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историографија

Music and
Historiography



Часопис МУЗИКОЛОШКОГ ИНСТИТУТА САНУ
Journal of THE INSTITUTE OF MUSICOLOGY SASA

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РЕЧ УРЕДНИЦЕ

Мини-јубилеј часописа *Музиколоџија* – објављивање 25. броја – поклапа се обележавањем 70. годишњице рада Музиколошког института САНУ, али и са прославом 90. рођендана др Надежде Мосусове, научног саветника у пензији, која је свој радни век провела у Музиколошком институту САНУ. На прагу десете деценије, др Мосусова је и даље веома активна; част нам је и задовољство да 25. број часописа посветимо управо њој.

У години јубилеја, определили смо се да Тема броја буде *Музика и историографија*. Иако се током претходних деценија музикологија значајно разгранала, превазишла своје некадашње границе и остварила многобројне интердисциплинарне преплете, историографска разматрања остају срж ове дисциплине. Проучавање примарних извора, реконструкција прошлости поткрепљена убедљивим доказима, преиспитивање ранијих тумачења већ обрађене грађе, те откривање непознатих детаља из живота знаменитих протагониста музичке прошлости, чини окосницу методологије примењене у радовима обједињеним у Тему броја. Аутори радова су садашњи и бивши сарадници Музиколошког института САНУ, односно сарадници на пројекту *Идентификација српске музике од локалних до глобалних оквира: традиције, промене, изазови* (ОИ 177004), који финансира Министарство просвете, науке и технолошког развоја Републике Србије (2011–2018). У тексту који отвара ову рубрику, Биљана Милановић спроводи виртуозну анализу архивских извора и реконструише почетак рада Музиколошког института Српске академије наука, обележен улогом Петра Коњовића, његовог оснивача и првог директора. И други рад у Тему броја, ауторки Иване Васић и Данке Лајић Михајловић, посвећен је првим годинама рада Института и утемељењу музикологије и етномузикологије у нашој средини. Весна Пено и Александар Васић пишу о првој српској историји музике, из пера Љубомира Бошњакловића. Марија Думнић Вилотијевић разматра урбану популарну музику на Балкану и даје смернице за утемељење регионалне историје музике, уз паралелно сагледавање сродних феномена у балканским земљама. Маријана Кокановић Марковић реконструише пијанистички репертоар родоначелника српске уметничке музике Корнелија Станковића, са освртом на условљеност концепције концертних програма срединама у којима је Станковић наступио. У раду који закључује Тему

броја, Надежда Мосусова даје синтезу својих дугогодишњих проучавања оперског опуса Петра Коњовића.

Рубрику *Varia* отвара текст Нејца Сукљана о политичким конотацијама турнеје Тршћанске филхармоније по Србији у пролеће 1946. године, који доноси прегршт досад непознатих података. Јасна Вељановић скреће пажњу читалаца на личност Хајнриха Кристофа Коха, једног од најзначајнијих музичких теоретичара на преласку из XVIII у XIX век, те разматра могућност увођења његове, данас заборављене, терминологије у савремену аналитичку праксу. Станимира Дерменџијева разматра политицизацију музике у време тоталитарног режима у Бугарској (1944–1989), као и међусобну условљеност политике, музичког живота и статуса бугарских композитора уметничке музике, док Иван Муди поставља смернице за будуће компаративно истраживање музике земаља Медитерана и Балкана, које су почетком двадесетог века успостављале сопствене верзије модернизма. Најзад, Нада Ивановић О’Брајен посматра феномен бајки као парадигму за симболичко интерпретирање процесатрансформације енергије у музици.

„Сребрни” број *Музиколоије* закључује рубрика *Научна кришика и ѿлемика*, која садржи три осврта.

У име колектива Музиколошког института САНУ желим Надежди Мосусовој још много успешних, креативних и продуктивних година.

У Београду, 1. децембра 2018.
др Ивана Медић, главна и одговорна уредница

EDITOR'S FOREWORD

The mini-jubilee of the journal *Musicology* – publication of the 25th issue – coincides with the celebration of the 70th anniversary of the Institute of Musicology SASA, as well as the celebration of the 90th birthday of Dr Nadežda Mosusova, a retired principal research fellow, who spent her entire career at the Institute of Musicology SASA. At the turn of the tenth decade of her life, Dr Mosusova is still very active; it is with great pleasure that we dedicate the 25th issue of the journal to her.

In the year of the anniversary, we decided that the main topic of the issue should be *Music and Historiography*. Although over the past several decades musicology has significantly expanded, overcoming its former borders and achieving numerous interdisciplinary interweavings, historiographic considerations remain the core of this discipline. The study of primary sources, the reconstruction of the past supported by convincing evidence, the review of earlier interpretations of the already processed material, and the discovery of unknown details from the lives of the famous protagonists of the musical past, constitute the backbone of the methodology applied in the articles unified in the main theme of this issue. Their authors are current and former associates of the Institute of Musicology SASA, and/or collaborators on the project *Serbian Musical Identities Between Local and Global Frameworks: Traditions, Changes, Challenges* (No 177004), financed by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia (2011–2018). In the article that opens this section, Biljana Milanović performs a virtuoso analysis of archival sources and reconstructs the circumstances surrounding the foundation and the early days of the Institute of Musicology of the Serbian Academy of Sciences, strongly marked by the role of Petar Konjović, its founder and first director. The second article, by Ivana Vesić and Danke Lajić Mihajlović, also deals with the first years of the Institute's work and the efforts towards establishing musicology and ethnomusicology in Serbia. Vesna Peno and Aleksandar Vasić discuss the first Serbian history of music, written by Ljubomir Bošnjaković. Marija Dumnić Vilotijević considers urban popular music in the Balkans and gives guidelines for establishing a regional history of music, with a parallel overview of related phenomena in the neighbouring Balkan countries. Marijana Kokanović Marković reconstructs the piano repertoire of the founding father of Serbian art music, Kornelije Stanković, with a reference to the dependence of the concert programs on the environments in which Stanković performed. In the article

that concludes this section, Nadežda Mosusova summarizes her decades-long study of Petar Konjović's operas.

The section *Varia* opens with Nejc Sukljan's text on the political connotations of the Trieste Philharmonic tour in Serbia in the spring of 1946, presenting and discussing previously unknown data. Jasna Veljanović draws the readers' attention to Heinrich Christoph Koch, one of the most important music theorists at the turn of the 19th century; she considers the possibility of introducing Koch's, nowadays mostly forgotten, terminology into contemporary analytical practices. Stanimira Dermendzhieva discusses the politicization of music during the totalitarian regime in Bulgaria (1944–1989) and the interdependence of politics, musical life and the status of Bulgarian composers of art music, while Ivan Moody sets guidelines for the future comparative investigation of the countries of the Mediterranean and the Balkans which, at the beginning of the twentieth century, established their own versions of musical modernism. Finally, Nada Ivanović O'Brien observes the phenomenon of fairy tales as a paradigm for symbolic interpretation of the processes of energy transformation in music.

The "silver" issue of the journal *Musicology* concludes with the section *Scientific Reviews and Polemics*, which contains three reviews.

On behalf of the collective of the Institute of Musicology SASA, I wish Nadežda Mosusova many more successful, creative and productive years.

Belgrade, 1 December 2018
Dr Ivana Medić, Editor-in-Chief

TEMA BROJA
THE MAIN THEME
МУЗИКА И ИСТОРИОГРАФИЈА
MUSIC AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

ДОПРИНОС ПЕТРА КОЊОВИЋА КОНСТИТУИСАЊУ И ПОЧЕЦИМА РАДА МУЗИКОЛОШКОГ ИНСТИТУТА СРПСКЕ АКАДЕМИЈЕ НАУКА И УМЕТНОСТИ*

Биљана Милановић¹
Музиколошки институт САНУ, Београд

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Оригинални научни рад

АПСТРАКТ

Студија је посвећена почецима рада Музиколошког института Српске академије наука, који су обележен улогом и Петра Коњовића, оснивача и првог управника Института, а истовремено и првог секретара Одељења ликовне и музичке уметности Српске академије наука. Полазећи од претпоставке о међусобној условљености (1) успостављања институционалног поретка и (2) дисциплиновања научноистраживачког рада у правцу настанка музикологије и етномузикологије у локалном контексту, конституисање и рад институције проблематизовала сам кроз анализу архивске документације и сагледала у оквиру три потпоглавља. Прво од њих доноси основне информације о реорганизацији Српске академије наука у оквирима културне политике новог режима и бави се аспектима формалног оснивања Института (1947) и контекстуализацијом првих програмских пројекција његовог рада. Друго се односи на разнородне проблеме који су пратили одлагање почетка институтских активности, а завршна целина посвећена је периоду од ангажовања првих сарадника до краја Коњовићевог управљања Музиколошким институтом (1948–1954).

Кључне речи: Петар Коњовић, Музиколошки институт САН/САНУ, Одељење ликовне и музичке уметности САН/САНУ, музикологија, етномузикологија

* Студија је резултат рада на пројекту *Идентификација српске музике од локалних до глобалних оквира: традиције, времена, изазови* Музиколошког института САНУ, који финансира Министарства просвете, науке и технолошког развоја Републике Србије (ОН 177004).

Јубиларне годишњице институција често су повод за писање репрезентативних хронолошких прегледа рада колектива и његових протагониста и стварање пожељних слика у култури сећања. Ова студија, настала у оквиру обележавања 70. годишњице рада Музиколошког института Српске академије наука и уметности, усмерена је у другачијем правцу. У њој полазим од става да јубилеј може чинити погодан тренутак критичког захвата у недовољно истражене сегменте прошлости саме струке и њене институционализације, имајући у виду проблемску слојевитост и потенцијално дисонантне односе између идеја и интереса индивидуалних актера, колективних груписања и токова званичне научне и културне политике у деловању институције.

Период успостављања и почетака рада Музиколошког института САН обележен је улогом композитора и музичког писца Петра Коњовића (1883–1970), оснивача и првог управника Института (1947–1954).² Његови напори око формирања и вођења те установе били су неодојиви од улоге академика и секретара Одељења ликовне и музичке уметности САН. Коњовић је 2. марта 1946. постао прави члан Академије уметности СКА/САН, а од 22. марта 1948. године редовни члан, као и први секретар новоформираног Одељења, обављајући секретарску функцију у три узастопна мандата (1948–1954) (Никић, Жујовић, Радојчић–Костић 2007: 148).

У литератури се не наводе или су непрецизно изнети поједини подаци о конституисању Института. Изостају значајни датуми, као и разматрање припремне фазе рада од његовог формалног оснивања крајем 1947. до ангажовања првих сарадника децембра 1948. године.³ Тај период представао је важну полазну основу рада Музиколошког института, па га сагледавам као фазу конституисања у оквиру деловања ове установе под управом Коњовића. Истраживања сам засновала на анализи архивске грађе и информацијама које су објављиване у *Годишњацима САН*. Главну целину примарних извора чинила је непописана збирка која садржи разноврсну и обимну службену документацију о раду Института.⁴ Уз њу сам користила и записнике скупова Одељења ликовне и музичке

2 Предратни назив Српска краљевска академија (СКА) задржан је недуго после Другог светског рата, да би био промењен у Српска академија наука (САН), а од 1960. године у Српска академија наука и уметности (САНУ). Сходно томе, у тексту користим одговарајуће скраћенице: СКА, САН и САНУ.

3 О историјату Музиколошког института САНУ мало је писано. Само један текст осмишљен је као историјски преглед деловања институције (Петровић 2010), а објављен је, заједно с прилозима о библиотеци, архивским и другим фондовима, као и биографијама и библиографијама сарадника ове установе, у часопису *Музикологија* бр. 10 из 2010. године, који је у целости посвећен обележавању 60. годишњице рада Музиколошког института САНУ. Такође, неколицина других прилога дотиче се, у мањој или већој мери, појединих информација о деловању Института и његових сарадника, али се примарно усредсређује на друге теме (нпр. Пејовић 1994; Мосусова 2010; Милановић 2016; Томашевић 2016; Лајић Михајловић 2017; Медић 2017).

4 Архив Музиколошког института САНУ, збирка: Архива Музиколошког института САН/САНУ (у даљем тексту: АМИ САНУ, Архива МИ САН/САНУ); грађа је разврстана у регистре од којих су за ова истраживања били релевантни регистри бр. 1, 3, 4, 5 и 8.

уметности САН, похрањене у Архиву САНУ, које је водио и потписивао секретар Коњовић.⁵

У оквирима музичке културе на подручју Србије пре формирања Музиколошког института САН постојали су примери истраживања традиционалне, црквене и уметничке музике, а поред музикографије, успостављени су зачеци историографије и лексикографског и библиографског рада. Поједини музичари попут Владимира Ђорђевића (1869–1938) и Косте Манојловића (1890–1949) знатније су се окретали таквим активностима. И сам Петар Коњовић, некадашњи професор историје музике у Српској музичкој школи (1907–1913), аутор музичких критика и есеја, огледа о музици и позоришту, као и једног од првих историјских прегледа српске музике (Коњовић 1919), припадао је кругу истакнутих музичких писаца који је обухватао и два доктора музикологије, Милоја Милојевића (1884–1946) и Војислава Вучковића (1910–1942). Делујући паралелно на различитим пољима, од компоновања и извођаштва до музичке критике и педагогије, ови музичари нису се посвећивали континуираном и систематски спровођеном истраживачком раду, што је суштински било одређено недостатком одговарајућег институционалног контекста. Ипак, у годинама непосредно пре и после Другог светског рата уочљиво је појачано залагање за институционализацију у области сакупљања и чувања музичке баштине, као и свест о томе да доступност и обрада примарних извора представљају основу за успостављање научног рада. Још током двадесетих година, Манојловић је у улози „добровољног кустоса“ Одељења за музички фолклор Етнографског музеја у Београду био ангажован на утемељењу збирке нотних записа традиционалне музике, а у кратком временском интервалу (1931–1932) имао је могућност да ради на фонографском снимању ове врсте научних извора (уп. Лајић Михајловић 2017: 241–43). Као оснивач и први ректор Музичке академије (1937–1939) Манојловић се посветио формирању Музичке библиотеке, Музичког архива, те Музичког музеја састављеног од четири одељења, од којих је Грамофонско-фонографско одељење указивало на наставак његових активности започетих у Етнографском музеју (уп. Перковић 1917: 23; Лајић Михајловић 2017: 241–43). У новим, поратним условима, у време другог ректорског мандата Петра Коњовића (1945–1947), на Музичкој академији формиран је Музиколошки институт (1945). „Институт је био изграђен на основама предратног Манојловићевог ‘Архивско-историског и Фонографског одсека’“ (Перковић 1917: 36), а водила га је Стана Ђурић-Клајн (1905–1986 Мосусова 2010). Упркос његовом релативно брзом гашењу услед реорганизације просвете и науке на нивоу државе, неоспорно је да је ова организациона јединица Музичке академије чинила директну претходницу новоформираног Музиколошког института САН под управом Коњовића, чији

5 Записници скупова од оснивања Одељења ликовне и музичке уметности (у даљем тексту ОЛМУ) до 1990. године налазе се у Архиву САНУ (у даљем тексту: АСАНУ), а сврстани су у кутије, према хронолошком редоследу. Записници из каснијих година чувају се у просторијама ОЛМУ (Милановић 2016).

су први сарадници били управо Коста Манојловић и Стана Ђурић-Клајн (исто).⁶

Имајући у виду наведене околности, резултате истраживања сагледала сам из неколико различитих перспектива које осветљавају два међусобно обликујућа процеса: (1) успостављање институционалног поретка и (2) дисциплиновање научноистраживачког рада у правцу настанка локалне музикологије и етномузикологије. Формирање специјализованих, научно усмерених профила стручњака, као и диференцирање научних поља те две дисциплине, одвијали су се кроз нормирање програма и задатака од времена ангажовања првих сарадника у Музиколошком институту САН. Томе су у дужем временском интервалу допринели и оснивање Одељења за историју музике (1948) и музички фолклор (1949) на Музичкој академији и усавршавања представника институтског кадра у иностранству. Међутим, само конституисање и прве године рада и опстанка Института били су условљени другим факторима, које сам проблематизовала кроз анализу архивске документације. Посебно су се издвојила питања о повезаности Института с ширим организационим окружењем и научном политиком САН, као и о зучешћу и улози значајних представника САН у токовима институционализације музичке науке. Проблем стицања легитимности у јасно хијерархизованим односима показао се као веома слојевит, јер је Институт, с једне стране, представљао научну јединицу Академије уметности, односно Одељења ликовне и музичке уметности које је, с друге стране, било обележено наслеђем маргинализованог односа према уметницима у односу на друге ентитете унутар САН. Коњовићево претходно стечено искуство у руковођењу различитим институцијама, упорност и стратегијски осмишљено деловање, снажање у поретку нове државе без идеолошких скретања с позиција грађански усмереног предратног интелектуалца, али и стрпљиво чекање на поједина решења надлежних инстанци били су пресудни за настанак и опстанак Института. Формирање научних задатака и циљева и питања њихове реализације обликовали су се у таквом контексту. Сходно наведеним аспектима, проблеме сам сагледала у оквиру три потпоглавља. Прво од њих је уводно и доноси основне информације о реорганизацији СКА/САН у контексту културне политике новог режима и бави се аспектима формалног оснивања Института и контекстуализацијом првих програмских пројекција његовог рада, друго се односи на разнородне проблеме који су пратили одлагање почетка институтских активности, а завршна целина посвећена је периоду од ангажовања првих сарадника до краја Коњовићевог управљања Институтом.

6 Мало се зна о деловању Музиколошког института Музичке академије. У публикацији посвећеној 80. годишњици рада Музичке академије / Факултета музичке уметности приложен је Дневни ред састанка Савета Музичке академије од 28. јуна 1947, који под 5. тачком предвиђа „Извештај секретара Музиколошког института“ (Перковић 2017: 32). Може се претпоставити да је Институт извесно време радио и после датума наведеног састанка, те да је поменути секретар била Стана Ђурић-Клајн. Сећања на овај Институт и време до оснивања Музиколошког института САН изнео је Коста П. Манојловић у својој аутобиографији под насловом *Прилози за моју биографију* (уп. Мосусова 2010; Медић 2017).

ФОРМАЛНО ОСНИВАЊЕ И ПРВА ПРОЈЕКЦИЈА ИСТРАЖИВАЧКИХ ЗАДАТАКА МУЗИКОЛОШКОГ ИНСТИТУТА САН У КОНТЕКСТУ РЕОРГАНИЗАЦИЈЕ СРПСКЕ АКАДЕМИЈЕ НАУКА У ГОДИНАМА ПОСЛЕ ДРУГОГ СВЕТСКОГ РАТА

У југословенској држави у првим годинама после Другог светског рата уследили су покушаји обнове на свим пољима науке и културе. Централистичко устројство Федеративне Народне Републике Југославије (ФНРЈ) чинило је погодан оквир за круто планирање и остваривање научне, просветне и културне политике, која се спроводила кроз појачано административно деловање и контролу апарата за агитацију и пропаганду.⁷ Институционализација у таквом контексту одвијала се на више паралелних начина и нивоа, а њене најзначајније полуге чинили су законодавство нове власти, успостављање и функционисање хијерархизованог односа установа, као и распоређивање „Partiji odanih ljudi na istaknute funkcije“, на којима су ти појединци деловали као „jedan od najvažnijih faktora u celokupnoj kulturnoj politici“ (Đimić 1988: 49). Успостављање тог поља у нестабилном и променљивом политичком контексту пролазило је, у начелу, кроз трофазну динамику. Закључно с 1948. годином оно се заснивало на совјетском искуству, укључујући и чвршћи надзор и појачану централизацију након сукоба с Информбироом (1947), да би, потом, сведочио о критичком одбацивању совјетске парадигме и трагању за новим теоријским и практичним решењима (1949–1950), а од 1951. године и о постепеном нестајању агитпроп апарата, либералнијем односу према стваралаштву и културном наслеђу и почецима виднијег окретања сарадњи и размени идеја са светом (Đimić 1988; Марковић 1996).

Промене које је захтевало ново државно руководство усмеравале су се и на институције с дугом и богатом историјом. Једна од најстаријих међу њима била је Српска краљевска академија, односно Српска академија наука, у којој Комунистичка партија Југославије (КПЈ) није успела да стекне „odlučujući uticaj“, али је сходно законској регулативи „bitno uticala na izbor akademika, a samim tim i na idejnu orijentaciju te kulturne i naučne ustanove“ (Đimić 1988: 61).⁸ Законом о

7 Успостављање агитпроп апарата завршено је крајем 1946. и почетком 1947. године (Đimić 1988: 76).

8 С обзиром на различите идејно-политичке струје и отпоре новом режиму у оквиру САН, група академика која је била усклађена с деловањем КПЈ поднела је оставке на Скупу целокупне Академије, 25. априла 1947. Групу су чинили председник САН Александар Белић и 11 чланова Институтске комисије Председништва САН, који су своје оставке образложили тиме да „међу члановима Академијиним нема слагања у схватању научних критерија и задатака њених“. Потом је Влада Народне Републике Србије (НРС) образовала Одбор у који су ушли Александар Белић, Милутин Миланковић, Вељко Петровић, Петар Колендић, Павле Савић и Паја Јовановић. Одбор је на седници 6. маја 1947. изабрао за председника А. Белића, а за секретара В. Петровића, и саслушао извештај А. Белића о томе „да је једна од првих Одборових дужности вођење текућих послова и скупљање грађе за стављање на расположење меродавним факторима при изради новог закона о Академији“. После доношења Закона о Српској академији наука од 30. јуна 1947, Влада НРС донела је решење којим „Српска академија наука преузима

Српској академији наука од 30. јуна 1947, Уредбом о одељењима САН и Уредбом о институтима САН од 5. маја 1948. године дошло је до промена како у организацији јединица целе установе тако и у проширивању и разгранавању научног рада у оквиру ње. Уместо дотадашње четири академије оформљено је шест одељења (природно-математичких наука, техничких наука, медицинских наука, литературе и језика, друштвених наука, ликовне и музичке уметности), а закључно с 1949. годином основана су чак 24 научна института. Утицаји совјетских узора приликом реорганизовања Академије и формирања института били су повезани с успостављањем совјетског привредног модела и реализацијом петогодишњег плана (1947–1952). Присуство тих утицаја било је очигледно и у организовању Југословенског академског савета, који је дуже од једне деценије радио као саветодавни орган Савезне владе, надзорни и руководећи орган академија наука и републичких академских савета, да би тек 1959. године изгубио статус из времена централизма, задржавши само координациону и улогу презентације у иностранству (Коголија 2017: 1162–63; 1167). И друга новоформирана тела, попут Комитета за научне установе, Универзитет и високе школе Владе НРС који је остваривао „опште руководство Академијом наука и њеним институтима“ (Уредаба 1947, чл. 4), имала су законски регулисане ингеренције над деловањем САН. То се испољавало током организовања структуралних јединица ове установе и успостављања међусобних, хијерархизованих односа унутар ње.

У околностима наведених промена формиран је и Музиколошки институт САН. Податак да је он основан 21. октобра 1947. године (Петровић 2010: 12) односи се, заправо, на један од датума формалне процедуре оснивања, која се одвијала у више корака. После одлука инстанци унутар САН, на крају је уследила сагласност већ поменутог Комитета за научне установе, Универзитет и високе школе Владе НРС, која је донета 12. децембра 1947. године. То је и тачан датум званичног оснивања ове институције.⁹

Припреме око формирања Института покренуте су 10. септембра исте године на заједничком скупу чланова Академије филозофских наука и Академије уметности. Тада је председник САН, Александар Белић (1876–1960), изнео одлуку Председништва да се 15. септембра, „у славу Вука, Даничића и Бранка Радићевића“, одржи заједничка свечана седница Академије филозофских наука и Академије уметности, којом би САН узела учешће у прослави јубилеја Вука Караџића. У дискусији о тачкама дневног реда најављене седнице утврђено је

све послове у онаквом саставу какав је имала на дан 25 априла 1947 год,⁹ стављајући ван снаге и решење Владе о формирању поменутог Одбора (Никић, Жујовић, Радојчић–Костић 2007: XL, 383).

9 Исти датум оснивања појављује се у пописима персоналног састава Института, који су објављивани у *Годишњацима САН*. Поменути акт Комитета П.О. бр. 298 од 12. децембра 1947. није сачуван у документацији Института, али се на њега позива и сам Коњовић у својој службеној преписци, као и у првом извештају о раду Института, објављеном у *Годишњаку САН* (АМИ САНУ, Архива МИ САН/САНУ, регистар 1. Петар Коњовић Председништву САН – нацрт дописа, 24. децембра 1947; „Извештај о раду Музиколошког института“. *Годишњак САН LV* (1948): 265).

БИЉАНА МИЛАНОВИЋ
ДОПРИНОС ПЕТРА КОЊОВИЋА КОНСТИТУИСАЊУ И ПОЧЕЦИМА РАДА
МУЗИКОЛОШКОГ ИНСТИТУТА САНУ

да Петар Коњовић говори о музичком фолклору и изнесе „потребу да се што пре оснује Музиколошки институт као Академијина установа која ће купити мелодије народних песама, критички издавати досадашње збирке таквих мелодија, купити мелодије инструменталне музике итд.“ Такође, „Институт би се бавио“, како је то у наставку записника прецизирано, „и издавањем дела старе музике наше, а тако исто и критичким издавањем класичних дела наших композитора“.¹⁰ На самом свечаном скупу у част поменутог јубилеја Коњовић је нагласио да он у свом предлогу о оснивању Музиколошког института има у виду начин на који се „отварају и други научни институти ради проучавања народног живота нашег и проширивања и продубљивања народне културе, којој је баш Вук одредио неизмењиво јасан правац.“¹¹ Потом је уследио и његов званичан предлог о оснивању и организацији Института, који је разматран на две узастопне седнице Институтске комисије Председништва САН. Предлог о оснивању усвојен је већ на првој од њих, 6. октобра, а по питању организације договорено је да се председник САН „још претходно посаветује са стручњацима ради прецизирања програма појединих предложених отсека (sic!) Института“.¹² На основу Белићевог извештаја „о разговору са предлагачем“, на седници од 21. октобра одлучено је „да се предложена организација у начелу прими“.¹³ Истом приликом Коњовић је предложен за управника Института, а од Комитета за научне установе, Универзитет и високе школе тражено је и одобрење једномесечног одсуства за самог управника, који би отпутовао у иностранство због „упознавања организације рада сличних установа на страни.“¹⁴

Коњовић се по оснивању Музиколошког института обратио Председништву САН молбом да изради потребне печате, како би могао „започети са устројством службе“, али и да обезбеди неопходне услове за реализацију предвиђеног службеног одсуства. Путовање у Праг, Брно, Братиславу, Беч, Будимпешту и Букурешт остварио је од 28. јануара до 28. фебруара 1948. године, с идејом да искуство стечено у упознавању рада релевантних истраживачких институција у средњоевропским градовима одмах по повратку примени при осмишљавању персоналног састава и детаљног плана рада новоформиране институције.¹⁴ Потом је боравио и у Загребу и Љубљани (3–8. април) „ради контакта са тамошњим

10 „Конференција Академије филозофских наука и Академије уметности“. *Годишњак САН LIV* (1947): 94–96.

11 АМИ САНУ, Архива МИ САН/САНУ, регистар 1, „Предлог свечаном скупу Српске академије“ (Коњовићев предлог о оснивању Музиколошког института САН, рукопис), недатирано.

12 „Седнице Институтске комисије Председништва Српске академије наука. – VI седница 6. октобра 1947. год.“ (тачка 7). *Годишњак САН LIV* (1947): 277.

13 „Седнице Институтске комисије Председништва Српске академије наука. – VII седница 21. октобра 1947. год.“ (тачка 5). *Годишњак САН LIV* (1947): 281–282.

14 АМИ САНУ, Архива МИ САН/САНУ, регистар 1. Петар Коњовић Председништву САН (нацрт дописа), 24. децембра 1947; „Извештај о раду Музиколошког института“ *Годишњак САН LV* (1948): 265.

музичким и научним радницима, специјално с онима који се баве бележењем и проучавањем музичког фолклора“ (исто, 266). За оснивање и организациони план Института посебно су се интересовали Золтан Кодаљ [Zoltán Kodály (1882–1967)] и Емил Аксман [Emil Axman (1887–1949)], управник Музичког архива Националног музеја у Прагу (уп. Мосусова 2010: 154–155), мада детаљи о томе за сада нису познати. У Загреб и Љубљану Коњовић ће, међутим, и касније одлазити и размењивати идеје и литературу с управницима сродних институција, Франце Маролтом (1891–1951), оснивачем и управником Фолклорног института у Љубљани и Винком Жганцем (1890–1976), оснивачем и управником Института за народну умјетност, касније и председником (1952–1957) Међународног савета за музички фолклор [International Folk Music Council].

При испуњавању почетних, формалних корака у оснивању Музиколошког института Коњовић је имао очигледну подршку Александра Белића, који му је, по свој прилици, помогао и око добијања једномесечног путовања у иностранство. Излазак из земље у датом тренутку представљао је велику привилегију, тим пре што је Коњовићев итинерер обухватао и Запад, и што у дискурсима новопостављеног управника Института није било ни помена о угледању на совјетска искуства.¹⁵ Међутим, позивање на проучавање „народног живота“ и „народне културе“ у наведеним јавним нарацијама Белића и Коњовића сасвим се уклапало у идеје о новом, социјалистичком човеку и народној демократији, иако је оно у сучају Института било удаљено од комунистичке доктрине, ослањајући се на вредносне каноне предратне, национално оријентисане буржоаске културе.

