

Будућност
историје **музике**

The Future
of Music **History**

МУЗИКОЛОГИЈА
MUSICOLOGY

27 II/2019

МУЗИКОЛОГИЈА
MUSICOLOGY

Реч уреднице
Editor's Note

Тема броја 27 Будућности историје музике инспирисана је истоименим семинаром, организованим у оквиру конференције одржане у Српској академији наука и уметности септембра 2017. године. Организатор семинара био је Џим Самсон, један од најзначајнијих музиколога данашњице, емеритус професор колеџа Ројал Холловеј Универзитета у Лондону, редовни члан Британске Академије и аутор више од 100 публикација, међу којима је и прва обухватна историја музике на Балкану на енглеском језику (*Music in the Balkans*, Leiden: Brill, 2013). Проф. Самсон је љубазно прихватио наш позив да буде гост-уредник овог броја часописа, у којем објављујемо радове четворо од петоро учесника панела Будућности историје музике (Рајнхард Штрома, Мартина Лесера, Кејрин Елис и Марине Фролове-Вокер). Изражавамо велику захвалност овим еминентним музиколозима на искрјаном промишљању будућности наше дисциплине и настојањима да предмет изучавања истину географске регије, друштвени слојеви и слушачке праксе који су досад били занемарени у музиколошким разматрањима.

The theme of the issue No 27 The Future of Music History was inspired by the eponymous seminar organised as part of a conference held at the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts in September 2017. The seminar was prepared by Jim Samson, one of the most outstanding musicologists of our time, Emeritus Professor of Music, Royal Holloway (University of London), member of the British Academy and author of more than 100 publications, including the first comprehensive history of music in the Balkans in English (*Leiden: Brill, 2013*). Professor Samson kindly accepted our invitation to be the guest editor of this issue, in which we publish articles by four of the five panelists (Reinhard Strohm, Martin Loeser, Katharine Ellis and Marina Frolova-Walker). We are deeply grateful to these pre-eminent musicologists for their thorough reflection on the future of our discipline and the continuous efforts to make the subject of study the geographical regions, social strata and listening practices that have hitherto been neglected in musicological considerations.



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History

Гост уредник ЏИМ САМСОН
Guest Editor JIM SAMSON

Часопис **МУЗИКОЛОШКОГ ИНСТИТУТА САНУ**
Journal of **THE INSTITUTE OF MUSICOLOGY SASA**

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Часопис Музиколошког института САНУ
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РЕЧ УРЕДНИЦЕ

Тема броја 27 *Будућности историје музике* инспирисана је истоименим семинаром, организованим у оквиру конференције одржане у Српској академији наука и уметности септембра 2017. године. Организатор семинара био је Џим Самсон, један од најзначајнијих музиколога данашњице, емеритус професор колеџа Ројал Холовеј Универзитета у Лондону, истакнути гостујући професор Кинеског универзитета у Хонг Конгу, редовни члан Британске Академије и аутор више од 100 публикација, међу којима је и прва обухватна историја музике на Балкану на енглеском језику (*Music in the Balkans*, Leiden: Brill, 2013). Самсон је љубазно прихватио наш позив да буде гост-уредник овог броја часописа, у којем објављујемо радове четворо од петоро учесника панела *Будућности историје музике* (Рајнхарда Штрома, Мартина Лесера, Кетрин Елис и Марине Фролове-Вокер); радови су, за ову прилику, значајно проширени, опремљени обимним критичким апаратом и илустрацијама. Пети рад, из пера Кетрин Батлер Скофилд, биће објављен у наредном броју часописа *Музикологија* бр. 28 (I/2020).

Тему броја отвара текст Рајнхарда Штрома, дугогодишњег професора Универзитета у Оксфорду, посвећен пројекту писања глобалне историје музике, засноване на пост-европоцентричном и постисторијском начину промишљања; паралелно с тим, Штром разматра импликације овог и сродних пројеката на токове развоја историјске музикологије. У наредном тексту, немачки музиколог Мартин Лесер даје још један могући одговор на питање о будућности историје музике, аргументујући неопходност писања историја свакодневног музичког живота, које више нису усмерене на велике наративе и ствараоце, већ пружају далекосежне увиде у разноврсне видове контакта са музиком у датим историјским епохама. Док Лесер проучава музички живот у Хамбургу почетком XVIII века, Кетрин Елис, професорка Универзитета у Кембриџу, усмерава пажњу читалаца на музички живот у Француској на преласку из XIX у XX век, те заговара потребу за уочавањем културне разноликости унутар националних држава у раздобљу европског романтичарског национализма. Ауторка тиме показује да националне културе нипошто нису монолитне, те да будуће историје музике морају да се децентрализују и обрате више пажње на провинције. У раду који закључује Тему броја, Марина Фролова-Вокер, професорка Универзитета у Кембриџу и чланица Британске Академије, указује на још једну велику тему будућних историја музике: превазилажење дубоко уврежене поделе на „ниску” и „високу” уметност, уз узимање у обзир слушачких преференција.

Изражавамо велику захвалност свим еминентним музиколозима чији су радови објављени у Теми броја, као и проф. Самсону, на исцрпном промишљању будућности наше дисциплине и настојањима да предмет изучавања постану географске регије, друштвени слојеви и слушалачке праксе који су досад били занемарени у музиколошким разматрањима.

Радови у рубрици *Varia* такође су тематски везани за нове истраживачке правце у музикологији. Рубрику отвара текст хонгконшке музиколошкиње Ваи-Линг Чеонг која, идући трагом Ничеових и Месијанових написа, спроводи компаративну анализу њиховог тумачења античких грчких ритмова у музици, а затим се фокусира на Месијаново откриће импресивно дугачког низа грчких ритмова у балету *Посвећење њролећа* Игора Стравинског. Британски стручњак за ренесансну музику Френсис Најтс даје нови увид у најранија штампана нотна издања и оспорава примат штампаних публикација над мануелним преписима, доказујући да су приватне рукописне колекције често поузданији извори информација о датим делима, али и о слушању, извођењу и рецепцији музике на почетку XVII века. Португалски музиколог Мануел Педро Фереира представља пројекат који је тренутно у току – писање историје музике у/о земљама с обе стране Атлантика у којима се говори португалски језик и које су биле под утицајем ове културне сфере – указујући поново на потребу превазилажења националних историјских парадигми, али и германоцентричног погледа на музичку прошлост.

Мађарски историчар Иван Миклош Сего разматра улогу двојице музичара српског порекла као кључних протагониста „бит” (рок) револуције у Мађарској шездесетих година XX века.

Три текста аутора-сарадника Музиколошког института САНУ пружају нове увиде у српску музичку прошлост. Александар Васић се бави делатношћу Павла Стефановића у домену музичке критике, на страницама часописа *Музички иласник*, док Биљана Милановић и Марија Маглов проучавају продукцију звучних издања националне дискографске куће ПГП-РТБ/РТС као конститутивни фактор канонизације Стевана Мокрањца. На основу проучавања богате архивске документације, Ивана Васић реконструише напоре Петра Крстића у правцу подржављења Музичке школе у Београду и конституисања високих школа за музику – конзерваторијума на територији читаве земље.

Рубрику *Varia* закључује текст историчарке уметности Анђеле Гавриловић, посвећен проучавању ликовних представа музичких инструмената у источнохришћанској црквеној уметности, на основу приказа музичких инструмената и улоге пророка Давида у сцени Смрт праведника.

Рубрика Научна критика и полемика садржи два приказа скорашњих монографских и дискографских издања.

У име чланова редакције и своје лично, захваљујем се колегама из Србије и иностранства који су, у својству рецензента, читали радове припремљене за овај број и дали велики број конструктивних сугестија.

EDITOR'S FOREWORD

The main theme of issue No 27, *The Future of Music History*, is inspired by a seminar organised as part of a conference held at the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts in September 2017. The seminar was conceived by Jim Samson, one of the most outstanding musicologists of our time, Emeritus Professor of Music, Royal Holloway, University of London, Distinguished Visiting Professor in Humanities at the Chinese University of Hong Kong, Fellow of the British Academy and author of more than 100 publications, including the first comprehensive history of music in the Balkans in English (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013). Professor Samson kindly accepted our invitation to be the guest editor of this issue, in which we publish articles by four of the five panelists (Reinhard Strohm, Martin Loeser, Katharine Ellis and Marina Frolova-Walker); the papers have been expanded, updated, and equipped with critical apparatus and illustrations. The fifth paper, 'The Future of Music History is Global: Paracolonial Perspectives, Hindustan 1788' by Katherine Butler Schofield, will be published in the next issue of the journal *Musicology*, No. 28 (I/ 2020).

The topic *The Future of Music History* is introduced by Reinhard Strohm, Emeritus Professor of Music, University of Oxford, whose paper is dedicated to the project of writing a global history of music, based on a post-Eurocentric and posthistorical way of thinking; in parallel, Strohm discusses the implications of this and similar projects for the development of historical musicology. German musicologist Martin Loeser gives another possible perspective on the future of music history, arguing for the necessity of writing histories of everyday musical life that are no longer concerned with 'grand narratives' and individual creators, but instead provide far-reaching insights into the various forms of contact with music in given historical epochs. While Loeser studies musical life in Hamburg at the beginning of the eighteenth century, Katharine Ellis, the 1684 Professor of Music at the University of Cambridge, directs our attention to musical life in France at the turn of the twentieth century, noting the cultural diversity within nation states during the period of European romantic nationalism. Ellis thus demonstrates that national cultures are by no means monolithic, and that future histories of music should be decentralised and alive to activities in the provinces, an issue especially germane to France, but not only France. In the concluding article Marina Frolova-Walker, the 36th Gresham Professor of Music and a Professor of Music at the University of Cambridge, points to another major theme of future music histories: overcoming the deeply entrenched division of "lowbrow" and

“highbrow” art, and arguing for an historiography that gives due account to listeners’ preferences.

We are sincerely grateful to these eminent musicologists for their reflections on the future of our discipline and for opening up new avenues of exploration within geographical regions, social strata and listening practices that have hitherto been neglected in musicological considerations.

The articles published in the *Varia* section are also thematically related to new research directions in musicology, starting from the Hong Kong-based musicologist Wai-Ling Cheong, who, following on from writings by Nietzsche and Messiaen, conducts a comparative analysis of their interpretation of ancient Greek rhythms in music, and then focuses on Messiaen’s understanding that there is an impressively long series of Greek rhythms in part of Igor Stravinsky’s *Le sacre*. British Renaissance music expert Francis Knights gives new insights into the earliest printed sheet music and challenges the primacy of print publications over manual transcripts, demonstrating that private manuscript collections are often more reliable sources of information about given works, as well as the practices of listening, performing and distributing music in the early seventeenth century. Portuguese musicologist Manuel Pedro Ferreira gives an overview of a current project dealing with the historiography of music in and about the Portuguese-speaking countries on both sides of the Atlantic, pointing again to the need to transcend both national historical paradigms and a Germanocentric view of the musical past. Hungarian historian Iván Miklós Szegő then discusses the role of two musicians of Serbian descent as key protagonists of the “beat” revolution in Hungary in the 1960s.

Three texts by the associates of the Institute of Musicology SASA provide new insights into the Serbian music past. Aleksandar Vasić deals with the activities of Pavle Stefanović in the field of music criticism on the pages of the journal *Musical Herald*, while Biljana Milanović and Marija Maglov study the production of sound releases of the national record company PGP-RTB / RTS as a constitutive factor of the canonisation of Stevan Mokranjac. Based on a study of rich archival documentation, Ivana Vesić discusses the futile efforts of Petar Krstić to nationalise the private Music School in Belgrade and to establish music conservatories throughout the country after the Great War.

The *Varia* section is concluded by art historian Anđela Gavrilović, who has studied the visual presentation of musical instruments in Eastern Orthodox sacred art, focusing on the role of the prophet David in the scene Death of the Righteous.

The section Scientific Reviews and Polemics contains two reviews of recent monographs and CD releases.

On behalf of the editorial staff and myself, I would like to thank our colleagues from Serbia and abroad who reviewed the papers prepared for this issue and provided a number of constructive suggestions for their improvement.

In Belgrade, 15 December 2019
Dr Ivana Medić, Editor-in-Chief

TEMA BROJA
THE MAIN THEME
БУДУЋНОСТ ИСТОРИЈЕ
МУЗИКЕ
THE FUTURE OF MUSIC
HISTORY

THE BALZAN MUSICOLOGY PROJECT TOWARDS A GLOBAL HISTORY OF MUSIC, THE STUDY OF GLOBAL MODERNISATION, AND OPEN QUESTIONS FOR THE FUTURE*

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ABSTRACT

The contribution outlines the Balzan Musicology Project (2013–2017) and the published papers arising from its 14 international workshops on global music history. The approach of the project is described as post-eurocentric, uniting music history and ethnomusicology. 29 of the papers address processes of music and modernisation in many countries, pinpointing not only ‘Westernisation’ but also transculturalism and transnational media. Open questions for a future musicology concern the history concept itself, and the fair distribution of resources and sharing opportunities to all those concerned.

KEYWORDS: global history, modernity, transculturalism, world music, participation

The Balzan Musicology Project *Towards a global history of music*, carried out in the years 2013–2017, was created from a sense of responsibility for the future of music history in

* This essay originates from a paper given at a seminar *The Future of Music History* organised by Prof. Jim Samson, during the eponymous conference at the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (28–30 September 2017). Earlier versions of this paper have been presented at the joint triple conference of ICTM, IMS and IAML, *Music as Cultural Heritage* in Abu Dhabi (New York University Campus) on 13 March 2017, and at the IMS Round Table *Towards a global history of music* at the IMS 2017 Tokyo conference on 22 March 2017. An earlier version of the section *Global Modernisation and Music* was read at the symposium on *Modernisation of Musical Traditions* of the International Network for a Global History of Music (INGHM) at Nueva Universidade, Lisbon, of 15 March 2019.

its widest possible meaning.² Its sponsor, the International Balzan Foundation “Prize” (Milan), had requested the author to propose a research project which would preferably benefit younger researchers. Therefore, the available funds were used to support 23 mid-career scholars of music history and ethnomusicology who were invited to spend research visits in participating institutes suitable for their interests. They also convened, under the guidance of senior colleagues and institute directors, 14 international workshop-conferences on topics of global music history and ethnomusicology. Selections of the over 100 papers delivered at these workshops, held at Berlin, London, Oxford, Jerusalem, Vienna and Zurich, have been or will be published in the following volumes:

Strohm, Reinhard (ed.) (2018) *Studies on a Global History of Music: A Balzan Musicology Project*, Abingdon and New York: Routledge (SOAS Musicology Series), ISBN: 978-1-138-05883-5 (hbk); 978-1-315-16397-0 (ebk);

Strohm, Reinhard (ed.) (2019) *The Music Road. Coherence and Diversity in Music from the Mediterranean to India*, Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy (Proceedings of the British Academy, 223), ISBN: 978-0-197266564;

Strohm, Reinhard (ed.) (2020) *Transcultural Music History: Global Participation and Regional Diversity in the Modern Age*, Berlin: Verlag für Wissenschaft und Bildung (Intercultural Music Studies, ed. Max Peter Baumann) (forthcoming in 2020).

The Balzan Musicology Project *Towards a Global History of Music* described itself in 2013 in the following terms:

The main aim of the project is to promote post-European historical thinking [...] It interrogates the position of ‘Western music’ within an account of music history that aspires to be truly global. The project is not meant to create a universal (or global) history by itself, but to explore parameters and terminologies that are suitable to describe a history of many different voices. The project encourages comparative outreach between the fields of European music history on the one hand, and ethnological or sociological fieldwork on the other. This is designed both to inspire greater awareness within Western scholarship of the historical depth of other civilisations, and also to negotiate the place of ‘western music’ within a contrapuntal global history.

The project, therefore, aimed at ‘a history’ – with the indefinite article – and sought to challenge eurocentrism as well as history-centrism. It advocated a history of ‘many different voices’, a ‘contrapuntal global history’. Interrogation, exploration and negotiation were deemed to be more essential to history than single-handed theorising. Historical, ethnological and sociological approaches were expected to be in ‘comparative outreach’.

2 For overviews, see <https://www.balzan.org/en/prizewinners/reinhard-strohm/research-project-strohm>; <https://www.music.ox.ac.uk/research/projects/past-projects/balzan-research-project/>.

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Which of the two was the universal or global concept to be: history, or music? If we maintain, in the twenty-first century, that history is no longer true unless it is also global, we might also consider whether ‘world music’ exists because of its history. Philip Bohlman’s impressive multi-author and one-designer book of 2013, *The Cambridge History of World Music*, makes this point. I quote from the blurb:

Scholars have long known that world music was not merely the globalized product of modern media, but rather that it connected religions, cultures, languages and nations throughout world history. [...] The contributors critically examine music in cultural encounter and conflict, and as the critical core of scientific theories from the Arabic Middle Ages through the Enlightenment to postmodernism. Overall, the book contains the histories of the music of diverse cultures, which increasingly become the folk, popular and classical music of our own era (Bohlman 2013: jacket blurb).

The narrative of this book, distributed in several voices, has a historical goal, which is the global nature of music today, in its diverse forms. The histories of diverse musical cultures increasingly become today’s “world music”. In the Balzan Musicology Project, by contrast, global history is intended to be the negotiation with a multi-voiced past. Its narrative would not necessarily end with more globality than there ever was, it might even describe losses of inclusion, highlight reversals of globalisation. In its open-endedness, the Balzan project is closest to the outlook of many university departments and projects of ‘Global History’ that have been founded in the last three decades.

In recent years, many other projects and research groupings have arisen in musicology that are addressing themselves to the study of global music history. They are facilitated by the decentring and institutional globalisation of Western academic traditions. The *International Musicological Society* (IMS), the *International Council of Traditional Music* (ICTM) and the *American Musicological Society* (AMS) have all established study groups on global music history, and the former contributors to the Balzan project have founded the *International Network for a Global History of Music* (INGHM), which hopes to co-ordinate and encourage such studies. These new associations already benefit from much painstaking work done in several institutes and study groups working on themes such as global modernity, migration and culture transfer, minority studies in music and dance, cultural entanglement and post-colonial aspects of national heritage.

GLOBAL MODERNISATION AND MUSIC HISTORY

Musicology must be aware that ‘the era of fixed, Euro-centric and non-reflexive modernity has reached its end, and we have, in practical terms, the emergence of “multiple modernities” (Tazmini 2018: 1998).

The Balzan Musicology Project has paid special attention to the study and interpretation of multiple modernities in its workshop discussions and publications. We have certainly demonstrated the wide applicability of the 'modernisation' concept, but also discovered its problems of definition and its brittleness as a global signifier. It has seemed important for us to distinguish between 'modernisation' as a mere practice and as a historical-critical concept, because the practice and the concept may belong to different cultural contexts. The cultivation of musical heritage, for example, may be understood as 'modernisation' when you are inside this process, but as a mere 'back to roots' when you know nothing of its past. Even the reverse may be true, where cultural circumstances are sufficiently different. A case in point is provided by Tina K. Ramnarine's chapter on 'Festivals, violins and global music histories: examples from the Caribbean and Canada' in the Balzan volume *Studies on a Global History of Music* (Strohm 2018): as she demonstrates, the jury is still out on whether to categorise this traditionalist culture as modern, retro, post-modern or anything else (Ramnarine 2018). It basically depends on you and what you regard as progress. Researchers have drawn distinctions between technological, economic, institutional and 'mindset' modernities: the last-named, a 'modernity of the mind', might apply to musicians who seek to explore the past in new ways.

Early on in the project, a workshop-conference at the Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin (15 January 2014) proposed the topic of *Alternative Modernities: Postcolonial Transformations of Traditional Music in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. The idea was that different cultural traditions face modernisation in multiple terms; although what we call 'Westernisation' has dominated the awareness, transformations of musical heritage have taken divergent paths. When a Javanese rock band, for example, replaced heavy metal with the traditional bamboo instruments Karinding and Celempung (Spiller 2018), we might call this an emancipatory regionalism within a modern Western type of music (heavy metal rock) that is already taken for granted.

In the Berlin workshop, Tobias Robert Klein also challenged Western historiographies which used to diagnose a progress from performative and context-dependent musical idioms to the more modern idea of absolute music (Klein 2020). Along that historiographical axis, African music can only be considered modern as far as it may be enjoyed in the abstract by global armchair listeners. But some African musicians, according to Klein, have analysed performativity and context-dependency in European works (such as Beethoven's Ninth) that paralleled or foreshadowed African developments of non-absolute music.

'Enlightenment' is a term commonly associated only with the Western tradition, and with modernity insofar as it introduced cultural universalism and emancipated the European middle class from the intellectual boundaries of religion. Dissenting voices were heard at the Balzan workshop-conference in Oxford, *Alterity and Universalism in Eighteenth-Century Musical Thought*, 30 May–1 June 2014. Philip Bohlman outlined a global religious enlightenment which benefitted from both universalist and regionalist impulses (Bohlman 2018). David R. M. Irving and Estelle Joubert analysed eighteenth-century European reports on the music of other continents and their authors' attempts to explain the alterity as a function of history (Irving 2018; Joubert 2018). Western music was then conceived as being more historically advanced (i.e., 'modern') than any other; the culture

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of Mediterranean antiquity was recruited as the legitimising ancestor of *only* the Western cultural sphere. Global modernity has since then become definable as a process of 'catching up' with the West. This ideology operates two forms of exclusion, one spatial and one temporal: modernity is a Western invention, and it is not found before c. 1800.

The British-Indian cultural and political encounters, or *regards croisés*, have occupied more than one discussion of our British-led project. In the workshop *Theorizing across cultures* (King's College London, 27 May 2014), Matthew Pritchard and Suddha-seel Sen explored the aesthetics of Indian classical music vs. the efforts of Indian and British musicians to go beyond orientalism (Pritchard 2018; Sen 2018). These papers, which included the search for a post-Saidian definition of orientalism, incidentally took issue with Bruno Nettl's optimistic distinction of 1985 that Indian classical music 'modernised' rather than 'Westernised' itself (Pritchard 2018: 259–260). The extent to which both processes may be seen as negotiating each other was further demonstrated by two papers presented at the conference *Places of Interaction* in the session on India (London, British Academy, 16–17 June 2016: see Figure 1).

London, British Academy 16-17 June 2016

THE BALZAN PROGRAMME IN MUSICOLOGY 2013-2018
"TOWARDS A GLOBAL HISTORY OF MUSIC"

"TOWARDS A GLOBAL HISTORY OF MUSIC"
is a Balzan Prize Musicology project (2013-2017) directed by
Emeritus Professor Reinhard Strohm (Oxford University) in collaboration
with an international committee of musicologists from Humboldt University,
Berlin; the Hebrew University/Jerusalem; King's College London;
University of Oxford; University of Vienna and the University of Zurich.
For more information on the Balzan events and programme e-mail
Marie-Alice Frappat, Balzan Programme coordinator:
marie-alice.frappat@music.ox.ac.uk
full programme on www.music.ox.ac.uk/research

WORKSHOP-CONFERENCE
**Places of Interaction:
Histories of Music and Dance in
India, Africa and South-East Asia**
British Academy, London 16-17 June 2016
Convenors:
Margaret Walker (Queen's University Kingston, Canada);
James Mitchell (Khon Kaen University, Thailand);
Reinhard Strohm (Oxford University)

Open to all – Free Admission

www.music.ox.ac.uk

Figure 1. Programme (front page) for *Places of Interaction: Histories of Music and Dance in India, Africa and South-East Asia*, International Balzan Musicology Workshop-Conference, British Academy, London, 16–17 June 2016

Margaret E. Walker noted a difference between an eighteenth-century colonial infatuation with the Indian 'nautch' and a later exoticising and far less respectful use of Indian music and dance traditions in the modern West (Walker 2019). Nalini Ghuman demonstrated the twentieth-century discovery of cultural participation through Maud MacCarthy's music-making and lecturing, which certainly helped to provincialise some of her British audiences (Ghuman 2019). The latter two contributions have been published in the volume *The Music Road: Coherence and Diversity in Music from the Mediterranean to India* (Strohm 2019).

Many of the Balzan workshops and conferences were thematically focussed on particular world regions – which is compatible with the fact that modernity and modernisation are usually captured in local and regional experiences. Several chapters of the *Studies* volume (Strohm 2018) address modernisation in East Asia. In this region, the advent of musical modernity appears far more easily graspable than elsewhere. In the politically-generated Meiji reforms of Japan since 1868, Westernisation and modernisation seem to have coincided almost exactly, as shown in Rinko Fujita's account of Japanese music education (Fujita 2018). But recent developments of the modern mindsets and musical practices in East Asia have been more conflictual, for example in the pop music of *shibuya-kei* of Tokyo, which for its Japanisation of Western blueprints has been dubbed "West-Östlicher Diebstahl" ("West-Eastern burglary") (Seibt 2018). In the same volume, Keith Howard's socio-cultural analysis of music and modernity in Korea develops its argument along a historical axis, reminding us of the traditional musical concepts and types, and of what the present modernising practice is doing to them (Howard 2018); music's future in this context can almost be predicted.

Max Peter Baumann and others aim at global generalisations of the processes. 'The transformation of the world' (Baumann 2018), admits historical, cross-national and global perspectives. Different perspectives apply to the different levels of society. On the micro-level, 'the localised and re-localised worlds of globalisation, most individual musicians, composers, ensembles and orchestras make their own choices' (Baumann 2018: 129), whereas on higher levels of organisation and over longer time-spans, global perspectives apply more strongly. Modernisation experiences its particular struggles on the social meso-level of music-making organisations, schools and teaching traditions. Similarly to Howard's chapter on Korea, Baumann's social and structural perspective is complemented by glances into the historical past of these meso-level traditions throughout Asia.

Time-space coordinates are also the methodological framework for Jin-Ah Kim, who advocates the concepts of entangling, intercrossing and *histoire croisée* for a historiography of modernity in Korea (Kim 2018). This historiography is essentially a Western idea, deriving from Michel Espagne's and Michael Werner's 'cultural transfer studies' (Kim 2018: 181). It can be corroborated, however, by local experience in the Korean concert and entertainment world of the last decades, when ongoing interactions between colonial power and national tradition have almost erased the distinction between 'imported' and 'domestic' music (Kim 2018: 191).

That the Balzan research contributions on Latin America have not explicitly thematised aspects of modernisation, does not make them irrelevant for the topic

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at all. Rather, the fact that Europeanisation of this world region has occurred in pre-modern times, so that the musical traditions are now actually three – native, Hispanic/Portuguese, and global – has put a disguise on the modernising process here. The topic is addressed in chapters of the *Studies* volume (Strohm 2018) by Melanie Plesch, Juan Francisco Sans, Roberto Kolb-Neuhaus and Julio Mendivil, who variously explore nationalist musical rhetoric, social political intention and post-modern nostalgia as the respective backgrounds for new musical idioms in nineteenth- and twentieth-century modernity.

The amazing variety of musical idioms and practices which reformers or modernisers can adopt is apparent when we change continents. The so-called ‘Middle East’ appears in *The Music Road: Coherence and Diversity in Music from the Mediterranean to India* (Strohm 2019). That there are few contributions here which make explicit mention of the modernisation concept is definitely not an oversight, but results from the special cultural and musical histories shared between the regions of western Asia and Europe for more than two millennia. The historical empires built in these regions, and their exploitative half-modernisations, have left their post-colonial successors with many difficult options. Some of the insights that this volume is trying to convey were generated by a seminal workshop on *Musical cultures under relationships of power: Eastern Europe and the Middle East*, held at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, on 25–26 October 2015 (See Figure 2).

Why did Europe’s nearest cousins *not* modernise like we did? Or, when they did, was it a true ‘catching-up’ with the West? Kevin Dawe describes a specific process, the establishment of the ‘Spanish’ guitar in Turkey since the national modernisation era of the 1920s; the instrument almost became a new identity symbol (Dawe 2019). Avra Xepapadakou traces the itineraries and activities of French operetta performers in Greece, the Hellenic diaspora and the regions east of the Black Sea in the late nineteenth century (Xepapadakou 2019). These musicians were convinced they were helping the region to catch up with ‘civilisation’; one of their essential logistic prerequisites was the Transcaspien railway built by the Tzarist regime. The prevailing idea that modern musical cultures have ‘always’ arrived in Greece and Turkey from the West is followed through the historiographical literature by Katy Romanou: the supposed differential of musical progress between East and West in this region has imperialist overtones and is, in a nutshell, the discourse of global modernity itself (Romanou 2019).

The forthcoming volume *Transcultural Music History* (Strohm 2020) explores processes of modernisation based on transcultural conditions, rather than (directly) on bi-national or imperial structures. The volume will contain, for example, studies on *Martial and Military Music* worldwide, based on a Balzan workshop held at Vienna, 22–23 January 2016. It is to be expected, but still surprising, to what extent modernisation of the uses of military music has been a worldwide affair (Grant 2020). The same volume also offers papers on the worldwide reception of the music of J. S. Bach, which were presented at the Berlin workshop conference *Transcultural Music Traditions* in April 2017. Several participants spoke about Bach reception in Latin America (Fugellie 2020; Richter-Ibañez 2020; Moreda Rodriguez 2020). The circumstances

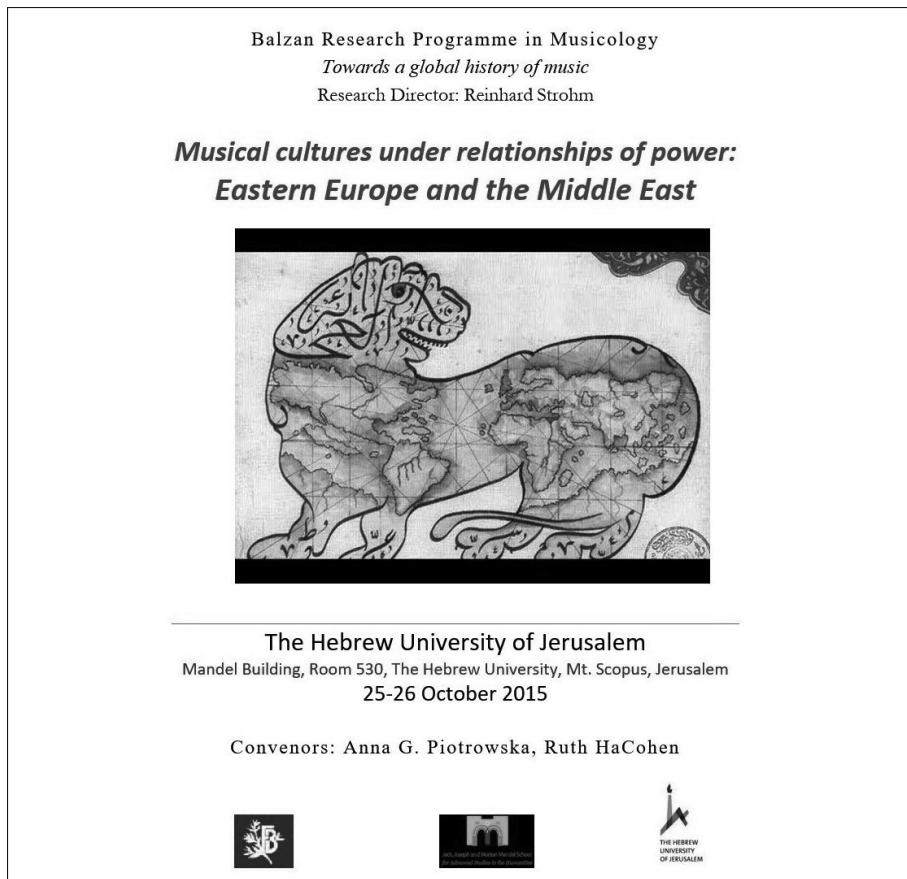


Figure 2. Programme (front page) for *Musical cultures under relationships of power: Eastern Europe and the Middle East*, Balzan Musicology Workshop Hebrew University, 25–26 October 2015.

varied in the different countries, as they were co-determined by the respective immigration levels, economies, institutional and musical preconditions. In their function of cultural modernisation, these processes were anything but added offshoots of the well-known European Bach tradition: as Daniela Fugellie showed most clearly, they were transcultural practices that used a globally available heritage for national ends of spiritual and intellectual reform (Fugellie 2020). It is interesting to compare the lessons on modernisation learnt here with contributions on the Bach reception in Japan and Korea (Cressy 2020; Lee 2020). East Asia's modernisation could proceed relatively unaided by Bach's music, which was rather used to temper progress with transcultural nostalgia.

The same volume will offer contributions on Africa. These papers were mostly presented at the conference *Places of Interaction* (London, British Academy, 16–17 June 2016) in the session on Africa. Just as with the cultures of the continent in general, we should not look for a common denominator in its music. However, three of the four chapters in this section of the book have a similar theme: African voices of the twentieth century that inserted themselves into Western musical discussions. Tobias Robert Klein, as mentioned, reads analyses and histories by Africans on their participation in, or resistance to, modern European music (Klein 2020). Anna Maria Busse Berger follows the tracks of some African musicians and writers, who used colonial and mission contacts to enter Western cultural life (Busse Berger 2020) – not entirely unlike Ravi Shankar or Allauddin Khan as ambassadors of Indian music in the West. Barbara Titus experiences the music and the message of a south-African *maskanda* group, to whose outlook she ascribes the concept of a non-Eurogenic historiography that would be communicated interactively and through musical-narrative performances (Titus 2020). According to her ‘experiment’ with these performances, modern western historiography will fall intellectually short of African modernity even where it aims to be most inclusive.

‘Media Geography’ is the title of the last section in the volume *Transcultural Music History*; the papers assembled here come from the workshop conference *Transcultural Music Traditions* held at the Humboldt University, Berlin, in April 2017. An entire session was concerned with the relationships between modernisation, cultural identities and global-transcultural technology. We have added to this volume two papers from the London conference *Places of Interaction* (2016), by James R. Mitchell and James Kirby, who had discussed, respectively, the success of regional recording industries in Thailand and the musical translateability of Southeast-Asian languages (Mitchell 2020; Kirby 2020). The expectation that modern technologies and communication networks would engulf national and regional traditions or identities in an ocean of global hybridity could not have been refuted more thoroughly than in these papers. A historical outline of national radio politics in Soviet-dominated Poland by Dariusz Brzostek, and a study by Razia Sultanova on the culture of Muslim families in Moscow, demonstrated the persistence of distinct socio-cultural layers within the new media geography (Brzostek 2020; Sultanova 2020). The circa two million Muslim immigrants in post-modern Moscow are in touch with their homelands and their music via mobile phone, internet and other private telecommunication channels. To what extent post-modern migrant cultures may be impenetrable to academic ethnographic methodologies was shown at the Berlin session by Tom Western, who challenged even the validity of existing sound archives, based on nationality and identity, in a transcultural world of migration (Western 2020). Martin Stokes offered a balanced assessment of ethnomusicological method and technologies between modernising, uprooting and re-localisation (Stokes 2019).

OPEN QUESTIONS

In facing the particular audiences and witnessing discussions at the Balzan project workshops and at the conferences and symposia of 2017–2019, I learnt several things about the present practice of organisations with which our project hopes to interact, and about conceptual foundations of our work. It is the concept of history itself that has come under new scrutiny, not just the concept of music history. Thus the first open question is whether we are on the right path in focusing on ‘history’. Challenges to the history concept have arisen, as far as I am aware, in three different ways.

First, to some researchers working in ethnomusicology, sociometric and ethnographic methodologies seem to promise all the scientific data that can possibly be gathered, so that history is automatically implied in data distilled from live observation and taxonomy. That these data may be the results of older traditions and transmissions is often ignored, partly with the argument that historical transmission, which so often happens in the form of writing, is a eurocentric concept and cannot be trusted as it is full of bias.

Second, there is a worry, shared by myself, that the concept of history may imply, for many speakers, a western academic tradition only. I began to worry about this matter during the Balzan project itself, when some observers appeared to expect that we were producing a book called ‘The global history of music’. I also attended some conferences of general historians on questions of global historiography, where history-telling is conceived as a broader cultural practice than we musicologists tend to see it. We have to redefine musical historiography in the light of global experiences.

Third, discussions at Abu Dhabi and their continuations have suggested to me that the concepts of *tradition* and *heritage* in present organisational practice rarely imply the historical depth of cultures. Of course every musicologist will applaud the UNESCO initiative of protecting and premiating *Intangible cultural heritage* which aims ‘to sustain a living, if endangered, tradition by supporting the conditions necessary for cultural reproduction’ (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2004:53). But it must not be assumed that the intangible heritage concept of the UNESCO aims to protect historical transmissions or archives, especially not in written or recorded forms. This is something we ourselves need to take care of (Strohman 2018). Some nationalist governments around the world seem more intent on the development of fake ‘heritages’ that can compete in an international, Western-inspired cultural market.³

Speaking only for myself, I consider the study of the history of cultures as part of my responsibility and as an expression of respect towards these cultures. This would be my answer to the question whether we are on the right path in focusing on history.

This same respect may perhaps sign-post a future for our discipline, although it is not a rosy sight yet. In fact, the second open question is: Can we musicologists develop a future for our quest from a new, global concept of our cultural past? Only, I believe, if the respect for the cultural past becomes an entirely mutual persuasion: the

3 An exception is the scholarly series Al Salimi-Daube (eds.) (2008-) *Studies of Ibadism and Oman*, which is supported by the Sultanate of Oman.

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recognition that we have become what we are through interaction with others must be translated into *shared* activities around the world. We Westerners should not be fooled by the label ‘international’ which we have invented for others so that they feel welcome in our system. There is little point in expressing post-European and inclusive views when all your resources, partnerships and reference points are located in a few Western academic institutes. There must be a much more even distribution of these resources over all participants in musical culture. Performers and scholars around the world must be enabled to share what they do, and what traditions or histories they have to tell. The technical means to achieve this are now available: commercial products and political beliefs are circulating on the widest possible scale in the media already. But knowledge and dialogue have fallen behind. Global divisions and disintegration are lying ahead, not behind us. According to Jeremy Adelman (2017), ‘Global history is another Anglospheric invention to integrate the other into a cosmopolitan narrative on our terms, in our tongues’. With reference to this, Max Peter Baumann (forthcoming 2020) comments:

The ‘small’ cultures and music languages must come into play so that ‘global history’ is not just another ‘Anglo-Saxon invention’, in which the ‘other’ is reflected in a cosmopolitan narrative, but indeed only re-imagines the ‘own’ through one of the dominant languages.

It is not even paradoxical (although still disconcerting) to find how little ‘globalisation’ (or for a better word, participation) has been achieved in musicology nearer home. Others have commented at this conference on the West-East division *within* Europe’s cultural and musical traditions. We need a new impetus of collaboration and participation here. When, in the preparations for a recent conference on European medieval music, someone raised the question what we medievalists should tell young people who claimed that our specialism was irrelevant, outmoded, an ivory-tower, as it was not including the whole world, I suggested we might first demonstrate that our interest included the medieval music of all of Europe. In fact, transculturalism and participation are indivisible: you should not deny your neighbour what your self-aggrandisement accords to your antipode. And, as far as the experience of sharing and listening is allowed to grow between various parts of a newly provincialised Europe, it can also make us better listeners to what other world cultures have to say. I hope that the 2017 conference at Belgrade and its aftermath will turn out to be a breakthrough in this direction.

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РАЈНХАРД ШТРОМ

Музиколошки пројекат фондације Балзан Ка глобалној историји музике, проучавање модернизације на глобалном нивоу и отворена питања за будућност

(РЕЗИМЕ)

Овај чланак садржи осврт на нов концепт историје музике, који је био истраживан у оквиру музиколошког пројекта фондације Балзан Ка глобалној историји музике (*Towards a Global History of Music*). Реализован уз финансијску подршку „Награде” Међународне фондације Балзан од 2013. до 2017. године, овај пројекат је подржао истраживања 23 историчара музике и етномузиколога средње генерације, који су организовали 14 међународних радионица на тему различитих аспеката глобалне историје музике. Овај пројекат је описан као потрага за историјом музике „многих гласова” – односно, многих култура и културних агената широм света – те представља иницијативу у правцу пост-европоцентричног и постисторијског размишљања.

Избор радова презентованих и дискутованих током радионица у оквиру овог пројекта објављен је (или ће бити објављен) у три тома у раздобљу од 2018. до 2020. У овом тексту се осврћем на 29 радова који се тичу главне теме овог пројекта, то јест музичке „модерности” и „модернизације”. У овим радовима анализирани су разнолики процеси модернизације на разним странама света – између осталог, у Источној Азији, Југоисточној Азији, Јужној Азији, на Блиском истоку, у Источној Европи, Африци и Америци. Силе које покрећу историју модерности, а које су овде истакнуте, нису само колонијализам и „вестернизација”, већ и постколонијална реоријентација, бивше империје и њихови пројекти модернизације, модерни транскултурализам и утицај транснационалних медија.

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Најзад, овај чланак разматра и два отворена питања која су се указала као значајна током трајања пројекта. Прво питање тиче се статуса самог концепта историје у данашњем глобалном размишљању. Неки га сагледавају као превазиђену методологију, или као ирелевантан западњачки академски приступ, те се данас све чешће замењује концептом „наслеђа” у јавним политикама. Друго питање односи се на будуће профиле историјске музикологије. Овде се препоручује приступ глобалној историји који је у много већој мери заснован на сарадњи и заједничким циљевима, при чему би његови покретачи и студенти музике били узајамно ангажовани, а извори сазнања много равномерније дистрибуирани.

Кључне речи: глобална историја, модерност, транскултурализам, музика света, учење

THE MANY FACES OF EVERYDAY MUSICAL LIFE. APPROACHING MUSIC HISTORY FROM “BELOW”*

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ABSTRACT

Is it useful to write history on everyday musical life? And how can we do it? This article introduces a historiographical concept initiated by historians such as Carlo Ginzburg, Alf Lüdtke and Richard van Dülmen already in the 1970s, in an attempt to renew the writing of history. Instead of the reconstruction and interpretation of grand narratives and deep structures in society, economy and culture, these historians offer close descriptions of ‘average citizens’ with their daily musical routines, motivations and preferences, and the result is often a cluster of fascinating and wide-ranging insights into different forms of contact with music. Following this general approach, I hope to offer a panorama of everyday musical culture in Hamburg in the early eighteenth century.

The sources used for this study include different musical genres such as opera, cantata and instrumental ‘table music’, as well as books, newspaper reports, subscription lists, diaries, behavioural guides and archival documents. This material permits insights into the uses made of musicians such as Johann Mattheson, Georg Philipp Telemann and Reinhard Keiser, as well as into the social lives of the Hamburg citizenship.

KEYWORDS: everyday life, music history, Hamburg, early 18th century, Johann Mattheson, Georg Philipp Telemann, Reinhard Keiser

Everyone has a relationship or at least an attitude towards music. But would it be useful to write music history on anybody? Could it really be important to know how average

* This essay originates from a paper given at a seminar *The Future of Music History* organised by Prof. Jim Samson, during the eponymous conference at the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (28–30 September 2017).

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people have dealt and are dealing with music? Or would it be better to continue with traditional approaches to music – illuminating the foremost composers or compositions which have been considered of great importance for very different reasons, for instance aesthetic issues, innovations in musical material, musical form or construction?

Following such traditional paths, music history sometimes looks very simple – particularly from a traditional Austrian-German perspective, which often brought into focus only a few musical heroes. An early attempt to structure music history by the means of epochal men was undertaken, for instance, by Raphael Georg Kiesewetter in his *Geschichte der europäisch-abendländischen oder unserer heutigen Musik* (Kiesewetter 1834). He organized his story in seventeen epochs, or rather chapters, starting with Hucbald in the 10th century and going on from generation to generation via Guido of Arezzo, Franco of Cologne, Guillaume Dufay, Johannes Ockeghem, Josquin des Près, Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina and others up to “Haydn and Mozart”, finally closing in his own era with “Beethoven and Rossini”. Kiesewetter’s conception of history, which is dominated by the genius of great men, was underpinned by 19th-century music editions of famous composers’ collected works (Bach, Beethoven, Handel, Mozart, Palestrina) and so-called “Denkmäler”-editions, building themselves a kind of literary monument for composers who are honoured as a part of the (national) cultural heritage. On this basis, a large portion of today’s musical canon and repertory developed, as well as a kind of branding of repertory. Thus, from a German point of view, the sacred music of the 17th century for a long time was represented principally by the “big three Ss” – the composers Heinrich Schütz, Johann Hermann Schein and Samuel Scheidt. And regarding the 19th century, one could have in mind the “big three Bs,” Ludwig van Beethoven, Johannes Brahms and Anton Bruckner, embodying the idea of absolute music (Dahlhaus 1991).

More recent textbooks still seem to be conceptualized on this traditional basis, analysing mostly well-known repertory and understanding musical compositions in the first place as autonomous artworks. Volumes such as the *Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Music* (Keefe 2009), the *Oxford History of Western Music* (Taruskin 2005a) or recent editions of the *History of Western Music* (Burkholder et al. 2006) primarily want to give the reader an orientation on important composers, their musical works and their stylistic features, although the social and cultural context has definitely become more important.

Without doubt, composer biographies in particular very easily structure our perception of the past, connecting compositional styles and aesthetic ideas. And regarding composers’ lives, it seems possible also to receive an impression of relevant social and cultural contexts, such as is promised by several composer biographies, for instance the German book series “Große Komponisten und ihre Zeit” (Dahlhaus 2013), emphasizing by their title the relationship of “life and works” or rather of “life and times”.

But overall, the social context of music seems still to play only second fiddle. And for these reasons – as Richard Taruskin has lamented in his review of the *Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music* and the *Cambridge History of Twentieth-Century Music* – the “explanatory power” in history writing is often missing (Taruskin 2005b: 189). In many cases there are no actors, but instead the musical work seems to be acting:

The only modification of this point that I would propose concerns agency, one of the thorniest problems bedeviling contemporary music historiography. [...] only the composer's input – not reception, not mediation – is considered relevant historical information (Ibid.: 194).

Starting from such a background, music historians should ask how the range of human actors in music historiography could be strengthened. For this purpose, it would be useful to turn our gaze away from the composers towards the consumers, practitioners and amateurs of music. An appropriate concept to help us accomplish this could be the writing of histories of everyday musical life.

INTENTIONS AND PROBLEMS OF EVERYDAY LIFE HISTORY

The historiographical concept of everyday life history (“Alltagsgeschichte”) was developed by historians already in the 1970s. The term serves as a gathering point, bringing quite different historical approaches together, all aiming at a renewal of historiography. Instead of the reconstruction and interpretation of grand narratives and deep structures in society, economy and culture, historians such as Carlo Ginzburg (Ginzburg 1976/1980), Alf Lüdtke (Lüdtke 1989/2018) and Richard van Dülmen (Dülmen 1990, 1992, 1994) tried to establish less abstract understandings of history. They undertook this by a very deliberate focus on so-called ‘little stories’.

It was particularly Ginzburg, with his detailed “micro studies” on subjects that seem of marginal importance for traditional historians (at least initially), who now served as a role model. He examined the miller Domenico Scandella (1532–1599), unknown and irrelevant to earlier historians, who now became interesting in terms of human experiences, human thinking and environmental conditions (Ginzburg 1976/1980). In a very similar way the method of “thick description”, used by the ethnologist Clifford Geertz, proved stimulating (Geertz 1973: 3–30). Within such a framework, importance is applied to individuals as historical actors, including their daily routines, social contexts, experiences and ideas. One important aim is to understand people's motivations and feelings and their decisions to act in a certain manner. At the same time detailed studies of objects and persons, which may seem marginal at first sight, can help us assess just how convincing the master narratives actually are (Behringer 2005: 224–226).

Although such an approach is now very common for historians, in most cases they do not include music and only a few musicologists have tried to apply the concept of everyday life history to musical culture. One rare exception among historians is Bernd Roeck – with a chapter on music and theatre (Roeck 2006: 104–118). Among musicologists Nicole Schwindt has also reflected that neither in the history of composition nor in the social history of music is there much consideration of how music is related to the people's environment and how far the environment becomes apparent in musical culture. In most cases, there is no, or at least only faint, interest on the part

of music historians in dealing with people's motivations and intentions towards music and musical culture (Schwindt 2001: 11).

Therefore, music historians should ask much more in future studies about how and to what extent persons – although differing in class, sex, gender, religion, race, profession and age – are related to musical culture. All in all, histories of musical everyday life deal with the anthropological dimension of music. Through them, the importance and meaning of different kinds of music for a broad and varied range of persons is reflected.

But how might one conceptualize such histories of musical everyday life? Would there be enough source materials, for example, particularly when considering the social stratification of the people examined? And how would one make the choice concerning an adequate and well balanced portrayal of different social groups and classes, including the high and low aristocracy, distinguished burghers and burghers of the middle-class, workers, servants and so on? In the same way it would be necessary to keep in mind the contrast between different regions and their social conditions and religious confessions. Furthermore, there might be a significant difference between urban and rural life affecting diverse cultural opportunities and musical events.

Another question concerns the relation of different musics to everyday routines. On what basis are possible relationships established? Do they depend on the content of the music or are they established only or mostly by the personal interest of the practitioners or listeners, by their formation and habits? Finally, there may result a philosophical problem, which would influence the very concept of telling “little stories”: Is the accumulation of many little stories tantamount to a big story?

Despite such difficulties, it would be useful to put the concept of everyday life history to a musicological test by attempting some case studies. Since the historical concept of everyday life history was established by Ginzburg and Dülmen primarily by research on the Early Modern Period, it may be useful to replicate this by taking two examples from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, both centred on the city of Hamburg. The Elbe metropolis was around 1700 – with the exception of Vienna – the largest city of the Holy Roman Empire. (Jaacks 1997: 15–17).

CASE STUDY I: EVERYDAY ROUTINE IN THE OPERA “MASANIELLO FURIOSO” (1706) BY REINHARD KEISER

In the opera *Masaniello furioso* by the German composer Reinhard Keiser, premiered at the Hamburg Goosemarket Opera in 1706, French and Italian traditions of the genre are combined and adapted to the local environment and audiences. The use of a comic person, a fool – normally a servant – who mirrors the bad habits of the audience may be considered as one of these special characteristics. In the case of *Masaniello furioso*, the fruit trader Bassian performs this role. He is introduced with a short recitative, followed by a simple strophic aria. If the recitative functions here as a brief report on the outbreak of a revolt in Naples on account of oppressive taxes, Bassian's song has another function (Keiser 1986: 49. See also Figure 1):

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1. Sempron, ein braver Cavalier,
(er steht nicht gar zu weit von hier)
Ist bei den Mädgens wohlbekannt
Und lebt manierlich und galant.
2. Hört, wie er seine Zeit zubringt:
Er pfeift, er tanzt, er spielt, er singt,
Er ißt, er trinkt, er geht, er fährt,
Und weil er reich, wird er geehrt.
3. Die Glocke schlägt schier immer zehn,
eh er wird aus dem Bett aufstehn.
Dann ist die Chocolad bereit,
Um elf Uhr ist er angekleidt.
4. Er gibt Visiten bis um ein,
Dann muß der Tisch gedecket sein.
Drauf speist er bis um Glocke zwei,
Liest im Talander bis um drei.
5. Er tanzt hernach von drei bis vier,
Dann kommt die Kutsche vor die Tür
Und bringt ihn in die Opera,
was macht nun unser Herr allda?
6. Er spricht Französch avec bon air,
Ma foi, parfait, tout entier.
Il juge quelque fois sottement,
Daß Liesgen fast nichts hören kann.
7. Vom Singspiel fährt er auf den Schmaus
Und kommt vom Schmaus bezechet nach Haus,
Von da ins Bett und schläft darauf,
Das ist sein ganzer Lebenslauf.

As Bassian's remark – the gallant cavalier “is living not far from here” – makes clear, the aria is obviously targeted at the Hamburg audience. Furthermore, a day-to-day routine is displayed. The activities of drinking, eating, reading, dancing, visiting the opera house and so on are given here in form of a daily time table. Remarkable is the fact that these activities are presented here in the context of a minuet, the most prominent courtly dance of the time. So it is quite probable that the audience's living environment and activities are represented also by the music. Although one might think that the given timetable might be too exaggerated, it indicates the general importance which dancing and the culture of music had at these times for the upper and urban

middle classes. For them, music served as a kind of *divertissement* and also as a badge of distinction. For self-preparation in terms of social behaviour and elegant manners, dance masters were needed both in urban and courtly contexts (Salmen 1997). In the 17th and 18th centuries dance masters were responsible for teaching good manners, as was noted by Gottfried Taubert 1717 in his important treatise *Rechtschaffener Tantzmeister*:

He is an *homme de qualité*, a man of quality, who not only unites *galanterie* (i.e., behaviour that is especially polite and natural, and lacking any affectation in one's art [...]) and agility in his own person, but also knows how to help other respectable people acquire such politeness [T: *galanterie*] and agility [...] (Russell 2012: 974).

Therefore, professional dance masters were needed, giving their instructions daily and also arranging ballets on special occasions. That fact is also apparent from a contemporary address book from Hamburg, published in 1723, which displays – on its title page, table of contents and chapter structure – not only the hierarchical social class system of the courtly society, but also some indication of the cultural market, giving the names and addresses of “musicians and other virtuosos” (*Jetzt=lebendes Hamburg 1723*: 102-104). As is documented, in 1723 at least nine dance masters were living in Hamburg. But the real number of dance masters living there was probably much higher, because not everybody seems to have registered his business. As Salmen has stated, in bigger cities there lived several “corner dance masters” (T: “*Winkel-Tanzmeister*”), doing their job not always well, and sometimes even lacking a real dance education (Salmen 1997).

Comprehensive research on both Hamburg's dance masters and their clients has never been undertaken, although one could certainly find several historical sources portraying their domestic living and economic situation as well as their social and cultural activities. For instance, an important kind of source could be contemporary subscription lists.

CASE STUDY II: GEORG PHILIPP TELEMANN'S *MUSIQUE DE TABLE* (1733)

Georg Philipp Telemann's famous collection of table music, *Musique de Table*, was published in 1733. Telemann, who was working in Hamburg from 1721 as a musical director, was required to compose music for all kind of occasions, ranging from private and public service (sacred songs and cantatas) to festal music and opera. His *Musique de Table* can be characterized as a collection of chamber music, consisting of three parts and containing suites of dances and other mood pieces, all intended for musical entertainment.

Telemann's publication was immediately successful. As we can learn from a list of subscribers, printed in the first edition, it was bought by consumers not only

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in Germany, but also in other European countries. It was ordered by 206 people, among them inhabitants of Berlin, Breslau, Dresden, Frankfurt, Hamburg, Hanover, Königsberg, Leipzig, Magdeburg, London, Paris, Christiania, Copenhagen and Riga (Hinnenthal 1957: V).

Regarding the subscription list (see figure 2), on the one hand it is an important source for the success and dissemination of Telemann's music, and therefore for his prestige as a skilful composer in Middle and Northern Europe. On the other hand we are forced to query the people on this list and this way of distributing Telemann's music:

Who were the subscribers and for what reasons did they buy Telemann's music? Did they know him personally? Considering Telemann's career, which led him from Magdeburg via Leipzig and Frankfurt to Hamburg, he certainly made a considerable number of acquaintances and he joined several social networks. What professions did all these people have and to which social class did they belong? These are important issues for an adequate understanding of the musical culture of Telemann's time. Another important point concerns the musical experiences of the audience, which Telemann tried to target with his music. What role did music play in the daily routine of these people? Did they have musical backgrounds or musical education? And how may we imagine their technical skills in making music? Were they able to play Telemann's music personally or did they engage professional musicians? Perhaps some people bought Telemann's music only for reasons of social status.

On a brief examination of the subscription list, it is probable that such questions have to be answered differently. Even by focusing on Hamburg, we obviously have a diverse profile of subscribers. For example, Sir Cyril Wich – the British envoy to Hamburg and at the same time employer of the secretary, composer and music theorist Johann Mattheson – bought Telemann's *Musique de Table*. On the one hand, one could suppose some personal musical interest here, because of Wich's close relationship to Mattheson. On the other hand, we have to ask about the daily routines of an envoy, about his professional duties and therefore for his *habitus* as an ambassador. How important was music to him? In which places and for what reasons was it used? What were the occasions for making music? And did he engage professional musicians?

As we can learn from Hans Joachim Marx (Marx 2008: 1008–1010), in his youth Sir Cyril Wich had received serious musical training. Born in 1695, he was a pupil of George Frederic Handel and Johann Mattheson from 1703. Apparently Wich must have been a fine harpsichord player and to a certain degree also an amateur composer. For instance, in 1710 Mattheson included an aria of his pupil in his opera *Boris Goudenow*. Moreover, in diplomatic households, music served the purpose of representation and entertainment. Already Sir John Wich, Cyril's father and predecessor as an envoy, gave in his house "every day a concert to their Lordships" (Ibid.: 1010). And according to contemporary chronicles, it is reported that members of the aristocracy and other prominent visitors to Hamburg were often treated "magnificently" (Paravicini 2016: 91; 103–104). After attending the Goosemarket opera house, diplomatic agents often gave for their guests elaborate feasts, balls and lights for the

purpose of celebrating political anniversaries and jubilees (Schröder 1998: 60-69). From 1722 to 1724 and also in the season 1727/28, Sir Cyrill Wich was a leaseholder of the Goosemarket Opera (Marx 2008: 1009). Considering his close relationship to the opera house, it is most likely that Wich engaged the Opera's musicians for giving his private concerts. Otherwise he could have fallen back on the town musicians.

This latter issue leads to a second example from the subscription list. Looking at letter H on the list, one specimen was ordered by "Mrs. les ordinaires de la Musique d' Hambourg" (see figure 2). Obviously, this copy was ordered by the town musicians, who surely had a completely different personal and musical background from an ambassador such as Wich or anyone else for that matter. On account of a different daily routine, music certainly must have had another significance for them and their families. And surely they could use Telemann's music on several professional occasions. But considering this, why did they buy only one specimen? And what does that tell us about the way they used music in their daily routine? Did they have any kind of library or archive? And was this a typical or an unusual practice?

As a third, very different, example from the subscription list, "Mr. George Jencquel" and "Mr. Pichel" may serve. Both men were burghers and merchants of Hamburg. Georg Jencquel was a member of the successful merchant family Jenckel. In the early 18th century the family changed its name to Jencquel because of its intense commercial relations with Portugal and with the purpose of simplifying the pronunciation (Schramm 1960, Wasmuth 2001). As is reported by the contemporary address book, *Jetzt=lebendes Hamburg* – mentioned above – in 1723 Georg Jencquel was a temporarily chosen member for the advisory board of the local orphanage (*Jetzt=lebendes Hamburg* 1723: 86), a position which was significant for his apparently excellent reputation and for his social prestige.

In the case of Johann Christian Pichel, there is documented a personal relationship with Telemann. In 1732, one year before publishing his *Musique de Table*, Telemann composed a Wedding Serenata for Pichel and his bride Margaretha Elisabeth Droop (TVWV deest) (Neubacher 2009: 91). As the musicologist and librarian Jürgen Neubacher emphasizes, ambitious burghers often used music and poetry as an effective means of distinction and social prestige (Ibid.). This strategy is also documented in contemporary reports on private festivities. For example, in the *Hamburgische Chronik*, a handwritten contemporary chronicle, it says about 3 February 1701:

On 3 February Dangerfeldt gave a beautiful ball in his house, which was attended by extra invited persons, and therefore he self-displayed as *gallant*, offering rare jam, wine and such things *abundantly*. On 6 February this was punished severely by the ministers, making it clear that the claiming of such a delight, which is only appropriate to aristocrats, by a burgher is inappropriate (*Hamburgische Chronik* 1700–1707: 27).²

2 „Den 3. hat Dangerfeldt einen schönen Ball in seinem Hause von verschiedenen Benehmen darzu besonders eingeladenen Persohnen halten und sich sonsten deßwegen galant sehen laßen, indem er Rare Confituren, Wein und dergleichen Sachen in abundant geschenket. Welches die meisten HH. Ministe-

Particularly interesting in this case is not only the punishment as a restrictive social reaction, an attempt to defend traditional social borders, but also the brief mention of the “ball” as a social event and gentrified setting, following codified rules. For instance, in Tauberts *Rechtschaffener Tanzmeister*, mentioned above, a differentiation is made between the genre of the ball and that of the assembly. According to Taubert, an assembly is

a convent and meeting of honourable persons, conversing, eating, drinking, discussing, playing, making music with each other in a honourable way, and at the end of the meeting normally dancing (Russell 2012: 1107).

Dancing functions obviously as an annex to the assembly, but it was the main event in a ball (Compare also *ibid.*: 1130). All in all, both assembly and ball are closely related to music and are placed within a musical frame. Dancing, performing dance music and also listening to it were important dimensions of the daily routines of the middle and the upper classes as noted earlier. That music functioned as a kind of status symbol, allowing the upper classes clearly to be distinguished from the lower, becomes evident also in a letter by Telemann to the lawyer, architect and scholar Johann Friedrich Armand von Uffenbach in Frankfurt. On 31th July 1723 Telemann wrote:

While music might be going downhill there [in Frankfurt], here it is on the rise; and I do not believe that any place can be found which is more encouraging to the spirit of one working in this science than Hamburg. A great contribution is made to this by the fact that, besides the many persons of rank present here, the most prominent men of the city – including the entire city council – do not stay away from public concerts; likewise, the reasonable judgements of so many connoisseurs and intelligent people give occasion [for such concerts]; not to mention the opera, which is now flourishing; and finally the nerve of commerce [i.e. money], which is not rooted too deeply in the pockets of music-lovers here (Telemann 1972: 213; English translation: Stewart 1985: 105–106).³

rial den 6. dieses [Monats] aufs schärfste pro Concione gestraffet, anzeigend, daß einem Bürger sich eine solche Lust, die nur fürstl. Persohnen gegönnt werde, anzumaßen, im geringsten nicht zugestattet werden müße, sondern es werde [...] ein Magistrat ein solches gleich anderen [...] auffs nachdrücklichste zu bestraffen sich äußerst angelegen sein lassen.“

3 „Was inzwischen die *Music* dort [in Frankfurt] Bergunter gehet, das klettert sie hier hinauf; und glaube ich nicht, dass irgendwo ein solcher Ort, als Hamburg, zu finden, der den Geist eines in dieser Wissenschaft Arbeitenden mehr aufmuntern kann. Hierzu trägt ein grosses bey, dass, ausser den anwesenden vielen Standes-Personen, auch die ersten Männer der Stadt, ja das ganze Rahts-*Collegium*, sich den öffentlichen *Concerts* nicht entziehen; *item* die vernünftigen Urtheile so vieler Kenner und kluger Leute geben Gelegenheit darzu; nicht weniger die *Opera*, welche itzo im höchsten Flor ist; und endlich der *nervus rerum gerendarum*, der hier bey den Liebhabern nicht fest angewachsen ist.“

Telemann's letter is an important document highlighting the diverse and elite social structure of musical culture in Hamburg. Furthermore, together with its function as a status symbol, music was apparently also a subject for amusement and education.

That music was probably a subject for upper class education becomes clear from looking at the female subscribers. Among the 206 subscribers of Telemann's *Musique de Table* are only 14 women,⁴ ten of them having an aristocratic title. Two of the four civic women are citizens of Hamburg: Madame Peinhorst and Madame Droop. Apparently, the latter was the mother of Margaretha Elisabeth Droop – mentioned earlier – and therefore had a personal relationship with Telemann.

Looking at Telemann's subscription list overall, there is a very diverse profile of subscribers. Finally, this leads to the question, in what way was Telemann's music able to fulfil different, and sometimes conflicting, expectations, such as education and amusement? To what extent might his music have appealed to different social classes and how was it related to their environment?

As the musicologist Laurenz Lütteken has stated, Telemann's oeuvre is heavily affected by his acquaintance with several elite persons of his time. For him this was certainly an important source of inspiration and a strong motivation to rethink and change his aesthetic positions over the years for the purpose of appealing to upper-class expectations (Lütteken 2006: 663-664).

Considering this background, one may attribute to the *Musique de Table* several aesthetic qualities: it represents in many ways "a summation of all that he [Telemann] had accomplished in the realm of instrumental music up to the early 1730s" (Zohn 2008: 431) or "a kind of pattern book concerning all relevant genres." (T.: „eine Art von kompositorischem Musterbuch, alle relevanten Gattungen betreffend“ (Lütteken 2006: 602). Lütteken in particular has stressed Telemann's educational intentions aimed at a broadening of style and taste. Therefore, the *Musique de Table* consists of 1) conservative pieces containing also some new-style devices, 2) pieces with traditional melodic and rhythmic characteristics but within a modern form, and finally 3) "pieces which employ the full range of new-style effects" (Stewart 1985: 139).

Particularly with respect to contemporary experts and lovers of music ("Kenner und Liebhaber"), we have to remark on the variety of disposition and instrumentation in each of the three parts of the *Musique de Table*: For example, the structure of part 3 is as following:

4 The following women are mentioned in the subscription list: Mad.lle Auguste. Paris, Mad.me la Marggrave douïairière de Bayreuth. Erlangen, Mad.lle de Beschefer. Berlin, Mad.me Droop. Hamb., Mad.me la Marquise d'Erouville. Paris, Mad.lle de Kamecke. Berlin, Mad.me de Nissen, Slesvic, Mad.me la Duchesse de Nivernois. Paris, Mad.me Peinhorst, Hamb., Mad.lle Rhode. Francf. sur l'Oder, Mad.lle de Schmettau, Berlin, Mad.me la Comtesse de Castel. Bredenbourg, Mad.me la Baronne de Wrens. Bremen, Mad.me de Ziegler. Leipzig.

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Overture and suite for 7 instruments
 Quartet
 Concert for 7 instruments
 Trio
 Solo
 Conclusion for 7 instruments

Variety, which means at the same time delectation, is guaranteed by the contrasting use of key disposition, measures, dynamics, tempo and melodic lines (see Figure 3).

But alongside such compositional and aesthetic qualities, Telemann's music also contains easy understandable moods and pictures, which are often related to the environment of its listeners. That fact in particular certainly enhanced the effectiveness and success of Telemann's music.

For instance, the *Bergerie* from the initial suite of part 3 may be interpreted as an allusion to baroque literature with its Arcadian topoi. At the same time, we may think of rural life outside the city walls and of the leisure time elite people spent in their gardens (Stewart 1985: 44-47, Salmen 2006: 140-145, 169-177).

A much stronger reference to everyday life may be seen in the piece *Postillons*. From the last third of the 17th century, Hamburg became more and more not only a major German city, but also a diplomatic centre. On account of these circumstances, daily life was strongly affected by new media such as newspapers and by the postal system, bringing political and economic news several times a week (Böning 2010: 20-23, Behringer 2005: 233). Considering the daily experience of diplomatic cables, postal coaches and signals, a piece like *Postillons* in particular would certainly have appealed also to non elite listeners.

CONCLUSION

One basic problem of historiography in general is accommodating the personal interest and the cultural background of its authors. Every historian has his/her point of departure. He/she is forced to take decisions, to make a choice of sources and facts, depending on the questions concerning history. Historians are forced to emphasize some issues for reasons of clarity and presumed importance. Considering this fact, historiography is and remains always a simplification of reality.

Overall, historiography presents us with a model of how the past could have been, of how it might have functioned. Since it presents a reductive model of reality – a “grand narrative” – it always needs correction and further explanation. And at least for this purpose, the “little stories” of everyday musical life can be very useful. Music historiography, in my opinion, should be enriched by detailed case studies, placing the focus on society with its several institutions and human actors, probably all having different attitudes and relations to music. Therefore, it is always useful to research and to connect very different source materials such as dancing treatises, style guides concerning manners and leisure time activities, subscription lists, address books and so on.

For this purpose, one may return to the method of writing micro-historical studies as the Italian historian Carlo Ginzburg did or to the method of thick description established by the ethnologist Clifford Geertz. A further point of reference may be the concept of history as a history of everyday life (“Alltagsgeschichte”). Until today, historians particularly have tried to use these historical approaches, but in most cases did not consider music and musical life. Therefore the history of Everyday Musical Life could and should become a more important and profitable field of musicological research. And as the example of Telemann’s *Musique de Table* has demonstrated, even in a history of everyday life enough space will be left for art works and their aesthetic qualities.

FIGURES

10. Aria e Ritornello

BASSIAN

Basso continuo

1. Sem - pron. ein bra - ver Ca - va - lier (-er steht nicht
gar - zu weit - von hier -) ist bei den - Mäd - gens
wohl - be - kann und lebt ma - nier - lich und - ga -
- lant, und lebt ma - nier - lich und - ga - lant.

attacca

2. Hört, wie er seine Zeit zubringt:
Er pfeift, er tanzt, er spielt, er singt,
Er ißt, er trinkt, er geht und fährt,
Und weil er reich, wird er geehrt.

3. Die Glocke schlägt schier immer zehn,
Eh er wird aus dem Bett aufstehn.
Dann ist die Choccolad bereit,
Um elf Uhr ist er angekleid.

4. Er gibt Viisten bis um ein,
Dann muß der Tisch gedecket sein.
Drauf spielt er bis um Glocke zwei,
Liest im Talander bis um drei.

5. Er tanzt hernach von drei bis vier,
Dann kömmt die Kutsche vor die Tür
Und bringt ihn in die Opera,
Was macht nun unser Herr allde?

6. Er spricht Französch avec bon air,
Ma foi, parfait, tout entier.
Il jure quelque fois sottement,
Daß Liesgen fast nichts hören kann.

7. Vom Singpiel fährt er auf den Schmaus
Und kömmt vom Schmaus bezocht nach Haus,
Von da ins Bett und schläft drauf.
Das ist sein ganzer Lebenslauf.

Figure 1: Bassians Aria from *Masaniello furioso* (1706) by Reinhard Keiser (Keiser 1986: 49)

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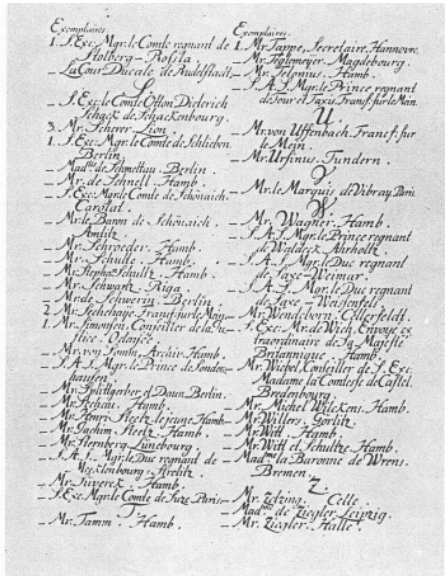
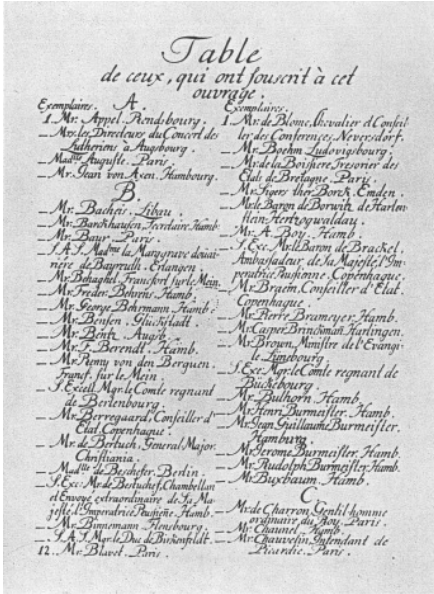


Figure 2: Georg Philipp Telemann, *Musique de Table*, Hamburg 1733, subscription list (Telemann 1733).

b. Bergerie

Un peu vivement

Oboe 1

Oboe 2

Violino 1

Violino 2

Viola

Violoncello
Fondamento

Vcll.

Fond.

Figure 3: Georg Philipp Telemann, *Musique de Table*, part 3, overture and suite:
Beginning of movement 2

d. Postillons

The musical score is arranged in three systems. The first system includes parts for Oboe 1, Oboe 2, Violino 1, Violino 2, Viola, and Violoncello e Fondamento. The second system includes parts for Vcll. and Fond. The third system includes parts for Violino 1, Violino 2, and Violoncello e Fondamento. The score is in 3/4 time and B-flat major. The first system shows the beginning of the piece with various rhythmic patterns. The second system includes a 'Solo' section for the Violino 1 and Violino 2 parts. The third system continues the musical development with various textures and dynamics.

Figure 3: Georg Philipp Telemann, *Musique de Table*, part 3, overture and suite:
Beginning of movement 4 (Telemann 1963).

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- Jetzt=lebendes Hamburg, worin von den Namen/ Characteren und Wohnungen aller hieselbst sich aufhaltenden Standes=Personen und accreditierten Ministern, so dann E[ines] Hoch=Edlen und Hochweisen Rahts, ferner des Hoch=Ehrwürdigen Dom=Capituls und Ministerii, wie auch der Herren Graduirten/ und aller in Bürgerlichen Collegiis befindlichen, imgleichen anderer zum Geist= und Weltlichen Stande gehörigen Personen, anbey von der Zeit der Aufrichtung der ansehnlichen Collegiorum, Deputationum, publiquen Gebäuden u.s.w. Nachricht ertheilet wird.* Hamburg 1723. [In the text: (Jetzt=lebendes Hamburg 1723)]
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МАРТИН ЛЕСЕР

МНОГОСТРАНОСТ СВАКОДНЕВНОГ МУЗИЧКОГ ЖИВОТА.
ПРИСТУП ИСТОРИЈИ МУЗИКЕ „ОДОЗАО”

(РЕЗИМЕ)

Колика је корист од писања историје свакодневног музичког живота? И како се то ради? У овом чланку представљам историографски концепт који су иницирали историчари попут Карла Гинзбурга, Алфа Литкеа и Рихарда ван Дилмена још седамдесетих година XX века, у покушају обнове писања историје. Уместо реконструкције и интерпретације великих наратива и дубоких структура у друштву, економији и култури, ови историчари нуде детаљне описе „просечних грађана” и њихових свакодневних музичких пракси, мотивација и преференција, а као резултат оваквих разматрања најстају кластери фасцинантних и далекосежних увида у различите врсте контаката с музиком. Следећи овај генерални приступ, представљам панораму свакодневне музичке културе у Хамбургу почетком XVIII века.

Извори коришћени за ову студију обухватају различите музичке жанрове попут опере, кантате и инструменталне „музике за ручавање”, као и књиге, новинске чланке, спискове претплатника, дневнике, правилнике понашања и архивске документе. Овај материјал нам пружа увид у делатност музичара попут Јохана Матесона, Георга Филипа Телемана и Рајнхарда Кајзера, као и у друштвени живот грађанства у Хамбургу у XVIII веку.

