring to the locality of music and to geographical and ethnical origin of musicians whilst denying foreign music influences; the use of special performing techniques (i.e. singing with respect to the meaning of lyrics, designated ensembles playing, specific /un/improvised ornamentation). In fact, the authenticity was not inscribed in music, but it was assigned to it (Moore 2002: 210), and the reason for insisting on authenticity in radio folk music was a focus on the audience that was expected to adopt it as a common practice. The professional radio ensembles mediated the authenticity of the music of the folk and that is how the stylized product of professional radio arrangers was created and later accepted as folk music. In terms of its institutionalization, repertoire and style, the folk music heritage from the interwar period has been preserved until the present day, and its discourse of authenticity has also stayed, nowadays supplemented with its own historicity.

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Марија Думнић

КРЕИРАЊЕ НАРОДНЕ МУЗИКЕ НА ПРОГРАМУ РАДИО БЕОГРАДА
ДО ДРУГОГ СВЕТСКОГ РАТА:
УРЕДНИЧКЕ ПОЛИТИКЕ И ИЗВОЂАЧКИ АНСАМБЛИ
(Резиме)

Музичко уредништво Радио Београда имало је одлучујућу улогу у осмишљавању програмске концепције, садржаја и естетских вредности музике. На радијску категорију народне музике посебно су утицали Петар Крстић и Михајло Вукдраговић. Спровођење њихове политике огледа се у генерално амбивалентном приступу оркестарским саставима који су наступали на радију. Кафански певачи и свирачки састави су, упркос великој заступљености у програму, добијали, спрам званичних оркестара, лоше критике у рефератима уредништва. С друге стране, и сами званични оркестри (Народни и Тамбурашки) били су подељени према фолклорном регионалном инструментаријуму, као и према квалитету свирања. Коначно, Народни радио-оркестар је највероватније имао двојно вођство, те је могуће читати различите приступе музичком фолклору, који су ипак резултирали јединственом тенденцијом неговања народне музике. Овај текст представља настојање да се утврди како је конструисан медијски појам народне музике. Закључно је становиште да се народна музика званично профилише својом аутентичношћу.