О томе је најбоље сведочио Коњовићев предлог о оснивању Института прочитан на поменутом свечаном скупу.¹⁶ У предлогу су планиране активности представљене у оквиру пет група задатака, у којима су доминирале активности сабирања извора, док је традиционална, односно фолклорна музика, чинила главну преокупацију рада. Тако је прва група предвиђених задатака обухватала прикупљање и откуп постојећих, рукописних и штампаних збирки из пера домаћих и иностраних музичара и записивача, као и организовање теренског записивања „музичког фолклора у свим нашим, у првом реду, српским крајевима“, како је истицао Коњовић, имајући у виду употребу савремених средстава за снимање звука, те бележење варијанти „песама које се у народу певају, игара, играчких и кореографских елемената и мотива“. За потребе тог рада планирао је израду упутстава, а у организовању круга „сарадника на сакупљачкој мелографској акцији“ рачунао је на ангажовање даровитијих учитеља и учитељица, „који би у

15 До 1948. године Југославија се доживљавала као „део братског мозаика на челу са Совјетским Савезом“, а Исток, пре свега Совјетски Савез, сматран је местом напретка на свим пољима. Што се пак самих путовања тиче, ситуација је почела да се мења од 1950. године. Тада су, између осталог, уведене и стипендије за студирање у различитим земљама, које су постале важан излаз у свет за младе интелектуалце (Марковић 1996: 73, 112, 246).

16 АМИ САНУ, Архива МИ САН/САНУ, регистар 1, „Предлог свечаном скупу Српске академије“ (Коњовићев предлог о оснивању Музиколошког института САН, рукопис), недатирано.

првој фази, фази прибирања“ помагали у „проналажењу добрих певача и зналаца чистог народног певања“ (исто).

Друга група задатака односила се на „сређивање, класификовање и одабирање“, а на крају и редакцију прикупљеног материјала, с идејом да САН „приступи репрезентативном издању целокупног нашег народног музичког фолклора“, чиме би се обезбедила његова приступачност „свим другим славенским и осталим културним народима“. Коњовић је рачунао и на доступност записа „нашим композиторима као богат избор и основу за уметничку обраду“, као и „широким слојевима“ који имају потребу „да упознају стваралачке особине свога народа“.

Трећа врста задатака обухватала је сакупљање штампаних и рукописних примера музичких дела и свих других докумената који сведоче „о историјском развијању уметничке музике код нас“. Коњовић је међу те активности уврстио и објављивање свега „онога што представља уметничку вредност, у стручној и квалитетној редакцији“, а с циљем да се створи „слика о развоју наше уметничке музике, нарочито у паралели са развојем музичке културе код других славенских народа“. Као посебан приоритет видео је потребу „дефинитивне редакције и издања дела тројице оснивача српске музике, Корнелија, Мокрањца и Маринковића, као и један критички захват у њихово стварање и утврђивање утицаја на даљи развој наше тонске уметности“. Рачунао је и на издања композиција млађих, па и савремених домаћих стваралаца, и то оних остварења која имају „репрезентативан значај по нашу културу уопште“, а произлазе „из основа народног музичког стваралачког духа нашег и заслужују да се учине приступачнима свем културном свету, а у првом реду славенским народима“ (исто).

Засебну тематску сферу представљало је „прикупљање, испитивање, редиговање и објављивање оних интересантних типова народне црквене музике – без обзира да ли православне, католичке или друге које вероисповести“ (исто), у којима је утврђивање међусобног утицаја између црквене и фолклорне музике видео као најважнији истраживачки задатак.

У последњу, пету групу Коњовић је уврстио „организовање општег научног музиколошког рада, који ће чвршће повезивати наша музиколошка истраживања и настојања с музиколозима, у првом реду, славенских народа“. Сматрао је да се ангажовањем Академије наука могу успоставити такве упоредне студије, а као један од првих послова у том контексту предвиђао је издање музичког лексикона „с обиром на музички фолклор нашег и других славенских народа“ (исто).

У предлогу је фаворизован музички фолклор, као оснивачи српске музике издвојени су Корнелије Станковић (1831–1865), Стеван Мокрањцац (1856–1914) и Јосиф Маринковић (1851–1831), а мисао о српској националној музици подразумевала је шири југословенски контекст и словенску узајамност. Аспекти који су доминирали у процесима канонизације српске музике још од почетка XX века, а којима је на различите начине доприносио и сам Коњовић (Милановић 2018), били су, дакле, полазиште с којег је требало градити и основе музичке науке као националне дисциплине, те реинтерпретирати канон и у новом времену. При томе, Коњовићев предлог указивао је и на релације с претходним истраживачким линијама, које су и саме биле уграђене у динамику канонизације.

Из њега се може ишчитати повезаност с поменутиим сакупљачким, биографским и библиографским активностима и првим покушајима институционализације, укључујући и аспекте нешто ранијег Мокрањчевог рада у оквиру Етнографског одбора СКА (Младеновић 1971; Милановић 2014, 2018).

Иако већ почетак деловања Института доноси проширивање и разграновање предвиђених задатака, од Коњовићевих полазишта неће се много одступити, а испитивања традиционалне музике, старије и новије уметничке музике и опште музичке проблематике усмериће се ка формирању институтских одсека. По питању терминологије Коњовић у предлогу оснивања Института користи синтагме „музички фолклор“ и „историјски развој уметничке музике“, јасно раздваја ове области, али их подводи под назив музикологије, као јединствене дисциплине. Ова пракса задржаће се и у потоњим годинама функционисања институције, а називи етномузикологија и етнокореологија касније ће ући у употребу.¹⁷

ПРОБЛЕМИ КОНСТИТУИСАЊА ИНСТИТУТА И БОРБА ЗА ЛЕГИТИМИТЕТ СТРУКЕ

По завршетку формалних корака у оснивању Музиколошког института уследио је застој, јер су сарадници званично постављени тек у децембру 1948. године. Постојали су проблеми које је требало решити унутар САН, попут убрзавања рада Институтске комисије и додељивања радних просторија и опреме, а посебну инерцију стварало је чекање на одлуке Комитета о члановима Научног савета и персоналном саставу Института. Дубљи узроци ових проблема били су сложени. За разлику од струка које су у одговарајућим академијама, односно одељењима поседовале одређену професионалну снагу у констелацијама моћи у оквиру САН, па самим тим и упориште за стварање институтске структуре и програмске политике, настајуће научне дисциплине у области музике налазиле су се у незавидној позицији. Оне су делиле проблеме Одељења ликовне и музичке уметности, које је у тренутку поменутог застоја било у формирању.¹⁸

17 Ово је свакако у складу са ширим контекстом. Треба имати у виду да је сам назив „етномузикологија“, који је холандски истраживач Јап Кунст [Jaap Kunst] први пут употребио 1950. године, био у то време сасвим нов и да се усваја током раних педесетих, када етномузикологија почиње да декларише дисциплинску независност у односу на музикологију, антропологију и друге дисциплине, остајући и даље институционално етаблирана претежно на универзитетским одсецима за музику и антропологију, у етнографским музејима и истраживачким институтима националних академија наука (Pegg 2001).

18 Последњи скуп Академије уметности одржан је 10. марта, а први скуп Одељења ликовне и музичке уметности тек 15. маја 1948. године. АСАНУ, Записник II скупа Академије уметности САН, 10. марта 1948; Записник I скупа ОЛМУ САН, 15. маја 1948.

Само Одељење чинило је најмању структуралну формацију међу јединицама САН и једину која је окупљала уметнике. Оно је тиме носило својеврстан терет специфичности и сталне борбе за статус својих дисциплина као мањинских и маргинализованих у односу на струке других одељења (Милановић 2016). Музика је имала најнезавиднији положај. Вишедеценијско одсуство музичара у чланству Академије прекинута је управо избором Петра Коњовића.¹⁹ С обзиром на прописе, међутим, проблем њихове малобројности могао се решавати поступно, па се током посматраног периода у Одељењу формирао најужи нуклеус музичара, тачније композитора које су поред Коњовића чинили Стеван Христић (1885–1958), Михаило Вукдраговић (1900–1986) и Станојло Рајичић (1910–2000).²⁰ Истовремено, Одељење је од почетка рада обухватало четири, а до краја Коњовићевих секретарских мандата бројало је укупно пет представника ликовне уметности.²¹ Међутим, за допринос етаблирању уметничких дисциплина у реорганизацији САН посебан значај имали су истакнути појединци из врха интелектуалне елите, који су истовремено деловали у радном саставу уметничког и других одељења САН. То су од почетка били Вељко Петровић (1884–1967) и Иво Андрић (1892–1975), редовни чланови Одељења литературе и језика, а од 1949. године, на Коњовићеву молбу Председништву, и дописни члан Исидора Секулић (1877–1958), кооптирана из истог Одељења, као и академици из сфере природних наука, дугогодишњи флаутисти Иван Ђаја (1884–1957) и Синиша Станковић (1892–1974).²² Иако је међу њима било појединаца веома блиских владајућем режиму, реч је о представницима елите некадашњег, предратног грађанског света, који су и у институционалној номенклатури новог система заузимали високе позиције. На тој линији били су блиски Петру Коњовићу.

Као секретар, Коњовић је имао пуну подршку Одељења у захтевима за побољшање односа према уметности и уметницима и за њихово видљивије присуство у САН, који су временом, у мањој или већој мери уважавани (Милановић 2016). Реакције Одељења подразумевале су и критику неодгова-

19 Претходни члан, Стеван Стојановић Мокрањац био је изабран за дописника Српске краљевске академије 3. фебруара 1906, дакле чак 40 година пре Коњовића. О избору и деловању осталих музичара, редовних, дописних, почасних и иностраних чланова Академије, те њиховом малом броју и слабијем статусу у односу на ликовне уметнике: Милановић 2016.

20 Христић је дописни члан од 1948, редовни од 1950; Вукдраговић дописни од 1950, редовни од 1961, Рајичић дописни од 1950, редовни од 1958. године (исто).

21 Уз сликаре Пају Јовановића (1859–1957) и Уроша Предића (1857–1953) и вајаре Ђорђа Јовановића (1861–1953) и Тому Росандића (1878–1958), сликари Мило Милуновић (1897–1967) и Ђорђе Андрејевић Кун (1904–1964) и вајар Сретен Стојановић (1898–1960) постали су дописни чланови 1950. године (Межински-Миловановић 2011), с тим што су два стара члана, Предић и Јовановић, убрзо преминула.

22 АСАНУ, Записници III скупа ОЛМУ, 2. априла 1949; IV скупа ОЛМУ, 29. априла 1949. Станковић и Ђаја били су чланови Одељења природно-математичких наука, а Ђаја и медицинских наука. У међуратном Београду активно су музицирали у ансамблу *Collegium musicum*.

рајућих прописа, који су се односили на регулисање научног, а искључивање уметничког рада академика.²³ Стога је увођење научних активности у делокруг Одељења, предвиђених радом Музиколошког института, ишло у прилог својеврсној консолидацији ове уметничке јединице с контекстом доминантног, научно усмереног устројства целе Академије.

Сам Коњовић је још током формирања Одељења ликовне и музичке уметности имао јасне идеје о паралелном успостављању стваралачког и научноистраживачког рада у сфери уметничке продукције под окриљем САН. Већ на првом Скупу Одељења, 15. маја 1948. године, известио је чланове о фазама оснивања Музиколошког института, представивши и предлог нацрта за оснивање Института за ликовну уметност.²⁴ Током боравка у Загребу и Љубљани посебно га је интересовало стање у области сакупљања музичког фолклора, као и начини и критеријуми оцењивања и откупа фолклорних збирки. Сматрао је да су то прва питања од којих треба поћи у конципирању задатака Музиколошког института.²⁵ Међутим, у Загребу је у својству секретара Одељења посетио и Штро-смајерову галерију ЈАЗУ, верујући да ће његов увид у рад те институције дати импулса конкретизовању паралелних програмских смерница у осмишљавању рада Одељења с његова два научна института. Коњовићеви ставови о потреби за систематским сакупљањем и проучавањем старије и новије српске музике били су, начелно, слични и по питању приступа ликовној уметности.²⁶ Међутим, одлука Председништва о подели свих научних института гласила је да Одељење ликовне и музичке уметности „има за сада само Музиколошки институт“.²⁷ Даљу разраду предлога за оснивање још једног, ликовног института, наставио је Вељко Петровић, али ова иницијатива, упркос залагањима чланова Одељења, није наишла на подршку Председништва. У међувремену се појавио и предлог о оснивању Галерије САН, па су напори временом преусмерени у том правцу, а од залагања за формирање поменутог института одустало се.²⁸

23 У томе се није увек успевало. На пример, у случају Акта Југословенског академског савета о слању делегата на научне конгресе и студијске боравке, чланови Одељења захтевали су интервенцију Председништва, које је Савету требало да објасни значај иностраних путовања уметника (Милановић 2016). Упорни и безуспешни били су покушаји Одељења да се на основу поменутог Акта Коњовићу издајствује дужи, двомесечни боравак у иностранству, који није могао да се обезбеди уобичајеним путем у оквиру САН (АСАНУ, Записник I скупа ОЛМУ, 25. фебруара 1952, тачка 3).

24 АСАНУ, Записник I скупа ОЛМУ, 15. маја 1948, тачке 2 и 3.

25 АМИ САНУ, Документација МИ САН/САНУ, регистар 1. Управник МИ САНУ Петар Коњовић Управнику послера САН, 19. марта 1948; Управник МИ САНУ Петар Коњовић Председништву САН, 26. марта 1948.

26 АСАНУ, Записник I скупа ОЛМУ, 15. маја 1948, тачка 3.

27 АСАНУ, Записник II скупа ОЛМУ, 12. јуна 1948, тачка 4.

28 Видети нпр. АСАНУ, Записници II скупа ОЛМУ, 25. марта 1950; IV скупа ОЛМУ, 5. јуна 1950,

БИЉАНА МИЛАНОВИЋ
ДОПРИНОС ПЕТРА КОЊОВИЋА КОНСТИТУИСАЊУ И ПОЧЕЦИМА РАДА
МУЗИКОЛОШКОГ ИНСТИТУТА САНУ

Делатност Одељења на музичком пољу обухватала је Коњовићеве планове о раду Музиколошког института, с тим што је Одељење додатно требало да се посвети објављивању партитура, пре свега издањима старије музике почев од дела Корнелија Станковића и Стевана Мокрањца, а потом и савременог стваралаштва (Милановић 2016). Планови о чврстој повезаности деловања Института и Одељења представљали су, с једне стране, део Коњовићевих настојања да у оквиру САН обезбеди што бољу подршку уметничком и научном раду у области музике. С друге стране, они су се у организационо-материјалном смислу подразумевали, сходно законским прописима. Током Коњовићевог управљања Институт је био финансиран из буџетских партија САН и није поседовао сопствени рачун, већ је целокупно пословање обављао преко финансијске службе САН.

Иако је Музиколошки институт већ од прве седнице Одељења чинио сталну тему о којој се дискутовало, подршка коју је он добијао међу академицима и дописним члановима није била довољна на самом почетку, када се и Одељење налазило у фази конституисања. Стога се Коњовић по формалном оснивању Института трудио да делује и самостално, покушавајући да превазиђе бројне препреке и да убрза почетак рада те институције.

Једна од препрека везивала се за чекање на доделу институтских просторија. Коњовић у пројектовању смештајних потреба Музиколошког института приступа с максималистичких позиција, вероватно подстакнут утисцима из институција које је посетио током боравка у иностранству. Тако у службеном допису САН наводи да је за пет институтских одељења по реконструкцији зграде САН потребно „осигурати пет видних просторија, рачунајући с тим да се у једну од њих има да сместе картотеке и дискотеке за музички фолклор“, а у другу „библиотека Музиколошког института“. Додаје и да је „потребна једна мања дворана за звучна снимања, смештање клавира и осталих инструмената као и једног електро-радио апарата, с тим да се у тој већој просторији или мањој дворани могу држати и научно-музичка предавања као и мали концерти-прикази нарочитих дела из класике или новије музике камерног карактера.“²⁹ Могућности јавног представљања научног рада и организовање концерата сасвим изостају по коначном добијању скромног и скученог простора намењеног Институту, мада су чиниле претечу праксе која је деценијама касније успостављена у виду Музичких вечери Галерије САН.³⁰

тачке 3 и 4 и V скупа ОЛМУ, 21. јула 1950, тачка 3. Галерија САНУ започела је рад тек октобра 1968, али је предлог Томе Росандића о њеном оснивању (1950) представљао почетак у постављању концепта формирања уметничке збирке САНУ (Межински-Миловановић 2011: 35).

29 АМИ САНУ, Архива МИ САН/САНУ, регистар 1. Управник МИ САН Петар Коњовић Управнику послова Српске академије наука, 19. марта 1948.

30 Просторије додељене у јуну 1948. биле су испод Коњовићевих очекивања. То су биле „две, односно три просторије ако се велики ходник пред улазом прегради“, а при томе било је неопходно хитно обезбедити основни канцеларијски намештај (АМИ САНУ, Архива МИ САН/САНУ, регистар 1. Управник МИ САН Петар Коњовић Председништву САН, 23. јуна 1948).

У међувремену, не чекајући решење о додели просторија, Коњовић у договору с Председником САН предузима кораке око образовања Научног савета, рачунајући највише на колеге с Музичке академије, за коју је и сам био професионално везан.³¹ Будући да његов предлог чланова Научног савета брзо одобрава Институтска комисија САН, Коњовић промптно организује и прву седницу овог тела, које поред дописника Христића чине Предраг Милошевић (1904–1988), Марко Тајчевић (1900–1984), Петар Бингулац (1897–1990) и Бранко Драгутиновић (1903–1971). Већ с другог састанака Научног савета стиже и препорука за постављање првих сарадника – Косте Манојловића за хонорарног стручног сарадника, Стане Ђурић-Клајн и Павла Стефановића (1901–1985) за старије асистенте и Мирке Павловић (1924) за приправника, уз предлог да се што пре обезбеде средства за постављање лаборанта, два кописте, дактилографа, двоје стипендиста и административног службеника.³² Одлично промишљен избор троје сарадника који би у Музиколошком институту створили нуклеус истраживања из области музичког фолклора (Манојловић), историјске (Ђурић-Клајнова) и систематске музикологије и музичке естетике (Стефановић) није био препознат, нити су од Комитета стизали одговори у вези с одобрењем чланова Савета и постављањем сарадника.

Коњовић у јуну предлаже проширење Научног савета, у који би ушли и Оскар Данон (1913–2009), Михаило Вукдраговић и Миленко Живковић (1901–1964), додајући и делимично измењен предлог сарадника Института, који уз Косту Манојловића и Стану Ђурић-Клајн овога пута укључује још само Миодрага Васиљевића (1903–1963), као хонорарног сарадника.³³ Део напора око дотадашњих предлога добија формалну важност тек 20. септембра, када Комитет потврђује Христића, Данона, Вукдраговића, Живковића, Милошевића и Драгу-

31 Подаци о Коњовићевом деловању на Музичкој академији разликују се у зависности од извора. У најобимнијој биографској и библиографској студији о Коњовићу стоји: функцију ректора обављао је 1939–1943. и 1945–1947, био је редовни професор до пензионисања (1939–1950); на позоришном одсеку предавао је дикцију, режију и историју позоришта, а на одсеку за композицију науку о фолклору и говорну пластику текста (Томашевић 2011). У публикацији посвећеној 80. годишњици рада Музичке академије / Факултета музичке уметности наведено је следеће: ректор 1939/40–1941/42. и 1944/45–1946/47; редовни професор за дикцију у вокалном ставу, инструментацију, дириговање и историју позоришта, 1939–1951 (Перковић 2017: 270; 285). Иако би у будућим истраживањима требало утврдити тачност података, тренутно је важно нагласити да је Коњовићево руковођење Институтом и Одељењем текло паралелно с његовим радом на Академији, а наставило се и по његовом пензионисању.

32 АМИ САНУ, Архива МИ САН/САНУ, регистар 1. Управник послова САН управнику МИ САН, 6. април 1948; Петар Коњовић Стевану Христићу, Предрагу Милошевићу, Марку Тајчевићу, Петру Бингулцу, Бранку Драгутиновићу, 12. априла 1948; Управник МИ САН Петар Коњовић Институтској комисији САН, 14. априла 1948; 1. јуна 1948.

33 АМИ САНУ, Архива МИ САН/САНУ, регистар 1. Управник МИ САН Петар Коњовић Институтској комисији САН, 1. јуна 1948.

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тиновића за чланове Научног савета.³⁴ По питању сарадника уследиће, међутим, још једна варијанта препоруке. Уз већ предлагане кандидате – Манојловића, Ђурић-Клајнову и Павловићеву – списак обухватита и др Богдана Миланковића (1885–1966) из Сарајева, као сталног научног сарадника.³⁵ Сагласност Комитета стиже тек 1. децембра, када се коначно одобрава постављање само троје сарадника Музиколошког института – Стане Ђурић-Клајн као сталног и Косте Манојловића и Богдана Миланковића, као хонорарних сарадника.³⁶

Кратак извод из бројних административних дописа које је Коњовић упорно слао, те молби и чекања на одлуке, довољно је илустративан да укаже на тежину и одговорност његовог положаја и време и стрпљење које је морао да уложи при неизбежном укључивању у инертне процедуре бирократског апарата. При томе, као једино лице формално основаног Института он је све административне послове углавном обављао сам, да би у другој половини године добио само повремену административну помоћ Председништва.³⁷ Карактеристично је, међутим, да су седнице Начног савета одржаване већ од марта 1948, иако је састав овог тела задуго био одобрен само у оквиру САН, те касније и редукован, сходно коначној одлуци Комитета. На седницама се расправљало о бројним питањима организационе, али и стручне природе. Тако је Институт у извесном смислу и радио, јер су предузимани и неки конкретни кораци којима ће се бавити касније ангажовани сарадници. На пример, на седници одржаној 25. априла одлучено је да се између београдске радио-

34 АМИ САНУ, Архива МИ САН/САНУ, регистар 1, Управник послова САН Ђорђе Крахтис управнику МИ САН, 29. септембра 1948. Две године касније у састав Научног савета ући ће и Тајчевић, као и Бингулац и Васиљевић, који су истовремено били хонорарни сарадници Института, док ће из Савета отићи Оскар Данон.

35 Предлог Научног већа од 9. октобра једногласно је одобрен на III скупу Одељења. АСАНУ, Записник III скупа ОЛМУ, 11. октобра 1948.

36 АМИ САНУ, Архива МИ САН/САНУ, регистар 1. Управник послова САН Ђорђе Крахтис Музиколошком институту САН, 4. децембра 1948. Поводом постављања Стане Ђурић-Клајн учињена је грешка, те се Коњовић тим поводом обратио САН. Он истиче да се С. Ђурић-Клајн није јавила на стању дужност, јер још увек није разрешена дужности у Министарству просвете, односно у Музичкој академији где је на раду. Како је, међутим, њен положај референта укинут, то је потребно да се именована што пре разреши дужности у Министарству и упуту на нову дужност у Музиколошки институт САН. Управник моли да САН пожурни код Министарства разрешење ове дужности и њено упућивање у Институт. Уједно упозорава да је приликом постављања учињена грешка, те је именована постављена за асистента-приправника, иако је предложена за старијег асистента, што одговара и њеном претходном положају и плати. Стога је потребно да управа САН замоли исправку наведеног решења Комитета. После Коњовићевог дописа грешка је исправљена, те је Стана Ђурић-Клајн постала асистент почев од 1. марта, с платом од 4.700 дин (АМИ САНУ, Архива МИ САН/САНУ, регистар 5. Управник МИ САН Петар Коњовић Српској академији наука, 24. јануара 1949; Решење САН бр. 322, 10. марта 1949).

37 Видети нпр. МИ САНУ, регистар 1. Управник МИ САН Петар Коњовић Председништву МИ САН (Персонално одељење), 10. августа 1948.

станице и Института координира рад око сакупљања музичког фолклора и да се за Институт копирају све народне мелодије које радио поседује. Упућен је и позив сакупљачима и власницима музичких збирки народних мелодија да Институту своје збирке понуде на откуп. На тај позив одазвали су се Владо Милошевић (1901–1990) из Бањалуке и Марко Тајчевић, па су материјали који су од њих преузети чекали преписивање. Такође, на седници од 10. маја прецизирани су задаци до краја године: 1. спремање библиографије о музичком фолклору; 2. организовање мелографске карте НР Србије; 3. откупљивање збирки записа народних мелодија; 4. копирање збирке фолклора радио-станице; 5. организовање сакупљања музичког фолклора у току лета; 6. прикупљање грађе за монографију о Станковићу, Мокрањцу и Маринковићу. Да ови планови нису у потпуности одлагани услед чекања на одлуке о постављању сарадника сведочи и седница од 23. октобра, на којој су пријављена три рада који ће Савету бити поднета на дискусију: рад управника о Милоју Милојевићу и радови Миленка Живковића „Питање тоналитета у нашем музичком фолклору“ и Бранка Драгутиновића „Досадашњи резултати на сакупљању и начину проучавања музичког фолклора“.³⁸

НАУЧНОИСТРАЖИВАЧКА ПОЛИТИКА И РЕЗУЛТАТИ РАДА МУЗИКОЛОШКОГ ИНСТИТУТА САН ПОД УПРАВОМ ПЕТРА КОЊОВИЋА

Музиколошки институт радио је током првих година у неадекватним условима, испрва без писаће машине, клавира, радио-апарата, грамофона и уређаја за снимање звука. Део ових средства за рад постепено је набављан, а привремене просторије коначно су замењене већим и бољим радним простором 1951. године.³⁹ Иако у малобројном и променљивом саставу, који је једно време обухватао и стипендисте, први сарадници Музиколошког института САН трасирали су различите аспекте истраживачког и научног рада (Табела 1).⁴⁰

Рад је био подељен на одсеке, али они нису били стриктно одвојени, а поједини сарадници деловали су на разнородним пословима. Док су архивско-историјски и одсек за фолклор представљали основу рада, одсеци за савремену музичку уметност и општу музикологију били су мањег обима. У извештајима су се њихови називи наводили у различитим варијантама. План одсека за савремену музику испрва је обухватао и музичку педагогију, док је одсек за општу

38 „Извештај о раду Музиколошког института“. *Годишњак САН LV* (1948): 267.

39 АСАНУ, Извештај Музиколошког института за 1951. годину, приложен Извештају ОЛМУ за год. 1951.

40 У Табели 1 пописани су сви стални, хонорарни сарадници, стипендисти, као и ненаучно особље које се појављује у извештајима о раду у периоду 1949–1954. У документацији се наводе и поједини архивисти, историчари, преписивачи нота, који су повремено били ангажовани на појединим пословима. Они нису наведени у табели, будући да нису чинили персонални састав Института.

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музикологију укључивао и библиотеку. На почетку је постојао и административно-организациони одсек, који је био важан због изграђивања унутрашње структуре Института.⁴¹ Касније се тежило оснивању нотографске лабораторије као новог, засебног одсека, „како би се омогућило академицима композиторима и Музиколошком институту објављивање дела која садрже нотни текст“.⁴² Упркос усвајању овог предлога на нивоу Председништва САН, оснивање лабораторије није омогућено, те су и даље били ангажовани поједини нотографи, који су радили преписе нотних материјала у Одељењу и Институту.⁴³

О раду Института Коњовић је детаљно извештавао чланове Одељења ликовне и музичке уметности. На скуповима Одељења с пажњом су праћене активности, читане су рецензије које су претходно одобраване на састанцима Научног већа, примани су предлози о откупу грађе, набавци књига, о хонорарима за научни рад, а одлуке по овим тачкама прослеђиване су Председништву. Одељење је доносило потребне закључке и одобрења у вези с радом Института, дајући му пуну подршку (Милановић 2016). Чланови Одељења износили су и сугестије по одређеним питањима, али је Коњовић, сходно свом очигледном ауторитету у овој групацији академика, имао могућност да одбаци предлоге које је сматрао неодговарајућим. На пример, мишљење Синише Станковића да би изучавање музичког фолклора требало да буде тежиште рада није могло проћи с обзиром на Коњовићеву опаску да Институт обухвата и друге одсеке, па тако и друге задатке.⁴⁴ Ни сугестија Иве Андрића да би Институт могао да се посвети проблематици „наше масовне песме“, којом се баве и Савез књижевника и Удружење композитора, није нашла примену међу програмским задацима, иако је Коњовић навео да ће то питање изнети пред Музиколошки институт.⁴⁵ У вези с конкретним циљевима, поднетим рецензијама и разним предлозима који су стизали из Института није било спорења. Скоро исто важило је и за предлоге нових сарадника, који су пре даље процедуре у САН подношени Одељењу. Само један од њих, који се односио на ангажовање Павла Стефановића као сталног научног сарадника, није био прихваћен у Одељењу.⁴⁶ Тако,

41 АМИ САНУ, Документација МИ САН/САНУ, регистар 3. Управник МИ САН Петар Коњовић Српској академији наука (План рада МИ САН за 1949. годину), 15. фебруара 1949.

42 АСАНУ, Записник III скупа ОЛМУ, 26. априла 1951, тачка 2.

43 АСАНУ, Записници IV скупа ОЛМУ, 31. маја 1951. и VIII скупа ОЛМУ, 27. децембра 1951.