Кључне речи: свакодневни живот, историја музике, Хамбург, почетак XVIII века, Јохан Матесон, Георг Филип Телеман, Рајнхард Кајзер

TAKING THE PROVINCES SERIOUSLY*

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ABSTRACT

Using France as a case-study, this essay calls for enhanced recognition of cultural variegation within nation states in the era of European Romantic nationalism. It outlines a new, integrated and comparative approach to the study of provincial music in a context where national centralisation is the norm. The situation in France, especially during the height of the “provincial awakening” around 1900, is analysed in light of the ideas of Ivo Strecker and Joep Leerssen on regionalism and ethnic nationalism, and alongside broader questions of cultural decentralisation. Particular attention is drawn to the challenges posed by borderlands, by the intersection of cultural and political ideas, and by the dangers of false separations between high and low cultures at local level.

KEYWORDS: France, provincial awakening, Ivo Strecker, Joep Leerssen, borderlands

I have done it myself on numerous occasions: publishing under titles that mention “France” when I really mean “Paris”. And amid new sensitivity among French researchers to such unthinking assimilation of the capital to the nation, this historiographical *faux pas* has even gained a name: “Parisianisme”. It was in response to the dominance of capital-centric work that one of the main strands of the Belgrade conference *The Future of Music History* involved the “liberation of regions from their charismatic capitals” and a concomitant “denationalising” of research. The link between capital city and nation was key, the point being either that within current music-historical tradition the capital and its government are seen to determine what happens within the boundaries of the nation state, or that the capital somehow represents and subsumes the nation. There are of course exceptions to this mania of the single

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capital. No historian of music is going to prioritise Washington over New York or Boston or New Orleans just because it is the capital of the USA; and no one is going to deny that both Moscow and St Petersburg were equal centres of musical authority in nineteenth-century Russia. Spain, Italy and Germany each have multiple former capital cities relating to former duchies and kingdoms – and those cities, together with their respective regions have retained much of their cultural status and distinctiveness despite unification of various kinds.

There is a general principle at stake in the idea of “denationalising music history”. It is that of ceasing to take monolithic notions of the nation state as the “natural” point of reference to categorise styles, movements or cultural trends. There have been two responses to this clarion call, especially within the musicology of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, which is what concerns me here. One is to think globally about music history and to open up pan-European or imperial and postcolonial perspectives alongside transatlantic, transmediterranean and other kinds of trans-oceanic study. The other is to think regionally and comparatively about diversity *within* the nation state. Both give voice to underrepresented groups (the colonised, the provincial). And although the second of these ways of thinking remains focused on the territory of the nation state, it does a lot to decentre the capital and to prevent the study of such cities as a short cut to understanding the culture of an often heterogeneous polity.

Concomitantly, it means we must be ready for a more bottom-up consideration of musical life – of ‘musicking’ and its role in ordinary lives – and not just of music as an elevated art form. Since capitals attract the vast majority of the composers whom posterity values, there is a musicological logic to focusing on them; but if we treat capitals as though they are normal, we shall conflate music history in its broadest sense with monumental musicology. Not only that, but we risk committing errors of scalability through unjustified extrapolation from capital to region, while underestimating questions of mobility and displacement among musicians most of whom are nomadic freelancers. If we wish to be better historians, we should be widening our purview and thinking about how people’s lives were lived, musically and otherwise – not just in the capital, but elsewhere.

Put together, the binary of capital/region and the term “liberation” I cite above perhaps suggest that in a new music-historical order, nation and locality would exist in an either/or relationship defined more or less antagonistically. But that word “liberation” also suggests that alternative or overlapping geographical groupings might be possible, defined by a combination of historical links, borderland affinities, or ethnic or linguistic community. Depending on the political space, relationships with capital cities and their dominant cultures do not have to be reduced to a brute either/or. Rather, it is beneficial to look for dialogue and negotiation of different kinds – patterns that are messy, and which change over time. Neither is it necessarily useful to consider every cultural conversation as self-evidently including the capital as a reference point: there are regional power centres, region-specific patterns of immigration, neighbourly rivalries or alliances, and international relationships with religious power-bases to take account of too. Belonging and identity are both layered and intersectional.

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Broadly speaking, it is no coincidence that those nations with multiple focal points for musicologists are themselves federations (Germany, Spain, the USA), while those with a single, magnetic, capital, are more centralised (France, the Soviet Union). Neither is it a coincidence that different forms of the nation state should catalyse different kinds of regionalism—to which musicologists need to be sensitive. In 1994, the anthropologist Ivo Strecker wrote a short think-piece on the two main types of regionalism he saw emerging in his own lifetime: a ‘soft’ version characteristic of affluent and federal societies insisting on their distinctiveness in the face of the homogenisation brought by internationalism (we would now call it globalisation); and a ‘hard’ regionalism underpinned by resistance to the conformity brought by colonial oppression and its legacy. The first is more cultural than political; the second reverses those priorities and leads to active struggles for independence (Strecker cites examples within the former Yugoslavia, the former Soviet Union, the UK, and Ethiopia) (Strecker 1994: 47–52). Because he connected it with resistance to big industry despoiling the local, Strecker concluded that “soft regionalism” dated from the 1960s (Strecker 1994: 48). Yet with very few tweaks, both extremes of his binary (and the continuum we must be careful to recognise within it) have resonance for the study of France during the “*réveil des provinces*” [the provincial awakening] – a decades-long process covering much of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. At this point it becomes useful to think of them in combination with the work of Joep Leerssen on Romantic ethnic nationalism, where a ‘soft’ version is characterised by celebratory initiatives regarding museums, heritage, folk culture and language-conservation, but where political weaponisation turns those same initiatives into the cultural preconditions for independent nationhood (Leerssen 2006: 559–578, esp. 572).

To return to Strecker: he makes no mention of France, perhaps because it does not present itself as a clear case. But that is my point. For while Strecker seems to assume that each nation state of the late twentieth century will provoke a single variety of regionalism, France during this earlier period covers the whole range. Politically and culturally, the *Départements* created out of the provinces in post-Revolutionary France can be equated to colonies or protectorates (the analogy was current in the 1860s, at the very least), leading to instances of Strecker’s hard regionalism; on the other hand, concerns about the homogenising, alienating and dehumanising effects of industrialisation, together with the highly effective spread of urban cultures from Paris, led to the softer version, which was wrapped up in morality (and often Catholicism) more than in politics. As Jennifer Millar has noted, the cultural regionalism of Provence from the 1850s under the poetic leadership of Frédéric Mistral equates to Strecker’s soft regionalism (and the celebratory end of Leerssen’s ethnic nationalism), while the more antagonistic and ethnically-defined regionalism of Brittany appears considerably harder.² In fact, the spectrum of debate about relations between Paris and the French provinces is even wider, since in parts of industrialised France the issue is neither soft nor hard regionalism, but decentralisation – essentially a plea

2 Without foregrounding the specifics of the French case, Jennifer Millar makes this connection in her PhD distinctiveness (Millar 2010: 10–11).

to be taken seriously in (often conformist) matters of local governance and cultural provision.

How, then, does French musical life work in practice? In this short essay I aim not to provide comprehensive answers but to show how routes towards those answers can help clarify the utility of thinking musically about a centralised but internally heterogeneous country from provincial or regional perspectives. I want to think about ways that we can fruitfully approach questions of regional difference and local authority within a country whose national institutions promoted centralisation, hierarchy, uniformity and assimilation whenever possible, the rationale being that regional difference and/or local decision-making would threaten French claims to 'universality' and, at its extreme, undermine the integrity of the State itself. To do so I propose to use centralisation and the reactions it provokes as analytical categories, before addressing borderlands, comparativism, and the beneficial collapsing of traditional binaries that can come with working on smaller-scale centres.

CENTRALISATION

The most common reference point for any study of regional France in the long nineteenth century is the 1789 Revolution. France had known centralisation since the Academies of Louis XIV, but the dual Jacobin need for a *tabula rasa* and a rationally-ordered unity led to wholesale change. The Revolutionary calendar started again from year 1, decimalisation included a 10-day week, French was instituted as the sole national language, and in an attempt to neutralise historic power-bases, the provinces were replaced by Départements with new boundaries, new administrations, and anodyne new labels. It was the erasure of language and province, along with secularisation (including closure of all France's choir schools), that sealed the notion of France's new Départements as colonial territories. Moreover, new systems of local control involved establishing the all-important Préfecture, the office where the Préfet, as representative of the State, acted as overseer of mayors on behalf of ministers. Amid the artistic destruction or sequestration of anything Catholic, the Jacobins created Paris institutions such as the Louvre or the Conservatoire, intended respectively as showcase and training ground of the best the country had to offer. Monumental Paris became the heart of France, drawing in talent, oxygenating it and sending it nationwide and empire-wide, in re-energised form. Hence the spread of local versions of the Opéra, the Comédie-Française, the Louvre, and perhaps also the École des Beaux-Arts and the Conservatoire. All on a small scale, and usually managed via the three-tier hierarchy of town hall, Préfecture, and government ministry. It is a paradigm within which the child must perforce look like its mother, but according to which that child will never achieve maturity or – heaven forbid – independence.

The success of French centralisation – which extends even to minutiae such as the identical cataloguing systems of most of its local archives – has encouraged those of us who work on the French nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to absorb and re-inscribe this sense of Paris as the inventor and purveyor of all things French. We

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have looked at Parisian sources and written about ‘national pride’, ‘national identity’ and what ‘the French’ thought. We have not, in other words, necessarily considered whether other parts of France might show evidence of disagreement with Paris, or evidence of the building of alternative systems of culture. Paris is itself multi-faceted, but too often that fact is used as a way of bolstering the argument that as a microcosm of France it is therefore all we need.

Historiographically, the centrist legacy, which maps neatly onto the rise and stabilisation of Republicanism across the nineteenth century, offers a French version of ‘whig history’ – a history of winners who conceptualise a national narrative as a teleological and inevitable progression towards the embedding of their own now-insuperable position. The ramifications of whig history are not hard to discern: history with hindsight, a deterministic approach to the definition of progress, and a high level of discomfort with any form of resistance, which must necessarily be placed on the wrong side of history and branded traditional or reactionary. Wittingly or not, and quite apart from the manner in which it has occulted the regions as a subject unworthy of study, the adoption within French musicology of Parisianism has encouraged precisely these whiggish tendencies, especially in studies of the Third Republic (1870–1940), where continuity with the present helps consign the legacies of monarchy and Bonapartism to the past.³

The end result of such asymmetries of cultural power can be seen in a pioneering book to which I find myself turning frequently despite disagreeing profoundly with its research premises: François Lesure’s *Dictionnaire musical des villes de province*, which is organised as an entry on each of France’s major cities and towns. As Lesure himself says (wryly it should be noted – the book is in many ways a call to action), French centralisation enabled the entire book to be researched from Paris, and he concentrated on a synthesis of the secondary literature combined with perspectives from the Parisian press (Lesure 1999: 7). Yet working in this way risks becoming complicit with the whiggish view if, as in the case of Lesure’s extended Introduction, it entails giving voice only to those who disparage the quality of local activity or audience response. Lesure does not ignore the structural effects of institutional centralisation in the nineteenth century, especially in relation to opera; but his focus on artistic quality and appreciation in the provinces, or the lack of it, sets up a more important, silent, and misleading comparison of Paris as unfailing paragon, especially since it is at precisely these moments of quoted derision that his often densely factual account comes alive.⁴ Moreover the combination of a monumental musicological approach with Paris-centric research leads him to a final reckoning in which he laments how few major composers emerged from *la France profonde* without either studying priva-

3 For a feisty analysis, see Mayr 1990: 301–309. In France the regions are not the only victims: the mix of Republicanism and anticlericalism has left the history of sacred music as another historiographical poor relation.

4 See, for instance, his account of sociétés philharmoniques of the 1820s and 1830s and their Beethoven concerts. Lesure 1999: 30.

tely or completing their training in Paris at the Conservatoire (Lesure 1999: 37, 41). It is, then, entirely possible to write about the French regions in a manner that aligns squarely with centralist narratives that takes as read their backwardness and lack of refinement. And all this without mentioning compositional regionalism from the 1870s onwards, which constituted a challenge to official culture whatever the identity or provenance of its authors.

It would be naïve and futile to try to counter such narratives with 180-degree revisionism. Much of what Lesure recounts cannot be gainsaid. But his world view, doubtless exacerbated by the dictionary format, obscures the richness of French musical life while under-reporting resistance and negotiation. Moreover, it minimises the extent to which the hierarchical nature of French centralisation had the capacity to hobble local creativity, which accordingly needs to be studied as a phenomenon existing permanently against the odds. This entails close study, at a local level, of the way centralisation works, and an appreciation of why music suffers its effects more than other arts.

A comparison with the visual arts, for instance, illustrates how a history of musical composition in educational institutions across regional France during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries could only ever report limited success. In 1905 Paris hosted the first art show of student work from the regional *Écoles des Beaux-Arts*. It encompassed drawing, sculpture, painting, architectural design, and applied arts, and the ministerial intention was to tour it regionally as a model of student excellence at all levels.⁵ Such an ‘exhibition’, to continue the Louvre metaphor, was unthinkable in music, because it would have implied concerts of student compositions. And although performance teaching was regionally institutionalised, composition teaching was not – because within the hierarchy of music-theoretical training it was perceived by the centre as too advanced for regional study. I have already used the term ‘oxygenation’ to describe the official role of Paris for provincials coming to train, or to be inspired; but the corollary is that centralisation left artists in the regions gasping for air, and this situation was itself institutionalised through a system whereby regional branches of the Conservatoire were legally defined from the outset (i.e. from the 1820s) as feeder-schools serving a Parisian finishing school.

This situation produced an inspection regime from Paris that amounted at times to a perverse dialogue of the deaf. For instance, in 1909 the Nancy conservatoire, directed from 1894 to 1919 by the Breton composer Guy Ropartz, was criticised for teaching at the same level as Paris and accepting pupils who were too advanced. He was effectively told to stop having ideas above his station.⁶ Within the Nancy inspection reports we find more openness only a couple of decades later: in 1930 Raoul Laparra complimented Ropartz’s successor, Alfred Bachelet, on a harmony class that showed the “decentralist character of the institution” [*caractère décentraliste de l’institution*]: this, he wrote, was a conserva-

5 Prospectus in *Journal des débats*, 26 August 1905, 3.

6 Archives Départementales Meurthe-et-Moselle (Nancy) 4 T 157.

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toire “where one can prepare effectively for Paris or complete one’s training *in situ*” [où l’on peut se préparer efficacement pour Paris ou se former entièrement sur place].⁷ Nevertheless, even in the 1930s the teaching of composition at a level that might prepare a musician for direct entry to the Prix de Rome was a pipe dream, whether here or in other major provincial conservatoires such as Toulouse or Lyon. Only the conservatoires of Bordeaux, Strasbourg and Metz, all of which were either privately run and thus outside the official and centralised system, or retained the legacy of their pre-1919 German curricula, came close.

The kind of history I am advocating thus weaves into its premises the structural limitations that affect musicians’ artistic choices and horizons, here using the centralising power of the state as an analytical tool. It is a history of the possible in the knowledge of what is impossible. And it also helps us understand the way the regions related to Paris itself.

DECENTRALISATION

It might be surmised that decentralisation is simply the obverse of centralisation; but the reality is more complex. In a general sense, the term simply means that on an administrative level, local historical actors have the right to run their own local affairs, with budgets and regulations drawn up to meet local needs. It involves a transfer of power from the capital to local government and institutions. Musically, the term decentralisation referred to a wish for enhanced opportunities for musicians, enhanced provision for audiences, and respect for local ambitions and initiatives that might or might not deviate from those handed down by Paris. In central major towns, such as turn-of-the-century Lyon, decentralist initiatives were aimed at challenging the capital on its own terms; in borderland areas such decentralist impetus was likely to be overlaid by regionalist content of some kind.

There is, however, a further wrinkle, in that the term, which was in regular use in France from the 1830s, often meant what we would now define as ‘deconcentration’: not a handing-over of power but its dissemination to local level (notably via the Préfecture) in order to facilitate centralist objectives. The French conservatoire system, with its inspection régime, its approved teaching methods and its ministerially-appointed Directors, is a good example. As early as 1834 we find an editorial in *Le Ménestrel* advocating a very similar system whereby Paris graduates might populate new provincial conservatoires; but it is titled “Décentralisation musicale”.⁸ What I would term properly decentralist activity, then, has more to do with independent initiatives, adaptation of Parisian norms, or attempts to secure a transfer of power and status.

7 Ibid.

8 See, for example, a *Ménestrel* editorial of 12 October 1834, 1–4, “Décentralisation musicale”, on the need to set up a nationwide network of conservatoires in place of the then-current teaching of plainchant.

The city of Lyon is decentralist territory par excellence, its anti-Parisianism militant from the 1830s and still in evidence today (See Bruno 1996: 491–509). Lyon was the first town to lobby for its opera house to be designated ‘national’ (actually, imperial – it was 1865); the first to secure national subsidy to mount an operatic world premiere (Saint-Saëns’s *Étienne Marcel* in 1879; and true to its moniker of the “French Bayreuth” it put on the French premiere of *Die Meistersinger* in 1896 and the first complete French *Ring* cycle in 1904. Finally, Lyon’s symphony orchestra, the Société des Grands Concerts, was to my knowledge the only French regional orchestra to be invited to perform at a Paris Exposition Universelle – in 1937. The *Die Meistersinger* coup resulted from Cosima Wagner’s refusal to let the Paris Opéra premiere it because her agent regarded the Palais Garnier chorus as too feeble to cope (See Ellis 2013: 133). Moreover, it was mounted with the most unusual of singers in the role of Eva: a foreigner, the Danish soprano Louise Janssen, who had made Lyon her permanent home since the early 1890s and who introduced the Lyonnais to so many of the major Wagnerian heroines as a principal or guest in successive Lyon opera companies that she came to define the town’s identity as a Wagnerian centre (See Ellis 2018: 214–236). This was decentralisation by happy accident and audience consensus – there was no local policy behind it – and it was highly effective.

It will not go unnoticed that in each of these cases bar the Wagner, Paris acts as a validating force. From the regional point of view, this is the crucial weakness of much decentralisation: even when it extends beyond deconcentration, it is rarely a case of clean breaks; and like many minority causes, it succeeds only when those in power in the capital recognise, and accede to, the need for change. Thus is the history of decentralisation in this period peppered with requests, demands, and pleas for Paris to support, to facilitate and even to act as a clearing-house for local initiatives. As such it is also vulnerable to reversal if the capital withdraws its support – which is what seems to have happened with the 1865 Lyon ‘national’ opera house, which soon returned to calling itself merely ‘municipal’. However, ‘this story contains another twist’. In the brief intervening period the Lyonnais had spoken, and they did not choose decentralisation. The opera manager so anxious for imperial recognition used his new status to stop holding public auditions for his company – a nationwide requirement for all except the ‘national’ theatres and one of the few opportunities for audiences to express their views about the Director’s own competence. Unwilling to trade national status for local power over the Director’s casting, the Lyon audience rioted and ran him out of town.⁹ Examples such as these, which cluster in areas where musical life was most closely regulated, illustrate how resistance to centralisation could itself be contested when it entailed other sacrifices.

9 Archives Municipales Lyon 88 WP 006 (folder 20). The manager was Raphaël Félix, brother of the great tragic actress Rachel. See also Ellis 2011: 327–352.

REGIONALISM

By contrast with decentralisation, which carries no specific associations of musical content, musical regionalism celebrates difference through the enacting of local cultures in performance or through composition. Both the hard and soft versions I cited earlier constitute resistance to official Paris. It is also useful to disentangle them from the monolithic or touristic picturesque of *couleur locale* as found in opera especially: as Gilles Saint-Arroman puts it, there is a movement, across the French nineteenth century, from opera that contained regional scenes and settings, to regionalist music drama (Saint-Arroman 2012). The same distinctions apply to rhapsodies and suites by eclectics such as Saint-Saëns or Massenet, in contrast to the instrumental music of Bordes (Basque country), Erb (Alsace), Séverac (Languedoc and French Catalonia), Ropartz (Brittany), and a host of younger Bretons including Ladmirault and Le Flem. From this perspective it is the ‘ist’ in regionalist that counts. Yet there are also inevitably grey areas and works where subsequent appropriation takes them from one category to another. In different ways, Gounod’s Provençal opera *Mireille* (1864), Bizet’s corollary, his incidental music to *L’Arlésienne* (1872), and Lalo’s Breton myth of *Le Roi d’Ys* (1888), are bellwethers of this process.

In terms of French hotspots we could cite pre-1870 Alsace, or Flanders, or French Catalonia, or Provence and the Languedoc. Equally we could point to the tensions, in Toulouse (Languedoc) between centralists who ran the opera house and conservatoire, and regionalists such as Séverac, who assimilated folk cultures into his style and deplored those who simply tried to equal Paris. There is a rural/urban divide at work here—also overlaid with social division in the case of working-class Marseille’s fractious relationship with Mistral’s more patrician, and rural, *félibrige*. Moreover, the urge to preserve local customs, whether through festivals, museums or operatic diegesis quickly turns folk tradition into folklore that risks folding back into the very *couleur locale* from which it originally distinguished itself. Once tourism gains traction at the end of the century, the circle is all but closed.

In terms of composition the *locus classicus* of musical regionalism is Brittany, which started gathering its folksongs early, with the famous and partly invented collection *Barzaz-Breiz* first published in Paris in 1839, and where the closest France came to a regionalist school of composition flowered from the 1890s onwards. Their stylistic relationship to Brittany varied, from the evocation of landscape, to music suggestive of folk music, to the arrangement and transformation of authentic (or at least recognisable) melodies. Among their most prolific members in the early twentieth century was Paul Ladmirault, whose *Variations sur des airs de biniou trécorois* of 1905 transforms dance melodies transcribed from the traditional playing of pairs of *sonneurs* – bagpipe and shawm – still practised today. Moreover they indicate the same regionalist determination to assimilate folk music into art music that the Russian ‘Five’ – with which Ladmirault compared himself – had achieved several decades earlier. Is such regionalism, though, soft or hard, and what are the implications?

The historical stakes turn out to be as high as the levels of political-cultural variegation. Ladmirault was part of the Association des Compositeurs Bretons, a regi-

onal composers' association – very rare in France – set up in 1912 under Maurice Duhamel, a 'semi-hard' regionalist composer committed to the idea of Brittany as an autonomous region within France. As recounted by Marie-Claire Mussat, its origins do indeed indicate a kind of 'blood and soil' ethnic nationalism that rejects the assimilation of outsiders. It was a rearguard action by eight ethnic Bretons against the Italian Sylvio Lazzari, who had married into a Breton family and whose opera *La Lépreuse*, a Breton tale into which the composer had integrated various folksongs, had been a success at the Opéra (Fauquet 2003: 180). Alongside Duhamel, Ladmirault also joined visual and decorative artists as part of the *Seiz Breur*, founded in 1923 to promote Breton art as Celtic rather than French, and as bringing together modernism and the traditional.

This group was symptomatic of a wider pan-Celticisation of Brittany, already detectable in Ladmirault's 1900s compositions based on Scottish and Gaelic themes.¹⁰ Breton regionalists had long harboured aspirations – not always successful in practice – to a Celtic internationalism of the Atlantic seaboard, territorially irrelevant to France.¹¹ Politically, the autonomist Duhamel was firmly on the left; Ladmirault was much further to the right, but not, it seems, an autonomist.¹² But it was at the right-wing extreme that hard regionalism within the *Seiz Breur* became treason: the architect Olier Mordrel also founded the Breton National Party, which supported the German war effort in the hope of gaining Breton independence in the event of a Nazi victory.

Far-right extremism, and perhaps a need to forget it or a fear of discovering it, helps explain why musical regionalism has been sidelined as anti-whiggish for so long. There are more active complementary movements in cultural history, where revisionism, and demonstrating regionalism's independence from the far right, loom large.¹³ In musicology, the "réveil des provinces" intensifies at precisely the period when the cultural counter-power of Vincent d'Indy is at its most influential, and when a shift of emphasis from religion to regionalism within his Schola Cantorum of the early 1900s seems merely to prove a right-wing and anti-Republican point. A half-century later, Vichy is a major obstacle, given its early embrace of soft regionalism as a national creed and the State collaboration of a Schola regionalist such as Canteloube (who published folksong for the Vichy government under the direction of Alfred Cortot). However, as the study of the "années noires" is progressively and sensitively unblocked after decades of taboo, and as left-wing sources of Vichy regionalism

10 Notably the Chevauchée on Scottish reels, and the orchestral Rhapsodie gaelique.

11 On the mutual misunderstandings of one such encounter, at the 1899 Cardiff Eisteddfod, see Kathryn N. Jones, 'Celtic fairytale or Cardiff comic opera? The 1899 Eisteddfod through Breton eyes' unpublished paper on www.academia.edu.

12 Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Musique: I.a. Ladmirault. In letters of the 1920s to his wife (letters 7–22) he is casually anti-Semitic (she censors at times) and proud of the subversive fervour of his Catholicism. But I have yet to find talk of Breton politics.

13 See Peer 1998; Thiesse 1997; Wright 2003.

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become better understood, study of musical regionalism of the earlier period, especially from within France, is becoming a progressively less anti-hegemonic act.

BORDERLANDS

Mention of the Atlantic seaboard brings me to consider the importance of borderlands as a way of decentering capitals and rethinking where other centres might lie. Unsurprisingly these coincide with many of the regionalist territories I mentioned earlier; but they are joined by other meeting points relating to prior history, immigration, regular cross-border travel, and collaboration. Hence the importance of Italian and Russian constituencies in Nice, or the English in Normandy and Picardy. For historical reasons, however, some of the most important questions are raised by the borderland regions of Alsace and Lorraine, parts of whose present geographical terrain switched between France and Germany four times between 1870 and 1944. Here, questions of regionalism quickly become complicated by those of competing national allegiances and – at the same time – a wish to rise above them.

On the French side, the balance of musicological work on the Franco-Prussian War has emphasised the sense of French loss and the *revanchist* desire to level scores – achieved temporarily with the ‘liberation’ of Alsace-Lorraine and its return to France in 1919; elsewhere, the popularity of the cartoonist *Oncle Hansi* (Jean-Jacques Waltz), a celebrated voice of Alsatian anti-Germanism, lives on as ubiquitous tourist merchandise. The first risk here is to extrapolate the borderland situation of the 1910s and indeed the 1920s from that of the 1870s. What began as one of the spoils of war had, by 1914, become a semi-autonomous region enjoying more administrative independence than any French counterpart. And intermarriage had fundamentally changed its nature. Strasbourg had become a bi-lingual musical crossroads for Europe and many Alsations, in particular, had no wish to be asked to choose between one nationality or another.¹⁴

The French ‘liberation’ meant the splitting up and exiling of families, musical and otherwise, across the whole of Alsace-Lorraine. Hence this plea from Charles Dewald, the half-German interim Conservatoire director at Metz, to keep his job as leader of the theatre orchestra and as violin teacher. In a desperate attempt to stay in newly French Lorraine in 1919 he described himself as “indigenous”, noted how he taught students from the area in French, and how his maternal grandfather was a “veteran of the Second Empire”.¹⁵ It was no use: he and his son, a student at the conservatoire, respectively lost their job and their town council study grant. They were too German, and that was that.

It is in this light that we can try to understand the internationalism of musical life in Alsace-Lorraine in the 1920s. Let me take the case of the trouble in Strasbourg

14 See Roth 2010, and, for an explicitly autonomist perspective on later developments, Wittmann 2016.

15 Archives Municipales Metz 1 R 637d.

over Guy Ropartz's concert programming with the Conservatoire orchestra, when his own committee rebelled against the French nationalist project he had been hired to deliver. Ropartz began his directorship in 1919 and also became conductor of the professional orchestra attached to the Conservatoire. He programmed a restricted menu of French music from 1870 onwards – 150 works across a decade – to howls of disapproval in the German-language portion of Strasbourg's bilingual press. In 1922 we read the following: "Why deprive us of contemporary masterpieces as a matter of principle? Playing Ravel only confirms the rule. Honegger, Florent Schmitt and other Parisian artists are certainly not 'boches'. [...] Strauss, Pfitzner, Schrecker, Busoni have long been names from another world. As for the newest moderns, they are beyond the pale."¹⁶ By 1926, when matters came to a head on the committee of oversight at the Strasbourg Conservatoire, Ropartz was served with a list of composers its members wanted to hear, and which they were confident would reverse falling audience numbers. The list, especially in its final section, is notable for its internationalism and its eclecticism, taking in modern Romantics such as Rachmaninov and the new Catalan *sardanes* of Juli Garreta, alongside Schoenberg and the young tearaway Sergei Prokofiev.¹⁷ The internationalism of this selection had nothing to do with imitating Paris. What was important here was to be neither French nor German, but a proper border town: the very crossroads of European musical culture that Strasbourg had been in 1914.

COMPARATIVISM

It will have become clear already how important to a musical history of provincial France is the question of comparativism. It is a need that is increasingly recognised in France itself, where the majority of studies, starting with those of local historians, have focused on a single town.¹⁸ This is more than an old chestnut about breadth versus depth; it is about what is common and what is not, about benchmarks, local rivalries, regional power centres, and – ultimately – a holistic approach that is necessary even though true holism is unattainable. A study of a single centre does not necessarily imply a static view, since the personalities working in that centre will have brought with them the experience of working elsewhere. It is hard to track where they go, and to build up thereby a sense of the patterns of itinerant musical life; but the internet, including the mass digitisation of local newspapers, is swiftly

16 "Pourquoi nous priver, de propos délibéré, des chefs-d'œuvre contemporains ? D'avoir joué du Ravel ne fait que confirmer la règle. Honegger, Florent Schmitt et d'autres artistes parisiens ne sont certes pas des boches. [...] Strauss, Pfitzner, Schreker, Busoni, Schoenberg sont depuis longtemps pour nous des êtres d'un autre monde. Quant aux tout modernes, il n'en est même pas question." [translated by Pierre de Bréville], n.l.a Ropartz, 177.

17 AM Strasbourg 5 MW 89. 3 August 1926.

18 See the discussion of "multipolaire" research by Joann Élard and Yannick Simon (2018: 10–11).

transforming the research landscape in this respect. Comparativism via archival sources is also challenging because evidence from different centres is rarely equivalent, and a comprehensive picture therefore difficult to construct. Nevertheless, if history from a regional perspective is to have any meaning, it must go some way towards mapping and explaining the relationships between centres, the importance of the relationships often being more important than instances of individual activity.

In repertorial terms, opera and concert life can reveal copycat behaviour that ushers in a new and widespread phenomenon that might or might not extend to Paris. One such is the Wagner steeplechase of 1891 about which both Yannick Simon and I have written – where successive and riot-free regional performances of *Lohengrin* between February and June purged Wagner of anti-French poison.¹⁹ Here, seven municipal opera houses – those miniature versions of the Opéra – were instrumental in enabling Paris to put his works on a public stage. While their theatre managers and conductors did not work as a team (save for Angers and Nantes), cumulative solidarity emerges from the news, preview and review literature of each town's newspapers, which have to be read alongside those of Paris for the complexity of relationships between productions, and between regional ventures and initiatives in the capital, to become fully apparent. It was these regional stagings that ushered in the supremely belated Wagner craze in Paris. In the process, they illustrated both the maturity of France's operatic public, and (especially important for local critics) its level-headedness in relation to Parisian firebrands. The test, then, was as much about responsible citizenship as it was about music.

Comparativism also yields rewards in thinking about one of the major instances where provincial France built an alternative musical culture: open-air opera. This started at the ancient theatre of Orange in 1869, temporarily faltered there, but returned at the turn of the new century as part of a regionalist and nationalist surge in the use of Roman arenas, theatres and their modern imitations for opera and plays, right across the south of France. Despite a lack of institutional structure, these performances developed a momentum that fundamentally changed the dynamics of massed musical spectacle in France. There were over 50 regular outdoor venues by the 1920s, reaching ever northward within France; and they blurred the traditional operatic separation between professional and amateur, the generic boundaries of play and opera, of opera and cinema, and even the boundaries of music and sport. The most famous examples, with newly-commissioned music and breathtakingly complex walk-through stage-sets, took place in the Languedoc, at Béziers; but after Béziers stopped functioning (the mid-1920s), the phenomenon continued with repertoire opera elsewhere. Lacking both dependable weather and the right venue, Paris was neither the leader nor a major player – indeed when Béziers commissions were tried out in Paris, they usually suffered in the process because Paris could not contain them (see Ellis 2019: 178–194).

19 See Ellis 2013: 121–137, and Simon 2013. Since then, a documentary history by Michał Piotr Mrozowicki has also dealt with the subject via press sources (Mrozowicki 2016: vol. 2, 943–994).

Yet the main venues of open-air opera were not all the same, and to conflate them as uniformly regionalist would be to mistake surface for substance. As Christopher Moore has noted, Béziers was more French nationalist than regionalist because its funder, the wine-merchant Castelbon de Beauxhostes, was a staunch republican. The mainly ancient classical themes of his commissions allied perfectly with national imagery in use since the time of Louis XIV and newly intensified since 1870 (see Moore 2014: 211–241). Orange was a more official ‘national’ venue, part-funded by government money and organised from Paris. Led by the poet Paul Mariéton those Parisians were, however, *félibres* whose interpretation of *latinité* had as much to do with local pride as it did with the more official idea of creating an outpost of the Comédie-Française and the Opéra in a spectacular southern venue – which explains why Orange became a site for *félibre* pilgrimage in a way never experienced by Béziers (see Mariéton 1908).

Elsewhere, from 1898 Mistral nearly succeeded in consecrating Gounod’s *Mireille* as an open-air opera of soft regionalism; but the manner of its contestation among local critics in Arles, Nîmes and Marseille, many of them *félibres* or otherwise invested in regionalist culture, underscores the fallacy of assuming that regionalists agree simply because they represent the same area (see Ellis 2012: 463–509). At the same time, critics with loud voices are not necessarily representative of the tens of thousands of audience members who climbed the terraces to take in the spectacle of an outdoor performance, or who walked to some of the woodland clearings and in-the-landscape venues of open-air opera. The combination of drink, food and socialising, together with a tradition (in Arles at least) that an opera’s last act, like the last bull of a bullfight, should be offered free of charge, take the visceral experience of such events well away from middle-class newspaper chatter. The collective reactions of such crowds, and the longevity of the institution itself, demand our attention.

HIGH/LOW

Mention of these blurrings of class and region brings me to my last proposition: that the study of music at a regional level helps us avoid some of the binaries and polarisations that otherwise characterise discussion of music in capital cities. There is at root a simple reason for this: the spreading of local musicians across a smaller number of entertainment venues, and the consequent need to be versatile. While the point of deconcentration was to create lots of miniature Paris, there came a point where it was no longer possible to scale down. Even in large centres where pre-1864 laws allowed more than one theatre (usually one for opera and one for plays), the luxury of generic separation, as found in Paris, was impossible. On the musical side a single resident company had to be able to cope with opera and opéra-comique, and increasingly with operetta. In the pit, contracts frequently included a time-share between service at the conservatoire (and possibly also its symphony orchestra) and the theatre orchestra. When things went wrong, performer flexibility was at a premium: in 1867, in the wake of the 1864 legislation deregulating theatres in the provinces, opera in Marseille

collapsed because the town council refused to continue its subsidy, but its orchestra and dancers were soon spotted at local café-concerts.²⁰ Elsewhere in France, a high-low continuum did not need to wait for disaster; it was woven in to normal musical life. This is the case with the *cobla* – a hybrid of folk and popular music – in French Catalonia, its oboes and its oboe players.

The *cobla* oboe, in two sizes of *tible* and *tenora*, was adapted in the 1850s to orchestral standards – but still for popular use – by the addition of Boehm-system keys. This was the brainchild of Andreu Toron, himself an orchestral oboist and *tenora* player, wind-instrument maker and dealer in the Roussillon town of Perpignan (Francès 1986: 142–151). Composers of *cobla* music were frequently attached as classical musicians to the opera, or to the conservatoire, or both; and Perpignan was also, with Aix-en-Provence before it, one of the only two known towns in France to authorise a class for folk or popular music within its municipal music school.²¹ In Aix from 1868 to 1872, the instrument was the *galoubet* with *tambourin*;²² in Perpignan in 1881 it was the *tible* and the *tenora*. These ventures did not survive long, if at all (four years in Aix was exceptional, and a bid for ‘national’ status for the conservatoire seems to have quashed the Perpignan venture),²³ but their importance as cultural indicators is none the weaker for that.

Emblematic of its malleable nature was the *cobla* oboe’s deployment by Séverac in his Béziers spectacular of 1910, *Héliogabale*. Within an orchestration based on massive blocks of instrumental timbre, its closing Act III contained a ‘mascarade’ into which Séverac introduced three *cobla* oboes, played by friends from his adopted town of Céret. The idea was to present the outdoor nature of the Midi at scale, in a score often referred to as a ‘fresco’ (de Séverac 2002: 341) – the specifically Roussillon provenance of the *cobla* oboes being less important than their broader regional and folk character. Moreover, it was this mixture of the folk/popular with art-music of the open-air tradition that cemented the Languedoc-born Séverac’s adoption by Roussillon musicians. For local *cobla* historian André Cortada, it was not a case of Séverac’s having appropriated or travestied a tradition, but of having elevated it by bringing it to wider attention, including in Paris when *Héliogabale* was presented there in 1911 (Cortada 1989: 67–68).

CONCLUSIONS

This series of categories and cases underscores the fundamentally lateral nature of the task of taking the provinces seriously. It encourages such thinking in terms of geography, repertoire and personnel, and it presses as much against the traditional

20 Around 60 employees were transferred (Bondilh 1867).

21 AM Perpignan, 1 D 3/17 Délibérations du conseil municipal, pièces à l’appui, 16 November 1881.

22 Reported in *L’Avenir national*, 26 August 1867; *Le Ménestrel*, 25 August 1867, 312.

23 Perpignan gained national status in 1884 and sported an entirely Paris-conformist Règlement.

borders of musicology in general (borders with history, with popular music studies, or with historical ethnomusicology) as against those of the recent musicology of France. A concentration on works, rather than on performances, events, or the lived experience of music-making and listening, allows the bypassing of provincial life – or at most a belittling of it. But the more that historical musicology becomes historical, the less satisfactory is such an approach. Understanding cultures involves understanding the ebb and flow of subcultures, the effects of mobility on musicians' careers, and the layering of multiple modes of belonging within any one person. It involves analysing power relations and thinking about musical life as a set of dialogues and negotiations rooted in the desire of different communities for meaningful education, leisure, and art. Music becomes a conduit for all those things; and the ways composers facilitate that cultural work, together with later appropriations, are a crucial component of the story. But the first step is to reverse the point of view: to look back at the capital from a new provincial normal.

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КЕТРИН ЕЛИС

ОЗБИЉНО СХВАЋЕНЕ ПРОВИНЦИЈЕ

(РЕЗИМЕ)

Користећи пример Француске, у овом раду заговарам потребу за јачим признањем културне разноликости унутар националних држава у раздобљу европског романтичарског национализма. У раду је исцртан пут за нов, интегрисан и компаративан приступ проучавању музике настале у провинцијама, у контексту где национална централизација представља норму. Ситуација у Француској, посебно на врхунцу „буђења провинција“ око 1900. године, анализирана је у светлу идеја о регионализму и етничком национализму које су изложили Иво Стрекер и Јоел Лерсен, као и у паралели са ширим питањима везаним за културну децентрализацију. Посебно скрећем пажњу на изазове које постављају пограничне области, затим, пресеци културних и политичких идеја, као и на опасности од лажне поделе на елитну и нижеразредну културу на локалном нивоу.

Кључне речи: Француска, буђење провинција, Иво Стрекер, Јоел Лерсен, пограничне области

A MUSIC HISTORY WITH LOVE? THE HITS, THE CULTS, AND THE SNOBS*

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ABSTRACT

In this article I refer to a number of examples of powerful manifestations of love for music that routinely fall under the radar of music historians. One of these is the present case study: the 'tenor cult' as a prominent feature of Soviet culture in the 40s and 50s. Discouraged by the authorities and scorned by critics, it led to extravagant behaviour that may seem anomalous for such a regimented society. This potent love for both music and performer was largely female-driven, and it delivered formative, life-defining experiences for many of the participants. I test the suitability of the concept of "the middlebrow" for analysing this phenomenon and investigate how such studies can contribute to the project of a listener-oriented music history.

KEYWORDS: the "tenor cult", Sergei Lemeshev, Ivan Kozlovsky, the middlebrow, music listeners

Imagine a history of twentieth-century music based on the preferences of today's listeners. In one quite typical poll, held in Australia in 2011, the central figures were Elgar, Holst, Gershwin, Vaughan Williams, and Rachmaninov. The next five positions in the poll were held by Rodrigo, Barber, Orff, Stravinsky and Prokofiev (Lesnie 2011). This particular poll happened to pass over Ravel in its top ten, but since he featured prominently in similar polls, we should add him too. What if we

* This essay originates from a paper given at a seminar *The Future of Music History* organised by Prof. Jim Samson, during the eponymous conference at the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (28–30 September 2017).

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were then to reconstruct the historiography of twentieth-century music so that it revolved around these eleven figures? Can we imagine such a narrative? Perhaps not. Why the difficulty?

We can make sense of the list only if we take a step away from musicology in order to enter the mind of the casual classical-music listener. Then we are able to see that each composer has one, or at most a handful of pieces that have entered the popular consciousness. Elgar? The Pomp and Circumstance March No. 1, "Nimrod" from the Enigma Variations and the Cello Concerto. Holst? *The Planets* alone. Gershwin? *The Rhapsody in Blue*, perhaps parts of *An American in Paris* or the Piano Concerto. Vaughan Williams? *The Fantasia on a Theme of Thomas Tallis* or *The Lark Ascending*. Rachmaninov for his Second Piano Concerto, with the Third Concerto and *Rhapsody on a Theme of Paganini* just behind. Rodrigo for the *Concierto di Aranjuez* alone. Barber's Adagio for Strings. Orff for *Carmina Burana*. Stravinsky: *The Rite of Spring* and perhaps *The Firebird*. Prokofiev most probably for *Peter and the Wolf*, but the *Kizhe* Suite and a couple of numbers from *Romeo and Juliet* also assist his bid. And finally, Ravel for the *Bolero*.

While such polls doubtless offer some information about the marketing of classical music today, we should not dismiss the innocent joy that these "greatest hits" have given to millions of people around the world. We can number even musicologists among these listeners, even if they maintain a discrete silence, or deny their guilty pleasures. But the divergence between public and academic perceptions is extreme. With the sole exception of Stravinsky, these most popular composers are marginal at best in most academic surveys of twentieth-century music history. For all the stubborn, enduring love Rachmaninov continues to earn from performers and listeners alike, for academic historians, he belongs to a kind of musical Jurassic Park.

In the 1980s, when literary scholars started talking about reader-oriented history, musicologists suddenly remembered about listeners,² leading to a new focus on the psychology of listening,³ the history of listening practices,⁴ and reception studies. Of these three areas, only reception studies (the largest of them) has been integrated into the more traditional historical writing that had been concerned mainly with composers and their works. Reception studies are still most often focused on particular works, as in traditional musicology, but the informal concept of the musical work in reception studies is of something mutable, subject to reinterpretation in each society that receives the work. There is a natural bias towards a narrow and atypical sector of the listening public, namely the music critics employed by newspapers and music journals, and this is understandable, since these are the only listeners who habitually commit their musical opinions to print after concerts, operatic performances or the release of new recordings. It is much more difficult to excavate the opinions of

2 See, for example, an important manifesto in Obelkevich 1989: 102–108.

3 For example, Sloboda and O'Neill 2001: 415–429.

4 For example, Botstein 1998: 427–431.

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“ordinary listeners”, until the present century, which has yielded up a phenomenon that offers a great potential advance in this musicological enterprise: namely, the social media, which offer us a copious supply of listeners’ opinions to be searched and collated for arriving at results such as the concert hit parade I began with.

The story of public taste for classical/concert music in the twentieth century has still not been recounted in any systematic way (along the lines of William Weber’s pioneering study of public taste in nineteenth-century musical life) (Weber 2009). We still tend to write and teach twentieth-century history as the story of musical modernism exemplified through composers and works, attempting to avert our eyes from the open secret that the work-based approach collapses in the second half of the century. This is simply because the concepts of masterworks and great composers no longer had a clear application. Concertgoers were no longer acquiring new “friends” in the concert hall, whose company they wanted to enjoy again and again. Most of the avant-garde’s music was simply off the public radar, confined to cliques based around Darmstadt, Donaueschingen and other festivals, with a high proportion of fellow composers and performers in the audience.

Once again following literary studies, in recent years, musicology managed to find one way of accommodating the listeners’ perspective, and that is through the concept of “the middlebrow”. Just a few decades ago, a classical hit parade would still have been condescendingly dismissed as “middlebrow”, but in recent years, academic usage of the word has become neutral. The shedding of the old polemical baggage made the concept a useful tool in revealing previously unnoticed cultural vistas.

A brief history of the concept will be helpful for present purposes. Amusingly, but appropriately, “highbrow” first appeared in the literature of phrenology, in 1875, the hypothesis being that those blessed with higher foreheads had larger brains and were therefore more intelligent. The contrary term, “lowbrow”, had to wait another thirty years to appear in print, by which time “highbrow” had expanded far beyond its phrenological origins, since “lowbrow” was a straightforward derogatory term for someone who lacked culture and good taste (Levine 1988: 222–289). The stage was set for the entrance of “middlebrow”, which finally appeared in 1912, in an article for the American weekly magazine, *The Nation*. This is the pioneering passage:

[T]here is an alarmingly wide chasm, I might almost say a vacuum, between the high-brow, who considers reading either as a trade or as a form of intellectual wrestling, and the low-brow, who is merely seeking for gross thrills. It is to be hoped that culture will soon be democratized through some less conventional system of education, giving rise to a new type that might be called the middle-brow, who will consider books as a source of intellectual enjoyment.⁵

This allows us to see that “middlebrow” was at least neutral, and possibly laudatory, a label for a desirable social goal. But with the first stirrings of literary modernism, solid unexperimental works were placed in a middlebrow category that the more adventu-

5 Attributed to B.W. Huebsch, President of the Booksellers’ League, *The Nation* (25 January 1912), 75.

rous and ambitious highbrows could dismiss and denigrate. Here is an aloof Virginia Woolf on the subject:

But what, you may ask, is a middlebrow? And that, to tell the truth, is no easy question to answer. They are neither one thing nor the other. They are not highbrows, whose brows are high; nor lowbrows, whose brows are low. Their brows are betwixt and between. ... The middlebrow is the man, or woman, of middlebred intelligence who ambles and saunters now on this side of the hedge, now on that, in pursuit of no single object, neither art itself nor life itself, but both mixed indistinguishably, and rather nastily, with money, fame, power, or prestige. ...

We highbrows, I agree, have to earn our livings; but when we have earned enough to live on, then we live. When the middlebrows, on the contrary, have earned enough to live on, they go on earning enough to buy—what are the things that middlebrows always buy? Queen Anne furniture (faked, but none the less expensive); first editions of dead writers, always the worst; pictures, or reproductions from pictures, by dead painters; houses in what is called „the Georgian style”—but never anything new, never a picture by a living painter, or a chair by a living carpenter, or books by living writers, for to buy living art requires living taste (Woolf 1947: 115).

To be fair to Woolf, this highbred sneering appeared in a draft letter to an editor of the *New Statesman* and *Nation*, and was never actually sent.

From the 1920s onwards, the three terms established themselves among journalists on both sides of the Atlantic, and in 1949, *Life* magazine produced a classic chart, a witty array of cartoons illustrating the preferences of the three brows in music and in many other aspects of life, such as clothes, food, games and charitable causes. The lowbrow contents himself with whatever the jukebox offers, middlebrow tastes range widely from Perry Como to Brahms, while the highbrow only admits to “Bach and before; Ives and after” (Lynes 1949: 99–102).

Histories of music, art, and literature have, in the nature of things, been written by highbrows – a middlebrow who acquired the knowledge and connections to academic publishers would have transformed himself into a highbrow. And so middlebrow cultural products and practices and products were largely excluded from consideration. But now that they have been brought back from the cold, let us look for a present-day definition of the middlebrow. A useful checklist has been provided by a literary theorist Beth Driscoll, who offers eight characteristics of the middlebrow, and her intention is that anything characterised as middlebrow should exemplify several of these, but not necessarily all eight (Driscoll 2014, 17-44). Thus, according to Driscoll, the middlebrow is:

1) middle-class

Both Virginia Woolf’s essay and *Life* magazine’s chart correlated the three brows with the three social classes. The aspirational nature of the middle class is reflected in the self-improving character of much middlebrow culture.

2) reverential towards elite culture

Middlebrow reverence for high culture leads to a degree of insecurity. A columnist for *Punch* magazine in 1925 tells us that the middlebrow category “consists of people who are hoping that someday they will get used to the stuff they ought to like”⁶.

But this reveals something about the habits of highbrows. If middlebrows are patronised for their efforts to understand, this is because highbrows tend to conceal their own past efforts. No-one is born with an appreciation of complex and challenging art. This is, of course, snobbery in action, which will always threaten to undermine attempts to turn “middlebrow” into a neutral term, to take the “sting” out of the word (Driscoll 2014: 1).

3) entrepreneurial or commercial

Middlebrow art is commercially packaged for ease of use and therefore generates income for middlemen in advertising, distribution and retail.

4) mediated

This word is understood broadly: Driscoll discusses personal, institutional and technological mediation. People and institutions, such as classical-music radio presenters, mediate between high culture and the middle class. A succession of technologies mediates concretely, whether radio, records, television or YouTube. A BBC Proms concert unites many of these: the prestige and infrastructure of the BBC, which even employs some of the orchestras performing, the BBC presenters, who also interview guest musicologists and musicians, the live broadcast on digital radio or television, and the video streaming at the BBC website afterwards.

5) feminised

This is an intriguing point: women make up the majority in audiences for the middlebrow. In the early and mid-twentieth century, the privacy and lack of commercial timetabling in the life of a housewife made it easier to cultivate middlebrow habits – listening to a Mendelssohn symphony on the radio at low volume while ironing, as the baby sleeps. The reasons for this continuing to the present are more complex.

6) emotional

Here we come a crucial aspect of the middlebrow, and one which I have taken as the starting point and core of the present article. As Driscoll puts it, “Middlebrow practices emphasise emotional connection with culture. This involves a number of different modes, including sentimentality, empathy, and therapy” (Driscoll 2014).

7) recreational

This flows from the previous two points: middlebrow cultural practices are performed out of love, not obligation.

8) earnest

The idea here is that the middlebrow only listens in earnest, while the highbrow cultivates the ability to listen with ironic distance. Again, an element of snobbery threatens to encroach here.

6 *Punch*, 23 December 1925.

How have musicologists used the concept? One of the early adopters and promoters of the concept for musicology is Christopher Chowrimootoo, whose recent book *Middlebrow Modernism* (2018) analyses production and consumption of Benjamin Britten's operas outside the standard grand narrative of twentieth-century modernism. He describes his book as "a tale of composers, critics, and audiences torn between seemingly conflicting commitments – on the one hand to uncompromising originality and radical autonomy, and on the other to musical pleasure and communication with a new mass audience". Chowrimootoo also points us to our own "guilty pleasures", as scholars, critics, and audiences, "the conflicts between what we think we "ought to like" and what we actually like, between aesthetic ideals and the messy realities of artistic taste (Chowrimootoo 2018: 3).

Pauline Fairclough attempts to do something similar for the symphonies of Shostakovich: that is, she attempts to save them from the Cold War "socialist realist" ghetto by relocating them to the middlebrow category (Fairclough 2018: 336–367). This makes sense from our present-day Western perspective: on this basis, we no longer have to burden Shostakovich with the dead weight of his political circumstances, but we are free to listen to him in the same way we listen to his counterparts in the Western symphonic tradition of the mid-twentieth century. Yes, his political circumstances are interesting (and I for one can hardly be accused of neglecting them), but the musicality of his work is too easily forgotten.

In this article, I also wish to test the concept of the middlebrow within the context of Soviet musical culture, but Shostakovich will not be my focus. To begin, I will quote from the scholar of Soviet literature Stephen Lovell, taking a passage that Fairclough cited as being particularly helpful when she was trying to articulate her position:

In early Soviet Russia... culture was issued with an imperative to be both "legitimate" and "popular", and as a result became "middlebrow". There was no "high" culture that corresponded to a dominant social class, nor can we really speak of a "popular" culture; there emerged a single "Culture", which was not allowed to reflect diverse social interests, but rather provided the model for the Marxist-Leninist project of social unification (Lovell 2000).

I am actually going to take issue with Lovell here. What he describes was the situation the Soviet authorities hoped to bring about: it was indeed how Soviet culture was supposed to operate. But that is not what happened in practice. The culture did, in fact divide into high, middle and low strata, even if these were not the exact counterparts of the Western categories. Let us look at the situation in music. The difference arises from the absence of elite modernism, which was prohibited and unheard in public between roughly 1936 and 1956. This absence had significant consequences for Soviet culture: for one, Shostakovich's symphonies occupied the very top tier of musical culture. For all their supposed middlebrow character today, they were generally difficult music, even if certain passages had a greater popular appeal. The Soviet artistic elite, let alone the wider public, had to give the works several liste-

nings before they were satisfied that they understood enough of what they had heard. Their main audience was always a minority within the Soviet concert-going public. Virgil Thomson's famous *bon mot* that the Seventh Symphony "seems to have been written for the slow-witted, the not very musical and the distracted" (Thomson 1942) is a travesty only uttered to serve Thomson's own ends. Beyond the famous "invasion episode", which came to stand for the whole symphony (and, without doubt, helped its acceptance), there is nothing easy about the Seventh. The Eighth is even more difficult, and the famous sculptor Vera Mukhina, intellectually well endowed and sympathetic to Shostakovich, still found herself struggling after four listenings (Frolova-Walker 2016: 93–94).

I am happy to take Fairclough's point that the Fifth Symphony is (only) middle-brow with respect to its mediation. She understands mediation here as a transaction between different socio-economic groups, following Russell Lynes and Richard Taruskin (Fairclough 2018: 340). In this particular case, the Soviet authorities wanted the symphony to be accessible to a broad audience and Shostakovich followed the brief (the work is challenging, true, but it lacks the forbidding modernism of Symphonies 2–4). But even with all these precautions, the Moscow venue was no longer full after the fourth concert. This was a city of 4 million at the time, of which only 8–10 thousand people actually went to hear the Symphony. And who belonged to this quarter-of-one-percent of the populace? It was precisely the cultural elite.

The discussions of the Stalin Prize Committee give us a good sense of the Soviet high-, middle- and lowbrow in music. In one of these, we learn that the most requested piece of music on Soviet radio is Tchaikovsky's First Piano Concerto – this represents middlebrow taste. In another discussion, there is a criticism of popular but "debased musical tastes", with Lidia Ruslanova's "gypsy" songs singled out, as an undesirable vestige of late Tsarist culture – this is lowbrow taste. The Committee discusses Shostakovich's music in very different terms from classic favourites like Tchaikovsky; Shostakovich was generally considered challenging and sometimes problematic – this gives us a location for highbrow taste. In fact, most other new Soviet concert works were discussed along similar lines, so they can generally be considered highbrow by Soviet standards of the time (Frolova-Walker 2016: 188; 275).

And here I would like to offer my own candidate for the Soviet "middlebrow", a certain musical phenomenon that won an adoring mass audience. The story I want to tell is not well known outside of Russia, but it still has resonance in post-Soviet Russia, and its effects extended to my own family. I shall begin with the extraordinary cult of the Bolshoi Theatre's two leading tenors, from the 1930s to the 1950s. The singers in question were Ivan Kozlovsky (1900–1993) and Sergei Lemeshev (1902–1977). But they themselves were part of the "popular opera" phenomenon, a middle-brow mainstay of Soviet musical life in the Stalin period. To be part of the opera-going public means access to an opera house, and for most of the Soviet population outside the main urban centres, this was not possible. Nevertheless, the Soviet authorities wanted its citizenry to be acquainted with opera, so more accessible and digestible forms had to be created. Accordingly, extracts from classic operas were presented on the radio, or in the cinema, while in the concert hall, medleys of favourite arias were

commonly performed. In this manner, many a Soviet citizen who had never set foot inside an opera house would still know famous arias by heart.

In the 1954 Soviet film *Verniye druž'ya* (True Friends), there is an episode where the audience is kept waiting for a performance that is late to start. A couple of besuited bureaucrats mount the stage in an attempt trying to pacify the crowd, whose frustration is becoming evident. For our purposes, what is interesting is that they start to shout out their requests. One of these is for the song "Lodochka" (Little Boat), but this was only the theme song written for the film, so it is a red herring for our purposes. The other three requests are all standard items of "popular opera": the Habanera from *Carmen*, Lensky's Aria from *Eugene Onegin*, and Susanin's aria from Glinka's *Ivan Susanin* (the Sovietized version of *A Life for the Tsar*).

With Lensky, we are right in the centre of our topic: it was the signature aria for Sergei Lemeshev, one of our two tenors from the Bolshoi. The other, Ivan Kozlovsky, was best known for his Song of the Indian Guest, from *Sadko* (and later for his Yudo-divy, from *Boris Godunov*). If you search for these clips on the internet, you will immediately be struck by the difference between the two voices: Lemeshev is smooth, tender, lyrical, and romantic, while Kozlovsky has a "bite" to his voice, which some found exciting, while others considered it a detraction. But even those unconvinced by Kozlovsky's vocal timbre, were won over by his impeccable technique, his wider repertoire, and his powerful, heart-stopping high notes. The two singers were never promoted internationally, so you should not be surprised if you have never heard of them, but among Russians, their recordings still command deep affection today, thirty or forty years after their deaths. One Russian internet discussion around the relative strengths of the two tenors flourished for no less than four years, from 2004 to 2008; in the end, a vote was taken, and Lemeshev won by a long stretch.⁷ Since familiarity with internet forums was largely confined to the young at this point, very few of the participants had heard the tenors live, and even those who had heard them were only old enough to catch them when they were well past their prime.

The cult of these two singers took two principal forms. The first was the role of radio and film in building their popularity across the Soviet Union. Lemeshev was given a great boost by his starring role in *A Musical Story* (1940), a fictionalised account of his own life.⁸ The film rode the wave of Lemeshev's radio popularity, but the screen portrayal added a new intimacy to his public image. His daughter attested that in the film, he behaved and spoke just as she knew him: a simple and unpretentious man from a small village, free of the artifices of celebrity culture.⁹ Kozlovsky appeared on the big screen two years later, in the wartime documentary *A Concert*

7 "Lemeshev i Kozlovskiy – postfactum", ClassicalForum.ru, <http://classicalforum.ru/index.php?topic=2251.25>.

8 There is an insightful essay on this film by Anna Nisnevich (2014: 193–211).

9 "Doch' Lemesheva o nishchenskom detstve, sumasshedshikh poklonnitsakh i zhenakh velikogo otsa", <https://7days.ru/stars/privatelife/doch-lemesheva-o-nishchenskom-detstve-sumasshedshikh-poklonnitsakh-i-zhenakh-velikogo-otsta/2.htm#ixzz686kRtSha>.

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for the Front (Kontsert Frontu, 1942). After these films, there were few Soviet citizens who would not have heard their voices or known their names. For that level of isolation, you would have to belong to remote communities that lacked even a single village radio set, such as the Old Believers hidden away in the middle of the taiga. The Soviet state relied on radio for the creation of a common culture for the nation, and one feature of Soviet life during the 30s-50s period was that the continuous background sound of the radio. The Soviet sets did not even have an off switch – you turned the volume knob down if you needed some quiet.

The second form of the cult was localised. Both Kozlovsky and Lemeshev were pursued by large groups of fans, mostly female. These fans gave their loyalty exclusively to one singer or the other – you were a *lemeshistka* or a *kozlovityanka* – and each reputedly harboured some hostility towards the other camp. These groups were seen at the Bolshoi, and their noisy adulation resulted in long interruptions to the performance of operas when their idol first stepped out on to the stage.¹⁰ They were also to be seen at the artists' entrance, and it was recorded that Kozlovsky often ran in by the back entrance to avoid being mobbed. They accompanied the singers on the way from the theatre afterwards, and these women even managed at times to lift Lemeshev's car off the ground, carrying him along with the rest of the adoring crowd. They also congregated near the apartment block in which their idol lived. A Russian word in Soviet times for "fans" or "admirers" was *sirikhi*, derived from *sir* (cheese); this actually stems from the fact that in bad weather, Lemeshev's fans would take shelter nearby in the imposing cheese shop on Tverskaya. They travelled the country to follow their idols around, when they were on tour, obviously enough, but also, more disturbingly, when they were on vacation. They were happy to intrude on their idol's personal life: when Lemeshev and his wife Irina (who was a soprano at the Bolshoi) parted ways, he came out on stage to be greeted by a chorus of *sirikhi* shouting "Go back to Irina Maslennikova."¹¹

This behaviour, when viewed in isolation, may not be so very different from the behaviour of other groups of fans, such as the earlier cult of the bass Fyodor Chaliapin, in fin-de-siècle Russia, the subject of a book by Anna Fishzon (2013). What distinguishes the present case, however, is that this adulation of opera singers took place in the Soviet Union, and not only that but throughout the years of high Stalinism. The formation of obsessive and hysterical cults around opera singers is, after all, a phenomenon that would seem alien to Soviet life: it is hedonistic, escapist, redolent of psychological disorder, and it is accompanied by a spectrum of hooliganistic behaviour: disruption of performances at state opera houses, gate-crashing, loitering, climbing drainpipes, and so on. In addition to all these problems, it was fundamentally un-Soviet to build your identity and existence around a recreational practice, since work, as a form of service to the state, were supposed to come first. The indul-

10 In the following PhD thesis, the author focuses on the (mainly negative) influence of the "cult of the singer" on the artistic level and day-to-day running of the Bolshoi Opera: Panchuk 2006.

11 This was one of the Lemeshev stories told to me by my mother.

gence of obsessions was inimical to the kind of healthy and balanced life the Soviet authorities promoted among its citizenry. Any obsessive behaviour was supposed to be channelled into useful Soviet activities such as fulfilling industrial goals, hunting down saboteurs or fighting wartime enemies. Even the objects of admiration were far from the severe, muscular Soviet men of monumental sculpture and propaganda posters. Lemeshev was small and slight, with big eyes, his looks as sweet as his voice. Kozlovsky was at least tall, but decidedly effeminate, always wrapped in a long scarf off-stage, of aristocratic bearing and mannerisms (despite the fact that like his rival, he also came from a peasant family).

And yet for all their un-Soviet behaviour, there was nothing underground about these fans in pursuit of their idols – on the contrary, it was highly public. For as long as individual fans stopped short of outright criminality, their behaviour was treated as a tolerable embarrassment, and as such, it passed largely unremarked in newspapers, music journals and other printed literature of the period. The memoir literature is another matter, and much amusement is drawn from the more bizarre antics of the opera fans, but these were published long after the events. Still, the tiny number of contemporary pieces addressing the matter are worth examining.

One such piece is the short newspaper article, “A Claque at the Bolshoi”, which appeared in 1936 (*L’vov* 1936: 3). The journalist blames the artistes for the existence of their claques, since they offer encouragement by handing out free passes to their fans. The writer further complains that Lemeshev would place a toy poodle in his dressing-room window as a signal to his fans that he was about to make an unscheduled appearance. The fans who spotted the poodle would hurriedly circulate the information around the claque. The writer of the article approvingly provides an example of another star singer, the soprano Elena Kruglikova, whose behaviour was much more sober and Soviet. Instead of encouraging her incipient claque, she would hold “serious, comradely conversations” with her fans to explain why she was not going to offer free passes, and as a result, they left her alone. Another article on the topic comes from 1954, and it is once again centred around Lemeshev (it also covers other forms of bad behaviour in the opera house, such as late arrivals) (Anon. 1954: 2).

The most interesting of my exhibits, however, is a little article from 1949, signed by Lemeshev himself, in the Bolshoi Theatre’s own paper, distributed exclusively to employees (although the actual readership extended to friends and family). The article is entitled: “This is unworthy of Soviet youth!” (Lemeshev 1949: 3), and it enters into greater detail on the kind of behaviour found among claque members, which included (older) schoolgirls missing their classes in order to pursue their idol. This was deviant behaviour, shirking the responsibilities of young citizens to join a community of idlers. The point of the article is unclear: it seems to be admonishing the fans directly, but these fans were not officially part of the paper’s readership. Alternatively, it might have been an oblique attempt to exculpate Lemeshev from the behaviour of his claque (he could hardly be accused of dragging girls from their schoolrooms). At any rate, after 20 years of Lemeshev hysteria, no one could seriously expect such an article to have any effect.

Most of our information about the tenor cults comes from later memoirs and interviews, rather than from any contemporaneous printed sources. My own interest in the topic was initially sparked by my own mother's recollections, since she herself was one of those errant Moscow schoolgirls scolded in the Bolshoi paper. Even the period is right, since she was in her early teens during the post-War period. She was drawn into this "deviance" by her friend Lyuba, who was indeed, by my mother's account, quite obsessed. Lyuba decided to avoid the more oversubscribed cults, and chose a tenor of the second rank, Anatoly Orfyonov (who often served as Lemeshev's understudy). My mother, already an individualist, would not even follow Lyuba's choice, but instead selected another tenor with the same lyrical repertoire, but a little further down the ranks again. Even so, the mementos that she passed on to me clearly show that she was a great admirer of Lemeshev, even if she kept her distance from the herd back in her teens.

Lyuba became a senior acolyte in the cult, so to speak: she made personal contact with her idol, began to receive free passes from him, even came to know various members of his family. In the end, she became a life-long friend of her idol's family. My mother was more reticent, and contented herself with constant trips to the opera house – whatever fantasies she harboured never became reality. She never had much confidence in her singing voice, and her childhood piano lessons were set aside after a few years, so she could not even be called an amateur musician at any level. Even so, she came to know several repertoire operas by heart, with *La Traviata* and *Eugene Onegin* as her favourites. By her own accounts, she was sufficiently immersed in the operatic experience to shed frequent tears in the darkness of the auditorium. Her own mother she lost when she was only 15, and the opera house became a happy place of escape from sad realities. Many decades later, she still spoke with great warmth about her operatic experience, and it remained in her memory as an important rite of passage, although she also cautioned me to guard against any obsession on the level of Lyuba's, an obsession that could affect or even derail career and marriage plans.

Is it appropriate, then, to treat the Soviet tenor cult as a middlebrow cultural practice? Following Driscoll's approach, let us see how the cult holds up against his eight criteria (remembering that Driscoll did not expect them all to be met by any single cultural phenomenon).

1) middle-class

Although class-society had officially disappeared from the Soviet Union by the mid-1930s, this was a fiction. There were, in fact, huge differences in earning power and prestige across Soviet society. At the top was Stalin's elite of senior military personnel, government officials, academicians and the uppermost layer of cultural figures. At the bottom of society, constituting the majority, were the ordinary workers and (collective) farmers. Between these groups was a middle class of professionals: teachers, scientists, engineers, managers and civil servants. Culturally, there were also highbrows, middlebrows and lowbrows, although these strata did not align precisely with the social strata. The musical highbrows were those who attended symphony concerts

and piano recitals; their interests extended to opera, but their attendance patterns differed from that of the cultists, favouring new productions, and lacking the obsessive desire to see the same opera again and again. The lowbrows were those who shunned opera or classical music in general, preferring to follow recent popular songs. Opera cults fit in the middle. As a member of the musical public, Stalin himself belonged to the middlebrow group, attending the same productions of classical opera (and ballet) repeatedly, but avoiding or actively rejecting new works, as we know from the scandal that overtook Shostakovich's opera *Lady Macbeth*.

To belong to an opera cult, devotees needed a lot of leisure time in order to visit the Bolshoi several nights a week. Cult members therefore consisted mainly of housewives whose husbands could provide for the family, or university students and older schoolchildren who did not have to spend their free time earning extra income. The ticket price was not, in itself, a great obstacle, since prices had not been set by market forces since the end of the 1920s. But even if they were easy to pay for, actually obtaining them was another matter. The normal operagoer had to queue for hours (which itself required leisure time), so cult members tried to bypass the normal process by developing helpful contacts. If they were enterprising and charming enough, they might become sufficiently acquainted with their idol to acquire a free pass, as we saw earlier.

2) reverential towards the elite culture

Some of the memoirists refer to their cult devotions as a process of learning. The screenplay writer and novelist Yuri Nagibin first heard Lemeshev at the age of 12. By his own admission, he paid little attention to the music that was sung, but he was enchanted by the sound of Lemeshev's voice and also struck by his charismatic presence on stage. Through Lemeshev, Nagibin says that he was able to learn the operas by heart, without any musical knowledge (although musicians will understand that he was certainly picking up solid musical skills along the way). He admitted that his knowledge of operas' first acts was hazier, simply because the most rudimentary way to bypass the long hours of queuing for a ticket was to slip discretely into the auditorium during the interval (as many did). His initial appreciation of Lemeshev in time led to a general love of opera. This eventually extended to a driving passion for classical music of all kinds, which he promoted in his journalism with a missionary zeal.¹²

Let us broaden our focus to the much larger radio audience for a moment. Soviet radio (not unlike the early BBC) had a primary function of "enlightening" listeners and directing their leisure hours towards their intellectual and cultural development. Opera was present from the beginning: on 17 September 1922, listeners were able to the first broadcast concert (in Russia, and indeed, the whole of Europe), consisting of three operatic arias and one song. This was the programme:

12 Yuri Nagibin, "Pevuchaya dusha Rossii", <https://profilib.website/chtenie/40287/yuriy-nagibin-pevuchaya-dusha-rossii-10.php>.

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Borodin, Igor's Aria from *Prince Igor*
 Tchaikovsky, Polina's Romance from *The Queen of Spades*
 Rimsky-Korsakov, Marfa's Aria from *The Tsar's Bride*
 "Krasnyi sarafan", a drawing-room song (Sukhareva 2017: 63).

To take an example from the early years of Soviet broadcasting, in the course of 1925 alone, the so-called "trade-union radio" station presented 28 opera broadcasts from the theatre, and 9 more operas from their studio, together with 171 concerts (which in all probability featured many performances of operatic arias). There was a deliberate drive to bring opera to the ordinary listener, who was even lectured, before the performance, on why this was an edifying activity for Soviet citizens. There was some grumbling from the public: "It's hard for a worker to make sense of operatic music" and "The words in opera are not comprehensible".¹³ But whatever the public initially thought, a respect for high culture was carefully inculcated, raising much of the citizenry from the lowbrow to the middlebrow.

3) entrepreneurial/commercial

Within the Soviet context this point is far from straightforward, yet it has been shown on many occasions that the Soviet arts had to commercially viable up to a point: that is, state subsidies only covered a percentage, while the rest had to be earned from ticket sales and other sources of commercial revenue. There was a flourishing record industry and also a market for operatic postcards; the ordinary public bought these too, but the opera-cult members bought them in amounts commensurate with their obsession. For this reason, it was not in the Bolshoi's own commercial interests to discourage the opera cultists, and this is no doubt a larger factor in their survival, in spite of the decadence of their behaviour by Soviet standards. But the cults sometimes benefitted the singer directly, rather than the opera house. Kozlovsky in particular, became a star feature in the shadowy private economy, singing in many private concerts where he could command enormous fees (Frolova-Walker 2016: 12). Although this aspect of his career needs much more research, the level of his fees implies wealthy individuals or institutions to pay him, so it is safe to assume that these private appearances were often at the behest of senior Party officials, or from the larger factories or collective farms (which does not mean that he sang on the factory floor or in the fields).

4) mediated

Technological developments played a major role in the way opera was disseminated, and even in the formation of the cults. The original broadcasting of operas direct from the theatre was exciting at first, but it was dogged by various technical problems. A much smoother and better digestible presentation was achieved through the tech-

13 All this information also comes from Sukhareva 2017: 87–90.

nique of radio montage. This was a somewhat abridged version of a given opera, the music interspersed with explanations of the story, but the recording process was now generally studio-based, usually from prior recordings, but sometimes live. Several studies have shown how the broadcasting opera actually influenced the development of radio and recording technology in the U.S., and while these studies are lacking for the USSR, it is more than likely that the broad conclusions would be the same. The very first radio receivers were public, not domestic: the broadcasts were heard in the street, creating a collective mass audience (as opposed to a mass audience that was just the aggregate of private listeners at home). But the spread of domestic radio technology led to listening habits similar to those found in the West from the 1920s–1940s, and the cultists could enjoy Lemeshev, Kozlovsky intimately, in their own rooms, decorated with postcard pictures of the singer in his various roles, or in his elegant street clothes.

5) feminised and 6) emotional

These two points are tightly connected, and of paramount importance for my argument. In the development of literary middlebrow studies, much has revolved around changing attitudes to women's reading habits. As Driscoll suggests in her book, "Women's reading has been dismissed and degraded as part of elite responses to the middlebrow" (Driscoll 2014: 46). She argues that Flaubert created a dichotomy between woman as "the emotional, passive reader of inferior literature and man as the objective, ironic and active writer of authentic literature" (Driscoll 2014: 49). In the same way, the female-dominated tenor cult has attracted much sneering, with dominant tropes of hysteria and sexual frustration. I have described various aspects of Moscow's operatic cults that are indeed amusing, but this should not lead to a facile dismissal of the cult members' personal experiences – from their writings, we know that they were capable of engaging with the music and drama, not just sobbing at the sight of their idol coming on stage. The ability to sing one's way through a whole opera (and hum the main instrumental line in non-vocal sections) is a considerable musical achievement after all, and anyone who tries to psychologise this away (hysteria, sexual frustration) merely demonstrates his lack of musical knowledge. Ethnographic studies of opera fandom that have been carried out in other localities attest the depth of individual experiences.¹⁴

7) recreational

This point warrants some elaboration in the Soviet context. As I have already mentioned, it was "transgressive" by Soviet standards to place a recreational practice in the centre of your life. As Claudio Benzecry has argued, opera cults belie the current sociological understanding that the consumption of culture has mostly to do with status,

14 See, for example, Benzecry 2012: 39–45.

cultural capital, or material self-advancement. If we can say that opera fans accrue cultural capital, Benzecry shows that they do not take it outside the group. In this case, it is not even clear whether we can properly use the term “cultural capital” – they have acquired nothing that they can use outside their own small circle of aficionados. Far from serving any external goal, the passion of the opera-cultists is more likely to earn them stigmatization from the outside world (Benzecry 2011: 189). As I believe I have demonstrated, an extreme passion for opera seals the fans off from the outside world. This phenomenon is close to *vnenakhodimost'*, the state of existing outside the system, as diagnosed by the social anthropologist Alexei Yurchak among Soviet followers of rock bands from the 1960s onwards (admittedly, rock had troubled relations with the state, whereas opera was promoted by the state) (Yurchak 2006). *Vnenakhodimost'* insulated such groups from the state ideology, which was ever present for most of the population. The proliferation of subcultures outside state management was, Yurchak argues, one of the (almost concealed) factors that made the fall of the Soviet state so unpredictable and rapid. In other words, while all these millions of people were thought (in the West) to be believers, more or less, in Communism and at least placid Soviet subjects, they were in fact pursuing their private and small-group interests that had nothing to do with the state (some of these interests were purely economic – the black economy was comparable to the official Soviet economy. The tenor cult reveals to us that in some relatively innocuous forms, this *vnenakhodimost'* was present all along. Having said this, we should still exercise due caution before the matter is researched in depth, since there is always the possibility that a significant number of Lemeshev fans could also have been dutiful Komsomol and Party members.