44 АСАНУ, Записник VIII скупа ОЛМУ, 27. новембра 1950, тачка 36.

45 АСАНУ, Записник III скупа ОЛМУ, 2. априла 1949, тачка 4.

46 На скупу у децембру 1949. Христић је поводом ангажовања Стефановића имао одвојено мишљење, па је одложено доношење одлуке. Мишљење је у марту 1950. године образложио тврђом о недостатку стручности кандидата: „Павле Стефановић нема услова за научног сарадника Музиколошког института, јер не може да прави музичку анализу дела, будући да је без стручне спреме.“ Тим поводом уследила је дужа дискусија у којој су учествовали С. Станковић, В. Петровић, П. Коњовић, Т. Росандић и И. Ђаја. Одлучено је да се од Научног савета „затражи образложење стручне спреме и досадашњих радова Павла Стефановића, па тек онда да се донесе

заправо, ни Коњовићев првобитни предлог сарадника, поднет још у априлу 1948. године, није био у потпуности остварен.

Коњовићев избор сарадника у осмишљавању научне политике Института подразумевао је критеријуме стручности, интелектуалне ширине, практичног искуства и мотивације за научни рад. Свестан чињенице да се кроз ангажовање изабраних појединаца обликују почетни дисциплинарни оквири, у једном од образложења предложених кандидата изнео је следеће:

Музикологија је код нас сасвим млада наука. Организујући њу, сасвим из почетка, мора се пре свега мислити на збирање кадра из круга стручних људи: у првом реду оних који не само формалним квалификацијама него и практичним досадашњим радом, – скоро искључиво педагошким, – побуђују уверење и дају доказ да би, ако се усредсреде на проучавање и решавање извесних одређених задатака из области музикологије којој је, у свој њеној целини домен и радни круг Музиколошки институт, постигли научни успех и научну репутацију.⁴⁷

Из разматране документације посредно се може уочити Коњовићева разочараност недовољним интересовањем за научна истраживања у музичким круговима Београда, али не и његов повремени песимизам, па чак и помисао на одустајање од борбе за нову институцију. О томе, као и о личној мотивацији и одговорности према институтском подмлатку, Коњовић је писао словеначком музикологу Драготину Цветку (1911–1993), кога је у оквиру рада Института и Одељења ангажовао за писање монографије о Даворину Јенку:

[...] od kako sam osnavao Muzikološki institut, u ove dve i po godine, doživeo sam mnogo neuspeha, zavlacenja i nerazumevanja, da sam se nekoliko puta ozbiljno bio zamislio nad pitanjem da li da sve to ostavim i pustim 'niz vodu' i, čak, ponekad, i da predložim likvidaciju same te institucije. Uprkos tome, što je osnova i organizacioni plan Instituta bio, od početka, takav da je izazvao živo interesovanje i u inostranstvu (Kodalj u Budimpešti, pok. dr. Arman /sic!/ u Pragu, i dr.), ja ovde osim izvrsnog ali na žalost brzo izgubljenog Koste Manojlovića, i, nešto kasnije, Stane Klajn, nisam ni kod jednog čoveka iz Muzičke akademije, a i oko nje, mogao da razbudim stvarni interes za tolika, i razno-

одлука.“ (АСАНУ, Записници IX скупа ОЛМУ, 21. децембра 1949, тачка 4 и II скупа ОЛМУ, 25. марта, 1950, тачка 2). У документацији нема потврде да је уследио наставак случаја, али је вредно пажње једно Стефановићево писмо упућено Коњовићу, које наводи на међусобно разумевање по питању стручних и методолошких ставова између ова два међусобно различита, а у идеолошком погледу и удаљена интелектуалца (АМИ САНУ, Документација МИ САН/САНУ, регистар 5. Pavle Stefanović, komentator i redaktor programa Radio-Beograda Petru Konjoviću, 15. decembra 1949).

47 АМИ САНУ, Документација МИ САН/САНУ, регистар 5, Управник МИ САН Петар Коњовић Председништву САН, 12. јануара 1950.

vrсна i važna pitanja. Da ipak potisnem svoju skepsu i, ponekad, svoj pesimizam, doprineli ste Vi, dragi doktore. Zato sam i našao način i predložio put da Vas približim svom Institutu i poslovima, koji me interesuju i koje radim. Naravno, meni bi prvenstveno trebali saradnici koje bih imao stalno ovde, u Institutu. Tu, međutim, vidim da mi je sva nada u današnjim studentima i podmlatku: za njih, a radi same stvari, smatram da moram i da treba da nastavim i da produžim putem kojim sam pošao, uprkos svemu negativnom.⁴⁸

Деловање Коњовића у формирању и вођењу Института било је, с једне стране, омеђено невеликим могућностима избора научног персонала у тадашњој музичкој средини Београда, а с друге, подстакнуто високим критеријумима којима се руководио, потребом да се што пре умрежи с појединцима и сродним установама у Југославији и иностранству, те да и самим сарадницима обезбеди могућност иностраног усавршавања и представљања. Желео је, на пример, да као сталног сарадника Института ангажује музиколога др Драгана Пламенца (1895–1983), рођеног Загрепчанина који је већ био започео своју професионалну каријеру у САД, па се тим поводом у договору с председником САН обратио амбасадору ФНРЈ у Вашингтону.⁴⁹ Иако до ангажовања није дошло, Пламенац је у више наврата гостовао у Београду, а Институт је био организатор његових предавања о

48 Цитат из писма објављеног у књизи Катарине Бедине, *Povprečen nisem hotel biti. Korespondenca med akademikoma Dragotinom Svetkom in Petrom Konjovičem (1949–1968)*, Ljubljana: Znanstvenoraziskovalni inštitut Filozofke fakultete (2007: 30–31) преузет је из Мосусова 2010: 154–155. Знатан број других цитата из ове преписке наведен је у детаљном разматрању сарадње између Коњовића и Цветка, те учешћа млађих институтских сарадника у настанку књиге о Даворину Јенку, објављене у издању Музиколошког института 1952. године (Томашевић 2016). Институтска документација потврђује Коњовићево залагање за сараднике Института, као и његову упорност да у појединим случајевима наново образлаже исправност избора кандидата које је предлагао у формирању и попуњавању колектива. На пример, то је био случај с више пута предлаганом Мирком Павловић, професорком Музичке школе *Мокрањац* и студенткињом историје уметности, за чије запослење ниједном није донето одобрење Комитета. Тако је Коњовић уз обавезне информације о Павловићевој у једном од својих дописа навео и следеће: „Интелигентна, са знањем светских језика и с амбицијом да се изгради у музичког научника и да докторира из музикологије, ангажована стално у Радију а у јавности за популарна предавања из области музике, (...) заслужује да јој се са стране наше науке укаже могућност и помоћ, како би се изградила у младог, одличног научног радника.“ (АМИ САНУ, Документација МИ САН/САНУ, регистар 5, Управник МИ САН Петар Коњовић Председништву САН, 30. децембра 1949). Будући да до формалног ангажовања није дошло, Павловићева је била спремна да се у слободним часовима посвети институтским задацима, сматрајући да би јој „тај рад користио у (...) изграђивању на музиколошком пољу“ (АМИ САНУ, Документација МИ САН/САНУ, регистар 5. Мирка Павловић управнику МИ САН Петру Коњовићу, 24. јануара 1949). Потом је радила на изворима о певачким друштвима у архивско-историјском одсеку Института.

49 АМИ САНУ, Документација МИ САН/САНУ, регистар 5, Управник МИ САН Петар Коњовић Председништву САН, 30. децембра 1949.

ренесансној музици, октобра 1950. године.⁵⁰ Такође, Коњовић је разрадио детаљан план боравка Алберта Бејтса Лорда [Albert Bates Lord (1912–1991)], професора Универзитета Харвард, који је у лето 1950. године ишао на теренски рад у Санџак, Црну Гору, Херцеговину и Македонију. На путу га је пратио стипендиста Милош Велимировић, пруживши му помоћ у снимању народних песама.⁵¹ Лорд је потом гостовао у Институту, а 28. јуна на Коларчевом народном универзитету одржао је предавање „О раду на проучавању југословенске народне поезије на Харвардском универзитету и о фонографском збирању народних песама за Харвардски универзитет“.⁵² Уз друге иностране госте, Институт су посетили два стручњака из југословенских центара. Уз већ поменутог Цветка из Љубљане, остварена је сарадња с Цвјетком Рихтманом (1902–1989), управником Института за истраживање фолклора у Сарајеву, с којим је вођена и преписка око међусобне размене записа музичког фолклора.⁵³ Истовремено, сам Коњовић одлазио је у Загреб и Љубљану. На позив Академије за гласбу и Удружења складатеља, у Љубљани је одржао низ предавања о српској музици (17–22. април 1950), да би потом посетио Фолклорни институт, као и Институт за народну умјетност у Загребу, те с њиховим управницима Маролтом и Жганецом дискутовао о најновијим резултатима рада и питањима „даљег развоја наше науке о фолклору“ (23–30. април).⁵⁴ Почетком те исте године, с циљем да се настави „проучавање општих научних принципа и метода који се у иностранству примењују у сабирању и проучавању фолклорне материје“, Институт се учланио у Међународни савет за музички фолклор.⁵⁵ Коњовић је водио преписку с представницима овог удружења у чијој је организацији наредне године одржан конгрес у Опатији (8–14. септембар 1951), који је пратило чак шесторо представника Института (Васиљевић, Бингулац, Ђурић-Клајн, Илијин, Лазаревић,

50 „Музиколошки институт. Извештај о раду у 1950. години“. *Годишњак САН LVII* (1950): 487; АМИ САНУ, Документација МИ САН/САНУ, регистар 5, Предавање о музици ренесансе; обавештење МИ САН, без датума.

51 „Музиколошки институт. Извештај о раду у 1950. години“. *Годишњак САН LVII* (1950): 487; АМИ САНУ, Документација МИ САН/САНУ, регистар 5. Управник МИ САН Петар Коњовић Председништву САН, 22. марта 1950.

52 АМИ САНУ, Документација МИ САН/САНУ, регистар 5. Секретар МИ САНУ Стана Ђурић-Клајн управнику Института за источне и западне словенске књижевности (обавештење о предавању А. Б. Лорда), 24. јуна 1950.

53 АМИ САНУ, Документација МИ САН/САНУ, регистар 5. Цвјетко Рихтман из Сарајева Музиколошком институту САН, 1. фебруара 1950.

54 АМИ САНУ, Документација МИ САН/САНУ, регистар 5. Управник МИ САН Петар Коњовић Председништву МИ САН, 13. априла 1950.

55 „Музиколошки институт. Програм рада за 1950. годину“. *Годишњак САН LVII* (1950): 482; АМИ САНУ, Документација МИ САН/САНУ, регистар 5. Управник послова МИ САН Ђорђе Крахтис управнику МИ САН, 13. фебруара 1950.

БИЉАНА МИЛАНОВИЋ
ДОПРИНОС ПЕТРА КОЊОВИЋА КОНСТИТУИСАЊУ И ПОЧЕЦИМА РАДА
МУЗИКОЛОШКОГ ИНСТИТУТА САНУ

Велимировић).⁵⁶ Најзад, сарадници су одлазили и у иностранство, а могућности за излазак из земље које су се током Коњовићевог руковођења Институтом постепено мењале директно су условавале тај вид њихове мобилности. Покушаји добијања иностраних студијских путовања испрва су били неуспешни. Још септембра 1949. године Одељење предлаже Председништву да се Коњовићу омогуће „студије у иностранству ради довршавања радова ‘Реч и звук’ и ‘Наука о фолклору’“.⁵⁷ На захтев Председништва САНУ, а према захтеву Академског савета ФНРЈ о предлозима за путовање у иностранство, Коњовић упућује дописе у фебруару и септембру 1950. наводећи потребу: (1) да управник „пробави 2–3 месеца у западним земљама“, како би се информисао о најновијим тековинама на пољу музиколошке науке и институцијама у овој области, при чему су од посебне „важности питања из области фолклористике која се у последње време ванредно развила баш у западним земљама“; (2) да научни сарадник Стана Ђурић-Клајн треба да се усаврши у својој струци једним дужим боравком у иностранству, превасходно у Бечу, где би упознала представнике музиколошких институција и обавила истраживања која су важна „за нашу музичку историографију“, а „нарочито с обзиром на Вуково доба у вези с Корнелијем Станковићем у Бечу, ондашњем важном културном центру за Славене.“⁵⁸ Одлуке по овим питањима, међутим, нису стизале, па је Одељење упутило ново, опширно образложење за Коњовићево путовање,⁵⁹ а потом и предлог да се Коњовићу, Стани Ђурић-Клајн и Марку Тајчевићу, члану Научног савета Музиколошког института, омогући учешће на фестивалима и конгресима у иностранству.⁶⁰ Године 1952. дотадашњи стипендиста Милош Велимировић успева да оде на магистарске, потом и докторске студије на Харварду, остваривши наставак своје каријере у Америци.⁶¹ Тек током 1953. и 1954. године сарадницима се отварају различите могућности за путовања. Тако Драгутин Гостушки добија тромесечну стипендију од Комисије за културне везе с иностранством за стручно усавршавање у Паризу.⁶² У градовима Немачке, Миодрог Васиљевић остварује серију успешних предавања под насловом „Метрички облици народне поезије музичког фолклора Југославије“ и „Богатство и разноликост југословенског фолклора“ у немачким

56 „Музиколошки институт. Извештај о раду у 1951. години“. *Годишњак САНУ* LVIII (1951): 348.

57 АСАНУ, Записник VII скупа ОЛМУ, 9 септембра, 1949, тачка 3.

58 АМИ САНУ, Документација МИ САН/САНУ, регистар 5, Управник МИ САН Петар Коњовић Председништву САНУ, 5. септембра 1950.

59 АСАНУ, Записник I скупа ОЛМУ, 25. фебруара 1952, тачка 3.

60 АСАНУ, Записник VII скупа ОЛМУ, 31. маја 1952, тачка 2.

61 Велимировић је своје извештаје с Харварда слао Музиколошком институту. Већ крајем 1954. године, када се већ упознао с Егоном Велесом, требало је да заврши с испитима и да пријави докторску тезу. АМИ САНУ, Документација МИ САН/САНУ, регистар 8. Милош Велимировић Музиколошком институту САНУ, 17. октобра 1954.

62 „Извештај о раду института Одељења ликовне и музичке уметности. Музиколошки институт“. *Годишњак САНУ* LX (1953): 311.

градовима.⁶³ Такође, Коњовић тражи једномесечне боравке за Милицу Илијин у Регенсбургу,⁶⁴ Драгутина Гостушког у Паризу,⁶⁵ као и Стојана Лазаревића, који је пре одласка на усавршавање на катедри за византологију на Принстону, требало да оствари једномесечни боравак у Атини.⁶⁶

С обзиром на отвореност Музиколошког института за сарадњу с релевантним истраживачким институцијама и увођење нових методологија почетни нацрт о раду ове институције изложен у Коњовићевом предлогу о њеном оснивању 1947. године претрпео је значајне измене. Ипак, не може се оспорити ни верност основним идејама с којима је будући управник приступио оснивању и дуготрајном конституисању ове значајне научне установе.

С једне стране, сарадници су од почетка били посвећени формирању фундаменталних основа научног истраживања, што је подразумевало рад на организовању библиотеке, посвећеност биографско-библиографском раду, исписима из архивске документације, сакупљању архивске документације, организовању теренског рада на записивању етномузиколошке и етнокореолошке грађе, те пописивању и картонирању материјала. На тај начин започети су формирање и обрада различитих архивских и фоноархивских збирки.

С друге стране, за разлику од доминације послова на сакупљању материјала у Коњовићевим првобитним програмским визијама, али и хегемоних позиција 'основачких' личности уметничке музике и самог музичког фолклора присутног у готово свим тематским сферама деловања планиране институције, у раду Института значај почињу да добијају и аспекти научних разматрања и тематско ширење научних задатака.

63 Предавања је одржао у Семинару за музикологију (8. и 10. фебруар) и Славистичком семинару Универзитета у Хајделбергу (9. фебруар), Славистичком семинару Универзитета у Минхену (15. и 16. фебруар) и у Географском институту у Ерлангену (17. и 18. фебруар), уз још нека, додатно организовања предавања током боравака у Немачкој. Остварио је контакте са славистима и музиколозима међу којима је био и Т. Георгиадес [Thrasylbulos Georgios Georgiades], директор Музиколошког института Универзитета у Хајделбергу. Ови стручњаци су показали велико интересовање за разноврсност метрике и ритмике „југословенске народне песме“. АМИ САНУ, Документација МИ САН/САНУ, регистар 8. Комисија за културне везе с иностранством Музиколошком институту САН (Предмет: Миодраг Васиљевић, извештај), 19. априла 1954,

64 АМИ САНУ, Документација МИ САН/САНУ, регистар 8. Управник МИ САН Петар Коњовић Секретаријату за унутрашње послове ФНРЈ, 23. јула 1954.

65 АМИ САНУ, Документација МИ САН/САНУ, регистар 8. Управник МИ САН Петар Коњовић Комисији за културне везе с иностранством, 27. марта 1954.

66 АМИ САНУ, Документација МИ САН/САНУ, регистар 8. Управник МИ САН Петар Коњовић Председништву САН, 29. марта 1954. Будући да се Лазаревићев одлазак у Америку приближавао, а планиран боравак у Атини није остварен, Коњовић Лазаревићу одобрава одсуство да о сопственом трошку отпутује у Хиландар због прегледа рукописа у манастирској библиотеци (АМИ САНУ, Документација МИ САН/САНУ, регистар 8. Асистент МИ САН Стојан Лазаревић управнику МИ САН, 28. јуна 1954). О доприносу Коњовића, Цветка и А. Б. Лорда Велимировићевом и Стојановићевом одласку у Америку уп. Томашевић 2016: 136.

У складу с датим материјално-организационим могућностима, саставом и индивидуалним способностима и афинитетима сарадника, већина послова и резултата рада групише се у оквиру историјско-архивског и фолклорног, а потом и одсека за општу музикологију и одсека за савремено стваралаштво.

Сам Коњовић подстицао је рад институтских сарадника на проучавању својевремено маргинализованих личности, музичких пракси и институција, предузео је све неопходне кораке да његова идеја о монографској обради Јенковог рада добије репрезентативну реализацију, али је у сопственом музиколошком раду био посвећен реинтерпретацији канонских вредности српске уметничке музике у новом времену, укључујући и фаворизовање канонског статуса самог музичког фолклора, присутног и у његовом композиторском стваралаштву. Нажалост, није познат садржај Коњовићевих планова о засебним студијама о фолклору, од којих је одустао после неостварених покушаја да добије студијски боравак у иностранству. Међутим, довољно је имати у виду две монографије које је спремио током рада у Институту, те закључити да је његов истраживачки удео, поред свих других доприноса у оснивању ове институције, био видан.⁶⁷ Већ 1949. године, Коњовић је своју студију о Милојевићу поднео Председништву. Пошто је рукопис тада био прихваћен за објављивање у оквиру посебних издања САН,⁶⁸ Коњовић га је повукао, с намером да га прошири у форму монографије. У марту 1950. године боравио је у Новом Саду ради прикупљања података из времена школовања Милоја Милојевића и истраживања Мокрањчевих рукописа у заоставштини Јована Грчића и архиви Српске велике гимназије. Тим активностима, усмереним на припрему својих монографија, прикључио је и рад на сређивању Мокрањчеве заоставштине, коју је композиторов син, Момчило Мокрањац, поклатио Институту.⁶⁹

За разлику од Коњовићевог синтетичког поступка, који је укључивао елементе есејистичког, историографског и аналитичког приступа, Стана Ђурић-Клајн превасходно се усмеравала на контекстуализовану музичку историографију и у својим истраживањима знатно је проширила дотадашњи обим познавања локалне музичке прошлости. Током првих година рада у Институту стекла је увид у архиве певачких друштава у Панчеву, Вршцу, Кикинди, Зрењанину, Суботици, Сомбору и Новом Саду, прегледала је део музичког материјала који се налазио у београдским архивима, бавила се испитивањем стања извођаштва XIX века и у том контексту посебно пијанисткињом Јованком Стојковић (1855–1892), писала је о српској музици до XVI века на основу хагиографске и путописне литературе, историјске грађе и артефаката ликовне уметности, рецензирала је и редиговала већи број институтских издања, а за поједина од њих написала је и предговор, прикупила је, средила и истражила заоставштину музиколога др Војислава

67 За разлику од монографије о Милоју Милојевићу, која је штампана у издању Одељења (Прилог 1), монографија о Стевану Мокрањцу, коју је такође припремио током свог руковођења Институтом, објављена је код другог издавача (Коњовић 1956).

68 АСАНУ, Записник VII скупа ОЛМУ, 9. септембра 1949, тачка 2.

69 „Музиколошки институт. Извештај о раду у 1950. години“. *Годишњак САН LVII (1950)*: 485.

Вучковића, те његове одабране есеје приредила за штампу.⁷⁰ Најзад, радећи на попуњавању архивског фонда приредила је и прво издање грађе. Реч је о првом примеру откупа грађе из заоставштине Владимира Ђорђевића, започетом већ у јануару 1949. године, из којег је проистекла и припрема Ђорђевићевог пионирског дела *Прилози биографском речнику српских музичара*, као најранијег издања у оквиру едиције институтских публикација (Прилог 1).⁷¹ Тиме је већ на самом почетку била означена једна од важних линија научне политике Музиколошког института, која се усмерава на истраживање маргинализованих личности, појава и пракси у контекстима српске музичке прошлости.

Музиколошке теме које су у највећој мери представљале алтернативу у контексту званичне културне политике, али које су опстајале под окриљем САН, односиле су се на црквену музику. Оне су биле заступљене у раду Петра Бингулаца и Стојана Лазаревића (1914–1989). Бингулац је обављао компаративна истраживања српске и сиријске црквене музике, проучавао је примере из Мокрањчевог Осмогласника и рукописних збирки Лазара Лере, док се Лазаревић, поред тема везаних за музички фолклор, више интересовао за истраживање неумских рукописа као сасвим нове гране локалних музиколошких активности.⁷²

Почетак рада на одсеку за фолклор припадао је Манојловићу, који је остварио мелографска путовања у околини Аранђеловца, као и по Источној Србији.⁷³ Та прва и једина година Манојловићевог рада у Музиколошком институту САН, до његове смрти 2. новембра 1949, значила је за овог искусног мелографа повратак на традиционални начин записивања мелодија, по слуху, јер је магнетофон набављен тек средином 1950. године. Редиговање и припрему за штампу тих последњих Манојловићевих записа обавио је Стојан Лазаревић (Прилог 1). Етномузиколог Миодрог Васиљевић и кореолог Милица Илијин (1910–1992) остварили су велики број путовања у оквиру индивидуалног или колективног теренског рада реализованог уз Лазаревића и стипендисте. Васиљевић је по доласку у Институт радио на сређивању мелографског материјала Косте Манојловића и на припреми своје збирке записа народних мелодија из Санџака (Прилог

70 Наведене информације, као и остали подаци о раду сарадника, преузети су из извештаја објављених у Годишњацима САН, уколико то није другачије наведено.

71 АСАНУ, Записник I скупа ОЛМУ, 18. јануара 1949, тачка за.

72 И Лазаревић и стипендисти као најмлађи чланови колектива обављали су бројне 'помоћне' послове при различитим врстама истраживања и припремама издања, бавећи се тако и разноврсним музиколошким и етномузиколошким темама, што је, претостављам, требало да буде начин стицања знања и искустава на основу којих би, потом, уследила и специјализација у одређеном дисциплинарном и тематском домену.

73 АМИ САНУ, Архивска документација о раду МИ САНУ, Регистар 4. Научна путовања у земљи. Извештаји – 1. Петар Коњовић, Извештај о путу у Дубровник – Цетиње; 2. Коста П. Манојловић, Извештај о мелографском путу у Источну Србију од 10. 05 – 16. 6. 1949; Извештај о путу у Аранђеловац – Љубесело од 8 – 3. септембра 1949; Стана Ђурић-Клајн, Извештај о путу у Војводину.

1), док се Милица Илијин посветила записима српских, словачких и румунских народних игара с подручја Војводине, као и игара из околине Београда. У току 1954. године учествовала је у оквиру екипе Етнографског института у проучавању Призрена, радила је на попуњавању фототеке и библиографије народних игара, а заједно с представницима Ансамбла „Коло“ одржала је у Институту двомесечни тецај народних игара (сакупљање, бележење, проучавање) за студенте Музичке академије, укључујући и два студента из САД и Западне Немачке. Заједнички теренски рад у 1953. години спровела је с Лазаревићем и Пападопулосом у Боки Которској (Грбаљ, Паштровићи), а с Лазаревићем у Посавини (Обреновац, Шабац и околна села), док је Васиљевић радио теренске записе у Крушевцу, Трстенику и Крагујевачкој Јасеници. Посебно значајан теренски рад у записивању традиционалне музике и игара остварен је у оквиру заједничке екипе САН у Боки Которској (1951–1953). На иницијативу Коњовића у ту сврху одржане су интеринститутске седнице, на којима су били заступљени представници Етнографског, Историјског, Института за српски језик и Института за проучавање књижевности. „Дискутовало се о питањима у којима се појављује заједничка проблематика и у којима се исказала потреба за међусобном сарадњом.“ Заједнички теренски рад остварили су и на путу у Лебане и околину, да би се по повратку поново састајали и дискутовали о резултатима рада.⁷⁴ Мелографски и кореографски записи и магнетофонски снимци коришћени су за анализу, утврђивање порекла и односа појединих музичких и плесних мотива у контексту етничких и социјалних услова под којима су настали. Ти аспекти контекстуалног приступа, као и интердисциплинарна сарадња, представљали су заправо прве примере научног рада у оквирима претежно сакупљачких активности које су у прво време биле организоване.⁷⁵

Општа музиколошка проблематика од почетка је била заступљена у раду Института, али у малом обиму. Наиме, поред саме библиотеке и неостварених планова о почетку рада „на нашем термилошком музичком речнику“ и писању реферата о музиколошким институцијама, часописима и појавама у иностранству у вези са научним развојем музикологије, специјално у славенским земљама“, у овом одсеку су већ од прве године рада постизани научни резултати везани за рад Богдана Миланковића.⁷⁶ Како је Миланковић као спољни сарадник живео у Сарајеву, он је имао мало прилике да директно делује међу институтским колегама. Ипак, његове књиге о пијанизму и историјату и конструкцији виолине (Прилог 1), које су обухватале различите елементе из области акустике, градитељства инструмената, технике свирања и аспеката интерпре-

74 „Музиколошки институт. Извештај о раду у 1951. години.“ *Годишњак САН LVIII* (1951): 348.

75 М. Илијин је свој рад заснивала на методама сестара Јанковић, које су биле оснивачи етнокореологије у Србији (уп. Ракошевић 2014). О особеностима етномузиколошког рада М. Васиљевића уп. Радиновић 2016.

76 АМИ САНУ, Архивска документација о раду МИ САНУ, регистар 3. Управник МИ САН Петар Коњовић Српској академији наука (План рада МИ САН за 1949. годину), 15. фебруара 1949.

тације представљале су такође новину у дотадашњој локалној литератури и значајан допринос области систематске музикологије. Одсек за савремену музику и одсек за општу музикогију добили су значајан подстицај доласком Драгутина Гостушког, који је од почетка увео нове теме и приступе, приказавши током посматраног периода своје прве научне радове о проблемима музичке нотације и потреби увођења посебних ознака за агогику, питањима атоналности и додекафоније из позиција музичке теорије и естетике, као и актуелним проблемима савремене домаће опере. Поред тога, за Коњовићеву књигу о Милојевићу средио Гостушки је библиографију, а радио је и као библиотекар и секретар Института.

Првобитне идеје о критичким издањима партитура старијих композитора, које су паралелно постојале у плановима о раду Института и Одељења, нису остварене. Одељење се усмерило на објављивање савременог стваралаштва композитора-академика, а упркос прихватању за објављивање појединих композиција Коњовића, Христића и Рајичића, у посматраном периоду штампана су само два Коњовићева гудачка квартета (Прилог 1).⁷⁷ Бројни проблеми техничке природе, пре свега нотографије, али и инертност издаваштва САН допринели су успореној динамици штампања ових издања (Милановић 2016). Слични проблеми постојали су и у Институту. И сама средства за објављивање књига била су ограничена, а на њихово штампање дуго се чекало. Један зборник радова институтских сарадника, који је био предат у штампу, на крају није објављен. Без обзира на те околности, Коњовић није одустајао од планирања рада, па је 1954. године покренуо и питања која су се, према његовим виђењима, наметала у правцу проширења делатности Института. Једно од њих односило се на „потребу да се почне с припремним радовима за редакцију и издање потпуног Зборника фолклорне музичке грађе“ који би обухватио материјал сабран у „српском делу Југославије, а по могућности и према споразуму који би се имао постићи с музичко-фолклорним институтима у ФНРЈ, и издање целокупног музичко-фолклорног корпуса Југославије, подељеног према републикама.“ Други је био близак сфери трајних уметничких интересовања Петра Коњовића по питању суодношења језичко-говорних и музичких феномена, а најављивао је нову интердисциплинарну област научних истраживања. Везивао се за Коњовићеве разговоре с управником Института за експерименталну фонетику НРС, и њихове закључке о „корисности заједничког рада на решавању проблема из звучне области: обрађивање и проучавање књижевног и песничког текста, као уметничке грађе у вокалној и вокално-инструменталној композицији музичкој, а с обзиром на својства нашег језика.“⁷⁸

77 Прве намере о штампању партитура академика изнете су 1950. године, када је Одељење предложило објављивање два Коњовићева гудачка квартета, као и Песме за соло глас и клавир и Обраде народних песама за соло глас и клавир Стевана Христића. АСАНУ, Записник III скупа ОМЛУ, 12. априла 1950, тачка 4.

78 „Извештај о раду института Одељења ликовне и музичке уметности. Музиколошки институт“.

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Наведени пројекти нису остварени, али је идеја о њима поново потврђивала дотадашње Коњовићеве стратегије, које су указивале на истовремену постојаност и флексибилност при обликовању тематских корпуса и методолошких приступа. Програмска политика научноистраживачког рада Музиколошког института из времена Петра Коњовића може се оцртати неколиким општим аспектима: ослањање на предратна истраживачка искуства, без рушења наслеђених вредносних канона, али уз сталне измене у правцу ширења обрађене грађе кроз истраживање запостављених стваралачких личности, извођачких пракси и институција; ширење опсега снимљеног и мелографисаног фолклорног материјала различитих сеоских и градских подручја, укључујући и различите националне и етничке заједнице; успостављање сасвим нових тематских подручја у локалном контексту која дестабилизују концепт искључиво националне науке, усмереност ка интердисциплинарности и отвореност за комуникацију и размену научних и методолошких искустава у међународним оквирима. Основна претпоставка од које сам пошла у писању ове студије односила се на међусобну условљеност (1) успостављања институционалног поретка и (2) дисциплиновања научноистраживачког рада у правцу настанка локалне музикологије и етномузикологије, показујући да је проблем институционализације музичке науке; у датом тренутку био изузетно комплексан. Коњовићево позиционирање у САН и стратегије његовог деловања допринеле су конституисању и опстанку Музиколошког института, у чијим је оквирима у периоду од само неколико година успостављена платформа музиколошке и етномузиколошке науке на подручју Србије.

Табела 1. Научно, стручно и остало особље Музиколошког института САН (1948–1954)

ГОДИНА	1948.	1949.	1950.	1951.	1952.	1953.	1954.
Управник	академик Петар Коњовић, проф. Музичке академије		академик Петар Коњовић, проф. МА у пензији				
Стални чланови	Стана Ђурић-Клајн, асистент		Стана Ђурић-Клајн, научни сарадник и секретар	Стана Ђурић-Клајн, стручни сарадник и секретар		Стана Ђурић-Клајн, стручни сарадник	
			Милица Илијин, асистент				
			Стојан Лазаревић, асистент				
			Радмила Вукојичић, проф. средње школе				
Хонорарни чланови	Коста Манојловић научни сарадник						
	др Богдан Миланковић, стручни сарадник		др Богдан Миланковић, научни сарадник	др Богдан Миланковић, сарадник			
			Петар Бингулац, сарадник, доцент МА				
			Миодраг Васиљевић, сарадник, доцент МА				
			Стеван Клокић, стручни сарадник				
			Лазар Лера, службеник				
Стипендисти (студ. МА)	Слободан Хабић	Драгомир Пападополос Милош Велимировић	Драгомир Пападополос Милош Велимировић Вера Раичевић Надежда Мосусова				
Остало особље	Гордана Пљаић, хонорарни админ. секретар (служб. Председништва САН)	Олга Павловић, пом. админ. манипулант; Стеван Клокић, хонорарни копииста					

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Прилог 1. Попис монографија, збирки и партитура које су објављене или припремљене за штампу у оквиру Музиколошког института и Одељења ликовне и музичке уметности САН (1949–1954).

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Б) Издања Одељења ликовне и музичке умејносџи САН

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МУЗИКОЛОШКОГ ИНСТИТУТА САНУ

BILJANA MILANOVIĆ

PETAR KONJOVIĆ'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE CONSTITUTION AND THE
BEGINNINGS OF THE INSTITUTE OF MUSICOLOGY OF THE SERBIAN ACADEMY OF
SCIENCES AND ARTS

(SUMMARY)

In the text I deal with the period of establishment and the beginnings of the work of the Institute of Musicology of the Serbian Academy of Sciences, which is marked by the role of composer and music writer Petar Konjović (1883–1970), who founded and was the first director of the Institute (1947–1954). I examined and problematized Konjović's efforts to establish and manage the institution, which were inseparable from his role of Fellow of the Academy and Secretary of the Department of Fine Arts and Music of the Serbian Academy of Sciences (1948–1954), through the analysis of archival documentation. The basic assumption that I started from was related to the interdependence between (1) the establishment of an institutional order and (2) the disciplining of scientific research in the direction of the emergence of musicology and ethnomusicology in the local context. In particular, issues related to the Institute's relationship with the wider organizational environment and research policy of the SAN, as well as the role and support of its significant individuals in the process of the institutionalization of music science were especially highlighted. The problem of acquiring legitimacy in clearly hierarchical relationships proved to be very complex, since the Institute represented, on the one hand, a scientific unit of the Academy of Arts, that is, the Department of Fine Arts and Music, which, on the other hand, was marked by the inheritance of marginalized status of artists in comparison to other entities within the SAN. The formation of scientific tasks and objectives and the questions related to their realization were shaped in such a context.

I analyzed these problems within three subchapters. The first of them provides basic information on the reorganization of the Serbian Academy of Sciences within the framework of the cultural policy of the new regime and deals with the aspects of the formal establishment of the Institute (1947) and the contextualization of the first programmatic projections of its work. The second question relates to the diverse problems that accompanied the delay of the start of the Institute's activities, while the final subchapter is dedicated to the period from hiring the first associates to the end of Konjović's directorship (1948–1954).

Konjović's strategies pointed to his simultaneous stability and flexibility in the design of thematic areas and methodological approaches. The policy of the

scientific-research work of the Institute of Musicology from Konjović's time can be outlined in several general aspects: reliance on pre-war experiences, without the destruction of inherited value canons, but with constant changes in the direction of widening the scope of processed material through research of hitherto neglected creative personalities, performing practices and institutions; melographed and studied folklore material from various rural and urban areas, including different national and ethnic communities; the establishment of completely new thematic areas in the local context that destabilize the concept of purely national science; the emphasis on interdisciplinarity and openness to communication and exchange of scientific and methodological experiences in the international context. Konjović's position at the Serbian Academy of Sciences, his experience in managing various institutions, persistence and strategically planned actions, his high criteria and consideration in the selection of associates, managing without ideological divergences from his position of the bourgeois pre-war intellectual, but also his patient waiting for certain decisions of the competent instances, were crucial for the constitution and survival of the Institute of Musicology, within which the platform of musicological and ethnomusicological disciplines in Serbia was established in just a few years.

KEYWORDS: Petar Konjović, Institute of Musicology SAS/SASA, Department of Fine Arts and Music SAS/SASA, musicology, ethnomusicology

THE DOMINANT CURRENTS IN THE RESEARCH OF MUSIC IN SERBIA: AN OVERVIEW OF THE INSTITUTE OF MUSICOLOGY SAS'S EARLY HISTORY (1947–1965)*

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ABSTRACT:

This paper is dedicated to the investigation of the initial period of the Institute of Musicology SAS, the first scientific institution of this kind in Serbia (and Yugoslavia), in order to give an insight into the development of national musicology and ethnomusicology. The results of earlier research about the topic have been expanded by means of the analysis of documents from the archive of the Institute of Musicology SASA. The organization of the Institute's functioning, general research orientation, key topics, methodological choices and the significance of individual researchers were considered in detail. This diachronically oriented overview of research into music throughout the 20th century enabled us to pointing out the continuities and innovations after World War II and the Institute's foundation.

KEYWORDS: Institute of Musicology SAS(A), history of music research, musicology, ethnomusicology, Serbia, Yugoslavia

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Interest in the analysis of the constitutive period of Serbian music historiography/musicology and ethnomusicology emerged as a result of the research we have conducted in previous years (Весић 2016; Lajić Mihajlović and Jovanović 2012; Думнић and Лајић Михајловић 2014) and was also inspired by the work of the Institute of Musicology SASA's associates and collaborators from the past decade and a half (Томашевић 2009; Васић 2012; Атанасовски 2014; Кокановић Марковић 2014; Пено 2016; Милановић 2016; Думнић 2016; Марјановић 2016; Атанасовски 2017). In addition to this, the writings of the musicologist Roksanda Pejović (Пејовић 1994; 1999) which, among other things, largely contributed to the understanding of history of music criticism and music research in Serbia from its earliest phases represented one of the important cornerstones for this research. Pejović's investigations into the accomplishments of Stana Đurić Klajn (1905–1986) (Пејовић 1994; 2008) – one of the most prominent figures in the institutionalization of historical musicology in Serbia and Yugoslavia – were of particular value in this respect. Beside Pejović's pioneering efforts in the study of the foundations of Serbian musicology, overviews of investigations into folk music in Serbia written by Dragoslav Dević (Девић 1960; 2004), Radmila Petrović (Petrović 1968; Петровић 1973; 1974), Ana Matović (Матовић 1973), Mladen Marković (Марковић 1994) and Sanja Radinović (Радиновић 2016), also had a significant role in the shaping of present research.

The explorations of art, traditional folk, church and popular music practices from the 19th and 20th century on the territory of Serbia that took place in the previous decades dealing with phenomena such as the expansion of ideas of national state and culture, formulations of state cultural and public policies, the role of public and private sphere, development of urban cultures, emancipation of music journalism and music criticism etc. offered a rich and multifaceted image of the processes of music making, performing, publishing, consumption and evaluation. Although they were based on diverse theoretical positions and methodologies and focused on problems that were not directly interrelated, their findings led to several assumptions: 1. there is a larger body of phenomena relevant for the research of music in Serbia in the above-mentioned period than was indicated in previously published musicological and ethnomusicological work, 2. certain accepted historical "truths" should be approached with much reserve, 3. Serbian musical historiography was deeply influenced by the dominant interpretations of the concepts of nation and national culture in the political and public spheres of the time. Moreover, the lack of thorough and systematic investigation of musicological and ethnomusicological research in Serbia including its history, methodological aspects, ideological grounding, research interests was more or less openly brought to the fore.

It was the absence of critical evaluation of studies on art, traditional folk, church and popular music from the early, formative period of national music historiography in Serbia stretching from the second half of the 19th century to the early 1960s³ that

3 As we have concluded during our research, the early 1960s represented a significant point in the history of the Institute of Musicology SAS/SASA (after 1960 the name was changed to Institute of Musicology on account of changes in funding and organization of the scientific research on the federal level), primarily as a result of appearance of transformative processes in the domain of research, above all the

provided an important motivation for carrying out our research. Its aim was to delineate the main currents that appeared in this period, particularly through the undertakings of the Institute's researchers, as well as to point out the values on which they were based, topics selected, key perspectives, interpretations and methods. For this purpose we used the results of our own previous research (Vesić 2016; Lajić Mihajlović and Jovanović 2012; Думнић and Лајић Михајловић 2014) complementing them with findings from archival exploration centered mostly on administrative documents of the Institute of Musicology SASA in Belgrade. The documents analysed, preserved at the Institute's Archival Collection, date back to 1947 and go as far as the late 1960s. Among them are various materials such as registries, minute-books from the meetings of different boards and committees, research reports, annual reports, five-year and six-year plans, etc.

Before discussing the approach to studies of diverse musical practices in Serbia developed in the initial period of functioning of the Institute of Musicology SAS (1947–1965) it was necessary to establish the tendencies in this domain before the end of World War II. On account of this, we were able to identify similarities and distinctions in the work of Institute's researchers and their predecessors. Moreover, it was possible to detect crucial moments in the process of institutionalization of studies of music in Serbia with an emphasis on its methodological and ideological basis.

AN OUTLINE OF RESEARCH INTO ART, FOLK, CHURCH AND POPULAR MUSIC IN SERBIA BEFORE THE END OF WORLD WAR II

Although it is not possible to speak about scientifically grounded research into music in Serbia before the beginning of the 20th century, certain attempts at historiographical and ethnographical explorations can be traced from the beginning of the 19th century (Cf. Vasić 2007: 28–37). Most of them originated outside the borders of the Principality of Serbia, later the Kingdom of Serbia and were initiated by intellectuals, teachers and priests. Later in the 20th century, up to the 1940s, research into music in Serbia as well as Serbian music was mostly under the deep influence of the disciplines of music journalism and music criticism, which dealt with diverse musical issues in a less rigorous manner – without procedures and methods characteristic of a scientific approach. In case of church and folk music, investigations were greatly shaped by practical motives. These oral traditions were written down mainly for use in specific social settings – primarily as didactic material in regular schools and seminaries or as objects for creative elaborations in art music practice.

Contrary to predominant models, there were many examples in which a tendency to use some methods and techniques from the disciplines of humanities, particularly

selection of research topics and methods, creation of research plans etc. This was influenced both by changes in the leading personnel (director of the Institute, leading researchers) and the organizational structure of the Institute (the division of work among departments and their overall orientation) and shifts in the subsidizing policies of scientific institutions as well the management of scientific work in the whole of Yugoslavia.

history and ethnography, was manifested. Among the first authors who displayed such ambition both in the study of folk and art music in Serbia were the brothers Tihomir and Vladimir Đorđević. Tihomir, a renowned ethnologist and a multidisciplinary oriented scientist, laid the foundations of a systematic approach to music phenomena, basing his explorations on the combination of critical analysis of primary and secondary sources with insights from ethnographic field research. This was manifested not only in his work on folk dances in Serbia (1907), but also in his writings on the role of the Roma minority in the expansion of the field of popular and folk music (Ђорђевић 1910, reprinted in 1923) and the development of art practices – architecture, painting, music, dancing, theatre – during Prince Miloš Obrenović's first rule (1815–1939) (Ђорђевић 1921). Using the data from published travelogues, archival documents, historical studies and press, Tihomir Đorđević brought insight into the musical legacy in Serbia from the Ottoman period in the domains of folk, church and art music. Apart from sketching the main characteristic of various musical practices at the time, Đorđević pointed out the role of Roma and foreign musicians in the musical life of Serbia and identified the names and activities of male and female vocal and instrumental performers engaged at Miloš Obrenović's court as well as the household of his brother Jevrem Obrenović (see Ђорђевић 1910; 1921: 11–15, 73–80). He dedicated a large part of this study to the life and work of musician Josif Šlezinger describing in detail his undertakings in the establishment and the activities of the first official orchestra of Prince Miloš (*knjaževska banda*) primarily on the basis of thorough research into the documents of the State Archives (1921: 73–80).

Despite the scarcity of Tihomir Đorđević's writings on music, his contributions to research into music in Serbia were significant. Not only did he reconstruct certain unknown segments of 19th-century musical life in Serbia, but he also presented synthetic observations on the development of diverse musical practices in its regions, possible foreign influences and the role of minority ethnic groups grounded on data from various sources. Investigations and interpretations of this kind were not common before the end of World War Two, making Đorđević's efforts historically significant.

Of similar historical value were the research activities of Vladimir Đorđević concerning various musical practices in Serbia. In parallel with his extensive melographic work and very important studies of folk instruments, including those for children, with the emphasis on the process of instrument-making and organology (Ђорђевић 1926; Đorđević 1928), together with explorations of Turkish influences on Serbian folk melodies (1923), Đorđević left an outstanding legacy for research into music in Serbia with his pioneering biographical and bibliographical investigations (Ђорђевић 1950; 1969) part of which were published before the Second World War II in the journals *Музички гласник* (1922; Cf. Васић 2012), *Гласник Етнографској музеја* (Ђорђевић 1931), *Српски књижевни гласник* (Ђорђевић 1931) and *Sveta Cecilija* (Đorđević 1936). The examination of data from various sources necessary for the creation of a bibliography of published and unpublished musical works both from composers of Serbian origin and composers who lived in Serbia as well as writings on music and brochures of music societies and institutions started early in the 20th

century and was modified and complemented several times in the following decades. The collecting of biographical data probably started in the later period and part of the results were presented in the periodical *Музички власник* (1922). It is important to note that manuscripts of both Đorđević's studies – *Одлег српске музичке библиографије до 1914. године* (Ђорђевић 1969) and *Прилози биографском речнику српских музичара* (Ђорђевић 1950) were bought out by the officials of the Institute of Musicology SAS in 1950⁴ and, consequently, its employees had exclusive access to this precious material.⁵

Besides the work of brothers Tihomir and Vladimir Đorđević in the domain of musical research that were known only to a small number of music specialists and experts, there were other noteworthy contributions in this regard. Above all, these were the studies of folk music conducted by Kosta P. Manojlović (Cf. Лајић Михајловић 2017; Vesić and Peno 2017), explorations of folk dances by Ljubica and Danica Janković (Cf. Илијин 1974; Васић О. 2005; Ракочевић 2014) and investigations of musical form, musical language, aesthetics and philosophy by Miloje Milojević (Милојевић 1926a, b, 1933) and Vojislav Vučković.

The undertakings of Manojlović and Milojević are particularly interesting considering the objectives of this paper. Manojlović's collaboration over more than a decade with the Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade (1924–1936) (Cf. Лајић Михајловић 2017; Vesić and Peno 2017) and the research he initiated at the State Music Academy in Belgrade (from 1937) resulted in fruitful work in the field of the exploration of folk music heritage particularly from "Southern Serbia" (Cf. Лајић Михајловић 2017; Atanasovski 2017b). Besides using traditional techniques of writing down folk music "by ear", Manojlović was among the first melographers from Serbia who had access to sound recording technology *in situ* in field research (Cf. Девић 1960: 108; Лајић Михајловић 2017: 241–243). Not only did he discuss melodic and rhythmic characteristics of folk songs and dances collected together with the social settings of its performance in the manner of his predecessors (Stevan St. Mokranjac) (Cf. Девић 1960: 105) and contemporaries (Vladimir Đorđević, Miloje Milojević etc.), but he also worked on the systematization of published and unpublished melographic material. The creation of the inventory of folk melodies that Manojlović started at the Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade included the writing down of each melody with additional *meta*-data – the name of the song, its location, the name of the singer and the melographer etc.

Finally, Miloje Milojević with his discussions on musical styles, the significance of folk material in art music creation and particularly with his doctoral thesis dedicated to a detailed harmonic analysis of works by Bedřich Smetana (1926b), including an

4 Cf. Institute of Musicology SASA – Archival Collection [IM SASA – AC], Archive of the Institute of Musicology SAS/SASA [A IM SAS/SASA], Registry no. 5 (1949–1950), Draga St. Janković's letter to the Scientific Council of the Institute of Musicology of the Serbian Academy of Sciences, no. 41, Belgrade, 31 May, 1950.

5 This occurrence will be discussed below.

emphasis on identification of scales, chords, and harmonic progression, introduced an approach to musical research similar to the systematic musicology developed later.

While it is interesting to perceive how boundaries between more or less scientifically orientated writings were regularly distorted and how authors on music in Serbia after World War I combined different historiographic, ethnographic and journalistic traditions together with traditions of art music criticism, we found it important to note the ideological basis of narratives on music created at the time. As was broadly discussed in Ivana Vesić's doctoral thesis (2016), interwar music intellectuals took an active part in the process of the construction of Serbian music, which included interpretations of musical practices and key figures from past and present as well as predictions of future developments based on several ideologically distinctive positions – conservative, liberal and leftist. The norms and values characteristic for each position determined the approach to the concept of national (Serbian) music including the understanding of the canon of composers, the hierarchy of music genres in art music and the significance of diverse music practices (art, traditional, church and popular) and different types of traditional folk music (urban, rural; music of Serbs, music of ethnic minorities).

Owing to the fact that some proponents of liberal views (Miloje Milojević, Petar Konjović, Kosta P. Manojlović, Stevan Hristić, Stanislav Binički, Petar Krstić) held a dominant place in Serbian and Yugoslav public and music spheres, being appointed to the symbolically most prestigious posts in academic and cultural institutions, media and state bureaucracy, they had the possibility not only of extensively propagating their visions of Serbian and Yugoslav music but to claim them as the only legitimate visions (Весић 2016: 301–309). Since many of them were involved in diverse activities related to music including teaching, lecturing, composing, performing, creating music policies and writing music critiques and studies on music, they were in a position to impose their judgments on a broader scale (Ibidem). Because of their presence in the public sphere and close connections with influential political and intellectual circles together with widespread cultural activism, a number of musicians from the liberal group made the sphere of music an important tool in the process of national identification and the creation of national culture (Ibidem).

Assuming the autonomous status of nation and national culture as a prerequisite for intellectual progress, liberally orientated music experts saw great potential in the constitution of Yugoslav state for the realization of the process of cultural development. This process encompassed music development which could be reached under the following conditions: 1. the preservation of “authentic” folk music, 2. the creation of art music based on the intertwining of complex compositional methods based on a deep, psychological immersion of composer in the substance of folk music. Since the present and future of art and folk music were considered a priority, the musical past was understood as a means for the justification of the values and goals on which they were based. Therefore, the interpretation of Serbian music from the 19th century to the end of World War I was, in a way, restricted to finding the precursors of a “progressive” national art music style while leaving individuals who did not conform to its aesthetic and compositional principles on the margins. In addition, it was grounded on the ethno-nationalist stance which favoured composers of Serbian

origin while disregarding others. This criterion was validated through belief in the strong connection between cultural and biological elements necessary for the constitution of an authentic and autonomous national culture. The idea that *ethnos* and *bios* were fundamental to the rise of elevated culture and arts played a crucial role not only in explorations of 19th and early 20th century art musical practice in Serbia and Yugoslavia, but also in the reception of interwar music production.

The two criteria embedded in the concepts of progressive national art music and ethnic type of national identity resulted in an exclusivist version of Serbian music history in interwar period. It was grounded on the following assumptions: 1. That the status of the first great composer belonged to Stevan St. Mokranjac, 2. That his predecessors and contemporaries of Serbian origin were believed to have made contributions to the development of art music but were not perceived as equal to Mokranjac, 3. That many Czech, Hungarian, Austrian professional musicians and composers who were active in Serbia in the 19th and early 20th century were not given credit for their achievements, 4. That art music of more commercial type was thought irrelevant as well as their authors, 5. That urban folk music was approached as potentially dangerous to the preservation of authentic folk music practices, and 6. That popular music was interpreted as problematic because of its lack of aesthetic and formal sophistication (Cf. Vesić 2016: 226–247, 306).

These assumptions were a product of the amalgamation of the ethnic concept of nation and culture with the concepts of composer-genius, serious art music and “authentic” folk music, resulting in a reductionist conception of the history of music(s) in the territory of Serbia that encompassed only a handful of composers, music genres, musical practices, processes and events. It is possible that many military, foreign and “less progressive” musicians would have been permanently erased from the historical narrative and, consequently, from the collective memory without the writings and explorations of a small circle of liberally orientated experts such as Tihomir and Vladimir Đorđević and Petar Krstić, whose interpretations were less influenced by ethno-nationalist views.

While the period of the German occupation (1941–1944) strengthened conservative “readings” of Serbian music history (Cf. Vasiljević 2019), there were not many shifts in the organization and form of music studies. Among the rare initiatives that appeared at the time in this field was Svetolik Pašćan Kojanov’s proposal for the foundation of a specialized centre for the collection of traditional folk music.⁶ Still, it was

6 Pašćan Kojanov’s proposal was devised during World War II and submitted to the Assistant Minister of Education in July 1943 in order to contribute to the establishment of the Serbian cultural plan – one of the priorities of the collaborationist government of Serbia at the time. According to his conception, a centre for collecting traditional folk music should be established as part of broader ethnographic research, including the transcription, sound recording and audio-visual recording of traditional folk songs and dances along with collecting of musical instruments under the supervision of professors from the State Music Academy and Secondary Music School and teachers previously trained for carrying out this type of activity. Among the main aims was the publishing of collections of folk music without harmonization, and exchanges with other countries. Pašćan Kojanov’s proposal was discovered by Maja Vasiljević in the Military Archives of Serbia and was discussed in her PhD (forthcoming). thesis. See Vasiljević 2018.

only after the end of the Second World War that various processes were instigated thoroughly, affecting the domain of music research.

THE FOUNDATION OF THE INSTITUTE OF MUSICOLOGY SAS: TOWARDS NEW PERSPECTIVES IN THE RESEARCH OF MUSIC?

A few years after the end of the War, a significant step was made concerning the professionalization and thorough restructuring of the investigation into art, folk, church and popular music in Serbia and Yugoslavia. As a result of the reorganization of the Serbian Academy of Sciences that formally came into existence in 1947, numerous scientific institutes were established and new disciplines were introduced (Appendix: Figure 1).⁷ Simultaneously with the development of organizational units that covered the disciplines of ethnology, history, archeology and literary studies, the idea of creating a body dedicated exclusively to music research began to materialize.

According to archival sources, the proposal for the foundation of the Institute of Musicology was prepared during 1947 and was planned to be presented at the ceremonial conference in honour of Vuk Karadžić, Đuro Daničić and Branko Radičević that took place on 15 September 1947 at the Serbian Academy of Sciences (Appendix: Figure 2).⁸ Although it is hard to assess whether there were other musicians and experts involved in this process besides Petar Konjović, who took the leading role and was appointed the Institute's first director by the authorities in December of 1947 (Appendix: Figure 3),⁹ the proposal represents a valuable document with an embryo of research priorities and the organizational shape of the future Institute of Musicology.

Despite thorough modifications of the projected scopes and goals in the first years of Institute's functioning as a result of analysis of the work of institutions dedicated to music research in Yugoslavia (Zagreb, Ljubljana)¹⁰ and abroad (Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Austria

7 In 1947 thirteen institutes started to carry out their research. Six institutes including the Institute of Musicology were officially founded but needed to submit research and organizational plans, three more were expected to be constituted in the short period of time, while the opening of four institutes demanded further discussion. According to IM SASA – AC, A IM SAS/SASA, Registry no. 1 (1947–1948), A. Belić's memo to the Director of the Institute of Musicology SAS, undated.

8 IM SASA – AC, A IM SAS/SASA, Registry no. 1 (1947–1948), Proposal to the ceremonial conference at the SAS, undated, unsigned (probably written by Petar Konjović, judging by the characteristics of handwriting).

9 The foundation of the Institute of Musicology SAS was officially approved on 12 December 1947 by the Committee for scientific institutions, universities and colleges (no. 2928) and Konjović was named its first director. IM SASA – AC, A IM SAS/SASA, Registry no. 1 (1947–1948), Petar Konjović's memo to the Presidency of SAS, 24 December 1947. On the foundation and early history of the Institute of Musicology SAS see also Петровић 2010 and Мосусова 2010.

10 The trips to Zagreb, Ljubljana and cities outside Yugoslavia were undertaken by the director Petar Konjović immediately after the Institute was formally founded. As he stated in the preserved memos, his aim was to explore the organizational structure and approach to research in various countries and institu-

and Romania),¹¹ appropriation of new approaches, methodologies and research perspectives, but also problems with material and “human resources”, the organizational and research frame sketched out in the proposal remained relevant in the following decades.

There were several research tasks and topics that were given a central position. Among the main priorities was the work on collecting all existing folk music and folk dances primarily from Serbia. It was spread over several steps. The first step consisted of gathering all published and unpublished melographic material (collections) primarily from domestic, but also from foreign authors. The second step involved extensive field research particularly from the diverse regions of Serbia aiming at the recording of songs and dances, mostly from Serbs, that were previously not written down, as well as variants of material already preserved. For that purpose, it was planned to appoint only able melographers, together with teachers whose task was to find skillful folk singers and connoisseurs of “pure folk singing”.¹² The collected material was meant to be classified, examined and prepared for publishing in a monumental edition in order to be presented to Slavic and other nations together with the broader Yugoslav public.

The second research priority consisted of the reconstruction of the development of musical culture in Serbia through various historical epochs on the basis of the examination of manuscripts and printed or archival documents. One of the main objectives was the publishing of previously redacted and expertly studied material, in this case – musical works. Of special importance was the publishing of critical editions of the complete works of Kornelije Stanković, Stevan Mokranjac and Josif Marinković, who were considered to be the founders of Serbian art music. Apart from that, the exploration of compositional methods of the above-mentioned composers with emphasis on their influence on the further expansion of Serbian music was held to be very important. There was also a plan to prepare critical editions of the works of younger generations of composers.

The third priority was the collecting, examination, redacting and publishing of examples of folk church music practices of diverse kinds (Orthodox, Catholic and others) and the study of their interrelations with church music.

Finally, general musicological research based on the exchange of knowledge and methods of Yugoslav and Slavic experts and comparative analysis of diverse music traditions was deemed essential.

The outline of research subjects and objectives given in the proposal became the starting point for the establishment of several Institute’s departments in the late 1940s and early 1950s – the Department for Folklore Studies, the Historical-Archival

tions dedicated to study of music. IM SASA – AC, A IM SAS/SASA, Registry no. 1 (1947–1948), Memo of the Director of the Institute of Musicology SAS to the Presidency of SAS, no. 3, March, Belgrade, 1948.

11 Konjović spent one month in Budapest, Prague, Brno, Bratislava, Vienna and Bucharest from January to February 1948. IM SASA – AC, A IM SAS/SASA, Registry no. 1 (1947–1948), Approval for work trip of Petar Konjović signed by Dr. V. V. Mišković, Secretary of the SAS, Serbian Academy of Sciences, no. 307, 24 January 1948.