8) earnest

As I have already mentioned, this category may indicate a vestigial condescension on Driscoll's part, since earnestness stands in opposition to the detached, ironic outlook available to the highbrows. Perhaps the theory itself is contaminated by this attitude for all its protestations to the contrary. At the recent conference on music and the middlebrow in London, a sneering, mocking tone was adopted by most speakers.¹⁵ This tone stemmed from their primary sources (in the manner of the earlier Virginia Woolf passage), and mockery, of course, is a great tool for entertaining a conference audience. The speakers ostensibly adopted neutrality, but they seemed to be unable to rid themselves of highbrow assumptions. Academic work is intrinsically highbrow, so this is hardly surprising.

I would propose, then, that while the recent trend of middlebrow studies succeeds in bringing into focus many cultural practices that had hitherto remained invisible, something is still missing from the project. What is missing, in my opinion, is the recognition that a middlebrow experience of the arts can be authentic, valuable and valid. Instead of the precarious category of earnestness, I suggest that we substitute

¹⁵ “Music and the Middlebrow”, three-day conference at the University of Notre Dame's London Global Gateway in June 2017.

“love” – for who can build that into a sneering opposition without collapsing into blatant cynicism and misanthropy?

TOWARDS A CONCLUSION

Claudio Benzecry's book *The Opera Fanatic* speaks explicitly of love. It is an ethnography of opera fans in today's Buenos Aires. It is a book of musical sociology, and the author takes issue not with music historiography (as I am doing now) but with sociological theories of cultural consumption. Benzecry identifies three theories for the consumption of classical music: art as status (Weber), art as ideological domination (Marx, Adorno) and art as cultural capital (Bourdieu). All three (and Bourdieu in particular) have been much cited by scholars practising middlebrow studies. He concludes that consumption of classical music is usually studied as “objective culture”, in contrast to popular music, where the listening subject is placed centre stage. In our attempts to reach the subject, an examination of listeners' love for particular pieces, performers or musical genres is very useful, and helps us see how these listening subjects are enabled by music to develop as individuals and to transcend their circumstances. In moments of self-transcendence, of escaping from the world outside the walls of the opera house, the fans experience ecstasies, accompanied by tears, or involuntary shaking. Such mystical, quasi-religious moments have a profound effect on the development of these individuals. This process of self-formation can last a lifetime, with cumulative learning and the cultivation of an undemonstrative connoisseurship, as the investment of time, effort and emotion increases further.

To add to this a little self-ethnography, a single moment of revelation and transcendence that I experienced in my early teens, resulted in a lifetime of devotion to music. My own self-formation began precisely in fandom, and I know very well how intense emotional attachment can open up a piece of music (usually in connection with a particular performance) in the way that no detached analysis can duplicate. I have been feeding off these revelatory moments for most of my career. Fandom led me to some important personal choices such as my choice of career and the shaping of my public persona. It defined my ambitions and shaped my work ethic; it gave me a sense of purpose or even mission in life. It was hugely important to me that my son should be able to experience such a revelatory moment in the opera house – and when that happened, I was satisfied that an important building block of his life has been set in place. That openness to emotion and inhabital thoughts in the opera house would open up paths to empathetic behaviour outside it, and that the therapeutic aspect of art would serve him as a protective cocoon.

Is none of this important when we sit down to write music history? Must we leave our “middlebrow” baggage at the door and assume highbrow posturing?

I could conclude this article modestly – by articulating, for example, how my case study of the two tenors could influence the histories we already have. It is easy to see that new Soviet works produced in the 1930s and 1950s resonate in many ways with the contemporaneous culture of “popular opera” and “popular classics” in general.

Shostakovich's works of the period easily slip into quotations from *Carmen*¹⁶ or *Faust*, or indeed, *Eugene Onegin* or *Khovanshchina*, tapping into the listeners' familiarity with this repertoire. I have examined Shostakovich's demotic style to see what distinguishes it beyond an avoidance of learned devices, and I found that the allusions pile up as if he was summarising a Friday-evening request concert on the radio (Frolova-Walker 2009: 403–423). In Prokofiev, we find less of this behaviour, but his own popular hits, such as the mezzo-soprano aria from *Alexander Nevsky* rode in on the coat-tails of several Russian classical prototypes. It was easier to create a "Soviet classic" this way. When Shchedrin turbocharged Bizet's music for his own balletic *Carmen Suite*, he made one of the shrewdest moves of his career: the opera was so familiar to the Soviet public that he could drop the melody of the Toreador's Song, in the sure knowledge that each listener would imagine it with every detail in place – or even treat the music as a karaoke track.

But there is a broader conclusion to be drawn from all this: if we are ever going to create a genuine listener-oriented history of twentieth-century music, we actually need to take listeners seriously – if this was really as platitudinous as it sounds, the project would be well underway by now. The concept of the middlebrow proves to be of great use here, because it allows us to approach cultural practices holistically, looking simultaneously at works, performers, mediators and audiences. But we must first defang the term "middlebrow", and if that cannot be done, then invent a new term that will perform the same task. We need to recognise that the emotional engagement with culture, essential to middlebrow pursuits, has authenticity and value, rather than deriding it as kitsch culture. Among many other things, we can perhaps finally revise the academic narrative of Rachmaninov's career: that he was a melancholic and nostalgic left adrift after he was thrown off the ship of modernity. Instead, we could have a positive story of the love and elation that his music and his playing elicited (and continues to elicit) among millions of listeners around the world – and for many of them, he is the principal composer of the twentieth century, as absurd as that may sound in a musicological environment. Perhaps such a strategy, allowing for an adoration of music that can be life-enhancing and life-changing, will help us not only to advocate for Rachmaninov, but for classical music in general.

16 References to *Carmen* had a personal significance, as shown by A.S. Benditsky in his book *O Pyatoy simfonii Shostakovicha* (2000). Being aware of the culture of "popular opera" is crucial for appreciate Shostakovich's conceit: he manages to hide in plain view even the greatest hit from *Carmen*, the Habanera.

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МАРИНА ФРОЛОВА-ВОКЕР

ИСТОРИЈА МУЗИКЕ С ЉУБАВЉУ? ХИТОВИ, КУЛТОВИ И СНОБОВИ

(РЕЗИМЕ)

Замислите историју музике XX века засновану на афинитетима данашњих слушалаца. У једној типичној анкети, спроведеној 2011. године у Аустралији, првих пет места заузели су Едвард Елгар, Густав Холст, Џорџ Гершвин, Ралф Вон Вилијамс и Сергеј Рахмањин. На наредних пет позиција пласирали су се Хоакин Родриго, Семјуел Барбер, Карл Орф, Игор Стравински и Сергеј Прокофјев. У овој анкети Морис Равел није успео да се пласира у првих 10, али пошто се он обично налази при врху сличних листа, додаћемо га и овде. Шта би се десило када бисмо реконструисали историју музике тако да централна места заузме ових једанаест композитора? Да ли можемо да замислимо такав наратив? Вероватно да не можемо. Зашто је то толико тешко?

Премда ова и сличне анкете без сумње откривају понешто о маркетингу класичне музике у данашње време, било би погрешно када бисмо одбацили непроцењиве, интимне тренутке радости које ови „највећи хитови” пружају милионима слушалаца широм света, укључујући, вероватно, и бројне критичаре и професоре музике, чак и ако они то не би јавно признали. А ипак, с изузетком Стравинског, ови најпопуларнији композитори су маргинализовани, или чак игнорисани, у већини академских проучавања историје музике XX века. Узмимо, на пример, Рахмањина: иако извођачи и слушаоци упорно и трајно воле његову музику, то није допринело поправљању његове позиције у академском свету: као композитор XX века, он је невидљив, или, у најбољем случају, сматран за фосула.

Последњих година, музикологија покушава да реши овај проблем применом концепта „средњег чела” или „средњеумног” [the middlebrow], позиционираног између „високог чела” („високоумног” [the highbrow]) и „ниског чела” („нискоумног” [the lowbrow]). Овакав приступ већ је коришћен у књижевности и довео је до бројних студија о књижевним делима која су раније била занемаривана. Разматрајући теоријске импликације „средњеумног”, научници су покушали не само да га сместе у одређену друштвену групу или у сегмент тржишта, већ су обратили пажњу и на „емоционалну везу с културом” (Бет Дрискол), што је и предмет ове студије.

Посебно желим да преиспитам да ли наводно објективна употреба концепта „the middlebrow” у академском дискурсу заправо указује на подругљиве конотације овог термина, те да ли су научници коначно искрено признали

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да емоционални ангажман у односу на културу поседује аутентичност и вредност. Да ли научници могу незаинтересовано да разматрају култ једног тако немодерног и емоцијама набијеног композитора као што је Рахмањинов? Или ће увек инсинуирати да такво понашање настаје услед необразованости и лошег укуса? Да ли је концепт „средњеумног” просто превише набијен импликацијама да би могао да се усвоји као научна категорија?

Овом приликом навешћу бројне примене моћних испољавања љубави према музици који рутински пролазе испод „радара” историчара музике. Међу њима је и тема мог тренутног истраживања: „култ тенора”, као значајна одлика совјетске културе у четрдесетим и педесетим годинама XX века. Обесхрабриван од стране власти и презрен од стране критичара, овај култ је доводио до екстравагантног понашања, које је деловато као аномалија у стриктно уређеном друштву попут совјетског. Ова страствена љубав, како према музици, тако и према извођачима, углавном се везивала за жене и резултовала је формативним, животно одређујућим искуствима за многе следбенице култа. Циљ ми је да покажем како проучавањем овог феномена можемо допринети утемељењу историје музике оријентисане на слушаоца.

Кључне речи: „култ тенора”, Сергеј Лемешев, Иван Козловски, концепт средњеумног, слушаоци музике

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Poster for the conference *The Future of Music History*

VARIA

ANCIENT GREEK RHYTHMS IN MESSIAEN'S *LE SACRE*: NIETZSCHE'S LEGACY?*

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ABSTRACT

It is little known that Nietzsche – appointed professor of classical philology at Basel University in his twenties – had postulated on the basis of rigorous textual studies that the leading classical philologists active in Central Europe in the nineteenth century, predominantly German-speaking, had gone seriously off-track by fitting Greek rhythms into measures of equal length. Unlike the philologists, influential musicologists who wrote about ancient Greek rhythms were mostly French. The Paris Conservatoire was a powerhouse of rhythmic theory, with an impressive lineage from Fétis and Gevaert through Laloy and Emmanuel to Messiaen and beyond. Fétis and Gevaert referenced their contemporary German philologists without really critiquing them. With Laloy, Emmanuel, and Messiaen, however, there was a notable change of orientation. These authors all read as if they had somehow become aware of Nietzsche's discovery. Yet none of them make any mention of him whatsoever. In this study, a comparative analysis of their musical rendition of Greek rhythms is undertaken before focusing on Messiaen's analytical proposal that there is an impressively long series of Greek rhythms in Stravinsky's *Le sacre du printemps*. I seek to throw light on the resurgence of interest in ancient Greek rhythms in modernist musical works, and question how the convoluted reception of Nietzsche's discovery in Parisian music circles might have sparked rhythmic innovation to new heights.

KEYWORDS: ancient Greek rhythm, *Le sacre du printemps*, Nietzsche, Fétis, Gevaert, Laloy, Emmanuel, Messiaen

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I. INTRODUCTION

Olivier Messiaen's analytical proposal that there is an impressively long series of ancient Greek rhythms in Igor Stravinsky's *Le sacre du printemps* opens a window onto a major field of study. Despite the importance of this source – Messiaen's analysis of *Le sacre* in *Traité de rythme, de couleur, et d'ornithologie*, volume II (1995) – it is virtually unknown (Messiaen 1995: 134–136). The resurgence of interest in Greek rhythms is not nearly as visible in modernist musical works as in scholarly writings about music. Composers' use of modern notation to convey ancient Greek rhythms, with which we are unfamiliar in the first place, is a major obfuscatory factor. Both our unfamiliarity with Greek rhythms and the problematic transcriptions of a whole generation of leading philologists – Gottfried Hermann, August Boeckh, Rudolph Westphal, to name but a few – pose considerable challenges to the investigation of the resurgence of interest in Greek rhythms in modernist music.

The late nineteenth-century paradigm shift summed up how classical philologists rethought and ultimately discarded the establishment of isochronism (equal measure length) as an axiom. James Porter, in "Being on Time," traced the origin of this remarkable paradigm shift to Nietzsche's quantitative theory, essentially his philological research from around the 1870s. Nietzsche, then a classical philologist and fervent Wagnerian, postulated on the basis of rigorous textual studies that his predecessors, eminent classical philologists active in Central Europe in the nineteenth century, had erroneously fitted Greek rhythms into measures of equal lengths (Porter 2000: 127–166). Christophe Corbier, in "*Alogia* et eurhythmie chez Nietzsche," zoomed in to focus on how Nietzsche theorized the correlation between Wagnerian dramas and Greek tragedy where musical rhythm is concerned (Corbier 2004: 1–38). Despite this ground-breaking research, Nietzsche's contribution to the paradigm shift remains slow in gaining recognition in the existing philological literature.

In November 1870, during his professorship at Basel University, Nietzsche wrote to Erwin Rohde, a good friend and fellow classicist, about his discovery:

If you will believe me, I can tell you that there is a new metric that I have discovered, which is an aberration to the whole recent development of metrics from G. Hermann to Westphal or Schmidt. Laugh or ridicule as you wish – to me, the case is very astonishing. There is a lot to work on, but I swallow dust with pleasure, because this time I have the fullest confidence that I am able to give an ever-greater depth to the basic idea.²

2 All translations are mine unless otherwise stated. "Wenn du mir glauben willst, so kann ich dir erzählen, dass es eine neue Metrik gibt, die ich entdeckt habe, der gegenüber die ganze neuere Entwicklung der Metrik von G. Hermann bis Westphal oder Schmidt eine Verirrung ist. Lache oder hohne, wie du willst—mir selber ist die Sache sehr erstaunlich. Es gibt sehr viel zu arbeiten, aber ich schlucke Staub mit Lust, weil ich diesmal die schönste Zuversicht habe und dem Grundgedanken eine immer größere Tiefe geben kann." Nietzsche, *Briefwechsel: Kritische Gesamtausgabe* (abbreviated KGB) 3 (1975: 159).

Shortly afterwards, Nietzsche wrote to his teacher Friedrich Wilhelm Ritschl expressing his reservations about his predecessors' reconstructions of ancient rhythm in relation to modern music: "the more we gained understanding of metrics through modern music, the farther we distanced ourselves from the true metrics of antiquity." Nietzsche then singled out Westphal for criticism: "I disagree with Westphal on almost all essential points."³

The crux of the matter is that ancient Greek rhythm draws on a distinction between short (S) and long (L) syllables, rather than between stressed and unstressed syllables. Nevertheless, German philologists in the nineteenth century adopted the cognitive modalities of modern languages and rendered Greek rhythm in accentual terms. As Martin West put it:

The investigation of IE [Indo-European] metre was first attempted in the last [nineteenth] century by German scholars who falsely projected the features of early Germanic accentual verse back on to IE verse (West 1982: 4).⁴

Where musical rhythm is concerned, Westphal was foremost among nineteenth-century German philologists in working on the problematic assumption that Greek rhythm shares with European art music the attributes of metrical accent and equal measure lengths.⁵ At risk of initiating something of an excursus, it is worth quoting West's comments on this problem.

German scholarship in the last [nineteenth] century devoted much effort to the rhythmical interpretation of asymmetrical cola on the *erroneous premise* [my emphasis] that they must be divided into equal bars. Such feats of arithmetic have fortunately disappeared from metrical treatises. ... It is precisely the asymmetrical distribution of the longs and shorts that gives many metres their characteristic quality (West 1982: 24).

West showed us how some of the most esteemed German scholars transcribed a Pindaric sequence by drawing on "the *erroneous premise* that they [the longs and shorts] must be divided into equal bars." And since this calls for the treatment of

3 "mehr wir von der modernen Musik zum Verständniß der Metrik hinzugewonnen haben, wir um so weiter uns auch von der wirklichen Metrik des Alterthums entfernt haben ... Mit Westphal bin ich fast in allen wesentlichen Punkten nicht mehr einverstanden." (KGB 3, 1975: 173)

4 In the nineteenth century much of this scholarship is indebted to German-speaking philologists. In the last quarter of the twentieth century, however, Anglo-American scholarship has come to take lead. *Greek Metre* (1982) and *Ancient Greek Music* (1992) by M. L. West, an eminent classical philologist of our times, are adopted as major secondary sources in this study.

5 These two interrelated concepts are pivotal to our understanding of how nineteenth-century philologists and musicologists transcribed ancient Greek rhythm. I shall come back to them.

selected longs and shorts in the sequence as irrational values,⁶ what West called “feats of arithmetic” inevitably came into the picture (Example 1).

Example 1. Two different transcriptions of a Pindaric sequence – U – – – U U – U U – – by (a) Boeckh and (b) Rossbach-Westphal (extracted from West 1982: 24)⁷

(a) – U – – | – U U | – U U | – –

$$2 \text{ I } \frac{12}{7} \frac{9}{7} \left| 3 \frac{3}{2} \frac{3}{2} \right| 3 \frac{3}{2} \frac{3}{2} \left| 3 \text{ 3} \right.$$

(b) – U – – | – U U – U U | – –

$$\frac{8}{3} \frac{4}{3} \text{ 2 2 } \left| 2 \text{ I I } 2 \text{ I I } \right| 4 \text{ 4}$$

By the time West published his *Greek Metre* in 1982, the “feats of arithmetic” had long disappeared, along with “the *erroneous premise*.” Knowing that West had used “[Paul] Maas’s well-known *Greek Metre*” (West 1982: preface)⁸ as a key source, however, it remains open to question whether West was aware of Nietzsche’s philological insight, especially as there is some evidence that Maas may himself have drawn directly from Nietzsche.

According to Porter, “Nietzsche treated the topic of rhythm in lectures between 1869 and 1874, twice devoting a whole course to it (1869 and 1870/71)” (Porter 2000: 128). Central to any enquiry into Nietzsche’s understanding of Greek rhythm are the teaching and research notes (henceforth, the “four notebooks”) composed during his short-lived professorship at Basel University. The publication of Nietzsche’s complete set of “four notebooks” was, however, seriously delayed until 1993 (Table 1).⁹

6 These include 12/7, 9/7, and 3/2 in Boeckh’s transcription, and 8/3 and 4/3 in Rossach-Westphal’s transcription.

7 West did not specify the two sources, but since Westphal co-authored with Rossbach only one book, there can be no doubt that *Theorie der musischen Künste der Hellenen* (1885–1889) is referred to.

8 Maas’s *Griechische Metrik* was first published in 1923. Following the publication of Hugh Lloyd-Jones’s English translation in 1962, the impact of this monograph was even more widespread.

9 Werke: *Kritische Gesamtausgabe* (KGW) Abt. II Bd. 3, 99–338 (Berlin: Gruyter, 1993).

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ANCIENT GREEK RHYTHMS IN MESSIAEN'S *LE SACRE*: NIETZSCHE'S LEGACY?**Table 1.** Nietzsche's "four notebooks"

1. *Griechische Rhythmik* (pp. 99–201)
2. *Aufzeichnungen zur Metrik und Rhythmik* (pp. 203–261)
3. *Zur Theorie der quantitatrenden Rhythmik* (pp. 263–280)
4. *Rhythmische Untersuchungen* (pp. 281–338)

It was Fritz Bornmann who made the pioneering move to give the "four notebooks" long overdue scholarly attention (Bornmann 1989). While editing that particular volume of Nietzsche's *Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe* (abbr. *KGW*), Bornmann published an article on Nietzsche's research into Greek rhythms, though he focused rather exclusively on the so-called ictus theory, a theory that died hard despite its inherent problems. Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Nietzsche's peer and a fierce critic of *The Birth of Tragedy* who came to be established as a towering figure in classical philology, was understandably reluctant to give recognition to Nietzsche's discovery. What is worse, *Griechische Rhythmik*, the highly influential monograph published by Paul Maas, Wilamowitz's pupil, "buries Nietzsche's contribution in three brief mentions and in a series of unacknowledged, often nearly verbatim, borrowings" (Porter 2000: 136). It is hardly surprising, then, that many scholars today still credit Maas with having initiated a paradigm shift.

In April 1886, over a decade after Nietzsche had completed the "four notebooks" and had largely abandoned philology for philosophy, he wrote to Carl Fuchs, a musicologist and close friend, referring once again to the discovery of his Basel years:

Admittedly, I am hardly entitled to talk about these matters [classical metrics] anymore—but I would have been entitled to do so back in 1871, a dreadful year that I spent reading the Greek and Latin metricians, but with a most peculiar result. At that time, I felt myself to be the most marginally placed metrician among all classical philologists: for I demonstrated to my students how the whole development of metrical theory from Bentley to Westphal was the history of a fundamental error [*Grundirrtum*].¹⁰

Although Nietzsche's discovery of "a fundamental error" was not properly credited to him until Bornmann's article of 1989, discussion of the "error" had surfaced in Parisian sources from the late 1880s, some three decades before the publication of Maas's *Griechische Rhythmik*.

¹⁰ "Freilich: ich darf heute kaum mehr über diese Dinge mitreden, — aber 1871 hätte ich's gedurft, welches Jahr ich in der erschrecklichen Lektüre der griechischen und lateinischen Metriker verbracht habe, mit einem sehr wunderlichen Resultate. Damals fühlte ich mich als den abseits gestellten Metriker unter allen Philologen: denn ich demonstrierte meinen Schülern die ganze Entwicklung der Metrik von Bentley bis Westphal als Geschichte eines Grundirrtums." This English translation is from Porter 2000: 129.

Leading classical philologists in the nineteenth century were predominantly German-speaking. Influential musicologists who wrote about ancient Greek rhythms, on the other hand, were mostly French. The Paris Conservatoire in particular was a powerhouse of rhythmic theory, with an impressive lineage from François-Joseph Fétis and François-Auguste Gevaert through Louis Laloy and Maurice Emmanuel¹¹ to Olivier Messiaen and beyond.¹² Fétis and Gevaert referenced their contemporary German philologists without really critiquing them. With Laloy, Emmanuel, and Messiaen, however, there was a notable change of orientation. All of them discussed what Nietzsche had already described as an “error.” This change is noteworthy, for it is remarkably close in timing to the paradigm shift initiated by Nietzsche. These authors all read as if they had somehow become aware of Nietzsche’s discovery. Yet none of them make any mention of him whatsoever.

II. OUTLINE AND TERMINOLOGY

The present study is in two parts. Part I focuses on textual criticism. I offer a critical review of writings on ancient Greek rhythm by Fétis, Gevaert, Laloy, Emmanuel, and Messiaen, in chronological sequence. This is preceded by a brief discussion of Maximilien Kawczyński’s *Essai comparatif sur l’origine des rythmes* (1889). This essay is one of the earliest French sources to have mentioned the “error,” and is therefore of special historical importance.

The textual criticism undertaken in Part I paves the way for a case study in Part II. The latter focuses on Igor Stravinsky’s alleged use of an extended series of Greek metrical feet in the “Sacrificial Dance” as noted by Messiaen in his analysis of *Le sacre* in *Traité de rythme, de couleur, et d’ornithologie*, volume II (1995). Messiaen did

11 Louis Bourgault-Ducoudray’s pioneering research into Greek folk music was mainly about mode. Greek rhythm research was advanced by his protégé Emmanuel.

12 An overview of the development of rhythmic theories in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries may be gleaned from William Caplin’s “Theories of Musical Rhythm in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries” in Thomas Christensen (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*. Greek rhythms constitute only a side issue in Caplin’s chapter, and are discussed with reference to the writings of Wolfgang Caspar Printz (1641-1717) and Johann Mattheson (1681-1764), the “most important eighteenth-century exponents of *rhythmopoeia*.” In Caplin’s view, interest in *rhythmopoeia*, which “defines various patterns of long and short durations using the traditional Greek metrical terms,” had subsided since the time of Printz and Mattheson, and was not really renewed until Westphal and Wiehmayer came on stage late in the nineteenth century (Westphal’s *Allgemeine Theorie* and Wiehmayer’s *Musikalische Rhythmik und Metrik* were mentioned in this regard). Contemporaneous publications by Fétis and Gevaert on Greek rhythm are absent from Caplin’s chapter. In a closing remark Caplin refers to Grosvenor Cooper and Leonard Meyer’s co-authored book *The Rhythmic Structure of Music* (1960) as “a twentieth-century reincarnation of metrical poetics in music theory” even though Greek rhythm is treated (reincarnated?) as accentual rather than as durational patterns in *The Rhythmic Structure of Music*.

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not probe into the series, nor did he attach any importance to it. In what follows, I investigate this case by way of a summary review of Messiaen's textbook-like introduction to Greek metrical feet, alongside two short analyses—Messiaen's reading of dochmius, the Greek rhythm that connotes tragedy, in Ravel's *Gaspard de la nuit* ("Le gibet") and Debussy's *Chansons de Bilitis* ("La flûte de Pan").¹³ This exposition helps us to make sense of Messiaen's analysis of Greek rhythms in the "Sacrificial Dance." I take the 1913 autograph as a point of reference and compare it to the sketch and to the 1943 revision of the "Sacrificial Dance." This leads to a critique of Pieter van den Toorn's analysis of the same three sources and his postulation of "rhythmic Types I and II" in Stravinsky's music more generally.

Before presenting any of this, it is necessary to discuss the disparity in technical terms used by philologists and musicologists from different language zones. I limit the discussion to a handful of concepts pivotal to the enquiry in hand: meter, measure, metrical accent, meter change, and equal measure length. These are interrelated, in that meters, and by extension meter changes, are defined by the placement of metrical accents and hence measures, whereas equal measure length results when meter change is suppressed (Table 2).

Table 2. Important technical terms in English, German, and French

English	German	French
meter; measure	Takt	mesure = mètre
metrical accent	Ictus/Iktus	temps fort
meter change	Taktwechsel	modulation rythmique; métabole
equal measure length	Taktgleichheit	mesure isochrones; unité de mesure

The musical terms "meter" and "measure" are distinct in English. In German and French sources "Takt" and "mesure" can mean either meter or measure, while "Ictus or Iktus" and "temps fort" mean "metrical accent."¹⁴ The latter also appears in German

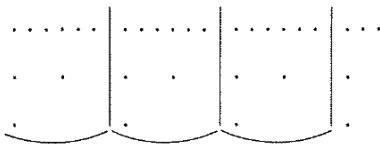
13 They appear in volumes I and VI of his *Traité de rythme, de couleur, et d'ornithologie* (1994 and 2001). Both Gevaert and West noted that dochmius are characteristic of Greek tragedy. See: Gevaert 1881: 65 and 79; West 1982: 108.

14 This falls in line with Robert Donington's definition of "ictus" in *Grove Music Online*: "A term which in prosody indicates the stress or accent schematically implied on a certain syllable of a foot or verse; hence, in music, it is a comparable stress or accent schematically implied on a certain beat of a bar, in a certain metre, whether or not this implication coincides with the stress or accent *actually made* [my emphasis]." <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000013699?rskey=tMR79v&result=1> (accessed February 11, 2018)

sources as “metrischen Akzent,” but is much less common.¹⁵ The following excerpt from Nietzsche’s *Griechische Rhythmik* shows his use of the term “ictus” to mean “metrical accent” (Plate 1).

Plate 1. Nietzsche’s *Griechische Rhythmik*, p. 163 (excerpt only)

Der Ictus (die Thesis eines Tactes) ist das Zusammenfallen sämtlicher Perpendikelneubewegungen, aller schnellsten Bewegungen im Klange aller stärksten Töne.



Nietzsche’s distinguished predecessors were apparently unaware that the concept of metrical accent postdates Greek rhythm and that it was not theorized until Johann Philipp Kirnberger proposed the so-called *Akzenttheorie*, truly a watershed moment:

Unlike theorists in the first half of the eighteenth century, who regarded the entire measure as the starting point of a metrical theory, Kirnberger begins with an unlimited succession of undifferentiated and aesthetically insignificant stimuli, what we now typically call pulses or beats. These beats then become differentiated through [metrical] accent ... In Kirnberger’s theory, which Hugo Riemann later characterized as the *Akzenttheorie*, the individual measure no longer delimits fundamental rhythmic activity as did the earlier tactus-derived measure. ... And rather than being linked to the traditional Greek meters, durational values are free to assume a wide variety of patterns, always retaining, however, their metrical interpretation as defined by the hierarchy of accents and unaccents (Caplin 2002: 668).

As detailed below, *Akzenttheorie* seems to be lurking behind Fétis’s and Gevaert’s problematic transcription of Greek verses into measures of the same length. Like their contemporaries in philology, they assumed the existence of metrical accents in Greek rhythm, and endeavored to reconstruct ancient metrics by way of modern music. This problem is precisely what Nietzsche reported in his letter to Ritschl.

III. TEXTUAL CRITICISM

Accordingly to Bornmann, Kawczyński was the first to follow in Nietzsche’s footsteps, consciously or not, by challenging the reading of ictus in Greek rhythm.

¹⁵ See, for example, Bornmann 1989: 487.

For a long time Nietzsche stands alone with his insights into ancient metrics. The first hesitant attempts to question the ictus came only later, and it was certainly no accident that they were not initially from Germany. In 1889 K. Kwacziński [Kawczyński] turned against Westphal's *Rhythmik* and also G. Hermann's *Elementa [doctrinae metricae]*, and made the very correct remark that Bentley did not treat the concept of ictus systematically, but in actual fact only deductively.¹⁶

In 1889 Kawczyński's *Essai comparatif sur l'origine des rythmes* was published in Paris. Just how impactful this criticism of Westphal and Hermann was at the time still awaits investigation. But, in any case, it was not until the early 1900s that Paris-based musicologists began to write about the ictus-induced "error" made by leading German philologists. Prior to that, Fétis and Gevaert had simply subscribed to their fellow German philologists' views.

In volume III of *Histoire générale de la musique depuis les temps les plus anciens jusqu'à nos jours* (1872), Fétis transcribed classical Greek verses by prioritizing "the unity of meter (unité de mesure)," which in his terminology meant the same as equal measure length or Taktgleichheit:

[W]hen iambic or trochaic rhythms are mixed irregularly with the dactylic genre, it is essential to maintain the unity of meter [unité de mesure], be it binary or ternary, depending on the preponderance of either iambic or dactylic genre in the poetry. The rhythm occupying the most important place in the verses determines the meter, and the time values of the other rhythm undergo modification that augments or diminishes the duration of the syllables.¹⁷

According to Fétis, music that alternates between binary and ternary in an irregular manner may only be heard among "barbaric" people (Fétis, vol. III, 1872: 179).¹⁸ This may explain why he transcribed Greek verses in ways that make them conform to the "unity of meter," which he upheld as an absolute and overriding rule. The following example is a case in point (Example 2).

16 "Hier steht nun Nietzsche mit seinen Einblicken in die antike Metrik lange Zeit allein. Erst später kamen die ersten zögernden Versuche, den Iktus in Frage zu stellen, und—gewiß kein Zufall—zunächst nicht aus Deutschland. K. Kwacziński wandte sich 1889 gegen Westphals *Rhythmik*, aber auch gegen G. Hermanns *Elementa*, und machte die sehr richtige Bemerkung, daß dieser den Iktus, den Bentley nicht systematisch behandelt, eigentlich nur deduktiv erschlossen habe" (Bornmann 1989: 486–487).

17 "quand le rythme iambique ou trochaïque se mêle, sans ordre régulier; avec le genre dactylique, il est indispensable de maintenir l'unité de mesure, soit binaire, soit ternaire, suivant la prépondérance du genre dactylique ou iambique dans la poésie. Le rythme qui occupe la place la plus importante dans les vers détermine la mesure, et les valeurs de temps de l'autre rythme subissent une modification qui augmente ou diminue la durée des syllabes" (Fétis, vol. III, 1872: 194).

18 "Les alternatives de temps binaires et ternaires qu'on y voit n'existent dans aucune musique, sauf de très-rares exceptions. Il n'est pas de peuple, si barbare qu'on le suppose, qui chante de cette manière" (Fétis, vol. III, 1872: 179).

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(c)

Valeur mathématique:

Transcription usuelle:

Gevaert began by describing how Westphal had transcribed the ‘isolated’ trochee as a quarter-note triplet (Example 3b). The long and the short of the trochee are thus in 2:1 ratio and the trochee as a whole occupies the same length as the flanking binary feet. Gevaert then debated how Westphal’s transcription of the trochee is at variance with that of the “new metricians” of his time.

This kind of rhythm, called dactylo-trochaic, épitrites or doric, much embarrassed philologists since Boeckh, and gave rise to the most diverse interpretations. Obviously the trochee occupies the same duration as the dactyl, that is, a measure of four units. ... Yet, things being as they are, how could the two elements [notes] constitutive of the trochee share the 2/4 measure? Westphal, applying the common rule – “a long doubles [the length of] a short” – attributed to the first syllable of the trochee two-thirds of the total measure, and to the last short the remaining third [...] ... But most ‘new metricians’ transcribe the trochee mixed with dactyls as a much simpler rhythmic figure[.]²¹

As shown in Example 3c, Gevaert aligned Westphal’s and the new metricians’ differently transcribed trochee and added between them two sextuplets to serve as a common denominator. He then noted that although only Westphal’s rendition of the trochee observes the 2:1 ratio, the new metricians’ alternative transcription, which is “much simpler,” comes close to it. In either case, however, the problematic acceptance of equal measure length as an axiom remains unchallenged. The “fundamental error” remains in play. It was not until Laloy’s doctoral dissertation *Aristoxène de Tarente et la musique de l’antiquité* (1904) that there was a change of perspective.

²¹ “Ce genre de rythmes, dits dactylo-trochaïques, épitrites ou doriens, a beaucoup embarrassé les philologues depuis Boekh, et donné lieu aux interprétations les plus diverses. Évidemment, le trochée y occupe une durée égale à celle du dactyle, à savoir une mesure de quatre unités. ... Or les choses étant ainsi, de quelle manière les deux éléments constitutifs du trochée se partageaient-ils la mesure de 2/4? Westphal, appliquant la règle commune, – « une longue vaut le double d’une brève » – attribue à la première syllabe du trochée les deux tiers de la mesure totale, à la dernière brève le tiers restant[...] ... Mais la plupart des nouveaux métriciens transcrivent le trochée mêlé aux dactyles par une figure rythmique plus simple[.]” (Gevaert 1881: 112–113).

In the concluding chapter (“Le rythme”) of Laloy’s dissertation, under the heading of “Rhythmic modulation: critique of the principle of equidistance between downbeats,”²² he explains how the “principle,” which is characteristic of modern rather than ancient Greek music, had “consumed almost all the effort” of the metricians in the long nineteenth century:

Our rhythm has as an absolute rule the equidistance between strong beats. ... It is the establishment of such equivalences that consumed almost all the effort of the modern [nineteenth-century] metricians. They believe that they should reestablish the equidistance between [strong] beats to ancient [Greek] poetry, without which the rhythm would seem inconceivable to them.²³

The publication of Laloy’s dissertation in Paris in 1904 was soon followed by Emmanuel’s writings on Greek rhythm in *Histoire de la langue musicale* (1911), his extensive entry on Grèce (*art gréco-romain*) for the *Encyclopédie de la musique et dictionnaire du Conservatoire* (1913), and his “Le rythme, d’Euripide à Debussy” in *Compte rendu du Premier Congrès du Rythme* (1926). The importance of Antoine Meillet’s *Les Origines indo-européennes des mètres grecs* (1923) is duly acknowledged. Emmanuel praised Meillet’s “literal reading” of a Euripidean strophe as “more effective,” and expressed regret that he had treated the same strophe with measures of equal length in an earlier analysis published in *Encyclopédie de la musique*. “[The analysis] now seems to me useless!” Emmanuel confessed (1926: 119–121).

Emmanuel’s pairing of Debussy and Euripides in “Le rythme, d’Euripide à Debussy” seems to echo Nietzsche’s pairing of Wagner and Aeschylus, but Nietzsche is not mentioned. In Emmanuel’s view, the renditions of Greek rhythm by Schmidt and Westphal, Weil, and Masqueray are problematic at best, since these authors were enslaved by “the isochronous rhythm of modern music” in their effort to “rediscover in Greek lyricism the evenly spaced milestones [bar lines].”²⁴ Emmanuel welcomes “a new and fruitful interpretation” that no longer “rests on an *error*,” though without disclosing how he came to learn about this error.

In Messiaen’s chapter-long discussion of Greek rhythm in *Traité de rythme, de couleur, et d’ornithologie*, volume I (1994), the “fundamental error” is illustrated in

22 “La modulation rythmique. Critique du principe d’équidistance des temps forts.”

23 “Notre rythmique a pour règle absolue l’équidistance des temps forts. ... C’est à l’établissement de pareilles équivalences que s’est consumé presque tout l’effort des métriciens modernes. Ils croient devoir aux poètes anciens le rétablissement de cette équidistance des temps, sans lesquels le rythme leur paraît inconcevable” (Laloy 1904: 326–327). West expressed basically the same view in his Greek Metre; see West 1982: 24.

24 “une interprétation nouvelle et féconde. Elle s’oppose, en bien des cas, à celle de Schmidt, de Westphal, de Weil, de Masqueray, à celle que j’ai pratiquée moi-même et qui, pour toute une catégorie d’œuvres, repose sur une erreur. Tous nous avons cherché, tant la rythmique isochrone de la musique moderne nous avait enchaînés à ses barres de mesure, à retrouver dans le lyrisme grec, ces jalons régulièrement espacés que réclament nos habitudes” (Emmanuel 1926: 105; my emphasis).

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more concrete terms with reference to a logaoedic verse from Sophocles's *Antigone*. Messiaen explains at some length such technical details as "substitution" and "dissolution" before he introduces the logaoedic verse. Triple time alternates with quadruple time in the verse apparently because the technique of substitution is at work. Messiaen then cautions us against a tendency to read into the logaoedic verse measures of equal lengths.

It often happens that a foot is used to replace a different foot and thereby varies and lengthens it – spondee (♩) instead of iamb (♩) – this process is called substitution, and the foot that replaces the original one is called a substitute. When the long in an iamb (♩) is divided into two shorts and the pattern becomes a tribrach (♩), the metricians refer to the process as dissolution. In these different changes, as in the mixed use of rhythms in four and three times, as in the whole of Greek versification, the short always equals the short. We tend to treat these variations in isochronous measures. For example, a verse from Sophocles's *Antigone*:

According to Messiaen, the logaoedic verse begins with a trochee (L-S) that is "dissolved" into a tribrach (S-S-S). This is followed by three dactyls (L-S-S) and two trochees (L-S). The last trochee is, however, deprived of the short, and thus the two trochees together add up to a catalectic pattern (L-S-L).²⁶ Messiaen argues that the standard transcription ("la transcription normale") of this verse shows an alternating use of triple time and quadruple time (Example 4).

Example 4. Different renditions of a logaoedic verse, Sophocles's *Antigone* (*Traité* I, pp. 81–82)

(a) logaoedic verse in Sophocles's *Antigone*

25 "Il arrive fréquemment qu'un pied soit employé à la place d'un autre, donnant ainsi des variations par allongement: spondee (♩) au lieu de iambe (♩): ce procédé se nomme substitution, et le pied qui remplace est un substitut. Lorsque la longue est monnayée en deux brèves: iambe (♩) devenant tribrache (♩), les métriciens disent qu'il y a dissolution. Dans ces différents changements, comme dans les rencontres entre rythmes à 4 et rythmes à 3 temps, comme dans toute la versification grecque, la brève égale toujours la brève. On a voulu rentrer ces variations dans des mesures isochrones. Voici, par exemple, un vers d'Antigone de Sophocle" (Messiaen 1994: 81).

26 "Ce schème métrique est donné par Masqueray. J'y vois un vers logaédique où se mélangent: un trochée monnayé en tribrache (U U U), 3 dactyles (- U U - U U - U U), et 2 trochées, dont le 2e a perdu une brève, ce qui rend le vers «catalectique» (- U -)" (Messiaen 1994: 81).

(b) standard transcription of the logaoedic verse



(c) transcription of the logaoedic verse into isochronous 6/8 measures



He criticized some musicians for “transforming the entire verse into a regular 6/8 meter” by converting the dactyls (L–S–S) into quadruplets to take up the same measure-length as the tribrach (S–S–S) or the trochee (L–S). Due to the use of the quadruplets, there are two different lengths to the short and also two different lengths to the long.

Messiaen did not cite any example from the music literature, and yet Anton Arensky’s “Logaoedics” illustrates this well (Example 5).²⁷ Arensky names the solo piano pieces in his *Six essais sur les rythmes oubliées*, op. 28 after selected Greek rhythms and makes prominent use of them. In “Logaoedics,” the first in the set, Arensky fits dactyl (L–S–S) and trochee (L–S), which suggest one measure of 7/8 or two measures of unequal lengths (4/8 and 3/8), into a measure of 6/8 by treating the dactyl as a quadruplet. The Greek rhythms, if ever forgotten, became distorted in *Six essais sur les rythmes oubliées*. Regardless of whether Arensky knew of the “premise, laid down by August Boeckh, that the verse is made up of trochaic and (irrational) dactylic feet,” his rendition of the logaoedic verse concurs with “the Boeckhian method of assuming that – U U and – U occupy equal time” (West 1992: 148 and 150).²⁸

The uniform use of 6/8 and equal measure length for a logaoedic verse, in Messiaen’s view, violates the rule that “*the short always equals the short*” and “completely destroy the equality [in length] of the shorts in logaoedic verses.”²⁹ Messiaen proclaims: “All these views are erroneous. They contradict Louis Laloy and Dom Mocquereau, and above all the sovereign authority of the greatest ancient Greek metrician: Aristoxenus.”³⁰ He then references Aristoxenus to affirm that the change of meter

27 This set of solo piano pieces was composed in 1893 shortly after Arensky (1861–1906) graduated from St. Petersburg Conservatory, where he studied composition under Rimsky-Korsakov.

28 The music is sadly deprived of “snappy syncopations and lively, wrong-footing changes of bar-length, disconcerting to people brought up on English nursery rhymes and the Viennese or Liverpoolian classics, but in keeping with what we have found in several other of the ancient Greek rhythmical genres” (West 1992: 150).

29 “dans toute la versification grecque, *la brève égale toujours la brève*” (Messiaen 1994: 81; Messiaen’s italics).

30 “détruire complètement l’égalité des brèves dans les vers logaédiques ... Toutes ces opinions sont erronées. Elles ont contre elles Louis Laloy et Dom Mocquereau, et surtout l’autorité souveraine du plus grand métricien de l’antiquité grecque: Aristoxène” (Messiaen 1994: 82).

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is characteristic of ancient Greek music, while the equidistance between metrical accents is not.³¹ This is in keeping with the critical stance of Laloy, who is nonetheless more cautious about referencing Aristoxenus:

we do not know how Aristoxenus understood a logaedic or a dochmiac verse. But I believe at least I have established that he did not exhaust himself by equalizing the measures, eliminating here, adding there, finishing up altogether denatured.³²

Example 5. Arensky's 'Logaedics': dactyl and trochee fitted into one measure of 6/8

The image displays musical notation for Example 5. At the top, two rhythmic patterns are shown in 6/8 time. The first pattern consists of a dotted quarter note followed by two eighth notes, bracketed and labeled 'dactyl'. The second pattern consists of a quarter note followed by an eighth note, bracketed and labeled 'trochee'. Below these patterns, the tempo 'Moderato' is indicated. The main part of the image is a piano score in 6/8 time, marked 'p' (piano). The score consists of two systems of music, each with a treble and bass staff. The melody in the treble staff features a series of eighth-note patterns, while the bass staff provides a simple accompaniment of quarter and eighth notes.

31 "Aristoxène ne déclare nullement l'égalité des frappés comme principe nécessaire du rythme. Il établit expressément qu'on rencontre dans l'art musical de l'antiquité la forme du changement de mesure" (Messiaen 1994: 82).

32 "Quoi qu'il en soit, on voit que les modulations rythmiques devaient tenir une grande place dans toute théorie complète. Et il est fort regrettable que cette partie de l'œuvre d'Aristoxène ait disparu ... je ne prétends pas avoir reconstitué, même approximativement, ce chapitre perdu; nous ne savons pas comment Aristoxène comprenait un vers logaédique ou dochmiac. Mais je crois au moins avoir établi qu'il ne se fatiguait pas à égaliser ses mesures, ôtant ici, ajoutant là, pour finir par tout dénaturer" (Laloy 1904: 335).

During Messiaen's formative years (1919–1930) at the Paris Conservatoire, Emmanuel had already assumed a leadership role in ancient Greek music research. Messiaen's indebtedness to Emmanuel for his inspiring teaching of Greek rhythms is well documented. This is not to say that Messiaen's awareness of the 'error' cannot be traced back to Laloy's exceptional dissertation, notwithstanding the strained relationship between Laloy and Emmanuel.³³

IV. CASE STUDY: MESSIAEN AND "THE SURVIVAL OF GREEK RHYTHM"

Messiaen's most elaborate discourse on Greek rhythms appears in "Greek metrics [Métrique grecque]," chapter three of his *Traité* I.³⁴ His comparative study of two different transcriptions of a logaedic verse from Sophocles's *Antigone* is preceded by a textbook-like introduction to Greek metrical feet:

This [Greek] rhythm was based on an extremely simple notion: the long is worth two shorts. The rhythms or feet grouped a very small number of longs and shorts [denoted as – and U respectively].³⁵

Messiaen listed "all the known feet [tous les pieds connus]" in his "Table of Greek rhythms [Tableau des rythmes grecs]," and classified them by taking into consideration the total number of shorts contained in each foot, regardless of whether any of the shorts are grouped into longs (Table 3). Beginning with pyrrhic, the only foot that contains two shorts ("à 2 temps"), Messiaen lists metrical feet that contain three, four, five, six, and seven shorts before ending with compound feet ("pieds composés").³⁶ He likens selected Greek rhythms to Hindu rhythms (deçi-tâlas) and points out how permutation, retrograde, and non-retrograde, some of his favored techniques, may be seen to be at work in individual Greek rhythms.

33 Laloy was not appointed professor of music history at Paris Conservatoire until 1936, the year Emmanuel retired. When Laloy competed with Emmanuel for the same position back in 1909, Emmanuel received twenty-nine votes while Laloy received only one vote, which was allegedly cast by Debussy (see Corbier 2007: 98).

34 In contrast to *Traité*, *Technique de mon langage musical* contains only one brief remark on Greek meters, in which Messiaen acknowledges his debt to Maurice Emmanuel for introducing him to the world of Greek rhythm.

35 "Cette rythmique [la rythmique grecque] s'appuyait sur une notion extrêmement simple: la longue vaut deux brèves. Les rythmes ou pieds groupaient un très petit nombre de longues et de brèves" (Messiaen 1994: 73).

36 Cf. West's listing of six rhythmic genera: (1) dactylic, anapaestic, (2) iambic, choriambic, trochaic, (3) paeonic, (4) dochmiac, (5) ionic, and (6) aeolic (see West 1992: 135–150).

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ANCIENT GREEK RHYTHMS IN MESSIAEN'S *LE SACRE*: NIETZSCHE'S LEGACY?**Table 3.** A summary of Messiaen's "Table of Greek Rhythms" (*Traité* I, 74–81)

à 2 temps	Pyrrhique (ou Pariamba)	U U
à 3 temps	Trochée (ou Chorée)	— U
	Iambe	U —
	Tibraque	U U U
à 4 temps	Spondée	— —
	Dactyle	— U U
	Anapeste	U U —
	Procéleusmatique	U U U U
	Amphibraque	U — U
à 5 temps (1 ^{er} espèce)	Bacchius (ou Bacchée)	U — —
	Amphimacre (ou Crétiqne)	— U —
	Antibacchius	— — U
à 5 temps (2 ^e espèce)	Péon I	— U U U
	Péon II	U — U U
	Péon III	U U — U
	Péon IV	U U U —
à 6 temps	Ionique majeur	— — U U
	Ionique mineur	U U — —
	Molosse	— — —
à 7 temps	Épitrite I	U — — —
	Épitrite II	— U — —
	Épitrite III	— — U —
	Épitrite IV	— — — U
Pieds composés	Ditrochée (ou Dichorée)	— U — U
	Diiambe	U — U —
	Choriambe	— U U —
	Antipaste	U — — U
	Dochmius	U — — U —
	Dispondée	— — — —
	Dactylo-Épitrite	— U U U — — —

For example, peon I and peon IV are retrogrades of one another, as are peon II and peon III. They have in common one long and three shorts, but the long occupies a different position in relation to the three shorts in each case. The long is in this sense permuted. Similarly, epitrite I and epitrite IV are retrogrades of one another, as are epitrite II and epitrite III. They have in common one short and three longs, but the short occupies a different position in relation to the three longs in each case, and hence the short is in this sense permuted.

peon I	(– U U U)	epitrite I	(U – – –)
peon II	(U – U U)	epitrite II	(– U – –)
peon III	(U U – U)	epitrite III	(– – U –)
peon IV	(U U U –)	epitrite IV	(– – – U)

That Messiaen's understanding of Greek rhythms is unique becomes even more evident in the ensuing discussion, which comes under the heading of "Survival of Greek rhythms [Survivance des rythmes grecs]." Messiaen cited examples that range from the slow movement of Beethoven's Seventh Symphony, Hölderlin's poetic works, Constantin Brăiloiu's study of traditional Romanian music, to Stravinsky's *Petrushka*, *Le sacre du printemps* ("Glorification de l'élue"), *Histoire du soldat* ("Danse du diable"), *Les noces*, Falla's *L'amour sorcier* ("El amor brujo"), Ravel's *Daphnis et Chloé* ("Dance générale") and *Gaspard de la nuit* ("Le gibet" and "Scarbo"). Although the examples vary widely, the majority of them are musical works from the early twentieth century premiered in Paris, suggesting that Messiaen was concerned with "the survival of Greek rhythms" at a specific time and in a specific place.

Dochmius in Ravel's "Le gibet" and Debussy's "La flûte de Pan"

Of all the music examples Messiaen groups under "Survivance des rythmes grecs" in chapter three of *Traité I*, "Le gibet" stands out in that Greek rhythms are engaged consistently throughout the piece (Example 6). A rhythmic pedal is in play, one that juxtaposes iamb (U –) and bacchius (U – –), forming a type of dochmius that is "the retrograde of the second form of the dochmiac verse: bacchius + iamb:"

This pedal reunites 2 Greek rhythms, iamb (U –) and bacchius (U – –) ... the bacchius being an extension of the iamb through a repetition of the long. (iamb + bacchius: this is the retrograde of the second form of the dochmiac verse: bacchius + iamb).³⁷

37 "Cette pedale reunit 2 rythmes grecs, iambe (U –) et Bacchius (U – –) ... le Bacchius etant l'accroissement du iambe, par repetition de la longueur. (iambe + Bacchius: c'est le renversement de la 2e forme du vers Dochmiaque: Bacchius + iambe)" (Messiaen 1994: 127). See also: *Ibid.*: 75.

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ANCIENT GREEK RHYTHMS IN MESSIAEN'S *LE SACRE*: NIETZSCHE'S LEGACY?**Example 6.** Dochmius (iamb + bacchius) as a pedal in Ravel's "Le gibet"

The musical score for "Le gibet" by Maurice Ravel, as analyzed by Wai-Ling Cheong, shows a piano part with a complex rhythmic pedal. The score is in 4/4 time and features a complex rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. Above the staff, the tempo is marked "Très lent" and "Sans presser ni ralentir jusqu'à la fin". The dynamic is "pp". The score includes markings for "iamb" and "bacchius" rhythms, and a "Sourdine" instruction. The piece ends with a "p expressif" marking.

Ravel's dynamic accents ensure the grouping of 3+5 eighth notes typical of dochmius rather than the conventional grouping of 4+4 eighth notes. Depending on where Ravel positions dochmius in relation to the underlying 4/4 schema, the notation varies. If the onset of the rhythmic pedal in m. 1 had been advanced by an eighth note, the tie in the pedal would have been spared.³⁸ Ravel's placement of dochmius in "Le gibet" complicated the notated rhythm. On this occasion, Messiaen makes no mention of the fact that the visual complexity of the rhythmic pedal stems from the use of modern notation and, more specifically, the mapping of dochmius to an underlying metrical grid prescribed by the 4/4 meter. But elsewhere he distinguishes between what he calls notated rhythm and true rhythm, which applies well to dochmius in "Le gibet."³⁹

Messiaen's comments on Debussy's use of Greek rhythms appear belatedly in *Traité VI*, the volume Messiaen sets apart for Debussy's music.⁴⁰ In the opening and closing measures of "La flûte de Pan" (*Trois Chansons de Bilitis*), dochmius takes shape through a series of block chords (Example 7).⁴¹ As in Ravel's "Le gibet," the notation visually blurs the identity of the Greek rhythms. The dochmius is exactly four quarter-notes long, and yet it appears at the point where the meter changes from 4/4 to 3/4. Just as the dochmius ends, the meter then reverts from 3/4 back to 4/4.

38 If all the rests in m. 1 (R.H.) had been removed, the pedal would have fitted neatly into one measure.

39 See Messiaen's *The Technique of My Musical Language*, chapter VII ("Rhythmic Notations").

40 Greek rhythms are seldom mentioned in *Traité VI*. We note Messiaen's reference to iamb and trochee in association with just a few works, and bacchius is touched on in his analysis of "La flûte de Pan" exclusively.

41 Messiaen's reading of m. 2 as "2 iambes U -, Bacchius" is perplexing. His reading of m. 29, which literally repeats m. 2, as two iambs is just as problematic. They might have been a slip of the pen.

The dochmius featured in both “Le gibet” and “La flûte de Pan” is suggestive of how Ravel and Debussy might have appropriated Greek rhythms and played with some of the complications that derive from the use of modern notation, which prescribes an underlying metrical grid and the metrical accent.

Example 7. Dochmius (iamb + bacchius) in Debussy’s “La flûte de Pan”

The image shows a musical score for Debussy's "La flûte de Pan". It consists of two systems of music. The first system is for the Chant (voice) and Piano. The Chant part is in a treble clef with a key signature of three sharps (F#, C#, G#) and a common time signature (C). It starts with a rest, then a 3/4 time signature change, followed by a dotted quarter note and an eighth note (labeled "iamb"), and then a quarter note, eighth note, and sixteenth note (labeled "bacchius"). The Piano part is in a grand staff with a key signature of three sharps and a common time signature. It features a *pp* dynamic and includes sixteenth-note runs with slurs and accents, and chords. The second system continues the Chant and Piano parts. The Chant part has a *p* dynamic and includes the lyrics: "Pour le jour des Hy - a - cin - thies, il m'a don - né u - ne sy -". The Piano part continues with similar textures and dynamics.

Greek rhythms in Stravinsky’s “Sacrificial Dance”

Debussy’s “La flûte de Pan” is by no means the only example omitted from Messiaen’s discussion of the survival of Greek rhythms in *Traité I*. An even more important omission is the “Sacrificial Dance” from *Le sacre*. It is not until *Traité II* and in chapter three (titled “Personnages rythmiques”) that we read Messiaen’s account of Stravinsky’s copious use of Greek rhythms in the rondo-like “Sacrificial Dance:”

Another analysis of the first couplet [figures 149–166], taking into account the beams Stravinsky used for the grouping of sixteenth or thirty-second notes with reference to the Boosey & Hawkes edition [1913 autograph]. To facilitate reading, I transcribe the score notation into sustained notes [eighth and quarter notes]. Numerous Greek rhythms are to be found here.⁴²

42 “Autre analyse du 1er Couplet, en tenant compte des ligatures en enjambement utilisées par Stravinsky pour ses groupes de doubles croches ou triples croches, et d’après l’Édition Boosey and Hawkes. Pour la facilité de la lecture, je transcris le texte en sons tenus. Nous allons y trouver de nombreux rythmes grecs” (Messiaen 1995: 134).

Messiaen briefly remarks that there is a myriad of Greek rhythms in the first contrasting section (henceforth, the “first couplet,” using Messiaen’s words) of the “Sacrificial Dance,” and that Stravinsky’s beaming of the many repeating block chords, which are heard throughout the first couplet, signifies the composer’s grouping of them into Greek rhythms.⁴³ Messiaen then names the Greek rhythms one by one in a music example without explaining further. Given that Messiaen’s brief mention of Greek rhythms is buried in his extended analysis of *Le sacre*, it is hardly surprising that this case, despite its importance, has failed to attract critical attention.

To my knowledge, this case is truly unique and no doubt deserves close examination. It is also opportune that we have at our disposal not just the 1913 autograph, but also the sketch and the 1943 revision of the first couplet. The music is notated differently in these three sources, and in ways that visually signify or cloud Stravinsky’s alleged appropriation of Greek rhythms.

Messiaen’s reference to Greek rhythms in the first couplet (1913 autograph)

The first couplet features a continuous use of repeating block chords (Example 8a). It also features frequent changes of meter and hence measures of different lengths.⁴⁴ The notated meters are exclusively $2/8$ and $3/8$, with $2/8$ the prevailing one. The only exception is the use of $4/8$ in the two measures of figure 161.

The repeating block chords bear rhythmic rather than melodic interest. (Unlike the “accentual” theme in “The Augurs of Spring,” however, stress accents are not used.) They fill all eighty-two measures of the first couplet (figures 149–166) and set up a hypnotic backdrop to the irregular interjections from wind and brass. It is striking that all these repeating block chords constitute an extended series of exclusively longs and shorts. Each block chord is heard as a quarter note (long) or an eighth note (short), but they are not notated as such. Instead, each block chord is notated as either a sixteenth note or a quick succession of two thirty-second notes, and therefore the ensuing rest, which occupies either one or three sixteenth notes, is a decisive factor. When a block chord is followed by a short rest (one sixteenth note), they add to give an eighth note (S). When a block chord is followed by a long rest (three sixteenth notes), however, they add to give a quarter note (L) instead.⁴⁵ In other

43 Messiaen skips mentioning the first couplet when tracing the survival of Greek rhythms in *Traité I*, even though it gives an example par excellence of Stravinsky’s appropriation of Greek rhythms. Messiaen might have found it more advantageous to discuss the first couplet in the context of his analysis of *Le sacre* in *Traité II*.

44 Pieter van den Toorn refers to this kind of setting as Stravinsky’s type-I rhythm.

45 There are only two exceptions to the addition of the duration of a rest to that of the preceding block chord. At figure 153 the opening eighth-note rest is read as part of an iamb, the first of a series of Greek rhythms heard previously at figure 150 (iamb–anapest–amphimacer–spondee). At figure 162 the opening eighth-note rest is not added to the time-span of the preceding block chord, nor is it treated as

words, the longs and shorts are the durations between the attacks of successive block chords, including not just the lengths of the block chords, but also those of the intervening rests. In today's research into rhythm perception by cognitive psychologists, this is termed "inter-onset interval (IOI)," and is defined as the time-span between the onset of one event and that of an immediately succeeding event.⁴⁶

Example 8a. Opening measures of first couplet, 'Sacrificial Dance' (1913 autograph)

The musical score for 'Sacrificial Dance' (1913 autograph) shows the opening measures of the first couplet, measures 149 through 152. The score is arranged in two systems. The first system covers measures 149-151, and the second system covers measures 150-152. The instruments are Flute 1 and 2 (Fag. 1 & 2), Clarinet in F (C. Fag.), and Horn in F (Cor. in Fa). The music is in 3/8 time and marked *pp sempre*. Above the staves, Greek rhythmic patterns are indicated with vertical lines and flags: Bacchius (short-long), Anapeste (short-short-long), Spondée (long-long), Iambe (short-long), and Amphimacre (short-long-short-long). The score shows complex rhythmic textures with many eighth-note rests and ties.

part of the following Greek rhythm. Messiaen denotes the eighth-note rest singularly as "respiration," which directly precedes the reprise proper, in which we hear a compressed restatement of the Greek rhythms featured in figures 149–152.

46 Hence an inter-onset interval may or may not be the same as the physical time-span of an event.

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Example 8b. Opening measures of first couplet, 'Sacrificial Dance' (sketchbook, p. 90; reproduced by permission of Boosey & Hawkes Music Publishers Ltd")

The image shows a handwritten musical score on a page from a sketchbook. The score is organized into two systems of staves. The top system includes staves for Clarinet (Cl), Flute (Fl), Violin (V), Viola (Vi), Cello (C), and Double Bass (B). The bottom system includes staves for Clarinet (Cl), Flute (Fl), Violin (V), Viola (Vi), Cello (C), and Double Bass (B). The notation is dense with rhythmic markings, including vertical lines and dots, and some handwritten annotations. There are several large, stylized markings on the right side of the page, possibly indicating specific rhythmic patterns or structures. The page is numbered 119 at the top center.

Table 4. Repeating block chords in the first couplet

(a) An extended series of shorts (S) and longs (L)

149 150 151 152 153
 S-L-L-S-S-L-L-L-S-L-S-S-L-L-S-L-L-L-L-S-L-L-L-L-L-S-S-L-L-S-L-S-S-S-L- etc.

(b) The same series, but with all the longs and shorts grouped through beaming into Greek rhythms (e.g. bacchius and anapest at the outset)

149 150 151 152 153 154
 SLL-SSL-LL-SL-SSL-LSL-LL-LSL-LL-LS-SL-LS-LSS-SL-SSL-LSL-LL-LL-SLL-LL-LS-
 156 157 158 159 160 161 162 163
 SLL-LSS-SLS-LSS-LLS-LS-LLS-SSLS-SSSLL-SLLS-SSSSSS-rest-SLL-SSL-SL-LL-LSL-
 164 165 166
 LL-LS-SL-LS-SLL-SSL-LL-SL-LSSS

(c) The same series, but with the thirteen different Greek rhythms classified into four categories and denoted as “3,” “4,” “5,” or “7” (The only consecutive use of “5” and “7” appears together as “5-5-7-7-7” (bolded) at a climactic point that directly precedes the reprise proper.)

149 150 151 152 153 154 155 156 157 158 159 161
 5-4-4-3-4-5-4-5-4-3-3-4-3-4-5-4-4-5-4-3-5-4-4-4-5-3-5-5-7-7-7-
 162 163 164 165 166
 rest-5-4-3-4-5-4-3-3-3-5-4-4-3-5

(d) Symmetrical and near-symmetrical patterns that engage three different categories of Greek rhythm

150–151	3-4-5-4-5-4-3	symmetrical
153–155	3-4-5-4-4-5-4-3	symmetrical
155–158	3-5-4-4-4-5-3	symmetrical
162–164	5-4-3-4-5-4-3	near-symmetrical
164–166	3-5-4-4-3-5	near-symmetrical

The rhythmic reduction Messiaen used in his analysis falls perfectly in line with the measurement of IOI and reveals an extended series of longs and shorts in strictly 2:1 ratio (Table 4a). The stringent use of longs and shorts in 2:1 ratio boosts rhythmic uniformity, but the permutation of the longs and the shorts is highly unpredictable, suggesting that the rhythm is worked out, for the most part, additively.

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Messiaen takes Stravinsky's beaming of the repeating block chords as a key factor in his reading of Greek rhythms in the first couplet. The longs and shorts heard through the chords are, according to Messiaen, grouped through beaming into Greek rhythms (Table 4b).⁴⁷ In the opening two measures, for instance, three repeating block chords are beamed and interleaved with one short rest and two long rests respectively. Messiaen's rhythmic reduction reveals a short-long-long (S-L-L) pattern or bacchius in the terminology of Greek rhythm. With recourse to rhythmic reduction as such, Messiaen identifies anapest (S-S-L) and spondee (L-L) in the following measures (Example 9; Appendix 1).

Example 9. Messiaen's reading of ancient Greek metrical feet in the first couplet (*Traité* II, pp. 134–136)

total de 13 croches
Bacchius

Anapeste

Spondée

Total de 16 croches
Iambe Anapeste

Amphimacre

Spondée

thème : anacrouse

accent trillé

désinence

thème : 5

thème : 7

Total de 22 croches

Amphimacre

Spondée

Trochée


Iambe

Trochée

Dactyle

Total de 16 croches
Iambe




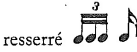
47 The only exception to the reading of Greek rhythms in the repeating block chords is the pair of measures that constitute the retransition (figure 161), in which seven eighth notes are played in a row.

thème : 



Total de 21 croches

Anapeste Amphimacre Spondée Spondée Bacchius Spondée Trochée Bacchius










total de 8 croches

total de 17 croches

Dactyle Amphibraque Dactyle Antibacchius Trochée Antibacchius

Total de 19 croches

Total de 7 croches

respiration

Total de


Péon III



Épitríte II

Épitríte IV

Bacchius

accent

thème :  anacrouse  

16 croches

Total de 18 croches

Anapeste Iambe Spondée Amphimacre Spondée Trochée Iambe Trochée



Total de 21 croches

Bacchius Anapeste Spondée Iambe Péon I

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The beaming of these block chords suggests some eighty measures of Greek metrical feet.⁴⁸ Altogether forty-five Greek rhythms – among them thirteen distinct ones – are identified (Table 5). The Greek rhythms include not only well-known ones like iamb and trochee, but also lesser-known ones such as epitrite II and epitrite IV. Since the total number of eighth notes (regardless of whether they take shape as long or short) contained in each Greek rhythm is invariably three, four, five, or seven, they can be classified into four categories accordingly.

Table 5. Classification of Greek rhythms into four categories⁴⁹

Greek rhythm	total no. of eighth notes (appearances)
Iamb; trochee	3 (12)
Anapest; dactyl; spondee; amphibraque	4 (18)
Bacchius; antibacchius; amphimacer; peon I; peon III	5 (13)
Epitrite II; epitrite IV	7 (2)

The classification of the thirteen different Greek rhythms into four categories (“3,” “4,” “5,” and “7”) enables us to analyze the overall rhythmic design as the permutation of four rather than thirteen entities (Table 4c). This is clearly preferable since the juxtaposition of Greek rhythms of the same lengths (for instance, iamb and trochee, or anapest and dactyl) does not create metrical irregularity.

As shown in Table 4d, three different categories (“3,” “4,” and “5”) of Greek rhythms are featured schematically at strategic points. They form series that are retrogrades of one another (e.g. 3–4–5 and 5–4–3 around the axial 4 at figures 150–151), and bring about frequent meter changes that go hand in hand with durational symmetry. Epitrite II and epitrite IV belong to the outstanding category (“7”) of Greek rhythm. They are the lengthiest among all the Greek rhythms identified in the first couplet, and they appear only once at a climactic point in the first couplet (three measures before and after figure 160). Evidence as such supports the argument that Greek rhythms and not just changing meters are featured in the first couplet.⁵⁰ It seems much less convincing to argue that Stravinsky beamed the

48 There are considerably less measures in the sketch since 4/8, 5/8, and 7/8 are used rather than depending on 2/8 and 3/8 almost exclusively.

49 The total number of measures set aside for each of the four categories of Greek rhythms is parenthesized.

50 It makes a difference to prove the use of Greek rhythms, for meter changes can be featured without engaging them.

repeating block chords arbitrarily, or that the perfect match between some forty rhythmic patterns and Greek metrical feet is a mere coincidence.

Greek rhythms in the first couplet (sketchbook)

Still, the 1913 autograph leaves us with some unanswered questions, since the rhythmic patterns suggested by the beaming of repeating block chords are more often than not notated in two measures and, exceptionally, even in three measures. It is questionable whether these rhythmic patterns are integral wholes. Perhaps they comprise two or three constituent parts? Fortunately an examination of the sketch helps clarify this (see Example 8b). Greek rhythms that are notated in two or three measures in the 1913 autograph are, without exception, notated in one measure in the sketchbook, and the repeating block chords are not yet beamed across bar lines. More specifically:

- Greek rhythms notated in one measure of $4/8$ in the sketch are re-notated as two measures of $2/8$ in the 1913 autograph.
- Bacchius, antibacchius, amphimacer, peon I, and peon III are the only Greek rhythms notated in $5/8$ in the sketch. In the 1913 autograph they are re-notated to take up two rather than just one measure, with $2/8$ followed by $3/8$ or vice versa.
- Epitrite II and epitrite IV are the only Greek rhythms notated in $7/8$ in the sketch (Example 10a). They are re-notated to take up three measures rather than just one in the 1913 autograph (Example 10b). $7/8$ becomes replaced by $2/8 - 3/8 - 2/8$ at figure 159, and by $2/8 - 2/8 - 3/8$ at figure 160. The repeating block chords are, in each case, beamed across two bar lines.

Example 10b. Climactic point of first couplet (1913 autograph)

A comparison of the time signatures Stravinsky jotted down in the sketch with their counterparts in the 1913 autograph is also revealing. Table 6 shows all the time signatures marked or unambiguously implied in the two sources together with the total numbers of measures set apart for different time signatures to trace how often each of them is used.

Table 6. Time signatures marked or implied in the sketch and the 1913 autograph

Time signature	1/8	2/8	3/8	4/8	5/8	6/8*	7/8
Sketchbook	1	3	7	14	11	1	2
1913 autograph	0	52	29	1	0	0	0

(*6/8 is probably a typo for 7/8, for the measure in question contains seven rather than just six eighth notes.)

A greater variety of meters appear in the sketch, including 1/8, 2/8, 3/8, 4/8, 5/8, and 7/8. That 4/8 outnumbers all other time signatures in the sketch also contrasts sharply with the 1913 autograph, in which 4/8 appears only once in the retransition, and all the other time signatures are restrictively 3/8 or 2/8.

Greek rhythms incognito?

In the 1943 revision of the first couplet, all the note values are doubled, and the rather exclusive use of 2/8 and 3/8 in the 1913 autograph is replaced by 2/4 and 3/4 (Example 11). The repeating block chords are no longer grouped through beaming into different

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rhythmic patterns. Is it possible that Stravinsky actually tried to delete evidence of his use of Greek rhythms in the first couplet? At the very least, we can say that the evidence pointing to Stravinsky's use of Greek metrical feet in the first couplet was compromised when he re-notated the repeating block chords in the 1913 autograph and yet again in the 1943 revision.

Example 11. Opening measures of first couplet, ‘Sacrificial Dance’ (1943 revision)
 A comparison of Stravinsky’s notations and re-notations of the first couplet over some thirty years is presented in van den Toorn’s *Stravinsky and The Rite of Spring: The Beginnings of a Musical Language* (1987: 53). Having examined the notational discrepancies that set apart the different versions of the first couplet in the sketchbook, the 1913 autograph, and the 1943 revision, van den Toorn remarks that “the earlier, longer groupings are ignored [in the 1943 version]. Single beams over the bar lines ... are sacrificed, presumably in the interests of facility or simple legibility” (van den Toorn 1987: 53). But it is not obvious that the beams should be regarded as mere orthographic complexity. Are they not meant to show how Stravinsky groups the repeating block chords?

For van den Toorn, though, the music is “quite simple... a single chord is punctuated one, two, or three times in succession. These punctuations or successions of punctuations are always separated by a single unit of rest” (1987: 53). Van den Toorn does not attribute much significance to Stravinsky’s “single beams over the bar lines,” and he treats the quarter-note rest as a caesura regardless of whether it formerly appears within or outside a beamed group of attacks. This clearly goes against the sketchbook and the 1913 autograph, which suggest the presence of many more inte-

resting rhythmic patterns. It is thus worth asking what might have motivated Stravinsky to delete the beams in the 1943 revision. Did he seek to serve “the interests of facility or simple legibility,” as suggested by van den Toorn? Or did he perhaps try to conceal his use of Greek rhythms? A comparison of the three versions of the first couplet suggests that he may indeed have moved in incremental stages to cover up the original rhythmic design.⁵¹

Given the widespread recognition of van den Toorn’s “rhythmic Types I and II” as the theoretical models that encapsulate Stravinsky’s rhythmic innovations in *Le sacre*,⁵² it is important to add that the first couplet can be mapped onto van den Toorn’s rhythmic Type I, which he defined as “foreground metric irregularity; an irregular or shifting meter.”⁵³ Taruskin also read into *Le sacre* two types of “rhythmic novelties,” and what he described as “the rhythm of irregularly spaced downbeats” is obviously the same as van den Toorn’s rhythmic Type I. But Taruskin had something vital to add, noting that “in Russian folklore it [this type of rhythm] had been a fixture from time immemorial,” though without touching on any specific archaic rhythm, Greek or otherwise (Taruskin 1996: 958–959).

V. CONCLUSION

The preceding case study attempts to clarify the issues surrounding Stravinsky’s putative appropriation of Greek rhythms.⁵⁴ Although there is strong evidence that Stravinsky had already been playing with ancient Greek rhythms in the 1910s as a means of injecting novel rhythmic effects into his music, existing Stravinsky scholarship is silent on this point. Even Messiaen, who spotted a rich use of Greek rhythms in the first couplet, played down this discovery and preferred an alternative reading, one that applies his theory of rhythmic characters (Messiaen 1995: 131–134)⁵⁵ without consi-

51 According to van den Toorn, Stravinsky showed a distinct preference for the 1943 revision, and that it “alone was intended by the composer to supersede all previous versions of this dance, and after its publication Stravinsky himself always conducted from this 1943 version” (van den Toorn 1987: 40). See also Stravinsky and Craft 1981: 147, for the justification provided by Stravinsky for the 1943 revision.

52 The near canonic status acquired by these models is comparable to that attained by his research on Stravinsky’s octatonicism, in which van den Toorn designates the three octatonic collections in a similar fashion as I, II, and III.

53 Van den Toorn’s rhythmic Type II is not relevant to the first couplet. It is characterized by the “superimposition of two or more motives that repeat according to periods, cycles, or spans that are not shared but vary independently of, or separately from, one another.” See van den Toorn 1987: 100, for both his rhythmic Types I and II.

54 This may lead to research questions such as whether Stravinsky modeled his use of Greek rhythms on some precedent cases or perhaps not. It is also worth investigating whether there is any time frame to Stravinsky’s appropriation of Greek rhythms, and whether they loom large or are avoided in *Apollo*, *Orpheus*, and his other overtly Greek-inspired works.

55 Messiaen’s most accessible explanation of rhythmic characters appears in *Music and Color: Convers-*

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dering Stravinsky's beaming of the repeating block chords as signifiers of scansion. A good grasp of Greek rhythms is a prerequisite for any understanding of Stravinsky's appropriation of them in the first couplet. Still, even for someone well versed in Greek rhythms, these archaic patterns may not be readily recognizable. This is so even when a good number of Greek rhythms are used literally and exclusively for a prolonged and well-defined time-span, as in the first couplet.

A comparative study of Stravinsky's notation and re-notation of the first couplet in the sketchbook, the 1913 autograph, and the 1943 revision suggests that Stravinsky might have tried to conceal his use of Greek rhythms through notation. Greek rhythms in five and seven times are notated in $5/8$ and $7/8$ respectively in the sketchbook. In the 1913 autograph, however, the same Greek rhythms are re-notated with recourse to a mixed use of $2/8$ and $3/8$. What is more, Stravinsky changed the way he notates the first couplet again in the 1943 revision. As a result of this belated change, the repeating block chords and the longs and shorts are no longer grouped through beaming into rhythmic patterns that map well with the Greek rhythms.

Stravinsky was still in his twenties when he used restrictively longs and shorts, all in a 2:1 ratio, to build an extended series of Greek rhythms in the first couplet. From his early days as a "national" composer, drawing on elements of pre-modern traditional music, he soon developed in meteoric fashion into an international figure. With the cosmopolitan outlook that he was keen to present to the world, Stravinsky might have found it increasingly necessary to conceal his former use of Greek rhythms in the first couplet. Time and again he changed the notational form of what could be considered rather blatant presentations of Greek rhythms in the sketchbook.⁵⁶ Given that over the years Stravinskian rhythm has come to be celebrated for its frequent changes of meter, it is worth considering whether this feature might not have stemmed, at least in part, from notating unconventional quintuple and septuple meters by means of duple and triple meters. Just as the use of Greek rhythms were obfuscated, rapid changes of meter, then considered a progressive rhythmic technique, began to proliferate. In this way Stravinsky seems to have succeeded in killing two birds with just one stone.

On 2 June 1912, when Stravinsky and Debussy met up to sight-read *Le sacre* at the piano, it was chez Laloy, their mutual friend.⁵⁷ Laloy was no doubt impressed by the

sations with Claude Samuel, in which he alludes to the dramaturgical interaction between three different roles: "Let's imagine a scene in a play in which we place three characters: the first one acts, behaving in a brutal manner by striking the second; the second character is acted upon, his actions dominated by those of the first; finally, the third character is simply present at the conflict and remains inactive. If we transport this parable into the field of rhythm, we obtain three rhythmic groups: the first, whose note-values are ever increasing, is the character who attacks; the second, whose note-values decrease, is the character who is attacked; and the third, whose note-values never change, is the character who doesn't move" (Samuel 1994: 71).

56 Stravinsky re-notates the first couplet but not the other parts of *Le sacre du printemps* in the 1943 revision.

57 While many sources recount this meeting, the details differ (for example, as to whether Stravinsky

frequent meter changes in *Le sacre*, a feature also characteristic of Greek rhythms, whose expressive quality, according to Laloy, owed much to “the inequality of the elements they comprise:”

[I]n Greek rhythms one could juxtapose the measures of 3, 4, 5 or 6 times seamlessly ... These complex measures were modulating measures ... the composite rhythms are very expressive rhythms because of the inequality of the elements they comprise.⁵⁸

While Laloy was working on his doctoral thesis, in which he refuted “the principle of equidistance between downbeats” regarding Greek rhythms, he could not have known that in a few years’ time Stravinsky would revolutionize the whole field of rhythm and meter. In order to illustrate the use of changing meters, Laloy cited examples from Vincent d’Indy’s Second String Quartet, adding that the juxtaposition of different meters, though rarely heard in classical music, was beginning to gain currency (Laloy 1904: 336–337). Importantly, Fétis had expressed a similar view in “Du développement futur de la musique: Dans le domaine de rythme” (1852), notwithstanding his derogatory note on the irregular alternation of duple and triple times as typical of “barbaric” peoples. Musical rhythm, according to Fétis, evolves over time, and will one day attain “the immense and new musical realm in which various rhythms and different metric systems can follow one another and be connected naturally to produce effects unknown at this [his] time.”⁵⁹ We may reasonably ask whether Fétis was alone in this prophetic insight, or if there were similar ideas in circulation in Paris at the time, ideas that would come to fruition in *Le sacre* (Arlin 2000: 261; 302).

Although it is not clear exactly when Nietzsche’s discovery of a philological “error” in the 1870s reached Paris, the earliest extant source that touches on the “error” – Kawczyński’s *Essai comparatif sur l’origine des rythmes* – was published there in 1889, albeit without mentioning Nietzsche. The “error,” but again not Nietzsche, also surfaced in music-theoretical writings by Laloy and Emmanuel in the 1910s. When Maas published *Griechische Metrik* in 1923 and plagiarized Nietzsche, as argued by Porter, it was he (Maas) who was credited with the paradigm shift. Nietzsche’s scholarly contribution was forgotten, intentionally or otherwise, until Bornmann edited

and Debussy met at Laloy’s home or Debussy’s, and whether they played through the whole of *Le sacre* or just a part of it).

58 “Ton pouvait juxtaposer sans encombre des mesures de 3, 4, 5 ou 6 temps, comme on juxtaposait dans l’intérieur d’une mesure simple des temps inégaux, en rapport double ou sesquialtère ... Ces mesures complexes étaient des mesures modulantes ... les rythmes composés sont très expressifs à cause de l’inégalité des éléments dont ils se composent” (Laloy 1904: 338). Again, West shared the same view in *Greek Metre* (see West 1982: 24). While the evolution of the philological and musicological studies of Greek rhythm certainly crossed paths, this has been under-investigated.

59 “l’immense et nouveau domaine de la musique dans lequel des rythmes divers et des systèmes différents de mesures peuvent se succéder et s’enchaîner d’une manière naturelle et produire des impressions inconnues jusqu’ à ce jour” (Fétis 1852: 300). The translation is from Arlin 2000: 280.

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the manuscripts of the “four notebooks” for KGW in the 1980s. Nevertheless, music by composers such as Debussy, Ravel, and Stravinsky suggests that Nietzsche's insights might very well have percolated down into their compositional praxes. Perhaps there is nothing fortuitous about the première of *Le sacre* taking place in Paris, which had by then become established as a center of rhythmic research and innovation. It was in Paris that the philological and musicological studies of Greek rhythm intersected, in ways that have hitherto remained unexplored.

Fueled by important archeological findings, philological studies of Greek rhythm burgeoned in the nineteenth century. One major archeological discovery was the *Anonymous Treatise* published by Bellermann in 1841, discussed at some length by Fétis in his *Histoire générale de la musique*. In contrast, the focus in Laloy's doctoral dissertation was rather more on the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, which was discovered in 1897. There are, of course, endless debates about the true nature of ancient Greek rhythms. During the long nineteenth century, the ictus theory, and hence the axiom of equal measure lengths (Taktgleichheit), espoused by a line of distinguished German philologists waxed and waned. There was growing awareness that ancient Greek rhythms could never be known and experienced as they had been in the past, for the obvious reason that audiences had changed. The Greek rhythms identified by Messiaen in *Le sacre* often feature syncopation and metrical dissonance, which require the presence of a metrical grid in the first place. Greek rhythms, however, belong to a time when the metrical grid and the divisive approach to rhythm (as exemplified by Kirnberger's *Akzenttheorie*) were probably not yet in place. Just what truly constituted ancient Greek rhythms for Stravinsky matters less in the end than how he turned what he understood of them into a valuable compositional resource.⁶⁰ In *Le sacre* Stravinsky was no doubt happy to play with Greek rhythms, and even to distort them, in the interests of novel aesthetic effects, exploiting their asymmetries at multiple levels, and in ways that resonate well with Nietzsche's stance in the late 1870s:

it is only to the extent that I am a pupil of earlier times, especially the Hellenic, that though a child of the present time I was able to acquire such untimely experiences. That much, however, I must concede to myself on account of my profession as a classicist: for I do not know what meaning classical philology could have for our time if it was not untimely – that is to say, acting counter to our time and thereby acting on our time and, let us hope, for the benefit of a time to come (Nietzsche 1997: 60).























60 A parallel can be drawn between the use of Greek rhythms and the magic potion in *Tristan*. Both are inherited from the past, hardly known, and yet stunningly powerful.

APPENDIX I. GREEK RHYTHMS IN THE FIRST COUPLET

Figure	Rhythmic pattern	Time unit (eighth note)	Greek rhythm
149		5	Bacchius
		4	Anapeste
		4	Spondée
150		3	Iambe
		4	Anapeste
		5	Amphimacre
		4	Spondée
151		5	Amphimacre
		4	Spondée
		3	Trochée
152		3	Iambe
		3	Trochée
		4	Dactyle
153		3	Iambe
		4	Anapeste
		5	Amphimacre
		4	Spondée
154		4	Spondée
		5	Bacchius
155		4	Spondée
		3	Trochée
		5	Bacchius
156		4	Dactyle
		4	Amphibraque

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157		4	Dactyle
		5	Antibacchius
158		3	Trochée
		5	Antibacchius
159		5	Péon III
		7	Épitrite II
160		7	Épitrite IV
161		7	
162		5	Bacchius
		4	Anapeste
		3	Iambe
		4	Spondée
163		5	Amphimacre
		4	Spondée
(164)		3	Trochée
		3	Iambe
		3	Trochée
165		5	Bacchius
		4	Anapeste
166		4	Spondée
		3	Iambe
		5	Péon I

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ВАН-ЛИНГ ЧЕОНГ

АНТИЧКИ ГРЧКИ РИТМОВИ У МЕСИЈАНОВОЈ АНАЛИЗИ *ПОСВЕЋЕЊА ПРОЛЕЋА*:
НИЧЕОВО НАСЛЕЂЕ?

(РЕЗИМЕ)

Мало је познато да је Фридрих Ниче – који је био изабран за професора класичне филологије на Универзитету у Базелу у својим двадесетим годинама – постулирао, на основу ригорозних текстуалних студија, да су еминентни класични филолози, активни у Централној Европи у деветнаестом веку, озбиљно омашили; наиме, они су на старогрчки ритам примењивали модеран акценатски систем, уместо да су водили рачуна о дужини слогова. Водећи класични филолози у деветнаестом веку били су, претежно, Немци; с друге стране, утицајни музиколози, који су писали о древним грчким ритмовима, углавном су били Французи. Париски конзерваторијум био је моћан центар за изучавање теорија ритма, са импресивном традицијом која је водила од Франсоа-Жозефа Фетиса и Франсоа-Огиста Геверта, преко Луја Лалоја и Мориса Еманиела, до Оливијеа Месијана и других. Фетис и Геверт су се позивали на немачке филологе, своје савременике, пропуштајући прилику да истински преиспитају њихове поставке. Међутим, код Лалоја, Еманиела и Месијана дошло је до значајне промене оријентације. Радови ових аутора остављају утисак као да су они били свесни Ничеових открића – иако нико од њих не спомиње Ничеа у својим текстовима.

У овој студији, спроведена је компаративна анализа њиховог музичког тумачења античких грчких ритмова; након тога, фокусирам се на Месијаново аналитичко откриће импресивно дугачког низа грчких ритмова у балету *Посвећење пролећа* Игора Стравинског. Циљ овог рада је да баци ново светло на оживљавање интересовања за старогрчке ритмове у модернистичким музичким делима, а затим и да преиспита како је „увијена,” другим речима, непризната рецепција Ничеовог открића од стране париских музичких кругова вероватно подстакла и усмерила ритмичку иновацију на нов, виши ниво.

Кључне речи: антички грчки ритам, *Посвећење пролећа*, Фридрих Ниче, Франсоа-Жозеф Фетис, Франсоа-Огист Геверт, Луј Лалој, Морис Еманиел, Оливије Месијан

THE TRANSMISSION OF MOTETS WITHIN THE PASTON MANUSCRIPTS, c.1610*

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ABSTRACT

The creation and expansion of commercial music printing from around 1500 has normally led to modern editors assigning textual primacy to published copies of music from the period in preference to any equivalent manuscript copies. However, some groups of manuscript sources, such as the Paston collection, from late 16th and early 17th century England, can shed a different light on contemporary music print culture and its relationship to manuscript copying. Edward Paston's huge private music library, now dispersed in collections in the UK and US, contains many multiple versions of works he already access to in print form, and the choices he or his copyists made with regard to three particular six-voice Latin motets, Byrd's *Memento homo*, Ferrabosco's *In monte Oliveti*, and Vaet's *Salve Regina*, are examined here, and placed within with their collecting context and likely use.

KEYWORDS: Edward Paston, manuscript collections, William Byrd, Alfonso Ferrabosco, Jacob Vaet, *Memento homo*, *In monte Oliveti*, *Salve Regina*

INTRODUCTION

The creation and huge expansion of music printing from 1500² appears to have over time diminished the importance of the previous music manuscript culture that had previously dominated; and today, where a composer-sanctioned historical published

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² See, for example, the graphic representations of this in Rose, Tuppen and Drosopoulou 2015: 649–660, illus.1 and 2.

copy exists, the value of any manuscript-equivalent to a modern editor is lessened, unless it offers some particular information regarding early versions, variant readings, performance practice or the like. However, there are some groups of sources that can shed light on music print culture and its relationship to continued hand copying,³ and one such is the Paston collection, from late 16th and early 17th century England. This vast private music library, now dispersed in the UK and US, represents a rare opportunity to examine what differences might occur when a group of related scribes working in the same place and at the same time apparently used one printed original as an exemplar. The multiple copies of works they produced - up to nine - can be compared with the original, to see what choices they made, how they interpreted the prints, how accurate their copies were, and how they grouped the pieces within genres and within manuscript partbooks.

Edward Paston⁴ (1550–1630) was a linguist, poet, traveller, lutenist and collector of music. The head of a junior branch of the Norfolk Catholic family⁵ which produced the well-known ‘Paston Letters’ at the end of the 15th century, his name has been known to musicologists since at least the end of the 19th century (Eitner 1900–1904: vii, 333) for his ownership of four leather-bound volumes of manuscript music stamped with his name, but it was not until the early 1960s that Philip Brett noticed that there was evidence on grounds of contents, subsequent ownership and writing styles to connect a large number of other late 16th-century and early 17th-century English manuscripts with these Paston books.⁶ The size of the collection he identified is quite remarkable: some 45 sets of vocal and instrumental partbooks, comprising 157 bound volumes⁷ of an estimated original 220, now scattered throughout libraries in England and the United States. The largest groups are to be found at the Bodleian Library, Oxford (the deposited collection from Tenbury), the British Library, London, the Madrigal Society collection (now also in the British Library)

3 For some useful background on the status and reasons for manuscript copying in the age of print, see Love 1993.

4 Paston’s biographical details were established in detail by Philip Brett in his seminal article “Edward Paston (1550-1630): A Norfolk Gentleman and his musical collection” (Brett 1964), and this introduction relies heavily on his findings. See also Brett 1965. Paston studies have received a great deal of attention in the past few decades, including dissertations (Knights 1999; Schmitt 2004; Taylor 2007; Sequera 2010) and chapters (Sequera 2016: 215–229). Byrd studies have also been very active; among others, Harley 1997, 2010, McCarthy 2013 and Smith 2005 and 2016 have added greatly to our knowledge. Note that Francis Knights, *A Catalogue of the Paston Music Manuscripts is forthcoming*.

5 See Castor 2006.

6 The terms ‘Paston manuscripts’ and ‘Paston collection’ are used here to refer to those manuscripts which can be linked on grounds of provenance, paleographic evidence and repertoire with those books definitely owned by Edward Paston himself.

7 Joseph Kerman estimated this to be one-third of all surviving contemporary English music manuscripts (Kerman 1980).

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and the Royal College of Music, London. It is evident from Edward Paston's will⁸ that many other music books have been lost,⁹ and only one printed book¹⁰ has so far been identified as coming from this source.

Edward's branch of the Paston family achieved a level of social distinction, and can be seen to have been very well connected. His father, Sir Thomas Paston, was a Gentleman of Henry VIII's Privy Chamber, and received a knighthood and grant of lands in East Anglia in 1544. Sir Thomas' second son, Edward, was born in 1550, and given the name of his godfather, Edward VI. Succeeding to the estate on the death of his elder brother, Edward was able to enlarge his estates by the receipt of property (including his principal home at Appleton, near Norwich, Norfolk, in eastern England) from his uncle, the sea-captain and Member of Parliament Sir Clement Paston (c.1523–1598). It is not known where Edward was educated; his name does not appear on any university lists, and a surviving letter¹¹ he wrote to a Spanish nobleman at the age of 18 indicates that he was about to return to Spain, where he had many friends. He was mentioned in the preface to Bartholomew Young's 1598 translation of Montemayor's *Diana*,¹² and in Whitney's 1585 *A Choice of Emblemes*.¹³ These literary connections are strengthened by the fact that he was likely known to Sir Philip Sidney's circle: Penelope Rich¹⁴ (the supposed 'Stella' of Sidney's 1591 sonnet sequence *Astrophel and Stella*) stayed at Appleton. However, despite these important social and literary contacts, Brett rightly says that Paston "seems to have had no desire at any time of his life to advance himself in the public eye, either at court or in his own county" (Brett 1964: 55). Paston's diffidence in this respect will surely have owed something to his status as a Catholic; the Pastons were staunch Catholics. Several of Edward Paston's children suffered under the Elizabethan recusancy laws, and three of them entered monasteries on the Continent; a grandson also named Edward even became president of the famous college at Douai (Brett 1964: 53). Paston also kept a secret mass centre (Brett 1964: 53), which may have been a focus for Catholics in North Norfolk. He died in 1630, and his grand family monument in Blofeld church, Norfolk, survives.¹⁵

8 Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Scroope 43; the relevant music extracts are given in Brett 2007: 33–34.

9 Other manuscripts, no longer extant, that are likely to have derived from Paston's circle were sold by Edward Taylor on 30 November 1863 (Hofman 1977: iii, 164–165); of the nine sets listed, only two now survive.

10 Byrd's *Psalmes, sonets and songs* of 1588, British Library, catalogue number K. 2. f. 1.

11 British Library, Harleian MS 1583 f.378.

12 <https://search.proquest.com/eebo/docview/2240897327/FC499FD957224F8CPQ/14>.

13 <https://search.proquest.com/eebo/docview/2240902622/AoB1C8CF105040D4PQ/1>; and see Brett 1965: 40, and Smith 2016: 164–165. The Whitney woodcut is reproduced in McCarthy 2013: 197.

14 (1563–1607), later Countess of Devonshire.

15 For the later history and collecting activity of other members of the Paston family, see Bucklow 2018.

The number of individual compositions or extracts from compositions in the manuscripts totals 1350, only one third of these being English in origin (motets, consort songs, madrigals and instrumental pieces). The remainder comprises continental motets and masses (479), Italian madrigals (310) and French chansons (103), virtually all apparently copied from printed sources imported into England from the mid-16th century onwards. The Italian and French pieces are untexted. Studies of the Paston repertory to date have often concentrated on single genres. In the broader context of other English sources, the Latin motets, chansons, instrumental music, lute arrangements, secular songs and Italian madrigals have been considered by May Hofman (1977), Jane Bernstein (1974), Warwick Edwards (1974), Stewart McCoy (1985), Philip Brett (1965) and Francis Knights (1999) respectively. It is apparent that there are two genres which Paston seems to have had little interest in collecting, if the extant manuscript survivals are at all representative: keyboard music and the English madrigal.¹⁶ The Paston books are especially rich in the music of William Byrd, and contain a large number of otherwise unknown pieces, and early versions of works later published by Byrd.

One major group within the Paston collection comprises the five lute accompaniment manuscripts (the corresponding “singing books” mentioned in Paston’s will have been lost). They contain an enormous repertory – about 600 pieces – of sacred and secular vocal compositions in two to eight parts, arranged for six-course lute and one or two soprano voices. Some of this music is known from no other sources, and it is quite likely that it was derived from other Paston partbooks themselves made from manuscript and printed copies no longer extant, or not yet identified. The arrangements themselves follow very closely the style of 16th-century Spanish vihuela intabulations, and represent virtually the only known use of non-French tablature in England.¹⁷ The transcriptions, which seem to be the work of an experienced and capable player despite being very literal,¹⁸ reflect a complete familiarity with the sophisticated notational practices of the vihuelists. Interestingly, this type of notation must presumably have rendered the entire extant collection quite inaccessible to almost all other contemporary lutenists in England besides Edward Paston, and this confirms the domestic nature of this repertory. As well as directions for giving the singer their first note (e.g. *La.p.al.3.t.* – “La prima al 3 traste”, “the first [course] at the third fret”), the lute book 31992 also includes more than once a comment – in Spanish – regarding some of the music: *Excellente*.¹⁹ The poet Geoffrey Whitney

16 A number of English madrigals were copied into the miscellaneous and rather atypical Paston set, Lbl Add MSS 18936-9; very many were of course available in published versions.

17 See McCoy, 1985; Julia Craig-McFeely details the contemporary English solo lute sources, and specifically omits the Paston lute books (Craig-McFeely 1994).

18 I owe these observations on the intabulations to lutenist David Miller (private conversation); Stewart McCoy (1986: 22) makes the same point.

19 Such subjective marginalia can be found in a number of English virginal manuscripts: Thomas Tomkins writes “Excellent for the hand” against John Bull’s *Quadran Pavan* [II] in Paris Conservatoire,

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(c.1548–c.1601) provided a contemporary verse description of Paston's playing,²⁰ and the latter was clearly an able gentleman-amateur of music.²¹ His domestic ensemble performing resources (or ambitions) appear to have encompassed eight-part music (34001–2 and 34000/9–15), and even ten parts in one instance.²²

The bulk of the music in the Paston collection is usually thought of as reflecting a conservative or old-fashioned taste,²³ and as reflecting some antiquarian interest. The earliest music is by Josquin and Fayrfax, and there is relatively little English music later in date than about 1585, the compositions of William Byrd excepted. However, Paston was in some areas more up-to-date with more recent continental musical developments, such as the polychoral style of Giovanni Gabrieli and Hassler, although there is no music by Monteverdi or Gesualdo, for example.²⁴

It is not known how Edward Paston came to have access to such a large number of continental music publications (probably as many as 200), nor whether they were actually owned by him, or borrowed from fellow travellers and musicians. Iain Fenlon (1982) suggests that Paston's sources were primarily Netherlands and German reprints, mostly anthologised, of Italian and French publications, but the picture that has since emerged is more complex.²⁵ Paston's continental sacred sources did include large-scale anthologies such as Montanus and Neuber's *Thesaurus musicus* (RISM 1564¹⁻⁵), Giovanelli's collection of the same name (RISM 1568²⁻⁶),²⁶ and the later Schadeus collection *Promptuarium musicum* (RISM 1611¹, 1612³, 1613² and 1617¹). The Paston scribes (named A, B, C and L by Philip Brett) made considerable use of some of these collections, extracting for example 16 pieces from among the 229 motets of the 1564 *Thesaurus musicus* volumes, making 49 copies in all (see Knights 1999).

Copying a piece repeatedly is a characteristic feature of the Paston scribes, even as many as eight or nine times. On occasion the same motet or song will appear twice in the same set of partbooks, at two different performing pitches.²⁷ This policy of re-copying, assuming that it is intentional rather than having any scribal make-work

MS Rés 1122 (*Musica Britannica*, xix: 235), and the 1649 printed catalogue of King John IV of Portugal's music library also includes similar comments ("muito bom", R. F. V. Nery 1990: 259–260).

20 For, hartes like marble harde, his harmonie dothe pierce: And makes them yeelding passions feele, that are by nature fierce. From Whitney 1585, quoted in full in Brett 2007: 37.

21 The word 'amateur' carries different connotations today; see Marsh 2010, ch.4.

22 Andrea Gabrieli's *Deus, Deus meus* in Lbl Add MSS 34001-2 is scored for 10 voices.

23 As implied in Brett 2007: 46.

24 The most modern exemplar prints identified so far date from as late as 1617, by which time Paston was over 65.

25 See Knights 1999, vol. ii ch. 2 for a list of likely madrigal anthologies available to the Paston scribes. These include volumes published in Antwerp, Copenhagen, Ferrara, Florence, Leiden, Milan, Nuremberg and Venice for which the first impressions date between 1551 and 1616.

26 RISM B/1, see <http://www.rism.info/publications.html>.

27 See Brett 1993: 89, and Sequera 2010 for a discussion of this.

component, may be accounted for partly by the supposition that Paston wished to have separate, partly duplicated music collections at each of his three Norfolk houses: Thorpe Hall, Appleton and Town Barningham.²⁸ The Netherlands source of some of these anthologies may also tie in with Paston's manuscript paper sources: one of the commonest Paston watermarks²⁹ is similar to contemporary Flemish watermarks (see Briquet 1907), and Norwich's important trading position near the Continent would have made such import of both music and paper practicable. While it is known that Thomas Vautrollier, printer of Byrd and Tallis's 1575 *Cantiones sacrae*,³⁰ visited the celebrated Frankfurt Book Fair several times, it is not certain whether he, or well-travelled musicians like Thomas Morley, Alfonso Ferrabosco the elder, John Bull and Peter Philips, were more responsible for bringing music back from the Continent. Certainly, Francis Tregian³¹ must have had a good source of foreign prints, yet a comparison of the large Paston and Tregian collections shows surprisingly few concordances.³² The restrictive terms of the patent granted to Tallis and Byrd regarding the importation of music, and printed in full in the 1575 *Cantiones sacrae*, stated:

...we straightly by the same forbid all printers booksellers subjects & strangers, other then as is aforesaid, to do any the premisses, or to bring or cause to be brought out of any forren Realmes into any our dominions any songe or songes made and printed in any forren countrie, to sell or put to sale, uppon paine of our high displeasure...³³

and may have resulted in Byrd himself (or an assignee) sourcing continental prints which were then given, sold or loaned to Paston or other musicians and collectors (Milsom 2014).

28 A further house was planned for Binham but never started, after a work accident; see Brett 2007: 33.

29 Knights' watermark A (see Knights 1999: 188), an ornate heraldic crowned shield, seen most clearly in the Cantus partbook of 2036 (37v). Surprisingly, this watermark is also found in a much later volume of theorbo music and songs (Obod b.1) presented to Oxford in 1656 by the composer John Wilson (1595–1674), then Heather Professor of Music.

30 For the most recent work on this important collection, see Milsom (ed.) 2014. The substantial 1583 stock list of Henry Binnemann mentioned there included imported music prints.

31 See Reid Thompson 2001: 1–31, Smith 2002: 7–16 and Smith 2019: 163–183, for discussion of Tregian and his sources.

32 A relatively small number of pieces from the 30-plus prints used by Tregian in Egerton 3665 and Drexel 4302 appear in Paston.

33 Facsimile printed in the *Byrd Edition* I p.xxiv. The extent to which this monopoly was enforced – or enforceable – is unknown.

THE PASTON SOURCES OF THREE MOTETS COMPARED

Some two-thirds of the 1350 pieces extant in the Paston music manuscripts exist in more than one copy. Some works, especially continental motets, were copied many more times. This poses the question whether these copies were made anew from the source exemplars each time, or whether subsequent copies were made from earlier manuscript copies. A close reading of the musical texts themselves is the best way of addressing this issue, clarifying the relationship between the printed sources and the manuscript copies, and between the manuscript copies themselves. This article examines the extant Paston copies of three six-voice Latin motets: Byrd's *Memento homo*, Ferrabosco's *In monte Oliveti*, and Vaet's *Salve Regina*; a full critical commentary and music transcriptions have been included in an Online Appendix. These three pieces have been chosen as they exist in an unexpectedly large number of multiple copies (eight, seven and nine respectively), and were derived from unique printed exemplars: each piece appears to have been printed only once during the 16th century. (With respect to *In monte Oliveti*, although it is now known only from a continental print, it is not impossible that Paston's scribes could have used a now-lost manuscript exemplar from the composer's circle, as seems to have been the case with some other contemporary English copies of certain Ferrabosco motets.) The published version can thus plausibly be treated as a definitive first-source text,³⁴ against which deviations can be measured.

In the discussion of manuscript transmission, the musical and verbal text is of primary importance, as substantive variants and scribal errors provide the main evidence for transmission direction. The texts of the lute intabulations which Paston or his scribe 'L' made of nearly half the pieces in the Paston manuscripts can also be compared in the same way as the partbook sources. These lute parts contain variants and errors of their own, which are not necessarily related to those in the other Paston manuscripts.

The process of copying by hand is inevitably open to error as well as the copyist's own ongoing interpretation of the text.³⁵ Even the most experienced and careful

34 Milsom (1996: 348–367) reminds us that corrections were made to some prints during their run, giving Tallis and Byrd as examples. It is also worth remembering that even a composer-sanctioned and corrected printed version may not have had a definitive compositional status as it became understood in 18th and 19th century music (such as the *ordres* of François Couperin, to give an early example of a 'fixed' version). See also Herissonne 2019: 244–311.

35 For a guide to stemmatic issues relating to music manuscripts, see Grier 1996, ch.3. Bent 1981 and Boorman 1981 are valuable contributions to this subject, although they deal with an earlier repertoire than that discussed here; the latter includes an extensive bibliography. My own professional experience as a music copyist and typesetter has also informed my views. Boorman's caution in discussing the limitations of musical stemmatic techniques must be borne in mind with regard to the stemmata below, which must be considered as conjectural: the Paston sources contain numerous variants, many of which (such as the omission of ligatures, and underlay variants and *musica ficta*) would be regarded as non-substan-

copyist will rarely reproduce an entirely flawless document, or one that duplicates exactly the style, format and layout of the original. Five types of scribal variant ('variant' here encompassing among other things the notion of an actual error) are considered here:

- miscopying of pitch or duration
- deliberate substantive variants (that is, those introduced intentionally by the scribe)
- miscopying of text
- expansion or contraction of text underlay
- errors of omission or addition

This information is relatively straightforward to obtain, but interpretation of the evidence is greatly complicated by the fact that an intelligent scribe (and all of the Paston scribes seem to come into that category) may be able to correct or partly correct an error (or perceived error) in their³⁶ source. This could even involve the physical correction of the exemplar in addition to making a corrected copy. The likelihood of such scribal correction of a suspected error is minimal in the case of pitch or duration errors, as a copyist working from single partbooks rather than a score could not know whether there is an error of this kind in their source, unless they knew the piece well. But it may be possible to see, for example, perhaps by reference to other partbooks in the set, that a final pause mark has been omitted from the exemplar, or that the given underlay does not correspond to the notes provided. Both substantive and non-substantive variants must therefore be treated with some caution as transmission evidence, in case the obvious interpretation has been confused by scribal initiative. Evidence of this kind may be negative rather than positive: for example, a given manuscript cannot have been copied from another, as the second introduces a variant for which the scribe cannot reasonably be thought to have been responsible, at least without reference to some other musical text, or possibly the advice of a performer (who might themselves be the copyist).³⁷

The lute sources can be considered in the same way as the staff-notation manuscripts. In this case there is the additional advantage, stemmatically, that the musical text having been reduced to tablature form – and this was not done directly from the partbooks (McCoy 1986: 26) – it is then expressed in a notation in which the scribe is unlikely to be able to interfere, unless extremely knowledgeable about Italian lute tablature. Generally, the lute texts are too similar in detail to presuppose that the labour of intabulating each piece was done independently, and all of the lute sources will therefore be closely connected stemmatically.

tive in other repertoires. Here, they attain greater importance, as there are relatively few of the substantive pitch and duration variants on which to base stemmatic relationships.

36 The gender of the copyists is not known, apart from Paston's secretary, Hand L.

37 The addition of *musica ficta* is an obvious example of the latter.

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As well as the textual errors and variants, such as incorrect pitches or note values, added accidentals and sub-section omissions, the layout and style of a copy may also yield useful information. A scribe is faced with many decisions during the copying process: should a part called *Cantus Secundus* be copied into the *Quintus* partbook, if there is no separate book for the former? Should a printed source laid out on five staves be compressed on to one page or expanded to two pages of a four-stave manuscript copy? Scribal solutions to such questions may provide useful information about the nature of the exemplar. In the former case, one may fairly assume that a copy in which the voice-names exactly match those of the exemplar is likely to be closer, stemmatically, to the original; it is less probable that a scribe, having renamed the parts of a motet to correspond to the new partbook titles, would in a subsequent copy revert exactly to the original names, at least without reference to the first copy.

The extent to which a scribe will duplicate the layout of an exemplar provides useful evidence for transmission. Copying by hand is a mechanical process, and it is ordinarily most convenient for the copyist to reproduce exactly what they see in front of him, unless they have some reason to alter it. The format of the Paston manuscripts is almost entirely uniform (four staves on each oblong page), with the exception of Tenbury MSS 341-4 (upright format), and the lute sources (five or six six-line tablature staves on each page). This being so, the layout modifications to the musical text, by compression or expansion depending on the available space, may be visible, and even imply the direction of transmission. For example, several lute intabulations apparently copied from 2089 to 29247, in which the copying direction is clear from error transmission, show an attempt to compress the musical text, wherever possible, presumably to save space and therefore paper. At the most literal level, a tabulation of line endings by bar number³⁸ indicates the correspondences between the various manuscripts. Where these figures are very different, this proves neither that the manuscripts are related nor that they are independent; however, where the layout is similar, this indicates a possible connection between the copies. A scribe copying from a manuscript *a* to a second manuscript *b*, where both are similar in size and format, will tend graphically to reproduce the layout, in order to ensure good use of the available space. A comparison of the printed source in the same way may also be instructive, for the same reason.

As the process of assembling a partbook set by the Paston scribes appears to have involved, to a considerable degree, the editorial selection of pieces from printed sources (frequently themselves anthologies), the context in which an individual motet or madrigal is copied is very relevant. Although there is no example yet identified of the Paston scribes copying in blocks (i.e. substantial groups of pieces transmitted in exact order), many pieces were copied in small but related groups, or in close proximity to other pieces from the same source. The variations in the order and size of these groups can be a further guide to the direction of transmission. It appears that a filtering process occurs: a selection from a printed or manuscript exemplar (typically, a continental printed anthology) is grouped in the first instance according to

38 See Knights 1999, Appendix 3.

the number of voices. It is noticeable that the Paston scribes are generally methodical about sifting repertory into partbook sets with a uniform number of voices, even sometimes omitting sub-sections with reduced scoring; this may simply reflect a desire not to waste space. Some of these pieces may then be copied into other manuscripts at a later date, interspersed with new pieces, and possibly in a different order. There are examples of pieces being dispersed in this way, or copied with the order reversed. Tracing a piece or group of pieces through this process is complex, given the large number of possibilities, the high input of new repertory, and allowing for the fact that intermediate or additional manuscripts may no longer be extant.

The relevant Paston sources used here are listed in Table 1.

Table 1. Paston manuscripts including the three motets

The first two columns list the location and manuscript sigla, the third the scribe (identified as A, C and L (for “lute-hand”),³⁹ and the fourth the earliest completion date for each manuscript (with reference to the publication date of the printed exemplars).⁴⁰

Location	Number	Hand	Date
Tenbury MSS	340	L	1617
	341-4	L	1591
	379-84	C	1611
	1469-71	A	1589
British Library Add. MS(S)	29247	L	1611
	29388-92	A	1600
	30361-6	C	1611
	30810-5	C	1591
Madrigal Society MSS G	31992	L	1611
	16-20	A	1613
	21-6	A	1612
Royal College of Music MS	2041	A	1611
	2089	L	1591

WILLIAM BYRD, MEMENTO HOMO

Memento homo is the 18th piece in the collection of 34 motets by Tallis and Byrd printed by Vautrollier in 1575, *Cantiones, Quae ab argumento Sacrae vocantur*. Craig Monson (1977) has established that there were no changes to the musical or verbal text during the print run, and this text (which in this motet is entirely free of errors)

39 Hand B was not involved with copying these three motets.

40 For full descriptions and catalogues of the contents, see Knights 1999 vol.1.

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may thus be regarded as definitive. There are eight Paston manuscript copies of the piece (341-4, 21-6, 379-84, 30810-5, 1469-71 and 2041,⁴¹ including two lute intabulations (340 and 29247) (see Table 2)). All of these appear to derive ultimately from the printed source and not some other manuscript version (contrasted with Paston's access to pre-publication copies of Byrd's printed songs); and all but 30810-5 (transposed upwards by a fifth) and 1469-71 (the Cantus part only transposed up a fourth, as is not uncommon in this manuscript⁴²) retain the printed clefs and pitch.

The only noted pitch or duration variant relative to the printed source is the replacement of a dotted crotchet and quaver with two crotchets [3] of 26 (that is, bar 3 of manuscript Madrigal Society MS G.26), which can therefore be placed at the very end of one stemmatic branch; it can be explained either as a wilful scribal variant (a figure of four equal crotchets is found twice elsewhere in the motet, at [10] and [30]), or it might be an error. The added *ficta* sharp [36] may imply a link between 341-4, 1469-71 and 30810-5; but this could have been added independently in each case, or it could reflect a manuscript emendation of the exemplar.⁴³ The non-identical transposition of 30810-5 and 1469-71 indicates that they are to be placed at the end of two different stemmatic branches. In the former case, this is supported by the underlay variants [5], [8], [13] and [25]. 379-81 is also to be located at a stemmatic extremity, as shown by underlay variants [5], [10], [12], [13], [25], [37] and [40-41]. The same is true of 21-6 [3], [10], [13] and [40], and a possible intermediate missing manuscript *a* is suggested by [13], where the printed underlay is replaced.⁴⁴ Both 379-84 and 30810-5 are close to 1575 in layout, as indicated by line endings,⁴⁵ but this does not necessarily imply a relationship between them. The position of 2041 is less clear, as this is only a single Discantus part remaining from a complete set. The readings of this source are identical to 1575, but 2041 could have equally have been derived from 1469-71 or 341-4 (1470 and 342 are also identical to 1575); the idiosyncratic transposition of 1469-71 suggests however that this is not an intermediate transmission source. In the following stemma, 2041 is tentatively derived directly from 1575.

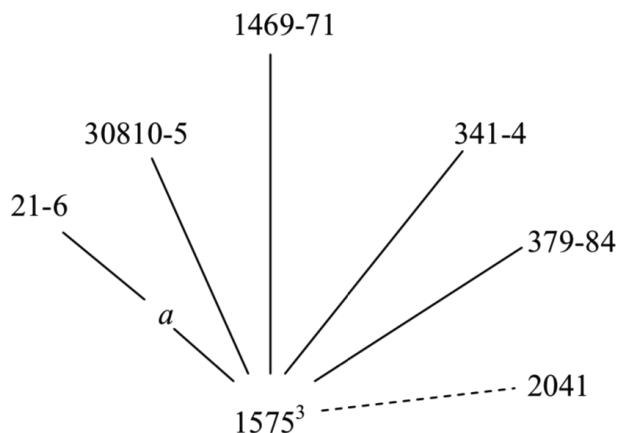
41 See the Online Appendix for full information.

42 For an extensive discussion of transposition issues in Paston, and the likely reasons for these, see Sequera 2010.

43 Such alterations might occur over time; hence one Paston copy might reflect an emendation, while an earlier one did not, yet both could have been copied from the same printed exemplar.

44 This suggests that 21-6 was copied from an exemplar where the underlay for these bars had been abbreviated from the printed version; hand A then expanded this incorrectly.

45 See Knights, 1999, Appendix 3.

Figure 1. Stemma for *Memento homo*

The repertorial context is a useful guide to the value of the stemma above, but it is limited in that the derivation of all the extant Paston sources from either 1575 or the conjectural manuscript *a* admits the possibility of the scribe making a fresh selection of pieces from the copy source each time. It is worth noting that the Paston manuscripts contain a total of 46 copies of 16 of the 34 motets in 1575. In terms of a percentage of the source contents copied by Paston scribes, this means that 1575 is one of the most frequently used (one might say, popular) exemplars.

Table 2. Repertory concordances between the Paston sources of *Memento homo*

Numbers in square brackets indicate the number of other motets (or mass sections, in parts of 2041 and 341-4) occurring between the named motets in the sources; a '/' between two titles separates *prima* and *secunda pars*. In the key, the number after the colon refers to the numbering of the piece in the print.

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2041	341-4	1469-71	21-6	30810-5	379-84	29247	340
	M				K		
	[27]				E		
	N				[13]		
	O				A		
	[6]				[7]		
	P			D	H		
	[34]			A	[8]		
X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
C	B		[22]	C		A	[5]
[1]	[1]		L	A		B	E
A	D			B		C	F
B	[4]			I		D	G
H	L			J		[15]	[4]
[1]	[1]					C	C
L	C					A	A
					B	B	
							H

Key

A	Byrd	Aspice Domine (1575 ³ : 10)
B	Byrd	Attollite portas (1575 ³ : 11)
C	Byrd	O Lux beata trinitas (1575 ³ : 12)
D	Byrd	Infelix ego
E	Byrd	Tribue Domine (1575 ³ : 30) ⁴⁶
F	Byrd	Te deprecor (1575 ³ : 31)
G	Byrd	Gloria Patri (1575 ³ : 32)
H	Byrd	Circumspice
I	Byrd	Domine, non secundum
J	Byrd	Domine, salva nos
K	Byrd	Cunctis diebus
L	Tallis	Suscipe quaeso/Si enim iniquitates (1575 ³ : 27)
M	Byrd	Emendemus in melius (1575 ³ : 4)
N	Tallis	Derelinquat impius (1575 ³ : 13)
O	Tallis	Dum transisset (1575 ³ : 14)
P	Tallis	Sermone blando (1575 ³ : 16)
X	Byrd	Memento homo (1575 ³ : 18)

46 The three motets 1575³: 30–32 are a single work, numbered separately in the print.

The patterns shown above may be significant: the A - B - C grouping of 1575 is mirrored in 29247, although the order C - A - B is more widespread (2041, 30810-5, 29247 and 340). E - F - G, from later in 1575, appears only in 340. The relatively small number of 1575 motet copies in 1469-71, 21-6 and 379-84 confirms that they are not likely to be intermediate transmission sources. The way in which 1575 is interspersed with much other material in 379-84 and 341-4 suggests, as does the stemma, that all six Paston non-lute copies of *Memento homo* were made either from the printed version, or manuscript *a*; the only evidence against this is the C - A - B grouping apparent in four of the sources. A possible explanation of this might be that this was a performing order for this group that had become conventional in the Paston household, perhaps as a result of the order of the pieces in the lute books, and that the scribes were aware of this when copying 2041 and 30810-5. There seems no sense of any liturgical groupings, and it is not possible to determine whether, how and when the Paston sources might have been used in private services or devotions.

The part-names and layout offer little further evidence to that above; no source duplicates more than two of the six voice names of 1575. This may not be unexpected, as the Paston scribes follow the continental practice of naming the parts nearest to the usual voice-ranges by the Latin titles *Cantus*, *Altus*, *Tenor* and *Bassus*, with the *Quintus* or *Sextus* for any additional parts. 1575³ uses some less usual terms like *Discantus* or *Tenor Secundus*, and Paston scribes A and C do not hesitate to change them. The inconsistent way in which this is done might be taken as confirmation that each copy was made independently.

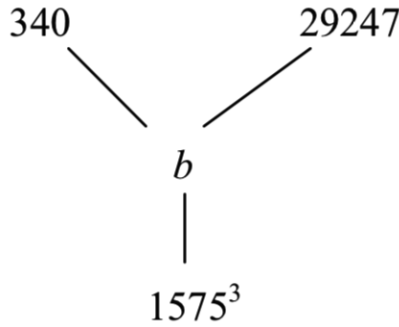
The two lute 29247 and 340 sources are very closely related: this is evident from their near-identical line endings,⁴⁷ and hence layout. While the omission of five tablature letters (two of which are actual errors, and three possible variants) in 29247 and the erroneous tablature letter in [21] suggest that 340 came first, the similar omission of two tablature letters and frequent change from 'o' on one course to 's' on the next course down – an intabulating mannerism found elsewhere in Paston copies (McCoy 1986: 22.) – indicate that both copies came from a lost source *b*. The variants are such that it is impossible that one manuscript was derived from the other. Yet 340 and 29247 are so close in layout, musical text and localised repertory (see Table 1 above) that they can not have been made independently. This is further shown by the 'cantus contamination'⁴⁸ in [19-20] of both copies: two notes of the *Discantus* are inadvertently intabulated alongside the four lowest parts, and the existence of a common exemplar, manuscript *b*, is shown.

47 See Knights, 1999, Appendix 3.

48 This term, referring to the inconsistent inclusion of notes from an otherwise omitted top voice in an intabulation, was coined by McCoy (1986: 26).

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Figure 2. Lute book stemma for *Memento homo*



It appears that all the extant copies of *Memento homo* represent a final point of transmission;⁴⁹ none of them served as the copy-source for any other. This conclusion suggests the existence of a notional Paston ‘library’ copy of the 1575 *Cantiones sacrae*; and that the copying of these manuscripts by scribes A, C and L took place at a single location: whether Paston had manuscript copies of music at each of his houses, his principal residence at Appleton Hall must surely have contained his main library and therefore his ‘scriptorium.’⁵⁰

ALFONSO FERRABOSCO, *IN MONTE OLIVETI*

Ferrabosco’s six-part motet was published in Lindner’s 1585 *Sacrae Cantiones* (RISM B/1 1585¹), an anthology of 41 motets in five to nine voices, arranged according to liturgical usage. Seven of the motets appear in twelve Paston manuscript sources, in 18 copies. However, omitting *In monte Oliveti* and Palestrina’s *Dum complerentur/Dum ergo essent* (and the latter may have come from a different printed source) from these figures leaves only seven copies of five motets, in six sources. It is clear that the Lindner collection was well known to Paston or his scribes, but that only two of the pieces in it achieved wide circulation in the manuscripts.

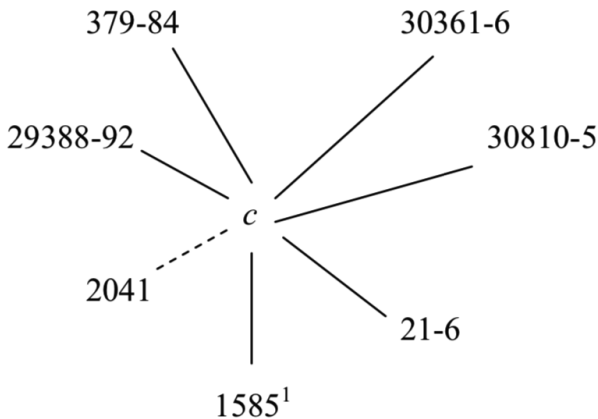
21-6, 29388-92 and 30361-6 all have voice designations identical with those of 1585, and were probably not derived from 2041, 30810-5 or 379-84; the two latter sources

49 With the possible exception of 2041, where the data is insufficient for a judgement to be made.

50 The notion of an Elizabethan gentleman’s private ‘scriptorium’ is plausible here, as manuscript datings imply that all four Paston scribes were working simultaneously in the 1610s and early 1620s (see Knights 1999).

agree in their designations. The missing ligatures [16-17] and [60], and missing ficta [74] show that 2041 is not an intermediate source; underlay variants [22-25] and [30-31] and missing flat sign [49] suggest the same for 21-6. These two sources can be placed at the end of separate stemmatic branches, as can 30810-5 (transposed upwards by a fourth). The underlay variants [4-7] and [43] and subdivided notes [56] imply 379-84 was derived from a missing manuscript *c*. In [4-7] the underlay variant of 30363, 30812 and 383 shows *c* to have reduced the 1585 underlay to *ij*, expanded wrongly by scribe C in these three sources. The similar upward transposition of 30361-6 and 30810-5 suggests that these two copies are directly related: the underlay variant [64] implies that 30361-6 is further from the exemplar than 30810-5 but the former does have voice designations identical with those of 1585, unlike 30810-5. The underlay variant [22-25] shows also that 21-6 too was copied from *c*, not 1585. The most problematic manuscript is 2041; its readings show that it could have been copied from any manuscript except 21-6 (see the underlay variant [22-24]), and also not probably not from 1585 (a comparison of the minor underlay variants indicates that out of 16 variants, three of 2041 are in agreement with 30362, four with 30811, eight with 380 and eight with 29388-92; 2041 too has therefore been tentatively derived from lost manuscript *c*, with a dotted line).

Figure 3. Stemma for *In monte Oliveti*



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A tabulation of concordances between the manuscripts demonstrates the necessity of including the hypothetical manuscript *c* in the stemma (Table 3).

Table 3. Repertory concordances between the Paston sources of *In monte Oliveti*

29388-92	30810-5	30361-6	2041	379-84	21-6	3092
				F		
	H		D		[15]	
[2]	A	I	B	J	[3]	K
[11]	B	J	C	C	A	J
L	C	F	[3]	[11]	C	L
M	M	M	M	M	M	M
X	X	X	X	X	X	X
[8]	D	K	F		K	D
K	E		G		[4]	[17]
[9]	F		[19]		H	F
J	G		A			
I			[1]			
		K				
		[9]				
		L				

Key

A	Ferrabosco	Virgo per incertos
B	Palestrina	Dum complerentur/Dum ergo essent (1585: 25)
C	Anon	Laetentur coeli/Tunc exultabunt
D	Baccusi	Aspice Domine/Plorans ploravit
E	Pevernage	Salvatorem expectamus/Sobrie et juste
F	Lassus	Tristis est anima mea
G	Lassus	Ave Regina
H	Walliser	Morti tuae tam amarae
I	Lassus	Locutus sum/Fac mecum
J	Lassus	Veni creator
K	Ferrabosco	O vos omnes
L	Lassus	Timor et tremor
M	Lassus	In monte Oliveti (1568)
X	Ferrabosco	In monte Oliveti (1585: 17)

The fact that the Lassus and Ferrabosco settings of *In monte Oliveti* are invariably paired, in this order, by all three Paston scribes,⁵¹ shows that they must surely all be derived from a source one stage removed from 1585, manuscript *c*.⁵² The Lassus setting was almost certainly copied from the first volume of Giovanelli's 1568 *Thesaurus musicus*, from which the Paston scribes took 16 motets. In view of the discussion of the relationship between 30361-6 and 30810-5 above, it is interesting to note that they have no common repertory in the above table, except the Lassus motet; this tends to confirm that both were independently derived from *c*. The A - B - C pattern of 30810-5 is partly duplicated by 2041 (B - C) and 21-6 (A - C), but this may be no more than coincidence. In general, while these manuscripts show a common interest in a certain repertorial area (there are a total of 44 copies of motets A to M), no real pattern emerges; like *Memento homo*, the impression given is of a fresh reselection of music from a central library collection or archive as each manuscript is copied.

JACOB VAET, SALVE REGINA [IV]⁵³

Vaet's *Salve Regina* was printed by Giovanelli in the fourth volume of his huge five-volume anthology of Latin motets, *Thesaurus musicus* (RISM 1568²⁻⁶). It was evidently a favourite piece in the Paston domestic repertory,⁵⁴ as it appears in no fewer than nine extant manuscript copies, more often than any other piece. Paston's scribes copied 42 of the 246 motets in the anthology, making this the largest single Paston copy-source so far identified (see Table 4). Few of these pieces, however, appear more than once.

The added numbers⁵⁵ (indicating the number of beats) under a three-note ligature [2-7] and added ficta [129] show 341-4, 30361-6 and 30810-5 to be related, but the underlay variant [26-28] suggests that 30810-5 was not copied from either of these other manuscripts. The duration variant [15], underlay abbreviation [70-71] and [141-142], added ficta [74], [88] and [95] indicate that 16-20 and 21-6 were not exemplars for any other of the manuscripts; the added ficta [94], [125] and divided note value [143] indicate the same for 29388-92. A missing source *d* that was the common

51 And also, in reverse order, in the Spencer Fragments; this source is discussed in Charteris and Spencer 1985: 52.

52 It is possible, though unlikely, that Paston's copy of one of these prints had the other motet in question bound in with it.

53 The numbering of Vaet's *Salve Regina* settings is taken from Harry B. Lincoln, *The Latin Motet: Indexes to Printed Collections, 1500-1600* (Ottawa, 1993).

54 See Milsom, J., 'Sacred Songs in the Chamber', in John Morehen (ed), *English Choral Practice, 1400-1650*, (Cambridge 1995), p.161-179, for an exploration of the musical usage of works whose liturgical purpose had passed, and also Kerry McCarthy, 'In search of the English motet', in Esperanza Rodríguez-García and Daniele V. Filippi (eds), *Mapping the Motet in the Post-Tridentine Era* (London, 2018).

55 These appear to have been added at the time of copying, rather than later as an assistance to the performer when they were found to be needed.

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origin of all the sources (with the possible exception of 2041 and 341-4, for which no *Bassus* partbooks survive) is suggested by the added ficta in the *Bassus* [22] and [128] and that in the *Cantus* [125]; these are found in all extant voices. The added ligature numbers [2-7] suggest either that 341-4, 30361-6 and 30810-5 are one stage removed from *d*, or that these numbers were added to the exemplar at some point. The underlay variants [32-33], [99-101] and [148-50] may indicate that 341-4, 30810-5 and 2041 were also not intermediate sources. The manuscript 2041 is, as usual, problematic; as a single surviving partbook from a set it has relatively few variant readings on which to base a conclusion; its minor underlay variants seem closest to 30811 in this instance.

The stemma suggested by this information is as follows:

Figure 4. Stemma for *Salve Regina*

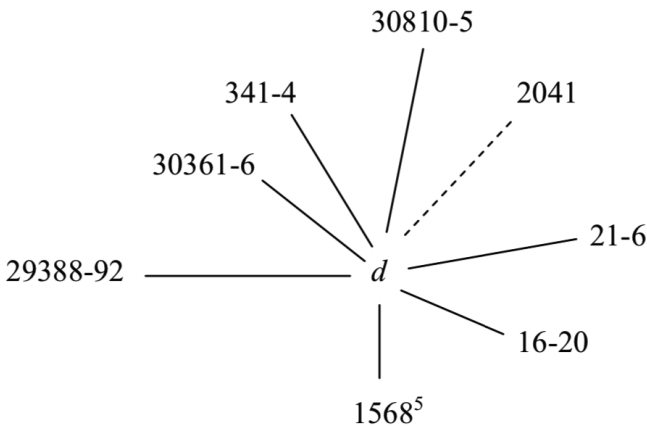


Table 4. Repertory concordances between the sources of *Salve Regina*

30361-6	30810-5	29388-92	341-4	21-6	16-20	2041	31992	340
F								B
[1]								[3]
C								A
X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
[1]	[1]			A	C	[10]	[4]	
G	F					B	A	
[4]	C							
E	D							
D	E							

Key

A	Baccusi	Aspice Domine/Plorans ploravit
B	G. Gabrieli	Cantate Domino
C	Deiss	Ne derelinquas (1568 ^s)
D	Buissons	Zachae festinans/Hodie huic domui (1568 ^s)
E	Zaphelius	Sancti martires/Unus spiritus (1568 ^s)
F	Pevernage	Laudem dicite/Gaudeamus (1568 ^s)
G	Uttendal	Plangent eum/Mulieres stantes (1568 ^s)
X	Vaet	Salve Regina (1568 ^s)

Motets A and C are the most common companions of the Vaet motet, although A is separated some distance from it in 2041 and 31992. In comparison with *Memento homo* and *In monte Oliveti*, seven of these nine sources contain relatively little material from the printed source. In fact, all of the seven sources contain no more than two motets each from the whole of 15682-6, except 16-20, which has three pieces. 30361-6 and 30810-5 have five pieces from the source in common. 30810-5 is the only manuscript source to preserve exactly the voice designations of 1568, although 30361-6 only differs in exchanging *Quintus* (as in the title of the second voice partbook of 1568) for *Cantus Secundus*. 30810-5 and 30361-6 are also extremely close in layout,⁵⁶ even though the former does not include the latter section of the work.

The lute sources are both very similar in all respects, even layout, although 31992 intabulates a fifth part. As with the lute sources of *Memento homo*, there are examples of cantus contamination (McCoy 1986: 22), and even of a free added part [87-88] that proves both intabulations to have had a common source. Self-evidently, the five voices of 31992 cannot have been copied from the four voices intabulated in 340, but the variants in the latter source do not make the reverse true. This actually would have

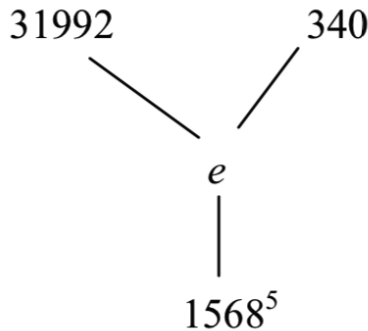
56 See Knights 1999, Appendix 3.

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been possible, since in much of 31992 [96-150] the highest voice is pointed (i.e. has a dot below each tablature letter) in the Spanish vihuelist manner.⁵⁷ It would have been simple enough to produce a four-part intabulation from a five-part intabulation by omitting this pointed part,⁵⁸ providing that it could then be supplied in the companion 'singing book' from an underlaid partbook source elsewhere. A third, lost lute source *e* must be supplied in the stemma:

Figure 5. Lute book stemma for *Salve Regina*



The notion of a lost lute copy-source for both *Salve Regina* and *Memento homo* suggested by the stemma is quite credible, since an intermediate lute manuscript must have existed in which the initial intabulations were made. The neatness, accuracy and lack of erasures in all five of the Paston lute manuscripts make it impossible that any of the pieces were intabulated directly into the manuscripts.

The copying processes represented above appears to involve an unstructured juxtaposition of pieces, new material alternating with favourite domestic repertory according to the whim of the scribe (or under the direction of Paston himself, if he took a close interest in such details). Since the majority of the Paston manuscripts are indexed at the back of the *Bassus* partbook of each set and of the lute books, the main concern of the users may simply have been a practical one: the number of voices or parts required for performance. The transmission of pieces within the manuscripts may reflect this aim, rather than any attempt to reproduce (in part) an actual exemplar like the 1564 *Thesaurus musicus*.

57 See McCoy 1986: 21–22.

58 McCoy 1986: 26–31 demonstrates exactly this process.

CONCLUSION

The Paston collection is of three-fold importance to researchers working on Renaissance musical sources: it offers a large number of highly significant Byrd sources;⁵⁹ it contains a substantial retrospective collection of Latin sacred music by White, Tallis, Taverner and others, some of which is unique to these sources; and it includes more than two-thirds of all the continental sacred music copied into extant contemporary English manuscripts, as well as some works, including madrigals and chansons by Lassus, Gombert and others, which have been incompletely preserved in their original publications.⁶⁰ In addition, the sheer size of the collection, much greater and more varied than the music libraries built up at the same time by collectors like Francis Tregian, the Earl of Arundel and William Heather, gives an opportunity to consider the musical taste (insofar as such a very large collection can be thought of in such terms) of a cultured Elizabethan gentleman who was known to some of the leading writers and musicians of his day.

Through a close reading of the Paston scribes' work, seen in these three very duplicated motets by Byrd, Ferrabosco and Vaet, it is possible to delve further into some of the possible rationales for the compilation of the Paston manuscripts, and explore their possible usage. The close relationship between the 30810-5 and 30361-6 pair of Paston sources demonstrated in each of the three motets discussed here suggests one profitable future area of research. Whatever issues of practicality, technical difficulty, personal association, textual reference and personal taste informed the copying decisions that seem implied in the resulting 'popularity' of these three works,⁶¹ it is likely that they were among those most valued, or most often heard, in Paston's musical circle.

59 Byrd's very success in assimilating continental musical styles makes such attributions on stylistic grounds alone problematic; aspects of this issue are addressed in Rees 1992: 24. As Kerman (1961: 359) pointed out many years ago, more unknown Byrd compositions may well be hidden away among the unattributed music. Identification of anonymous works in the Paston collection using computational methods forms part of the ongoing Formal Methods in Musicology project in Cambridge, <https://formal-methods-in-musicology.webnode.com>.

60 There are dozens of concordances in Lincoln 1988, for example, for which the Paston books are able to supply voice-parts now missing.

61 For some comparison of the musical selection issues around the Paston-related manuscripts owned by John Petre, see Knights 2019: 22–41.

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ФРЕНСИС НАЈТС

ПРЕНОШЕЊЕ МОТЕТА У ОКВИРУ ПАСТОНОВИХ РУКОПИСА, ОКО 1610. ГОДИНЕ

(РЕЗИМЕ)

Настанак и експанзија комерцијалног штампања музике око 1500. године уобичајено наводи данашње уреднике издања да дају текстуални примат штампаним примерцима музике из овог периода, а науштрб еквивалентних рукописних партитура. Међутим, поједине групе рукописних извора, као што је Пастонова колекција, с краја XVI и почетка XVII века у Енглеској, бацају другачије светло на тадашњу праксу штампања музикалија и њихов однос према ручном преписивању партитура. Велика приватна музичка библиотека Едварда Пастона, данас расута по колекцијама широм Уједињеног Краљевства и Сједињених Америчких Држава, садржи бројне вишеструке верзије дела која су њему већ била доступна у штампаном виду. У овом раду тумачим како су он или његови преписивачи вршили одабир верзија, конкретно у вези са три шестогласна мотета на латинском језику: *Memento homo* Вилијама Берда, *In monte Oliveti* Алфонса Ферабоска и *Salve Regina* Јакоба Ваета; такође ове мотете стављам у контекст колекционарства, као и њихове вероватне употребе.

Кључне речи: Едвард Пастон, рукописне збирке, Вилијам Берд, Алфонсо Ферабоско, Јакоб Вает, *Memento homo*, *In monte Oliveti*, *Salve Regina*

BEYOND NATIONS: A THEMATIC HISTORY

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ABSTRACT

This paper describes an on-going project, the collaborative *Thematic History of Music in Portugal and Brazil*; it details its context, rationale, concept, structure and the process that led to its public presentation and preliminary development at CESEM/FCSH, Universidade Nova de Lisboa. The importance of Africa in the understanding of some facets not only of modern popular music, but also of 16th-18th century genres in Portugal and Brazil is particularly stressed; examples of both polyphonic and instrumental music are given to illustrate this early influence.

KEYWORDS: transnational history, cultural exchanges, cross-Atlantic networks, African influence

Western Music is often regarded as a unified field, but it can articulate different approaches, intellectual concerns and aesthetic values. These cannot fail to be projected also into historical construction. Music, by its very nature, is uniquely able to engage people and travel far and wide in their memories and shared practices; it is also a privileged means of construction and negotiation of societal identities and subjectivities. Music History is increasingly regarded as part of this game. It supposes a vantage point, selective decisions, and perceived connections; it is guided by axiomatic beliefs, value judgements, and narrative paradigms.

Current historical narratives about music have been long dominated by a central European vantage point built on ideas of artistic progress, aesthetic autonomy and national supremacy. They are thus ripe for challenge and reconstruction. The shortcomings of the Western Music discourse, linked to central European traditions committed to writing, becomes evident in its undervaluation or outright failure to acknowledge Mediterranean music practices, oral or popular traditions and also global connections.

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I will not deal here with the Eastern Mediterranean, which deserves its own analysis. What I wish to call your attention to, is that to the west of Genoa, Rome and Naples, the Mediterranean opens to the Atlantic, and since before 1500 it has been in touch with Western Africa and central and south America. Iberian culture and Latin America, where music practices are documented since the 16th century, have fallen however outside the radar of current histories of Western Music. These have also overlooked the lasting impact of African presence on both the European and American sides of the Atlantic. Adding to the ignorance or prejudice of mainstream scholars, the nationalistic agendas of an earlier generation of Portuguese, Spanish and Brazilian musicologists have also obscured the international identity of their music. There is clearly a need to present the world with a unified effort to study and promote north-south, intercontinental musical exchanges as a significant and influential part of Western cultural history.

Appeals for the renovation of music historiography have been voiced, from different perspectives, since the late 20th-century. Yet only a few changes have come to pass. The crossing of frontiers between “high” and “low” cultures in Western music and the valuation of semi-popular genres have only slowly taken place, mainly as far as the 20th-century is concerned (Cook & Pople 2004, Fulcher 2010, Seaton 2017). In spite of their strengths, *The Oxford History of Western Music* (2005), single-authored by Richard Taruskin from a contextualist stance, and the volume *Histoires des musiques européennes* under the encyclopaedia *Musiques* (2003-2007) directed by Jean-Jacques Nattiez, bring little novelty to established narratives if seen from a southern vantage point. The integration of the American panorama into the larger history of Western Music has occurred only in a very timid way both there and in the successive updates of Grout/Palisca’s *History of Western Music* by J. Peter Burkholder (2005, 2009, 2014). The eight-volume *Historia de la música en España e Hispanoamérica* edited by Carredano & Rodríguez (2009-2018) crosses the Atlantic but is largely a projection of Spanish academic strength along traditional historiographical lines, allowing only three chapters for Latin-America before 1800 and failing to provide, from 1800 onwards, a dialogue between Spanish and Hispano-American histories, which occupy different volumes.

The musicological community, and its larger public, are therefore still waiting for a fully fledged example of how music historiography can be reconfigured through teamwork according to the most recent, critical perspectives. This, besides countering nineteenth-century metanarratives, should go beyond the linear chronology, work/composer, centre/periphery, nationalistic paradigms still in force, and attempt to redress the balance between oral and written, northern and southern artistic approaches. An opportunity to help enforce this change has now been created in Portugal.

Although it would be justified to approach the Iberian Peninsula and Latin America as a whole, the opportunity to encompass both Spanish and Portuguese-speaking territories in a single historical narrative was not seized in the editorial project by Carredano & Rodríguez referred to above; Portuguese and Brazilian musicology was thus confronted with the need to create a complementary, updated narrative of its own.

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The Iberian geographical context is however a necessary point of departure; it has provided a valuable perspective to rethink intercultural phenomena (Ferreira 2004, 2015a, 2016c, 2016d). One should be reminded that Portugal, once the southern component of Galicia, is part of a larger Iberian cultural framework and that most of the Peninsula, including what eventually became Portuguese territory was under Islamic rule during four centuries. Cultural contact between Christian and Islamic realms continued until the 15th century, when Portugal began its expansion along the Moroccan coast. Beginning with the conquest of Ceuta in Morocco in 1415, Portuguese interest in West Africa led to an increasingly ambitious exploration of unmapped territories to the south. This was upheld by commercial interest, political acumen, religious zeal, navigational skills and military might. Once the possibility of reaching India by sea was secured, and with it, access to profits gained by direct merchandizing of spices and luxury goods, the Portuguese King proceeded to consolidate his control of sea routes in the south Atlantic and the Indian Ocean, which depended on wind regimes and control of selected ports. Brazil and Africa were instrumental in this larger context, which eventually led the Portuguese, in the first half of the 16th century, to establish commercial outposts also in Malaysia, China and Japan.

Music travelled overseas under different guises: melodic formulas, improvisational skills and melodies known by rote; notated books and trained singers; instruments and their players, like the organists sent by the King of Portugal to the King of Abyssinia. Polyphony had reached Ningpo in China by 1541 and São Vicente in Brazil by 1551; works by Morales and Guerrero were sung in Luanda, Angola, in 1578.

Export of musical practices was coincidental, under particular conditions, with reverse musical influence. The exploration of the Western and Central African coast brought to Lisbon (and Seville) a rising number of African slaves and their descendants, who in the 16th century came to be a sizeable portion of the population, especially in Lisbon. Imitations of black expressive identity appeared then on the theatrical stage, eventually finding their way into musical scores. An *ensalada* by Mateo Flecha el Viejo, possibly written in 1525 or shortly thereafter sets black sayings to music with characteristic syncopation. At the same time, culturally assimilated blacks or mixed race participated in standard musical practice. The famous composer and theorist Vicente Lusitano, who in the mid-16th century polemicized in Rome against Vicentino, was of African ascent. Yet religious music was apparently impenetrable to acculturation, except, from around 1600, through the religious villancico in the vernacular language, used to celebrate the most joyous festivities, especially Christmas.

9

Solo

(Tutti) mi qu'elle que tu -

S.I. (Tutti) que man - da Zé bu - çun - ce pli - mo mi - o dos meus bí - da

S.II. (Tutti) que man - da Zé bu - çun - ce pli - mo mi - o dos meus bí - da

T.I. (Tutti) que man - da Zé bu - çun - ce pli - mo mi - o dos meus bí - da

B.I. (Tutti) que man - da Zé bu - çun - ce pli - mo mi - o dos meus bí - da

B.II. (Tutti) que man - da Zé bu - çun - ce pli - mo mi - o dos meus bí - da

19

Solo

ros ple - to de ma - ni - con - go man - di - ga por huns no - va que fa - ze - mo me dá

B.I.

Example 1a. *Olá zente*, bars 9–29 (ed. Matta 2008: 1–13)

8

Example 1b. *Oitavado*, excerpt (Budasz 2002; ed. Budasz 2001: 386-88)

Central and West African musical ensembles were coordinated through the adoption of a cyclic rhythmic pattern, or timeline. In the above example (Ex. 1a) we can see that the syncopated, symmetrical rhythm of the villancico *Olá zente*, related to the standard West African timeline, has its counterpart in a dance, called *arromba*, or *oitavado*, from the late 17th-century (Ex. 1b), associated with Africans living in Lisbon (Budasz 2001). Although an equivalent pattern existed in early Iberian music (Ferreira 2015a), the ethnic associations of both the villancico text written in proto-creole, and the *oitavado* dance, favours the idea that in these particular contexts the model coincided with, or was incorporated into the cultural practices of communities rooted in Africa.

O - lá pli - mo Ba - ci - ão, o - lá pli - mo Ba - ci - ão, le - van - ta,

Example 2a. *Olá plimo Bacião*, 1647 version, incipit (ed. Matta 2008: 71-78)

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Example 2b. *Paracumbé* 7^o tom, excerpt (Budasz 2002; ed. Budasz 2001: 368-69)

In another villancico, dating from 1647 (Ex. 2a), we can recognize a 12-beat timeline, repeated once; this pattern occurs in two other settings of this same text (*Olá plimo Bacião*) and, slightly modified, in another villancico from Coimbra, *Aquí puesto de rodillas*, all from around the same time (Matta 2008-2012). This rhythmic cycle exactly corresponds to the *cumbé* or *paracumbé* dance, as notated for guitar around 1700 (Ex. 2b). Although the *paracumbé* has been associated with Angola (Budasz 2001), it may be significant that so far in written music only 12-beat patterns have been traced, typical of the areas accessed through Guinea and Mina, and not 16-beat patterns, which point to Angola, further south; these would later become very important in the Caribbean and Brazil (Kubik 1979, 2014). This, with some delay, accords with the succession of documented slave-trade cycles before prohibition: roughly, the cycle of Guinea, or Senegambia (sixteenth century), the cycle of Angola (seventeenth century), and the cycle of the Mina Coast and the Gulf of Benin (eighteenth and early nineteenth century).

Black slaves had been increasingly exported to Brazil, where, with the dramatic reflux of indigenous groups, they left a strong imprint on several kinds of music. The economic development of Brazil was slow, and eventually became intertwined with Africa: the archdiocese of Bahia, created in 1676, had jurisdiction also over São Tomé and Angola in Africa. An Atlantic triangle, Portugal-Brazil-West Africa, fed economic production through slavery. Afro-influenced genres of song and dance were construed for centuries around the north-south Atlantic triangle, even after Brazilian independence, and up to the 20th-century.

Brazilian historiography has produced, since the last quarter of the 20th century, impressive and abundant research on colonial slavery (Klein & Luna 2010, Hébrard 2012); this has demonstrated that slaves had agency and ability to act, coupling accommodation with resistance, and that the slave system did not necessarily follow racial lines (Paiva 1995, 2007). The most recent historiographical novelty is the emergence of Africa as a fully engaged partner, and not only the distant origin of a culture that travelled more or less intact across the Atlantic, on the same boats as the slaves: “Africa now emerges also as one of the cardinal points in a network of circulating goods, people, representations, and ideas that spread out across the Portuguese colonial empire and the countries born from it. This network was material, certainly, but it was also symbolic and intellectual.” (Hébrard 2012, p. 91). Such awareness has not yet been properly filtered into musicological research, exceptions notwithstanding (Budasz 2007).

At another level of intercultural exchange, Portugal, from the early 18th century onwards, had a pivoting role in the establishment of Italian-rooted music prac-

tices in south-America, including opera, which reached the Amazon already by the 18th-century. One should also be reminded that, contrary to all European colonizing powers, Portugal once had its capital across the Atlantic: for some time it was ruled from Brazil after the court established itself in Rio de Janeiro in 1807 in the wake of the Napoleonic invasions. Brazil's independence was a move eventually controlled by the Portuguese crown prince, heir to the Imperial throne, who, after ruling in Rio as Emperor, later became King of Portugal. Thus Rio became heir to part of the royal musical library, now divided there between the Metropolitan Cathedral and the National Library, and music in Brazil became, even after its declaration of independence in 1822, even more inseparable from its Portuguese heritage. Studies on music from Portugal and Brazil have accordingly been contributing pioneering reflections on both the circulation and appropriation of south-European music at all levels of society, and cultural miscegenation or stylistic hybridity.

* * *

The urge to reach fuller understanding of the cultural, social, historical, and political dimensions of music inspired many musicologists during the closing decades of the 20th century. According to Nicholas Cook (2008), musicology shifted then “towards the understanding of music in its multiple cultural contexts, embracing production, performance, reception, and all the other activities by virtue of which music is constructed as a significant cultural practice”.

All this impacted, to different degrees, musicology written by Portuguese-speaking authors. The academic community went through a dramatic growth both in Portugal and Brazil in the past twenty years, and became increasingly integrated into larger international networks. Two Portuguese research centres dedicated to music, INET and CESEM —both evaluated as “excellent” by the European Research Council in 2014, a rating confirmed in the 2019 external evaluation — have been bringing to Lisbon musicologists from all over the world, either as visiting scholars or as post-doctoral fellows. While INET specializes in ethnomusicology, CESEM has been especially concerned with the historiographical and epistemological dimensions of music. This has been done in close connection with Brazil, either directly or through a dedicated autonomous network, *Caravelas*, which focuses on over three hundred years of shared political history. The larger concerns of the international musicological community were thus assimilated, and were at the same time newly scrutinized through the lenses of an intercontinental identity.