12 Cf. IM SASA – AC, A IM SAS/SASA, Registry no. 1 (1947–1948), Proposal to the ceremonial conference at the SAS, undated, unsigned, pp. 1–2.

Department, the Department for Contemporary Music, the Department for General Musicology. The organization of each department, its capacities, research orientations and plans underwent more or less pronounced changes throughout the 1950s and 1960s and, consequently, a distancing from the original conception. In parallel with these internal shifts, analysis of the early history of the Institute of Musicology SAS indicates fluctuations concerning the importance of pre-WWII narratives, methodologies and topics. Both aspects seem crucial as regards the investigation of the process of the institutionalization of music research in Serbia. Since the majority of research activities in this period were initiated by the Department of Folklore Studies, the Historical-Archival Department and the Department of General Musicology, our focus was directed primarily at their annual reports, yearly, six year and seven-year plans and other material.

In case of the Department of Folklore Studies, echoes of pre-WWII views and perspectives were manifested on various levels. This is confirmed by reports both from late 1940s and late 1950s, particularly in the explanations of reasons behind the process of collecting folk music. In the manner of pre-WWII researchers who appealed to the authorities and the public for the preservation of the uniqueness of local folk music threatened by urbanization and modernization by the organized work on its complete notation (see Milojević 1920 and Gjorgjević 1922, according to Vesnić 2016: 231, 234–235), Petar Konjović concluded the following after his exploratory trip to Dubrovnik, Cetinje and Boka Kotorska (Herceg Novi, Risan, Kotor):

The living folk music still exists among the people, but its older layers are disappearing while influence from other places, from towns and foreign countries is becoming visible in the lyrics, content and melodies. Therefore, it is high time to start making written records, or, even better, to use sound recording techniques in order to preserve the lyrical folk music material.¹³

Similar observations were repeated ten years later in order to support the claim of the necessity of recording folk music in all regions of Serbia. In the six-year plan for the period from 1960 to 1965 prepared for the Council for Scientific Research, the principal tasks of the Department of Folklore Studies were described in the following manner:

The aim of the Department of Folklore Studies is to collect, classify and explore musical folklore on the territory of the Peoples' Republic of Serbia. But, since in the present social circumstances folk material is rapidly perishing and the larger part of the territory is still not covered, our main focus is mostly on the process of collecting. Of course, after every field research and recording the material is being classified and arranged. Still, the comprehensive analysis and more serious study of the material can be expected only after the sources are completely collected

13 IM SASA – AC, A IM SAS/SASA, Registry no. 4 (1949–1983), A report of Professor Konjović on his trip to Dubrovnik – Cetinje, 1 June 1949, Belgrade.

and compared with folk music material from neighbouring countries with which it has many similarities.¹⁴

Emphasis on the necessity of detailed examination of collected folk material including the use of comparative analysis represented a slight departure from the earliest plans, but similar aspirations were characteristic for many pre-WWII researchers, particularly Kosta P. Manojlović who led and shaped traditional folk music investigations at the Institute in 1948 and 1949. His methods of assembling folk songs and dances and their further classification seem to have been employed years after he passed away. According to archival documents, Manojlović's procedures were planned to be abandoned and replaced with classifications based on "modern principles" in the period from 1960 to 1965.¹⁵

While there were obvious similarities in the interpretations of traditional folk music between interwar and post World War II generations of researchers, there were also certain distinctions. The institutionalizing of the music research through the founding of the first specialized institution resulted in, above all, more direct contacts between music experts of various profiles (composers, music theorists, music writers etc.) in the field of music research, their productive exchange of opinions, but also professional disagreements and confrontations, discovering different ways of thinking through certain topics (Cf. Радиновић 2016: 175–176). Given the circumstance of there being very few permanent associates of the Institute, new employees-assistants were trained at the time as "multifunctional" researchers of broader competence (for example, for research of both traditional folk and church music, such being the case of Stojan Lazarević). Finally, the associates of the Institute of Musicology joined the projects of field research of traditional culture organized by SAS, which provided a multidisciplinary context for the study of traditional music. Research took place in Boka Kotorska, Montenegro (Cf. Лајић Михајловић and Јовановић 2014), and in Prizren, Kosovo and Метохија (Cf. Лајић Михајловић and Јовановић 2018).

Methodological choices were significantly directed by the available technical equipment – devices for sound recording and expendable material that the associates had to spare, which were reflected in the choice of the material to be docu-

14 IM SASA – AC, A IM SAS/SASA, Registry no. 3 (1948–1965), Institute of Musicology, Plan for the period from 1960 to 1965, Department of Folklore Studies, unsigned, undated, pp. 1. It is interesting to note that other reasons for the collecting of traditional folk music were also mentioned. For instance, it was claimed that "the musical folklore of the peoples of Yugoslavia represents a traditional treasure of immense artistic and historical-documentary value which had an important role in the cultural life of our peoples. Today, it serves as a basis for our contemporary artists of national orientation and it will have the same role in the future". The analogy with the interwar narrative is hard to overlook, not only in the underlining of the artistic qualities of folk music but also in its treatment as a cornerstone for artistic creation.

15 IM SASA – AC, A IM SAS/SASA, Registry no. 3 (1948–1965), Institute of Musicology, Plan for the period from 1960 to 1965, Department for Folklore Studies, Explanation, Part II. Work at the Institute, unsigned, undated, unpaginated.

mented and in the method of recording. Judging from the appeals for a new tape recorder and tapes,¹⁶ the attitude of the authorities towards this specific need of field traditional music researchers did not radically change in comparison to the beginning of the century, when Mokranjac unsuccessfully appealed for a phonograph (Cf. Младеновић 1971: 196). However, instead of writing “by ear”, the technique which marked research into traditional music in Serbia until mid-twentieth century, on the basis of the efforts of Kosta Manoјlović (Cf. Лајић Михајловић 2017), through the work of the associates of the Institute of Musicology SAS recording music in the field, *in situ*, was promoted as the standard for field research.

Dedication to coming to know traditional folk music in the field, in the environments that had inherited and practiced concrete expressions, led to a more contextualized approach, and to its study as a “social behaviour”, which would be defined by the renowned music anthropologist Alan Merriam as studying “the music in culture” (Merriam 1964). An illustrative comparison is a musicological study by Miodrag Vasiljević, a part-time research fellow, published in the collection of records from Kosovo – “Kosmet”, with an ethnographic approach applied in the collection of records from Leskovac (Васиљевић 1950, 1960). Although the hints about the need for a more complex approach to traditional music research, which are present even in the “prehistory” of ethnomusicology in Serbia (Cf. Бушетић 1902), suggest that certain methods were gradually developed, it does seem that certain solutions are the products of immediate circumstances. It is probable that the abovementioned direction of ethnomusicology was significantly influenced by the fierce critiques of the study by Vasiljević on the tonal bases of the music folklore, written by certain authoritative composers and theorists of the time (Cf. Радиновић 2016: 174–175). Besides, the lack of institutionalization of folklore research as a whole (which would, amongst other things, more significantly acknowledge its syncretic nature, and would offer a multidisciplinary approach to folk music) was of great importance, given that it was already extant in some of the other former Yugoslav Republics (Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina).¹⁷ That is how the music education of the researchers provided their competence in music, while accentuating field work was a means of developing the disciplinary specificity in music research and the closeness of their experiences to those of ethnologists and folklorists.

Innovation in traditional music research achieved by the associates of the Institute of Musicology represents an intentional, strategic broadening its focus to the folk heri-

16 IM SASA – AC, A IM SAS/SASA, Registry no. 3 (1948–1965), Institute of Musicology, Explanation of the budget proposal for the year 1956, pp. 1–2.

17 A specific indicator is naming the Department “of Folklore (Studies)”, not of “Folk Music (Studies)”, and placing folk dance research – dance art under the umbrella of the Institute of Musicology, which is explicitly stressed in the plans. That is how the (ethno)musicological context of the institutionalization of dance research significantly directed the development of ethnochoreology in Serbia during the second half of the twentieth century, even though research in this field was also done by researchers of the Ethnographical Institute SAS.

tage of urban areas, including both singing and dancing practices. The above-mentioned research project *Prizren and its surroundings* included music recording in various circumstances, mainly in new social contexts, such as schools and cultural and arts societies (Cf. Лажјић Михајловић and Јовановић 2018). In circumstances like these, both country music and dance, which migrated with time into urban areas as well as children's folk music of more recent date and examples of "NOB" (National Liberation War) folklore were recorded, in addition to songs that became symbols of "the urban songs from Kosovo". The city would, as a relevant area of research, be confirmed by further work of the associates of the Institute; hence in 1961 Radmila Petrović undertook field research in the area of Titovo Užice, focusing on both rural and urban folk traditions (Петровић 1961), while in 1964 Milica Ilijin initiated research on the relations between urban and rural folk dances (Илијин and Младеновић 1962).

The city – in this case Prizren – as a multicultural environment, the place of coexistence of cultures of various origins, geographical, historical, ethnic, religious, is accepted as an important locus of research acculturation processes. The above-mentioned occasion served the researchers as an opportunity to note down some verbal data and to record dance music by Turks, Albanians, Roma, Gorani, Muslims, Tzintzars, alongside the Serbs. The fact that this was not only a politically-caused inflexion of previous research policies, but an important shift to a more inclusive approach is confirmed by the application of Miodrag Vasiljević for support for a journey to Bosanska Krajina in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in order to record the Muslim epic songs performed with *šargija* (a plucked string instrument) from 1954.¹⁸ Similarly, the official documentation points to the fact that the associates of the Institute of Musicology Milica Ilijin and Milan Vlajin joined the research into the Romanian tradition in Vojvodina – the northern province of Serbia, which was undertaken by the renowned Romanian ethnomusicologist Constantin Brailoiu in 1955.¹⁹

In the research of Boka Kotorska and Prizren folklore, the multidisciplinary quality was, as mentioned, projected by the members of the teams, who needed to contribute to the mosaic of knowledge about the culture of a certain area. An ever-higher level of inter-disciplinary cooperation, in a way of systematic musicology, was planned in the field of acoustic research in cooperation with the Institute for Experimental Phonetics in Belgrade. The laboratory of this Institute represented the necessity for studying the relationship between spoken and sung text, but it seems that the need for additional funds for this purpose became the cause behind the fact that

18 IM SASA – AC, A IM SAS/SASA, Registry no. 3 (1948–1965), Institute of Musicology, untitled request for the fieldtrip of Miodrag Vasiljević to the Director of the Institute, Academician Petar Konjović, 10 July 1954.

19 IM SASA – AC, A IM SAS/SASA, Registry no. 8 (1954–1956), Institute of Musicology, Letter to the Cultural Council of Romanians in Vršac, 26 August 1955, Milica Ilijin (on behalf of the Secretary of the Institute); request for the fieldtrip of Milica Ilijin and Milan Vlajin, signed by Stana Djurić-Klajn on behalf of the Institute, to the Presidency of the SAS, 3 September 1955.

the project did not take place, as suggested by the available documentation.²⁰ There is no doubt that this endeavour, if it had been completed, would have significantly improved research into the vocal music of all genres, from vocal traditional music to opera. However, even the exchange of ideas and the elaboration of the initial idea for the need of applying for support at the SAS authorities confirm the productive contact between disciplines.

Finally, the institutionalization of research enabled more frequent contacts with colleagues from abroad. Keeping up with world-wide scientific knowledge concerning traditional music is assisted by memberships in the international ethnomusicological and related expert associations,²¹ participations in their conferences, as well as guest appearances of foreign experts at the Institute of Musicology itself and the annual Congresses of the Association of Yugoslav Folklorists. These Congresses represented not only an opportunity for intra-disciplinary and inter-disciplinary exchanges on the national level, but also a place where western and eastern visions of ethnomusicology meet, and from which the young Serbian ethnomusicology has significantly profited (see more in Лајић Михајловић and Думнић 2015).

In case of the Historical-Archival Department the research conducted mostly followed the path initiated in the proposal at least before the early 1960s. The main tasks included the preparation of manuscripts of Kornelije Stanković's collected church chants for publishing, the exploration of Stevan St. Stojanović's melographic and compositional legacy in the field of church music and detailed reconstruction of the biographies and systematization of bibliographies of Mokranjac and Josif Marinković. The redactorial work together with investigations of modern Serbian church music was performed by Petar Bingulac, while biographical and bibliographical studies were led by Stana Đurić Klajn. In parallel with this, during the 1950s studies of mediaeval and post-Byzantine music in Serbia were initiated at the department owing to the efforts of Stojan Lazarević and Dimitrije Stefanović, who needed specializations abroad in order to be able to assess the material from this period. Since both Lazarević and Stefanović spent years in Princeton and Oxford in order to advance their skills and knowledge, medieval studies progressed slowly before the 1960s.

Certain changes in the research directions of the Historical-Archival Department began to manifest themselves in the 1960s and were announced in the six-year plan

20 IM SASA – AC, A IM SAS/SASA, Registry no. 8 (1954–1956), Institute of Musicology, Letters from the Institute of Experimental Phonetics, Speech Pathology and Foreign Language Teaching, 27 November 1954 and 31 December 1954, signed by the director Đorđe Kostić.

21 The level of cooperation between Serbia as a part of Yugoslavia at that time and the International Folk Music Council is illustrated through the presence of its representatives on the Executive Board: Radmila Petrović was a member from 1971 to 1984, while the position of the Secretary of the National Committee was also held by representatives from Serbia, firstly Miodrag Vasiljević (from 1960 until his death in 1963), followed by Radmila Petrović (1970–1982). Cf. International Council for Traditional Music 2010–2018.

(1960–1965).²² This was particularly emphasized in the studies of 19th and early 20th century music in Serbia. According to two versions of the plan, narrow and broad, several fields and topics were given priority in the research (See Table 1).

Table 1. Research plan of the Historical-Archival Department from 1960 to 1965

Narrow version

1. The collection of materials concerning all aspects of Serbian history of the 19th century with special focus on Stevan Mokranjac and Josif Marinković with the aim of publishing their complete bibliographies along with documentary and biographical sources
2. Analysis of certain compositions: cycle of *kolos* written by Marinković and his cantatas with piano

Broad version

1. The study, deciphering and transcription of music from manuscripts kept at Hilandar and other monasteries in order to publish a collection of Serbian mediaeval music
2. Outline and analysis of the historical development of music criticism in Serbia
3. Examination of certain genres such as choral music, the Serbian version of *Singspiel*, revolutionary songs, music for piano solo etc.
4. Critical editions of works of old masters in the form of anthologies or separate publications

In order to carry out the research plan it was intended to include the examination of visual art objects (frescoes, monuments etc.), investigations of literary genres of various kinds (manuscripts, older literature, travelogues, archival documents, published sources), and recording of most important musical works and performances on sound tapes or gramophone records.

Some tendencies observable in this plan are significant. For instance, it is obvious that apart from composition, other activities such as performance and music criticism were given credit. In addition, the need to incorporate diverse sources and introduce new disciplines such as musical iconography was clearly manifest.

The modification of perspectives in the Historical-Archival Department became even more evident through the research of its director, Stana Đurić Klajn, conducted in the early 1960s. In this regard, of particular importance was the study initiated in 1962–1963 concerning the life and works of the first professional composer in 19th-century Serbia, Josif Šlezinger. Research into the biography and achievements of this author was conceived ambitiously. Owing to the examination of documents kept in the Archives of Serbia, Đurić Klajn was able to emphasize Šlezinger's role in the establishment of orchestral performances in Serbia, in the organization of concert life and the composition of

22 IM SASA – AC, A IM SAS/SASA, Registry no. 3 (1948–1965), Institute of Musicology, Plan for the period from 1960 to 1965, Historical-Archival Department, unsigned, undated, pp. 2–4.

instrumental pieces, as well as his political activities. This shift of focus from “father-figures” of Serbian art music to non-Serbian composers was anticipated in Đurić Klajn’s previous study, *Razvoj muzičke umetnosti u Srbiji* [*The development of art music in Serbia*], published in 1962, where she not only referred to generally marginalized Czech composers, but also gave affirmative judgement of the work of Slovenian-born Davorin Jenko, unlike the majority of interwar music experts (Cf. *Весник* 2016: 226–247).

Stana Đurić Klajn’s efforts in the first half of the 1960s were important in the context of the development of historical musicology in Serbia in many respect. As well as taking into consideration composers outside the accepted canon (Šlezinger, Jenko, Czech composers), her contributions laid an overall broadening of research perspectives. This included the exploration of musical activities and phenomena of various kinds, amongst others, the functioning of choral societies, the establishment of specialized music education, the foundation of military ensembles, the significance of concert performers etc. Her ability to grasp the historical and social context of the phenomena under analysis as well as to assess the contributions of individual composers in a more nuanced manner, partly abandoning the norms of aesthetic excellence and originality as fundamental, led to a more culturally oriented approach to historical musicology, at the same time based on an understanding of music as a complex set of practices (art, traditional, church, popular) which play significant roles in everyday life of a certain society. From such a perspective, Serbian music history is not perceived as the sum of the exceptional results of composers of Serbian origin but as a result of the diligent work of many individuals and groups whom music served for the accomplishment of different objectives – political, social, cultural, artistic, public, private etc.

Unlike other departments, the Department for General Musicology has undergone various transformations since the Institute’s foundation; these were brought to light primarily in its organizational structure and the formulation of its research goals and topics. In the 1950s it generally did not function autonomously and was merged with the Department for Contemporary Music. The research plans seemed not to have been grounded on clearly defined principles, but prospects started to change in the late 1950s. As composer Dragutin Gostuški worked on his doctoral thesis and his parallel research on the issues of musical time, theory of rhythm, musical memory etc. this department slowly gained more precise contours. The culminating point of this process was reached in 1959 with the preparation of the six-year plan (1960–1965). In this proposal the Department for General Musicology was conceived as a separate unit dedicated to the theoretical discussion of problems of the sociology, aesthetics and psychology of music.²³ As a result, the decisive step towards systematic musicology that had become visible in Gostuški’s investigations in late 1950s was strongly confirmed. This represented a completely new field of research in Serbia despite the fact that some traces of it appeared in the interwar period (the research of Miloje Milojević). Besides the multi-disciplinary approach and complex methodology, there were other novelties that were announced in the six-year plan regarding this department. Amongst other things, one

23 IM SASA – AC, A IM SAS/SASA, Registry no. 3 (1948–1965), Institute of Musicology, Plan for the period from 1960 to 1965, Department for General Musicology, unsigned, undated, p. 5.

of the research topics that was sketched out was the sociological analysis of “the new phenomena in music” including “the problem of jazz and its influence both on composers and listeners”. The idea of focusing on the sociological aspects of music such as the formation of musical taste, the establishment of distinctive musical preferences among different social groups, the possibility of the emancipation of masses and their musical choices was not exceptional at the time. In fact, in 1962, Dušan Plavša, as a member of the Institute’s Council, suggested broad musical-sociometric research into the most populous towns in Serbia in order to collect data on the development of musical life in urban places and the living conditions of musicians.²⁴ Nevertheless, the proposal of the researchers of the Department for General Musicology which involved focusing on the popular music genres such as jazz represented an uncommon and bold move.

CONCLUDING REMARKS. THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF MUSIC RESEARCH AS A FACTOR IN THE SHAPING OF MUSICOLOGY AND ETHNOMUSICOLOGY IN SERBIA

The foundation of the Institute of Musicology SAS certainly represented a great step forward for the study of music in Serbia. For the first time the possibility of approaching various musical phenomena systematically and methodically was created owing to precisely-defined research directions and aims, topics and procedures, specific organizational structures and human, technological and material resources. As the results of our analysis have shown, the overall contributions of the Institute’s investigations varied over the course of time and also depended on the area of research, in this case, on the work of particular departments. Changes of perspective were manifest between the original organizational and research plans of the Institute and their later modifications, and, simultaneously, between pre- and post-WWII explorations. As a result of this “dual” approach, innovations in terms of methodology, findings and interpretations were less pronounced in the Historical-Archival Department in comparison to other departments. The example of Stana Đurić Klajn’s investigations is illuminating in this respect. Despite distancing herself from Petar Konjović’s conception of musicological research apparent in the appropriation of culturally orientated historical musicology, Đurić Klajn largely built on the achievements of her predecessors – Vladimir and Tihomir Đorđević and Kosta P. Manojlović.²⁵ Most of the topics she took into consideration were

24 IM SASA – AC, A IM SAS/SASA, Registry no. 3 (1948–1965), Memo to the Yugoslav Concert Agency, Institute of Musicology, no. 256, 19 May 1962, Belgrade.

25 Manojlović’s role in the shaping of the Historical-Archival Department was crucial, despite the fact that he spent less than one year working as a part-time associate of the Institute of Musicology SAS. During this short period he proposed broad archival investigations in order to collect data on Serbian musicians and composers from various periods. For that purpose, he planned a thorough examination of documents from the State Archives of Serbia. The aim was to bring together information on ninety-eight composers and musicians of Serbian, Czech, Austrian, Slovenian, Italian and Russian origin who

also explored by the afore-mentioned authors who outlined sources, problems and possible interpretations.

Although Đurić Klajn partly refuted the dominant canon of Serbian composers promoted by influential interwar experts, showing interest in numerous non-Serbian authors who lived and worked among Serbs, she never questioned its political nature. Unwilling to assess critically the concept of Serbian music created in the pre-WWII period was evident in the separation of the group of Czech musicians from Serbian-born musicians in the study of the history of music in Serbia, as well as in the absence of discussion on the question of whether music history in Serbia is synonymous with Serbian music history. Comparing Đurić Klajn's approach to this problem with the approach of her predecessors, it is clear that she stood between two opposing factions – the ethno-nationalist propagators of Serbian music (Milojević, Konjović, Binički and partly Manojlović) and more inclusively-orientated authors (Vladimir Đorđević, Krstić).

Unlike Stana Đurić Klajn, her colleague from the department, Petar Bingulac, had a more daring stance towards the legitimized “musical authorities”. Inquiring into Mokranjac's church chant collections and church music compositions, Bingulac noticed that there was no serious, scientifically based critical examination of his achievements in this area and that there were many “superficial and incorrect observations” and biased praise.²⁶ Therefore, he asked for an objective evaluation of Mokranjac's legacy, which was uncommon at the time. It was Bingulac's efforts that provoked methodological and ideological shifts in the Historical-Archival Department, rather than Đurić Klajn's.

Research into traditional music in Serbia was, as mentioned, symbolically and pragmatically placed on the border of musicology and folk studies or, rather, as a combination of these research visions firstly by institutionalization within the Institute of Musicology SAS, and then by the naming of the Department (of Folklore Studies) and by interweaving the practice of music and dance research. In this manner, continuity was created with the former research of traditional music, carried out by amateur and academic musicians and ethnographically-oriented researchers of different education. Their scientific shaping and innovating came gradually, in ideological and programmatic, technological and methodical and conceptual spheres, non-synchronously, intertwining mutual influences.

Given that mostly experienced researchers of folk music were brought in for cooperation in the Department of Folklore after the founding of the Institute, the motives and goals, and the whole background of amateur and institutional researches from the interwar period were reflected in the projections of future work in the

had contributed to the development of the “music of our people”. Special focus was given to material of diverse kinds, including correspondence connected to Kornelije Stanković and Strevan St. Mokranjac (IM SASA – AC, A IM SAS/SASA, Registry no. 5 (1949–1950), memo from Kosta P. Manojlović to the Institute of Musicology SAS, no. 340, 29 September 1949, Belgrade). Manojlović also suggested the exploration of primary sources from the 17th and 18th century outside Serbia and Yugoslavia in order to consider musical life and circumstances of the more distant past.

26 IM SASA – AC, A IM SAS/SASA, Registry no. 3 (1948–1965), Proposal and explanation of proposal of the scientific research at the Institute of Musicology SAS, 3. Mokranjac and his work on church music, undated, pp. 3–4.

new institution. In addition, the small number of associate-researchers in traditional music was a very important fact, leading to the establishing of scientific and institutional policies by the persons who conducted them, especially the leaders. The circumstance that Kosta Manojlović passed away not long after the founding of the Institute (1949) made Miodrag Vasiljević the key figure of the Department of Folklore in the initial phase of the work of the Institute. On the other hand, even though research was extensive and represented a significant part of his professional engagement, it seems that the basic position of music teacher at the Academy of Music (Cf. Марковић 2003: 23), but also many other assignments he had at the time influenced the manner and the tempo/dynamics of professionalization of traditional music research and the shaping of ethnomusicology as a discipline. Apart from this, the fact that he acted primarily from the position of a “collector” of folk music (with exceptional results), while his studies of the recorded materials and theoretical deliberations were, as he said, more “self-developed and intuitive” (Cf. Јовановић 2002: 205) in spite of contact with foreign colleagues, made Vasiljević’s contribution great and valuable, but highly individualized. Even though he, as a pedagogue and a mentor, primarily shaped his scientific heirs, it was without doubt Vasiljević’s early death (1963), as the disappearance of a great authority, that influenced the history of the Serbian ethnomusicology in two ways: in the sense of losing a recognizable research track and in the sense of furthering completely individual scientific development of the younger generations. Given that the establishing of specific education for a researcher into musical folklore at the Academy of Music (in 1961 as a part of the Department of History of Music and Musical Folklore) was completely his contribution, after Vasiljević’s departure there were two key figures who stood out – Radmila Petrović, who would (together with Milica Ilijin as a researcher of folk dances) in the decades to come, mark the work of the Department of Folklore of the Institute of Musicology, and Dragoslav Dević, who inherited the role of leader of the Department of Musical Folklore at the Academy of Music.²⁷ This is how this generational shift achieved professionalization of research (as the basic and exclusive activity).

It is the specificity of the initial phase of the work of the Institute of Musicology as regards research into traditional music compared to the latter period which demonstrates the influence of scientific thinking on the development of the discipline, especially in proportionally smaller environments and research groups such as ethnomusicological (and ethnochoreological) circles in Serbia.

²⁷ Radmila Petrović would, based on intensive contacts with the Anglophone ethnomusicological circles all round the world, which were then becoming predominant and were promoting intensely an anthropological approach to ethnomusicological research, make a significant but a more idiosyncratic mark with her personal scientific production and activities in culture, but the resonance of her work in the national ethnomusicology would be proportionally weak as a result of the lack of an opportunity to share her experience with students. On the other hand, Dragoslav Dević conducted only part of his research as an associate of the Institute of Musicology, and mostly carried out his research from the position of Professor at the Academy of Music (later the Faculty of Music), and in parallel transmitted his programmatic and methodological choices to numerous generations of Serbian ethnomusicologists.

Finally, the initiatives in the Department of General Musicology were of enormous historical importance in opening completely unknown horizons of research. Amongst other things, associates of this department promoted a multidisciplinary approach to various musical phenomena combining theoretical and empirical investigations. Topics that were explored echoed the interests of musicologists from other countries and “research traditions”, giving the possibility of a fruitful exchange of results.

Despite the fact that the early history of the Institute of Musicology was under the profound influence of pre-1945 narratives, it is important to observe the appearance of new tendencies, particularly since the 1960s. At the time, a more nuanced approach to historical and social processes, events and figures became manifest, indicating a move towards modified perspectives on musical practices. In theory, this opened possibilities for alternative interpretations of Serbian music history – denationalized, counter-elitist and focused both on the macro- and micro-levels.

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APPENDIX

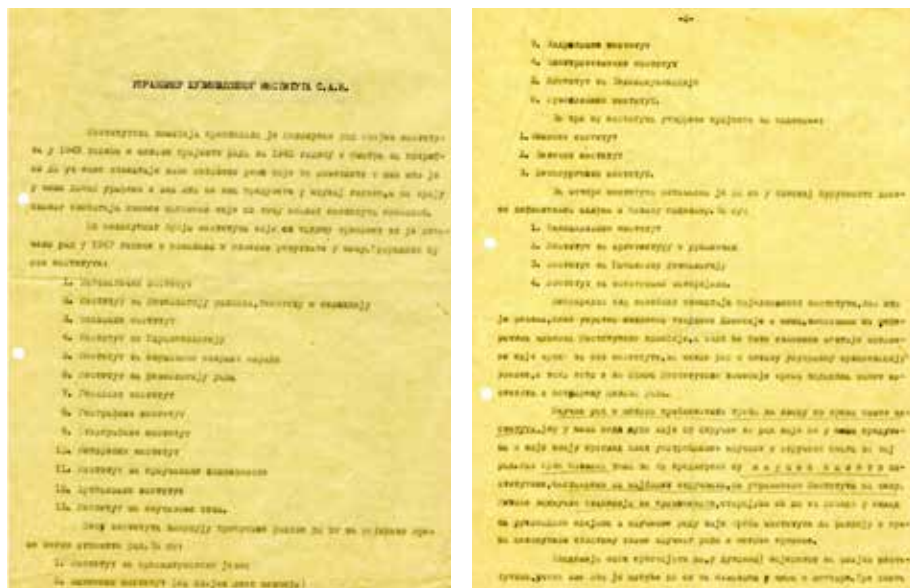


Figure 1. A. Belčić's memo to the Director of the Institute of Musicology SAS, first and second page. IM SASA – AC, IM SAS/SASA, Registry no. 1 (1947–1948), undated.

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Figure 2. Proposal to the ceremonial conference at the SAS. IM SASA – AC, A IM SAS/SASA, Registry no. 1 (1947–1948), undated, unsigned (probably written by Petar Konjović).