In both Portugal and Brazil, increased epistemological awareness of political and ideological issues in relation to music produced an important revision of the relevant historiography (Ulhõa 2007, Neto 2010, Leoni 2010, Blomberg 2011, Ferreira 2011, Rodrigues 2011, Neto 2012, Abreu 2014, Ferreira 2015c). It also produced a number of studies touching on, or exploring the relation of music to politics and power (Contier 1998, Araújo 2002, Silva 2005, Pereira 2007, Budasz 2008, Rees 2009, Vargas 2010, Cardoso 2011, Nogueira 2011, Carvalho 2012, Castro 2013, Grey 2013, Palombini 2014, Cruz 2016, Ferreira 2016a, Cachopo 2017). This was on a par with attention to the

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conditions attending music practice — psychological, technological, and organizational — and the anthropological dimensions of ritualized behaviour (Giacomini 2006, Souza 2007, Holler 2010, Zamith 2011, Esposito 2013, Silva 2016). The discussion of social or individual identity in the experience of music in connection with gender and sexuality, or sociological interest in the role of women as artists and listeners converged with an increased valuation of private contexts of music-making (Faour 2006, Nogueira & Fonseca 2013, Esteireiro 2016, Jesus et al. 2016).

The tendency to bring popular music within the reach of historical musicology took giant steps as well as far as southern genres and theatrical traditions are concerned (Abreu 1999, Sandroni 2001, Poletto 2004, Livingston-Isenhour and Garcia 2005, Wisnik 2007, Freire 2011, Cruz 2013, Cymbron 2015, Vermes 2015, Colvin 2016). Other studies concerning style, learning procedures, productive systems and travelling musicians have illuminated the crucial importance of transnational exchanges (Brito 1989, Nogueira 1997, Budasz 2004, Magaldi 2004, Freeman 2006, Alvarenga 2008, Lanzelotte 2009, Lago 2010, Fagerlande 2011, Neto 2011, Cranmer 2012, Cymbron 2012, Dias 2012, Fernandes 2012, Goldberg 2012, Sá & Fernandes 2014, Cranmer 2016, Ferreira 2016b, Páscoa & Rodrigues 2016).

Much of the musicological effort during the last 25 years in Portugal and Brazil was nonetheless understandably directed to the preservation, cataloguing, study and edition of musical sources, and the research on, and recovery of historical instruments (Duprat 1995, Neves 1997, Castagna 2000, Ferreira 2005, Doderer & Machado 2009, Alvarenga 2011, Matta 2008-2012, Figueiredo 2010, Doderer & Machado 2012, Marques 2012, Figueiredo 2014, 2016, Alvarenga 2016). Excavating biographical information about musicians and their activity continues to be crucial to document music and their place in society (Mariz 1997, Mattos 1997, Fernandes 2005, Cabral 2008, Diniz 2009, Lanzelotte 2009). Stylistic and analytical studies are still needed to characterize artistic or traditional practices, and trace influences or personal traits (Ferreira 1992, Nogueira 1997, Bezerra 2000, Freeman 2006, Nogueira 2006, Ferreira 2007a, Ferreira 2007c, Rocha 2008, Salles 2009, Alencastro et al. 2012, Lago 2012, Così 2014).

Indigenous traditions, after the pioneering syntheses of Azevedo (1938) and Camêu (1977) were the subject of many anthropological studies (e.g. Hill 1993; Seeger 1980, 1987, 2015), feeding a contextual approach to music (Bispo 1999, 1999-2002; Piedade 2011), while the connection with history was subject to critical revision (Bastos 2006; Budasz 2006; Barros 2006, 2018); connections with archaeology, in order to investigate pre-colonial practices and historical continuities, were also explored (Barros et al. 2015). Particularly valuable are those studies concerning African heritage (Kubik 1979, Pinto 1991, Béhague 1998, Pinto 1999-2001, Fryer 2000, Crook 2005, Cardoso 2006, Tugny et al. 2006, Budasz 2007, Naveda 2011, Lucas 2012, Graeff & Pinto 2012, Tinhorão 2012, Dettmann 2013, Hertzman 2013, Lucas & Lobo 2013, Peçanha 2013, Reily 2013, Ulhôa & Neto 2013, Graeff 2014, Kubik 2014). Although much is still to be done, the quantity and scope of published contributions already justified the compilation of a Bibliographic Guide for Afro-Brazilian Music (Gray 2014).

The idea of furthering musicological cooperation between Portugal and Brazil has been voiced before, but writing a history of music together is something else. I included this as a long-term goal in CESEM's strategic plan encompassing 2015 to 2020, but preliminary work started only in February 2016. Consultation with colleagues followed; on 22 June a brief international meeting was convened. Suggestions were incorporated into a draft project and, in September, tentative contacts made for a future Consultative Board. I made public presentations of the preliminary draft in Belo Horizonte (Brazil), in late October, and Aveiro (Portugal), in early November. From December onwards a few meetings took place with consultants and two public round-tables were organized during a Symposium at Goiânia (Brazil), allowing the draft to develop into a full project. In 2017 non-academic extension partnerships were established on both sides of the Atlantic, and more recently contacts have been made with possible institutional partners in Brazil, both public and private.

The main challenges addressed by this project are: (1) to overcome the ingrained nationalistic historical paradigm, be it rooted in Absolutist, Liberal-Republican, or Modernist ideas; (2) to overcome artificial barriers between areas of musicological inquiry, exploring a diachronic approach to informal musics on a par with notation-based repertoires; (3) to challenge the universal applicability of the analytical paradigm and hierarchies of genre originating in 19th-century Germany, using alternative paradigms and acknowledging the centrality of vocal music in southern traditions; (4) to challenge territorial closeness, underlining the Atlantic context (including the West and Central African coast), regional dynamics (Iberian Peninsula, South America), cross-influences and cultural encounters.

In short, we have embarked on a plan for large-scale, team-based musicological research from the earliest documented record to the 21st century, over a geographical area encompassing Portugal, its Atlantic islands, its colonial outposts along Western and Central Africa, and Brazil, according to historical approaches informed by recent critical debates among the international community. We also decided to bring this research under a novel umbrella, a thematically structured history of music accessible both online and on paper, favouring superimposed chronologies, the dialectics of space, mediality, circulation and cultural exchange to the current linear and spatially static paradigms.

The planned history of music in the intercontinental Atlantic triangle has been structured according to six strands or sets of contents (described as a "volumes" for convenience, on account of their printed counterparts), each edited by two scholars, one of them from Portugal, the other from Brazil, under my own direction. These scholars were chosen on account of their expertise in the respective sub-fields. A seventh volume will contain indexes, chronologies, maps, iconographical materials and navigational clues.

Volume one, edited by Paulo Ferreira de Castro and Diósnio Machado Neto, will address **Ideas**, that is, how the different modes of discourse on music (theoretical, didactical, historiographical, philosophical, etc.) contributed historically to the definition of the musical object and corresponding practices in Portugal and Brazil; and

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also how the recent contributions of social and human sciences (in the domains of anthropology, sociology, hermeneutics, semiotics, etc.) find in music of the intercontinental Atlantic triangle a fertile ground for application, an opportunity to add to and develop contemporary thought in unique ways.

The following three volumes will be dedicated to religious, theatrical, and other practices, encompassing both notation-based and informal musics; each will be focused on a specific set of spaces. Volume two, edited by João Pedro d'Alvarenga and Fernando Lacerda Duarte, will address **Cults** or music in religious spaces, from the earliest documented stages to contemporary protestant music and Afro-Brazilian practices. Volume three, edited by David Cranmer and Márcio Páscoa, will be centered on theatrical **Stages**, encompassing not only dramatic music, but also theatre, dance and concert events. Volume four, edited by Luísa Cymbbron and Alberto Pacheco, will be centred on ceremonial **Places** connected to Court and State, including the military; entertaining places (other than the theatre), both closed and open; and teaching places.

The fifth volume, edited by Paula Ribeiro and Heloísa Valente, will acknowledge the role of **Mediations** on musical practices, with special emphasis on transmission technology, both old and new, and the ways it affects musical thought and reception: orality, musical notations, instruments, reproduction industries, and modern media (radio, cinema, TV, Internet). The sixth volume, edited by the present author and Rogério Budasz, will address cultural **Encounters**, including migratory impacts, travelling routes, and musical transfers and accommodations of all kinds.

The editors will have the direct assistance of junior scholars and graduate students, and be able to commission specific work by external collaborators. A Consultative Board will allow the research team to gather information or guidance concerning specific matters.

The proposed schedule for this project presupposes the parallel development of its six strands over the course of three years each, through a combination of basic research, workshops, thematic symposia, an annual comprehensive seminar, and writing. We hope to find the additional funding needed to make it possible, and also the stamina, imagination, and diplomatic flair that such a project entails. If successful, it could inspire other musicologists, in other regions, to cooperate in transnational networks for the common good of intellectual debate, shared knowledge, increased awareness of cultural exchange or musical variety, and a more balanced historical view.

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МАНУЕЛ ПЕДРО ФЕРЕИРА

ИЗВАН НАЦИЈА: ЈЕДНА ТЕМАТСКА ИСТОРИЈА

(РЕЗИМЕ)

У овом чланку описан је пројекат који је тренутно у току (2018–2022): заједничка *Темајска историја музике у Португалији и Бразилу*. Описан је контекст, разлози за започињање оваквог пројекта, његова структура и процес који је довео до јавног представљања и прелиминарних истраживања при Центру за проучавање социологије и естетике музике CESEM/FCSH, Нови универзитет у Лисабону. Посебно је наглашен значај Африке за разумевање неких карактеристика не само модерне популарне музике, већ и жанрова португалске и бразилске музике од XVI до XVIII века. У циљу илустровања овог раног утицаја дати су примери и полифоне и инструменталне музике.

Постојеће историје музике у Португалији и Бразилу старије су од четврт века, а музиколошке заједнице у обема земљама у великој мери су еволуирале у односу на моменат објављивања ових публикација. Поред тога, последњих деценија интензивирале су се прекоатланске везе међу научницима, а порасла је и критичка историографска свест; обе околности довеле су до спознаје да је историја музике с обе стране Атлантика у земљама у којима се говори португалски језик недовољно и неадекватно репрезентована. Због тога је циљ ове тематске историје да превазиђе како националне историјске парадигме, тако и германоцентрични поглед на музичку прошлост, којим су била обојена проучавања музике у јужним земљама. Територијални опсег овакве тематске историје обухвата троугао Иберијско полуострво – Африка – Јужна Амери-

ка, са додатним референцама на друге континенте, обухватајући обе Земљине хемисфере. Вештачке поделе на писане и усмене изворе, уметничку и популарну музику, биће одбачене. Вишеструкост перспектива омогућиће нам да проучавамо не само композиторе и њихова дела, већ и идеје, рецепцију и историјат институција, професионална умрежавања, извођачке праксе и друго.

Кључне речи: транснационална историја, културалне размене, трансатлантско умрежавање, афрички утицај

THE "SERBIAN CONNECTION" IN THE AGE OF THE BEAT REVOLUTION IN HUNGARY*

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ABSTRACT

The music market of Hungary was manipulated by state authorities and the communist party from the 1960s until the 1980s. That distorted environment is the reason why the careers of two of the greatest Hungarian beat stars of the Sixties differed so much: Levente Szörényi and Zorán Sztevanovity were both partially or fully of Serbian origin, both were lead singers of their bands, and both were (in the first phase of their career) very careful with politics; however, their Serbian heritage and their family experiences were totally different, which explains their different behaviour during and after the Beat Revolution in Hungary.

KEYWORDS: Beat, Hungary, Zorán Sztevanovity, Levente Szörényi, Illés

When the new music genres of jazz, rock and roll, and beat first appeared, they all stood for the same things, even though they emerged at various times: a) freedom for everybody who enjoyed that kind of music; b) the revolt of youth against older generations. In the West it was a wave-like phenomenon which emerged during, respectively, the cultural changes of the 1920-30s (in the case of jazz), of the 1950s (rock and roll), and of the 1960s (beat). These "revolts" were rather considered as cultural phenomena, although music always had ideological dimensions, too. In Western countries politics did not have an omnipotent influence on cultural affairs, and vice versa: cultural changes did not cause fundamental restructuring in the poli-

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tical system. Of course, beat culture and politics had coincidences: the timing of the rise of Beatles' songs coincided "with a Labour government and a new kind of youth fixated liberal consumerism," and this political factor "obviously underpinned their phenomenal success." It is also true that the generational gap in consumer behaviour had an effect on the music market. 1967 was the first year of the music industry when "teen" albums overtook "sales of adult albums on the *Billboard* charts" (Frith et al. 2001: 79; 118).

In Eastern Europe, behind the Iron Curtain, however, the situation after 1945 was very different. Politics played a crucial role in cultural affairs. That is why the Soviet-type political systems of Eastern Europe could not give free rein to movements of jazz, rock and roll or beat. This was a challenge for the one-party systems in the East. During the Cold War, NATO strategists realized how significant and powerful rock and roll was. "By 1958 in NATO's official publication *Revue militaire générale*, we see an explanation of how jazz and rock and roll could be used in the war against communism. It was thought, in a reductionistic but essentially accurate way, that the more a young person listened to Little Richard, the less time he or she would have to spend reading Marx and Lenin" (Vučetić 2018: 108).

The Soviet-type system was based on ideological indoctrination. According to the Hungarian economist János Kornai, the "classical" or "Stalinist" socialist system was based on one-party rule, Marxist-Leninist ideology, and the bureaucratic coordination of the command economy (Kornai 1992). However, Marxist-Leninist ideologies of the omnipotent communist party were threatened by the new wave of Western cultural influences: freedom of improvisation (jazz), the shouting of Little Richard (rock and roll), and the yeah-yeah of the Beatles.

The music industry and its target consumers were changed by the age of beat in the East, too. Melodies for older audiences were replaced by the new music for youth, says Zorán Sztevanovity, one of the legendary figures of Hungarian beat in the 1960s, who is still actively writing and performing music in 2019, at the age of 77 (Kovács 2019). But the music market of this Eastern country has been manipulated by state authorities, state record labels and state radio stations, and of course by the communist party from the 1960s to the 1980s. (Csatári 2015).

The socialist market economy – this was a Hungarian expression for the system after the failed economic reforms of 1968 – has never prevailed over the ideological restrictions of the Soviet-type power system. Communist party leadership and the secret and "ordinary" police services also played important roles in the history of the Hungarian beat movement, and thus the success of a band was not solely determined by market forces. The most popular band in the 1960s, *Illés*, for example, was broken up after the lyricist, János Bródy was threatened with jail in the course of a police investigation against him. Although he only received a small fine at the conclusion of the investigation, secret police were also active in the procedures against him (Kocsis L. 1999: 431-437). The incident was, however, enough to generate tensions among members of the band, and the group disbanded relatively quickly, in the early 1970s.

That distorted environment is the reason why the careers of two of the greatest Hungarian beat stars of the 1960s differed so much. Although both were born in the

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1940s, both played the guitar, both were lead singers of their bands, both were (in the first phase of their career) very careful with politics, and both were (partially or fully) of Serbian origin. However, their Serbian heritage and their family experiences were totally different, which explains their different behaviour during and after the Beat Revolution in Hungary. One of them, Levente Szörényi,³ reached the peak of his beat career with *Illés* with a song based on a Serbian kolo in 1968, but later became the creator of the “Hungarian national rock opera”: *István, a király* (*Stephen, the King*). The other, Zorán Sztevanovity,⁴ was subdued in the 1960s, expressed his feelings and thoughts more and more openly in the 1970s, and only dared truly and publicly to embrace his Serbian heritage with his song *Kóló* at the age of 69, in 2011.

AFTER KHRUSCHEV’S THAW: WESTERN IMPACT ON EASTERN EUROPEAN MUSIC IN THE 1960S

Riding the liberating cultural waves of rock and roll and beat; adopting the shouting of Little Richard and the yeah-yeah of the Beatles – that is why a Hungarian beat band became the symbol of freedom and revolt in its home country in the 1960s. A few years after a failed political revolution, *Illés* sang about Little Richard. Their song about the famous American singer was composed in 1968 (SP 472), and even the first track on their very first record (EP 7297) in 1964 was a cover of Little Richard’s *Long Tall Sally* (Kocsis L. 1999: 389). In 1966 they were already singing “fáj, fáj, fáj” (“it hurts, it hurts, it hurts”) echoing the way the Beatles had shouted “yeah, yeah”. And they did not stop transforming themselves into something new in Hungary: after imitating Western singers and bands, they went on to create their very own musical style. One of these newly composed songs was even used on the Hungarian-language programmes of Radio Free Europe (RFE) after the 1970s. “The word is a dangerous weapon, and there is someone who is weaponless” – this part of their song of 1972 (*A szó veszélyes fegyver / The word is a dangerous weapon*) became a signal for one of the programmes of the American propaganda broadcaster (Bródy 2017: 42; 128).

The success of *Illés* was also a result of Khrushchev’s Thaw and the partial opening of Soviet-type systems in Eastern Europe. However, various Western cultural phenomena were all arriving at the same time in the late 1950s and early 1960s in Hungary because of the ideological limitations of Stalinist communism in the early 1950s, and because of the communist retaliations after the failed 1956 revolution. Thus, the new waves of jazz, rock and roll, and finally beat, reached Hungarian audiences at almost the same time. This piling up caused serious problems. One could say, it created a “music jam”, as we will see later...

3 Levente Bálint Szörényi. Born in Gmunden (now Austria), 26 April 1945.

4 Zorán Sztevanovity (Зоран Стевановић / Zoran Stevanović). Born in Belgrade (now Serbia), 4 March 1942.

The reason for the pile-up was that jazz had been barely tolerated in Hungary for more than a decade. There was a huge gap between Hungary, and, for example, Yugoslavia: the latter developed a fairly vibrant jazz life after 1945. When the Jazz Orchestra of Radio Belgrade gave a concert in Budapest right after the failed revolution (March 1957), Yugoslavian musicians recognized how restricted life (and jazz life) had been in Hungary. Vojislav-Bubiša Simić recalled his memories: “At that time those of us who had come from Tito’s Yugoslavia seemed like heralds of some new era. And even our music, that is to say, our jazz, was a pleasure they had never before experienced ... When we had crossed the border on our trip back home, we said: it’s true that there are a lot of things that aren’t right by us, but there you can see people who live worse than we do” (Vučetić 2018: 101).

Western cultural “menaces” were dangerous from the point of view of the ideological omnipotence of the communist party. Critiqueless devotion, adoration of the West was “false”, according to the Hungarian communist youth organization KISZ. This political and ideological organization led by a hard-liner communist, Zoltán Komócsin, between 1957 and 1961, stated that a broad layer of the Hungarian youth was “sensitive to hostile Western influences” (Fonyódi 2003: 23). In 1959, Komócsin said that hits played in music clubs were inappropriate from the point of view of socialist morale (Csatári 2015: 101).

But the situation in Hungary was improving: János Kádár, the leader of communist Hungary after 1956, knew that he had to make concessions to certain endeavours in the field of art, music, and in a limited way, even in literature. (This despite the fact that the association of writers was considered as triggering factor of the revolution against the Soviet-type system in 1956.) According to the Hungarian historian János M. Rainer, the Soviet-type system did not change institutionally in the whole Kádár-era – it remained a communist dictatorship. But the style of using absolute power had been changing after the cruel and bloody retaliation that followed the 1956 revolution. Tolerance in cultural affairs after 1961 had especially been palpable in the 1960s, if we compare the rule of Kádár to the era of Rákosi, the Stalinist party leader before 1956 (Rainer 2011).

Thus, after 1960, Hungary was not the worst among Eastern European satellite states of the Soviet Union. Analysing the Hungarian beatepoch of the 1960s, Péter Fonyódi states: the ideology and power structure which created the party-state came from the East, but the counter-culture called beat arrived from the West (Fonyódi 2003: 13). This was a result of a “somewhat more evolved rock scene” in Budapest and Warsaw, according to Ryback and Vučetić: János Kádár in Hungary and Władysław Gomułka in Poland “realized that, after the uprisings of 1956, it was not necessary to clamp down in all spheres of life, and therefore in both countries, rock and roll was accepted, so that at the start of the 1960s it had advanced to a stage ‘not found in any other country of the Warsaw Pact’” (Vučetić 2018: 110).

Rock and roll and beat were not the focus of the highest-ranking Hungarian communist ideologists and apparatchiks. During the age of beat (between 1963 and 1970) the main propaganda organ of the Hungarian Communist Party (Commission

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for Agitation and Propaganda: APO) issued a resolution concerning the beat movement only once. APO made 900 resolutions during this 7-8 year long period, and only once, on 7 August 1963, did it debate the "Jazz Affair", which was in reality the Illés affair. The resolution stated: "if there is a need, a few bands (for example: Illés) should be disbanded", broken up (Fonyódi 2003: 21).

What was the problem with this band? Why did Illés became an issue for the party leadership? It was an early formation of Illés which played at a festival for amateur bands organized by KISZ in Budapest. (Between 1957 and 1964, Early Illés's lineup was constantly changing, and the "classic" formation of five musicians emerged after the summer of 1965: Levente Szörényi, Szabolcs Szörényi, János Bródy, Lajos Illés, Zoltán Pásztory.) The festival was held on 3 May 1963 at the Metropolitan Sports Hall in Budapest, where altogether ten ensembles were playing. Lajos Illés, founder and band-leader of Illés called this event the first beat concert in Hungary (Miklós: 1977: 144).

Audiences behaved like Western fans at the time. There was shouting, frenzied fans on the streets, but there was an Eastern speciality, too: audience threw tomatoes at the sole ensemble, the Benkó Dixieland Band, which played only jazz. Even the jury got some tomatoes. Thirty-six years later, Lajos Illés remarked ironically to journalists: "The new youth culture introduced itself like this. Socialism almost collapsed because of us" (Fonyódi 2003: 21). An other member of "Early-Illés", Tas Nényei, remembers that the audience was shouting and chanting: "Il-lés, Il-lés" while the rival band, Metro, was playing. The feud between Illés and Metro began at this moment, according to Nényei (Bálint 2017: 12-13).

At this event, both main characters of my study could have met each other. Metro was led by Zorán, but the meeting of the main characters did not happen: Illés was still playing in its early period without Levente Szörényi. The latter only became the lead singer of Illés two years later. In 1963, Szörényi was still working as a "contract musician", sometimes as a studio musician. He was working for Zorán, too. Zorán was already well known in the music scene, starting his career in 1960 with the band Zenith that later transformed itself into Metro, playing twist. Twist was a novelty in the beginning of the 1960s, but it was not a revolution such as beat became a few years later, bringing about the frenetic success of Illés. The period from the end of the 1950s to the mid-1960s was a strange one in the international music market: rock and roll was almost dead, but beat had not yet been born. Metro fell into the "trap of twist", we could say, looking back at these "in-between" crisis years of pop culture (Frith et al. 2001: 116). And in Hungary there was another handicap for Metro in comparison with Illés: they remained imitators of Western music for too long, not starting to compose their own songs until much later. (Whereas Illés started to write their songs in 1965, as we will see later.) Zorán Sztevanovity and Levente Szörényi did not meet at the scandalous concert, but Szörényi knew what happened after the concert in the Metropolitan Sports Hall in 1963. Young fans even toppled tram cars over on Rákóczi Street, the main road of Budapest (Stumpf 2015: 43, 48; Kovács 2019).

It is interesting that Nényei, a member of the Early Illés, remembers the feud with Metro. But Szörényi, who joined the band later, recalls happy memories. He remem-

bers the cooperation between the “Holy Trinity of Hungarian Beat.” According to him, Metro, Illés and Omega, the three most popular bands, organized a concert together, and all three groups were playing there. Illés and Omega played together in other events, too (Stumpf 2015: 87). This cooperation is not surprising, however. The beat historian Csaba Bálint published a photograph of Illés and Omega band-members holidaying together at Lake Balaton in 1963 (Bálint 2017: 31). Nényei, naturally, can be seen in the photo, but Szörényi is missing, because he would join the band only two years later, in January 1965 (Stumpf 2015: 65). Then in 1967, the members of Metro, Illés and Omega played themselves in a film called *Ezek a fiatalok / These young people*, so the three bands appeared together again.

WHEN THE HUNGARIAN “LENNON-McCARTNEY” WAS BORN

After the scandalous festival at the Metropolitan Sports Hall, Illés had a change in line-up. Members of the Early Illés were influenced by the forbidden radio station Radio Luxembourg. It was a symbol for freedom for them and they copied British and American music. One of the members of Early Illés, Tas Nényei, remembers that his teacher, a priest at his Roman Catholic grammar school in Győr, told him to listen to this Western radio station (Bálint 2017: 15). Nényei later had a quarrel with Lajos Illés over financial issues. Both wanted to get rid of each other. Finally, Lajos Illés fired Nényei and some other members (Bálint 2017: 23).

New members Levente and Szabolcs Szörényi (the Szörényi brothers), and János Bródy joined the Illés group in 1964–65. They modified the “Luxembourg-style” of the *Early* Illés, opposing the view of Lajos Illés, the “old” leader of the band, who insisted that they should only play English or American songs. The new members reinterpreted freedom of expression. For them freedom was not only copying Western music, but creating Hungarian songs. This is, somehow, beat history repeating itself. After Britain, in Hungary too, something special was born. The Beatles composers were writing “their own songs, determining their own production values, making their career moves;” they were confident “that they could write songs for themselves” (Frith et al. 2001: 77; 79). Szörényi and Bródy did the same. They not only decided that they would write their own songs in Hungarian, but they would later refuse other composers and lyricists who would have liked to work for them. Thus, the Szörényi–Bródy duo was born, a few years after the Lennon–McCartney partnership.

Thus, Illés was the first Hungarian beat band singing in Hungarian. They made this decision in Nógrádverőce, in the summer of 1965, in a communist Youth Camp of KISZ. It was there that Szörényi and Bródy started to compose. Among the first Hungarian beat songs, *Oh, mond (Oh, tell me)* imitated the Kinks. The second song, *Az utcán (On the street)* was influenced by Hungarian folk melodies. Band leader Lajos Illés was wary of Hungarian songs not only because he was a fan of Radio Luxembourg. He also worried that fans might abandon them upon hearing Hungarian lyrics. But the endeavours of Szörényi and Bródy prevailed (Stumpf 2015: 62–65).

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This change in style changed the behaviour of the audience. According to their contract, Illés should have played in the Bosch Club in Budapest as a dance ensemble. Boys and girls should have danced to the imitated, Luxembourg-style music, as the club desired. But Illés started to play their own songs, and it was a speciality at this time. The audience also slowly began to listen to the lyrics, and instead of dancing they were just standing in front of the stage (Vámos 1994: 56).

According to Szörényi, things did not go so easily. Writing and composing Hungarian beat songs was at first only a "theoretical" breakthrough. It had no immediate effect: the audience did not even realise that the band was singing in Hungarian. This happened because of bad technical equipment, and also because of the fans' lack of interest in the lyrics. Later, when a special festival was organized in Salgótarján by the communist authorities preferring bands with Hungarian songs, Illés made a real breakthrough. Szörényi later commented on this festival as follows: "the comrades, anyway, helped the push of Hungarian music. I did not like them, but what is true, is true, I have to admit that" (Stumpf 2015: 75). The four songs of Illés that were performed at the festival were *Az utcán*, *Oh, mondd*, *Mindig veled* (*Always with you*) and *Légy jó kicsit hozzám* (*Be good, a bit, to me*).

We saw that, for example, *Az utcán* was influenced by Hungarian folk motives, and thus, after 1965, it was not only the "West" that influenced the music of the restructured Illés. As Szörényi and Bródy started to compose their own songs, they changed the history of the Hungarian Age of Beat. However, to understand this phenomenon, we should also take into consideration South Slavic influences on Hungarian culture over the last centuries.

SOUTH SLAVIC MOTIVES IN HUNGARIAN BEAT MUSIC

Serbs have made an ever-increasing impact on Hungarian culture since the 18th century. In the field of literature, Mihailo Vitković (Mihály Vitkovics, 1778–1829) played an important role in his time. (Hadrovics 2000: 160–161.) Among painters, Petar Dobrović (Péter Dobrovics, born in the Hungarian town of Pécs in 1890, died in Belgrade, 1942) is considered as one of the 100 best known Serbs in Serbia (Kostic–Urosevic 1993). As for music, the composer of the popular Hungarian TV series *Captain of Tenkes/Tenkes kapitánya* was a Serb musician and ethno-musicologist living in Hungary, Tihomir Vujičić (Tihamér Vujicsics, 1929–1975).

Tihomir Vujičić composed music in various styles, using Serbian, Hungarian and other motives and rhythms. In his final years he played together at several venues (in Pomáz, Csobánka, Szentendre: towns and villages near Budapest) with a local folk band of Pomáz. On the last occasion they met, Tihomir Vujičić offered them his advice (Abkarovits 2004: 17; Eredics 2007: 89). After his death in 1975 this band took his name as a sign of gratitude. This folk ensemble, Vujicsics Együttes, had ethnic Serbs in Hungary among its founders, and won the national talent contest *Ki mit tud* (*Who knows what*) in Hungary in 1977. In the year of 2014 they received the highest cultural award in the country, the Kossuth Prize. The band still exists, and nowadays

they also play beat adaptations. Vujicsics Együttes has concerts with the “heroes of the beat-revolution.” They play with Levente Szörényi, among others, rediscovering the Serbian roots of early beat music in Hungary, and remaking the melodies of the 1960s and 1970s (Marton 2014: 3–4).

Serbian influence had a great impact on Hungarian beat and pop music in the 1960s. Most people in Hungary are not aware of this significant contribution to their culture. Thus just a few of them can identify South Slavic motives, listening to music.

This long lasting ignorance was almost natural, if we consider that Hungary in the 1950s was not an open society. Openness slowly broadened after 1956, following the failed revolution against the Soviet-type system. As a sign of limited Westernization in the 1960s, the notorious Iron Curtain changed to a more porous and flexible “Nylon Curtain”, as Zsolt K. Horváth quotes György Péteri (K. Horváth 2015: 107–108). Gradually transnational and transsystemic changes developed between East and West, and cultural exchanges were no exceptions. Omega, Illés and LGT, the Hungarian bands of the 1960s and 1970s, were allowed to undertake concert tours in the West, but for most Hungarians visiting Western countries remained a distant dream. Images of the West were shaped by the few Western movies allowed into the country, the consumer goods imported or smuggled in, and by the pop music, broadcast by the forbidden radio stations Radio Luxembourg and Radio Free Europe (K. Horváth 2015: 108–109). Although the political system gradually loosened up, the borders opened only after Communism collapsed in 1989/1990.

Earlier, the cultures of neighbouring nations were relatively unknown for Hungarians. This was especially true with regard to Yugoslavia. After the 1948 rift – when Yugoslavia was expelled from the Cominform and boycotted by all members of the Communist bloc (Granville 1997: 16) – a kind of a “Cold War” broke out between the Soviet bloc and Yugoslavia that also involved Hungary. (Bencsik 2017) After 1948, South Slavic culture was suppressed in Hungary – no wonder that younger generations, growing up in the 1950s, knew practically nothing about the rich cultural heritage of Serbia or Yugoslavia.

PARADOXICAL STORIES OF BEAT STARS IN HUNGARY (I): LEVENTE SZÖRÉNYI

This Hungarian–Yugoslav “Cold War” also had a big impact on Hungarian beat. I will show this through two different – and paradoxical – cases: one is the oeuvre of Levente Szörényi, the other is the story of Zorán Sztevanovity. Both of them were stars in the Age of Beat in Hungary, and both of them had a Serbian-speaking father. Both of them used Serbian melodies and rhythms over the course of their career, but at different times – history plays with Hungarian musicians, too...

The best-known example for misunderstanding the Serbian influence on the nascent Hungarian beat-movement was the winning song of the most important song contest, *Táncdalfesztivál* in 1968. The song not only won the Grand Prize, and four other awards, but it also had been on the Hungarian hit list for 11 months (Stumpf

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2015: 88). The winning song was praised as a "Hungarian" beat song (Koltay 1980: 119), although it was based mostly on a Serbian kolo. Its title was: *Amikor én még kisserác voltam* (*When I was a little boy*) by the band Illés. It was not only the melody, composed by Levente Szörényi, that was based on Serbian motives. (He often listened to Radio Belgrade when he composed the music.) The songwriter János Bródy later mentioned that the title of the song could also have been understood as "When I was a little Serb." In Hungarian, this reads: "Amikor én még kis rác voltam" (Csatári 2017: 43). "Rác" is an ancient Hungarian name for Serbs, after the historical region of Raška. This is where most of the Serbs who fled to the Kingdom of Hungary, many centuries ago, came from.

But Hungarians in general, did not understand this kind of play of words at that time. And more importantly, neither did they recognize the Serbian melody (Marton 2014). After winning the contest, the only "tabloid" in Budapest, *Esti Hírlap* wrote on 21 August 1968, that this Illés song was like one of the melodies of the "kuruc" rebels (Koltay 1980: 119). Patriotic kuruc rebels fought against the ruling Austrian Habsburgs in the early eighteenth century.

It was not by chance that the composer of Illés, Levente Szörényi, used Serbian kolo as a source for his music. Szörényi's father came from a region predominantly populated by ethnic Serbs and Romanians. That region is the historical Banat of Severin (Северинска бановина), in Hungarian "Szörényi bánság". Szörényi's father was born into the family of Groda in the town of Oravicabánya (then Hungary, now Oravița in Romania), went to school in Palić, but later changed his name from Groda to Szörényi, recalling the Banat of Severin (Stumpf 2015: 19). His aim could have been ambiguous: his name should sound like a Hungarian one, but the new name hinted also at the region where Groda came from.

Levente Szörényi's grandmother, Mária Lozovits, was Serbian. She was living with the family during the time they lived in Budapest, and spoke to his son (e.g. Szörényi's father) in Serbian. The family celebrated two Christmases in every year: one for Catholics, and one for Orthodox Christians, because Szörényi's father and grandmother belonged to the latter religious group (Stumpf 2015: 20). However, the children, Levente and Szabolcs, did not learn Serbian. Levente Szörényi's grandfather (who came from a German family in Hungary) was a secretary of state in the Ministry of Finance between the two world wars. However, the family sank into poverty in the 1950s, during the peak of Stalinist communism in Hungary. Thus, Szörényi's parents decided to send the brothers, Levente and Szabolcs, to a state boarding school, which was rather similar to an orphanage (Stumpf 2015). Both brothers went on to join Illés. Levente's brother, Szabolcs Szörényi, recalled the roots of the family and of the music of Illés as follows: "At the beginning we used Serbian folk music motives in our songs: think of *Amikor én még kisserác voltam* for example. Our grandmother was of Serbian origin, she prayed in Serbian, and often softly sang Serbian religious songs. Because of her, our family often listened to Radio Belgrade" (Lőcsei 2003).

Szabolcs Szörényi is, however, not completely right. Illés actually started its career playing/plagiarizing English and American songs, and the band's line-up was constantly changing. When the Szörényi brothers arrived, they were still imitating

Western music, such as The Beatles, The Kinks, The Animals and Pretty Things, and while Levente Szörényi wanted to follow in the footsteps of The Beatles, János Bródy was more of a Rolling Stones fan. But Szörényi prevailed. Fans also brought songs to the band: they wanted Illés to play songs they had heard on Radio Luxembourg's *Top Twenty* programme (Stumpf 2015: 56–57).

In the summer of 1965, Levente Szörényi and János Bródy decided to write their own songs. The breakthrough came after a festival in Salgótarján, where they played their own music based on Hungarian, British and American patterns. It was only after the success in Salgótarján that they created songs based on Serbian rhythms and melodies. The Serbian kolo-type music of *Amikor én kissrác voltam/When I was a little child* skyrocketed the group to the top of the hit list, as mentioned above. Serbian and South Slavic motives could also be discovered in their other songs, for example *A kugli, Miért hagytuk, hogy így legyen? (Why did we let it happen?)*. Illés had no distinct style at this time, according to Levente Szörényi, and it was up to him whether the band used Hungarian or South Slavic melodies (Stumpf 2015: 79–80; 223).

It is interesting that Levente's father did not like this "Serbian connection." Although he spoke with his friends and his mother in Serbian, he told Levente: "You! You should write a few Hungarian melodies, too! You should not push this South Slavic line so strongly" (Stumpf 2015: 26).

The elder Szörényi was a neophyte who emphasised his belonging to the "Hungarian community," although he actually had no Hungarian ancestry. He was pondering the fate of the Hungarians with his friend Sándor Kászon Nagy. But, according to Levente Szörényi, Nagy was also a "rác" (Serb). Levente's father and Nagy were specifically "turanists," who were seeking the Asian roots and the ancient religion of the Hungarians. They organized archaeological digs in the mountains of Pilis, and built a tower to commemorate the tribal leader Koppány. Koppány fought the first Christian king in Hungary, St Stephen (Stephen I), and he is the pagan hero of the rock opera *István a király* composed by Levente Szörényi and János Bródy. Following his father's legacy, Levente Szörényi still supports a similar archaeological project, aiming to find traces of early Hungarians and the Asian Huns in these mountains (Stumpf 2015; Kocsis L. 1999). Szörényi, who is nowadays living on his own in the Pilis mountains, named his dog Koppány, after the pagan hero. Although in his childhood he had double Christmases, Orthodox and Roman Catholic, Szörényi today believes in a form of Zoroastrianism (as he himself says, "like Freddy Mercury did") and in reincarnation. He supposes that Zoroastrianism is closer to the early religion of the ancient Hungarians than Siberian shamanism, which was swept away by Christianity around AD 1000 (Stumpf 2015: 209; 213; 231).

This search for the pagan or Asian roots of Hungarians later also influenced Levente Szörényi in his music; Illés later went in the direction of folk music. This tendency was strengthened after the break-up of Illés. The Szörényi and the Tolcsvay Trió created a new band, Fonográf with János Bródy. Fonográf was a country rock band. Szörényi and Bródy also collaborated on a musical billed as the first Hungarian rock opera, *István a király/ Stephen, the King* which is about the power struggle between St Stephen and Koppány. It symbolized the fight

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between Nationalists (Koppány) and Westernizers (St Stephen), which has dominated Hungarian politics for the last 1000 years. Later, Szörényi composed another rock opera (which received its premiere in 1993) entitled *Attila – Sword of God*. The lyricist of this rock opera was not Bródy, but a politician, one of the right-wing leaders of the conservative MDF party that appeared after the fall of communism. (Sándor Lezsák is still an active politician. He has been a member of the Fidesz parliamentary group since 2006, while Fidesz has been the ruling party in Hungary since 2010.) Szörényi was also the designer of MDF’s party logo. Contrary to Szörényi’s politics, Bródy campaigned for SZDSZ, a liberal party, right after the fall of communism (Kocsis L. 1999).

PARADOXICAL STORIES OF BEAT STARS IN HUNGARY (II):
ZORÁN SZTEVANOVITY

I have mentioned several times that Hungarians are not aware of the impact Serbian culture has on their culture. Many of them do not know that one of their favourite singers considers himself a Serb. Not to forget, however, that he considers himself a Hungarian too (Kovács 2019). Such is the case of “Zorán,” or Zorán Sztevanovity. Although Géza Hofi, the most popular comedian during socialist times used to crack jokes about Zorán based on his Serbian family name, people do not consider Zorán to be a Serb, nor his brother Dusán Sztevanovity, who is one of the best known beat-pop lyricists in Hungary. Both of them played in the beat band Metro. Zorán became famous by winning a talent contest, “Ki mit tud,” in Hungary. Metro was playing at the contest as a backing band, but after “Ki mit tud” both Zorán and Metro became stars in Hungary.

In the 1960s, Zorán’s and Dusán’s “rivals” were Levente Szörényi, the composer and János Bródy, the lyricist of Illés; and Gábor Presser, the composer and Anna Adamis the lyricist of Omega. This was the era of the “Holy Trinity of Hungarian beat” or “beat-trinity”: Metro, Illés, Omega. It is interesting that later both Presser and Dusán Sztevanovity wrote songs for Zorán, who began a solo career in the 1970s (Szántó et al. 1985).

Thus, beat culture in Hungary was dominated by three bands in the 1960s: Illés, Omega and Metro. But the Sztevanovity brothers, playing in Metro, did not use Serbian motives in their music at the beginning of their career. This is a strange phenomenon at first glance, considering their ancestry, but it is totally understandable if we look at the history of Hungarian–Yugoslav relations after 1948.

Zorán’s father, Milutin Stevanović was born in Belgrade in 1921. He was a Yugoslav diplomat in 1948 in Budapest. He did not have close links with Hungary, but was caught out by history. After the Tito–Stalin split, Milutin Stevanović remained in Hungary, and tried to be loyal to the Hungarian Stalinist government, undertaking the editing of a newspaper for South Slavs (*Délszláv Szövetség*) in Hungary. He was considered at this time to be an enemy of Yugoslavia, creating counter-propaganda against Tito and Belgrade among South Slavs in Hungary. But it was the Hungarian

Stalinist regime that caught him: he was arrested a few years later by the infamous secret police, ÁVH.

It happened in 1952 when Zorán was ten years old (Vukman 2016: 1). The secret police took Milutin when he was tutoring his son. His mother was in shock. Marija Stevanović had to work as a typist to earn for her family, raising two children and supporting her mother (Vukman 2016: 7). We do not know what the 10-year-old Zorán felt when he saw his father being taken away. Milutin was charged with spying. Although we do not know the psychological background, it is possible that Zorán chose to avoid addressing politically sensitive issues in his lyrics and using Serbian melodies, because of his personal experiences in his childhood. We only know now that he started to play Serbian-style music regularly in the 21st century, when he released his album with the title track *Kólló*. Over the last few years Zorán has been publicly discussing his family's fortunes. He thinks that he and his brother might have never become musicians had their father remained a Yugoslav diplomat who could have been sent every two, three or four years to a different country. Thus, getting stuck in Hungary helped him become a singer (Kovács 2019).

Although Milutin Stevanović was initially sentenced to ten years in prison, political change came when Stalin died. In Hungary, Imre Nagy, the communist reformer took over the government as a new prime minister in 1953. So Milutin was released from prison in 1955 (Vukman 2016: 5-7). After his imprisonment, Milutin did not give up his cultural activities, editing the last book of Tihomir Vujičić, the well known musician and musicologist, who died tragically in a plane crash in Syria. Because of Vujičić's sudden death, Milutin Stevanović was the one who finalized the text of the musician's book (Eperjessy 2007: 87-88).

Zorán did not want to mix politics with music. He avoided discussing daily politics on the stage (Kovács 2019). But possibly his most important song was written in 1977. The lyrics of *Apám hitte* (*My father had believed it*) hint at his father's views, when he "had believed in the truth of the words," and in "the words of the newstellers," and "in the directions of the rivers." These could be understood as references to Stalinist propaganda, or to the grand plans of Stalinism of making rivers in Siberia flowing backwards. Zorán, in contrast to his father, believes in himself and in the death of weapons, but he (or rather his brother, Dusán, the lyricist) closes the song with these words: "and I believe, believe, believe, in my father." Zorán became the greatest solo pop singer with this and other similar songs in the late 1970s and early 1980s in Hungary.

CONCLUSION

We can summarize Levente Szörényi's and Zorán Sztevanovity's careers by saying that they were moving on the same path but in opposite directions. Both were partially or fully of Serbian origins, but Szörényi did not have awful personal experiences with secret police in his childhood. Yet he was also aware of the perils: his family narrowly

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avoided forceful deportation by the communist authorities at the beginning of the 1950s. On the other hand, Zorán had traumatic experiences, being a Serb in communist Hungary. Thus, it might be that Szörényi was using Serbian motives more freely in his works because he lacked negative personal experiences, and may even have done this to antagonise his father.

It is a paradoxical situation that although Levente Szörényi still occasionally joins the Vujicsics Együttes on stage, he is a strong supporter of the search for the ancient pagan roots of Hungarians. And it should be emphasized that Szörényi is not only considered as the founder of the Hungarian style of beat in the 1960s, but is also the creator of the first Hungarian national rock opera, *István, a király* (1983). On the contrary, nowadays Zorán sings new songs representing Serbian music in Hungary. He has publicly revealed that he supports Serbian sport teams when they play against their Hungarian rivals. He also stated that he considers himself both a Serb and a Hungarian (Kovács 2019).

The beat generation in Hungary started to perform in the 1960s. This decade was the age of protest on both sides of Europe. But the end of the era was totally different in the East and the West. The beat revolution ended in the West in a kind of commercialization, but in the East, it crashed into an impenetrable wall of communist ideology. The ambiguity of Illés's lyrics caused real problems for musical censors in Hungary. János Bródy, the writer of the lyrics, used romantic love poems as a kind of "language of flowers" for hidden political messages. But Illés ceased to exist in the early 1970s. In Hungary, it was the beginning of a complex process of ideological transformation on both sides: beat and pop bands abandoned a critical approach towards socialist society, and communist power began to be tolerant of the "ideologically softened" texts of these musicians. Illés fell apart when Bródy was threatened by the police. Instead of Illés, a lesser "revolutionary" band, Fonográf, was created. The band Metro was also dissolved, and Zorán started his solo career. Fresh endeavours started again in the 1980s when the rock opera *István, a király* was composed by Levente Szörényi and János Bródy. Serbian influences began to disappear from the works of Szörényi, but a few years later, Zorán and Dusán Sztevanovity began to use their Serbian heritage more and more often in their songs.

APPENDIX⁵*Top 10 songs of November 1967*

1. Szörényi, L. – Bródy: Sárga rózsza (Yellow rose) – Illés
2. Szörényi, L. – Bródy: Láss, láss, ne csak nézz (See, see, do not just look) – Illés
3. Schöck – Sztevanovity, D.: Gyémánt és arany (Diamond and gold) – Metro
4. Szörényi, L. – Bródy: Eljöttél (You have come along) – Illés
6. Schöck – Sztevanovity, D.: Belle a részeges kutya (Belle, the drunken dog) – Metro

5 Szőnyei (2004). [Szörényi brothers: Levente and Szabolcs Szörényi; Sztevanovity brothers: Dusán and Zorán Sztevanovity.]

7. Majláth – Fülöp: Rövid az élet (Life is short) – Toldy, Mária
8. Majláth – Fülöp: Nem várok holnapig (I don't wait 'til tomorrow) – Zalatnay, Sarolta
9. Varannai – Tamás: Gondolj majd rám (Think on me) – Echo
10. Szörényi, L. – Bródy: Ne gondold (Don't think) – Illés

Top 10 Songs of July 1968

1. Szörényi, L. – Bródy: Little Richard énekel (Little Richard is singing) – Illés
2. Szörényi, L. – Bródy: Eltávozott nap (Sun gone away) – Illés
3. Szörényi, L. – Bródy: Kis virág (Little flower) – Illés
4. Szörényi, L. – Bródy: Nem érti más csak én (Nobody understands but me) – Illés
5. Presser – S. Nagy: Rózsafák (Rosetrees) - Omega
6. Presser – S. Nagy: Azt mondta az anyukám (Mamma said) - Omega
7. Szörényi, L. – Bródy: Sárga rózsa (Yellow rose) – Illés
8. Presser – Adamis: Ismertem egy lányt (Once I knew a girl) – Omega
9. Sztevanovity, Z. – Sztevanovity, D.: Egy fiú és egy lány (A boy and a girl) – Metro
10. Edwards – Sztevanovity, D.: Átölelsz még (You are still going to hug me) – Zalatnay, Sarolta

Top 10 songs of April 1969

1. Szörényi, L. – Bródy: Holdfény 69 – (Moonlight 69) Illés
2. Presser – Adamis: Trombitás Frédi (Fred the trumpeter) – Omega
3. Schöck – Sztevanovity, D.: Pár csepp méz (A few drops of honey) – Metro
4. Presser – Adamis: Ha én szél lehetnék (If I were the wind) – Omega
5. Szörényi, Sz. – Bródy: Régi dal (Old song) – Illés
6. Szörényi, L. – Bródy: Téli álom (Winter dream) – Illés
7. Frenreisz – Szenes: Tölcsért csinálók a kezemből (Making a cone out of my hand) – Zalatnay, Sarolta
8. Presser – Adamis: Egy lány nem ment haza (A girl didn't go home) – Omega
9. Szörényi, Sz. – Bródy: Az ész a fontos, nem a haj (Reason is important not hair) – Illés
10. Schöck – Sztevanovity, D.: Nem vagyok elveszett ember (I am not lost) – Metro

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ИВАН МИКЛОШ СЕГО

„СРПСКА ВЕЗА” У ВРЕМЕ „БИТ” РЕВОЛУЦИЈЕ У МАЂАРСКОЈ

(РЕЗИМЕ)

Шездесете године XX века су раздобље када се у Мађарској јавља прва генерација „бит” (рок) музичара. Била је то деценија обележена протестима с обе стране „гвоздене завесе” у Европи. Међутим, ово раздобље завршило се на потпуно различите начине на Истоку и Западу. Наиме, на Западу се рок револуција окончала комерцијализацијом, док се на Истоку разбила о непробојан зид комунистичке идеологије. Власти су манипулисале музичким тржиштем у Мађарској, а посебно Комунистичка партија од шездесетих до осамдесетих година XX века. Партијско руководство, као и тајна и „обична” полиција играле су важну улогу у историји мађарског рок покрета. То нестабилно окружје било је разлог због којег се каријере двојице највећих мађарских рок звезда из шездесетих значајно разликују: наиме, каријере Левента Серенија и Зорана Стевановића можемо сумирати тако што ћемо рећи да су се они кретали истом трасом, али у супротним смеровима. Обојица су била делимично или потпуно српског порекла; били су вокални солисти и лидери својих бендова; обојица су (барем на почетку каријере) избегавала политичност. Међутим, њихова породична искуства у вези са српским пореклом била су потпуно различита, што објашњава њихово супротно понашање за време и након рокенрол револуције у Мађарској. Један од њих, Левент Серени, достигао је врхунац своје рок каријере са бендом *Illés* 1968. године, захваљујући песми базираној на српском колу; међутим, касније је постао творац „мађарске националне рок опере” *Краљ Ишћиван*. Други музичар, Зоран Стевановић, био је уздржан током шездесетих, да би затим све отвореније изражавао своје мисли и осећања током седамдесетих, а потом се одважио да јавно обелодани своје српско порекло тек 2011. године, када је имао пуних 69 година, са песмом *Коло*. Ове околности постају јасније када сагледамо историјат мађарско-југословенских односа након 1948. године.

Кључне речи: „бит” музика, Мађарска, Зоран Стевановић, Левент Серени, Илес

АНГАЖМАН У МУЗИЧКОЈ КРИТИЦИ: НАПИСИ ПАВЛА СТЕФАНОВИЋА У МУЗИЧКОМ ГЛАСНИКУ (1938–1940)*

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Оригинални научни чланак

АПСТРАКТ

Студија је посвећена критичарском раду Павла Стефановића (1901–1985) у *Музичком гласнику* (1938–1940). У том часопису Стефановић је објавио осамнаест чланака, на преко стотину страница. Он је пратио београдски музички живот – оперске и балетске представе и концерте, наступања домаћих уметника и инострана гостовања. Студија анализира Стефановићев поступак и као карактеристичну црту уочава његов ангажман. Антифашистички и левичарски опредељен, он је реаговао на негативне идеолошке и друштвене појаве које су се испољиле у музици и музичком животу. С друге стране, јасно је изразио свој естетски хедонизам у сусрету с музичким делима и интерпретацијама. Те две компоненте његове личности и његове музикографије живеле су напореда и међусобно се нису угрожавале. У текстовима објављеним у *Музичком гласнику* није дошло до ескалације у правцу како методолошког детерминизма, тако ни ларпурлартизма.

Кључне речи: Павле Стефановић, *Музички гласник* (1928–1941), српска музичка критика XX века, српска музичка периодика XX века, ангажман у музичкој критици, антифашизам

Свеукупни, убрзани и снажни развој српске музичке културе у међуратном раздобљу обухватио је и музичку периодику. До Првог светског рата покренута

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су четири музичка часописа, а после 1918. године чак седам. То су: *Музички гласник* (1922), *Музика* (1928–1929), *Гласник Музичкој друштва „Станковић”* (1928–1934, 1938–1941; јануара 1931. преименован у *Музички гласник*), *Звук* (1932–1936), *Весник Јужнословенској њевачкој савеза* (1935–1936, 1938), *Славенска музика* (1939–1941) и *Ревија музике* (1940). Међу тим часописима *Гласник Музичкој друштва „Станковић” / Музички гласник* заузима посебно место. Наиме, он је од свих међуратних гласила излазио најдуже – безмало једанаест година, и објавио 718 чланака на око 2.400 страница. То је најобимнија појединачна продукција у оквирима домаће музичке периодике посматраног доба. По разноврсности и квалитету прилога он заједно с *Музиком* и *Звуком* представља врхунце међуратне музичке периодике.

Гласник Музичкој друштва „Станковић” почео је да излази априла 1928. године. Први уредник није био музичар по струци већ љубитељ музике – Милан П. Богдановић, пензионисани потпуковник и члан Друштва „Станковић”. Часопис је покренут и потом излазио као месечник.

Гласникова физиономија је претрпела значајне промене, она није била фиксирана на самом почетку. Наиме, часопис је имао да прође кроз видну еволуцију када је реч о аспирацијама и концепцији. Пођимо од почетка.

У првом броју је објављен програмски текст Душана Путника, председника Музичког друштва „Станковић”. Он је подсетио на чињеницу да Друштво „Станковић” има три одсека – школу, хор и оркестар, и да ти одсеци функционишу независно један од другог. *Гласников* циљ требало је да буде повезивање наведених одсека, и то кроз информисање о њиховом раду. Такође, *Гласник* је имао да ради и на пропагирању и остваривању циљева Друштва „Станковић”. А ваљало је и окупити и увећати број сарадника Друштва.

У складу с прокламованим циљевима и концепцији, *Гласник* је испрва вођен као унутрашњи, непретенциозни информатор Музичког друштва „Станковић”. Пратио се рад Хора, Оркестра, Музичке школе и Библиотеке. Тада наилазимо на пописе наставника у Музичкој школи „Станковић”, као и на извештаје о поселима и другим догађајима у Друштву. У том првом периоду било је и дистинктивнијих текстова – критичких приказа значајних музичких премијера у Београду, а писано је и о Корнелију Станковићу, проблемима музичке педагогије и савремене музике и др. Ипак, доминирало је базично информисање: у првом плану било је праћење рада Друштва, а за његове чланове. Таква концепција се одржала годину и по дана.

Већ у октобру 1929. наилази се на видну промену. Од тога времена *Гласник* задобија другачији а трајан профил. Сада се на иницијалном месту објављују проблемски текстови и есеји, на бројне, разноврсне теме. Општа историја музике, филозофија и естетика музике, историографски прилози о српској музици, чланци из хрватске, словеначке, бугарске музике, црквена и авангардна музика, питања релација музике и друштва, музике и филма, проблем националног музичког израза, портрети савремених домаћих композитора, педагошке теме, све је то обрађивано на страницама *Музичкој гласника*. У највеће куриозитете долазе текстови о музичкој култури код нас и онда мало познатих земаља

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У МУЗИЧКОМ ГЛАСНИКУ (1938–1940)

(Сједињене Америчке Државе, Албанија). Часопис је имао и рубрике за музичке вести и критичке осврте на музичке догађаје. Праћење рада Музичког друштва „Станковић” није напуштено, али сада је остваривано у издвојеној и сажетијој рубрици. Значајан је податак да је новембра 1929. *Гласник* постао официјелно гласило Јужнословенског певачког савеза. Стога је делатност Савеза праћена редовно и подробно, у оквиру посебне рубрике. Треба имати у виду да Јужнословенски певачки савез све до 1935, све до покретања *Весника ЈПС*, није имао своје публикације.

Остварена промена у концепцији ускоро ће бити формализована променом имена часописа: број за јануар 1931. изаћи ће под називом *Музички гласник*, и тај назив ће остати до краја постојања ове ревије. Од тога времена, па до првог престанка излажења у децембру 1934, часопис је уређивао одбор у којем су били: Милан П. Богдановић, Петар Бингулац, Рикард Шварц, Михаило Вукдраговић, Вацлав Ведрал, Бранко М. Драгутиновић и Милан Бајшански. Поред уредника, сарадници у првој *Гласничковој* серији били су значајни и најзначајнији музичари онога доба: Коста П. Манојловић, Бранко М. Драгутиновић, Милка Ђаја, Антун Добронић, Божидар Широла, Драгутин Чолић, Стана Рибникар, Миленко Живковић, Зинаида Грицкат, Ерих Самлаић.

Прекид у излажењу трајао је четири године. *Гласник* је обновљен у јануару 1938. и наставио је да излази све до фебруара 1941. Избијање Другог светског рата заувек ће прекинути егзистенцију овог часописа. Ново уредништво сачињавали су Стана Ђурић-Клајн, Вацлав Ведрал и Миленко Живковић. Ова чињеница је важна. Наиме, године 1936. престао је да излази *Звук*, а његова уредница била је Стана Рибникар (= Ђурић-Клајн). С обзиром на концепцију, личности сарадника и идеолошку оријентацију, нова серија *Музичког гласника* препознаје се као наставак *Звука*. Као што је то било у *Звуку*, и у новоме низу *Музичког гласника* акценат је стављен на савремену музику, музичку историографију и етномузикологију. Личности критичара – дописника из Загреба и Љубљане, читалац ће препознати из *Звука* (Павао Марковац, Ерих Самлаић; Драготин Цветко). У *Музичком гласнику* после 1938. приметно је и присуство марксизма. Међу сарадницима сада се укрштају стара и нова имена: Коста П. Манојловић, Антун Добронић, Лујо Давичо, Мери Жежељ, Милка Ђаја, Предраг Милошевић, Петар Коњовић, Јован Бандур, Јосип Славенски, Миховил Томандал, Јуриј Арбатски и др.

Као што је познато, у другој половини XX века литература о музици, па тако и музичка периодика, нису биле истраживачка преокупација српске музикологије. Разуме се, *Музички гласник* није заборављен у југословенским лексикографским приручницима, али се о њему нису писале научне студије.² У последњој деценији прошлог столећа Роксанда Пејовић је објавила двотомну историју српске музикографије до Другог светског рата; у другом тому, који обрађује међуратни период, делимично је разматрана грађа *Музичког гласника*, али не као оделита тема и целина, већ кроз праћење рада појединих музикографа (Пејовић 1999).

2 Видети: Đurić-Klajn MCMLXXIV²; Pejović 1984a.

Музички гласник се систематски чита и анализира у последњих десетак година, у студијама писца ових редова. До сада је пажња била посвећена неколиким аспектима *Гласникове* музикографије: рецепцији западноевропске и авангардне музике, односу према тзв. националном стилу, почецима музичке историографије на страницама ове ревије, упливу марксизма, а онда и критичарском раду Косте П. Манојловића (Васић 2011, 2012б, 2012в, 2013а, 2013б, 2014; Vasić 2017а, 2017б). Богата грађа овог часописа завређује даља испитивања.

Павле Стефановић заузима особено место у историји српске музикографије. Филозоф а не музичар по образовању, он се прикључује оном крилу националне музичке критике и есејистике у којем налазимо истакнуте српске књижевнике и интелектуалце који су добро и одлично познавали музичку уметност и њену историју и објављивали текстове о музици. Сетимо се само Богдана Поповића, Исидоре Секулић, Станислава Винавера и Виктора Новака.³ Па ипак, Стефановић се издваја. Он је, међу музичким писцима којима музика није била основна струка, и уз Винавера, остварио најобимнији опус.⁴ Његов „глас” се разликује и препознатљивим стилем: елоквенција, асоцијативност, пластичност и сугестивност израза, чине га блиским Станиславу Винаверу, а удаљавају га од српских музичких критичара, музичара по образовању, чије је писање, уопште узевши, било стилски мање разуђено.

Павле Стефановић је као музички писац и критичар поделио судбину осталих српских музикографа; историја музикографије је касно постала равноправна истраживачка област српске музикологије – то се догодило тек од последње деценије ХХ века, с појавом низа књига и радова Роксанде Пејовић и Слободана Турлакова.⁵ Ипак, треба имати у виду да је Стефановић живео до 1985. године, па као активан аутор и није могао бити тема музичке историографије. Међутим, његова вредност је уочена од савременика и његов обимни есеј *Пушеви ка ђоимању музике* нашао се на челном месту антологије српске музичке есејистике из 1966. године.⁶

Проучавање текстова Павла Стефановића отворила је музиколог Александра Кесеровић. Из године 1993. потиче њена (необјављена) магистарска теза посвећена анализи Стефановићевих естетичких погледа (Keserović 1993). Општи, синтетски поглед на Стефановићеву музикографску оставштину дала је Роксанда Пејовић у поменутој историји наше литературе о музици (Пејовић 1999: 308–321). Према том тексту иста ауторка је саставила поглавље о Стефановићевом међуратном списатељском раду у својој монографији о Стефановићу и Драгутину

3 Видети Васић 2004: 169–170; Пено 2011.

4 Библиографија Стефановићевих написа објављена је у: Јанковић-Бегуш 2017: 243–291.

5 Видети Васић 2006.

6 Видети Ђирилов – Ђурић-Клајн – Трифуновић 1966: 203–231.

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 У МУЗИЧКОМ ГЛАСНИКУ (1938–1940)

Гостушком (Пејовић 2012: 11–25). Најзад, Павлу Стефановићу је био посвећен интердисциплинарни научни скуп, одржан 2016. у Удружењу композитора Србије. Идуће године Музиколошко друштво Србије и Факултет музичке уметности у Београду објавили су обиман тематски зборник научних радова *О укусима се расиравља: Павле Стефановић (1901–1985)* (Маринковић и Јанковић-Бегуш 2017). Та књига садржи и прилоге посвећене појединим сегментима Стефановићеве музикографије.

Павле Стефановић се први пут јавио у *Музичком гласнику* јуна 1938. године; последње његово појављивање догодило се у двоброју за јануар и фебруар 1940. године. Укупно је објавио осамнаест чланака. Само од тих његових текстова могла би се сачинити књига од стотину страница.

Павле Стефановић је био један од *Гласникових* музичких критичара – „дописник” из Београда. Он је пратио престоничке музичке догађаје – у Београдској опери и Балету, Београдској филхармонији, наступања бројних домаћих уметника и иностраних гостију. Кроз његове критике пролазе: Франкфуртска опера, Стеван Христић као композитор, Певачко друштво „Бинички” из Лесковца, Магда Таљаферо (Magda Tagliaferro), Златко Балоквић, Ловро Матачић (кога је нарочито ценио), Натан Милштајн (Nathan Milstein), Марија и Олга Михаиловић, Жак Тибо (Jacques Thibaud), Божидар Кунц, Енрико Мајнарди (Enrico Mainardi), Бронислав Хуберман (Bronislaw Huberman), Александар Боровски (Александр Боровский), Гордана Милојевић, Александар Унински (Александр Юнинский), Игнац Фридман (Ignaz Friedman), Нада Бранковић, Никита Магалов и многи други уметници. Наше обраћање овим текстовима било је мотивисано жељом да се допре до темељних црта Павла Стефановића као музичког критичара.

Павле Стефановић је у *Музичком гласнику* у четири наврата иступио са својеврсним програмским текстовима, различитог усмерења. Из тих текстова, али и из самих критика разазнаје се доминанта његовог рада у *Гласнику*, а то је *ангажман* – колико музички, толико и ванмузички. Овде нас интересује тај аспект његовог рада у овом часопису.

Идеолошка уверења Павла Стефановића испољена су већ у периоду пре Другог светског рата: приањање уз лево оријентисану мисао и устајање против фашизма. Сходно тим погледима и ставовима, Павле Стефановић је држао – то закључујемо из самих текстова – да музички критичар не треба да се бави само естетском валоризацијом композиција или извођења; њему је било важно да се не изгуби из вида оно што је у случају одређеног музичког догађаја *ејнички* битно, па и битније, а то су могле бити политичке или идеолошке импликације. Уколико је повод био посебно проблематичан, Павле Стефановић није имао колебања – контекст је морао добити наглашену обраду, а естетски аспект је донекле прелазило у други план.

Године 1938. у Београду је гостовала Франкфуртска опера. Стефановић је

о том догађају известио *Музички гласник*. Он је, заправо, написао три чланка о том значајном гостовању (Стефановић 1938а, 1938б, 1938в). Други чланак је посвећен извођењу Моцартове (W. A. Mozart) опере *Фијарова женидба* и опере Рихарда Штрауса (Richard Strauss) *Кавалер с ружом*, а трећи Вагнеровој (Richard Wagner) опери *Валкира*. Али најважнији је први текст. Најдужи од ова три написа, први је својеврстан програмски текст у којем критичар разоткрива мотиве Министарства пропаганде Трећег рајха које је решило да пошаље Франкфуртску оперу у Краљевину Југославију. Павле Стефановић је признао сваку вредност немачким музичарима, од дубоког знања и перфекционизма у раду до беспрекорних уметничких домета. Није остао дужан таленту и посвећеном раду гостију из Франкфурта, али читалац јасно осећа његов хладни тон и озбиљно – не забринуто већ неумољиво држање човека који не скреће поглед од зла; слушајући и гледајући највише домете немачког духа, он у себи носи мисао на оно што читаоцима онда и помиње: расне законе и прогон Јевреја. Двапут се јавља иста мисао: у тој и таквој Немачкој је један Хиндемит (Paul Hindemith) заћутао, односно ћути (Стефановић 1938а: 120, 121).

Догађаји из септембра 1938. године – када Чехословачка буде препуштена својој судбини – изазваће код Павла Стефановића револт. Поводом наступања Вере Борске (Věra Borská), раније чланице опере у Брну, читамо:

Певачица је Чехиња. Певала је 21. септембра. Као чланица немачке опере, певала је на немачком језику. Морала је осећати што и многи у публици. Певач је и човек. Његова друштвена улога не престаје са вокалном делатношћу. Његова хумана осећајност још мање. Певала је једног страшног дана г-ђа Борска... Ни критичар није увек позван да држи перо у руци. Рука се завршава шаком, чија три прста држе перо и свих пет се стежу у песницу (Стефановић 1938а: 182).

Павле Стефановић не устаје само против фашизма и антисемитизма; његов ангажман показује да он веома добро зна, па то жели и да каже, колико је међуратној политичкој кризи, али и судбини тзв. малих народа и држава допринео империјализам и колонијализам појединих западних земаља.

Децембра 1938. Павле Стефановић се зауставио код једног предавања у Англо-америчко-југословенском клубу у Београду. Предавање је одржао Лавет Филдинг Едвардс (Lovett Fielding Edwards, 1901–1984) потоњи преводац Андрићевог романа *На Дрини ћуприја* на енглески;⁷ превео је, такође, *Мемоаре* проте Матеје Ненадовића. У предатном издању српског превода Лоренсовог (David Herbert Lawrence) романа *Синови и љубавници*, он је написао предговор.⁸ Поред осталог, пре Другог светског рата објавио је, на енглеском језику, и две књиге о

7 Подробну и опсежну анализу тога превода видети у Ракић 1998. Иначе, тај превод је пратила мала политичка афера. Наиме, Андрић је оштро реаговао, у писменој форми, на извесне политичке рефлексије које је Едвардс изнео у предговору за свој превод; видети: Мартенс 2016.

8 Превод је објављен у две књиге за издавачку кућу Космос из Београда, 1939. године.

АЛЕКСАНДАР ВАСИЋ
АНГАЖМАН У МУЗИЧКОЈ КРИТИЦИ: НАПИСИ ПАВЛА СТЕФАНОВИЋА
У МУЗИЧКОМ ГЛАСНИКУ (1938–1940)

Југославији: *Светиовно ходочашће: њујорско путовање кроз Југославију* (1938) и *Пуџник у Југославији* (1939). Године 1972. њујоршка издавачка кућа „Sten and Day” објавила је, у његовом преводу, монографију археолога Драгослава Срејовића о Лепенском виру. Преводио је и с француског и италијанског језика.

Лавет Ф. Едвардс, који се, према Стефановићевим речима, бавио и музичком критиком, одржао је предавање о музичкој драми *Међулушко блаво* Светомира Настасијевића, на текст Момчила Настасијевића. Текст предавања није сачуван (ако је писаног текста и било), па се о његовом садржају и карактеру обавештавамо из приказа Павла Стефановића.

Критичар *Музичког гласника* се није дао завести комплиментима које је енглески критичар начинио Настасијевићевом делу. Он прелази преко њих (уочавајући проблематична поређења с Римским-Корсаковим /Н. А. Римский-Корсаков/, на штету руског композитора); он, наиме, проницљиво сагледава идеолошку подлогу Едвардсовог предавања, подлогу која се може означити као империјални дискурс. Према Стефановићевим речима, Лавет Едвардс воли егзотику и Балканцима препоручује да се држе култа народних веровања и примитивног мистицизма. Али, пита се Павле Стефановић, зашто то исто Едвардс не препоручује својим сународницима? И онда ређа „градивне елементе” енглеске историје и развоја. Помиње и енглеску колонијалну политику, пословну, трговачку упорност, организаторску жилавост и колонизаторску еластичност. Овде нам је потребан један дужи цитат из Стефановићеве пророрне анализе:

Као многобројни мисионари са Библијама у џепу, са империјалном грађанском сигурношћу у срцу, врве Истоком... културни пропагатори светског језика, проучаваоци пасивистичког капацитета малих и сиромашних, заосталих народа, саветујући овима да остану само своји, само специфични, само национални и то на начин који ће их оставити по страни од друштвеног процеса развића путем јачања рационалне културе, путем прихватања научне мисли и реалног познавања садашњости (Стефановић 1938е: 218).

После тога, Павле Стефановић води свој беспштедни „одговор” Лавету ка кулминацији, он му на крају с правом пребацује и добацује:

[Енглези] нама пак препоручују неговање духа и морала народних предања. По њему, дакле, ми да копамо и из њега фетише да градимо, мирни, добри и снисходљиви, оригинални и расно лични. Да копамо по мраку своје прошлости материјал сопственог духовног и моралног достојанства, за себе, за своју дубину, за своју балканску оригиналност а да оставимо другима да копају руде, да црпу сировине, да сисају из земље петролеј, да беру памук и граде текстилну индустрију... Хумор, оптимизам и рационалност су темељне црте велике Енглеске културе данас. Материјално постоље ове огромне империјалне заједнице ишчаурило је те вредности, створивши за њихов

развитак услове. И Балкану треба хумора, оптимизма и рационалности, Ловет Едвардсе! (Стефановић 1938е: 218–219).⁹

Друштвена условљеност уметности тема је којој Павле Стефановић у *Музичком гласнику* није посветио теоријски оглед. Међутим, он се на више места осврће на тај однос. Не иступа с елаборацијом, већ с извесним подражавањем; тако и на следећем месту, где је реч о успесима совјетских музичара:

Може ли ико бити толико наиван или зловољан да после огромног успеха ученика Московског конзерваториума на Међународном конкурс у Исај у Брислу не назре тесну повезаност овог педагошког инструменталистичког метода са општим друштвеним условима развитка и неговања културе и уметности напосе у тој средини? (Стефановић 1938е: 219).

И онда Стефановић цитира Емила Буријана (Emil František Burian) који говори о уметности као огледалу свога времена, што је очито Стефановићу блиско схватање. Ипак, код Стефановића, у *Гласнику*, нема онога крутог детерминизма који се запажа у огледима Војислава Вучковића, нарочито када је реч о упливу друштвених чинилаца на унутрашњу структуру музичког уметничког дела.¹⁰

На многим местима пратимо Павла Стефановића као заступника идеје социјалне правде и историјске истине. Иако високо вреднује домете београдског извођења опере *Андре Шеније* Умберта Ђордана (Umberto Giordano), називајући ту представу уистину великом, он том делу не опрашта сиже који је, како каже, реакционаран и управо антиреволуционаран: „То нереволуционарно дело о револуцији, реакционарно и управо антиреволуционарно по садржају (у коме су све лепоте и врлине на примерцима класе која одлази, све порочности и грубијанства... из класе која долази)...” (Стефановић 1938д: 181). О представи Стефановић каже: „... све је било уметнички истинито у оној мери у којој је у животној аутентичности морало бити лажно” (Стефановић 1938д: 181). Ова критика можда на најбољи начин приказује савршену коегзистенцију социјално ангажованог критичара и суптилног естетике, у личности Павла Стефановића. Један другога нису угрожавали, али је сваки морао да се изрази снажно и независно.

Јача нијанса одговарајуће идеолошке усмерености и притајене тенденције запажа се у позитивној критици београдског концерта лесковачког певачког друштва „Бинички”. Стефановић каже: „Nema zaista ni jednog srpskog grada od nekoliko desetina hiljada stanovnika a da u njemu bar trideset građana ne preстоје sat ili dva nedeljno u kakvoj školi, u prostorijama kog udruženja, sa notnom hartijom u rukama, učeći po sluhu, napamet, tu i tu melodiju... ili bar niz tonova...” (Stefanović 1938b: 147). Међутим, Павле Стефановић не каже да ли бар тридесет грађана не

9 Стефановић име енглеског предавача бележи као Ловет. Ми смо се држали транскрипције коју сугерише Ррчић 20082: 123. Пррчић изричито каже: „Lavet – NE Lovet”.

10 Видети Васић 2003.

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престоји у цркви, такође певајући, тј. појући. Сувишно је подсећати на велики и континуирани ангажман српских хорова (дакле грађана) при храмовима, све до 1945. године, па и после те године. Чврста уверења неретко укључују редуccionизам.

Павле Стефановић се није ангажовао само с обзиром на тзв. идејну страну уметности и њеног значења у друштву. Он се бавио и специфично музичким питањима. У тексту о проблемима Београдске опере и њеног репертоара, изашао је с конкретним делима које би Опера требало да изведе, од Глука (Christoph Willibald Gluck) и Вебера (Carl Maria von Weber) до Дебисија (Claude Debussy) и мајстора модерне музике (Stefanović 1938a). Трезвеност и реалистичност у расуђивању – не може се надокнадити све што је сурова историја спречила – види се и у тексту из 1939. године, под насловом *Za domaћu simfonijsku muziku* (Stefanović 1939b). Поента тог чланка јесте позив оркестрима да се без оклевања подухвате извођења композиција домаћих аутора: „Ona [tj. simfonijska tela, A. V.], sva od reda, moraju pohitati sa ispunjenjem svoje kulturne misije” (Stefanović 1939b: 75). Истовремено, Павле Стефановић не увећава, некритички, вредност домета наших композитора, па каже: „Najzad, kvalitet domaће simfonijske muzike. Jasno je kao dan da taj, ukupno posmatran, ne zadivljuje. Priznajmo otvoreno da je čak i vrlo osrednji, sa izuzetkom sasvim retkih i malobrojnih dela ove vrste” (Stefanović 1939b: 76). Биће бољи, сматра Стефановић, ако композитори буду мотивисани, односно прихватани од извођачких тела.

О одликама литерарног стила и поступка Павла Стефановића писала је пок. проф. Роксанда Пејовић. Та су питања у њеним два књигама апсолвирана и немамо шта да додамо њеним опсервацијама о критичару-писцу који бруси своје реченице и чија се култура и широко образовање прате из текста у текст.¹¹ Можемо само додати примере како пластику текста код Стефановића гради и његова духовитост, црта коју не запажамо у старијих музичких писаца попут Милоја Милојевића или Петра Коњовића. Примерице, у *Српском књижевном иласнику*, централном српском књижевном и уметничком часопису у првој половини XX века, то својство запазили смо код Густава Михела.¹² Има га и код Петра Крстића, у *Музичком иласнику*.¹³ Сувишно је помињати Станислава Винавера; његово целокупно стваралаштво обележено је освајајућим смислом за хумор.¹⁴

11 Пејовић 1999: 310–311; Пејовић 2012: 14–15. Објављена биобиблиографија Р. Пејовић (Пејовић 2007: 34) открива да је ова ауторка написала текст о Павлу Стефановићу у *Leksikonu jugoslavenske muzike* (Рејовић 1984b). И ту том чланку истакнуте су књижевне врлине Стефановићевих написа.

12 Видети Васић 2004: 186.

13 Библиографија Крстићевих чланака у „Музичком гласнику” презентирана је у Васић 2012а: 231–247.

14 Целокупне Винаверове музичке критике и есеје о музици приредио је књижевни историчар Гојко Тешић (Винавер 2015). То капитално издање изашло је у оквиру Винаверових сабраних дела у осамнаест књига које је у целини приредио и уредио Гојко Тешић.

Павле Стефановић воли хиперболу и парадокс: „Диригент... Ловро Матачић ставио је на програм Јенкову увертуру *Косово* и Лисинскову увертуру за његову другу и бољу оперу *Порин*. То су дела од неке вредности, од историске нарочито. Из њих се види да ми нисмо никли из коприва...” (Стефановић 1938е: 216). Онда видимо да наш писац има склоности и за иронију: „Сискинд је свирао и Новака и Сука, који се упорно не приањају нашег срца” (Стефановић 1938е: 220). Јарке слике Павла Стефановића задржавају читаочево пажњу и изазивају осмех:

Реквизиторски посао управо је декласиран, у нас. Парије театра, носачи миндерлука, копаља и рипида, ипак срећом не бивају више шибани, ни мамузани. Колективни одгој чинилаца оперске заједнице активирао би међутим и у њима свест о значају и смислу њихове функције. Тада ни оно чујно, неилузионистичко клопарање иза завесе за време красне увертуре иза пролога не би било нужно зло... (Стефановић 1938д: 186).

Лектира написа Павла Стефановића у *Музичком гласнику* открива критичара јасних и чврстих ставова и вредновања, писца утанчаног стила, интелектуалца-хедонисту који ужива у уметничким креацијама, али који будно прати друштвене токове, реагује на њих и не дозвољава да га уметност од њих одвоји. Код Павла Стефановића нема ларпурлартизма, нема одвраћености од живота. Трезвен и у заносу, социјално ангажовани естетa, Павле Стефановић није пошао, није могао поћи путем Жана Дезесента (Jean des Esseintes), јунака Уисмансовог (Joris-Karl Huysmans) романа *Насујрој*.¹⁵

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¹⁵ Видети: Уисманс 1966.

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АЛЕКСАНДАР ВАСИЋ
АНГАЖМАН У МУЗИЧКОЈ КРИТИЦИ: НАПИСИ ПАВЛА СТЕФАНОВИЋА
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- Стефановић, Павле (децембар 1938е) „Музички живот у Београду. А. Опера. 1. Премијера *Чейшири трубијана*. 2. Јозеф Крипс, диригент *Холанђанина луталице*. 3. Италијанска група уметника у Београду. 4. *Фиџарова женидба* у музичкој студији Јозефа Крипса. Б. Оркестарски

концерти. 1. Први симфонијски концерт Београдске филхармоније. 2. Други концерт Београдске филхармоније. 3. Моцарт на трећем часу Коларчевог универзитета. 4. Свечани популарни концерт Београдске филхармоније (трећи). В. Камерни и соло-концерти. 1. Фрагменти из *Међулушкој блаја* и енглески погледи. 2. Виолински концерт Натана Миштајна. 3. Сестре Михајловић. 4. Колегиум Музикум (први јавни час). 5. Јавни час Удружења пријатеља Словенске музике. 6. Вокални деби Инке Ђукић”, *Музички гласник* 10: 209–221. / Stefanović, Pavle (decembar 1938e) „Музички живот у Београду. А. Opera. 1. Premijera *Četiri grubijana*. 2. Jozef Krips, dirigent *Holandanina litalice*. 3. Italijanska grupa umetnika u Beogradu. 4. *Figarova ženidba* u muzičkoj studiji Jozefa Kripsa. В. Orkestarski koncerti. 1. Prvi simfonijski koncert Beogradske filharmonije. 2. Drugi koncert Beogradske filharmonije. 3. Mozart na trećem času Kolarčevog univerziteta. 4. Svečani popularni koncert Beogradske filharmonije (treći). V. Kamerni i solo-koncerti. 1. Fragmenti iz *Meduluškog blaga* i engleski pogledi. 2. Violinski koncert Natana Milštajna. 3. Sestre Mihajlović. 4. Kolegium Muzikum (prvi javni čas). 5. Javni čas Udruženja prijatelja Slovenske muzike. 6. Vokalni debi Inke Đukić”, *Muzički glasnik* 10: 209–221. [Musical Life in Belgrade. А. Opera. 1. Premiere of Four Brutes. 2. Joseph Crips, conductor of the Flying Dutchman. 3. Italian Group of Artists in Belgrade. 4. The Marriage of Figaro in the Music Studio of Joseph Crips. В. Orchestra Concerts. 1. The First Belgrade Philharmonic Symphony Concerto. 2. The Second Concert of Belgrade Philharmonic Orchestra. 3. Mozart in the Third Class of Kolarac University. 4. Belgrade Philharmonic Orchestra’s Popular Concerto (Third). V. Chamber and Solo Concerts. 1. Fragments of The Treasure of Medjulug and English Views. 2. Nathan Milstein’s Violin Concerto. 3. The Mihajlović sisters. 4. Collegium Musicum (first public class). 5. Public Class of the Association of Friends of Slavic Music. 6. Inka Djukić’s vocal debut]

Стефановић, Павле (јануар 1939а) „Музички живот Београда. А.) Музика за оркестар. 1. Трећи концерт Београдске филхармоније. 2. Четврти концерт Београдске филхармоније. 3. Симфонијски концерт Радио-оркестра (други). 4. Свечани час Collegium musicum-а. Б.) Инструменталистички соло-концерти. 1. Виолински концерт Жака Тибоа. 2. Клавирски концерт Жака Тибоа. В.) Камерно-музичке приредбе. 1. Јаначеково вече (Други час Коларчевог универзитета). 3. Гудачки квартет Њемечек-Слатин (Четврти час Коларчевог универзитета). Г.) Хорска музика. 1. Концерт Српско-јеврејског певачког друштва. 2. Концерт Женског музичког друштва из Новог Сада. (Пети час Коларчевог универзитета)”, *Музички гласник* 1: 10–21. / Stefanović, Pavle (januar 1939a) „Музички живот Београда. А.) Muzika za orkestar. 1. Treći koncert Beogradske filharmonije. 2. Četvrti koncert Beogradske filharmonije. 3. Simfonijski koncert Radio-orkestra (drugi). 4. Svečani čas Collegium musicum-a. В.) Instrumentalistički solo-koncerti. 1. Violinski koncert Žaka Tiboа. 2. Klavirski koncert Žaka Tiboа. V.) Kamerno-muzičke priredbe. 1. Janačekovo večе (Drugi čas Kolarčevog univerziteta). 3. Gudački kvartet Njemeček-Slatin (Četvrti čas Kolarčevog univerziteta). G.) Horskа muzika. 1. Koncert Srpsko-jevrejskog pevačkog društva. 2. Koncert Ženskog muzičkog društva iz Novog Sada. (Peti čas Kolarčevog univerziteta)”, *Muzički glasnik* 1: 10–21. [Musical Life in Belgrade. А.) Music for Orchestra. 1. Third Concert of the Belgrade Philharmonic Orchestra. 2. Fourth Concert of Belgrade Philharmonic Orchestra. 3. Radio Orchestra Symphony Concert (Second). 4. Collegium musicum Festive Hour. В.) Instrumentalists’ Solo Concerts. 1. Jacques Thibaud’s Violin Concerto. 2. Jacques Thibaud’s Piano Concerto. V.) Chamber Music Performances. 1st Janaček Evening (Second Time of Kolarac University). 3. German-Slatin String Quartet (Fourth Hour of Kolarac University). G.) Choir Music. 1. Concert of the Serbian-Jewish Singing Society. 2. Concert of the Novi Sad Women’s Music Society. (Fifth Hour of Kolarac University)]

Stefanović, Pavle (фeбpyap 1939a) „Музички живот у Београду. А.) Simfonijski koncerti. 1. Treći koncert Radio-orkestra. 2. Prvi koncert orkestra Kraljeve garde. 3. Peti koncert Filharmonije. В.)

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Koncerti instrumentalista. 1. Enrico Mainardi (violončelo). 2. Bronislav Huberman (violina). 3. Bernar Mišlen (violončelo). 4. Aleksandar Borovski (klavir). C.) Kamerna muzika. 1. Drezdenski gudački kvartet. 2. Treći čas Collegium Musicum-a. 3. Četvrti čas Collegium Musicum-a. 4. Šesti čas Kolarčevog univerziteta”, *Музички гласник* 2: 36–42. [Musical Life in Belgrade. A.) Symphony Concerts. 1. Third Radio Orchestra Concert. 2. The First Concert of the Royal Guard Orchestra. 3. Fifth Philharmonic Concert. B.) Instrumentalists’ Concerts. 1. Enrico Mainardi (cello). 2. Bronislav Huberman (violin). 3. Bernard Michel (cello). 4. Alexander Borovsky (piano). C.) Chamber Music. 1. Dresden String Quartet. 2. Third Hour of Collegium Musicum. 3. Fourth Hour of Collegium Musicum. 4. Sixth Hour of Kolarac University]

Stefanović, Pavle (март – април 1939b) „Za domaću simfonijsku muziku”, *Музички гласник* 3–4: 74–77. [For Domestic Symphonic Music]

Стефановић, Павле (март – април 1939б) „Музички живот у Београду. Други концерт оркестра Краљеве гарде. Шести концерт Филхармоније. Клавијски концерт Љубице Марџинец. Нада Бранковић на излазу из чаробних вртова ’вудеркиндства’. Николај Орлов, песник клавијрске романтике. Седми музички час Коларчевог универзитета. Вокални квартет Кедров. Јубиларни концерт Музичке школе у Београду. Пети час Collegium musicum-a”, *Музички гласник* 3–4: 77–83. / Stefanović, Pavle (mart – april 1939b) „Музички живот у Београду. Други koncert оркестра Краљеве гарде. Šesti koncert Filharmonije. Klavirski koncert Ljubice Maržinec. Nada Branković на излазу из чаробних вртова ’вудеркиндства’. Nikolaj Orlov, pesnik klavirske romantike. Sedmi muzički čas Kolarčevog univerziteta. Vokalni kvartet Kedrov. Jubilarni koncert Muzičke škole u Beogradu. Peti čas Collegium musicum-a”, *Музички гласник* 3–4: 77–83. [Musical Life in Belgrade. Second concert of the Royal Guard Orchestra. Sixth Concert of the Philharmonic. Piano Recital by Ljubica Maržinec. Nada Branković on the Way Out of the Magical Gardens of ’Wunderkind’. Nikolai Orlov, the Poet of Piano Romance. Seventh Music Lesson of Kolarac University. Kedrov Vocal Quartet. Jubilee Concert of the Belgrade School of Music. Fifth Time of Collegium Musicum]

Стефановић, Павле (јуни 1939в) „Музички живот у Београду: Виолински концерт Цина Франческатиа. Други јубиларни концерт Музичке школе у Београду. Два концерта симфонијског оркестра и хора Туринске Радио-станице. Седми концерт Београдске филхармоније. Виолински концерт Рихарда Однопосова. Концерт хора бугарских богослова. Клавијристички реситал Гордане Милојевић. Духовни концерт Првог београдског певачког друштва. Клавијски концерт Александра Унинског. Концертна смотра средњошколских хорова”, *Музички гласник* 6: 127–132. / Stefanović, Pavle (juni 1939v) „Музички живот у Београду: Violinski koncert Cina Frančeskatiа. Други jubilarni koncert Muzičke škole u Beogradu. Dva koncerta simfonijskog оркестра i hora Turinske Radio-stанице. Sedmi koncert Beogradske filharmonije. Violinski koncert Riharda Odnoposova. Koncert hora bugarskih bogoslova. Klaviristički resital Gordane Milojević. Duhovni koncert Prvog beogradskog pevačkog društva. Klavirski koncert Aleksandra Uninskog. Koncertna smotra srednjoškolskih horova”, *Музички гласник* 6: 127–132. [Musical Life in Belgrade: Violin Concert by Cino Francescati. Second Anniversary Concert of the Belgrade School of Music. Two Concerts by the Symphony Orchestra and the Choir of the Turin Radio Station. Seventh Concert of the Belgrade Philharmonic Orchestra. Richard Odnoposov’s Violin Concerto. Concert of a Choir of Bulgarian Theologians. Piano Recital by Gordana Milojević. Spiritual Concerto of the First Belgrade Singing Society. Piano Concerto by Alexander Uninsky. High School Choir Concert]

Стефановић, Павле (септембар – октобар 1939г) „Музички живот у Београду. Једна оперска премијера-реприза. Три балетске премијере”, *Музички гласник* 7–8: 146–152. / Stefanović, Pavle (septembar – oktobar 1939g) „Музички живот у Београду. Jedna operска premijera-repriza. Tri

baletske premijere”, *Muzički glasnik* 7–8: 146–152. [Musical Life in Belgrade. An Opera Premiere-Repeat. Three Ballet Premieres.]

Стефановић, Павле (новембар 1939а) „Музички живот у Београду. Опера. Оперска обнова Моцартовог *Дон Жуана*. Премијера Зајчевог *Николe Шубића Зринског*”, *Музички гласник* 9: 172–179. / Stefanović, Pavle (novembar 1939d) „Музички живот у Београду. Опера. Оперска обнова Моцартовог *Don Žuana*. Премијера Зајчевог *Nikole Šubića Zrinskog*”, *Muzički glasnik* 9: 172–179. [Musical Life in Belgrade. Opera. Operatic Renewal of Mozart’s *Don Giovanni*. Premiere of Zajc’s *Nikola Šubić Zrinski*]

Стефановић, Павле (децембар 1939ђ) „Музички живот у Београду. I концерт Филхармоније. I концерт Удружења пријатеља словенске музике. I популарни концерт Филхармоније. Клавирско вече Игнаца Фридмана”, *Музички гласник* 10: 199–202. / Stefanović, Pavle (decembar 1939đ) „Музички живот у Београду. I koncert Filharmonije. I koncert Udruženja prijatelja slovenske muzike. I popularni koncert Filharmonije. Klavirsko večer Ignaca Fridmana”, *Muzički glasnik* 10: 199–202. [Musical Life in Belgrade. First Concert of the Philharmonic. First Concert of the Society of Friends of Slavic Music. First Popular Concert of the Philharmonic]

Стефановић, Павле (јануар – фебруар 1940) „Београдска музичка хроника. Концерт Енрика Маинардија. Гостовање Берлинског камерног оркестра. Други концерт Друштва пријатеља словенске музике. Други концерт Београдске филхармоније. Симфонијски концерт Радио-оркестра. Први музички час Коларчевог универзитета. Свечани концерт Београдске филхармоније и љубљанске Глазбене матице. Концерт хора Глазбене Матице. Вокални концерт камерне певачице Јелке Стаматовић-Николић. Јозеф Сигети. Клавирски концерт Наде Бранковић. Први час Collegium Musicum-а. Трећи концерт Београдске филхармоније. Трећи концерт Друштва пријатеља словенске музике. Клавирски концерт Никите Магалова. Вокални деби Цоце Радовановић. Други јавни час Collegium Musicum-а. Концерт хора *Сјанковић*. Вокални концерт Лике Калмић-Алфандари. Клавирски концерт Пине Питини. Четврти концерт Београдске филхармоније”, *Музички гласник* 1–2: 17–28. / Stefanović, Pavle (januar – februar 1940) „Beogradska muzička hronika. Koncert Enrika Mainardija. Gostovanje Berlinskog kamernog orkestra. Drugi koncert Društva prijatelja slovenske muzike. Drugi koncert Beogradske filharmonije. Simfonijski koncert Radio-orkestra. Prvi muzički čas Kolarčevog univerziteta. Svečani koncert Beogradske filharmonije i ljubljanske Glazbene matice. Koncert hora Glazbene Matice. Vokalni koncert kamernе pevačice Jelke Stamatović-Nikolić. Jozef Szigeti. Klavirski koncert Nade Branković. Prvi čas Collegium Musicum-a. Treći koncert Beogradske filharmonije. Treći koncert Društva prijatelja slovenske muzike. Klavirski koncert Nikite Magalova. Vokalni debi Coce Radovanović. Drugi javni čas Collegium Musicum-a. Koncert hora Stanković. Vokalni koncert Like Kalmić-Alfandari. Klavirski koncert Pine Pitini. Četvrti koncert Beogradske filharmonije”, *Muzički glasnik* 1–2: 17–28. [Belgrade Music Chronicle. Enrico Mainardi’s Recital. Guest Appearance of the Berlin Chamber Orchestra. Second Concert of the Society of Friends of Slavic Music. Second Concert of Belgrade Philharmonic Orchestra. Radio Orchestra Symphony Concert. Kolarac University’s First Music Lecture. Ceremonial Concert of the Belgrade Philharmonic Orchestra and the Ljubljana Glasbena Matica. Choir Concert of Glasbena Matica. Vocal Recital by Chamber Singer Jelka Stamatović-Nikolić. Josef Szigeti. Piano Recital by Nada Branković. First Hour of Collegium Musicum. Third Concert of Belgrade Philharmonic Orchestra. Third Concert of the Society of Friends of Slavic Music. Piano Recital by Nikita Magalov. Vocal Debut of Coce Radovanović. Collegium Musicum’s Second Public Hour. Stanković Choir Concert. Lika Kalmić-Alfandari’s Vocal Recital. Pina Pitini’s Piano Recital. Fourth Concert of the Belgrade Philharmonic Orchestra]

АЛЕКСАНДАР ВАСИЋ
 АНГАЖМАН У МУЗИЧКОЈ КРИТИЦИ: НАПИСИ ПАВЛА СТЕФАНОВИЋА
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ALEKSANDAR VASIĆ

ENGAGEMENT IN MUSICAL CRITICISM:
 PAVLE STEFANOVIĆ'S TEXTS IN THE *MUSIC HERALD* (1938–1940)

(SUMMARY)

Pavle Stefanović (1901–1985) is one of the most prominent Serbian music critics and essayists. He created extensive musicographic work, largely scattered in periodicals. A philosopher by education, he had an excellent knowledge of music and its history. His style was marked by eloquence, associativity and plasticity of expression.

Between 1938 and 1940 he published eighteen music reviews in *The Music Herald*, the longest-running Belgrade music magazine in the interwar period (1928–1941, with interruption from 1934 to 1938). Stefanović wrote about concerts, opera and ballet performances in Belgrade, performances by local and eminent foreign artists. His reviews include Magda Tagliaferro, Nathan Milstein, Jacques Thibaud, Enrico Mainardi, Bronisław Huberman, Alexander Uninsky, Alexaner Borovsky, Ignaz Friedman, Nikita Magaloff and many other eminent musicians.

This study is devoted to the analysis of the Stefanović's procedure. Pavle Stefanović was an anti-fascist and leftist. He believed that the task of a music critic was not merely to analyze and evaluate musical works and musical interpretations. He argued that the critic should engage in important social issues that concerned music and music life. That is why he wrote articles on the occasion of German artists visiting Belgrade, about the persecution of musicians of Jewish descent and the cultural situation in the Third Reich.

On the other hand, Stefanović was an aesthetic hedonist who expressed a great sense of the beauty of musical works. That duality – a socially engaged intellectual and a subtle „enjoyer” of the art – remained undisturbed. In these articles he did not go into a deterministic interpretation of the structure of musical composition and the history of music. And he did not accept the larpurlartistic views.

KEYWORDS: Pavle Stefanović, *Music Herald* (1928–1941), Serbian twentieth-century music criticism, Serbian twentieth-century music periodicals, engagement in music criticism, anti-fascism

MOKRANJAC ON REPEAT: REAFFIRMING MUSICAL CANON THROUGH SOUND RECORDINGS (PGP-RTB/RTS DISCOGRAPHY)*

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ABSTRACT

Starting with the hypothesis that sound recordings published by the Serbian/Yugoslav record label PGP-RTB/RTS dominated programmes of the Radio Television Belgrade/Radio Television Serbia during most of the twentieth century (while declining in this century), and that decisions made within the label on which composers' works were going to be (repeatedly) present in its catalogue consequently had significant impact on overall music and media culture in Serbia/Yugoslavia, our goal was to examine how the central composer figure of Serbian music, Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac, was represented in this catalogue. Research methods were based primarily on analysis of archive material gathered in documentation of the label itself, data on recordings available via online music databases, and recordings themselves, while relying on theoretical notions of canon in music, with the accent on the performing canon.

KEYWORDS: musical canon, performing canon, Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac, PGP-RTB/RTS, discography, RTB/RTS Choir

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This study deals with the recordings of Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac's music (1856–1914) released by the PGP-RTB/RTS label.³ Our interest in the topic is directly connected to the results of previous research deriving from two different areas. One of them is related to various aspects of the canonisation of Mokranjac and his opus in the construction of Serbian art music at the beginning of the twentieth century (Milanović 2014a, 2014b, 2017, 2018), while the other refers to overall art music discography of the PGP-RTB/RTS from the label's foundation in 1951 up to its contemporary editions (Maglov 2014, 2015, 2016a, 2016b). In addition, one kind of mutual connectedness of these areas found its place in edition of the archive sound recordings of Mokranjac's works by the RTB/RTS Choir and its conductors, presenting the tradition of composer's secular oeuvre interpretation (Milanović 2014c). This edition, whose title *The Imaginary Museum of Mokranjac's Works* evokes Lydia Goehr's study of the musical work (Goehr 1992), was also among the incentives for our involvement in this topic. Bearing in mind that Mokranjac's oeuvre has confirmed its central place through resonance in many practices of local music culture until present day, our main idea was to examine how the production of sound recordings – which began to be a part of that context during the second half of the twentieth century – was included in these strategies and proved to be a constitutive factor of canonisation.

In our survey we made an effort to take into account all PGP-RTB/RTS editions that include Mokranjac's music. However, considering that not every recording bore an indication of the year of publishing, we were able to make mention of the dates of some editions only approximately. This is a common problem in discography (Cf. Weber 2001). For the purpose of this study we used the archive documentation of the PGP-RTB/RTS that was collected and analysed in previous research by Maglov.⁴ As

3 The abbreviation PGP-RTB/RTS stands for *Produkcija gramofonskih ploča Radio televizije Beograd / Radio televizije Srbije* [Production of gramophone recordings of the Radio Television Belgrade / Radio Television Serbia]. The name was officially changed in 1992. Up to that year, official abbreviation used was PGP-RTB, and after it was PGP-RTS. Since our paper covers the period both before and after the change of the name, we decided to refer to the institution with the combination of these abbreviations. For a survey of the development of this label see Maglov 2016a.

4 The archive research of Maglov was undertaken during the academic year 2012/13, for the purposes of a Master's thesis *Ozbiljna muzika na pločama u izdanju PGP-RTB/PGP-RTS-a (1968–1994)* [Recordings of classical music published by PGP-RTB/PGP-RTS (1968–1994)], supervised by Vesna Mikić, PhD, defended at the Department of Musicology of the Faculty of Music in Belgrade in 2013, and published as a revised and expanded monograph (Maglov 2016b). Research was based on documentation kept at the working facility and offices of the PGP-RTB/RTS in Belgrade, where all of the documents dating from the time of their original publication are kept, though not necessarily in an organised, systematised and approachable manner. On the state of the archive and available documentation see Maglov 2016a: 10–12. Survey of classical music by national composers published on vinyl (and in some cases reissued as audio cassette or compact disc) is given in Ibid: 109–126. Other editions (i.e. licensed editions by international labels such as Deutsche Grammophon, Philips, and others) were also presented in the same

the absence of archival sources on some editions was noted, we also included information from other sources, such as the independent online database *Discogs*.⁵ In addition, since previous research was done five years ago, our research into new recordings issued in the meantime was undertaken.⁶

The text is segmented into three parts. The first of them is an introductory discussion on theoretical and methodological aspects of the canon and their use in our research. The second part is devised in order to present the Mokranjac music editions of the PGP-RTB/RTS in a systematised way that concurrently points to dominant musical interpretations of the composer's opus, while the final section includes some important problems and questions in the contexts of both different artistic strategies of canonisation and programme policies of the PGP-RTB/RTS, while focusing on canonical performances of Mokranjac's works.

Before discussing the PGP-RTB/RTS editions, it is worth mentioning that some examples of Serbian music, including Mokranjac's works, can be found in old catalogues under the labels of various gramophone recording companies (Cf. e.g. Catalogue 1909: 42; 1927: 24–25). However, the conditions for gramophone record productions in local circumstances appeared only after the foundation of the first local label, the PGP-RTB/RTS, which remained the main recording label in Serbia, and one of the biggest labels in the former Yugoslavia. It was institutionally part of the Radio Television Belgrade, later Radio Television Serbia, whose ensembles made many recordings for this label (Cf. Maglov 2016b).⁷ As will be stressed further in the text, some of the most important recordings of Mokranjac's music were made precisely by the RTB/RTS Choir. In addition, one should not neglect the fact that works by Stevan Mokranjac were also published by other labels and in other Yugoslav republics. According to our present knowledge, the first LP with Mokranjac's works was published by the Croatian, Zagreb-based label Jugoton in 1958, some thirteen years before the first edition dedicated to the same composer released by the PGP-RTB/RTS.⁸ According to available data, it is interesting that the first edition of Mokranjac's *Liturgija Sv. Jovana Zlatoustog* [*Divine Liturgy of St John Chrysostom*] was published with tourism promotion goals in mind in 1967. Performers were the Beogradski madrigalisti

monograph. For more detailed insight into this production see Maglov 2014: 311–319. From the total of 31 books of original documentation, kept at the PGP-RTB/RTS facilities that were consulted for the research in the aforementioned period, 15 contain documents related to various editions with Mokranjac's music. The books are listed in the bibliography section.

5 *Discogs – Music Database and Marketplace*, <https://www.discogs.com>.

6 The latest catalogues up to the year 2015 are available on the PGP-RTS website (<http://www.rts.rs/page/rts/sr/pgp/news/1686/katalog-pgp.html>). For information on further editions, *Discogs* was used as a source.

7 For detailed insight into the programmes of the ensembles of the Radio Television Belgrade see Simić 1988.

8 This is a recording of Rukoveti [Garlands] Nos. 5 and 10, as well as *Kozar* [Goatherd], performed by Borivoje Simić (1920–2001) and the RTB/RTS Choir.

[Belgrade Madrigalists], conducted by Dušan Miladinović, with bass Žarko Cvejić as soloist, and the LP was issued by the Yugoslav state travel agency Putnik whose aim was “to promote 1967 as ‘International Tourist Year’”⁹ In the following decades, there were editions by Jugoton (four editions in total), Združeno Podjetje Iskra and Gallus Mladinska knjiga (Ljubljana), Zadruga Pravoslavnog sveštenstva (Belgrade), Jugokonzert (Belgrade), KUD *Svetozar Marković* (Novi Sad), a joint edition by Diskos (Aleksandrovac Župa) and Kalenić (Kragujevac), etc.¹⁰ Finally, numerous recordings of Mokranjac’s music were also released by labels from other European countries as well as the US.¹¹ A detailed insight into these regional and international editions calls for further research. There is no doubt that an overview of the PGP-RTB/RTS discography of Mokranjac’s compositions could be the starting point for such research, since this label released the largest number of issues related to this composer, spanning more than forty LPs, audio cassettes and/or CDs.

1. NOTES ON THE CANON(S)

Canon is among the most dynamic and complex concepts in the humanities, whose relevance began to be discussed especially in a debate that began several decades ago. While the debate was opened by sharp opposition between defenders of a traditional canon and those that perceived it radically as an obsolete phenomenon, today one can find a whole set of various paths of research that were taken in meantime. After different turns in cultural studies, there seems to be a certain consensus about the Western canon as a web of ideologies, activities, values and authorities, as well as a process of selection, hierarchisation, marginalisation and exclusion that works according to the interests of those who make these choices.¹² Apart from a wide range of approaches, which vary from proposals to open up the canon in order to include minorities, and those who wish to revise national, regional, racial or ethnic canons, to those that argue the existence of multiple canons, there is an evident dispersion of the notion, so that one can speak of canons in “high” artistic practices, but also in

9 Cf. *Discogs – Music Database and Marketplace*.

10 Details on all these items may be found at: <https://www.discogs.com/artist/995806-Stevan-Stojanovi%C4%87-Mokranjac?limit=50&page=1>.

11 E.g. Tabor (Germany), Attempo Verlag (Germany), Christophorus-Verlag (Germany), Grammo-phonclub Ex Libris (Switzerland), to name just a few. A more complete notion of foreign editions may be grasped by searching through databases such as WorldCat database or OCLC (Online Computer Library Center, Inc.).

12 For a comprehensive history of the canon, related mainly to the literary field, see Gorak 1991. In musicology, after Joseph Kerman’s pioneering text (Kerman 1983), now “classical” but still topical publications are *Disciplining Music: Musicology and Its Canons* (Bergeron and Bohlman 1992), and studies by William Weber (e.g. Weber 1999). See also Samson 2001, Goehr 2002, Danielsen 2006, Kurkela and Väkevä 2009, Shreffler 2013.

jazz (e.g. Gabbard 1995) and popular music (e.g. Kärjä 2006; Jones 2008), or of canon in the context of digital media (Backe 2015). Hence there are many arguments for a claim that global age is “hypercanonical” or “postcanonical in much the same way that it is postindustrial” (Damrosch 2006: 44).

In our discussion we consider discography as a practice of reaffirmation of the canon of musical works. Mokranjac’s oeuvre as a key constituent of the national canon is one important topic in this context. However, according to our research, discography is able to act as a mechanism through which the canon of the performance of music can emerge. This means a shifting perspective in the ontological status of the canon, which is a move from its centre, from an author-and-work concept, to performance agencies.

First of all, it is important to mention that musical canon, represented as text, stands as a main feature of much research into canonization. Thus, when talking about “musicology’s canons”, Bohlman emphasises that musicologists “think of pieces of music as discrete texts, rendered so by the notation with which we study and represent music.” According to various kinds of texts, from musical score to anthologies, music histories, journals and other texts disciplined by musicologists, Bohlman stresses:

Texts are essential to the canonising process because they replace the timeliness of music as an oral phenomenon with the timelessness of music as a textual ontology. To enter the canon of great works, a piece of music must ‘last,’ and how better to make it last than to transform it into text? (Bohlman 1992: 202)

Concerning canonisation in the context of performance and further in discography, it is useful to start with William Weber’s methodological tools (1999), which are very applicable in various kinds of research into canons and their histories. Specifically, among the three major types of canon that he outlines – the scholarly, the pedagogical and the performing (Weber 1999: 339–340) – his focus is especially directed to the performing canon and its emergence from the eighteenth century onwards, which “involves the presentation of old works organised as repertoires and defined as sources of authority with regard to musical taste” (340). Stressing “four main intellectual bases of canon: *craft*, *repertory*, *criticism*, and *ideology*”, Weber states that “a performing canon (...) is more than just a repertory: it is also a critical and ideological force”. Hence he takes into account “musicians as shapers of the canon”, bearing in mind that “a complex variety of social forces, ideologies, and rituals that can often be quite difficult to sort out” have an effect in the process of canonisation, which is determined not only by intellectual agencies, but also by performing agencies (340–349).

A performing canon is closely associated with the emergence of the musical work-concept described by Lydia Goehr (1992), which has begun to regulate musical practice from the Romantic era, and “in its more reified senses relates to the covering conditions of *modernity*” (Butt 2015: 7). According to Goehr, the work-concept is connected with a full set of features of the time, such as post-Kantian philosophy, the

rise of Romantic aesthetics, relative musical autonomy, an investment in subjectivity, the belief in an author's greatness and the timelessness of his work, a distinction between art and craft, strengthening copyright laws, and so on. Although Goehr's provocative concept has been criticised, especially by some scholars dedicated to early music,¹³ it could be adopted and thus useful in different ways. Concerning musical performance, for example, Goehr stresses its transience and subordination to the work-concept. Performance, as well as notation and reception, were pervaded by the ideal of *Werktreue*. "Without their development," however, "the abstract work-concept (...) would never have found its regulative force in practice" (Goehr 1992: 242). Her museum-metaphor is precisely the embodiment of such normative codes of musical works:

Since music was a temporal and performance art, its works could not be preserved in physical form or placed in a museum like other works of fine art. Music had (...) to replicate the conditions of the plastic arts and, at the same time, render them appropriate to its temporal and ephemeral character. Music resolved the problem by creating for itself a 'metaphorical' museum, an equivalent of the museum for plastic arts – what has come to be known as an imaginary museum of musical works (Goehr 1992: 174).

The adoption of Goehr's approach in relation to performance practice includes some new possibilities in recent times. This is also emphasised by John Butt, who claims that "the weakening of the classical work-concept has, at the very least, allowed us to consider other factors implicit in the music, particularly to do with performance" (Butt 2015: 20). In addition to specific directions in performance studies, such as "the trend towards trying to move away from works as fixed in scores towards works as events in real time and in which the performer is fully complicit", Butt mentions "the issues that are not specified in the score (such as absolute tempo and rubato)" as well as "creative deviations. Although this might seem to be a return to the time before the score became dominant, when music could be spontaneously embellished or even composed, it is clear that improvisation has never really disappeared. Rather, it was usually merely devalued and ignored by historians of 'serious' musical works" (Butt 2015: 20).

This also refers to various media technologies, including permanent sound recordings that undermine the normative codes of the classical work-concept. There are not only various ways of performing and listening to music, which go beyond the concert as an institution, but also the possibilities of collecting, storing, publishing and consuming sound recordings that have been made at different moments of the present and past. As such, sound recordings and their editions bring a dimension of materiality and enable the "imaginary museum" to acquire a new, palpable agent in disciplining the temporal and ephemeral character of music. In this context, the aforementioned edition the *Imaginary Museum of Mokranjac's Works* can be under-

13 See, for example, White (1997) and the debate of Strohm (2000) and Goehr (2000).

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stood as broadening Goehr's museum metaphor, symbolically used in access to sound recordings that had "played a pivotal role in nurturing the performing tradition of Mokranjac's opuses during the second half of the twentieth century" (Milanović 2014c: 28). This time, however, available documentation of the output of PGP-RTB/RTS allows us to research editions by various choral ensembles and hence ask questions about programme strategies, thanks to which some performers and their sound recordings achieved a canonical status in the performance of Mokranjac's works.

Placing the sound recordings at the centre of our narrative might also recall the fact that performance practice was precisely the first and foremost channel of the formation of the canon of Serbian art music that started at the end of the nineteenth century. Mokranjac's oeuvre emerged from his own practical work with the Belgrade Choral Society, which he had conducted for about two and half decades and which premiered most of his compositions. That mutual work essentially marked his compositional and performance activities, the spread of their influence on other choral societies, and also resulted in building this institution, its composer-conductor, and its repertoire into a unique image of Serbian national music that was constantly being renewed. The Belgrade Choral Society and then the Serbian Musical School that functioned under the auspices of this choral institution were at the core of the emerging musical elite as well as dominant factors in the construction of musical ideologies, activities, standards and values. In addition to other secular and sacral choral music by Mokranjac, his fifteen cycles of *rukoveti* [garlands] – choral compositions written between 1883 and 1909 – which had been constructed as the core of the national music canon already during and immediately after Mokranjac's lifetime, secured their reputation by way of performances and public acknowledgment and reconfirming their significance through the work of younger composers, institutional and pedagogical practices, musicological narratives and the audience's reception in succeeding generations (Milanović 2014a; 2014b; 2018).

Mokranjac's oeuvre, which originated mostly from the time of the Kingdom of Serbia (1882–1918), had been accepted regionally, co-opted both by and beyond national and Yugoslav ideologies, and had an important place in the culture of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes/Kingdom of Yugoslavia (1918–1945). During the communist period of the second Yugoslavia (1945–1991), Mokranjac's opus was one of the paradigms of local musical culture of the time, being included in a multiple and changeable web of cultural policies. Although a typical product of bourgeois culture, his compositional leaning on "folk song" was easily connected to ideas about the new socialist man and the people's democracy, so that his secular music became the main part of the repertoire of various choirs. On the other hand, since open hostility of the authorities to the presence of Church tradition, especially Orthodox, was a part of the cultural policy during the early decades of the communist regime, sacred choral music was excluded from concert repertoires. This involved a number of factors, including the decline and disappearance of civil and church choral societies as products of the former bourgeois and capitalist context, as well as the revival and/or foundation of other kinds of choirs, such as various worker and

youth societies, and especially different choral ensembles that functioned as parts of the “kulturno-umetnička društva” (abbreviated KUD, meaning “cultural-artistic societies”), the typical amateur associations of the socialist period. As far as sacred music was concerned, although some steps in its return from church to concert hall were taken in a controlled way, this musical genre was re-established starting from the 1980s, and to an increasing extent in the 1990s. This included especially the reintegration of Mokranjac’s sacred choral works into the national canon of art music.¹⁴ Performance practices, together with aspects of other spheres such as the scholarly, the compositional and the educational, which contributed to the processes of the canonisation of Mokranjac’s output during the socialist period, found their place in changed contexts during the so-called post-socialist transitional times, being adapted and reaffirmed in different ways after the break-up of federal Yugoslav state during the 1990s, and in the recent transitional period in the twenty-first century, “revealing the multidirectional and various interactions by which the contemporary experience of Stevan Mokranjac’s work has been constituted” (Mikić 2012: 12).¹⁵

Although studies on Stevan Mokranjac are diverse and numerous, it is important to emphasise that issues of the canon(s) of artistic music in Serbia after World War II have not been investigated, and neither have the processes and strategies of reinterpreting Mokranjac’s oeuvre as canonical in different historical contexts since the mid twentieth century onwards.¹⁶ Our text is a contribution to only one segment of various practices that create a dynamic and changeable web of canonization.

As different kinds of sound recordings show, the majority of editions originate from the socialist period as well as the 1990s. This is not surprising since the PGP-RTB/RTS, as a state label, occupied a dominant, “monopolistic” (Cf. Arnautović 2012) position in the Serbian/Yugoslav media space, shaping much of the music

14 On the treatment of the Orthodox sacred music in socialist Yugoslavia, with emphasis on the importance of concert presentations of Mokranjac’s works, see Milin 2015.

15 Post-socialist transition is the process of political, economical, social and cultural transformation into a plural political society, market-oriented system with economic liberalization, macroeconomic stabilization and privatization, integration into international processes of trade, exchange and communication on a global level etc. Although Serbia began its transition in the late 1980s, while still part of former Yugoslavia, the process was soon interrupted during the 1990s. This decade was marked by the break-up of Yugoslav federation, increasing nationalism of the regimes the newly-formed states and war conflicts, as well as strong nationalistic and anti-reform forces within the government in Serbia proper, together with numerous problems such as the economic embargo imposed by the UN sanctions, growing inflation, ethnic conflicts, NATO military intervention etc. While some scholars perceive two different periods of transition in Serbia, the others consider that the post-socialist transition has begun after the fall of Slobodan Milošević’s regime in 2000, when reforms on different levels started. On various standpoints on culture in Serbia in transitional times see texts that refer to the topic, published in issue 140 of the journal *Kultura* in 2013.

16 The text of Vesna Mikić (2012), which has been already quoted, represents one of the rare examples of research into the canonization of Mokranjac in “transitional” times.

culture as well as media culture. This is also the case for classical music. Recordings made by the PGP-RTB/RTS dominated programmes of Radio Television Belgrade/Radio Television Serbia during the second half of the twentieth century (Ibid: 60). Thus, it is evident that decisions made within the institution on what was going to be published and when, and which composers and compositions were going to be repeatedly present in the catalogue consequently had significant impact, by the mere presence of those editions, on musical culture. It is also important to note that the role of the PGP-RTB/RTS significantly declined in the twenty-first century, mainly because of the emergence of other, private labels and the fact that the possibility to record music was no longer so exclusive, and thus available to different institutions. These changes are evident in our investigation, since available data show that production was reduced in comparison with production back in the days of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) and that there were no new recordings of works by Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac released by the label in recent times.

2. SURVEY OF RECORDINGS WITH MOKRANJAC'S MUSIC RELEASED IN PGP-RTB/RTS

Mokranjac is one of the most represented domestic authors in the PGP-RTB/RTS catalogue, given the number of individual recordings, re-recordings, albums, different performers engaged in recording his music and the overall inclusion of his works in the repertoires of various ensembles.¹⁷ When there are recordings devoted exclusively to music of individual composers, he is present with individual LPs, as well as albums consisting of several recordings, since they were conceived as collected works, or “overviews” of his most significant works. Some of the material presented through these recordings was reissued on audio cassettes and compact discs in following years (complete as an “original” edition or with repertoire consisting of selected compositions).

Recordings of domestic classical music of the PGP-RTB/RTS may be roughly divided into three groups of editions devoted to: (1) a particular composer and his or her opus, (2) a performer or performing ensemble, and (3) a repertoire that is selected according to a specific concept or topic. The total number of editions and their reissues relating to Mokranjac mentioned in this paper is forty-three. First group contains eighteen editions, the second one eleven, and the third one (miscellaneous issues as well as those of the Serbian string quartet *Mokranjac*, and LP with compositions from the *Mokranjčevi dani* [*Mokranjac's Days*] festival) fourteen issues. The oldest edition (as far as available data at this moment show) from the total group dates from 1968.

When Mokranjac's music recordings are discussed on the basis of this classification, the construction of a powerful image of the RTB/RTS Choir and its leading conduc-

17 For the recordings dedicated solely to individual domestic composers' works in the PGP-RTB/RTS catalogue see appendix in Maglov 2016b: 115-126.

tors becomes very visible. Specifically, almost all integral sound editions that comprise of all of Mokranjac's main works of secular and sacred music were made by the RTB/RTS Choir. Thus, the first two mentioned categories of editions actually overlap in some way, since there is a significant number of recordings released to represent both the composer's oeuvre and a specific interpretative identity of the RTB/RTS Choir. After an overview of this kind of edition we will present examples in which Mokranjac's compositions were included in repertoires recorded by distinguished choirs other than the RTB/RTS Choir. The third, most varied group of editions will be examined in a similar way, by observing which works by the composer were included in the conception of thematically varied editions and how that decision was justified.

2.1. SOUND RECORDINGS DEDICATED TO MOKRANJAC'S OEUVRE

Among early RTB/RTS Choir editions that represent complete performances of Mokranjac's works of secular and sacred music are three LPs (LP2401, 2402 and 2403) with all fifteen rukoveti, *Primorski napjevi* [*Coastal Tunes*], *Kozar* [*Goatherd*], *Dve pesme iz 16.veka* [*Two Folk Songs from the 16th Century*], as well as the *Akatist* [*Atakhistos Hymn*], *Vozbranoj* [*O Champion Leader*], *Heruvika* [*Cherubic Hymn*], *Statija treća* [*Third Stasis*] and *Njest svjat* [*There is none so holy*]. Almost the entire repertoire was conducted by Borislav Simić, with the exception of two works conducted by Mihailo Vukdragović (Rukovet No. 2) on the second LP and Milan Bajšanski (Rukovet No. 15) on the third.¹⁸ Although these LPs were released only between 1976 and 1982, it is important to mention that Simić was the first conductor to compile permanent recordings of the greater part of Mokranjac's major works, beginning this task already in the late 1950s.¹⁹ At the time of Simić's engagement with the Choir, the ensemble developed into a highly professional performing body in both technical and interpretative terms, which also meant collaborative work of the ensemble and its leader with various distinguished musicians. Some of them, such as Žarko Cvejić, Nikola Mitić or Olivera Đurđević, were also included in Simić's recordings of Mokranjac's works.²⁰

18 For basic information about Mihailo Vukdragović (1900–1986), Milan Bajšanski (1903–1980) and Borivoje Simić, including their conducting activities and work with RTB/RTS ensembles, see Milanović 2014c.

19 For example, most of his recordings of the composer's secular works, which are kept in the Radio Belgrade Phonoarchive, were made between 1958 and 1969 (Milanović 2014c: 20). However, as far as these three LPs in question, archive documentation of the PGP-RTB/RTS does not contain information on either the time of the recording of the material or the years of their publishing. We can thus only suppose that the editions include some of the recordings made in earlier years. On the other hand, the years of the publishing of the LPs can be found at *Discogs* as follows: LP2401 1977, LP2402 1982 and LP2403 1976.

20 Soloists on the recordings were: Dušan Cvejić, Žarko Cvejić, Branko Ristić, Nikola Mitić, Vera Popov, Olivera Đurđević (LP2401), Branko Ristić (LP2402), Zora Mojsilović, Vera Popov, Radovan

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The next complete edition by the same Choir was made under the direction of Mladen Jagušt, the next important conductor who led the RTB/RTS ensembles after Simić (Cf. Milanović 2014c). The repertoire was recorded in 1981, between May and July in the *Braća Stamenković* Studio, and then issued in 1981 or 1982 (LP3330036).²¹ This edition is a four - LP set, containing all of Mokranjac's rukoveti as well as the *Primorski napjevi*, *Kozar*, *Opelo* [Requiem] and the Liturgy.²² In addition to distinguished soloists included in recordings, high professional standards are reflected in the booklet which comes with the edition. Written bilingually, in Serbian and English, it is also marked by scholarly authority, embodied in an extended commentary by the musicologist and music writer Petar Bingulac.²³ This edition was reissued as a triple CD album in 1996 (CD430206, 430213, 430220) and 2015 (CD432248). In addition, the *Liturgy* and *Opelo* with solo bass singer, protodeacon Vlado Mikić (1940–2017), were reissued as a separate CD (613011) in 1987.²⁴

While the aforementioned editions can be understood as efforts to shape the sound image of Mokranjac's oeuvre through the collection of all his works that have been proved to have canonical status since the time of the composer, an interesting example of both the widening and the additional construction of the canon is conspicuous in the case of the *Strasna sedmica* [*Passion Week*], recorded as a live performance of the RTB/RTS Choir and conductor Vladimir Kranjčević (1936–) at the Mausoleum of Oplenac in May 1990, and published as both LP (230545) and cassette (530344) in 1991, as well as a compact disc (431203) in 2003.²⁵ A unique dramatic

Popović (LP2403). Data on sound engineer, producer, editors and in general recording place and dates are not mentioned in the archive documentation or the LP editions themselves. On the LP sleeve of all three recordings there is the same informative, short text on Mokranjac written by Mihailo Vukdragović.

21 According to data available at: <https://www.discogs.com/artist/995806-Stevan-Stojanovi%C4%87-Mokranjac?limit=50&page=1> the year is 1982. The official document stored in PGP-RTB/RTS is dated in 14 September 1981.

22 LP 1 includes Rukoveti Nos. 1–6 (soloists: Karolj Kolar, Jovan Reljin, Radovan Popović, Zoran Popović, Nikola Mitić, Zorica Dimitrijević Stošić, Stevan Strunjašević, Irina Arsikin); LP 2 includes Rukoveti Nos. 7–13 (soloist: Karolj Kolar); LP 3 includes Rukoveti Nos. 14–15, *Primorski napjevi*, *Kozar*, *Opelo* (soloists: Karolj Kolar, Vlado Mikić). LP 4 includes the Liturgy, soloist Vlado Mikić. Editor in chief of PGP-RTB/RTS was Stanko Terzić, the edition reviewer was the musicologist Neda Bebler, the sound engineer was Slobodan Mladenović, the producer and recording supervisor Milorad Kuzmanović.

23 Petar Bingulac (1897–1990) was a lawyer, philosopher, theologian and musicologist, and a prominent Yugoslav diplomat in Milan, Prague and Sofia. He was a professor at the Academy of Music in Belgrade and a research associate at the Institute of Musicology SASA. He is the author of several important studies on Mokranjac, and the text included in the booklet is based on excerpts from his text "Stevan Mokranjac and his garlands" (Bingulac 1956).

24 According to <https://www.discogs.com/Stevan-St-Mokranjac-Hor-RTV-Beograd-Mladen-Jagu%C5%A1-Liturgija-Opelo/release/2615308>

25 The first edition was issued when the editor-in-chief was Stanko Terzić. Neda Bebler is listed as this edition's editor, with Svetozar Karakušević as reviewer. Sound engineers were Kurt Kindle and Zoran

whole of eleven numbers of the *Strasna sedmica*, which does not exist in Mokranjac's opus as a complete liturgical form, was invented by the composer, conductor and expert on sacred music Vojislav Ilić,²⁶ who connected various numbers of Mokranjac's music into one new, integral musical work.²⁷ The cycle *Strasna sedmica* was released at the time when Vladimir Kranjčević, a famous conductor from Croatia, was hired as chef conductor of the RTB/RTS musical ensembles (1988–1991). His interpretative project with the RTB/RTS Choir was presented as a cultural and musical event of the first importance, which was “crowned” by the mentioned edition.²⁸

Since sacred Orthodox music did not fit into the new model of culture after World War II, being viewed as unacceptable and even potentially dangerous, it was precisely Mokranjac's opus that formed an important axis in reducing this kind of political control (Milin 2015). However, the relatively late dates of the said releases of his sacred music confirm the conclusion on gradual changes. The weakening of control was a process that started especially thanks to the activities of the Belgrade Madrigalists and their conductors (Vesić and Peno 2018). One of them was Vojislav Ilić, who conducted the choir in performance of Mokranjac's Liturgy at the *Sagra musicale* international festival in Perugia in 1966, one year before the work was recorded on the aforementioned edition of the *Putnik* travel agency.²⁹ This programme direction was still unique and an alternative example in choir performance at that time, which the state record label was not immediately ready to adopt. One could say that it started cautiously, three years later, with the joint edition with the Patriarchate of Serbian Orthodox Church, presenting a performance of the Liturgy by the Collegium Musicum choir and Vojislav Ilić. Soloists were Živadin Đorđević and Miloš Erdeljan. The recording includes the sound of the bells of the Orthodox Cathedral in Belgrade. This LP (2406) is dated in 1971, and was reissued again in 1973, 1976, 1984, 1987, in

Marinković, while Jugoslav Bošnjak served as producer. The CD booklet was equipped with the text by musicologist Ivana Trišić, written for the concert performance at BEMUS in 1990.

26 On Vojislav Ilić (1911–1999) see Đaković 2015: 73, 79, 88–94, 160, 212, 218, 235–237; for his biography see Kirčanski 1982 and Ribić 2012.

27 Next to Mokranjac's settings of texts sung on Holy Friday (*Tebe odjejučagosja* [1892] and *O kako bezakonje* [1893]) and Easter Saturday morning (*Tri Statije* [1906–1909]), Ilić included *Da ispravitsja* (1906) and the *Akathistos* (1892) as well as some unison voice pieces from *Strano pjenije*.

28 The premiere performance of the cycle *Strasna sedmica* was held in Negotin, at the *Mokranjčevi dani* festival on 14 September 1990, and then repeated one month later, on 15 October, at the BEMUS Festival in Belgrade. See Trišić 2003; Marinković 2015.

29 The discourse on the choir's goals and profile is oriented towards sacred music, as may be seen from the comments by Milan Bajšanski (the choir's founder) on Mokranjac, his work, and on the activities of the choir, printed in the booklet. This is evident from the mention of the repertoire of the first concert (dedicated to music by Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina and Mokranjac), as well as the choir's participation in the international congress of Byzantine studies, with the repertoire dedicated to Serbian and Russian sacred music.

cassette form in 1984 and three further times, years of publications unknown.³⁰

At a time of the intensive revival of sacred music performances in concert practice during 1990s, when the genre became a desirable tool of national identification and thus adopted by various choirs, the state label's fitting-in of the new official policy resulted in one peculiar, and until then unusual edition of Mokranjac's *Liturgy*. It was Vojislav Ilić's arrangement of the work, performed by the children's ensemble of the RTB/RTS Musical Production, the *Kolibri* choir, conducted by Milica Manojlović (1933–2008) and with participation of the tenor Dragoslav Pavle Aksentijević.³¹ As a long-time expert on church music, Ilić was also honoured with the posthumous recognition of this choir and its conductor by the edition *Kolibri u spomen Vojislavu Iliću* [*Kolibri in memory of Vojislav Ilić*] (CD 450327). As well as the *Liturgy*, this time recorded with the soloist Nenad Ristović, in March 2003 at the Cathedral Church in Belgrade, the issue included Ilić's own singing of nineteen hymns from the *Osmoglasnik* [Octoechos], notated by Mokranjac according to traditional church chant.³² As was stressed in the CD booklet, Ilić's singing was recorded in the studio of Radio Belgrade at the time when this tradition "was neglected and, though used in the church services, almost completely unknown to the wider audience of Belgrade Radio. The record is interesting at the first place because of the manner of singing of the religiously educated musician, who wanted to present Stevan Mokranjac's melographic records and exemplary way of singing church chant" (Petrović [2003]: 20).

2.2. MOKRANJAC'S MUSIC ON SOUND EDITIONS OF VARIOUS CHORAL ENSEMBLES

While recordings by Simić, Vukdragović, Bajšanski, Ilić, Kranjčević and especially Jagušć maintain a noteworthy place in discography of Mokranjac's works, because of the fact that those recordings are specifically conceived as being solely devoted to Mokranjac's oeuvre, these performers are not the only ones who recorded the works in question, nor did their recordings cover all the composer's works. As was noted, those particular performances are far from the only ones issued by the PGP-RTB/RTS label. However, the other recordings were published by particular performers/ensembles, which included different compositions on their recorded repertoire. By analysing these kinds of recordings, we may gain insight into the presence of Mokranjac's works

30 This data is found on *Discogs – Music Database and Marketplace*. In official documentation of PGP RTB/RTS only the documentation concerning the audio cassette was found, dated 29 August 1984.

31 The sound material was recorded at the Vavedanje monastery and published as a compact disc (450051) in 1998 according to *Discogs – Music Database and Marketplace*.

32 Editor-in-chief was Vladimir Marković, sound engineers were Goran Letunica and Zoran Marin-ković, producer was Mario Kremzir, while musicologist Danica Petrović wrote the text that was published in Serbian and English in the CD booklet. The exact dates of Ilić's recordings as well as issue's releasing are not noted on the CD. However, Romana Ribić mentioned 2003 as the year of publishing (2012: 163).

not only in terms of recordings devoted to his oeuvre, but when decisions to include his works came (by assumption) on the initiative of ensembles themselves.

There are in total nine different choral ensembles, in addition to the RTB/RTS Choir, which included Mokranjac in their repertoire and recorded it for the PGP-RTB/RTS from 1975 to 2004. Beside those from Belgrade, almost half of them are based in other Serbian cities, such as Niš, Šabac, Zrenjanin and Subotica, indicating the strong choir culture that was maintained in Serbian/Yugoslav musical life. Also, while there is no direct indication that inclusion of these ensembles in the PGP-RTB/RTS catalogue was motivated by the strong turn towards decentralisation in 1974, it is still worth noting that since the mid-1970s there was consistent representation of choirs from various parts of the republic.³³ It should be noted too that these recordings were mostly made at the time when choirs of cultural-artistic societies were still prominently active as well as youth ensembles of various types. In particular, these editions were put out by: two female academic choirs – *Collegium Musicum* from Belgrade and the *66 devojaka* [*66 Girls*] choir from Šabac;³⁴ two mixed choir ensembles of academic cultural-artistic societies (AKUDs), both based in Belgrade – the choirs of AKUD *Ivo Lola Ribar* and AKUD *Žikica Jovanović Španac*;³⁵ two youth choirs – one of which, *Koča Kolarov* from Zrenjanin, functions as a city ensemble, while the other, *Dr Vojislav Vučković*, works as the choir of the music school from Niš;³⁶ two civil choirs – the First Belgrade Choral Society as well as the Chamber Male Choir *Stanislav Binički* from Kruševac; and, finally, only two professional ensembles – the

33 In 1974, a new Constitution was established after much unrest, giving more autonomy to the republics forming the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

34 The *Collegium Musicum* Academic Choir, one of the most eminent domestic ensembles, was founded in 1971, at the initiative of Professor Vojislav Ilić. It is formed by female students of Faculty of Music. Since its foundation, the choir has been conducted by Darinka Matić Marović and performed over 200 premieres. The choir *66 devojaka* [*66 Girls*] was formed as youth choir in 1963, within the Teacher's School in Šabac, which became the Pedagogical Academy in Šabac. This female choir was led by professor Branko Đurković, and, under the present name, had significant success both domestically and abroad.

35 AKUD *Ivo Lola Ribar* was formed in 1944, just after the liberation of Belgrade. It was named after the youth and academic partisan leader. Formed as a youth choir, it became academic since many of its members were/are students. Many famous Yugoslav and Serbian singers and musicians were former members (such as Radmila Bakočević and Miroslav Čangalović, among others). AKUD *Žikica Jovanović Španac* is an association of students of Belgrade University, dedicated to theatre, instrumental and choir music, as well as folk music. The choir was founded in 1954 and since its beginning has been stationed within Studentski grad [Student city].

36 The *Koča Kolarov* Youth Choir was founded in Zrenjanin in 1966. Professor Mirko Bulovan became the conductor of the choir in 1970 and from this time it began to participate in festivals and competitions. Singers of the choir are all between 15 to 19 years old. The *Dr Vojislav Vučković* Youth Choir was founded in 1969 in Niš. It was led by Radojica Milosavljević, whose name it bears today. The choir members are students of the local Music school.

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Belgrade Chamber Choir and the RTB/RTS Choir.³⁷ In general, although all aforementioned choral bodies belong to different social and artistic contexts, we can see that their common feature was their publicly recognised quality, which had already been ascertained through the various public appearances, accolades and awards of each individual choir within its social and performing category.

Considering the concept of each particular issue in the second group of editions, two types of ensemble presentation may be seen. One of them relies on a selection of representative examples from the choir's repertoire, which are presumed to show considerable interpretative abilities in the performance of traditional and/or contemporary choral literature as "high" art music. In addition, these kinds of editions usually indicate a specific whole in terms of repertoire. On the other hand, the second type of edition pretends to be a part of "popularised" art music, which implies various kinds of repertoire.

Among the former type of recordings, two compact discs are focused on Orthodox sacred music. The Belgrade Chamber Choir and its conductor Vladimir Marković included Mokranjac's Opelo in their edition dedicated to Russian and Serbian sacred music, performed in the Belgrade Gallery of Frescoes and issued in 2001 (CD431142).³⁸ The other edition, released under the name *Srpska duhovna muzika. Dela najvećih srpskih kompozitora – horovođa Društva* [*Serbian Sacred Music. Works of greatest Serbian composers – choir directors of the Society*] (CD 430602 in 1998), was also prepared as a live recording, presenting a concert of the First Belgrade Choral Society under the leadership of Vladimir Milosavljević.³⁹ The concept of the CD – including its title itself – is a reminiscent of a long-established strategy of presentations of the same choir from the time of its prominent conductor Stevan Mokranjac, when concert programmes, along with other – spoken, written and visual – narratives, had been devised to map as well as memorialise the historical sequence of prominent conductors of the Society, and thus to build an elite and leading position of the Society in the construction of the canon of Serbian national music (Milanović 2014d: 22–24). The recording was released after several decades of a changed, marginalised position of the Society in the public cultural space, when the activities of the Society had been reduced to its status as the Belgrade Cathedral Choir Society

37 The Male Chamber Choir *Stanislav Binički* was founded in Kruševac, in 1973. The choir is particularly dedicated to the repertoire of sacred music, presenting it in concerts both in Serbia and abroad. The Belgrade Chamber Choir was founded in 1996, and comprises 20 professional artists. Vladimir Marković has been the conductor of the choir since its founding. The choir performs a wide-ranging repertoire of spiritual music.

38 There are five numbers on the compact disc: *Liturgija Sv. Jovana Zlatoustog* comprising music by various Russian composers; *Svjati Bože* [*Holy God*] by Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky (1840–1893); *Heruvimska pesma* [*Cherubic Hymn*] by Josif Marinković (1851–1931); *Molitva Davidova* [*The Prayer of David*] by Vladimir Milosavljević; Mokranjac's Opelo is the closing composition.

39 The concert was held on the occasion of the 145th anniversary of the Society (Cf. Petrović, Đaković and Marković 2004: 141).

(Cf. Petrović, Đaković and Marković 2004: 105–143). The time of “transition”, which implied a revival of bourgeois societies that had not been welcomed in the political and social context of the communist state after the World War II, is very noticeable here. The edition is marked by a nostalgia for the former “glory” and elite position of the Society. The aim for the renewal of image and reaffirmation of the Choir is presented here through the sacred music of Serbian composers who were professionally connected to the Society as their conductors, starting from Kornelije Stanković (1831–1865). In this sound construction of an historical narrative, Mokranjac’s place is the most prominent. Among 14 numbers, there are three of his compositions: *Njest svjat, Heruvimska pesma, Kanon Evharistije* [*The Canon of Eucharist*].⁴⁰

Other representative repertoires in editions by different ensembles were selected to present Serbian or both Serbian and foreign choral literature. In the case of the *Ivo Lola Ribar Academic Choir*, two of its LPs for PGP-RTB/RTS are dedicated to Serbian composers. The first of them, with conductor Ivan Dražinić, released in 1975 (LP2433), contains 10 numbers among which two compositions of Mokranjac are present (*Akatist* and *Rukovet No. 11*).⁴¹ The double album (3130088) from 1984, with conductor Milovan Pančić, is dominated by the recording of the *Opelo* by Stevan Hristić on one disc, while the other contains repertoire by other composers, including three works by Mokranjac (*Rukovet No. 9, Rukovet No. 11* and *Primorski napjevi*).⁴² Serbian music is also presented on the edition of the *Žikica Jovanović Španac Academic Choir* from 1988 (LP 230120). This time, contemporary choral compositions dominate in the performance of the ensemble under conductor Miloje Nikolić and his assistant Vesna Souc, but with addition of *Rukovet No. 15* by Stevan Mokranjac.⁴³

In the case of the edition of the *Dr Vojislav Vučković Youth Choir*, released in 1988 (LP 230022), one half of the repertoire is dedicated to Mokranjac, while Josip Slavenski, Kosta Babić and the late-Renaissance Venetian composer Baldassare Donati (1525/1530–1603) were represented by one composition each.⁴⁴ A large chronological

40 The rest of the edition includes two compositions by the conductor Vladimir Milosavljević, and one composition each by other composers: Kornelije Stanković, Davorin Jenko (1835–1914), Josif Marin-ković, Stanislav Binički (1872–1942), Stevan Hristić (1985–1958), Miloje Milojević (1884–1946), Kosta Manojlović (1890–1949), Svetolik Paščan-Kojanov (1892–1971), Aleksandar Gavanski (1901–?) and Georgije Maksimović (1929–2014).

41 The other composers included are Krešimir Baranović (1894–1975), Josip Slavenski (1896–1955), Vladimir Berdović (1906–1980) and Vojislav Kostić (1931–2010), each of them represented by one composition, as well as Milorad Kuzmanović (1932–1996) and Konstantin Babić (1927–2009), with two pieces each.

42 There are also compositions by Dmitri Bortnjanski (1751–1825), Milorad Kuzmanović, Konstantin Babić and Todor Skalovski (1909–2004). The last number is *Poema* about Lola Ribar by Radomir Petrović (1923–1991).

43 The LP, under the name *Kazivaljke* [*Clue Rhymes*] contains works by Radomir Petrović, Josip Slavenski, Konstantin Babić, Dušan Radić (1929–2010), Dimitrije Golemović (1954–) and Minta Aleksinački (1947–).

44 Two recordings of the choir’s performances with conductor Radojica Milosavljević in 1975/6 and 1981 were published on this LP. The first of them was held at the radio choral contest “Let the Peoples

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span and historical frame in the choice of repertoire is also present on the release of the *66 devojaka* Choir under conductor Branko Đurković, from 1976 (LP2549). Fourteen numbers in total comprise the music of local authors, from Davorin Jenko to Dejan Despić, as well as Felice Giardini (1716–1796), an Italian eighteenth century composer, and Victor (Vic) Nees (1936–2013), the contemporary Belgian (Flemish) composer. Mokranjac's *Primorski napjevi* is the closing number of the record. The composition of the Croatian author Ivo Tijardović (1895–1976), which is also present on the edition, suggests the inclusion of other composers from the then-Yugoslav state.⁴⁵ Repertoire strategies of some choral ensembles from Serbia often included such practices, which had their origins in Mokranjac's time (Milanović 2018). In the later socialist context, they sometimes took on new forms of presentation, incorporating music from different Yugoslav republics. This is the case with the edition of the *Collegium Musicum* Academic Chamber Choir under the direction of respected conductor Darinka Matić Marović, released in 1984 to celebrate an important jubilee, the 1000th concert of the ensemble (LP2330113). The repertoire also included the *Kondak* by the Russian composer Pavel Chesnokov (1877–1944) and *Tebe pojem* by Mokranjac, while other works presented various authors from Serbia, Croatia and Macedonia.⁴⁶ This inconspicuous association with official Yugoslav policy is situated in the context of musical popularisation through specific media strategies of the RTB/RTS, embodied in various activities of radio and television presenter Dejan Đurović. It is interesting that along with music parts of the mentioned repertoire, a commentary by Đurović was also recorded. Dedicated to the popularisation of classical music, Đurović's radio show *Dragstor ozbiljne muzike* BG 202 [*Classical Music Store* BG 202] featured choirs in several editions, in addition to recordings of the show or its famous top-list names themselves, indicating a form of cooperation. This is the case with editions of the *Ivo Lola Ribar* Academic Choir, The *Collegium Musicum*, as well as the *Koča Kolarov* Youth Choir.

The LP of the *Koča Kolarov* Youth Choir and its conductor Mirko Bulovan, released in 1985 (LP 2330148), brings a slightly more dispersed repertoire, presenting a mixture of choral music by various composers from Jacob Arcadelt (1507–1568) to contemporary authors, as well as some popular numbers such as the spiritual *Soon No Well Be Down* or a choral version of song *Oh Susanna!* by the American songwriter Stephen Foster (1826–1864). There is, however, a specific sense of the whole, since all

Sing", and run and broadcasted by BBC, when the choir included Mokranjac's *Heruvimska pesma* along with compositions by Slavenski, Babić and Donati. Side B contains recordings from the 16th edition of the *Mokranjčevi dani* festival in Negotin, where choir performed *Tebe pojem* and Rukoveti Nos. 2 and 5.

45 As well as already mentioned authors, the edition includes Mihailo Vukdragović, Marko Tajčević (1900–1984), Vladimir Đorđević (1869–1938), Vojislav Ilić (with two compositions), Berislav Popović (1931–2002), Milivoje Dragutinović, and Kosta Manojlović.

46 Among those composers are Dejan Despić, Aleksandar S. Vujić (1945–2017), Ivan Matetić-Ronjgov (1880–1960), Toma Prošev (1931–1996), Vlastimir Nikolovski (1925–2000), Radomir Petrović, Vladimir Berdović, Dušan Kostić (1925–2005) and Dragutin Gostuški (1923–1998).

numbers are short, virtuosic or of comic character, and musically appealing to a wider audience. One can thus understand why the two compositions by Mokranjac's that introduce the listener into the repertoire are presented in abridged versions (Rukovet No. 5, songs 6–9; Rukovet No. 10, songs 3 and 4).⁴⁷ Another edition of miscellaneous repertoire that perhaps could also be considered under the rubric of popularization was made by the *Stanislav Binički* Chamber Male Choir and conductor Milorad Gale Radovanović in 2001, under the title *U slavu Kruševca [In the glory of Kruševac]* (CD431135). It features a very strong mixture of genres and a total of twenty-five numbers, where one can find sacred music by Serbian and Russian authors as well as patriotic songs and examples of *starogradska muzika* [old urban music], a great part of the recording is dedicated to Mokranjac. There are several parts of his Liturgy (*Prva slava* and *Svjati Bože, Milost mira, Dostojno jest, Svjat, svjat, Tebe pojem, Tebe Boga hvalim*), *Njest Svjat, Himna Sv. Savi* and *Za inat*.⁴⁸

Finally, two ensembles of the Radio Television Serbia (Choir and Symphonic Orchestra) had their own recording published in 2004 (CD 431629), on which 10 numbers by Serbian and international composers were performed.⁴⁹ Given the extensive work on Mokranjac's oeuvre that choir ensemble had done over the previous decades, it is no wonder that one composition by this author (Rukovet No. 1) was included again.

2.3. MOKRANJAC'S MUSIC ON MISCELLANEOUS EDITIONS

The third group of editions does not refer to a particular composer, particular works or a particular choral ensemble. These editions are dedicated to a specific "topic" or "occasion" around which some compositions, authors and/or performers are gathered. The group is heterogeneous, and recordings vary from a multi-part edition of the *Antologija srpske muzike [Anthology of Serbian Music]* to those such as *Božićne pesme [Christmas songs]* or "top lists" of classical music. However, as opposed to these diverse conceptions, what binds these editions together is the RTB/RTS Choir as the main performer.

47 The edition was presented as the "Selection of the Most Successful Recordings in the Period 1979–1984" of the Choir. Composers included, apart from Mokranjac, are: Milorad Kuzmanović, Konstantin Babić, Vladimir Berdović, Giovanni Giacomo Gastoldi (1550–1622), Jacob Arcadelt, Richard Genée (1823–1895), R. Herzl, Emanuel Fabrez, Manuel Oltra (1922–2015), Zoltán Kodály (1882–1967), Georgu Gheorghe Danga and Stephen Foster (in arrangement by Berdović and Bulovan).

48 Other composers included are: Dušan Kotur (1870–1936), Mita Topalović (1849–1912), P. Dvorceki, Dragan Jovašević (1958–), Georgije Maksimović, Pavel Chesnokov, Stanislav Binički, F. Šistek, K. Berić, Davorin Jenko, V. Joksimović and Isidor Bajić (1878–1915).

49 Those are: Petar Konjović (1883–1970), Svetislav Božić (1954–), Vasilije Mokranjac (1923–1984), Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756–1791) and Georg Friedrich Händel (1685–1759). Information on the conductor was not included in the data on the disc.

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The edition *Antologija srpske muzike*, released as five LPs in 1977 (LP 2601–2605), was created as a selection of representative examples of Serbian music from the nineteenth to the middle of the twentieth century. A historical construction of a series of anthologies is divided according to different genres that found their place on separate LPs of symphonic, chamber, piano, lied and choral music. It is worth mentioning that Mokranjac is represented by two works on the LPs Nos. 4 (Lied) and 5 (Choral music). His solo song *Lem Edim* is performed by bass Branko Pivnički and pianist Konstantin Bogino, while his composition *Ogrejala mesečina* [*The Moonlight Began Shining*] is performed by the RTB Choir under Borivoje Simić. Having in mind that Simić recorded the bulk of Mokranjac's choral music, the inclusion of a lesser-known work instead of the widely-performed rukoveti was perhaps motivated by the idea that the core part of Mokranjac's opus has already (or was planned to be) published. This example of widening the canonical platform of Mokranjac's oeuvre is combined with a selection of other composers and works. The prevalence of Josif Marinković is obvious on both LPs, while usually marginalised composers, such as Isidor Bajić, Stanislav Binički and Petar Krstić (1877–1957), are also included.⁵⁰ This edition "is very significant precisely because of its 'anthological' character, since an 'added value' is given to presented works that forms the desired historicist line of the Serbian music tradition" (Maglov 2016b: 99). Although we could talk about revision of the canon here, one should bear in mind at least two additional aspects. Concerning the said anthology, a very few compositions in total, selected to cover an entire edition, do not permit precise comparison with other practices of canonization that were implemented through elaborate and hierarchised historical narratives (e.g. musicological discourses, concert programme policies etc.).⁵¹ On the other hand, it is important to

50 LP no. 4, dedicated to lied, contains the following compositions: *Potok žubori* [*The Brook is Murmuring*] and *Čežnja* [*Yearning*] by Josif Marinković (orch. by Milan Ristić), *Lem Edim* by Stevan Mokranjac, *Uspavanka mome sinu Vladimiru* [*The Lullaby to my son Vladimir*] by Isidor Bajić (orch. by Milan Ristić), *Sabah* [*The Dawn*], *Chansone* and *Pesma o dvoje* [*Song about Two People*] by Petar Konjović, *Nimfa* [*The Nymph*], *Japan* and *Molitva majke Jugovića zvezdi Danici* [*The Prayer of the Jugović Mother to the Evening Star*] by Miloje Milojević, *Lastavica* [*The Swallow*] and *Veče na Školju* [*Evening on the Beach*] by Stevan Hristić. LP no. 5, dedicated to choral music, contains following compositions: *Srpske narodne pesme* [*Serbian Folk Songs*]: *Devojka sokolu* [*The Girl Doing Wrong to the Falcon*], *Siva maglo* [*Oh Gray Fog*], *Pade listak drenjine* [*Down Fell a Leaf of Cornel-berry*] by Kornelije Stanković, *Deseto kolo* [*The Tenth Ring Dance*] and *Potočara* [*The Brook Mill*] by Josif Marinković (later orch. by Borivoje Simić), *Ogrejala mesečina* by Stevan Mokranjac, *Divna noći* [*On Beautiful Night*] by Stanislav Binički, *Devojka i vetar* [*The Girl and the Wind*] by Petar Krstić, *Tri ženska hora* [*Three Female Choirs*] *Oj, za gorom* [*Behind the Mountain*], *Orošen đerdan* [*The Necklace Covered with Dew*] and *Vragolan* [*The Devil Boy*] by Petar Konjović. In addition to the composers mentioned, the Anthology also includes works by Predrag Milošević (1904–1988), Ljubica Marić (1909–2003), Stanojlo Rajičić (1910–2000), Josip Slavenski and Marko Tajčević. The reviewer of the edition was Davorin Županić and editor-in-chief Dragiša Petković. For the contents of all five LPs see Maglov 2016b: 109–110.