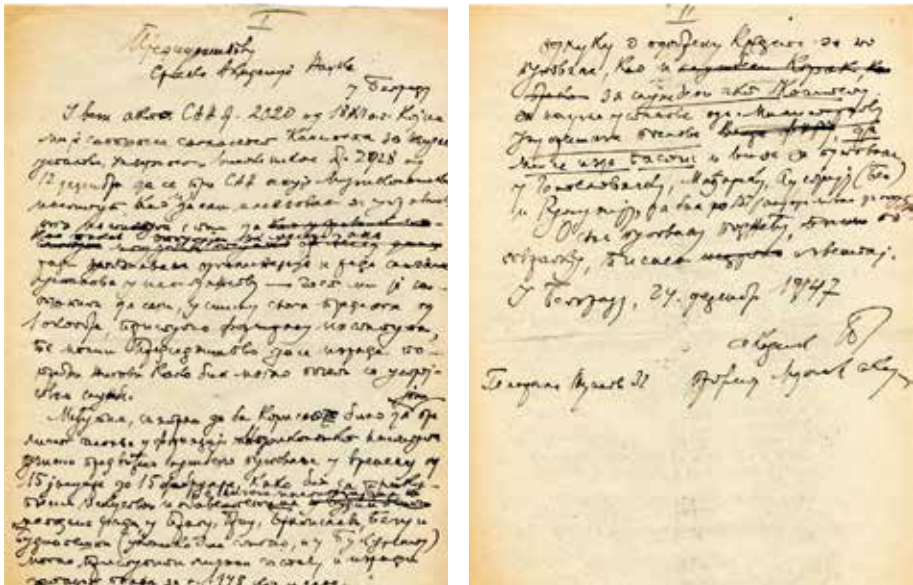


Figure 3. Petar Konjović's memo to the Presidency of SAS, handwritten version. IM SASA – AC, A IM SAS/SASA, Registry no. 1 (1947–1948), 24 December 1947.

ИВАНА ВЕСИЋ И ДАНКА ЛАЈИЋ МИХАЈЛОВИЋ

ДОМИНАНТНЕ СТРУЈЕ У ИСТРАЖИВАЊИМА МУЗИКЕ У СРБИЈИ:
ПРЕГЛЕД РАНЕ ИСТОРИЈЕ МУЗИКОЛОШКОГ ИНСТИТУТА САН (1947–1965)
(РЕЗИМЕ)

Рад се бави историјатом српске музикологије и етномузикологије на основу анализе деловања Музиколошког института САН(У), једине научно-истраживачке институције усмерене на проучавање музике у Србији. У фокусу је почетни период рада Института – две деценије непосредно после Другог светског рата (1947–1965). Основне изворе чинила је административна документација ове научноистраживачке установе. На основу ње је разматрана организација рада Института по појединим одељењима (Одељење за фолклор, Историјско-архивско одељење, Одељење за општу музикологију), као и деловање сталних и „спољних“ (хонорарних) сарадника. Указано је на функције истраживања различитих музичких пракси у то време, кључне теме по областима, методолошке одабире, а осветљени су и утицаји појединачних личности. На основу увида у разматрања музичких појава пре Другог светског рата у закључку су сагледани континуитети и дисконтинуитети, као и појава иновативних истраживачких пракси и подухвата. Поред уочавања доминантних струја у српској музикологији и етномузикологији у дужем временском периоду, рад има за циљ потцртавање утицаја процеса институционализације на обликовање ових дисциплина у националним оквирима.

Кључне речи: Музиколошки институт САН(У), историјат истраживања музике, музикологија, етномузикологија, Србија, Југославија

VOICES FROM THE BEGINNING: THE EARLY PHASE OF MUSICAL HISTORIOGRAPHY IN SERBIA*

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ABSTRACT

The beginnings of Serbian musical historiography can be traced back to the nineteenth century. The first half of that century is marked by the work of musical amateurs, and later professionals were gradually trained. The beginnings of Serbian musical historiography can be found in articles published in memorials of singing societies, as well as in periodicals. These were portraits of composers and performers, texts on church and folk music, obituaries and other articles. The first history of music in the Serbian language appeared in 1921 in Pančevo. Its author was Ljubomir Bošnjaković (1891–1987), composer and conductor. This short history of music is written in a popular way, as a guide-book for concert and opera audiences, and as a manual for school youth. It includes a professional approach and a free, literary expression. This study paints a picture of the initial phase of the development of musical historiography in Serbia, as well as an analysis of Ljubomir Bošnjaković's book.

KEYWORDS: Ljubomir Bošnjaković, musical historiography in Serbia, methodology of musical historiography, Dušan Đermekov, Jovan Ivanišević, Stevan Hristić

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In the complex social and political circumstances of the nineteenth century in which the modern Serbian state was formed, writing about music also made its contribution to the shaping of national cultural identity. It found its place in daily newspapers, literary and later music magazines. The Serbian reading public, scattered amongst the state borders of the Principality, and then the Kingdom of Serbia and Habsburg Monarchy, for a long time received reports on contemporary music events that did not offer objective critical insights. Over time, the number of exhaustive reports on music affairs, as well as articles on specific issues in music theory and texts portraying prominent figures among Serbian composers and performers proliferated. In the circumstances in which music amateurs far exceeded the few professional musicians educated in the Western tradition who had only started to shape the Serbian music scene, the very first bibliography of Serbian music appeared in 1874.³

In contrast to texts dealing with literary and visual arts, which reflected the author's insight into the historical development and current trends in European literary theory and arts, aesthetics and philosophical standpoints, writings on music bore testimony to the more than modest formal musical knowledge of their authors.⁴ These authors, with few exceptions, were vaguely familiar with the historical development and theoretical systems of European artistic music or with the church and folk music practices of neighbouring nations. Nevertheless, written material on music over the entire nineteenth century had, beside its crucially informative message, a pronounced didactic and patriotism-promoting character. A primary task was to enlighten; foundations for a national music tradition were to be laid following the example of European tradition which at the time seemed in many aspects unfamiliar and unattainable. To attain this aim was only possible with the help of existing church and folk music which had exclusively been fostered and transmitted orally and which was yet to be incorporated in a methodically justified and purposeful pedagogical process (Peno 2016: 117–123, 235–241). The process itself needed to be invented.

3 A choirmaster and music teacher, Dušan Đermekov, made a list of the music works inspired by historical motifs and folk melodies whose authors were mainly foreign, with a few Serbian composers. The bibliography by Đermekov was published only five years after Stojan Novaković, a famous Serbian literary historian, compiled the first bibliography of Serbian literature, showing the general efforts of cultural promoters of the time to follow contemporary tendencies in European culture, art and science. The words taken from the first part of his article entitled *A view on the current situation of our music*, unambiguously depict the position of music in the Serbian culture of 1880's: "Our music is still in a cradle. This branch of art is so neglected that one may assume this nation is deprived of a heart, deprived of a language that is able easily and aptly to express diverse feelings – deprived of singing" (Đermekov 1874: 93).

4 Professional musicians were quite rare in Serbian lands by the middle of the nineteenth century, which explains why lawyers, politicians and doctors were those who wrote about music affairs. There was no expert music terminology by the late 1860s. A substantial contribution to its formation was another musical "layman", a mathematician and economist, Milan Milovuk, in his books *Teorički osnovi muzike* (1866) and *Nauka o muzici* (1867). See Vasiljević 2000: 46–51.

Although Western cultural models, and accordingly European music practices, were unconditionally accepted in Serbian society during the century of national flourishing (Bikicki 1987), in public discourse, music propagators in Serbia were spreading the idea that folk music, having been cultivated for centuries, was uniquely capable of uniting, and keeping united, the Serbian ethnos.⁵ Church chant and folk melodies were therefore favoured over “European” music, although it was clear that their preservation was only possible through a correct notational system and artistic processing that followed the rules of European music theory.

As the number of transcriptions of church melodies increased, they were naturally followed by the first historiographical articles on the development of liturgical music in the “national”, that is, Serbian Church. These found their place in the forewords of some notated church chant collections.⁶ The first steps towards a national history of church music were taken within singing societies where music activities were, no doubt, nationally coloured (Pejović 1994: 30, 231–232, 257–267), but we also trace them in some texts dedicated to historical reviews of folk music, primarily of the instruments in wide national use (I. S. 1842; Milanković 1891; Pejović 1994: 7, 235–236).

To fragmentary historiographical accounts, given in the form of lists, biographies and obituaries of deserving music activists, especially those who were spreading European music culture among their compatriots,⁷ one should also add the first reviews of some famous European composers’ opuses.⁸ At the beginning of the twentieth century, the

5 “In Serbia, Serbian words must be uttered and Serbian songs must resonate,” according to Pejović 1994: 39.

6 The first authors who notated church music used a famous work of archimandrite Jovan Rajić: *Istorija Katihizma Pravoslavnih Srbalja u Cesarskim državama*, for the sake of its diachronic account of more than scarce primary music sources from recent history, that is, from the eighteenth century onwards. See Boljarić and Tajšanović, 1891: I–IV; Ostojić 1896; VII–X and 1897. In the dominant air of Romanticism, these works primarily served to create a myth of an autochthonous and invaluable Serbian music tradition, for which there was no evidence in either the distant or in the recent past, or in the authors’ time. On the real situation regarding chanting in the Serbian Orthodox Church and on teaching chanting in seminaries and regular schools many wrote with skepticism and with gloom (Peno 2011). Writers of the twentieth century, primarily Kosta P. Manojlović, would continue in the same manner, but far more grounded in scientific research concerning the Serbian musical tradition (Peno 2017a).

7 Many articles on their activities as artists, written during their lives and posthumously, helped K. Stanković and Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac to establish themselves above other Serbian musicians educated in the Western tradition during the second half of the nineteenth century (Perić 1985 and 1999). It is vital to mention that first outlines of the history of Serbian music were given in the composer Petar Konjović’s article *Muzika u Srba* in his book *Ličnosti* in 1920, but they also partially resulted from an article by another active musician and music critic, Stevan Hristić, in which he strictly selected who among Serbian music authors deserved to be mentioned in the history of Serbian music (Pejović 1994: 122).

8 Jovan Ivanišević wrote the first, very short biography of Mozart with a list of his works (Ivanišević 1887). The composer and music critic Stevan Hristić in his early articles wrote about famous European and Russian musicians. See Hristić 1908; 1909a-c; 1912a-b; 1914.

first more demanding compilations dealing with the historical development of ancient music traditions (Greek, that of the Old and New Testament) also appeared in church periodicals.⁹ In these studies, the authors tried to satisfy the basic principles of scientific methodology. As a result, in the footnotes one may find a wide range of mainly foreign bibliographical references that they used while writing their studies.¹⁰

A good command of foreign languages, primarily of German, definitely gave a chance to those more influential and relevant Serbian musicians at the turn of the last century, in the first place to those who stood an opportunity to acquire their music education or to master their profession abroad, to become acquainted with current work in music historiography. However, amongst those well-educated and influential musicians and composers, of older but also younger generations, there were none interested in translating a solid volume on the history of music from a foreign language. They saw their priorities as being on the other side. In such conditions, in which it was urgent to provide music literacy to the nation and find the

9 At the dawn of the twentieth century, hieromonk Vladimir Boberić, a teacher of church chant at the Seminary in Ralja and a catechist at the Great Serbian Grammar School in Sarajevo, published in the magazine *Dabro-bosanski istočnik* a comprehensive series of articles entitled “Slike iz istorije crkvenoga pjesništva i muzika u pravoslavnoj crkvi” on the historical development of Christian poetry and psalmody, on its origins and theoretical system. Three years later, a liturgics teacher in Sremski Karlovci Seminary, protopresbyter Jovan Živković, published a study of a similar concept, also as a series, with the rather ordinary title “Church chant” in the magazine *Bogoslovski glasnik*. These historiographic and theoretical texts were quite unique amongst the modest reference texts written for church chanters and those who loved liturgical hymns (Peno 2017b).

10 Vladimir Boberić and Jovan Živković quoted in their references a famous book, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur von Justinian bis zum Ende des oströmischen Reiches*, which Karl Krumbacher (1856–1909), a founder of Byzantine studies in the Western Europe, wrote in collaboration with a Roman Catholic priest and Church historian Albert Ehrhard (1962–1940) and philologist Heinrich Gelzer (1847–1906). Boberić also quoted a book by Raphael Georg Kiesewetter Edler von Wiesenbrunn (1773–1850), *Geschichte der europäisch-abendländischen oder unserer heutigen Musik* (Leipzig: Druck und Verlag von Breitkopf und Härtel), first published in 1834, then in 1846, and reissued in English (Robert Müller [transl.]. *History of the Modern Music of Western Europe, from the First Century of the Christian Era to the Present Day, with Examples, and an Appendix, Explanatory of the Theory of the Ancient Greek Music*. London: T. C. Newby, 1848). The odds are that he perused Hans Michael Schletterer, *Geschichte der geistlichen Dichtung und kirchlichen Tonkunst: in ihrem Zusammenhange mit der politischen und socialen Entwicklung insbesondere des deutschen Volkes*, Hannover 1869. Both authors quoted the opinion of Ludwig Nohl (1831–1885), a German musicologist and writer, which he had presented in his *Allgemeine Musikgeschichte*, Leipzig: Reclam 1881. They took over theoretical foundations from a work by Ivan Ivanovich Voznesensky, a Russian protopresbyter and a scholar of the tradition of church chant (see Voznesensky 1890). Surprisingly, Živković was also familiar with a comprehensive study of church music in the Greek language in which a thorough account of Eastern chanting tradition “from the time of the Apostles to the present day” was given, as the title itself says, and which was written by a theoretician and musicologist, Georgios I. Papadopoulos (Παπαδόπουλος 1890).

most effective way to educate proper vocal and instrumental performers, work on a handbook on the history of art music was not mentioned at all.¹¹

Ljubomir Bošnjaković, a student in Berlin, was the one who undertook this task in 1920 among his far more prominent contemporaries. At the same time, Miloje Milojević, already distinguished for his writings on music and who was among the few Serbs to acquire a PhD degree in musicology, four years afterwards, pointed in his article *Музикално васпийишање* (*Music Education*) at core faults in the teaching of music in Serbian schools (Milojević 1920). In particular, he analysed the situation in private music schools, that is, specialized schools, and only sporadically mentioned the importance of a knowledge of music history, without making any actual proposals regarding methods for becoming familiar with the evolution of styles and with the works of composers whose scores/sheet music Serbian musicians aspired to read. Without any pretentiousness, which, in contrast, oozes from Milojević's paper, Bošnjaković opened the foreword to his book in optimistic tones, honestly believing that "after the gigantic efforts" the Serbian people had made in the field of musical culture, they had finally found themselves on the right and good path. Aiming to enable both musicians and music lovers "to orientate themselves easily in a music hall or at an opera house", he compiled this concise history of music looking up first-class German and French sources.¹² His aim was to present what he believed was most essential in a simple and appropriate manner.

Ljubomir Bošnjaković's *History of Music* was published in 1921 in Pančevo by the publishing house 'Napredak' (Progress). It was its first and only edition, though the author worked on a second (Figure 1).

Bošnjaković was born in Mostar (Bosnia and Herzegovina) in 1891. He gained his musical education in Belgrade at the Serbian School of Music, furthered his studies in Vienna, Berlin and graduated from the Naples Conservatory of music. He was a music teacher in Skopje and Aleksinac, and from 1925 to 1941 he worked as a military conductor at Royal Yugoslav army – in Bitola, Zrenjanin, Subotica and Belgrade. Following the Second World War, he was appointed general director of the Second Broadcasting Channel of Radio Belgrade. 1964 onwards, he lived in Hvar (Republic of Croatia) where he composed a number of his works. He died in 1987.

11 By the second decade of the twentieth century, at Serbian schools and seminaries, church and folk chants had been learned by heart. Pupils often memorized choir parts without using any sheet music when preparing for different public performances. Some less demanding church melodies were even taught at kindergartens in Vojvodina (Anonymous 1888). The situation did not improve much in the period between the World Wars, as many appeals by music experts and distinguished men bear witness (Vesic and Peno 2016).

12 Bošnjaković listed his references at the beginning of his book: Ludwig Nohl, *Musikgeschichte* (1917); Kothe-Prochazka, *Abriss der Musikgeschichte* (1919); Ernst Wickenhagen, *Geschichte der Kunst* (1919); Richard Batka, *Geschichte der Musik* (Bd. I und II); Alfred Bruneau, *Musique de Russie* (1903); Alfred Bruneau, *La musique française* (1901); Rudolf Louis, *Die Deutsche Musik der Gegenwart* (1909); Edgar Istel, *Die moderne Oper* (1883–1914); Richard Hofmann, *Musikinstrumente* (1903); Petar Konjović, *Ličnosti*, Zagreb 1920.



Figure 1. The front cover of Ljubomir Bošnjaković's *History of Music*

Serbian music history has put Ljubomir Bošnjaković in the category of so-called minor masters and recognized his artistic output as the last offspring of romanticism in Serbian music. Bošnjaković tried out different musical genres. He composed one opera, a number of works for plays, and orchestral overtures. His most significant achievements were in choral music, for cappella choir or for choir and orchestra. These are arrangements of folk melodies, linked together into “garlands” on the model of to older Serbian composer. His rhapsodies for orchestra as well as his piano music, were based on folk motifs.

His plain, romantic musical compositions have not been performed in concert halls for many years. Nevertheless, Bošnjaković’s name has not been forgotten in Serbian musical lexicography. There are entries on him in the *Yugoslav Encyclopaedia of Music* (Đurić-Klajn MСMLXXI²), *Lexicon of Yugoslav Music* (Anon. 1984), *Serbian Biographical Dictionary* (Gajić 2004), *Serbian Encyclopaedia* (Gajić 2011). Bošnjaković was mentioned in the first history of Serbian music by Stana Đurić-Klajn (1962: 698), but was omitted from the latest collective history of Serbian music, written by professors from the Faculty of Music in Belgrade (Veselinović-Hofman et al. 2007). A short and succinct outline of Bošnjaković’s life and work was given by academician Vlastimir Peričić in his renowned book *Composers in Serbia* (Peričić 1969: 64–66). In 1994, Biljana Milanović published a study on Bošnjaković’s work as a composer, with new facts, offering a suggestive assessment of his position in Serbian music. She

also attached to her study a list of Bošnjaković's works and manuscripts that are kept at the Institute of Musicology of the Serbian Academy (Milanović 1994).

Bošnjaković earned his place in Gordana Krajačić's history of Serbian military music 1831–1945 (Krajačić 2003: 106–107). Basic observations on Bošnjaković's book, noting that it deserves a more thorough review, were presented by Sonja Marinković in the journal *New Sound* (Marinković 1995: 147).

Roksanda Pejović's history of Serbian music criticism and essays in the interwar period was published in 1999. The book contains a short review of Bošnjaković's *History of Music* (Pejović 1999: 169–170).

Bošnjaković's 167-pages long *History of Music* consists of 13 chapters divided into three parts, containing also the author's foreword, a list of bibliographical references and a glossary of basic musical terms. The volume offers 48 photos of European and Yugoslav musicians, as well as a few examples of original sheet music. The author dedicated his book to Stanislav Binički (1872–1942), a composer and conductor, and presented its purpose in the foreword. Having argued that music was evidently on the rise in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, he recommended his book as a guide or manual for concert and opera audiences and for the pupils of music schools and conservatories. In the foreword, one may also find information on the author's approach to music history. He was of the notion that only the most urgent topics should be presented, and these are the history of polyphony, church music, opera and symphony.

Bošnjaković's book is organized with an emphasis on the musical genres selected. The first part covers the musical culture of ancient times only to continue with the rise of polyphony in Europe and then, in the last chapter he gives an account of oratorio as a musical genre. The second part follows the historical development of opera and its representatives in Italy, Germany, Austria, France, and opera production among the so-called national schools of the nineteenth century. Finally, the third part of the book deals with types of instrumental music such as sonata, symphony, symphonic poem, etc. Bošnjaković's *History* extends all the way to Claude Debussy and Ferruccio Busoni, and among the younger generation of Serbian composers, it mentions Petar Konjović, Miloje Milojević and Stevan Hristić.

The book may be approached in at least three different ways: in terms of content, methodology and language.

This *History of Music* is under 200 pages; hence a more accurate title would be a *short music history*. Such a limited space definitely influenced the choice and amount of information it could share. One question is whether we can agree with the author's criterion regarding the choice of data to be included. An example is a relatively comprehensive subchapter on Ancient Greek music, in which different musicians, instruments and notational systems are discussed, but there is no mention of literary references for Greek music – not even a word on a very important source such as Pseudo-Plutarch's treatise *On Music*. Such examples can hardly be listed in detail here;¹³ nevertheless, imbalance is a general impression. The way he dealt with the issue of Serbian music reflects this impression best.

13 Here we will not present examples of mistakes in Ljubomir Bošnjaković's book. Roksanda Pejović has pointed some of them out (Pejović 1999: 169–170).

Bošnjaković saw the works of Yugoslav composers in the light of the national schools in European music. Among Croat composers he chose to give an account of Vatroslav Lisinski and Ivan Zajc, but chose none of Slovenes. The account of Serbian music is also problematic. Although there is a chapter on romantic piano music, there is no information about Kornelije Stanković.¹⁴

Since the book did not contain a chapter on choral music, an outline of Stevan Mokranjac's works was omitted (whereas his theatre music for *Ivkova slava* was mentioned together with two authors who wrote about Mokranjac). The only Serbian composer who was given more space in this book was Stanislav Binički. Bošnjaković assessed his work more than favourably: he says for Binički's overture *Equinox* that it is "authentically Serbian and the greatest instrumental work of genuine musical quality (in the highest sense of the word)" (Bošnjaković 1921: 106). Indeed, contemporary Serbian musicology considers *Equinox* as one of the finest works by Binički. But Ljubomir Bošnjaković does not mention the Symphony in C Minor by Petar Konjović, the first symphony in Serbian music, which has not only a historical but also a real artistic significance. This way, Bošnjaković's outlook on Serbian music proves to be not only fragmentary but also unbalanced.

Before literary science, musicology arrived at the concept of art history as a history of forms. Advocating the so called intrinsic approach in the history of literature, René Wellek took the example and accomplishments of music historiography as a history of forms, not as a chronological account of composers' biographical portraits (Velek 1985³: 294). Bošnjaković conceived his book to be a history of music forms. However – as he hinted in the foreword – he neither omitted biographical data nor information on the context in which certain forms were born. This was certainly necessary since musical genres were developing and changing under specific historical and social conditions.

Following the evolution of musical forms, Bošnjaković does not provide much professional musicological analysis. He lists names of the composers and presents their short biographies and bibliographies. Instead of an analytical review, he chooses rather a literary style of expression. And here we come to the central issue of this book.

Specifically, in some cases, Bošnjaković's plastic formulations strongly affect the reader, especially one who is not a musician. Speaking about the music of Tchaikovsky, he says: "His works are full of captivating melodies" (Bošnjaković 1921: 150). This is forceful and accurate, but this is all that Bošnjaković says about Tchaikovsky's melodies. And he does not give a musicological overview of other expressive devices of his music.

A deeper and more elaborate analysis is also missing in the fragment dedicated to Chopin: "As a composer he is among the most original... In all his works he proves to be a real romanticist, portraying all the particularities of Polish character in the most expressive and ideal manner" (Bošnjaković 1921: 131).

There is not a word on Chopin's harmonic language and style, his melodic aspects or music forms. Generally speaking, the scholarly aspect of this book is carefully "supervised"; the professional layer is so confined that in some places musical remarks

14 Kornelije Stanković (1831–1865) was the founder of modern Serbian art music.

are strikingly absent. There remains the question why Bošnjaković, a professional musician, adopted such a style. It is possible that he perceived concert and opera audiences, for whom he intended this book, to be an audience lacking music education. Therefore what we have here is a book for ordinary use.

The transcription of foreign names in Serbian in this book does not conform to modern orthographical standards. Ljubomir Bošnjaković cannot be blamed for this; at the time he was writing his *History of Music* these issues were not in focus. We must not forget that in some music journals of the interwar period, for instance in *Zvuk*, it was common to write names in the original form (*Zvuk* was printed in Latin script). As it is known, basic normative orthographical principles regarding the transcription and adaptation of foreign names were established in the *Serbo-Croatian Language Orthography [Pravopis srpskohrvatskoga književnog jezika]* published by Matica srpska and Matica hrvatska only in 1960.

Ljubomir Bošnjaković's *History of music* emerged unexpectedly, almost having no direct predecessors in Serbia. The book brought a great deal of information on European musicians of whom little was known in Serbia. Therein lies its importance. Unbalanced regarding the selection and presentation of material, it arose as a herald of a presently distant future after World War II, when favourable circumstances in Serbia and Yugoslavia enabled music historiography to flourish.

Hoping his book would attract in the first place young people who could then dedicate themselves more conscientiously to music, Bošnjaković showed in the last sentence of his foreword that he was well aware that an optimistic pledge he had taken when he began and finished his undertaking had no actual coverage in real Serbian life. It was clear to him that there was a great deal more to be done for the sake of elementary music education before knowledge of artistic music history would make any sense. However, he wanted to believe that the future would justify his endeavours. The fact that before this paper Serbian musicology has hardly mentioned this first Serbian volume on music history and that so far it has not been the subject of a thorough analysis does not diminish its relevance, but rather tells us to what extent our public sphere appreciates the efforts of modest and non-established music scholars.

Translated by Biljana Grujović

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ВЕСНА ПЕНО, АЛЕКСАНДАР ВАСИЋ

ГЛАСОВИ С ПОЧЕТКА:
РАНА ФАЗА МУЗИЧКЕ ИСТОРИОГРАФИЈЕ У СРБИЈИ

(РЕЗИМЕ)

У сложеним друштвенополитичким условима у XIX веку, под којима се формирала модерна српска национална држава, обликовању културног идентитета допринела је и писана реч о музици. Своје место она је, почев од тридесетих година XIX века, нашла у дневним листовима, књижевним, потом и музичким часописима. Српска читалачка публика испрва је обавештавана о актуелним музичким догађајима, а потом је могла да прати расправе о одређеним музичкотеоријским питањима, те да се упознаје с портретима запаженијих српских композитора и извођача. У условима у којима су међу далеко бројнијим музичким аматерима српску музичку сцену почињали да обликују тек неколицина на западноевропским основама школованих музичара, године 1874. појавила се прва библиографија српске музике.

Написи о музици сведочили су у целини о више него скромном музичкообразовном статусу њихових писаца, којима су, с ретким изузецима, историјски развој и теоријски систем европске уметничке музике и црквено-фолклорних музичких пракси народа у блиском окружењу били тек делимично познати. Но, аутори нису одступали од тога да, уз кључну – информативну поруку, својим списима обезбеде наглашено дидактички и родољубиво-пропагандни карактер. Отуда велико интересовање првих, условно речено, музичких историографа за српску црквену и фолклорну музику. Замеци националне историје црквене музике нашли су се у споменицама различитих, бројних певачких друштава. Фрагментарне историографске прилоге представљају и пописи дела, биографије и некролози заслужнијих музичких посленика, нарочито оних који су међу сународницима ширили европску музичку културу. Њима треба прибројати и прве осврте на стваралаштво појединих познатих европских композитора.

Премда су значајнији и утицајнији српски музичари на прелому два столећа, пре свега они који су музичко образовање стекли или усавршавали у иностранству, имали прилику да се упознају с тада актуелним историографским музиколошким радовима, међу њима нико није био заинтересован да бар на српски језик преведе солиднију инострану историју музике. У условима у којима је било неопходно најпре музички описменити нацију и изнаћи најефикаснији пут до готових вокалних и инструменталних извођача, састављање приручне историје уметничке музике није уопште

спомињано. Овај задатак је, међу знатно афирмисанијим савременицима, преузео 1920. године Љубомир Бошњакковић,

Године 1921. издавачка књижара „Напредак” у Панчеву објавила је *Историју музике* Љубомира Бошњакковића (1891–1987). То је прво и једино издање те књиге, иако је аутор касније радио на њеној преради. Бошњакковићева *Историја музике* компонована је из три дела и тринаест поглавља. Она садржи и пишчев предговор, листу коришћене литературе, речник основних музичких термина и списак исправки.

Аутор је своје дело од 167 страница конципирао као историју одабраних музичких жанрова и врста. Ова *Историја музике* прати историју ораторијума, опере и инструменталне музике у Европи. Невеликог обима, књига би заправо требало да носи наслов *крајика* историја музике.

Будући сажета, ова и оваква књига по дефиницији мора бити „непотпуна”, па зато евентуална примедба у том правцу нема праву поенту. Међутим, аутори студије указали су на примере нејасног критеријума у избору музичкоисторијске грађе, а гдекад и неутемељених вредновања.

Анализа пишчевог поступка показала је да је он строго контролисао употребу стручних израза и да је релативно често уместо за елементима музиколошке елаборације посезао за слободним, литерарним исказима. То указује на чињеницу да се писац пре свега обраћао публици скромног музичког образовања. Тиме је његова књига добила карактер популарног, кратког водича кроз историју музике.

Бошњакковићева *Историја музике* појавила се изненада и без праве припреме, као пионирско дело у својој врсти. Задуго, у наредних двадесет година, док нису настала необјављена скрипта из историје музике Милоја Милојевића, професора на Филозофском факултету у Београду, она није добила последника. Као таква, она заслужује пажњу. Овом књигом српски читалац добио је на своме језику дело које није уједначено, али које му је донело бројне податке о европским композиторима.