51 For example, there is only one symphony (by Petar Konjović) on LP No. 1, or, to take an example of chamber works on LP No. 2, only three compositions are presented, by Predrag Milošević, Ljubica

consider the broader context of the state label's editions, and note that the presence of other Serbian composers on sound recordings was less than Mokranjac's, which is the fact that will be stressed in the final chapter of this study.

There are several celebratory editions in this group, which were released on certain special occasions. Among them, one of the oldest recordings from the PGP-RTB/RTS catalogue on which data could be found was certainly a recording comprising four compositions that had previously been recorded for other editions and promoted as a celebratory issue under the title *Novogodišnja ploča 1969* [*New Year Record 1969*], released at the end of 1968 (EP-NG5 33 o/m). Mokranjac's composition *Kozar*, performed by the RTB Choir and Borivoje Simić, was included, and together with popular pieces by Wienawski, Prokofiev and Gounod was presented as a "hit" of artistic music, suitable for listening to during the New Year holidays.⁵² This kind of edition is a predecessor of a later, organised popularisation of classical music whose main energiser was the above-mentioned radio and television presenter Dejan Đurović. His strategies for bringing classical music to a wider audience were borrowed from the context of popular music promotion in media culture. The PGP-RTB/RTS catalogue saw many renditions of his popular top lists of classical music "hits". One such recording, named *Top lista Dragstora ozbiljne muzike* [*Classical Music Store Top List*] was published in 1982 as both LP (2139327) and audio cassette (530298).⁵³ This edition saw Mokranjac's sacred piece *Njest svjat*, performed by the RTB Choir and Borivoje Simić, recognised as being such a "hit" – the only one by a Serbian composer among predominantly orchestral works from the Western classical music canon. This placement adds another layer to the perception of Mokranjac as the central composer figure in Serbian music.⁵⁴

The edition of the RTB Choir and conductor Vojislav Ilić, published on both LP and audio cassette in 1990 under the name *Božićne pesme* (LP 230 537, KA 530 336), was also intended for a broader circle of listeners, other than those who had been believers and/or interested in Orthodox church music. Since the early years of "transition" favoured increasing the number of such listeners, demand for these recordings also grew. Mokranjac's music fitted into these "functional" frames, and more than

Marić and Stanojlo Rajičić, while older composers are completely excluded. On the other side, there are no composers of the younger generation among lied and chamber music (LPs Nos. 4 and 5).

52 There are four compositions on this EP: *Kozar* by Mokranjac, *Mazurka* by Henryk Wieniawski (1835–1880), *Gavotte* by Sergei Prokofiev (1891–1953) and the aria of Marguerite from the opera *Faust* by Charles Gounod (1818–1893).

53 For more on the concept of *Classical Music Store* and accompanying media contents, see Maglov 2015.

54 Judging by the programme, a video cassette *Subotom uveče Top lista klasične muzike* [*Saturday Evening Classical Music Top List*, VHS 890162], dated 1990/91, is essentially the same as the earlier audio edition. Mokranjac is again included in the top list with the same composition and its performers. The author of the accompanying music video is director Arsenije Jovanović. The editor of the video programme was Nikola Nešković, editor-in-chief Stanko Terzić, and the authors of the show were Snežana Nikolajević, Dejan Đurović (also serving as its lead) and Aleksandar Mandić.

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half of the edition comprises his carols, antiphons and other songs, while a considerable number of pieces were written by Ilić himself, with an additional example from Marinković's music.⁵⁵

Another kind of edition that adjusted to official policy of the same time is the CD *Sila krsta* [*The power of the Cross*], dedicated to the 800th anniversary of Hilandar Monastery (CD430572, 1998). This edition comprises Mokranjac's Liturgy sung by the *Kolibri* and Pavle Aksentijević under conductor Milica Manojlović, while the majority of the other works were written or arranged by Zoran Hristić. This is one of rare examples of an edition that presents both the RTB/RTS and other ensembles (*Kolibri*; the RTS Choir and Orchestra; the *Obilić* Choir and the First Belgrade Choral Society).

In the year of Radio Belgrade's 75th anniversary (2004), a celebratory edition under the name *Radio Beograd 75 godina* [*Radio Belgrade 75 years*] was released (CD430923). The compact disc contains 21 numbers in different musical genres, performed by various ensembles associated with the RTB (children's choir, national orchestra, vocal quartet, etc.), in order to present all performing bodies of the state media enterprise. Mokranjac's specific status in Serbian music is confirmed not only by the quantity of compositions included in the selection, but also by the variety of performers. Specifically, as well as Jagušt's recordings of the *Heruvimska pesma*, Rukovet No. 10 and *Kozar*, there is also *Tebe pojem* from the Liturgy performed by the *Kolibri* children's choir, as well as a jazz arrangement of the Rukovet No. 8 by Zvonimir Skerl, performed by the RTB Jazz Orchestra and soloists Milivoje Marković, Stjepko Gut and Mihajlo Blam.⁵⁶

One edition in this miscellaneous group is a rare example of a recording of the spoken word and music published in 1976 under the name *Vuk Karadžić govori* [*Vuk Karadžić Speaks*] (S 26500). Side A of this edition contains a commentary spoken by Predrag Knežević (in synthesised voice), while the other side brings Mokranjac's compositon *Himna Vuku Karadžiću* [*Hymn to Vuk Karadžić*]. Although the name of the

55 There are seven compositions by Vojislav Ilić, six by Stevan Mokranjac and one by Josif Marinković (*Prevjekni rođisja po ljeti* / *The Pre-eternal was born*). The compositions by Mokranjac are: *Uranila, koledo stara majka* [*The Koledo Singers, Carol*]; *Molitvami Bogorodici, Spasi ni, Sine Božji* (Antifoni) [*Antiphons By the Prayers of the Theotokos and Save us, O Son of God*]; *Roždestvo Tvoje* [*Troparion Thy Nativity, O Christ our God*]; *Ko pije vino za slave Božje* (Slavska) [*He who drinks wine to God's glory at a family Slava, Carol*]; *Tebe Boga hvalim* [*Te Deum*]; *Uskliknimo s ljubavlju svetitelju Savi* [*Hymn to St Sava, Serbian Church Anthem*]. The soloists were Živojin Ćirić, Ana Jovanović and Branimir Jovanović. The sound engineer was Danica Velešević, the producer Jugoslav Bošnjak, the reviewer Svetozar Karakušević, the editor Neda Bebler, and the editor-in-chief Stanko Terzić.

56 On this edition, a very varied spectrum of genres and performers was included (ranging from symphonic and choir music, to jazz, popular music and old urban songs). Mokranjac is the only composer of choir music on this edition, while other representatives from the canon of Serbian art music are Petar Konjović (*Kestenova gora* [*The Chestnut Forest*] from the symphonic tryptic *Koštana*) and Stevan Hristić (*Grlica* [*The Turtle-dove*] from the ballet *Ohridska legenda* [*The Legend of Ohrid*]).

conductor is not mentioned in the documentation, the composition was performed by the RTB Choir, confirming that the range of various editions with Mokranjac's music in the performances of this ensemble includes many different kinds of "functional" issues that tended to be accessible to both specific and general publics.

3. THE PERFORMANCE CANON OF MOKRANJAC'S OEUVRE

During several decades of its activities, the PGP-RTB/RTS acted as one of the canonisers of local musical art. This became more obvious when we take into account an extensive series of twenty-five LP editions under the title *Savremeni domaći kompozitori* [*Contemporary Serbian composers*], which ran from the 1970s and covered many distinguished composer figures with at least one record.⁵⁷ This edition also included several composers active in the interwar period (e.g. Stevan Hristić, Josip Slavenski, Predrag Milošević). Nevertheless, the lesser representation of older composers in the PGP-RTB/RTS recordings of the time was criticised (Jakšić 1979). Although this deficit was soon after partly compensated for, the overall representation in such editions remained more than modest. With the exception of the series of contemporary composers as well as the above-mentioned series of the *Antologija srpske muzike*, there are only four LPs with Konjović's opera *Koštana* (1983) and only one album with music by Josif Marinković (LP 2130653, 1985),⁵⁸ while many composers of the older generations such as Kornelije Stanković, Stanislav Binički, Isidor Bajić and Miloje Milojević are not represented by an individual recording on the state label. The policy of the PGP-RTB/RTS to focus its own publishing activities, mainly for the promotion of composers of younger generations, thereby to induce the construction of the canon of then-contemporary music seems obvious from today's perspective. This context particularly sharpens the fact that Mokranjac was an exception in the broader frame of the label's editions. Not only was the history of local music canonised through his oeuvre, but his music was also very much dominant in comparison with contemporary authors.

Seen from another angle, the same fact is confirmed by several specific editions of the state label. One of them is a film about Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac, a VHS edition from 1997.⁵⁹ This film points to the strategies related to the culture of remembrance, which are inseparable from the formation and reaffirmation of the canon, the various ways in which Mokranjac's image and work were reproduced in Serbian culture of the past (Milanović 2017, 2018) and recent times (Mikić 2012). The subtle maintenance of composer's name and, thus, a symbolical value-inscription is found

57 For the contents of the series see the appendix in Maglov 2016b: 111-114.

58 See <https://www.discogs.com/Josif-Marinkovi%C4%87-%C4%8C%C5%BEnja/release/10183703>.

59 The production was made in cooperation with the Radio Television of Serbia, Centar film, Jugoslovenska kinoteka, Prizma Kragujevac and Niš film. Scenario and text were written by dramatist Petar Volk.

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in the editions of the Serbian String Quartet *Mokranjac*.⁶⁰ Among its three editions with standard international repertoire (LP 22-2533, 1979; LP 2330067, 1983; LP 430350, 1997), the second was accompanied by a booklet with a commentary by the composer Konstantin Babić on the history of the first Serbian String Quartet and the role of Stevan Mokranjac in this ensemble. The symbolic reaffirmation of the composer's role in Serbian/Yugoslav musical life is carried out through the existence of various institutions in the spheres of education, culture, performance and musical creations that bear his name. Among them are, for example, music schools in Belgrade, Požarevac, Kraljevo, Negotin, Vranje, Senta, Zaječar and Novi Pazar, and choral societies in Belgrade, Negotin and Zaječar, including a cultural-artistic society in his native Mokranje near Negotin. There are also the Belgrade-based *Mokranjac* Association for the promotion of culture, as well as the prestigious annual prize of the Composers' Association of Serbia, the *Stevan Mokranjac* Award. The most prominent place in this diverse network of cultural memory belongs to the *Mokranjčevi dani* festival, founded in 1966 in Negotin, which during its decades of existence has acquired the role of one of the greatest canonisers of Stevan Mokranjac. The PGP-RTB/RTS connection to the festival is shown by the edition of the RTB Choir and Borivoje Simić from 1975, who recorded several compositions that received awards at this festival (LP 2432).⁶¹

Together with mutual interconnections between the PGP-RTB/RTS and the institutions and sites of memories and promotion of Stevan Mokranjac, the state label role as policy maker in the canonising of performances of Mokranjac's works seems to have had a special, far-reaching effect. Some recordings are amongst those which achieved canonical status because, thanks to the development of technology, they stayed "'forever' 'fixed' in famous performances" which "opens a whole new set of questions on how we listen to Mokranjac, and how we hear him, and which could be further applied to the practices of listening (to domestic choir music) in general" (Mikić 2012: 4). Our understanding of the topic is related to the performances which are repeatedly present over several PGP-RTB/RTS editions, as well as the specific performance styles of particular ensembles and conductors. The repetitiveness of these editions and the "frozen" state of the performances meant that these particular ways in which Mokranjac's works were performed were "engraved" in collective reception of how Mokranjac's music should sound. It has even more impact if there are repeated reissues of recordings, in different media formats, and in different repertoire constellations, emphasising certain performances as even more significant and adding to their recognisability in the cultural life and minds of listeners. In that sense, coming full circle as regards PGP-RTB/RTS recordings of Mokranjac's, the fact that

60 It has to do with the Serbian String Quartet (1971–1992) that worked under the name of Mokranjac from 1882. In recent times, another ensemble with the name of the composer, *Mokranjac* String Quartet (2011), has been active.

61 Among them are *Pesme rastanka* by Ljudmila Frajt (1919–1999), *Madrigal* by Vlado Špoljarić, *Razbrajalice* by Konstantin Babić, *Šaljivka* and *Čobanske* by Vladimir Berdović, *Pesme Janje Čičak* by Vojin Komadina, and *Zakukuljeno* by Vojislav Ilić.

in addition to the most repeated albums of performances conducted by Simić, Ilić and especially Jaguš, some other editions contain excerpts of these same recordings further adds to their status of “the” ultimate Mokranjac performances.

In addition to these “peaks”, all other performances with the RTB/RTS Choir, the first professional and one of the most distinguished choral ensembles in the country are dominant in comparison to other choirs. One can understand that the state label invested its power position in the promotion of the ensemble with whom it shared the same institutional house. Also, there is a broader dominance of the Choir in public presentations, which is very conspicuous when looking at statistics on the number of their concerts under various conductors held at *Mokranjčevi dani* festival.⁶² The public prominence of the ensemble was also confirmed and recognised when the performance of Mokranjac’s compositions by the Choir and Mladen Jaguš was awarded in 1982 with the October Award of Belgrade, one of the highest recognitions for achievements in arts and culture (Milanović 2014c: 116).

Thanks to individual conductors the RTB/RTS Choir became the main body that set performance standards in interpretation of Mokranjac’s music. In this context, it is worth bearing in mind that all of its leaders had a very deep respect for Mokranjac. In addition, the broader activities of some of them, such as composing, editing, organizing or scholarly work in music, their other institutional positions and, finally, their public narratives as well as the mutual collaboration of some of them, were among various factors that influenced the empowering of their images as unique performing experts in the performance of Mokranjac’s music.

Thus, Simić and Ilić found their creative models of composing precisely in Mokranjac’s oeuvre. That had its parallel in their orientations towards the composer as conductors, Simić’s in performing secular music, and Ilić’s in the sacred genres. Vukdragović stressed in public interviews his attachment to his initial creative impulses found in Mokranjac’s works: “I was drawn to Mokranjac’s shaping of folk melodies into original works of art and by his ability to translate the values of authentic folklore into his creative language. I, myself, have also remained loyal to those ideas during my five decades of composing” (see Milanović 2014c: 24).

Vukdragović was among the key figures in the foundation of the *Mokranjčevi dani* in Negotin and the Yugoslav Choral Festival in Niš. As a corresponding member of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (SASA) since 1950, and then a full member since 1961, he was also credited with the restoration of Mokranjac’s birth-house that has been transformed and institutionalised as the museum. Vukdragović’s editorial work was an important contribution to the shaping of the long-awaited first publication of texts by (ethno)musicologists and musical experts on Mokranjac, published by SANU (cf. Vukdragović 1971). As versatile energiser of musical life and especially

62 During half of the century, the Choir was led by Borivoje Simić (1971, 1972, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1978, 1979, 1980), Mladen Jaguš (1981, 1982, 1983, 1985, 1997, 2006, 2011), Vladimir Kranjčević (1988, 1990), Bojan Sudić (1992, 1993 – twice, 1995 – twice, 2010, 2014 – twice), Đorđe Stanković (2002) and Darinka Matić Marović (2003). The statistical data does not include their performances of vocal-instrumental works (Marinković 2015).

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amateur music-making, as well as a highly ranked individual in the musical, educational and cultural milieu of the socialist period,⁶³ Vukdragović used his positions to engage in the propagation of Mokranjac's work. His activities as a conductor were an integral part of this context.

Mladen Jagušt maintained his stance that Mokranjac was an unsurpassed choral composer, claiming "that we have somehow not managed to place Mokranjac's music in the world" (Milanović 2014c: 26–27). The occasion of the celebration of the 125th anniversary of the composer's birth was marked by the release of the above-mentioned quadruple LP of the Choir and Jagušt and by a number of festival performances, as well as a guest appearance in the Soviet Union (Milanović 2014c: 27). These came at the time when a more systematic approach to publishing music by Serbian composers was taken at the PGP-RTB/RTS, as opposed to earlier years, when editions came without a particular plan or order (Jakšić 1979). Certainly, this new turn in the label's publishing policies helped with the realisation of the plan to give Mokranjac the place that was, according to shapers of musical and cultural life at the time, his due. Thus, this complex undertaking by maestro Jagušt and choir ensemble that has already taken a specific place in Serbian musical culture was further affirmed first with the LP album and then many reissues in new media formats that followed every few years.

Vojislav Ilić, an expert on the human voice and choral singing, professor at the Academy of Music in Belgrade (1951–1980) who was educated both in theology and conducting, acted as one of the most important editors of the Complete Works of Stevan Mokranjac (1992–1999). Along with his other activities as conductor and promoter of church music at the beginning of the transition of the 1990s, it was one of the opportunities for him to show that he had never given up interest in Mokranjac's church music. His influence on some conductors was very visible and peculiar. For example, Vladimir Kranjčević was thankful to Ilić who directed him, as he stressed, "into all secret connections between Mokranjac's music and the liturgical text". Kranjčević believed that Mokranjac's music "was written from the soul, so this vibrancy was especially felt and transmitted to the ensemble and the auditorium" during performance. He claimed that Mokranjac's sacred music was "unrivalled" and that some of it "represented the greatest pinnacles of world choral literature" (Marinković 2015: 165–167).

In conclusion, we can stress that the PGP-RTB/RTS activities in the publishing of Mokranjac's music included a set of factors that affected the nurturing the image of Mokranjac through releasing of his music, which was presented by recordings of various kinds of ensembles as well as by different publishing concepts, from albums and integral editions to "functional" and "popular" issues. These aspects of publishing policy covered both the musically informed and a broader public. At the same time, the professional choral ensemble of the state media house was at the centre of these publishing activities, which involved strategies of presentations of the Choir as

63 To mention only a few of his various functions: Professor at the Academy of Music (today Faculty of Music), and its Rector, 1947–1952; first Rector of the Academy of Arts (today University of Arts), 1957–1959; General Secretary of the Composers' Union of Yugoslavia, 1953–1962 etc.

the most distinguished performer of Mokranjac's work. On the one hand, it is evident that unquestionable domination of the state label during the socialist period produced some of the most valuable editions. The period of the 1990s was characterised by efforts to intensify the publishing of the sacred works. Right from the beginning of the twenty-first century, PGP-RTS's engagement on new publishing projects steadily declined. Since 2003 the state label has not published a single sound edition presenting a new performance of Mokranjac's work. On the other hand, however, relying on the cultural capital acquired during its dominance as well as the sound resources of older projects, the PGP-RTS did not completely give up its practice of repeating its editions. Recordings that were periodically reissued over time have imposed on collective reception an idea of how Mokranjac's music should sound. It is this strategy of repetition that has further strengthened the actuality of older interpretations, contributing to their canonical status even in the present time.

Finally, it should be emphasised that the next step of this examination should focus especially on the period after the 1990s, in order to analyse the production of other publishers and acquire a picture of Mokranjac's music in the contemporary context of the discography. Furthermore, given the need to explore the complex processes of canonization in post-World War II local music practices, it would be of interest to conduct a comprehensive comparative study, and to see the mutual synergy and/or conflict in the positioning of various agents of canonization in the field of discography and of other relevant areas such as music performance, creation, education and musicology.

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Биљана Милановић и Марија Маглов

МОКРАЊАЦ *ON REPEAT*: РЕАФИРМИСАЊЕ МУЗИЧКОГ КАНОНА ПУТЕМ ЗВУЧНИХ
 ИЗДАЊА (ДИСКОГРАФИЈА ПГП-РТБ/РТС)

(РЕЗИМЕ)

Студија је посвећена звучним издањима музике Стевана Стојановића Мокрањца (1856–1914), објављеним у Продукцији грамофонских плоча Радио телевизије Београд/Радио телевизије Србије (ПГП-РТБ/РТС). Истраживање се ослања на резултате до којих су ауторке дошле претходно радећи на студијама о формирању канона у српској уметничкој музици (Милановић) и о уметничкој музици објављиваној у оквиру ПГП-РТБ/РТС (Маглов). Ауторке полазе од претпоставке да је поменута издавачка кућа имала доминантну позицију у музичкој и медијској култури Србије/Југославије од свог оснивања 1951. године до почетка 21. века, те да су одлуке о избору аутора и композиција који ће у каталогу ове куће бити заступљени значајно утицале на обликовање музичког канона. Стога је основни циљ био да се анализира продукција звучних издања ПГП-РТБ/РТС као конститутивни фактор канонизације Стевана Мокрањца.

Истраживање је засновано на анализи архивске грађе која се чува у документацији ПГП-РТБ/РТС, информацијама доступним у одговарајућим базама података на Интернету, те увиду у сама издања (у њихов садржај, опрему и текстове омота/праћећих књижица). Узета су у обзир издања ПГП-РТБ/РТС која су посвећена првенствено представљању композиторовог опуса, затим она посвећена појединачним хорским ансамблима (а на чијим репертоарима се налазе и Мокрањчеве композиције), као и тематска и издања настала одређеним поводом (нпр. прослава јубилеја), која се одликују разноврсношћу, како извођача, тако и дела различитих аутора. Узета су у обзир укупно 43 издања, од којих најстарије потиче из 1968. године.

Рад је подељен у три целине. Прва од њих односи се на теоријске и методолошке аспекте истраживања канона, укључујући и кратак осврт на (ре)афирмисање канона у случају локалне уметничке музике. Средишњи део доноси три потпоглавља у којима је представљена систематизација и анализа различитих врста издања са снимцима Мокрањчевих дела. Завршна целина укључује значајне проблеме и поједина питања у контексту стратегија канонизације и програмских политика ПГП-РТБ/РТС, указујући на својерстан канонски статус доминантних музичких интерпретација световне и духовне музике овог аутора.

Закључци изведени у овом истраживању показују да је централна позиција Мокрањца у историји српске музике реафирмисана кроз различите издавачке концепте, од албума и интегралних звучних публикација до „функционалних“ и „популарних“ издања, те да је програмска политика ПГП-РТБ/РТС у овом случају узимала у обзир како музички образовану, тако и ширу публику. Уочена је и кључна улога Хора РТБ/РТС и његових диригената у обликовању звука Мокрањчевих дела, а с обзиром на бројност издања и реиздања која је овај ансамбл остварио. Међу њима су били албуми и интегрална издања с диригентима Боривојем Симићем и Младеном Јагуштом, потом и издање *Сѝрасне седмице* с диригентом Владимиром Крањчевићем, а издавала су се и поновљена издања Мокрањчеве *Литургије Св. Јована Златоустојоу* у извођењу хора *Collegium musicum* и диригента Војислава Илића. Неупитна доминација ПГП-РТБ/РТС медијским простором током социјалистичког периода произвела је нека од највреднијих издања Мокрањчеве музике у реализацији ове дискографске куће. Период деведесетих био је обележен напорима да се интензивира објављивање Мокрањчевих дела духовне музике, што је било у складу с променом званичне политике, као и програмских смерница државне дискографске куће. Почетком XXI века ангажман ПГП-РТС на новим издавачким пројектима нагло је опао, тако да после 2003. године није објављено ниједно звучно издање које би представило нове интерпретације Мокрањчевог дела. Међутим, ослањајући се на културни капитал стечен у времену медијске доминације, као и на звучне ресурсе ранијих пројеката, ПГП-РТС није у потпуности напустио праксу понављања својих издања. Посматрано у целини, снимци који су се периодично реиздавали наметали су својом присутношћу идеју о томе како треба да звучи Мокрањчева музика. Управо је ова стратегија понављања оснажила актуелност појединих интерпретација, доприносећи њиховом канонском статусу чак и у садашњем времену.

Кључне речи: музички канон, извођачки канон, Стеван Стојановић Мокрањца, ПГП-РТБ/РТС, дискографија, Хор РТБ/РТС

FROM GREAT EXPECTATIONS TO GREAT
DISAPPOINTMENTS: PETAR KRSTIĆ'S
CONTRIBUTION TO THE PROCESS OF REFORMS OF
MUSIC EDUCATION IN INTERWAR YUGOSLAVIA
(1918–1921) *

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ABSTRACT

This paper deals with the activities of Petar Krstić in the domain of music education in the first years after the First World War and the constitution of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. As a long-serving director of the Serbian Music School, Krstić initiated various processes in order to modernize it and transform it into institution of higher level of music education. For that purpose he focused on the school's internal reorganization and 'etatization'. As a result, Krstić prepared new school regulations and several drafts of legal texts and started negotiations with the authorities. Krstić's ideas, plans and his undertakings concerning the reforms during the rule over the Serbian Music School/Music School in Belgrade will be discussed in detail together with their historical value.

KEYWORDS: Petar Krstić, Serbian Music School/Music School in Belgrade, Kingdom of SCS, music education, Belgrade Conservatory

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As the newly founded state of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes [Kingdom of SCS], emerged in December 1918, a striving for rapid cultural progress of marginalized South Slavic peoples became relevant in various, ideologically and socially distinct intellectual circles. Understanding the prehistory of the Kingdom as a period of devastating political and economical exploitation of South Slavs as well as the systematic suppression of their cultural potentials, the post-Great War era seemed promising in that respect, giving reason to believe in the unprecedented social and cultural development of local nations. In the atmosphere of “great expectations”, music experts from all over the Kingdom felt that the time had come finally to solve some of the issues that were thought to compromise the expansion of the sphere of art music. Initiatives were almost simultaneously undertaken in Ljubljana, Zagreb and Belgrade in order to transform the domain of music education, which was thought to be of great significance for “musical progress”. Among other things, extensive negotiations between the management of some of the most influential music schools in the country and the Ministry of Education of the Kingdom of SCS took place between 1919 and 1921 aiming at changing the economic basis of music education, its organization and goals. Parallel to “bureaucratic” struggles, a sort of public campaign was launched in the music press and dailies, which held opposing views on this topic. One of the first addresses to the public concerning the necessity of reforms of Yugoslav music education appeared as soon as July 1919 in Ljubljana, in *Cerkveni Glasbenik* [Church Musician]. At the time the director of the music school of Glasbena matica in Ljubljana and the newly founded Yugoslav Conservatory, Matej Hubad, explained the significance of the formation of a conservatory of music in the Kingdom of SCS finding it crucial for the proper development of Yugoslav art music. It included the cultivation of able instrumentalists, music teachers, *kapellmeisters*, choirmasters, orchestral musicians, operatic singers etc. (see Hubad 1919: 59). Similar thoughts were expressed by Miloje Milojević in July 1920 in *Prosvetni glasnik* [Educational Bulletin]. Milojević found it important to form a central, state funded conservatory in the country as “a real nursery of culture” (Milojević 1920: 22). Based on legislation and a detailed curriculum created by the commission of experts, it was intended to give broad theoretical and general knowledge to students and, at the same time, help the elevation of Yugoslav art music and culture to the higher levels (Cf. Milojević 1920: 22).

Although musicians from Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana shared views on reforms in music education, their struggle took separate paths. While trying to secure privileges for each leading music school of the regional centre, key music figures pushed common interests and possible joint projects to the margin.³ It is therefore not surprising that the initiatives they took had many particularities. Owing to that, in this paper we will focus on the activities of the Belgrade-based musicians engaged in the Serbian Music School. Of special interest will be

3 We will discuss this in the last chapter.

the work of Petar Krstić, composer, conductor and pedagogue, who left a deep imprint on the process of reforming music education. As a longstanding director of the Serbian Music School, Krstić⁴ thought it crucial to modernize the school's organization and curriculum in order to transform it gradually into a respectable and prestigious institution comparable to similar institutions of the developed Western and Central European countries. For that purpose, he took numerous steps from the end of the Great War until he resigned his post in May 1921. His initiative went in several directions including a change of the school's management structure and the 'etatization' of school. Since both directions had their own specificities we shall discuss them separately. In addition, special attention will be given to the opposing views on the school's reorganization and its 'conversion' into a conservatory that emerged among the employees. In this respect, of great significance is the split between Petar Krstić and Miloje Milojević which escalated in the mid-1920 and spread into the public domain. As we shall point out, it was the result of irreconcilable differences on the understanding of the nature and function of music education together with the social and cultural role of higher schools of music/conservatories.

The historiographical research presented in this paper was the result of investigation of materials from Petar Krstić's Legacy held in the Institute of Musicology SASA in Belgrade as well as the correspondence between the Serbian Music School/Music School in Belgrade, the Minister of Education of the Kingdom of SCS, members of the Arts Department of the Ministry of Education of SCS, and the management of the Belgrade Choral Society preserved in the Archives of Yugoslavia and the Historical Archives of Belgrade. For the proper reconstruction of a 'timeline' of events, activities and circulation of ideas, of certain significance were the articles and reports published in Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana periodicals and dailies in the early 1920s.

4 Petar Krstić spent seven years in the management of the Serbian Music School/Music School in Belgrade, and three years more as a professor. He was asked to take the post of director by Mokranjac who became very ill at the time (May 1914). For several months, Krstić was appointed an acting director of the school, but after Mokranjac passed away (September 1914) he became its director. During the Austrian-Hungarian occupation of Belgrade, Krstić tried to uphold the school's work. After it was closed for some time (1914, 1915), classes continued in 1916 and were uninterrupted until the end of the Great War. See Institute of Musicology SASA [IMSASA] – Archival Collection [AC], Petar Krstić's Legacy [PKL], Group I, A self-written biography and a list of works, s.a.

THE PROCESS OF RESTRUCTURING OF THE SERBIAN MUSIC SCHOOL'S ADMINISTRATION: PETAR KRSTIĆ AND HIS COLLEAGUES VERSUS THE BELGRADE CHORAL SOCIETY

According to Petar Krstić's written accounts,⁵ the necessity of change of the Serbian Music School's managerial structure and model of functioning became acute after the end of the War, although in some regards it was anticipated years before the military conflict began in Southeast Europe.⁶ The post-war political circumstances in Southeastern Europe led Yugoslav intellectuals, including Krstić, to believe that cultural, artistic and musical issues would hold a prominent place in the political elite's priority list, after decades of neglect. The long-awaited cultural and artistic emancipation of the South Slavs was expected to come about and only internally transformed and reorganized could the Serbian Music School contribute to it. The earlier type of school organization typical for Mokranjac's time was, in Krstić's opinion, outdated and not suitable for the ambitious and, at the same time, socially more complex post-war settings.⁷ The 'patriarchal model' by which Krstić probably understood a form of administration concentrated in the hands of director together with a familiar tone in communication with the authorities, did not represent a proper basis for the creation of a modern and stable institution with high potential for future development. Consequently, it is not surprising that the first moves Krstić made in his reformatory course incorporated the complete re-envisioning of the school's Statute (see illustration 1). One of the key modifications it promoted, beside the change of name to the Music School in Belgrade, was the separation of the school from the Belgrade Choral Society and its management as well as the division of the school administration into several bodies (director, school management [*uprava škole*], school council [*savet škole*]).⁸ One may conclude from the preserved draft of *The Decree of the Serbian Music School* (1914) (see Illustration 2) that was written in the first months of Krstić's rule as its acting director, the idea of the distan-

5 Cf. IMSASA – AC, PKL, Group III, Articles and writings of Petar Krstić, Belgrade Conservatory, manuscript, s.a. (this article was published in series in the journal *Beogradski dnevnik* [*Belgrade Daily*] in 1921 and 1922 [see Pejović 1999: 137]); Group III, Educational Work, Materials on the Serbian Music School/Music School in Belgrade.

6 For instance, the idea of transforming the school into a state institution soon after Krstić became its acting director (the decision was confirmed by the Ministry of Education and Church Affairs on 18 May 1914). In the following months after his appointment, he created a draft of the *Decree of the Serbian Music School* based on the premise that the school ought to be completely materially supported by the state and under the control of the Ministry. See IMSASA – AC, PKL, Group III, Educational Work, Materials on the Serbian Music School/Music School in Belgrade, *The Decree of the Serbian Music School*, manuscript, s.a.

7 See IMSASA – AC, PKL, Group III, Articles and writings of Petar Krstić, Belgrade Conservatory, manuscript, s.a., 10.

8 See IMSASA – AC, PKL, Group III, Educational Work, Materials on the Serbian Music School/Music School in Belgrade, *The Statute of the Music School in Belgrade*, manuscript, s.a.

прошурито ~~музика~~ Музика школе свој
 дејство ~~представља~~ и на
 све оне уметности, које
 стоје у вези са музиком
 уметношћу.

М.2.

Српска Музика
 школа основана је по
 одобрењу Господина Министра
 Просвете и Црк.
 вешт. Послова Дбр 11428
 од 15 Октобра 1899. год. и
 стоји под његовим надзо-
 ром.

М.3.

~~Музика~~ Музика школе
 је самостално право
 анга, она се уздржава
 својим приходима и
 помоћу државом. У
 своје дужности она се кре-
 ће ~~самостално~~, у пра-
 вима средстава, по
 прописима ових прописа,
 а под сталним надзором
 Господина Министра
 Просвете ~~и Црк. вешт.~~
~~Послова.~~

М.4.

~~Музика~~ Музика шко-
 ла може прибавити како

IVANA VESIĆ
FROM GREAT EXPECTATIONS TO GREAT DISAPPOINTMENTS

Крива годба: Било зами,
волим потлошима (добро,
ишим уговорима) било
потлошима последне воле
(завештањима.)

Ка. 5.

Потлоше уписао Срп.
Школској Школи уписа
Савеса Српске Школске
Школе. Савеса може потлоше
и одбити.

Ка. 6.

Савеса Српске Школске
Школе може се потлоше
наслеђа за Српску Школску
Школу само с потлошем.
Пријем наслеђа без потлоше
стараће се као пријем
с потлошем.

Ка. 5

~~Школска~~ Школска
Школа може надавати надавати
за своје потлоше ~~потлоше~~
годба и Куровином, али
ово може бити само с
потлоше и ~~потлоше~~, ако ~~да~~ је има
све било. ~~Потлоше~~
~~Потлоше~~ Српске Школске Школе. ~~Потлоше~~
прото директорија. Ако је
наздајак бити од ~~потлоше~~
савеса димара, ~~потлоше~~ је одлика савеса извршна је

7 О надавати до потлоше
савеса димара одлика
директор, до две савеса
димара уписа, а до три
савеса димара ~~Савеса~~
~~Школске Школе.~~

The separation of school from choral society was, in Krstić's words, motivated by several reasons. First of all, the functioning of those institutions was based on distinct interests and they had nothing in common.¹⁰ Because of that, teachers and members of the various bodies of the Serbian Music School were consistent in insisting upon the fact that the Belgrade Choral Society was not competent for the evaluation of the school's new Statute. Moreover, the Statute's preparation and adoption was meant to confirm the independent status of the school including its autonomy in the creation of curricula, lecturing, examination of students, the use of funds, etc. Secondly, the model of functioning of the school that was proposed in the first Statute in force since 1899 was considered out-dated, and, therefore, improper for the challenges faced in the post-war period.¹¹

While Petar Krstić and his co-workers explicitly opposed any possible interference of the management of Belgrade Choral Society even if such action was ordered "by the King himself", the Society's leaders advocated a return to the original type of organization and, simultaneously, protested against the "violation of the valid acts" and "tyranny" of the Teachers' Council and the director of the Serbian Music School.¹² In order to confront the school's "schism", they approached the Minister of Education of the Kingdom of SCS, asking him to force the school's management to obey the established rules and hierarchy.¹³ After a series of memos exchanged between the Ministry of Education, the Main Educational Council, and the managements of the Belgrade Choral Society and the Serbian Music School, a meeting was scheduled with the purpose of gathering the delegates from the opposing parties and discuss the school's new Statute.¹⁴

On 5 June 1919, delegates from the Belgrade Choral Society (Rista Odavić, Božidar Lukić, Vojislav Janjić, Vladimir Stevanović and Vlastimir Glišić), Serbian Music School (Petar Krstić, Jovan Zorko, Ivanka Milojević) and the Belgrade City Government assembled in the National Theatre following the directives of the Minister of Education (Pbr. 9842 from 20 May 1919). Though it was not explicitly stated, it was expected that the meeting would result in the cooperation of two groups and, accordingly, would ensure both the legitimacy of the new Statute and the school's management and their building on valid rules and documents. However, as the discussion progressed, it became clear that the representatives from the once unified institution were holding to mutually exclusive positions, contesting each other's right to

10 See AY-66-632-1044, The minute book of the Council of the Serbian Music School's meeting held in Belgrade on June 5th, 1919, a copy, Belgrade Choral Society, no. 35, 5 June 1919.

11 Cf. *Ibid.*

12 See AY-66-632-1044, A memo of the Belgrade Choral Society to the Minister of Education, no. 7, 23 February 1919, 10; AY-66-632-1044, A memo of the Belgrade Choral Society to the Minister of Education, no. 18, 1 April 1919.

13 *Ibid.*

14 See AY-66-632-1044, The Belgrade Choral Society to the Serbian Music School, no. 33, 4 June 1919, Belgrade.

participate in the school's administration. Although the members of the Belgrade Choral Society claimed that they were willing to collaborate with the school representatives following the history of their close and warm relations, they did not hesitate to criticize bitterly the school's Teachers' Council for "taking [the wrong] direction" and its director whom they accused of having gained certain rights on account of the approval of occupational forces for the opening of the *Belgrader Musikschule*.¹⁵ Unlike the Society's representatives who tried to leave an impression of benevolence, the delegates from the school openly expressed their reluctance to give legitimacy to any "provisory body" that would include individuals outside the school's collective.¹⁶ The only motive behind the decision to attend the meeting was to participate in an "exchange of thoughts". As Krstić pointed out, the school's management did not intend to be present in any other similar meeting or meetings in the future.¹⁷

Since this event confirmed the impossibility of reaching a compromise between the aforementioned institutions and the determination of the members of the school collective to follow the provisions of the new Statute, disregarding the previous, at the time still formally valid, Statute which, according to research published in 1924 (see Manojlović 1924), was ineffective for more than a decade and was planned to be withdrawn during Mokranjac's rule,¹⁸ the Minister of Education suggested the division of property of the school and society via the court¹⁹ and the recognition of the present state of affairs (Pbr. 11842 from 5 July 1919).

Owing to the fact that the Belgrade Choral Society was successfully neutralized in the process of the internal reorganisation of the Serbian Music School, Petar Krstić was able to proceed with his reformatory undertakings. With the approval of the new Statute from the authorities, the deeply modified mechanism of decision-making could finally become viable. Still, various "technical" issues including the problem of the school's building and the material status of teachers needed to be tackled. To conclude from Krstić's activities and writings from this period, the only move he

15 See AY-66-632-1044, The minute book of the Council of the Serbian Music School's meeting held in Belgrade on 5 June 1919, a copy, Belgrade Choral Society, no. 35, 5 June 1919.

16 Ibid.

17 Ibid.

18 In 1909 Mokranjac prepared the new Statute of the school and presented it to the members of the school's Council. He intended to create stronger relations between the school and the Ministry of Education and Church Affairs, and to pass on all the authority to the director of school. As Kosta Manojlović noted, "according to the previous Statute, signing of administrative documents, presidency over the Council and school governing was in the hands of the president of the Belgrade Choral Society. It turned out impossible to realize in practice and the director took over these duties, which was acknowledged in the new Statute. Moreover, the Statute was modified in order to be adapted to practice. On this occasion Mokranjac stated what I have already mentioned: "We never acted by the rules, instead of which C. Manojlović and I made decisions on what and how something should be done". See Manojlović 1924: 37.

19 AY-66-632-1044, The head of Arts Department to the management of the Music School in Belgrade and the Belgrade Choral Society, Ubr. 348, 9 February 1920.

found meaningful in that context was the procurement of state support and, accordingly, the school's 'etatization'.

FROM SUBSIDIZED TO PUBLIC MUSIC SCHOOL AND CONSERVATORY:
PETAR KRSTIĆ'S VIEWS ON AND ACTIONS IN THE TRANSFORMATION
OF THE SERBIAN MUSIC SCHOOL

That internal reshaping of the school and the change of its functioning represented a significant step forward, but was insufficient for its thorough transformation despite the enthusiasm, discipline and commitment of both the school's collective and management, was evident to Petar Krstić in the first months of 1919. Therefore, in parallel with work on the new Statute, he dedicated himself to explaining to the authorities the necessity of solving the school's financial problems that, as he believed, was a prerequisite for its fruitful functioning. Besides communicating with the Minister of Finances of the Kingdom of SCS who seems to have shown understanding of the school's (difficult) position, Krstić wrote an extensive letter to the Minister of Education in March 1919 explaining in detail the challenges that were faced by school teachers and management and the results they achieved in spite of numerous obstacles.²⁰ This document, ten pages long, contained, among other things, information on school's main goals since its foundation, such as the education of musical specialists whose role was to 'spread music to the masses' or to 'create and collect everything that is needed for primary and secondary schools', the formation of music teachers for secondary and music schools, choirmasters of choral societies and churches, conductors of civil and military ensembles, theatrical singers and instrumentalists, composers and a musical audience.²¹ Krstić stated that in the post-war circumstances "the school needed to approach its tasks even more seriously than before", that it should become "a centre for music education for our people from this and the other side of the Sava and the Danube", a nursery for musical talents, and a place that would gather the most able teachers from all-over the country.²² For that reason, and the fact that the number of students was increasing each year and that the school's collective showed enough professional capacity for future development, this institution deserved more substantial financial support. It was necessary in order to ensure not only its proper functioning (adequate work space and working conditions) but also the basis for further expansion (financial and social security of teachers, the school's own building). The first plea sent to the Minister of Education from the Serbian Music School after the Great War concluded with the following words:

20 AY-66-632-1044, A memo to the Ministry of Education, no. 23, 29 March 1919.

21 Ibid.

22 Ibid.

After the vengeance of Kosovo, and the unification of South Slavs, the Serbian Music School also expects the realization of its ideals and, thus, hopes for your help. It is the duty of the homeland towards the shadows of the fallen intellectuals who fought for freedom and culture.²³

Despite the fact that Krstić pondered over the idea of school's 'etatization' since he was appointed its director in 1914, it was not referred to in the letter. Whether he thought it tactless or premature to mention this possibility on this occasion is not very clear from the relevant document. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that he continued to work on it, which was reflected in his actions and correspondence initiated after he was formally elected the school's director in July 1919 according to the regulations of the new Statute. Only two weeks later, Krstić wrote to the Minister of Education, this time with intention of presenting him with a document entitled *The Draft of the Law on State Music Schools in the Kingdom of SCS* (see Illustration 3).²⁴ In the *Draft*, he summed up his thoughts on the proper organization of music education in the Kingdom of SCS and the significance of the Serbian Music School, renamed Belgrade Music School in the projected reformative process. Several assumptions upon which this document was based were of crucial importance and they were thoroughly explained and elaborated in some of the Krstić's writings published in 1921.

First of all, music education ought to be divided into three cycles – preparatory, secondary and high, and each of them should take place in a specific type of school. Preparatory schools could offer only courses in violin, piano, solfeggio and choral performance, while secondary schools had both preparatory and intermediate courses and, if possible, courses for music teachers. High schools encompassed preparatory, lower and higher courses for different musical subjects along with courses for music teachers, and operatic and dramatic art. This type of school should be public (state funded), whereas secondary schools could be both public and private. Public music schools had to have their own building and an adequate inventory, while its curricula should be laid down by the Minister of Education. Secondly, teachers in public music schools ought to have the same rights and privileges as teachers in secondary public schools. They could be appointed to the following positions: director, professor, trainee professor, teacher, trainee teacher and part-time teacher, which is confirmed by the Minister's or King's decree. Finally, both public and private music schools were to be monitored by the Minister of Education as well as their curricula. Their teachers had to be the citizens of the Kingdom of SCS, but, if necessary, citizens of foreign countries could be engaged under special contracts.

23 Ibid.

24 Historical Archives of Belgrade, *Mokranjac* Music School, General Archive, 1915–1919, Inventory no. 184, A memo to the Minister of Education, 24 July, Belgrade. IMSASA – AC, PKL, Group III, Educational Work, Materials on the Serbian Music School/Music School in Belgrade, *The Draft of the Law on State Music Schools in the Kingdom of SCS*, 27 July 1919 (prepared by the director Petar Krstić).

IVANA VESIĆ

FROM GREAT EXPECTATIONS TO GREAT DISAPPOINTMENTS

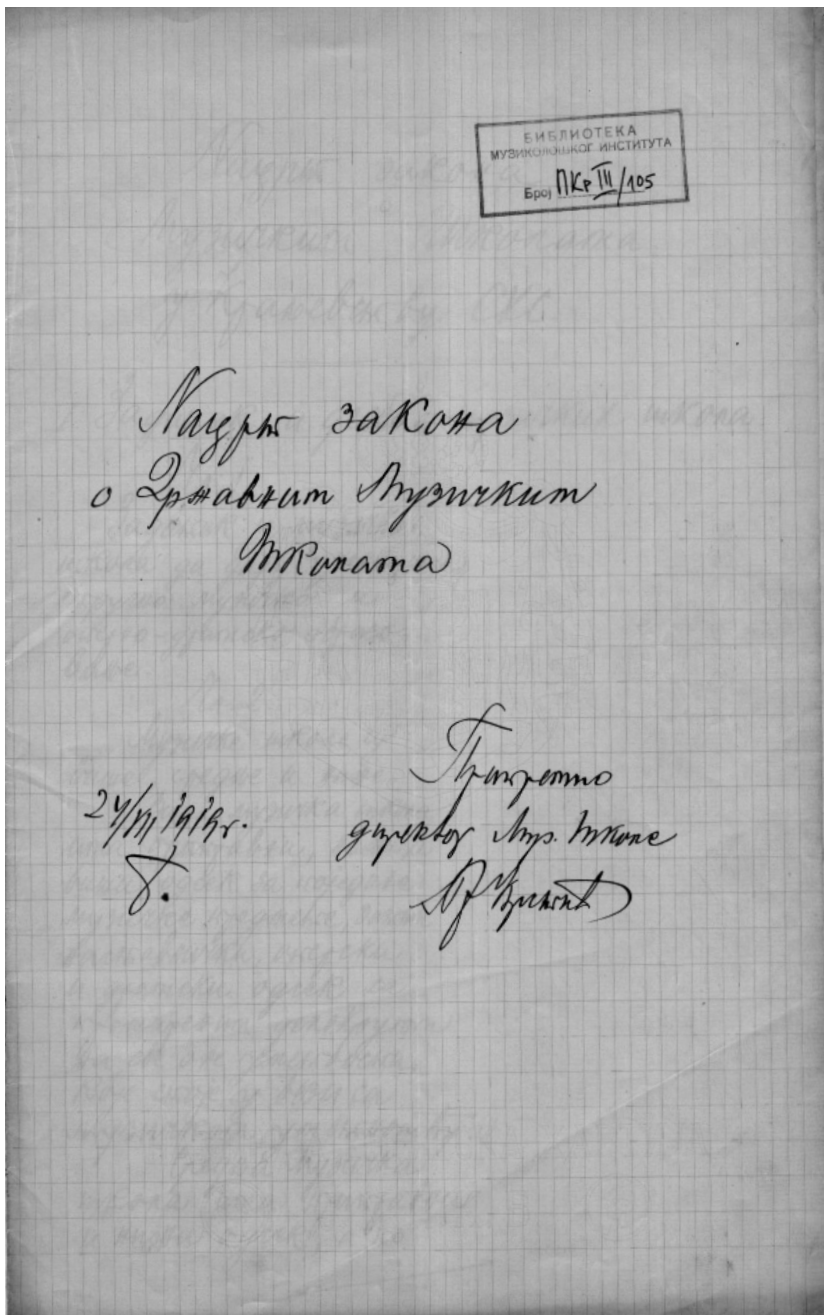


Illustration 3. *The Draft of the Law on State Music Schools in the Kingdom of SCS, IMSASA – AC, PKL, Group III, Educational Work, Materials on the Serbian Music School/Music School in Belgrade, 27 July 1919, prepared by the director Petar Krstić*

The claim that high music schools must be state funded was first mentioned by Krstić in his exhaustive memo to the Minister of Education in March 1919, referring to the practice and tradition of developed Western European countries. He stated that 'rare musical talents found in private schools are usually sent to [...] conservatories or musical academies that are almost always state funded. [...] There is no doubt that this relationship [between private and public schools] will develop in our capital in the future.'²⁵ In his article on the Belgrade Conservatory prepared and published in 1921 he considered it once again in a more systematic manner.²⁶ Analysing the history and characteristics of music education in Western and Central Europe, Krstić concluded that the coexistence of private and public institutions is typical and that state funding prevails in the domain of high music education. The most prestigious conservatories in the 'Old Continent' are, in the majority of cases, funded from the state budget. This correlation was not accidental for Krstić and was explained by specific differences in the nature of private and state schools. As he pointed out, unlike private schools that are primarily materially oriented and whose aim is, before all, the creation of profit, public schools have a more 'idealistic' grounding – artistic aspirations are their main *raison d'être*.²⁷ When school authorities are focused on expenses and profit, other (artistic) issues cannot be treated as priority, and, conversely, when financial matters are of no great concern, emphasis can be put on other problems.

Krstić thought it impossible for a private enterprise, especially in southeastern Europe, to realize a serious, and materially incredibly exhausting task such as the foundation of a conservatory. For that reason, together with strong empirical indicators from the developed countries, the only acceptable solution that could generate expansion and advancement of music education in the Kingdom of SCS was the foundation of public schools.²⁸ In order not to lose precious time and energy, instead of the creation of new institutions, Krstić suggested the transformation of already-existing schools with a certain tradition and experience. As we shall discuss later, in case of the 'eastern' part of the Kingdom, he had no doubts that the Belgrade Music School was the most 'eligible' for that process and that it had the greatest potential for becoming a conservatory in the near future.

While Petar Krstić and his colleagues were trying to initiate the broader reforms of their own and other music schools in the country as soon as possible, the Ministry of Education of the Kingdom SCS was in the process of constitution in 1919 and without the definitive financial plans. Therefore, to Krstić's memo from March 1919 the following response was given in December the same year: The problem of Belgrade Music School, its progress and material security, will be solved as soon as the

25 AY-66-632-1044, A memo to the Ministry of Education, no. 23, 29 March 1919.

26 See IMSASA – AC, PKL, Group III, Articles and writings of Petar Krstić, Belgrade Conservatory, manuscript, s.a., 7–12.

27 Ibid, 8–9.

28 Ibid, 11.

funds for the definition of our artistic culture are approved.²⁹ This referred indirectly to the issue of 'etatization', although, it must be noted that it is not known whether there was any reaction to *The Draft* sent to the Minister.

Despite certain delay, neither Krstić nor the school's employees abandoned their reformatory ideas. Accordingly, at the meeting of the School's Council in May 1920 the decision was made to address the Minister of Education once again with one sole request – to make the Belgrade Music School public and, consequently, to create secure posts for its teachers.³⁰ Several months later, the Minister gave support to this initiative and, soon after, a special commission was formed in order to discuss the details and prepare the necessary regulations.³¹ After a few sessions, members of the commission completed the draft of the Decree on the Belgrade Conservatory (1921). It was approved by the Council of Ministers of the Kingdom of SCS on 20 December 1920, and published in the *Službeni list Kraljevine SHS* on 11 January 1921.

According to Krstić's testimony, the meetings of the commission revealed the existence of antagonistic views on the issue of 'etatization' that were the result of the differences in understanding of the needs of Yugoslav society, of the prospects of

29 See AY-66-632-1044, Arts Department of the Ministry of Education to the Music School in Belgrade, Ubr. 523, 29 December 1919.

30 See AY-66-632-1044, Music School in Belgrade to the Minister of Education, no. 96, 5 July 1920, Belgrade.

31 See IMSASA – AC, PKL, Group III, Articles and writings of Petar Krstić, Belgrade Conservatory, manuscript, s.a., 16–17; HAB, *Mokranjac* Music School, General Archive, inventory no. 185, 1920, Arts Department of the Ministry of Education to the Directorate of the Music School, Ubr. 1581, 7 September 1920, Belgrade; AY-66-632-1044, The Minister's memo to the Arts Department, Ubr. 1827, 2 October 1920. The members of the commission were the following: Branislav Nušić, head of the Arts Department, Petar Konjović, inspector of the Arts Department, Petar Krstić, director of the Music School in Belgrade, Jovan Zorko, teacher of the Music School in Belgrade, Rajna Dimitrijević, teacher of the Music School in Belgrade, Milan Grol, director of the National Theatre in Belgrade, Miloje Milojević, musician, Živojin Spasojević, associate professor at the University, Voja Spasojević, an employee of the Ministry of Finances. According to certain archival documents, prior to the foundation of this commission, the management of the Music School of the Stanković Choral Society was asked to join the discussion on Belgrade Conservatory by the authorities. One of the suggestions from the Ministry of Education was to merge this school with the Music School in Belgrade, but its leaders strongly disapproved that idea. As they stated: "a) [the school leaders] have no right to decide upon that issue and to dissolve the Stanković Music School. which is against its Statute that cannot be modified because of the many legacies and funds dedicated to it, b) the management of the school finds that it should exist in parallel with the state-owned Music School in Belgrade in order to foster competition [...], c) this private school needs state support and attention even with a very small subsidy that can be used for procurement of musical instruments and maintenance of the building, d) a certain state body ought to confirm the curricula for this school and monitor its work and, only in that case will it not fall behind the state Music School [...]. AY-66-633-1045, Stanković Music School, A Memo of the Stanković Choral Society to the Minister of Education (and Arts Department), no. 94, 30 September 1920, Belgrade.

musical education, its role in the national culture, etc. On the one pole stood Krstić with his 'evolutionary approach' to the reforms, while on the other there were Petar Konjović, inspector of the Arts Department, and the majority of the members of the commission.

BELGRADE CONSERVATORY: AN EVOLUTIONARY OR A PRAGMATIC SOLUTION?

One of the major points of dispute of the members of the commission was the question of the future designation of the Belgrade Music School – whether it should bear the name of conservatory or not. As Petar Krstić underlined in his recollections, although it seemed a marginal, “technical” issue at the beginning, soon it turned out to expose deep ideological divisions among the music specialists. Two opposite standpoints materialized early in the sessions. One was based on the idea of the gradual transformation of the school with the emphasis on the transitory period that should serve for the consolidation of its material and human resources, the preparation of curricula, and the introduction of new subjects and instruments. While in the process of restructuring, the school was not to be named conservatory in order not to compromise this term. This point of view was advocated by Krstić.³² The other, voiced by Petar Konjović, was grounded in the belief of the necessity of skipping the transitory phases and of using the term conservatory from the start. The “cosmetic” change of name was assumed to lead gradually to internal transformation in the future. Thus, the “form” imposed on the improper “content” should, at some point, generate its restructuring resulting in a mutual crossing.

The disagreement between the two musicians was not only about the question of “timing” and designation which was manifest in the work of the commission and outside it – especially in public discussions in which Miloje Milojević took the role of spokesperson for Konjović and his supporters.³³ Actually, the problem of the

32 In his opinion, Belgrade Music School at that moment was not on the level of European conservatories and needed a strong impetus in terms of finances and staff. Financial support should be granted by the state. With an adequate material basis, some of the greatest obstacles to reform could be overcome. An adequate building with a proper number of classrooms and concert halls would be provided; the list of subjects expanded and many new instruments such as wind instruments, harp and organs would be introduced. Accordingly, new teachers ought to be engaged both from Serbia and abroad. Only after these changes were made could the school enter a new stage and be transformed into conservatory. Until then, its name should be kept. See IMSASA – AC, PKL, Group III, Articles and writings of Petar Krstić, Belgrade Conservatory, manuscript, s.a., 17–21.

33 Milojević promoted his ideas on the Belgrade Conservatory both in public and in the meetings of the Council of the Belgrade Music School. During one of debates on the school's 'etatization' when Krstić's model was supported with majority of votes, a conflict between him and Krstić flared up. Milojević insisted his thoughts on the foundation of central conservatory/academy of music for the whole

‘naming’ of the school was understood not as a professional issue, but as primarily political. From such a perspective, it was all about national prestige and pride, of what South Slavs merited and were worthy of. That was evident in Milojević’s addresses to the public. For instance, in his article on Belgrade Conservatory (1921), he indirectly accused Krstić as a reactionary who stood against national prosperity and development and promoted the *status quo* typical for the pre-war period when ‘there was no art policy’ and when neither authorities nor artists were concerned with the progress of art music. As he stated:

The time has come to open the doors for the highest artistic education in the field of music in our country, despite the reactionaries, despite those who, for reasons history will tell, wanted those doors to be closed, allegedly because we lack this or that; or who wanted to make these doors narrower and lower, narrow and high enough to let the old spirit from the past into the residency of Artistic Light. (Milojević 1921: 1)

Following Milojević’s words, anybody who opposed the standpoint of Konjović and his supporters was to be “labelled” conservative and anti-liberal and, at the same time, an adversary of the highest national interests. His approach to the topic was undoubtedly “fuelled” with political rhetoric, otherwise the debate on school reforms which was primarily of professional kind would not have turned into a sort of hate speech in which different perspectives from those he promoted were presented as ‘threatening’ to the development of art music.

Apart from the name and timing, other issues also turned out to be problematic in the course of the public debate that flourished after the approval of the Decree on the Belgrade Conservatory. Such was the question of the “general character” of studies in the conservatory – national and/or international, and the type of knowledge

country be completely written down in the school’s Council minute book to which Krstić retorted with: ‘don’t bother’. As a result, Milojević, with the support of his wife, school teacher, Ivanka Milojević, asked for the restructuring of the management of the school, accusing Krstić of mistreatment. After Krstić refuted the allegations of Miloje and Ivanka Milojević in the meeting of the school’s Council on 27 May 1920, he offered to resign from 1 July of the same year, but it was not accepted. From that point on, Milojević started to criticize Krstić’s undertakings in public. In the period from May 1920 to February 1921, he explicated the details of his proposal for the creation of a central conservatory/music academy on the university basis, with a broad artistic direction instead of a focus on ‘technique only’ several times (see Milojević 1920, 1921). According to the published sources, the most important issues for Milojević were those concerning the type of artistic knowledge produced in the conservatory, the literature on music and music literature used in the conservatory, the classification of students etc. (Cf. Milojević 1920, 1921). One of the most extensive writings on this subject was Milojević’s address to the Minister of Education from July 1920 on behalf of the Belgrade branch of the Association of Yugoslav Musicians. In it Milojević summoned his thoughts on the future of the Belgrade Conservatory – its level, aims, staff, and social and cultural role. See AY-66-632-1044, Association of Yugoslav Musicians, Belgrade branch, to the Minister of Education, no.13, 3 July 1920.

produced – technical and/or “artistic”. Once again, Milojević and Krstić promoted opposing stances. Milojević believed that the conservatory curricula should be based primarily on the heritage of musical classicism, with special attention given to Yugoslav music nationalism. As he pointed out, “it should not be emphasized that our nationalism deserves a prominent place which until now was not the case, moreover, it was systematically suppressed” (Milojević 1921: 3). Unlike Milojević, Krstić thought it impossible to ground a programme of studies of a conservatory on Yugoslav music because “[it] does not exist in the highest artistic sense” – “we do not have music in the monumental genres”, and also the specific music literature and didactic material for the instruments.³⁴ For that reason, he suggested the use of “the great world literature both in terms of concert pieces and textbooks” concluding that for “us as a nation an extensive cultural work is awaiting in order to come closer to the great cultural nations”.³⁵ In Krstić’s opinion, the idea that Yugoslavs ought to find their own way in this context without considering the prominent traditions of other nations was problematic and would only result in “pointless wandering in the darkness, when light can easily be reached”.³⁶

Considering the knowledge that the conservatory should offer, Milojević regarded work on performance technique as necessary, though it “should not be the single priority of music pedagogy” (Milojević 1921: 3). In his opinion, students ought to be given an adequate theoretical basis, proper understanding of musical aesthetics and the history of music, experience in group performance (chamber music, choir, orchestra) etc. (1921: 3). In the case of Krstić, the necessity of acquiring performance skills was singled out as crucial since “without [appropriate] technique of voice, fingers, bow, etc. it is not possible to think about the cultivation of music at all, even less of the higher style in music”.³⁷ As he believed, even if an instrumental soloist had perfect pitch, and a sense for rhythmic and dynamic details, it is of no value unless the soloist “possesses enough technical means to express that on an instrument”.³⁸ Krstić strongly repudiated claims that the primary task of conservatories and music schools was “to cultivate the musicality of the soul and to develop a deep sensibility for art music”.³⁹

In their public discussion on the organization and main goals of the future Belgrade conservatory, Milojević and Krstić tackled issues that were outside the domain of the approved Decree⁴⁰ and were expected to be defined by the Statute

34 See IMSASA – AC, PKL, Group III, Articles and writings of Petar Krstić, Belgrade Conservatory, manuscript, s.a., 33, 34.

35 Ibid., 34.

36 Ibid., 37.

37 See IMSASA – AC, PKL, Group III, Articles and writings of Petar Krstić, Belgrade Conservatory, manuscript, s.a., 37.

38 Ibid. 39.

39 Ibid. 37.

40 This document defined the following: 1. the aims and organization of the Belgrade Conservatory,

of the Conservatory. Still, the prerequisite for that was its application in practice, which turned out to be completely uncertain in 1921. Soon after this document was presented to the public, the Minister of Education asked the directors of the Zagreb and Ljubljana music schools (Franjo Dugan and Matej Hubad) to meet in Belgrade within a commission of experts⁴¹ with the aim of preparing it for use in the whole country and to modify certain segments.⁴² The meetings were held in April 1921, and resulted in slight changes of the original document including its name – The Decree on the State Conservatories of Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana.⁴³ Two months later the Decree was planned to be sent to the Main Educational Council of the Kingdom of SCS, but its further course was not transparent even for the members of the commission that worked on it.⁴⁴ According to Petar Krstić's testimony, after months of silence from the Ministry of Education, and his protests to the Minister regarding the inadequate treatment of the first Decree by the authorities, the Minister suspended it.⁴⁵ One of the reasons for this move, as was explained to Krstić at the meeting in the Ministry of Education, was that it needed to be revised "so that individuals outside the Belgrade Music School can apply for the position of director".⁴⁶ For Krstić this was a clear sign of mistrust towards him that was, as he believed, being instigated by the chief of the Arts Department, Branislav Nušić. For that reason, he decided to resign definitively from the post of director of the Belgrade Music School, after seven years of service.

EPILOGUE

Although the adoption of The Decree on the Belgrade Conservatory was received with great enthusiasm among the music specialists who had been hoping for the

2. its ownership, 3. areas and levels of study, 4. categories of professors and other employees, 5. main bodies. Cf. Uredba o Konzervatorijumu u Beogradu 1921.

41 This commission was founded on 3 January 1921, by the Minister of Education. Its members were Dr Dragoljub Arandelović, university professor, Branislav Nušić, superintendent of the Ministry of Education, Petar Konjović, inspector of the Ministry of Education, Stanislav Binički, director of Belgrade Opera, and Dušan Kotur, professor of the Karlovci Lyceum. It was supposed to discuss various issues concerning the application of the Decree. See AY-66-632-1044, Arts Department of the Ministry of Education, Ubr. 21, 3 January 1921, Belgrade.

42 See AY-66-632-1044, Minister to the Arts Department of the Ministry of Education, Ubr. 522, 9 March 1921.

43 Cf. IMSASA – AC, PKL, Group III, Articles and writings of Petar Krstić, Belgrade Conservatory, manuscript, s.a., 27.

44 Ibid, 28.

45 Ibid, 57.

46 Ibid, 58.

reform of music education for years, the events that followed pointed to the complexity of this process and its intricacies. Despite the goodwill of all parties concerned, the whole procedure did not end as expected. Part of the blame for the generally unsuccessful outcome was attributed to the disunity of the Belgrade music experts and their ideological and personal conflicts (Zorko 1924: 594), but this claim cannot be confirmed by the available data. Probably a set of different, mutually unrelated causes resulted in the abandonment of this historically significant project.

Regardless of the fact that the Decree was not put into force, it did encourage certain reformative shifts in the field of music education. The process of 'etatization' and transformation of existing schools in the Kingdom of SCS, supported by the Ministry of Education, motivated school leaders to prepare detailed financial estimates and inventory lists, to reconsider the classification of teachers and their rights and duties and to examine other elements. With the data and plans collected, schools took steps forward in the process of restructuring. Owing much to their resilience and determination, the management of the School of the Croatian Music Institute in Zagreb was given approval for their curricula, statute and other regulations in order to be transformed into Zagreb Conservatory as a state funded institution. This decision was made by the regional chief for Croatia and Slavonia (Anonymous 1921: 127). Similarly, musicians from Ljubljana began intensive preparatory work and campaigning in the spring of 1921 asking for state support of the Conservatory and School of Music of the Glasbena matica in September that year.⁴⁷ It was supposed to be the peak of the process they initiated in December of 1919. At the time, professors and teachers of both institutions prepared a resolution for the government of the Kingdom of SCS asking for their transformation into public establishments with the purpose of enabling their regular functioning, the social security of the employees, and enrollment of students of various social background.⁴⁸ Still, only seven years later, in 1926, the requests of Ljubljana school collective were accepted by the authorities, and the Conservatory of Glasbena matica became state owned.⁴⁹

Considering the various initiatives in the field of music education in the Kingdom of SCS immediately after the Great war, the creation of the Decree on Conservatories including the procedures that preceded and followed it represented the first important stride towards its deeper restructuring. At the same time, it was the crown of the long-standing activities of Petar Krstić who was among the figures most responsible for the process of reforms in the whole Kingdom. The work on the text of the Decree was built upon his various undertakings whose objective was, in the first place, to restructure the Music School in Belgrade completely, but also to bring the Yugoslav system of music education closer to the level of developed European countries. Krstić started with *The Decree on the Serbian Music School* in 1914 and continued

47 AY-66-632-1043. Regional Office in Ljubljana, Department for Education and Religion, to the Art Department of the Ministry of Education, 4 August 1921, Ljubljana.

48 AY-66-632-1043, To the Department for Education and Religion, 21 December 1919, Ljubljana.

49 On the history of Glasbena matica's music schools see Cigoj Krstulović 2015: 163–176.

with the thoroughly modified Statute in 1919 which, among other things, contained a detailed programme of studies and examination requirements for instruments, voice performance and music teachers. With the *Draft of the Law on State Music Schools in the Kingdom of SCS* he prepared in 1920, a solid basis for the process of transformation was created. Based on his claims, these materials were both the result of his experience as teacher and director of the Serbian Music School/Music School in Belgrade and his knowledge of the organization and functioning of music education in European countries he acquired over the years. That Krstić was well informed about this topic, and that he spent a great deal of time on its exploration and analysis is obvious in the argumentation he presented in his writings. Compared with other music specialists, specifically Miloje Milojević, his explanations were very detailed and less impassioned, while his insights were grounded on “non-romanticized”, objective evaluations. It seems that the majority of influential musicians at the time including Milojević and Konjović, who were the closest to the authorities from the Ministry of Education, did not appreciate Krstić’s tendency to speak openly about the modest results and prospects of music schools in the country compared to their Western and Central European counterparts, and to insist on patient and diligent work. Probably for that reason, his views were harshly criticized and his achievements in the domain of music education were rarely given credit. An exception was made by Stanislav Vinaver, writer and music critic, who in his discussion of Belgrade Conservatory in 1924 praised Krstić’s work. In his opinion: “Primarily, the best director of the music school who could appear in our milieu was Petar Krstić. He ruled the Music School and restructured it with the utmost order and precision, with great meticulousness and routine” (Vinaver 1924: 11).

In conclusion, it is worth mentioning that Krstić’s work on the reforms of music schools did not end in the early 1920s. Despite his disappointment with the way the authorities acted, as well as some of his colleagues, he continued to contribute to this process especially after he was appointed music supervisor of the Ministry of Education in 1930. Owing to this, he was involved in the preparation of one of the most important documents concerning music education in the interwar period – The Project of the Law on Art Schools, which was intended to lead to radical and lasting changes in this field.

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ИВАНА ВЕСИЋ

ОД ВЕЛИКИХ ОЧЕКИВАЊА ДО ВЕЛИКИХ РАЗОЧАРЕЊА:
ДОПРИНОС ПЕТРА КРСТИЋА РЕФОРМАМА МУЗИЧКОГ ОБРАЗОВАЊА
У МЕЂУРАТНОЈ ЈУГОСЛАВИЈИ (1918–1921)

(РЕЗИМЕ)

Петар Крстић је у својству директора Српске музичке школе/Музичке школе у Београду (1914–1921) након завршетка Првог светског рата започео интензиван рад на њеној реорганизацији и осавремењивању. Полазећи од уверења да ова установа може у блиској будућности да достигне ниво који би одговарао музичким школама у развијеним европским земљама он се усмерио на измене њеног начина функционисања и општег устројства. С тим увези, од изузетне важности била је припрема и усвајање новог Правилника школе, а затим и иницирање преговора с надлежнима из Министарства финансија и Министарства просвете не би ли се школи обезбедила материјална сигурност. Томе је убрзо придодат и предлог о подржављењу школе о чему је Крстић размишљао још у првим месецима управљања, 1914. године, захваљујући чему је настала Уредба Српске музичке школе. Предлог је у форми Нацрта Закона о државним музичким школама у Краљевини СХС предат министру просвете у јулу 1920, а озбиљнији кораци с тим у вези начињени су током 1921. године. Заправо, након поновног обраћања Крстића министру поводом питања подржављења у јуну те године, инициран је обиман рад на припреми одговарајућих докумената и извођењу овог процеса. Тако је отпочео историјски важан процес усвајања Уредбе о Конзерваторијуму у Београду који је имао неколико предфаза и потоњих разрада. Убрзо је питање подржављења Музичке школе у Београду прерасло почетне оквире и претворило се у питање конституисања високих школа за музику – конзерваторијума, на територији читаве земље. Иако напослетку овај процес није формализован, захваљујући њему начињени су помаци у реформи музичког образовања. Наиме, музичке школе у Загребу и Љубљани успеле су да материјализују своја вишегодишња настојања и оформе државне конзерваторијуме током двадесетих година.

Рад на Уредби представљао је на изванредан начин круну активности Петра Крстића у погледу темељног преобликовања Музичке школе у Београду, али и музичког школства уопште. У току дискусија које су вођене пре и након њеног усвајања, Крстић је био прилици да изложи своје погледе на проблем стварања конзерваторијума и сумира дугогодишња размишљања, сазнања и искуства на ту тему. Иако пажљиво аргументована и чврсто утемељена, његова

схватања нису наилазила на разумевање чланова комисије за припрему Уредбе, док су је поједини стручњаци оштро критиковали. Крстићеви јединствени погледи и нека врста „еволутивног модела“ који је путем њих пропагирао, нису, међутим, били узрок његовог потоњег дистанцирања од Министарства просвете с чијим челницима је одржавао добре односе од 1919. године. До тога је довело како „одељачење“ које је уследило у вези с применом Уредбе и усвајањем пропратних докумената, тако и сплетке које су настале око избора директора будућег Конзерваторијума у Београду. Ипак, Крстићев рад на реформама музичког образовања није завршен 1921. године. Он се наставио током наредне деценије када се Крстић, у улози инспектора Министарства просвете и члана комисије, посветио припреми најзначајнијег документа за ову област у читавом међуратном периоду – Пројекту Закона о уметничким школама.

Кључне речи: Петар Крстић, Српска музичка школа/Музичка школа у Београду, Краљевина СХС, музичко образовање, Конзерваторијум у Београду

О САКРАЛНОМ ЗНАЧЕЊУ МУЗИЧКОГ
ИНСТРУМЕНТА И УЛОЗИ ПРОРОКА ДАВИДА
У СЦЕНИ *СМРТ ПРАВЕДНИКА*. ПРИЛОГ
ПРОУЧАВАЊУ ЛИКОВНИХ ПРЕСТАВА МУЗИЧКИХ
ИНСТРУМЕНАТА У ИСТОЧНОХРИШЋАНСКОЈ
ЦРКВЕНОЈ УМЕТНОСТИ *

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Оригинални научни рад

АПСТРАКТ

Старозаветни пророк Давид био је у сакралној историји познат као цар Јудеја, као пророк, састављач Псалтира, али и као музичар. Стога се он на представама у источнохришћанској уметности које иду струју свету историју односно библијски наратив по правилу приказује са одређеним музичким инструментом у рукама. Иако су представе музичких инструмената у уметности земаља византијског културног круга у (етно)музиколошкој науци и историји уметности темељно обрађене, постојећа ликовна грађа и даље пружа могућности за нова истраживања. Док је до сада у оквиру анализе иконографије, када је реч о инструментима, највише пажње посвећено органографској анализи (М. Велимировић, Д. Девић, Р. Пејовић), њихово значење и улога музике остали су недовољно обрађени. Сцене о којима ћемо у раду говорити дозвољају обе врсте анализе. Оно што је са иконографске и органографске тачке гледишта занимљиво јесте чињеница да су музички инструменти са којима је цар Давид приказан у сценама *Смрти и праведника* различити. Овом приликом, размотрићемо поједине

* Овај рад је настао као резултат истраживања на пројекту *Српска средњовековна уметност и њен европски контекст* (177036) који финансијски подржава Министарство просвете, науке и технолошког развоја Републике Србије.

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сцене *Смрти њраведника* у временском распону од XIII до XVII века у византијској, као и српској, руској и румунској црквеној уметности након 1453. године са аспекта иконографије, а посебна пажња ће бити посвећена оправданости појаве одређених инструмената у рукама цара Давида, као и њиховим значењима.

Кључне речи: цар и пророк Давид, *Смрт њраведника*, музички инструменти, органографска анализа, источнохришћанска сакрална уметност, значење.

УВОД

Ликовне представе музичких инструмената у уметности Византије и земаља њеног културног круга одавно су побудиле пажњу како страних тако и домаћих истраживача. Њима су се бавили Милош Велимировић (Велимировић 1951: 30–43), Вера Кличкова (Кличкова 1960: 215–244), Александар Линин (Линин 1968: 519–530), Драгослав Девић (Dević 1976: 78–84), Јоаким Браун (Braun 1980: 312–327), Поплавске (Popławska, Popławska 1996: 63–70) и други. Историографију је у овом погледу нарочито задужила Роксанда Пејовић чији је знатан део библиографије посвећен овој теми (видети Пејовић 1984; Пејовић 1984: 2.2). Она је представе инструмената у уметности средњовековне Србије подробно испитивала у више наврата у монографским студијама са аспекта иконографије односно органографске анализе (Пејовић 1984; Пејовић 2005), а у научним чланцима нарочито је посветила пажњу композицијама у којима је илустрован већи број музичких инструмената (уп. нпр. Пејовић 1993: 83–107; Пејовић 1997: 239–264).