Кључне речи: Љубомир Бошњакковић, музичка историографија у Србији, методологија музичке историографије, Душан Ђермеков, Јован Иванишевић, Стеван Христић

CONTEMPORARY URBAN FOLK MUSIC IN THE BALKANS: POSSIBILITIES FOR REGIONAL MUSIC HISTORY*

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ABSTRACT:

Starting with Maria Todorova's landmark study *Imagining the Balkans* (Todorova 1997), numerous authors have raised their voices against stereotypical images of the Balkans. Over twenty years after the publication of this book, the term "the Balkans" seems to have lost some of its negative connotations related to wars in favour of characteristics with positive overtones, such as the Balkan peoples' *joie-de-vivre* and entertainment strongly related to music. The areal ethnomusicology drawing from fieldwork throughout the Balkan peninsula has been a fruitful topic for numerous local and foreign ethnomusicologists and the very term "the Balkans" has raised a special interest in the ethnomusicological research of "outsiders", as well as in the music industry.

This paper is written from the perspective of an "insider" ethnomusicologist from the Balkans. I raise the question of the definition of the "Balkan" popular music label and discuss its main structural characteristics. I offer a new possibility of (re)considering a specific musical genre of the region based on the research of urban folk music practices. I present characteristics of urban folk music practices from the second half of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century in the countries of the Balkans, with special attention paid to their common aspects. Also, contemporary urban folk music, which is often criticized as a specific popular music form, is considered.

KEYWORDS: The Balkans, music stereotypes, ethnomusicology, urban folk music, popular music

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In this article I will talk about preliminary steps for wider research – the history and ethnography of popular folk music of the Balkans. I will reflect on the musicscape (socially, culturally and aesthetically organized soundscape) of the Balkans which currently may be considered as the most common, even from the ethnomusicological point of view. I am talking from the perspective of an “insider” ethnomusicologist from the Balkans (to be precise, from Serbia) and I argue that “Balkan music” is a term of the global popular music industry (not of ethnomusicology and even not strictly of local popular music markets, where recently it has acquired a different meaning related to the space of the former Yugoslavia). The structure of this paper is the following: I will give a very short overview of the extensive literature about the notion of the Balkans, emphasizing ethnomusicological literature relevant to this topic. I also underline the question of the definition of the “Balkan” popular music label and isolate its main structural characteristics. Finally, I offer a new possibility of (re)considering a specific music genre of the region based on research into urban folk music practices. My aim is not to neglect Balkan music stereotypes hitherto related to today’s popular music industry, but to call for a joint (ethno)musicological research of a common, pan-Balkan heritage, which was marginalised in scientific discourse because of its orientation towards national heritages, built from rural musical folklore, since the nineteenth century. This means thinking beyond current national borders, but also moving borders of topics and tools in Balkan ethnomusicologies.

CONCEPTS OF THE BALKANS IN LITERATURE

GENERAL CRITIQUES OF THE CONCEPTS OF THE BALKANS

Starting with Maria Todorova’s landmark study *Imagining the Balkans* (Todorova 1997), numerous authors have raised their voice against stereotypical images of Southeastern Europe, i.e. the Balkans. As is known, her work was grounded in Edward Said’s *Orientalism* (Said 1978), the book which revealed the metaphor for the Eastern “Other” suppressed by the hegemony of West. In Todorova’s work, the Balkans is interpreted as a European “inner Other”, i.e. an incomplete East and at the same time an incomplete West. It is very important that she emphasized the role of the Ottoman legacy in the region, and we can add the perspectives of general Mediterranean and Slavic connections (more in: Medić and Tomašević 2015), but also of Byzantine and Austro-Hungarian empires to the history, and, today highly relevant, Yugoslav heritage and diaspora contexts (and all of the aforementioned mega-categories, as well as national markers, could be topics for significant debates in our disciplines). As Milica Bakić Hayden wrote (Bakić Hayden 1995), the Balkan in Europe is in the process of “nesting orientalism”, which means that the Balkan as a metaphor is not geographically fixed, but it is always more eastern than a particular country (in Bakić Hayden’s case, Yugoslavia). Todorova observed the Balkans as the margin of Europe, and Katherine Fleming (Fleming 2001) emphasised its liminality. From various perspectives, it can be concluded that “the Balkans” is a metaphor (cf. Bjelić and Savić 2002). Nevertheless, the Balkans, in today’s political discourse on South-Eastern Europe and in

the works of numerous researchers, is viewed as a crossroads between the East and West in Europe, with the connotations both of the meeting and the clash of cultures.

Almost twenty years after the publication of Todorova's book, the term "the Balkans" seems to have lost some of its negative connotations related to wars in favour of characteristics with positive overtones, such as the Balkan peoples' *joie-de-vivre* and their aptitude for entertainment, which is strongly associated with music. Various researchers from the realms of literature (e.g. Goldsworthy 1998), film (Iordanova 2001), dance (Dumnić 2009) and music (Marković 2013) have contributed to the problematization of the Balkans. After the acknowledgement that the Balkans is an imaginary symbolic place, there are three important steps. The first is a deconstruction of negative representations of the Balkans which originate mostly from the nineteenth-century foreign travelogues and the twentieth-century histories — these regard the Balkans as a violent and uncivilised place, previously under Ottoman then under communist rule (i.e. the Eastern enemy), and also as a territory of small nationalistic states which fell apart through war. The second is a repercussional construction and perpetuation of (pseudo-)positive stereotypes about the Balkans – that it is actually an "ethnographic museum" on the periphery of Europe with colourful folklore, ecstatic experience and finally wild entertainment – aside from food and drink in this basically touristic approach, an extremely important role is played by folk music. These stereotypes are called "(pseudo-)positive", because their final goal is usually the commodification of folklore, although they *are* positive (in comparison to the previous group) and have a huge impact on international visibility and, consequently, the development of humanistic disciplines and folklore in the region. These two kinds of stereotypes originate in the extra-Balkan, "Western" discourses. The third step in the consideration of the music of the imaginary Balkans is autobalkanism, i.e. an internalisation of stereotypes, so nowadays we have the topic of the Balkans with the meaning of the feeling of inferiority towards the West (Todorova 2006: 96), but also as a part of a cultural policy in representative strategies (more in Dumnić 2012), especially popular music industry and entertainment in tourism. All three types of approach bring their own metaphorical soundscapes of the imaginary Balkans. In the spirit of postcolonial studies, Todorova asked the question whether it is possible that the subalterns might speak for themselves and whether the impossibility of self-presentation makes them oppressed (Todorova 2006: 33), so this article is motivated by that thought – speaking about the Balkans from the Balkans, but also for the Balkans.

THE BALKANS IN ETHNOMUSICOLOGY – A VERY GENERAL OVERVIEW

The areal ethnomusicology drawing from fieldwork throughout the Balkan peninsula has been a fruitful topic for numerous local and foreign ethnomusicologists and there are several significant publications on this topic (cf. Peycheva and Rodel 2008; Lajić Mihajlović and Jovanović 2012; Samson 2013). The very term "the Balkans" has raised special interest in the ethnomusicological research of the "outsiders" (especially from English- and German-speaking disciplinary traditions). Ethnomusicological research has dealt with

rich folk music heritage, so every national ethnomusicological “school” is doing collecting work in the field, transcription and analysis, classification and comparison, organological and contextual interpretations – there are numerous (valuable) contributions on the various aforementioned topics. Thus, in ethnomusicology there cannot exist only one imaginary musicscape of the Balkans – it may be any ethnic local rural (usually ritual) practice vocally and/or instrumentally (one might think here of various folk instruments) performed monophonically or (more “exotically”) as multipart music, often within a narrow melodic range and with specific rhythms (e.g. *aksak*), with possible accompaniment, such as (chain-)dance. Ethnomusicology in the region has developed rapidly since the period after World War II, and was influenced not only by the “Eastern” paradigm (present in communist countries), but also by the “Western”, so there are not only ethnographical and analytical methodologies employed, but also anthropological and critical studies based on local/regional material. Despite their different languages, ethnomusicologists in the region now collaborate under the umbrella of the International Council for Traditional Music (especially at the biennial conferences of the Study Group for Music and Dance in South-Eastern Europe since 2008, cf. <http://www.ictmusic.org/group/music-and-dance-southeastern-europe>), mostly in English; and there are valuable publications which thematized important common topics about music and dance (such as tradition – transition – revival, media, governmental policies, educational systems, terminology, crossing national borders/intercultural communication, improvisation, professionalization, inter/postdisciplinarity in ethnomusicology and ethnochoreology, Southeastern Europe in the post-1989 era, audio-visual ethnographies, myths and rituals, migrations, carnivals and masquerades and sustainable development).

“BALKAN MUSIC” IN THE POPULAR MUSIC MARKET

The Balkans were interesting for the international music and dance market in the first half of the twentieth century; for example, there was the record label “Balkan” and also the *kolo* dance scene in the United States of America (cf. Laušević 2007). Stronger interest in the Balkans has coincided with the breakthrough of the popular music label which refers to it in its name and which has acquired a well-rounded discourse and a set of folk representations of the Balkans. By supporting the Balkan stereotypes described by Todorova, this music has found its place in the world music market predominantly outside of the Balkans (but with an impact on the music recorded in the Balkans) and it largely commodifies the imaginary Balkan soundscape. In her dissertation about Balkan music stereotypes, Aleksandra Marković pointed out several steps in the stylistic diachrony of the “Balkan music” label: *Le Mystère des Voix Bulgares* in 1970s (which introduced “village heterophonic singing” [Marković 2013: 59] and actually represented the Balkans as a peasant place), then, the popularity of Romany musicians from Esmā Redžepova onwards (who are appreciated as wild, skilful, mysterious, exotic /Marković 2013: 61/), the wave of post-2000 Romanian brass bands and the Guča Trumpet Festival in Serbia (“genuine madness” [Marković 2013: 61–62]) and finally danceable *Balkan Beat* (a combination of electro-

nics and live instruments which stresses the metrical component, partly parodic and suitable for internalization; and it may be added here that it is different from the rather artistic *Balkan jazz*). From my research into Balkan sound images in Serbia, the essential characteristics (impossible-to-avoid stereotypes so far!) are: trumpet accompaniment, emphasized *es-tam* (fast double) or *aksak* (7/8, 9/8) rhythm, appearances of the *hijaz* tetrachord, the timbre of backing vocals typical of the singing manner of the Central Balkans, singing in Slavic or Romany languages. Aside from that, diaspora communities from the Balkan countries (especially from the former Yugoslavia – guest-workers and refugees; finally EU citizens) increased the visibility of the Balkans in their new European surroundings and created a nostalgic soundscape of their homelands. Nowadays, *their* Balkan music refers mostly to the one I am discussing here, music *in the Balkans*, which indicates that the label “Balkan” (Goran Bregović, Emir Kusturica, Boban and Marko Marković, Fanfare Ciocarlia, Gogol Bordello, DJ Shantel, Balkan Beat Box etc.) is not made for them (although contemporary “Balkan music” uses some structural elements of that newly-composed folk music), but predominantly for foreign fans of particular performers and “hybrid authenticity” (in Alexandar Marković’s words [2015]).

URBAN FOLK MUSIC OF THE BALKANS

With this article I want to call for ethnomusicological research of the urban folk music of the Balkans, and its possibility is encouraged by the existence of proceedings (Shupo 2006) concerning various folk music phenomena in urban settings, from different researchers, localities and times, and then by the similar aspirations of colleagues in Bulgaria which are related also to “Balkan fusion” in the domain of world music (e.g. Dimov 2001, Statelova 2017), and with inspiring work which emphasized the cultural, social and political aspects of regional/national popular folk music of ethnomusicologists interested in the Balkans (e.g. Rice 2002, Stokes 2010, chapters in Buchanan 2007). I will present the historical background related to this idea, and my suggestions for further research possibilities. An illustrative example of pan-Balkan music heritage is the popularity of the song *Uskudara* (in the Serbian version *Ruse kose, curo, imaš*), but the main question should not be where are the Balkan and who exclusively owns (or does not own) that particular song (as in the famous Adela Peeva movie *Whose Is This Song?*) – given the lack of evidence, these are out-dated and often endless debates. I propose synthetic and comparative research dealing with omnipresent phenomena, which is currently not researched in terms of historical traces, geographical dispersion, musical structure, local connections and adaptation, although its social meaning has been valuably researched (e.g. Vidić Rasmussen 2002, about newly-composed folk music).

By the syntagm “urban folk music” I mean “the other” folk music from the usual ethnomusicological point of view – not rural musical folklore, but regional popular folk music which can be traced from the nineteenth century, which is an amalgam of local rural folklore practices, Eastern and Western influences and which is conditioned by

production, reproduction, dissemination and consummation via mass media and live performances. Its synonyms all over the former Yugoslav countries may be *varoška* or *sevdalinka* (depending on the context). The definition of popular music by Bruno Nettl was important for this research: “1) it is primarily urban in provenience and audience orientation; 2) it is performed by professional and trained, but normally not very highly trained musicians who usually do not take an intellectual view of their work; 3) it bears a stylistic relationship to the art music of its culture, but a lower degree of sophistication; 4) in the twentieth century, at least, its diffusion has been primarily through the mass media of broadcasting and recording” (Nettl 1972: 218). My work was devoted to urban folk music before World War II in Serbia, i.e. early popular music, and the subsequent genre after the War (and today), *starogradska muzika* (old urban music), and now I am broadening my research to the post-war genre *novokomponovana narodna muzika* (newly-composed folk music), so my examples are from that area.

The material that I researched relating to aspects of *starogradska muzika* genre includes popular sheet music (editions by Jovan Frajt from Belgrade and “Nota” from Knjaževac) and sound editions – the available discography of 78 rpm and LP gramophone records (such as “Edison Bell Penkala”, “Jugodisk” from Belgrade, “Jugoton” from Zagreb, “Diskos” from Aleksandrovac), radio broadcasting programmes before World War II (according to *Radio Belgrade Illustrated Weekly*), but also personal field recordings of performances (from taverns in Skadarlija), as well as material for contextualization such as various printed/electronic media narratives, official archival documentation from Belgrade, published memoirs and personal in-depth interviews with prominent musicians.

With the analysis of discography, scores and appendices for musicians’ licences I defined the repertoire. I isolated the songs and their particular structural characteristics may be compared with other national urban folk music practices (cf. Dumnić Vilotijević 2018). I also revealed who were the key persons and institutions that created the policies and the body of urban folk music before World War II – i.e., music publishers, bands with leaders, composers, poets, popular singers (cf. Думнић 2016), because those results may be important not only locally, but also for the research of musicians’ networks and musical influences and relationships in the region. A huge debate may be raised related to the topic of influences and their markers, and especially about the role of Romany musicians and their polymusicality. Urban folk music from Yugoslavia was, on records and in radio programmes, always labeled “folk music” (eventually “Serbo-Croatian” or “Serbian” was added). The only different marker was “Gypsy”, which had a special marketing value for the fans (in terms of authenticity and virtuosity), but at the same time it was criticized as kitsch (just as in today’s discourse). From the interwar period a strong influence of jazz music began to be felt; professional musicians were performing folk, jazz and classical music within their repertoire. At that time, the influences which were criticized were Romany (meaning Eastern, but also nomadic), Spanish (Southern), Hungarian (Northern), a pressure to modernize (i.e. Western), but also the context of tavern (*kafana*) performance was very disputable. As demonstrated in great detail in the books by Lozanka Peycheva (1999), Svanibor Pettan (2010) and Carol Silverman (2012), contemporary Romany musicians are an important factor in the region because of their

mobility, “polymusicality” (the *alaturka* and *alafranka* dichotomy is a good metaphor) and their highly appreciated way of playing (in terms of technical virtuosity and melismas), as was also the case in the past.

To summarize my musical analysis (it is known that lyrics were usually about love, but in some cases also patriotic) of a possible “new” concept of the Balkan musicscape: the tunes were cantabile and wave-like, with a large range (up to a tenth), double or triple bar measures, simple rhythm (sometimes *parlando rubato* or *aksak*). Harmonies were simple also: non-dense chord progression (tonic, subdominant, dominant sphere), diatonic modulations to the closest tonalities, sometimes with mutations. Accompaniment was simple, but its texture depends on the ability of the pianist or the orchestra. When we speak about the genres of urban folk music after World War II, *novokomponovana narodna muzika* and a reaction to it, *starogradska muzika*, their characteristics are very similar (especially in *starogradska* which refers to the urban folk music before the War), and the main differences are the result of the aspiration towards following progressive tendencies in global popular music (metro-rhythm from particular popular dances, vocal timbre and ornamentation technique, orchestration, which demands electronics and loud sound systems).

Performances in a particular context lead to the fact that these simple characteristics acquire complexity (in terms of orchestration, variation and improvisation), but also the affective potential on the audience who experiences it and participate: that context is the tavern. My research is also dealing with the dynamics of performances, in which we can trace principles of macro-form building in particular tonalities and metro-rhythmical patterns, poetic themes, but also in the interaction with the audience, which is based on remuneration (Dumnić 2017); this is a completely pan-Balkan performance context.

Why is the potential of Balkan urban folk music recognized here? There is a tradition of regional popular music, different from Western/global popular music, which synthesizes various local musical practices, emphasizes the overcoming of national borders, and which is widely accepted, practiced and transmitted in the region. It can be concluded that the pan-Balkan urban folk music tradition is a form of lyrical love song harmonized and orchestrated in a “modern”, i.e. Western, i.e. actually Central European way, but based on national language, particular scales, metro-rhythms, melodies, melismas (which are often associated with Eastern, i.e., Ottoman-derived, heritage, especially the augmented second in melody). Also, more attention should be paid to the potential of contextually similar regional phenomena. I found similarities between urban folk music practices in Albanian urban songs, Bulgarian urban songs (very similar characteristics according with the comparison in the work of Nikolay Kaufman /Кaufman 1968/), Greek *rebetiko*, *Magyarnota*, Macedonian *čalga*, Romanian Romani music, Slovenian old popular music, Turkish *fasıl*, even Prague songs, musical practices of Jews, Romani and Russians at the Balkans. According to my comparative research into the ethnomusicological literature about regional urban folk music practices, urban folk music in the first half of the twentieth century in Belgrade took not only the contexts of performance and distribution, but also the instrumentarium, ensemble models and musical pieces (or their parts). On the example of the song *Uskudara* and its national variants, Donna

Buchanan concluded: “First, while most of the renditions have resulted from intercultural contact, their significance lies elsewhere, in their stylistic content, which documents the changing social, political, and economic circumstances of one or another Balkan people over the past century. (...) Second, in contrast to this strongly asserted diversity, the popularization of a single song in so many venues also reveals circuits of Balkan interchange well-established prior to those of contemporary global media. Conversely, similar circuits are also informing the mass-mediated, stylistic interculturality permeating today’s Balkan ethnopop genres, whose significance is linked in part to the re-positioning and re-defining of the Balkans, as region and states, within the New Europe” (Buchanan 2007: 3–4).

The history of regional folk music had an interesting development after World War II. In the second half of the twentieth century, urban folk music in Yugoslavia (not only Serbia) rapidly evolved into a genre of *newly-composed music* (more in: Dumnić Vilotijević forthcoming). A division of repertoires among the Yugoslav republics, provinces and regions which had their own *melos* (emic musicians’ term for musical style) became very important. The relation of the rural and the urban in urban folk music in socialist Yugoslavia was explained negatively among contemporaries, as being a cultural contamination of the village and at the same time by the industrialization of society, whose consequence was a massive migration from villages to cities, where newcomers brought in their musical habits and tastes. From the 1960s-1970s the accordion began to suppress string and *tamburitza* orchestras, and from the 1980s onwards the influences of global popular music from Turkey, Greece and Bulgaria became very strong. And it is important that in the case of Serbia, it is not only about received influences, but also about influences from within it. Unfortunately, extreme political circumstances in Yugoslavia led to the politicization of the genre of newly-composed folk music as an artistically valueless escapism from the reality of war and isolation (often named in the literature from 1990s as *turbofolk*), in spite of leading to the insiders’ comparison with similar genres in neighbouring countries. As is explained in the books *Manele in Romania* and *Etnopopbumot*, the genre of newly-composed folk music was very influential during the communist period in Romania and Bulgaria, so music was made which imitated it. What is also known is that today the most popular performers buy music for songs from composers across the Balkans whose work is known in all Balkan languages (including Greek and Turkish), so in this genre a common future history will be possible as well.

Finally, I would like to point to the parallels with other countries in the region, which are nowadays obvious in the cases of Bulgarian *chalga* and Romanian *manele* – “Balkan ‘Oriental’ ethno-pop”, as Margaret Beissinger called it very recently. I will cite observations of ethnomusicologists Anca Giurgheșcu and Speranța Radulescu with which I agree: “Seen from the objective distance that an ethnologist attempts to maintain, *manele* (and we can say every contemporary urban folk music genre, M.D.V.) are the cumulative product of Romania’s Balkan-Oriental past (we may add urban, M.D.V), the nationalist cultural policies of the communist regime (in Yugoslavia/Serbia the situation was different, M.D.V), Western cultural pressure, accelerated globalisation, and the wild capitalism marring the country in the last two

decades, including the unclear social relations it has generated. *Manele* are not simply music but rather a complex, syncretic phenomenon, borne from the fusion of a relatively new vocal and instrumental music on the one hand, and specific lyrical verses, dance, gestures, speeches, clothing, visual symbols, and patterns of behaviour during its production on the other” (Giurchescu and Radulescu 2016: 4). I see this as good platform for future joint research (both historiographical and ethnographical).

INSTEAD OF CONCLUSION

To conclude with an open call for discussion: may the Balkans be presented in a different way, opposite from already-researched rural music practices and contemporary music industry, and can urban folk music be an additional soundscape of the imaginary Balkans? With the research into new sources relating to this omnipresent music, I say yes. What should be done is to prepare collaborative historiographies, ethnographies and music analyses in order to compare findings. I argue that special attention in this type of research should be devoted to aspects of popular discographies (especially of historical commercial sound carriers) and to an understanding of the dynamics of performances, especially in the tavern context. One of possibilities for enabling regional history and the future to cohere may be in researching the common tradition of urban folk music.

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МАРИЈА ДУМНИЋ ВИЛОТИЈЕВИЋ

САВРЕМЕНА УРБАНА НАРОДНА МУЗИКА НА БАЛКАНУ:
О МОГУЋНОСТИМА ЗА РЕГИОНАЛНУ ИСТОРИЈУ МУЗИКЕ

(РЕЗИМЕ)

Књига Марије Тодорове *Имаинарни Балкан* (Todorova 1997) била је стожер бројних потоњих текстова који су се противили стереотипизацији Балкана. Више од двадесет година након њеног објављивања делује да је појам „Балкан“ изгубио део негативних конотација који се односио на ратове у корист оних с позитивних призвуком, као што су *joie-de-vivre* Балканца и забава која је снажно повезана с музиком. С друге стране, ареална етномузикологија која се ослања на теренска истраживања широм Балканског полуострва плодно је истраживачко поље за бројне локалне и иностране етномузикологе. Затим, сам је термин „Балкан“ пробудио интересовање више етномуколога „аутсајдера“, као и музичке индустрије.

Овај рад написан је из визуре етномуколога „инсајдера“ на Балкану. Постављено је најпре питање дефинисања музичке одреднице “Балкан” и дискутоване су њене основне структуралне карактеристике. Коначно, понуђена је нова могућност разматрања специфичног регионалног музичког жанра заснованог на истраживању градских народних музичких пракси. Представљене су карактеристике градских народних музичких пракси од друге половине деветнаестог и прве половине двадесетог века у земљама на Балкану, с нагласком на њиховим сличностима. Такође, сагледана је и специфична форма популарне народне музике која је често критикована — савремена градска народна музика.

Кључне речи: Балкан, музички стереотипи, етномузикологија, урбана народна музика, популарна музика

ПИЈАНИСТИЧКИ РЕПЕРТОАР КОРНЕЛИЈА СТАНКОВИЋА – ИЗМЕЂУ ЕВРОПСКЕ ПРАКСЕ И НАЦИОНАЛНЕ ИДЕОЛОГИЈЕ*

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Прихваћено: 1. новембар 2018.

Оригинални научни рад

АПСТРАКТ:

У овој студији пажња је фокусирана на реконструкцију пијанистичког репертоара Корнелија Станковића, како би се испитао однос његових и дела иностраних композитора, као и колико је концепција програма била условљена срединама у којима је наступао. Након увида у написе у оновременој штампи, као и у сачуване плакате са концерата, издвојене су композиције које су се налазиле на његовом пијанистичком репертоару. Циљ овога рада био је и да се укаже на актуелност извођених композиција, што је, између осталог, омогућио и увид у немачку штампу разматраног периода.

Кључне речи: Корнелије Станковић, концерти, репертоар, музичка критика

Корнелије Станковић, који је ране године живота провео у Будиму, Араду, Сегедину и Бечу, прве часове из клавира добио је у Араду у дому своје старије сестре, која је након смрти родитеља преузела бригу о брату (Ђорђевић 1950: 45). Као гимназијалац у Пешти учио је музику, а захваљујући очевом пријатељу, велепоседнику Павлу Риђичком од Скрибешћа, од 1850. године наставио је музичко усавршавање у Бечу. Од посебног значаја за његово уметничко опредељење и сазревање било је школовање у Бечу, који је у време Станковићевих студија био центар словенске елите. Богати културни и политички живот града оставио је снажан печат на младог уметника: контакти са српским и словенским кружоком и њиховим идејама, а посебно студије код уваженог професора

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Конзерваторијума, композитора, пијанисте и теоретичара, Симона Сехтера (Simon Sechter).

Време најактивније концертне делатности К. Станковића јесте период након завршетка школовања у Бечу 1855. и 1856. године. Касније се учесталост његових концерата проређује, што је било условљено и уметниковим лошим здравственим стањем. Станковић је наступао на концертима у Хабзбуршкој монархији (Беч, Пешта, Будим, као и у многим градовима на територији данашње Војводине) и Кнежевини Србији, на концертима са мешовитим програмима, који су подразумевали и учешће других уметника или ансамбала. Најчешће је наступао са својим пријатељем, академским сликаром и певачем аматером, Стеваном Тодоровићем. У *Ауџиобиографији* Тодоровић открива да га је управо Станковић учио певању и да је на његов наговор пристао да учествује на поменутиим концертима (Тодоровић 1951: 32).

У настојању да се што детаљније реконструише пијанистички репертоар Корнелија Станковића, те испита однос његових и дела иностраних композитора, затим колико је концепција програма била условљена срединама у којима је Станковић наступао, било је неопходно детаљно истражити написе у српској штампи из XIX века,² као и сачуване плакате са концерата.³ Након увида у грађу издвојене су композиције које су се налазиле на Станковићевом пијанистичком репертоару. Поред сопствених композиција (варијације на народне и грађанске песме, обраде народних песама и игара или интернационални салонски плесови попут полке и кадрила), Станковић је изводио и дела Франца Листа (Franz Liszt) и Сигисмунда Талберга (Sigismund Thalberg), али и тада популарних, а данас заборављених салонских пијаниста-композитора: Јакоба Блументала (Jacob Blumenthal),⁴ Луја Лакомба (Louis Lacombe),⁵ Рудолфа Виалмерса (Rudolf

2 *Српски лист, Видовдан, Јужна ичела, Даница, Трговачке новине, Шумадинка*. Истраживање је отежавала чињеница да се у штампи неретко није доносио програм концерта у целини, као и да су имена појединих композитора погрешно навођена или су сама дела неодређено наведена (нпр. „српске народне песме у варијацијама“). О концертима К. Станковића у штампи из 19. века видети: Бикички 1985: 205-221; Пејовић 1991: 253-254; Турлаков 1994: 12-13; Кокановић 2004: 16-17; Марјановић 2013: 61-62.

3 У Рукописном одељењу Матице српске чувају се два плаката: Програм концерта пијанисте и композитора К. Станковића 30. (18) марта 1856. и 16. (4) марта 1856, „сала код господина Драгичевића“, РОМС, М. 11.617.

4 Ј. Блументал (1829–1908) био је ученик Ф. В. Грунда (Fridrich Wilhelm Grund) у Хамбургу и К. М. фон Боклета (Carl Maria von Bocklet) и С. Сехтера у Бечу. Од 1846. у Паризу је био у класи за композицију код Ф. Халевија (Fromental Halevy), а клавир је учио код Хенрија Херца (Henry Herz). Компонувао је претежно салонску музику за клавир (Ballstaedt, Widmaier 1989: 367).

5 Л. Лакомб (1818–1884) је по завршетку Париског конзерваторијума боравио у Бечу где је осам месеци учио код С. Сехтера и И. фон Зајфрида (Ignaza von Seyfried) теорију музике, а код Карла Чернија (Karl Czerny) клавир. После бројних турнеја 1839. вратио се у Париз и посветио компоновању (Cooper 1995: 351).