Музички инструменти сликају се у задужбинама ктитора различитих социјалних сталежа: српских владара и владарки, њихових најближих сродника, највиших црквених великодостојника, затим у задужбинама српске властеле. Они се у српској средњовековној уметности јављају у одређеном броју сцена сакралне и профане тематике, припадајући различитим старозаветним и новозаветним циклусима од којих се посебно истичу Христова страдања, Последњи псалми и Страшни суд (Пејовић 1984; Рејовић 2005). Кад је реч о сценама профане тематике музички инструменти улазе у састав једне сцене посвећене животу Александра Великог (Пејовић 1984: 124, 127, 138, сл. 87; Рејовић 2005: 57–58 и на другим местима). Иако највећи број сцена са музичким инструментима има своје литерарне корене у библијском наративу, појава музичких инструмената у појединим композицијама који своје литерарно извориште имају у књигама Светога писма, у овим списима није забележена. Стога одгонетање разлога сликања музичких инструмената односно њиховог контекста у сценама представља комплексан задатак. Исто важи и за сцене које не воде своје порекло из Библије, већ се ослањају на друге књижевне изворе.

АНЂЕЛА ГАВРИЛОВИЋ

О САКРАЛНОМ ЗНАЧЕЊУ МУЗИЧКОГ ИНСТРУМЕНТА И УЛОЗИ ПРОРОКА ДАВИДА...

Имајући у виду да избор тема о Давидовом животу који је понуђен није коначан (Пејовић 1997: 240), као и да је број приказаних жичаних и гудачких инструментата у српској средњовековној уметности знатно мањи од броја дувачких инструмената и бубњева (Рејовић 2005: 78), у раду ћемо обрадити сцене које у ранијој литератури посвећеној представама средњовековних музичких инструмената нису запажене или нису детаљно обрађене. Реч је о одређеном броју представа у византијској, српској, руској и румунској средњовековној уметности које у литератури носе општи назив *Смрти њраведника*. Назив *Смрти њраведној сиромаха* је прецизнији, а у раду ћемо размотрити и разлоге за овај назив композиције. Све ове сцене доприносе бољем познавању дате теме – орнаграфској анализи инструмената, одгонетању значења датих инструмената у сценама, као и музике коју они производе. Такође, оне допуњују већ постојећу ликовну грађу о музичким инструментима у источнохришћанској сакралној уметности и указују на даље путеве у истраживањима. Уједно оне пружају увид о учености оновремених византијских и српских уметника, о њиховим уметничким и духовним тежњама и клими дате епохе.

1. ПРЕГЛЕД СПОМЕНИКА – ОПИСИ СЦЕНА И МУЗИЧКИХ ИНСТРУМЕНАТА СА ЛИКОВНИМ АНАЛОГИЈАМА

Сцена о којој ћемо у раду најпре говорити представља по ауторовим сазнањима најранији очувани пример појаве представе *Смрти њраведника* у византијској уметности и у источнохришћанској црквеној уметности у целини. Она је уједно и једина очувана сцена ове тематике у византијској уметности. Реч је о фресци која се налази у трпезарији манастира *Светиој Јована Богослова на Паймосу* – познатог светилишта подигнутог на месту где је Свети Јован Богослов саставио спис *О ѡткривењу* (ил. 1). Насликана је у тимпану јужне слепе аркаде западног зида и датује се у прве деценије XIII века (Ορλάνδου 1966: 80, 84, εικ. 68; Ορλάνδου 1970: 181–186, πίν. 22, 23α, 65; Kominiš 1988: 64; Гавриловић 2013: 107–120). Фреска је изузетно добро очувана.

У левом углу сцене представљен је светитељ са нимбом, у монашкој одећи, дуге, седе браде како седи на мермерној подлози. О његовом идентитету не може се ништа поузданије рећи. Он левој руком указује на своју главу, можда да укаже на то да је реч о визији, а десну држи испред себе. Испред њега лежи на одру бос, безимен, старији човек разбарушене косе са прекрштеним рукама на грудима у тренутку умирања. Из његових уста излази његова душа приказана у виду наог, малог детета које је испружило руке према двојници анђела над одром. Анђели су испружили руке да прихвате душу умирућег у наручје. Иконографску особеност сцене чини присуство цара и пророка Давида у десном делу композиције. Он је приказан са круном на глави, одевен у свечане одежде и огрнут пурпурним царским плаштом, како производи музику. Насликан је како свира у стојећем ставу. Инструмент који он држи у рукама припада породици кордофоних инструмената. Израђен је од дрвета, има круш-

колики корпус, који сасвим постепено прелази у танак врат, четири струне, четири већа крстообразна резонантна отвора и вероватно осам мањих у виду тачака. Кордар је изведен у форми тролита. Инструмент је Давиду прислоњен на лево раме. Он левом руком скупљених прстију држи врх врата пред главом за чивије, скраћујући жице, док у десној руци држи лучно гудало знатно већих димензија од самог инструмента прелазећи њиме преко жица. Давид држи гудало с краја, и то, прстију скупљених у песницу, што представља реткост. На основу приказа на фресци може се претпоставити да гудалом прелази преко свих жица. Инструмент је уоквирен тамнијом бордуром. На њему се са леве стране уочавају и две издужене чивије, па се може претпоставити да их је било четири, колико и струна.

Наредна истоимена сцена о којој ћемо говорити налази се у трпезарији најстаријег и по хијерархији првог манастира на Светој Гори Атонској, *Великој Лаври Светиој Аџанасија* (963), на познијем слоју живописа, из 1536. године. Веома је необичне иконографије и у уметности византијског и поствизантијског света је по многим особеностима јединствена сцена (ил. 2; Millet 1927, pl. 150.2; Yiannias 1971: 179–181, pl. VIII, I.4, fig. 65). Изведена је на северном зиду северног попречног трансепта који формира крст основе. У поменутој трпезарији она улази у оквир малог циклуса сцена и чини његову последњу и одсудну епизоду. У првој сцени види се старац дуге, седе браде у стојећем ставу, одевен у расу и мантију. Он је благо искосио главу и уздигао руку у ставу молитве и обраћања небу. У наредној епизоди је насликана пећина испосница у виду тамне празнине у доњем, левом делу сцене, из које је изашао пустињак, који руком указује на тле. Пред њим се налази извесна, њему окренута, дивља животиња. Најзад, последња сцена малог циклуса представља сам чин смрти извесне личности. Пустињак у последњој сцени циклуса десном руком указује на тренутак смрти праведног, а другу држи у уобичајеном гесту обраћања и молитве. Са друге стране покојника на одру стоји по један ањђео, а над одром седи пророк Давид и музицира. Он седи испред брежуљка на стеновитом пејзажу одевен у царске одежде. Приказан је као старац седе косе и браде са круном на глави и нимбом. У рукама држи жичани инструмент – псалтерион. Он има троугаост облик, великих је димензија и Давид га свира у седећем положају. Левом руком придржава инструмент, а десном пребира по његовим жицама. Две стране псалтериона су приближно исте дужине, а трећа је дужа. Жице су натегнуте тако да спајају непаралелне стране инструмента. Када је реч о истоименој сцени, најпотпунију аналогију овом инструменту налазимо на једној руској икони Страшног суда, која данас припада колекцији Џорџа Хана у Севиклију у савезној држави Пенсилванији – САД (XVI век, ил. 4; Garidis 1985: 101, pl. XIX, 38; Томић 1995: сл. 6; за слику у боји видети Милошевић 1963: 2). Ту је пророк Давид приказан са троугластим псалтерионом у рукама, који се од оног у Лаври разликује једино према начину држања и свирања: на светогорској фресци је инструмент ослоњен на једну од две стране приближно једнаке дужине, док је на руској икони инструмент ослоњен на најдужу страну (уп. ил. 2, 4).

И у цркви *Светиој Илије у Бањанима* (1513–1514) илустрована је на западној фасади цркве данас веома оштећена сцена *Смрти њраведника* (Расолкоска

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Николовска 1993: 62–63; Пенкова 2010: 54; Пејић 2011: 72, сл. 7). Сродно је иконографски комбинована као композиција у цркви Светог Николе у Никољцу: у десном делу је човек на одру, а у левом делу пророк Давид. Над покојником је приказан један анђеоло који пружа руке да прихвати душу умирућег. На фресци се лик пророка Давида уочава у контурама: он седи и свира лауту, слично као у цркви у Никољцу. Инструмент у његовим рукама има крушкаст корпус и дужи, чини се преломљен, врат. Њене жице се не могу избројати.

Наредна сцена о којој ћемо даље говорити насликана је на јужном зиду западног травеја у саставу композиције *Сцрашној суда у Никољачкој цркви у Бијелом Пољу* на слоју живописа из друге половине XVI века (1570; ил. 3; Томић 1995: 81–89; Јовановић 2005: 63–64, 64.171; Пејић 2011: 70–73; Гавриловић 2013: 107–120; Пејић 2014: 76, сл. 62). Десни део сцене је доста оштећен, али очуваност фреске у потпуности допушта њену анализу. На фресци је приказан тренутак смрти младића који лежи отворених очију на одру у десном делу сцене. Он око главе има нимб. Из уста му излази душа приказана у виду малог, белог човека. Над одром су два анђела. Цар и пророк Давид приказан је у левом делу композиције до анђелâ, са куполном круном, у античким одежама како седи на клапи и свира на лаути. Лаута је положена хоризонтално. Има дубок корпус облика доње половине лопте и, чини се, доста жица, а врат инструмента се сужава од корпуса према глави. На фресци се јасно уочавају шест белих чивија. Пророк држи инструмент наслоњен на крило, десном руком трза жице, док другом руком држи инструмент за жице и врат, скраћујући их. По општим карактеристикама најближа аналогија овој лаути налази се на фресци *150. ѡсалма у Хрељиној кули у манастиру Рили*, на слоју живописа из око 1335. године (Прашков 1973: 69, сл. 63–65; Рејовић 2005: 154, сл. 7).

У румунској уметности очувано је више представа *Смртии ѡраведника* у саставу сцена *Страшног суда* у пару са сценом *Смртии ѡрешиника: у цркви Свеѡјој Ђорђа у Воронцу*, у цркви *Усиѡња Боѡродице у Хумору*, у цркви *Усековања Свеѡјој Јована Крсиѡишеља у Арбореу* (после 1503), у цркви *Свеѡјој Николе у Пробоѡи* (око 1530), цркви *Свеѡјој Крсиѡа у Паѡрауцу* (око 1550), у цркви *Васкрсења у Сучевици*, у цркви *Свеѡјој Николе у Рашкој* и у цркви *Свеѡе Тројице у Козији* (Henry 1930; Томић 1995; Пенкова 2010).

У цркви *Усиѡња Боѡродице у Хумору* (1535) је фреска слично компонована као и у другим споменицима Румуније (Henry 1930a: pl. XLV; Florea 1994: 56). Иконографска специфичност ове сцене у Хумору су звезде које означавају аспект вечности, односно вечно стање праведника након *Страшног суда*, вечно стање блаженства (Bergmann, Watson 1999: 7). Пророк Давид је приказан у левом делу сцене како седи на стенама, док умирући лежи на одру у десном делу сцене. Анђеоло раширених крила стоји над одром, примајући душу праведног. Давид је приказан са круном, одевен у царске одежде и окренут праведнику, а његов инструмент у општим цртама по изгледу одговара лаути преломљеног врата на поменутиим фрескама.

У цркви у *Свеѡјој Николе у Рашкој* (1542; Ștefanescu 1928: pl. XCV; Draguț et al. 1977: сл. стр. 93) сцена *Смртии ѡраведника* је илустрована на јужној фасади

цркве под представом *Хејимасије* и *Оињене реке*, у пару са сценом *Смрти ирешника*, а свака сцена је уоквирена посебном црвеном бордуром. Сцена *Смрти ираведника* компонована је као и поменуте румунске сцене: лево је приказан пророк Давид како седи у каменитом пејзажу, а десно је анђеоло над одром умирућег. Инструмент који Давид држи у рукама се разликује од осталих румунских инструмената по димензијама корпуса који је мањи, па би најбоља аналогија овом инструменту била у сцени *Свадба у Кани* у цркви *Светиої Николе у Новом Хойову* (1608; Рејовић 2005: 36, 100–101, сл. 27). Врат овог инструмента је веома дугачак, док је корпус мали. Начин држања инструмента је идентичан, једино што Давид на фресци у Рашкој изводи музику у седећем, а музичар у Новом Хопову у стојећем положају.

Један од најлепших и најбоље очуваних примера сцене *Смрти ираведника* међу овим споменицима је онај у *Воронцу* (1547; Batali 1985: 62–64, fig. 1; Florea 1994: 56, fig. 1–2; Томић 1995: 81, сл. 4). Ту је пророк Давид приказан у десном делу сцене са круном на глави, одевен у тунику налик одежама источњачких мудраца како седи на стенама и свира у лауту. Лаута је изграђена од дрвета и сродна је инструменту који Давид свира на истоименој сцени у католикону манастира Николац и у Хрељиној кули у Рили (видети горе), с том разликом што је у Воронцу корпус плићи и шири, а дрво од којег је инструмент израђен светлије, беље. Кобилица је црна и узана. Лаута има шест жица и чивија. Давид прстима десне руке пребира преко жица, левом руком придржава инструмент за врат, а прстима исте руке такође производи звук. Инструмент је приказан без розете. Пророк посматра умирућег младића, који лежи на стени прекрштених руку и из чијих уста излази душа, коју анђеоло прихвата у леву руку држећи у десној малу, разлисталу белу грану.

И у цркви *Васкрсења Христивої у Сучевици* (1600/1601) налазимо добро очувану сцену *Смрти ираведної* (Draguț et al. 1971: сл. стр. 82; Florea 1994: fig. 3). Сцена композиционо одговара хуморској и воронечкој, као и њен инструмент, с тим што у Сучевици инструмент има дужи врат. Како је ова сцена боље очувана од оне у Хумору, на Давидовом инструменту у Сучевици се уочавају жице, кобилица, розета и чивије. Као на ранијим сценама, пророк држи и свира инструмент на уобичајен начин.

У цркви *Светиої Констџанџина и Јелене у манасџиру Хурезу* (1692) пророк Давид је приказан над умирућим праведником како свира специфичну лауту (Florea 1994: fig. 18). Инструмент је крушкастог облика и његово тело неприметно прелази у широки врат који је преломљен. Одличне аналогије овом инструменту по његовом облику и преломљеном врату налазимо у *Кучевишту* (Пејовић 1984: сл. 20в) и *Леснову* (Пејовић 1984: 54, сл. 17; Габелић 1998: 97, Т. 35), као и у сценама везаним за живот цара и пророка Давида на минијатурама рукописа *Сод. Slav. 4* из Баварске Државне библиотеке познатијег као *Минхенски псалтир* (крај XIV века): *Давид сасџавља џсалџир*, *Молиџва Давидова*, *Давид свира на лауџи* и *џрађење храма*, као и *Смрти ираведника* (Dufrenne 1983: fol. 4v, 19r, 124v, 153r; Пејовић 1980: 112; Пејовић 1984: 114–115).

Сцена *Смрти ираведника* очувана је и поствизантијској уметности на грчком тлу, у *Бојородичиној цркви у Линдосу* на Родосу (XVII век; ил. 5). Уз представу

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у трпезарији манастира на Патмосу и Великој Лаври на Светој Гори, ово је једна од сцена која се одликује оригиналношћу и наративношћу иконографског решења (Волаваќис 1998; Пенкова 2010: 55–56). Насликана је на јужном зиду грађевине сазиране северно од главне цркве, у ствари на северној фасади главне цркве. У ранијој литератури је ова тема довођена у везу са суседним фрескама – Богородицом са Христом младенцем у ниши над улазом и фигуром јереја западно од ње (Волаваќис 1998). Праведник је на фресци приказан у првом плану као млад човек са брадом, руку прекрштених на грудима, прекривен покривачем. Према њему се сагнуо један анђео да прихвати душу умирућег која у виду малог белог човека излази из његових уста. Иза њих су четири анђела и пророк Давид, а оно што ову сцену разликује од других јесте развијен горњи регистар – у њој видимо на небу Христа у попрсју у левом углу који се обраћа двојници анђела. Ову фреску одликује богатство приказаних музичких инструмената. На њој је чак три учесника приказано са музичким инструментима у рукама по чему је она јединствена. Сви учесници сцене осим самог праведника су приказани са нимбовима. Пророк Давид држи инструмент налик данашњој виолини, фидули, односно византијској лири (Рејовић 2005: 92). Сликаство родоске цркве попримило је ренесансне утицаје, што се најбоље види на примеру форме музичког инструмента пророка Давида. Његов облик одговара лири да брачо (о овом музичком инструменту видети Пашћан Којанов 1956: 96–104). Ова лира по форми одговара музичком инструменту који свирају анђели у сценама *Заруке Бојородице* (1448–1452), *Усићење Бојородице* и *Крунисање Бојородице* коју је извео ренесансни уметник Сано ди Пјетро (уп. Remnant 1969–1970: pl. II). Такође, као сродну аналогију треба навести и гудачки инструмент који усправно држи музичар лево од оног који држи лауту у сцени *Хвалишије Госјода* у цркви *Свештої Николе Филанђројинона* на Јањини (1530–1560; Рејовић 2005: sl. 7).

На телу Давидовог инструмента на Линдосу јасно се уочавају пуж, жице, кобилица, кордар и еф звучни отвори. Његово гудало је лучно и мањих димензија. Давид изводи музику стојећи, док му је инструмент положен на лево раме. У десној руци држи гудало, а левом скраћује жице. Два анђела испред Давида држе лауте различитих облика. Анђео ближи Давиду држи инструмент окренут косо надолу. Левом руком скраћује жице, док их десном трза при средини корпуса. У најближе иконографске аналогије за инструмент анђела ближег Давиду по облику и начину музицирања убраја се лаута из сцене *Свишира Свештої Јована Дамаскина на Усићење* из Богородице Љевишке (Панић, Бабић 1975: 67–68, 139. црт. 30; Рејовић 2005: 100–102; sl. 2). Лаута другог анђела, приказаног даље од Давида има кружан корпус и преломљен врат. Овај анђео држи инструмент и музицира на исти начин као и онај ближи Давиду.

Поменимо и два примера сцене *Смртии љраведної* која нарочито одступају од иконографских правила. У бугарској цркви *Рођења Хрисџової у Арбанасима* на источном зиду припрате, ова сцена је приказана у оквиру *Сирашиної суда*. Данас се ова фреска налази у Историјском музеју у Софији (Прашков 1979: ил. 35; Пенкова 2006: 87–88; Пенкова 2010: 56). Њена особеност је одсуство пророка Давида у сцени, као и у њеном илустровању уз приказе грехова, без смисаоног контекста

са суседним сценама. Суседне композиције указују на то да је несумњиво реч о тој сцени, будући да је поред ње, као њен паднан, приказана *Смртиј ирешника*. Над покојником су приказана два анђела. И представа у румунској цркви *Светие Тројице у Козији* (1390–1391) има исте иконографске карактеристике – на фресци пророк Давид није присутан, већ само један анђеол, очигледно према упутствима ерминија (видети доле).

2. РАЗМАТРАЊА

2.1. НАТПИСИ У СЦЕНАМА

Нису све горе побројане сцене биле обележене натписима. Фреска у патмоској трпезарији није обележена натписом, а ако је натпис некада и постојао на фресци у Никољцу, он је данас уништен. Мали циклус сцена у Великој Лаври обилује натписима, што је оправдано будући да је реч о монашкој средини (уп. ил. 2; видети доле). Џон Џејмс Јанис је ту последњу композицију назвао *Смртиј џусишњака*, вероватно услед појаве пустињака у оквиру ових неколико сцена и околности да је Габријел Мије цео циклус сцена именовано као *Прича о џусишњаку* (Yiannias 1971: 179–181; Millet 1927: pl. 150.2), док је једну другу сцену у истом сликаном ансамблу назвао *Смртиј џраведној монаха* (Yiannias 1971: 157–160; на овој фресци није приказан пророк Давид, а како нисмо били у могућности да дођемо до фотографије ове фреске, она остаје за даља истраживања). Међутим, јасно је да фреска о којој говоримо у раду не илуструје смрт пустињака, јер пустињак присутан на претходним сценама, који у последњој епизоди посматра призор смрти и сам покојник на истој композицији, приказан као умирући на одру, нису исте личности. Пустињак који у првој сцени излази из пећине је приказан у последњој сцени у позадини, где је означен натписом који открива садржину и литерарни извор сцене. Пустињак је натписом означен као *свештиишел који џосмайра смрти џраведној* (ὁ ἅγιος θεωρῶν τῶν δικαίων θανάτων. sic!). Епизода *Смртиј џраведној* носи натпис: *онај који се мучио у џраду, која су људи злосишављали, која је Бој џрославио* (ὁ ἐν τῇ πόλει πιεζόμενος ὑπὸ ... ζόμενος ὑπὸ δὲ Κύριος δοξάζόμενος; ил. 2; Yiannias 1971: 179). Фреска у Воронцу је, као што је то често био случај са румунским споменицима, натписом означена као *Смртиј џраведника* [сџмрть праведнаго], као и она на Линдосу (ὁ θάνατος τ δικαί; ил. 5). Назив сцене у Хумору одступа од свих других назива, будући да гласи „лежећи“ тј. „онај који је лежао“ (лазајуши), где се мисли на „оног који је лежао у граду на улици“, што још директније од претходних примера указује на чврсто ослањање на литерарни извор композиције (Henry 1930a: pl. XLV; видети доле).

2.2. ЛИТЕРАРНИ ПРЕДЛОШЦИ КОМПОЗИЦИЈА И ЊИХОВИ УТИЦАЈИ НА ИКОНОГРАФИЈУ КОМПОЗИЦИЈА

Побројане представе, уз два изузетка, привлаче посебну пажњу из више разлога: због присуства пророка Давида у сцени, због присуства музичког инструмента у његовим рукама, и најзад разлога илустровања музичког инструмента односно сакралне улоге музике у њој. Наиме, представе смрти светих нису у средњовековној уметности честе, а још су ређе композиције ове тематике у чији састав улази представа цара Давида. Сцене у чији оквир спада и лик пророка Давида су чешће у поствизантијској уметности, посебно у оквиру циклуса *Сѝрашној суда*. Ако упоредимо сцене смрти светитеља које су чешће и оне које су ређе, примећујемо да се оне разликују по једном важном иконографском елементу – присуству односно одсуству пророка Давида са музичким инструментом у рукама и другим личностима иза њега. Тако је у појединим сценама *Канона на исход душе* које приказују исту тему – растављање душе од тела – лик цара и пророка Давида изостављен (Marinis 2015: 62–65, fig. 3, 7, 11), као и у сценама смрти великих египатских монаха (Orthodox Eastern Church 1907: 25; https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1613: fol. 90) или у приказима смрти светих у псалтирима (Щепкина 1977: 102; Томић 1995: сл. 8; Pelekanidēs 1974: 420, fig. 121). Ако се изузме изванредан број горепомнутих и других сцена-изузетака (за све сцене видети: Пенкова 2010), композиција *Смрти ѝраведника* није била сликана у саставу циклуса *Сѝрашној суда*, а пророк и цар Давид је по правилу приказиван са иконографски различитим музичким инструментом у рукама, о чему ћемо говорити нешто касније.

Поједини детаљи присутни на фрескама не помињу се у упутствима за сликање те сцене у сликарском приручнику Дионисија из Фурне. Састављач ове ерминије именује ту композицију као *Смрти ѝраведној* и упућује савете за њено сликање: „Човек са тек изниклом брадом лежи на скромној простирци, свечано и часно; његове очи су затворене, а руке прекрштене на грудима. Над њим је један анђеоло који га посматра радосно и брижно, и прима његову душу са почашћу и поштовањем“ (Hetherington 1996: 82). Одмах се уочава одступање од иконографије највећег броја горенаведених сцена и упутства ерминије – упутство не садржи податке о ликовима пророка Давида, двојице анђела, односно Христа и небеских војски. Осим тога, на појединим композицијама покојник није приказан као млад човек. Запажа се и да је на фресци у Николцу он приказан отворених очију, док ерминија саветује да се оне сликају затворене (уп. ил. 3). Поменута запажања указују на то да су сликари користили и комбиновали различите предлошке и литерарне изворе када су изводили дате композиције: аскетску литературу и упутства из ерминије. Као основу за ову сцену уметници су користили аскетску литературу из које потиче прича необичне садржине која тумачи композицију *Смрти ѝраведној* (Martin 1950: 295; Stichel 1971: 23–24; Гавиловић 2013: 107–120). Наиме, у једној од аскетских прича се наводи да је један брат поставио питање једном старцу: „Да ли име које неко стекне доноси спасење, или његово дело?“ на шта је исти старац дао одговор у

виду две приче: о смрти грешника и смрти праведног сиромаша – праведника. Према казивању приче, једном старцу је дошла помисао да види душу једног грешника и душу једног праведника у тренутку када се растаје од тела. Ова прича идентификује и животињу поред светитеља у сцени у трпезарији Велике Лавре као вука, будући да се у причи каже: „И тако, док је седео у келији (с. брат), уђе један вук. Зубима га ухвати за одећу и почне га вући напоље. Он устаде и пође за њим, све док га не доведе до неког града. Вук га остави овде и оде (Migne 1849: 1011D–1011A)“. Даље се у приповести наводи прича о надалеко чувеном отшелнику, који је живео ван града, био болестан и чекао да му дође крај. У тренутку његове смрти брат који је имао визију угледао је анђела смрти из ада са огњеним трозупцем који је сјурио трозубац у срце грешника, мучећи му душу, да би затим у визији ушао у град и угледао на „тргу непознатог брата, болесног, одбаченог, који је лежао, без икога да се о њему стара,“ уз кога је остао један дан. На овом месту се детаљно описује сцена о којој у раду говоримо. Ту се даје опис тренутка и начина смрти одбаченог сиромаша: „И у часу док је умирао брат угледа арханђеле Михаила и Гаврила како долазе по његову душу. Један стаде са десне, а други са леве стране и тако су чекали, тешећи душу и тражећи да је преузму“ (Migne 1849: 1012B–C). Душа, међутим, није хтела да напусти тело, услед чега Михаило рече Гаврилу: „Узми је, па да идемо“. А Гаврило одговори: „Добили смо заповест од Бога да је узмемо без бола.“ Тада арханђео Михаило јаким гласом повика: „Господе, шта заповедаш за ову душу, јер она не жели да напусти тело?“ Потом дође глас који рече: „Ево, шаљем сада Давида са китаром и све псалмопојце, како би чула њихово појање и са радошћу изашла“. Они се спустише и окружише душу, певајући химне: тада се она подиже право на руке арханђелу Михаилу, и примљена бијаше с радошћу“ (Migne 1849: 1012B–C).

Сцене на Патмосу (ил. 1), у Никољцу (ил. 3), Бањанима, Великој Лаври (ил. 2), на руској икони (ил. 4) и на Линдосу (ил. 5), очито су илустроване према тексту ове приповести. По сложености композиције, сцене на Патмосу, у Великој Лаври и на Линдосу садрже велики број иконографских детаља, а она светогорска чак и више епизода, по чему се убрајају у најрепрезентативније представе ове тематике. Наиме, ове сцене одликује наративност, будући да су изведене у више епизода односно детаља (Патмос, Велика Лавра, Линдос), док су сцене у Никољцу и Бањанима у сажетијој форми. На свакој од ових сцена се види душа која излази кроз уста умирућег, изузев на композицији у Великој Лаври, што би указивало на чињеницу да је у светогорском споменику истакнут тренутак који непосредно претходи разлучивању душе од тела. Наиме, како на овој фресци није приказан моменат како душа напушта тело као на другим сценама исте садржине, а како душа није насликана ни у наручју анђела, може се закључити да је сликар илустровао тренутак док је душа умирућег још у телу, што је јединствен пример у приказивању сцена ове тематике. Да је поменути текст послужио као литерарни предлогак потврђивали би погледи двојице анђела уперени према пророку Давиду са псалтиром, који се тек спустио да својим свирањем подстакне душу да слободно напусти тело.

АНЂЕЛА ГАВРИЛОВИЋ

О САКРАЛНОМ ЗНАЧЕЊУ МУЗИЧКОГ ИНСТРУМЕНТА И УЛОЗИ ПРОРОКА ДАВИДА...

Иако је на другим сценама које смо у раду обрадили приказана иста тематика, иконографија указује на то да је приликом њихове изведбе коришћен другачији предложак. Када говоримо о румунским споменицима, очигледно је да су они рађени под утицајем сликарских приручника, али, видећемо, само делимично. Наиме, у ерминијама се саветује да се на представама *Смртии њраведника* илуструје само један анђео над одром умирућег, што је у румунским црквама редовно случај. Ипак, интересантно је и важно приметити да се лик пророка Давида не појављује у сликарским ерминијама, што представља необичност. Стога се може претпоставити да су подстицаји за оваква иконографска решења стигли под утицајем духовних струјања која су долазила из великих и моћних духовних монашких центара дуге и непрекинуте традиције, какви су били Патмос, Света Гора и Родос.

2.3. УЛОГА ПРОРОКА ДАВИДА У СЦЕНИ

Већ је раније у општим цртама уочено да „Сталожена свесност умирућег, улога анђела и царски лик Псалмопојца, који производи небеску музику, представљају дивинизацију самртног чина праведника“ (Пејић 2011: 73). О пророку Давиду и небеском хору налазимо податке у хомилијама и тумачењима светих отаца. У хомилији на Вазнесење Христово, приписаној светом Јовану Златоустом, црквени писац помиње Давида који свира духовну китару свечано уприличујући и славећи Христово Вазнесење на небо и седење са десне стране Оца. У хомилији се наводи да је „након Христових речи о послању Утешитеља мноштво серафима окружило Спаситеља појући трисвето славословље ‘Свјат, свјат, свјат,’ а потом „одмах бели облаци прекрише гору и хорови пророка се окупише на планини. А пророк Давид беше у средишту свих пророка са духовном китаром; и славећи вазнесење Исуса на небо рече: ‘Узвиси се више небеса, Боже, по свој земљи нека буде слава твоја! (Пс. 57:5) и ‘Узвисујте Господа Бога нашега, и клањајте се подножју његову; да је свети!’ (Пс. 99:5)’ И видећи их, подиже се и узе га облак. И опет рече ученицима својим: ‘Мир свој остављам, мир свој дајем вам’ (Јн 14.27). И кад је ово говорио, није га више било – није се више видео. А Давид је тада, радујући се, у духу разумео да се Бог узнео на небо и бијући о духовну китару рекао: ‘Иде Бог уз подвикивање, Господ уз глас трубни’ (Пс. 47.5). А отац је свише рекао: ‘Сједи мени с десне стране док положим непријатеље твоје за подножје ногама мојим’ (Пс. 110.1) ‘Ово је син мој љубљени који је по мојој вољи’“ (Мт 3.17; Migne 1862a, 47–48).“

Мотив пророка Давида са китаром можемо пратити и у хомилијама на Успење Пресвете Богородице. Тако свети Теодор Студит, игуман Студитског манастира у својој беседи посвећеној овом празнику каже: „Данас од Бога створени златни кивот освећења, одлазећи ка Горњем Јерусалиму, прелази ка бескрајном одмору, и *свѣиши оѣац Давид нам свирајући на кийшари* све ово објављује јер каже: ‘Приведоше се Цару девојке за њом’, дакле за њом ће бити приведено још душа“ (Migne 1860: 721A). Давид је ту приказан у својству пророка који својим

присуством и речима указује на светост и чистоту Богородице, као и на светост и свечаност тренутка Њеног Успења (видети доле).

Мотив пророка Давида се јавља и у старозаветним апокрифним текстовима. Тако у Откривењу апостола Павла налазимо податак да Давид пред вратима Вишњег Јерусалима сачекује Христа својом песмом и по Његовом доласку Давид „почне певати испред свих светих. И сви праведници певају са њим чувши Алилуја“ (Јовановић 2005: 63,171). Овај мотив уз наведене редове открива разлоге појаве пророка Давида у сцени.

2.4. ВРСТЕ МУЗИЧКИХ ИНСТРУМЕНАТА

Оно што се на основу изложеног уочава то је да је током историје у различитим периодима у сценама *Смрћ њраведника*, приказиван различит музички инструмент. Занимљиво је да се у литерарном извору који описује светоотачку приповест на латинском језику користи за музички инструмент који свира пророк Давид лексема „cithara“ што је директан превод грчке речи „ή κιθάρα“ („китара“; Migne 1849: 1012C), а у преводу са сиријског на енглески језик налазимо термин „harp“ („харфа“; Wallis Budge 1907: 155), будући да је приповест очувана у две верзије, латинској и сиријској (Martin 1950; Ritari 2013: 125–151). Ако упоредимо ове лексеме, реч је, дакле, о инструментима који припадају различитим, премда кордофоним, музичким инструмената, што показују и ликовне представе. С друге стране, како наведени примери показују, са аспекта иконографије сама форма одређеног музичког инструмента није од пресудне важности, док је много већа важност придавана његовом значењу у сцени о чему ће касније бити речи.

Фреске патмоске трпезарије радили су уметници из цариградске престонице, које одликује рафинираност и прецизност, које се уочавају и на приказу музичког инструмента, који представља грчку (критску) лиру односно фидулу (Ορλάνδος 1970: 183–184; Yiannias 1971: 223,214.; Пејовић 1984: 104–107; Томић 1995: 87). Давидов инструмент је у Лаври на Светој Гори у ранијој литератури означен као лира (Yiannias 1971: 180). Међутим, јасно је да је на фресци приказан псалтерион. У румунским уметности је музички инструмент у истој сцени у различитим споменицима означаван као: *лауџа*, *соззја* (румунска лаута), *сапон* (țitera; уп. Пејовић 1984; Florea 1994; Томић 1995).

Судећи према литерарном извору инструмент приказан у сценама *Смрћ њраведника* односно *њраведној сиромаша* би представљао китару, односно цитру, која је у српском преводу Библије означена као „гусле“. Овај израз „гусле“ свакако није означавао данашње гусле, тзв. „српске гусле“, које се први пут јављају у српској уметности почетком XVII века (Рејовић 2005: 176; Ђуровић 2016: 97; о пореклу „српских“ гусала видети Лалић Михаиловић 2006: 123–134). Указујемо и на запажање Игора Ђуровића да су се (српске) гусле користиле у тужним тренуцима – „да се тужно пева уз гусле“, док „сцене са инструментима приказују или весеље или прослављање Бога“ (Ђуровић 2016: 97). Стога долазимо до једне дихотомije да на ликовним представама у источнохришћанској сакралној

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уметности нису приказане тзв. „српске гусле“, али јесу „духовне гусле“ односно „гусле Божије“, како се наводи у Новом завету и тумачењима светих отаца, а чији су симоними „духовна китара“ или „духовна лира“. У складу са тиме, византијски црквени писци, ослањајући се на текст Библије за инструмент пророка Давида у контексту о коме говоримо користе реч „ἡ κιθάρα“ („китара“) односно глагол „κιθάρῃζων“ („свирати китару“; уп. горе). У енциклопедијском лексикону, Суиди, као објашњење термина „ἡ κιθάρα“ („китара“) наведен је термин „λύρα“ („лира“; Suida [X век], карпа 1590; <http://www.stoa.org/sol/indices/kappa.html>). Најзад, термин „средњовековне гусле“ означавао је жичани инструмент у ширем смислу речи, због чега долази до појаве приказивања различитих кордофоних инструмената у уметности (Бојанин 2005: 272–273; Ђекић, Павловић 2018: 175 и 179; Koder 2018: 20–21, 24–25).

2.5. ЗНАЧЕЊЕ МУЗИЧКОГ ИНСТРУМЕНТА У СЦЕНИ

Често постоје потешкоће при дефинисању врста музичких инструмената на њиховим ликовним представама, а када је реч о значењу инструмента у композицији *Смрти њраведника* може се ипак извести сигурнији суд. Када је о ужем значењу „гусли“ реч можемо се окренути литерарном извору сцене. Према приповести из житија отаца познатим као „Vita patrum“, односно „Aprophetegmata patrum“, функција Давидовог музичког инструмента и музике коју он производи у сцени јесте да помогне души да у часу смрти својевољно напусти тело, како се наводи у причи: „Ево, шаљем сада Давида са китаром и све псалмопојце, како би душа чувши њихово појање са радошћу изашла. Они се спустише и окружише душу, певајући химне: тада се она подиже право на руке арханђелу Михаилу, и примљена бијаше с радошћу“ (Migne 1849: 1012C). Другим речима, улога музике је да „ублажи тегобе разлучења“ тј. да Давид производећи са појцима музику на инструменту песмом псалама олакша души успон (Грозданов 1980: 89; Иванић 2002: 122).

Још је својевремено Роксанда Пејовић указала на тешкоће са којима се сусрећу истраживачи „средњовековних гусли“, истичући да појам „средњовековних гусли“ примењен на ликовне уметности, као и „струна“ за које се не може везати одређен музички инструмент, остају неразјашњени (Пејовић 1984: 12). За наша истраживања је од важности да се грчка лексема „ἡ κιθάρα“ („китара“) у Даничићевом и Вуковом, као и Синодалном преводу библијског текста преводи на српски језик речју „гусле“, што показују и наредни цитати. Реч је о важном инструменту који се помиње више пута у књизи Апокалипсе. Овом приликом помињемо три значајна цитата – седми стих пете главе, други стих четрнаесте и други стих петнаесте главе Откривења Светог Јована Богослова, који су релевантни за наш рад.

Први од ова три стиха гласи: „И дође и узне књигу из деснице Онога Који сеђаше на престолу. И када узне књигу, четири жива бића и двадесет четири старешине падоше пред Јагњетом; сваки је имао гусле, и златне чаше пуне тамјана, а то су молитве светих (Окр 5.7).“ У овом стиху „гусле“ означавају хармонију

светих у славословљу Бога – према Андреји Кесарејском, састављачу коментара на књигу Откривења Јовановог (563–637), „хармонично и милозвучно божанско славословље“ (Migne 1863: 581A–C; Constantinou 2008: 68) односно по Екуменију, такође тумачу Апокалипсе (X век), „хармонију и слогу њиховог исповедања Бога, у складу са речима Писма ‘Појте Богу, појте; појте цару нашем појте’ (Пс. 47.6; Oecumenius 2006: 64).“

Наредни стих гласи: „И чух глас са неба као глас вода многих, и као глас грома јаког; и глас који чух бјеше као гуслање гуслара у гусле своје“ (Окр 14.2). Стих је драгоцен у контексту наше монашке приповести, будући да пружа информацију о томе да је глас Бога Вишњег описан као гуслање у „гусле“ односно изједначен са њиме (уп. Јез 10:5; Gavrilović 2018: 26). Подсетимо се и у приповести се јавља глас са неба и према Његовој заповести би послан Давид да бије у китару (гусле). „Глас вода многих и грома и гуслање гуслара“ означава и „громогласност песмопојања светих, а такође и склад, милозвучност и хармонију њихове песме, којом се оглашава васцела Црква и сабор прворођених, записаних на небесима. Та песма коју су остварили умртвљавањем телесних жеља као да одзвања сазвучјем својих струна, путем складног (једногласног) сабора светих. Каже се да нико осим њих не може да научи ову песму (Migne 1863: 684B; Constantinou 2008: 148).“ За Екуменија звук који производи гуслар означава „слатку, божанску хармонију песме“, будући да „Није лијепа похвала у устима гријешника зато што није од Господа послана“ (Сир. 15.9) и да је сасвим у складу и да одговара устима праведника (Oecumenius 2006: 127). Тако он истиче да нико није могао да чује тајне нове песме, осим оних који су били „достојни да их певају, будући да је знање свакоме дато у складу са њиховом чистотом“ (Ibid.). За такве се каже да су они који „беху дјевственици; који иду за Јагњетом куда год пође“, да су „откупљени између људи као првина Богу и Јагњету“, да „У њиховим устима не нађе се лаж, јер су без мане“ (Окр, 14.4–5; Oecumenius 2006: 127–128).

Трећи стих гласи: „И видјех као стаклено море смијешано са огњем, и оне који побијеђују звијер и лик њезин и број имена њезина, гдје стоје на мору стакленоме имајући гусле божије“ (Окр 15.2). Овај стих објашњава да они „који побијеђују звер“ (sc. свети, праведници), њу побеђују управо захваљујући томе што поседују „гусле божије“. Тумачећи значење „гусли“ у овом стиху Андреј Кесарејски истиче: „Гусле означавају умртвљење телесних удова и складан живот у хармонији врлина које трзалицом свира Свети Дух, другим речима, живот руковођен благодаћу Светог Духа, усклађен у хармонији врлина“ (Migne 1863: 700C; Constantinou 2008: 159). Поседници оваквог духовног стања су заправо они који поседују свете „гусле“ божије. У контексту наведеног и сцена о којима говоримо, Андреја Кесарејски каже и да они (sc. свети) певају песму Мојсија што значи да по Мојсијевој песми песмопојање Богу узносе они који су оправдани законом до благодати, а по песми Јагњетовој да је узносе они који су праведно поживели на земљи после доласка Христовог и да му непрестано приносе песмопојање и благодарење за сва доброчинства и милости које је послао људском роду, јер је кроз божанствене апостоле све народе призвао да Га познају“ (Migne 1863: 700C; Constantinou 2008: 159). И Екуменије каже да: „гусле симболизују мелодичну песму светих која

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се обраћа Богу“ (Oscumenius 2006: 135). Мојсијева песма је песма праведника. Она песма коју је Мојсије певао када се Фараон и читава његова војска утопила у Црвеном мору, говорећи: „Пјеваћу Господу, јер се славно прослави; коња и коњаника врже у море. Сила је моја и пјесма је моја Господ, који ме избави; он је Бог мој, прославићу га; Бога оца мојега, и узвишаваћу га“ (Иза 15,1–2). Она је тријумфална песма победе над казном над злим и победа над Противником и њиховим незаконитим сином, Антихристом (Oscumenius 2006: 135).

У складу са овим тумачењима стоји и објашњење петог стиха деведесет и првог псалма, у беседи приписаној светом Јовану Златоустом, где се као важан мотив помиње Давид са китаром. У беседи се наводи да „они који призивају Давида са китаром, призивају Христа“, а затим се аутор обраћа читаоцу и каже: „Ако би ово поседовао (sc. трезвеноумну душу, стражећи ум, испробадано срце, чврст разум, прочишћену савест), ушао би у свети божји хор, да стојиш до самог Давида. А то не би било нити дело китаре, нити продужене жице, нити плектрума, нити уметности, нити неког инструмента: ти би од себе самог начинио китару, умртвивши телесне удове, и тело би са душом ускладио. Када тело не жели против духа (Гал. 5.17), него престане да наређује, и доведе га у најбољи живот који је највише достојан дивљења, тада би производио духовну мелодију“ (Migne 1862: 158).

Цитирана тумачења односе се на лик праведника у сцени *Смрти њраведника*, као оног који је врлином тријумфовао над Противником, а појава Давида са китаром (лиром) јесте потврда његове светости и праведног живота. Стога је праведни на одређеном броју сцена приказан са нимбом. Он сам је своје тело начинио „китаром Светог Духа“, чега је слика и потврда Давидова китара.

2.6. МЕСТО СЛИКАЊА КОМПОЗИЦИЈЕ И ЊЕНО ПРОГРАМСКО ЗНАЧЕЊЕ

Како на основу примера наведених у раду можемо приметити, сцена *Смрти њраведника* је сликана у трпезаријама (манастир Светог Јована на Патмосу, Велика Лавра на Светој Гори), затим у западном делу цркве (западном травеју: нпр. Никољац) или пак у припратама (нпр. Хумор, Сучевица), на фасадама цркве (нпр. Воронец, Рашка и друге) и у засебним просторним јединицама (нпр. Линдос). Где год да је била илустрована, сцена је носила своју симболику, која је у зависности од положаја фреске и контекста сликаног програма и функције датог простора носила извесне нијансе у значењу. Ако изузмемо поменуте велике монашке центре, сцена *Смрти њраведника* је у осталим споменицима сликана у саставу композиције *Сирашној суди* (видети горе).

Упада у очи чињеница да је по среди доста ретка сцена у византијској и поствизантијској уметности, као и околност да је прва и једина очувана сцена у византијској уметности изведена у простору трпезарије, као и да је таква пракса настављена и у познијим временима (у Дионисијату и Великој Лаври; Brockhaus 1891: 144–146, pl. 10; Stichel 1971: 24) у виду детаљног приказивања ове аскетске

приповести кроз одређен број епизода распоређених у циклусе. Поставља се питање зашто сцена није илустрована у католикону, већ у трпезарији? Стога би најпре требало образложити разлоге њеног уврштавања у сликани програм трпезарије. Такође, оно што је важно и необично, када је реч о линдоској представи јесте околност да она није насликана у саставу сцене Страшног суда, већ да има самостално значење у складу са функцијом ове грађевине. Наиме, ова мања грађевина у којој је насликана *Смрти њраведника* имала је посебну функцију – у њој су служена опела и помени уваженим грађанима Линдоса (Пенкова 2010: 55). Када је о значењу ове сцене у трпезарији светогорских манастира реч, треба указати на чињеницу да је *Смрти њраведника* монашка тема снажне морално-дидактичке конотације, као и да преподобни Филотеј Синајски у свом душекорисном делу „Четрдесет савета о трезвоумљу“ саветује да се време током обеда за трпезом посвећује сећању и размишљању на смрт и суд (St Nikodimos, St Makarios 1995: 16). У складу са овим објашњењем су и речи светог Иринеја Лионског да је „главни задатак хришћанина да мисли на своју смрт“ (Migne 1857: 1233/XI). Аскетска литература, посебно житија отаца – и у њима реч тих мудрих старца, поштована као реч Светог духа, била је веома надахњујуће штиво, које је подстицало на непрекидни подвиг и било радо читано, не само у ширем контексту у оквиру монашке заједнице, већ очигледно и за време самог обреда, на шта указује и само постављање ове теме у простор трпезарије. У крајњој линији, композиција *Смрти њраведника* заузима важно место у сликаним програмима трпезарија, будући да на најдиректнији начин приказује живот у врлини и последице таквог начина живота. Поред тога што иконографија сцена са Патмоса, из Велике Лавре, Дионисијата и са Линдоса, детаљно илуструје повест из „Житија отаца“, она стоји и у вези са традицијом употребе тј. појања псалма у ритуалу самртног тренутка, познатом по скромним извештајима, готово сасвим сигурно негованим у монашким срединама (о обреду и теолошком значају Чина на разлучење душе, видети Иванић 1990: 51–64). Још нешто је важно рећи у контексту значења читаве композиције, а посебно музичког инструмента. Уз то што означава физичку смрт праведника, што приказује последице врлинског живота и подстиче монахе на ревност у подвигу, она представља и слику „истинске смрти“. У њој препознајемо стицање врлине и бестрашћа и „напуштање тела“ још за живота. О истинској смрти говори преподобни Макарије Велики: „Истинска смрт, скривена је дубоко унутра у срцу и кроз њу је спољашњи човек жив умро. Јер ко је у тајни срца прешао из смрти у живот, тај уистину живи у вечности и за њега нема умирања“ (Macarius the Egyptian 1816: 2, Ch. 2). Да су сцене *Смрти њраведника* носиле овакво значење казивала би околност да се у средњовековним псалтирима уз 118. псалм илуструје или сцена *Смрти њраведника*, као нпр. у Минхенском псалтиру (Dufrenne et al. 1983: fol. 153r; Иванић 2002: 121–126) или каткад и *Лесџивица Светиој Јована Лесџивичника*, као нпр. у рукопису *Vat. Gr. 1927* (XII век; Иванић 2002: 123). *Лесџивица* са монасима који се успињу представља илустрацију врлине бестрашћа која се назива још „васкрсењем пре свеопштег васкрсења“ и која означава, као и на свој начин сцена *Смрти њраведника* на Патмосу, у Великој Лаври, на Линдосу и другим местима, успешан исход

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монашког подвизавања, његову крајњу тачку и чини увод у вечност (Martin 1954: pl. 5, 12, 13, 15, 17, 67, 132, 133 и даље; Богдановић 1968: 42, 64, 75–76 и даље; Иванић 2002: 123). Управо зато је сцена *Смртии њраведника* у поствизантијској уметности приказивана у непосредној близини представе *Лесџвице* са којом чини идејну целину у саставу *Страшној суда* (Пенкова 2010: 47–59). То је уједно и разлог постављања ове монашке, душекорисне теме *Смртии њраведника* у непосредну близину композиције *Светици Сисоје над гробом* и других сцена које су имале снажно есхатолошко значење и подсећале на смрт (уп. Millet 1927: pl. 150.2; Nandriş 1970: 242–243; Пенкова 2010; Живковић 2013: 913–940). Управо из овог разлога и нимало случајно је у манастиру Хумору у сцени *Смртии њраведника* учени сликар извео један посебан детаљ – звездано небо. Представљање звезда над пророком Давидом који свира лауту слика је вечности и вечног стања блаженства (види горе; за сликање звезда на свим сценама у оквиру *Страшног суда* у румунским споменицима видети Nandriş 1970: 236). На крају, истакнимо да је Роберт Остерхут разматрајући повезаност гробља и манастира са реалног и фигуративног аспекта на примеру кападокијских споменика указао на могућност да су трпезарије могле поред монашких служити и у комеморативне сврхе (Osterhout 2010: 95–99, пос. 97). Такву могућност потврђује један навод из Типика манастира Вева Елпис (Сигурне наде) који указује на повезаност службе помена и трпезарије. У споменима намењеним ктиторима и њиховој породици, овај типик посебно истиче да након прослављања великих тајни и велике службе „треба да се упутите у трпезарију да узмете учешће у изврснијем и скупоценијем јелу од уобичајеног, које је за вас припремљено... Тако треба да једете и да се радујете и молите у вашим срцима за спасење мојих родитеља вечне успомене и за њихов блажени починак“ (Osterhout 2010, 97–98; Thomas, Negro 2000: 1555). Имајући у виду наведено, можемо закључити да је илустровање сцене *Смртии њраведника* у трпезаријама на посебан начин било подстакнуто изражавањем наде у васкрсење, вечни живот и блажени починак.^{3**}

3 ** Порекло илустрација: 1) Koimimis 1988, fig. 39; 2) Пејић 2014, сл. 62; 3) Millet 1927, 150/2; 4) Томић 1995, сл. 6; 5) Пенкова 2010, илл. 7.



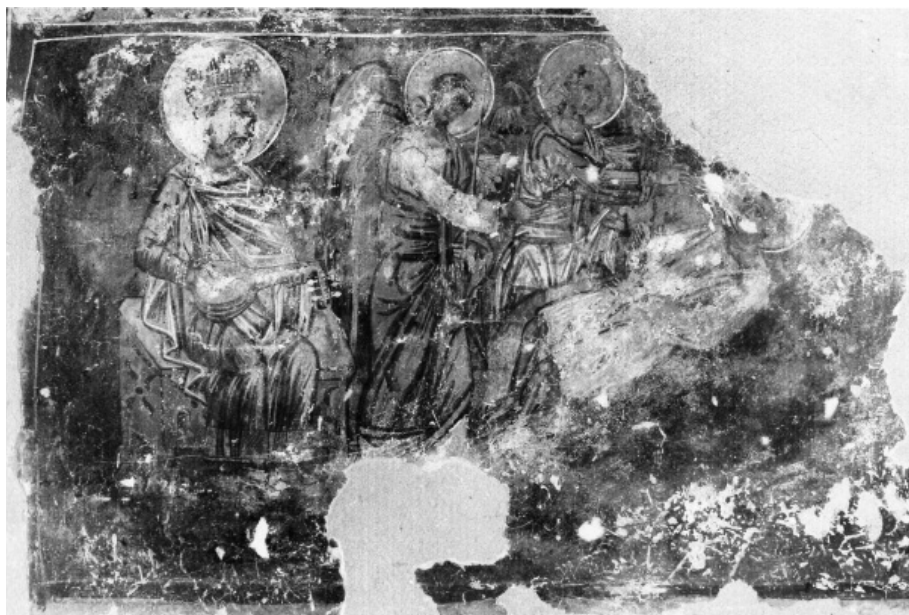
Слика 1. Смрт њраведника, трпезарија манастира Светог Јована Богослова на Патмосу (XIII век)



Слика 2. Смрт њраведника, трпезарија манастир Велика Лавра, Света Гора Атонска (1536)

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Слика 3. Смрћ ѓраведника, детаљ Страшног суда, манастир Светог Николе у Никољцу (1570)



Слика 4. Смрћ ѓраведника, колекција Џорџа Хана у Севиклију у савезној држави Пенсилванији – САД (XVI век)



Слика 5. Смрђ љраведника, црква Успења Богородице у Линдосу, Родос (XVII век)

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ANĐELA GAVRILOVIĆ

ON THE SACRAL MEANING OF THE MUSICAL INSTRUMENT AND THE ROLE OF
PROPHET DAVID IN THE SCENE OF THE DEATH OF THE RIGTHEOUS MAN.
A CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF THE VISUAL REPRESENTATIONS OF
MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS IN THE EAST-CHRISTIAN SACRAL ART

(SUMMARY)

The Old Testament prophet David was known in sacred history as the King of Jews, as a prophet, the compiler of the Psalter, but also as a musician. Therefore, he is usually depicted with certain musical instruments in his hands in Eastern Christian art that illustrates sacred history or the biblical narrative. Although the representations of musical instruments in the art of the lands under the Byzantine cultural and spiritual influence have been minutely analysed, the existing art still provides opportunities for further research. Until present day most attention was given to the organographic analysis of the musical instruments (M. Velimirović, D. Dević, R. Pejović), while their meaning and the role in the scenes have remained insufficiently addressed. The scene analysed in this paper allows for both types of analysis.

What is interesting from the iconographic and organographic point of view is the fact that the musical instruments with which Emperor David is portrayed in the scenes of the *Death of the Righteous man* are different. On this occasion, we will look at scenes of the *Death of the Righteous man* in the time span from the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries in Byzantine art, as well as Serbian, Russian and Romanian ecclesiastical art after 1453 from the aspect of iconography. Special attention will be paid to the justification of the reasons for the appearance of certain instruments in the hands of King David, as well as their meanings.

KEYWORDS: King and Prophet David, *Death of the Righteous man*, musical instruments, organographic analysis, Eastern Christian sacred art, meaning

НАУЧНА КРИТИКА
И ПОЛЕМИКА
SCIENTIFIC REVIEWS
AND POLEMICS

ВЕСНА КАРИН
ПЛЕСНА ПРАКСА ДИНАРАЦА У ВОЈВОДИНИ

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Књига *Плесна пракса Динараца у Војводини* представља резултат обимног и дугогодишњег истраживања ауторке Весне Карин које је вршено за потребе докторских академских студија. Динарска плесна пракса у Војводини је у овој студији сагледана интердисциплинарно, те истраживање обухвата етномузиколошка, етнокореолошка, антрополошка промишљања и анализе. Научни допринос ове књиге огледа се у континуираном теренском истраживању јавне и приватне извођачке плесне сцене Динараца у Војводини, које даје занимљиве и веродостојне закључке не само о плесној пракси казивача, него и о њиховом начину живота, памћењу и преношењу традиције на сцену, односно у нови извођачки контекст. Овакав дугогодишњи теренски рад резултирао је и великим бројем забележених плесова, те их је у прилогу представљено чак 118. Богата релевантна литература на српском, али и на страним језицима (енглеском и мађарском) додатно поткрепљује ставове и чињенице које ауторка износи у својој студији.

Књига садржи седам поглавља. Први део фокусиран је на термилошко-концептуалне одреднице истраживања у којем ауторка дефинише појам плесне праксе као „процесуални облик стваралачке делатности иманентне човеку, у којем плес није постављен као природно по себи разумљиво, већ који је заснован на експликацији својих структуралних елемената у одређеном контексту и кроз своју повезаност са другим друштвеним праксама добија нови ниво вредности који је део културе, друштва, а потенцијално и уметности“ (26). Судајући по овој прецизно одређеној дефиницији, читаоци већ на самом почетку примећују да ауторка не разматра плес као засебан феномен, него у много ширем, како је већ напоменуто, интердисциплинарном контексту.

Прво поглавље усмерено је и на одређење Динараца у Војводини, где ауторка упућује на то да сам термин Динарци настаје током XIX и почетком XX века када је био идеолошки конструисан. У том периоду – наводи ауторка следећи ставове етнологу Владимира Дворниковића – овај концепт се односио на културно-ментални склоп човека и његово наслеђе, јер је требало „остварити јединство људи који имају комплекс извесних устаљених и наследних анатомских, физиолошких и психолошких обележја који се заснивају на заједничком биолошком пореклу и развојном континуитету, али не морају да припадају истој етничкој групи“ (30). Позивајући се на ставове антрополога Томаса Ериксона (Thomas Hylland Eriksen) да је подела људи према раси и етницитету врло проблематично питање с обзиром на развој савремене генетике, али и истраживања у области друштвених и хуманистичких наука, ауторка указује на то да су универзалистичке поставке о приморијалним везама одређених скупина

људи у научној и стручној јавности у току XX века вишеструко проблематизоване. Весна Карин стога наводи да предмет њеног истраживања неће бити упуштање у разматрање порекла и политичких конотација настанка термина Динарци, као ни менталитета Динараца. Без упуштања, дакле, у његове могуће идеолошке импликације, израз Динарци у Војводини је у овој студији прагматично коришћен као обухватни термин који се односи на Србе из Црне Горе, Херцеговине, Босанске Крајине, Далматинске Загоре, Лике, Корудна и Баније који су досељени у Војводину у XX веку. Другим речима, појам Динарци Весна Карин користи због одређења групе Срба која је досељена у Војводину, као опозициони пар Србима староседеоцима.

Први део књиге је уједно усмерен и на појашњење методолошких приступа који су кориштени током теренских истраживања, класификације прикупљене грађе и етномузиколошке и етнокорееолошке анализе.

У другом поглављу ауторка сагледава текст, односно контекст прилика за плес код Динараца у Војводини, правећи јасну разлику између јавних наступа, попут фестивала и концерата, и приватних прослава. Оваква дистинкција указује на два различита начина извођења плеса, а то су: извођење плеса ради презентовања и извођење плеса ради учествовања. Анализирајући ова два различита контекста плесног извођења, ауторка их повезује са мишљењима етнокорееолога Андрија Нахачевског који, како Карин тврди, ове концепте повезује путем термина „живи“ (vival dance) и „рефлексивни“ (reflective dance) плес.

Трећи део књиге усмерен је на анализу појединачних плесова који су забележени приликом теренских истраживања, а који су класификовани према етничким категоријама. Термин етничке категорије ауторка преузима од Томаса Ериксена који је у оквиру својих истраживања класификовао друштва према одређеној типологији. Употреба овог концепта омогућила је ауторки да у оквиру друштвене категорије Динараца у Војводини уочи различите културне специфичности. Плесни репертоар сваке од већ поменутих категорија (Срби из Црне Горе, Херцеговине, Лике итд.) сагледан је таблеарно и компаративно, што је омогућило увид у континуитет извођења одређених плесова, како у земљи матици, тако и у Војводини. Структурално-формална етнокорееолошка анализа појединачних плесова, као и структурално-формална анализа музике која је интегрални део плеса, довела је до утврђивања особености и карактеристика плесних извођења у различитим етничким категоријама, али и до увиђања њихових прожимања и сличности.

Како су плесови представљени кинетографијом, графичким писмом за записивање покрета, уочава се да ауторка за потребе транскрибовања плесова Динараца у Војводини уводи и поједине нове графичке знаке, који до сада у Србији нису били коришћени (као што је нпр. „заокрет“ који представља комбинацију окрета и корака у простору). Потреба за овим новим начинима записивања проистекла је из потешкоћа на које је ауторка наилазила приликом транскрибовања забележене грађе. Весна Карин стога истиче да јој је мађарски етнокорееолог Јанош Фугеди (János Fügedi) са којим је радила на овим проблемима много помогао раду.

ВЕСНА КАРИН
ПЛЕСНА ПРАКСА ДИНАРАЦА У ВОЈВОДИНИ

Из ових разлога, ауторка представља и детаљну графичко-вербалну легенду коришћених знакова, која је врло прецизна, те стога јасна и оним читаоцима који слабо или уопште не познају кинетографију.

У оквиру завршних разматрања ауторка наводи да Динараци у Војводини плесове уче као појединци или као део групе, те на тај начин стварају „хомогени хабитус који је културно условљен [...] чиме се формира репертоар који изводи једна друштвена група, односно у овом случају етничка категорија, конструишући тако своју плесну праксу“ (207).

Како се плесна пракса Динараца у Војводини темељи на сећањима и наративима, ауторка на самом крају поставља симболично питање: колико је заправо Динараца који ће ова сећања ритуалним понашањем даље преносити и мењати? Оваквим питањем Весна Карин скреће пажњу на проблематику одржавања континуитета плесне праксе Динараца у Војводини, с обзиром на то да се Динарци представљају као засебна супкултура која се, како ауторка сматра, може посматрати као друштвено маргинализована. Управо из овог разлога Динарци и изводе своје традиционалне плесове у јавним, фестивалским окружењима. Њихов циљ је, према мишљењу ауторке, да поред очувања супкултурног идентитета, преносе културну баштину из прошлости на млађе генерације. Међутим, интервјуи са казивачима млађе старосне доби ипак наводе на закључак на то да они имају другачије разлоге за извођење традиционалних плесова, а то су путовања, такмичења, дружења. Управо се у овим констатацијама и огледа неизвесност очувања континуитета динарске плесне праксе у Војводини. У завршним редовима ауторка се позива на ставове хрватског етнолога Дуње Рихтман-Аугуштин указујући на то да су они који је негују и даље заправо „кључари памћења“ који конструишу срж супкултуралног идентитета Динараца у Војводини.

Свејлана Ђачанин

VASILIJE MOKRANJAC:
COMPLETE PIANO WORKS – WORLD PREMIERE RECORDING
RATIMIR MARTINOVIĆ, PIANO

Grand Piano, 2 CDs, GP829/30, HNH International LTD,
Germany. Distributed by Naxos.

Композитор Василије Мокрањац (1923–1984), редовни члан Српске академије наука и уметности, оставио је изузетан клавирски опус, свакако један од најмаркантнијих у српској музици XX века. По обиму упоредив са клавирским опусима Милоја Милојевића (1884–1946), Јосипа Славенског (1896–1955), Дејана Деспића (р. 1930) и Ивана Јевтића (р. 1947), издаваја се по снази уметничког израза и изванредном коришћењу свих изражајних могућности инструмента. Ово није изненађујуће када се има у виду да је Василије Мокрањац најпре завршио студије клавира у класи знаменитог чешког педагога Емила Хајека (1886–1974), а затим и студије композиције у класи Станојла Рајичића (1910–2000), који је такође био врстан пијаниста и, заправо, започео каријеру као професор клавира, пре него што се у потпуности посветио компоновању и педагогији у области композиције и оркестрације. Све евентуалне могућности за концертирање Василија Мокрањаца, као и за постављање стандарда извођења сопствених клавирских дела, биле су, нажалост, заувек прекинуте несхватљивим поступком послератних комунистичких власти.¹

Последњих година приметан је значајан пораст интересовања за клавирски опус Василија Мокрањаца; повод за овај осврт јесте двоструки компакт диск са снимљеним његовим целокупним опусом, објављен за немачку дискографску кућу Grand Piano, у тумачењу Ратимира Мартиновића (рођеног 1976. године), црногорског пијанисте који живи и ради у Новом Саду. Поред свог примарног деловања у звању редовног професора на Академији уметности Универзитета у Новом Саду, Мартиновић је оснивач и уметнички директор фестивала Котор Арт у свом родном граду, као и управитељ Фондације која носи име академика Василија Мокрањаца. Фондација је основана 2016. године, на иницијативу композиторове кћерке, архитекте и књижевнице Александре Мокрањац (р. 1962), са циљем прикупљања, очувања и представљања код нас и у свету музичког опуса и уметничке личности Василија Мокрањаца.²

Некадашњи најбољи студент Кемала Гекића (р. 1962), Мартиновић је још у младости стекао репутацију неустрашивог, „титанског” пијанисте, који не оклева да се ухвати у коштац са најзахтевнијим остварењима пијанистичке литературе. Изазову концертног тумачења и, потом, снимања интегралног клавирског опуса Василија Мокрањаца, Мартиновић је приступио са пуном професионалном одговорношћу, ставивши у погон своју неисцрпну енергију и маштовитост.

1 Видети: А. Мокрањац 2005: 11–15.

2 <http://fondacijavasilijemokranjac.org>

У српској средини постоји традиција реситала посвећених клавирском стваралаштву Василија Мокрањца, коју је 1979. године започела Зорица Димитријевић-Стошић (1934–2013), концертом у оквиру 11. издања фестивала БЕМУС,³ за који је награђена Октобарском наградом Града Београда. Поред Зорице Димитријевић-Стошић, током протеклих деценија значајне интерпретације појединих Мокрањчевих дела остварили су пијанисти Душан Трбојевић (1925–2011), Мирјана Шуица-Бабић (1929–2018), Невена Поповић (1955–2016), Дубравка Јовичић (р. 1956), Рита Кинка (р. 1962), Маја Рајковић (р. 1965) и други.

Пре више од двадесет година (1998–1999) ауторка ових редова, тада апсолвенткиња музикологије, у склопу истраживања за свој дипломски рад посвећен клавирском опусу Василија Мокрањца,⁴ одлучила је да свој музиколошки подухват звучно „оживи” и, уз велику подршку професорке Миланке Мишевић (р. 1934), извела скоро комплетан клавирски опус Василија Мокрањца, на четири концерта приређена у Студентском културном центру и Галерији Коларчеве задужбине у Београду, уз гошће Дубравку Јовичић и Сању Бизјак [Содад] (р. 1988). Оригинална замисао да сви концерти буду изведени у размаку од неколико недеља била је, нажалост, осујећена бомбардовањем Савезне Републике Југославије од стране НАТО алијансе (24.03–10.06.1999). Такође, потписница ових редова је 17. децембра 2014. године приредила реситал са одабраним клавирским делима Василија Мокрањца у Галерији Коларчеве задужбине и том приликом извела *Тему са варијацијама* (1947), *Фрајментше* (1956), *Шесћ ијара* (1950–1957), *Инијиме* (1973), *Пејџ њрелудијума* (1975), као и последњи *Прелудијум* из 1984. године.⁵ Свега пет дана касније, 22. децембра 2014, пијаниста Ратимир Мартиновић и његови студенти са новосадске Академије уметности извели су програм посвећен тридесетогодишњицама упокојења Василија Мокрањца и Марка Тајчевића.⁶

Управо овај последњи концерт, уз познанство са Александром Мокрањац, подстакао је Ратимира Мартиновића да се посвети извођењу интегралног клавирског опуса Василија Мокрањца. Премда је Мартиновић најамбициозније приступио овом подухвату, у томе није био усамљен, јер се још двоје српских пијаниста, у размаку од свега две године, посветило истом пројекту. Комплетан Мокрањчев клавирски опус Ратимир Мартиновић премијерно је извео на концерту приређеном у оквиру 48. издања фестивала БЕМУС у Свечаној сали

3 <https://www.bemus.rs/sr/arhiva-bemus/dimitrijevic-stosic-11-bemus.html>

4 Дипломски рад *Клавирска музика Василија Мокрањца* одбрањен је на Факултету музичке уметности у Београду, октобра 1999. године. Пет година касније прерастао је у истоимену монографију, прву посвећену Мокрањчевом клавирском опусу (Medić 2004).

5 Исти програм изведен је и на реситалу у Концертно-изложбеном простору Факултета уметности у Нишу 21. априла 2015. године: <http://ivanamedic.com/concerts/>

6 <https://akademija.uns.ac.rs/koncert-153/>

Скупштине града Београда, 25. октобра 2016. године,⁷ да би након тога приступио и студијском снимању ових дела. С друге стране, пијаниста Владимир Глигорић (р. 1979) извео је реситал са Мокрањчевим клавирским остварењима у оквиру фестивала БЕЛЕФ, 28. јуна 2017. године, поново у Свечаној сали Скупштине града Београда.⁸ Потом је Јелена Ђајић [Левајац] (р. 1972) приредила реситал посвећен клавирском опусу Василија Мокрањаца, 31. маја 2018. године,⁹ такође у Свечаној сали Скупштине града Београда (а након тога и 11. марта 2019. у Галерији САНУ), као круну свог докторског уметничког пројекта, одбрањеног на Факултету музичке уметности у Београду (Ђајић Левајац 2018). Концерт посвећен Мокрањчевом клавирском стваралаштву у организацији Фондације Василије Мокрањац, приређен у оквиру Првог Василије Мокрањац Феста 24. новембра 2018. године, окупио је све досад поменуће тумаче Мокрањчевог интегралног опуса, затим, младе и неафирмисане пијанисте, као и друге извођаче разних генерација.¹⁰

Поред радијских снимака остварења Василија Мокрањаца које су пре четири деценије начиниле Мирјана Шуица-Бабић и Зорица Димитријевић-Стошић, као и појединачних Мокрањчевих дела које су на носачима звука забележили Трбојевић, Кинка и други, 2015. године, Одбор за заштиту српске музичке баштине САНУ, у сарадњи са дискографском кућом MASCOM, објавио је компакт диск са Мокрањчевим клавирским делима снимљеним годину дана раније на концерту у Галерији САНУ;¹¹ на овом издању забележена су извођења пијаниста млађе и средње генерације: Катарине Радовановић Јеремић, Бојане Станковић, Милоша Вељковића, Владимира Глигорића, Станка Симића и Николе Стојковића. Вишедеценијско значајно интересовање за извођење клавирских дела Василија Мокрањаца, праћено и дискографском активношћу, дакле, постоји у нашој средини, што сведочи о значају ових дела, али и омогућава поређење различитих интерпретација.

Према речима Ратимира Мартиновића, опус Василија Мокрањаца заинтересовао га је јер је „изузетно захтеван, врло разуђен, богато полифон, са бројним техничким проблемима који своја оправдања апсолутно увек имају у служби музичке идеје” (Сретеновић 2016). У поређењу са интерпретацијама Владимира Глигорића и Јелене Ђајић, Мартиновићев приступ Мокрањчевом опусу је изразито романтичарски у емотивном набоју, премда готово дидактички узоран у смислу односа према нотном тексту. Приликом вајања мелодијских линија, посебно у делима из прве стваралачке фазе, Мартиновић дозвољава доста рубата, не губећи притом структурну јасноћу. Остварујући

7 <https://www.bemus.rs/sr/48-bemus-srpski/ratimir-martinovic-48.html>

8 <https://www.belef.rs/arhiva-cirilica/programi-2017-cir/resital-vladimira-gligorica-2017.html>

9 <https://www.kcb.org.rs/2018/05/klavirska-muzika-vasilija-mokranjaca/>

10 <https://www.novosti.rs/vesti/kultura.71.html:761908-VASILIJE-MOKRANJAC-FEST-Secanje-na-jednog-od-najznacajnijih-srpskih-kompozitora>

11 <https://www.mascom.rs/sr/mascom-izdanja/cd/vasilije-mokranjac-muzika-za-klavir-pid-3838.1135.html>

јединство форме и садржаја у широким плохама, Мартиновић себи оставља довољно простора и за минуциозно израђивање детаља, те за надахнуте вињете у склопу већих целина, разоткривајући притом све слојеве Мокрањчевог густог хетерофоног ткања.

Композиције су поређане хронолошки, што омогућава прецизно праћење Мокрањчеве стваралачке путање. Познато је да је Василије Мокрањац имао паузу дугу петнаестак година између клавирских опуса довршених у другој половини педесетих (*Фрајменџи* и *Шесџи ијара*) и значајних дела из 1973. године (*Иниџиме* и *Одјеџи*), којима је најавио свој „нови”, лирско-медитативни стил. Међутим, укључивање у ово издање Мокрањчеве недавно откривене и недовољно познате младалачке композиције *Менуејо*, настале 1944. године (пре него што је започео студије композиције) доказује да је његов „нови” стил, заправо, представљао повратак изворној, отисној тачки. Наиме, *Менуејо* карактерише модални звучни свет са примесима импресионистичких звучних прелива – што је управо одлика композиторових остварења из последње стваралачке фазе.

Драгоцен одлика Мартиновићевог дискографског подвига јесте могућност да се чују Мокрањчева ретко извођена дела, посебно она цикличне структуре. Наиме, док су *Фрајменџи*, *Шесџи ијара*, поједине *Еџиџе* или *Одјеџи* релативно често заступљени на концертним програмима, нека друга, не мање вредна дела, присутна су тек спорадично. У том смислу, за потписницу ових редова најпријатније изненађење представља младалачка *Сонајџа романџика* у фис молу (1947), у којој Мартиновић проналази многобројне суптилне детаље и скривене лирске оазе у прецизно конструисаној форми. Упечатљива, неоекспресионистичка Сонатина у Це дуру (1954) у Мартиновићевом тумачењу разоткрива Мокрањчев афинитет за пијанизам Сергеја Прокофјева и Дмитрија Шостаковича, али и композиторово умеће да из минијатурних флоскула, на малом простору, изгради изузетно драматичне градијације, са монументалним кулминацијама – као у другом ставу поменуте Сонатине.

Значајан моменат који бисмо издвојили јесте да Мокрањчеве *Еџиџе* овим издањем по први пут добијају убедљиво, високо професионално тумачење. Наиме, радијски снимци Мирјане Шуице-Бабић, начињени давних дана, представљали су више „скице” неголи права тумачења *Еџиџа*, јер су ове веома виртуозне композиције биле изведене у спорим темпима, уз очигледну борбу пијанисткиње са нотним текстом и последичну немогућност да постигне тражени израз. Снимци забележени на компакт диску у издању MASCOM-а, начињени уживо, такође нису у пуној мери репрезентативни. Изузетна техника и прави виртуозни „нерв” омогућава Ратмиру Мартиновићу да *Еџиџе* изводи онако како их је композитор замислио, у прописаним темпима, уз прецизно дозиране динамичке контрасте и јасно поентиране кулминације.

Како не бисмо читаоцима унапред открили сва задовољства која их очекују приликом слушања Мартиновићевог тумачења Василија Мокрањца, похвалићемо још само беспрекоран квалитет снимка, начињеног на новом Стенвеј клавиру у Великој сали Коларчеве задужбине – за шта велику заслугу има млада дизајнерка звука Ана-Марија Срејић.

RATIMIR MARTINOVIĆ

VASILIJE MOKRANJAC: COMPLETE PIANO WORKS – WORLD PREMIERE RECORDING

Озбиљна замерка у вези са овим издањем упућена је дискографској кући и ономе ко је одобрио да се изостави пуно име Василија Мокрањца на насловној страни. Сматрамо да је, у случају премијерног, узорног снимка клавирског опуса Василија Мокрањца, овакав пропуст заиста несхватљив.

Ивана Медић

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Конкурс за доделу Годишње награде „Стана Ђурић-Клајн“ за изузетан допринос музикологији за 2019. годину

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