Willmers),⁶ Јозефа Едуарда М. Пиркхерта (Josef Eduard Maximilian Pirkhert)⁷ и извесног Валда (Wald). У досадашњим музиколошким студијама само су навођена имена појединих композитора (и то најчешће Лист, Блументал, Вилмерс, Лакомб), уз опште карактеризације да је реч о бриљантним салонским композицијама, без покушаја дубљег музиколошког увида у инострани део Станковићевог репертоара, и са, неретко наглашеним, истицањем извођења његових сопствених дела. Циљ овога рада био је да се укаже на једнаку важност и заступљеност и дела иностраних композитора на његовом пијанистичком репертоару, као и на актуелност извођених композиција, што је између осталог омогућио и увид у немачку штампу разматраног периода.⁸ С друге стране, желели смо да покажемо да је у свом композиторском и пијанистичком представљању, поред српских и словенских песама, посезао и за мађарским народним и грађанским песамама, а неретко је своје концерте (посебно у Хабзбуршкој монархији) завршавао са потпуријем који је садржао Царску химну.⁹

Опште је познато да је Сехтер имао значајан утицај на формирање и сазревање уметничке личности младог Станковића. Важно је нагласити, у вези са Станковићевом пијанистичком делатношћу, да је и Сехтер био одличан пијаниста. Био је учитељ великог броја успешних пијаниста, клавирских педагога и композитора, међу којима су најзначајнији: С. Талберг (S. Thalberg), Т. Делер (T. Döhler), Л. Келер (L. Köhler), Т. Лешетицки (T. Leschetitzky) и Ј. Лабор (J. Labor). Као композитор, Сехтер је, између осталог, компоновао и многобројне варијације за клавир какве налазимо и у Станковићевом опусу. Виртуозни клавирски слог Станковићевих раних варијација за клавир свакако је могао усвојити од Сехтера, али и слушајући познате пијанисте у бечким салонима у којима је и сам наступао и, како истиче аустријски музиколог Рудолф Флоцингер, вероватно и извео своја прва дела настала по доласку у Беч: валцер за клавир и песме на стихове Гетеа (J. W. von Goethe) и Шилера (J. C. F. von

6 Р. Хајнрих Вилмерс (1821–1878) немачки композитора и пијаниста. Иако је одрастао у Копенхагену, са тринаест година постао је ученик Ј. Н. Хумела (Johann Nepomuk Hummel) у Вајмару. Од 1836. до 1838. усавршавао се у Десауу код Ф. Шнајдера (Friedrich Schneider), а потом је подузео бројне концертне турнеје. Од 1864. постао је професор на Конзерваторијуму у Берлину, а 1866. се настанио у Бечу (Anonim 1858: 179-180).

7 Е. М. Ј. Пиркхерт (1817–1881) студирао је у Бечу право, али се потпуно посветио музици. Клавир и композицију учио је код А. Халма (A. Halm) и К. Чернија. Био је професор на Конзерваторијуму (Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, 1855–1860), а као пијаниста наступао је широм Европе. Дуже је боравио у Лондону, где се спријатељио са И. Мошелесом (Ignaz Moscheles). (Boisits 2013).

8 *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung; Musikalisches Wochenblatt. Organ für Tonkünstler und Musikfreunde; Neue Zeitschrift für Musik.*

9 Вредело би детаљније истражити и репертоар Стевана Тодоровића, који је на концертима најчешће наизменично певао српске и немачке песме. У штампи се истиче да је имао успеха и са извођењем арије из Моцартове (W. A. Mozart) опере *Дон Ђовани* (хумореска) и Шубертове (F. Schubert) соло песме *Пушник*.

Schiller) (Flotzinger 1985: 42-43). Символично је да је најпре компоновао песме на стихове водећих немачких песника, а познато је да су они, а посебно Гете, били поштоваоци и пропагатори српског народног песништва.¹⁰

Могуће је да је на избор дела, која је Станковић изводио, утицао и сам Сехтер. Талберг, Блументал и Лакомб били су његови ученици, као и Станковић. Међутим, чињеница је да су њихове композиције, које су се налазиле на Станковићевом репертоару, уједно представљала и најпознатија дела ових аутора (ова констатација се првенствено односи на Блументала и Вилмерса). По доласку у Беч, Лист и Талберг су за Станковића били право откриће и он се чврсто решио да усвоји Листову технику, вежбајући по осам часова дневно (Ђурић-Клајн 1956: 26). Наведени уметници били су узор младом Станковићу, који је и сам у то време деловао и представљао се на концертима управо као пијаниста-композитор, изводећи поред сопствених композиција и дела која су чинила стандард салонског репертоара.

Табела 1: Дела иностраних композитора на пијанистичком репертоару К. Станковића*

Композитор	Дело	Назив дела у српским изворима	Напомена
F. Liszt (1811–1886)	Illustrations du Prophète – Les Patineurs, S. 414	Тоциљање из опере Профета од Мајербеа за клавир састављено од Ф. Листа	
Schubert/Liszt:	Ständchen	Ноћни поздрав љубазнице на прозору	
J. Blumenthal (1829–1908)	La Source, Caprice pour le Piano op. 1 (Die Quelle)	Извор	ÖNB MS 12712
R. Willmers (1821–1878)	Sehnsucht am Meere, op. 8 Characterisches Tonstück für das Pianoforte	Чезња на мору	БМС Н IV 805
R. Willmers	Ein Sommertag in Norwegen, grosse Fantasie, Op. 27.	Један летњи дан у Норвешкој	ÖNB Ms 29728
L. Lacombe (1818–1884)	Grosse Octaven Etude	Огромно вежбање у октавама	Karlsruhervirtuelle Katalog: http://www.ubka.uni-karlsruhe.de/kvk.html

¹⁰ Поменуте Станковићеве песме су изгубљене. Међутим у *Србском дневнику* се наводи да је Стеван Тодоровић на концерту у Панчеву 19. марта 1856. „певао из Шилера од г. Концертodawца сложену песму: *Туја девојачка; Што се сунце цар на небу*“ (Аноним 1856б: 25), а на концерту одржаном у Сомбору, песму *Туја* на Гетеове стихове (Аноним 1856в: 50).

МАРИЈАНА КОКАНОВИЋ МАРКОВИЋ
ПИЈАНИСТИЧКИ РЕПЕРТОАР КОРНЕЛИЈА СТАНКОВИЋА

Композитор	Дело	Назив дела у српским изворима	Напомена
E. M. J. Pirkhert (1817–1881)	Etude op. 10, No. 5, Des-dur	Етида за једну руку	ÖNB MS105050
Vald		Бравур полка	
S. Thalberg (1812–1871)	Marche funèbre variée, op. 59	Марш о погребу	ÖNB MS82841
S. Thalberg	Grand Caprice sur des motifs de l'Opéra la Sonnambula di Bellini op. 46	Grand Caprice из опере Месечарка од Талберга	ÖNB MS59568-4

* У рубрици „напомена“ наведени су подаци о доступности нотних издања данас мање познатих композитора у библиотекама или на интернету. У табели су коришћене скраћенице: ÖNB MS - (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung), Аустријска национална библиотека, Музичка збирка; БМС – Библиотека Матице српске.

Из приложене табеле евидентно је да су се на Станковићевом репертоару нашли сви модерни жанрови салонске музике за клавир: програмски комади, етиде, парафразе и варијације на оперске теме или дела других композитора, интернационалне салонске игре и маршеви, обраде народних и грађанских песама. Овакав тип концертног програма упућује на старију праксу ауторског самопредстављања, са доминацијом технички бравурозних композиција, обрада популарних напева и оперских парафраза.

ПРОГРАМСКИ КОМАДИ

Када је реч о конадима с програмским насловима, Станковић је често изводио Блументалов каприс *La source* op. 1 (*Извор*).¹¹ Ово дело дворског пијанисте краљице Викторије, који је као наставник музике и композитор уживао углед у аристократским круговима у Лондону, где се обрео после револуције 1848. године, припадало је стандардном репертоару салонске музике XIX века. У изворима из тог времена наводи се да је овај комад „обишао све клавире света“ (Ballstaedt, Widmaier 1989: 367).

Две композиције Рудолфа Вилмерса, уживале су једнако пажњу публике на Станковићевим концертима: тонска слика *Чезња на мору* и фантазија *Један лејњи дан у Норвешкој*.¹² У изворима, па и у каснијој литератури о Станковићу, неретко се може прочитати да је био Вилмерсов ученик у Бечу.¹³ Међутим, оваква тврдња је врло упитна будући да је Вилмерс био настањен у Бечу тек од 1866. године, а Станковићево школовање у Бечу окончало се 1855. Познато је да је Вилмерс уживао углед широм Европе као пијаниста-композитор и да је активно концертирао у Аустрији, Немачкој и скандинавским земљама. Врло је могуће

11 J. Blumenthal, *La source*, op. 1, Madame la Comtesse Alphonse d'Aoust, Paris: Brandus et Cie. (ca.1848).

12 R. Willmers, *Un jour d'été en Norvège*. Grande Fantaisie pour Piano composée et dédiée à Madame Jovin des Fayères, Oeuvre 27.

13 Ivan Kukuljević – Sakcinski, *Slovník*, Zagreb 1860, 426. Према Franković 1985: 229.

и да га је Станковић слушао у неком од бечких салона и можда имао неколико приватних часова. Стана Ђурић-Клајн наводи да је Вилмерс био Станковићев пријатељ и да је и сам изводио његова дела (Ђурић-Клајн 1981: 226). Вилмерсов виртуозни стил компоновања је у изворима некада поређен и са Листовим, а о угледу који је овај уметник имао сведочи чињеница да је и Р. Шуман (R. Schumann) похвално писао о њему, те да је од 1864. био ангажован као професор на Конзерваторијуму у Берлину. Ипак, Вилмерс је светску славу превасходно уживао као пијаниста, док су његовим композицијама савременици замерали испразни виртуозитет. У листу *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* анонимни аутор чланка изрекао је све похвале на рачун Вилмерсовог пијанистичког, али не и композиторског умећа, после његовог концерта у Гевандхаусу (Gewandhaus) који је уметник одржао 27. фебруара 1844. године, изводећи између осталог и дела која су била на Станковићевом репертоару: *Чежњу на мору* и *Један лејњи дан у Норвешкој*: „Господин Вилмерс био је награђен огромним аплаузом, што га несумњиво сврстава у најзначајније клавирске виртуозе нашег времена [...] али не можемо исто рећи и за Вилмерсове композиције“ (R. 1844: 152-154).

Поменута дела Блаументала и Лакомба Станковић је извео већ на концертима у Панчеву 1856. године, а касније су била саставни део његовог репертоара. У априлу је пред београдском публиком, у сали хотела Србска круна, изводио Вилмерсову фантазију *Један лејњи дан у Норвешкој*, за коју се у штампи истиче да је свирана „са особитом вештином и лакошћу“ (Аноним 1856а: 244). Ово дело извођено је у јуну и на концерту у Сомбору. Оба дела Станковић је свирао и на својим последњим наступима у Београду 1861. године.

ЕТИДЕ

Сходно уобичајеној пракси тог времена и на Станковићевом репертоару су се налазила дела за леву руку, чиме се још више истицао виртуозитет уметника. У српској штампи помиње се етида за једну руку композитора „Пиркета“.¹⁴ Реч је заправо о аустријском композитору-пијанисти Јозефу Едуарду Пиркерту и његовој *Ейиди* оп. 10, бр. 5, која је објављена код угледног бечког музичког издавача Мекетија 1844. године.¹⁵ Ефектна салонска етида у Дес-дуру доноси арсенал техничко-изражајних средстава типичних за виртуозни салонски стил: арпеђа, октаве, масивни акордски блокови, мелодичност (Patterson 1999: 137).

И велика октавна етида Сехтеровог ученика, пијанисте-композитора Луја Лакомба, коју је Станковић често изводио, спада у ауторова познатија клавирска

14 Колеги Томасу Ајгнеру (Thomas Aigner, Wienerstadtbibliothek) захваљујем се на помоћи у вези са информацијама везаним за овог композитора, будући да се у српским изворима помињало само његово презиме, неретко и погрешно ишчитано.

15 *Douze Etudes de Salon pour le Piano, dediees a son Maitre Monsieur Charles Czerny. Vienne, Mechetti 1844.*

дела. У сачуваним програмима Станковићевих концерата, најчешће је наведена као „велико вежбање у октавама“. Обе етиде имале су функцију представљања техничких бравура пијанисте. Станковић их је често заједно изводио на концертима, као на пример на концерту у Београду у мају 1861. године, када је у штампи забележено да Пиркертова етида за леву руку „заслужује похвалу што једном руком износи потпуну хармонију“, док се за Лакомбову етиду истиче: „Овде већ по самом имену мора човек ишчекивати некаку огромну технику и ми се заиста дивимо савршенству Станковићеве технике“ (Аноним 1861а).

ФАНТАЗИЈЕ НА ОПЕРСКЕ ТЕМЕ

На Станковићевом репертоару нашле су се и фантазије на оперске теме Листа и Талберга. Листова парафраза *Illustrations du Prophète* на сцене из Мајерберове (G. Meyerbeer) опере *Пророк* настала је у периоду између 1849. и 1850. године, дакле у време Станковићевог доласка у Беч и била је у то време несумњиво новитет на пијанистичким програмима. На концертима Станковић је изводио други став овог Листовог дела *Les patineurs* (Тоциљање), који је захваљујући својим спектакуларним глосандима заузео истакнуто место на рециталима виртуоза. О сложености и пијанистичкој захтевности овог дела сведочи и податак да га је сам Лист сврставао у сложена и захтевна дела (Walker 1997: 39). Станковић је у Панчеву, 16. марта 1856. године, управо овом композицијом завршио концерт. Дело је касније често изводио, а у српској штампи је забележено да је тиме показао „ремек своје техничке врсноће, хитрине и виртуозитета, које нам право даје, њим се поносити, да је наше горе лист“ (Аноним 1856б: бр. 25).¹⁶

Поред Листовог дела, Станковић је изводио и *Grand Caprice* из Белинијеве (V. S. C. F. Bellini) опере *Месечарка* (La Sonnambula) од Талберга. Као и претходно поменуто Листово дело и ова оперска парафраза имала је на концертима функцију завршног комада. Фантазије на оперске теме Листа и Талберга представљају прави *tour de force* за пијанисту и није изненађујуће што је Станковић управо овим делима често завршавао своје концерте.

ОБРАДЕ НАРОДНИХ И ГРАЂАНСКИХ ПЕСАМА И ИГАРА

Сходно општим тенденцијама века романтизма и на Станковићевом пијанистичком репертоару, као и у домену његових композиторских интересовања, нашле су се обраде народних и грађанских песама (патриотских / такозваних будница или љубавних). Када је реч о његовим клавирским композицијама, народне и грађанске песме обрађивао је у: варијацијама (*Устјај, устјај Србине*, оп.3; *Сећаш ли се оној саји*, оп. 4; *Што се боре мисли моје*, оп. 6),

¹⁶ Станковић је изводио и Листову обраду познате Шубертове соло песме *Serenada* (Ständchen), на концертима из 1861. године.

кадрилама (Словенски, Српски, Бујарски) и полки Брајимсџиво, као и збиркама Србских народних њесама (1862, 1863). Међутим, поред наведених објављених дела, захваљујући плакатима са концерата и написима у *Видовдану* и *Србском лисћу*, евидентно је да је Станковић изводио и сплетове/потпурије српских и мађарских песама, у које је некада, као последњу нумеру, инкорпорирао и Царску химну. На пример на концерту, који је одржан у Панчеву 30. марта 1856. године, Станковић је као пету нумеру извео српске и мађарске песме (*Ungarische und serbische National-Lieder*) заједно, а на концертима које је приредио у Београду 1861. године, концерт је завршио извођењем мађарских, словенских и српских песама: „Мађарске, словенске и српске песме на послетку свиране су тако дивно и с таквим чувством, да на свршетку није нико ни мислио да полази, него се пљескало толико, да је давалац концерта и по други па – и по трећи пут морао да наставља“ (Аноним 1861а). На концерту, у корист бугарских невољника, одржаном у Београду дванаест дана касније, Станковић је нешто измењен програм поново завршио својеврсним потпуријем од двадесет мађарских и српских песама, који је у штампи означен као „мешовито свирање“: „Под овим бројем свирао нам је г. Станковић ваља двадесет комада различитих песама. Ту мало која Српска земља да није остала незаступљена. Жалосне, озбиљне, веселе и ђаволасте јављаху се наизменце [...] наравно добро погођене и вешто свиране. Још ми ваља споменути да је од мађарских пијеса Ракоцијев марш бујно поздрављен, а Хуњадијев, Созат¹⁷ прекидало је живо пљескање“ (Аноним 1861б). Станковић је ове нумере вероватно свирао напамет или из рукописа, што није било необично. На концерту у Панчеву 16. марта 1856. изводио је своје варијације *Шџо се боре мисли моје* из рукописа, што је и назначено у самом програму („manuscript / по рукописном саставу“), а дело је објављено годину дана касније. Евидентно је да су се на Станковићевом репертоару налазиле и мађарске песме, које је изводио у потпуријима заједно са српским песмама, и то како на концертима непосредно након завршетка школовања у Бечу, тако и на оним одржаним само неколико година пред смрт, када је управо овим делима завршавао своје концерте, представљајући тако симболички своју српску националност и мађарску домовину у јединству песама.

Не треба заборавити да је време у којем Станковић, заједно са певачем Стеваном Тодоровићем, започиње своју концертну делатност било обележено апсолутистичко-централистичким системом у Хабзбуршкој монархији. То је време германизације и строге цензуре у издавачкој делатности, када је Војводством управљао гувернер Јохан Коронини (J. V. Coronini von Cronberg). На концертима које је држао 1856. године, Станковић је наступ неретко завршавао потпуријем који је садржио српско коло и Царску химну, чиме се, како се истиче у штампи указивало на две највеће српске врлине „оданост Цару и верност милој народности нашој“ (Аноним 1856в: бр. 50). Тако је на пример концерт у Панчеву 1856. године завршио свирањем Царске химне: „Дворана је пуна слушаоца била; - осветљеније

17 Стихове песме *Szózat* написао је Михаљ Верешмрти (Mihály Vörösmarty) 1836. године, а музику Бени Егреши (Béni Egressy) 1843. У Мађарској ова песма има статус друге националне химне.

је заиста величанствено и ентузијазму публике није краја било, кад је г. Станковић царском химном завршио концерт” (Аноним 1856б: бр. 25). И концерт у варошкој дворани у Сомбору, одржан 17. јуна исте године, био је веома посећен. Станковић је извео варијације на теме српских народних песама, Вилмерсову фантазију *Један лејњи дан у Норвешкој*, а концерт је завршен Царском химном и српским народним колом (Аноним 1856в:бр. 50). Остаје за жаљење што немамо сачуване рукописе ових потпурија, јер они свакако одговарају сличним делима, у којима су у оркестарској или клавирској варијанти, симболички представљале земље многонационалне Хабзбуршке монархије. Поменимо само на пример потпури Јозефа Штрауса (Josef Strauss) *Das musikalische Österreich Potpourri*.

ЗАКЉУЧАК

Анализирани програми Станковићевих пијанистичких наступа показују сличност са репертоарским стандардима концерата карактеристичних за прву половину 19. века, а који су у то време организовани у градовима централне и западне Европе. На оваквим програмима доминантно је начело ауторског самопредстављања, као и репертоар који првенствено почива на технички бравурозним композицијама: оперских парафраза, етида, фантазија, композиција за једну руку. Доминација виртуозно конципираних програма, била је карактеристична и за шири европски контекст (Milanović 2016: 133).

Педесетих и шездесетих година XIX века, Станковић је следио стил који су неговали пијанисти-композитори широм Европе. У композиторском раду он чини заокрет и сложене варијације за клавир замењује једноставним хармонизацијама српских народних песама. Међутим, као пијаниста Станковић је и неколико година пред смрт поред својих свирао и дела страних композитора. На пример на концертима из 1861. године, поред варијација на теме *Што се боре мисли моје* и *Радо иде Србин у војнике*, изводио је и Талбергов *Посмртни марш* (*Marche funèbre variée*, ор. 59) и Шуберт-Листову *Серенаду*.

Непосредно након Станковићеве смрти, интензивнију пијанистичку делатност започео је Јован Пачу, којем је Станковић несумњиво био узор, али првенствено на пољу компоновања клавирске музике. Међутим, за разлику од Станковића, чији је пијанистички реперотар био избалансиранији у погледу заступљености сопствених и дела других композитора, Пачу је углавном изводио своја дела (види Јеремић-Молнар, 2006: 52-53). Први значајан искорак у смеру професионализације пијанистичког репертоара, учинила је седамдесетих година 19. века пијанисткиња Јованка Стојковић, која је на свој репертоар уврстила уметнички вредна остварења Л. ван Бетовена (L. van Beethoven), Ф. Шопена (F. Chopin), Р. Шумана (R. Schumann) и Ф. Листа, али изводећи на концертима и своје композиције у бриљантом салонском стилу, као и дела Корнелија Станковића.¹⁸

18 О концертима Јованке Стојковић погледати: Ђурић-Клајн 1956, Васић 2002, Kokanović Marković 2015.

Станковићеви концерти су углавном били организовани у добротворне сврхе, у корист институција од националног значаја: цркви (у Будиму у корист срушене црквене куће, у Бечу у корист српске цркве), болница (Нови Сад, С. Митровица, С. Карловци), школа (Нови Сад), позоришта (у корист српске народне позоришне дружине у Панчеву), али и сиротињских фондова¹⁹ (Панчево). У духу општег пансловенског покрета, у Бечу је 1860. приређен и концерт у корист страдајућих Хрвата, а 1861. у корист Бугара.

Српска штампа ревносно је пратила Станковићев рад, неретко га називајући „наш Корнел“, као да се тиме хтело нагласити, како истиче Милена Бикицки, да „иако је рођен у туђем свету“ он припада српском народу (Бикицки 1985: 205). Хваљено је његово пијанистичко и композиторско умеће, уз обавезно истицање да је реч о српском уметнику. Поводом најаве Станковићевог концерта у Новом Саду 1855. године у *Србском дневнику* је објављено: „Код нас се ионако већи вештак на фортепијано није ваља никад чуо. Сад ћемо чути и то србскога вештака“ (Аноним 1855: бр.102). О одушевљеном пријему код публике после концерта налазе се бројна сведочанства у штампи. После концерта у Сомбору забележено је: „Лепотице су с најискренијом срца радости цветне венце младим уметницима бацале, а на лицу сваког присуствујућег родољупца могао се читати израз народнога поноса и дике, што имамо у струци музикалној таквога уметника као што је Г. Станковић...“ (Аноним 1856в: бр.50).

И млади српски кнез Михаило Обреновић био је свестан значаја појаве Корнелија Станковића за српску уметност. Наклоност и блиске везе између кнеза Михаила Обреновића и Станковића, могу се пратити почев већ од уметникових студија у Бечу, у којем је у то време боравио и кнез Михаило, који је и финансирао штампање варијација за клавир *Усијај, усијај Србине* оп. 3 (1853), а које му је Станковић и посветио. Исте године кнез је оженио грофицу Јулију Хуњади (Júlia Hunyady), а Станковић је у Бечу 1854. објавио варијације *Сећаши ли се оној саји* оп. 4 и посветио их тада већ кнегињи Јулији Обреновић. О наклоности кнежевског пара према Станковићу сведочи и податак да су посетили оба Станковићева концерата у Београду 1861. године. Осим кнежевског пара концерту су присуствовали и митрополит, дипломатска лица, као и „цвет од овдашњих становника“. Могуће је да је Станковић на овоме концерту одао почаст кнежевском пару свирајући као последњу нумеру потпури из српских и мађарских песама. Прва збирка *Србских народних њесама* била је објављена у Бечу наредне године (1862) и посвећена „његовој Светлости господару Михаилу Обреновићу III“. За време боравка у Београду, у мају и јуну 1861. године, Станковић је свирао и у салону Анке Обреновић.²⁰ Заједно су свирали у четири руке

19 На плакату концерта (30. март 1856.) назначено је: „половина чистог прихода намењена је градском фонду за сиромашне“ (Die Hälfte des Reinertrags ist für den städtischen Armen-Fond bestimmt). Рукописно одељење Матице српске, М. 11.617.

20 Салонска дружења која је организовала имала су уметничко-политички карактер: читане су песме и приче, свирало се на клавиру, виолини, харфи и гитари, расправљало о домаћој и страниј

на клавиру, а њене гошће су са Станковићем играле валцере и чардаше, а училе су га и да игра српска народна ора (Димитријевић Стошић 1965: 77-76).

Узнапредовала болест и прерана смрт, зауставила су младог Станковића у његовим уметничким тежњама, па тако и у концертирању. Корнелије Станковић умро је у Будиму 17. априла 1865. Његова смрт била је, према Скерлићу, „у омладинским и патриотским круговима означена као један национални губитак” (Скерлић 1925: 174). Ако погледамо његов живот и деловање, пред нама је типичан рани романтичар. Умро са свега 34 године и при том од туберкулозе, сиромашан, али слављен и поштован. У листу *Даница*, Станковићев пријатељ Михаило Полит Десанчић објавио је некролог из којег издвајамо неколико редака: „Злокобна смрт прекиде му његов толи родољубиви рад. Ако србски народ високоштује Вука, што је наше народно благо Европи показао, то има заиста узрока и заслуге Станковића ценити, јер је овај још и нежнију струју србскога осећања: мелодије србских песама и оно, где се најсветије чувство изражава, црквено пјеније, Европи на видик изнео” (Полит-Десанчић 1865: 261). Чињеница је да су се после Станковићеве смрти његовим записима народних и грађанских мелодија користили музичари који су припремали и објављивали збирке јужнословенских напева, а домаћи и инострани композитори уносили су их у своја дела.²¹ У време блиставог развоја пијанизма и литературе за клавир у Европи, Корнелије Станковић својом пијанистичком и композиторском делатношћу означава почетак развоја српске клавирске музике и пијанизма. И док су његове клавирске композиције одраз потреба младог српског грађанства и афирмације идеја националног покрета у уметности, његов пијанистички репертоар, поред ове димензије, свакако указује и на репертоарске стандарде карактеристичне за пијанистичку праксу у Европи у првој половини 19. века.

политици. Оваквим дружењима присуствовали су професори Лицеја, књижевници, уметници, официри, дипломате, представници Државног совјета и Касације (Кокановић Марковић 2014:159).

21 Види: Перић 1985: 303-307, Матовић 1985: 251-257.

Прилог



Слика 1: Програм концерта пијанисте и композитора К. Станковића у Панчеву 16. (4) марта 1856, сала „код господина Драгичевића“, Рукописно одељење Матице српске, М. 11.617.



Слика 2: Програм концерта пијанисте и композитора К. Станковића у Панчеву 30. (18) марта 1856, сала „код господина Драгичевића“, Рукописно одељење Матице српске, М. 11.617.

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MARIJANA KOKANOVIĆ MARKOVIĆ

KORNELIJE STANKOVIĆ'S PIANO REPERTOIRE – FROM EUROPEAN PRACTICE TO NATIONAL IDEOLOGY

(SUMMARY)

Of particular importance for the artistic commitment and maturation of Kornelije Stanković, was his training in Vienna, which at that time represented the center of the Slavic elite. The whole cultural and social atmosphere of Vienna left a strong imprint on the young artist: a rich cultural and political life of the city, contacts with Serbian and Slavic circles and their ideas, especially studies under distinguished professor at the Conservatory – a composer, pianist and theorist Simon Sechter.

By studying the inscriptions in the Serbian press from the 19th century (*Srbski list, Vidovdan, Južna pčela, Danica, Trgovačke novine, Šumadinka*) and preserved posters of Stanković's concerts, we have selected the compositions that were part of the Kornelije Stanković piano repertoire. Besides his own compositions, his repertoire included some works of Franz Liszt and Sigismund Thalberg, and even, then popular and now forgotten salon composers-pianists: Jacob Blumenthal, Louis Lacombe, Rudolf Willmers, Eduard M. Pirkhert, and a certain man named Wald. It is possible that this selection of works was influenced by Sechter himself. Blumenthal and Lacombe were his students. However, the fact remains that the compositions of those authors, which Stanković performed, also represented the most famous works of those composers, as well as the standards of the salon repertoire at the time.

The aim of this paper is to highlight the equal importance and representation of the foreign composers within Stanković's piano repertoire, as well as the actuality of performed compositions, which has allowed us to gain an insight into the German press of the considered period

KEYWORDS: Kornelije Stanković, concerts, repertoire, music criticism

МИЛОШЕВА ЖЕНИДБА И СМРТ: ОД ВИЛИНОГ ВЕЛА ДО ОТАЏБИНЕ ПЕТРА КОЊОВИЋА

135 ГОДИНА ОД КОМПОЗИТОРОВОГ РОЂЕЊА
У СУСРЕТ 630. ГОДИШЊИЦИ КОСОВСКЕ БИТКЕ

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АПСТРАКТ:

Опере Петра Коњовића представљају његову отаџбину и његов духовни спектар: на првом месту, неизбрисиве успомене из детињства и младости, усмерене на новосадско Српско народно позориште и углавном његов херојски српски репертоар. Из њега су потекле три Коњовићеве музичке драме везане уједно и за еп и за позоришне комаде. Поред *Смрти Мајке Јујовића* Ива Војновића, то су још књижевна дела за сцену Драгутина Илића (*Женидба Милоша Обилића*) и Лазе Костића (*Максим Црнојевић*), па се и због тога могу те условно речено опере замислити као да су у много чему сродне, не само по садржају већ и по музици и по временима када су настајале. *Вилин вео* односно *Женидба Милошева* за време Великог рата, *Отаџбина* за време Другог светског рата, са *Кнезом од Зејне* међу њима. На једној од стваралачких етапа друга опера Петра Коњовића била је посматрана као синтеза његовог уметничког рада. Синтеза је била нова са следећом опером, *Коштаном*, што се може потврдити и са *Отаџбином*, на последњој композиторовој креативној инстанци. Порука коју носе историјске опере Петра Коњовића је подсећање Срба на њихове корене, о којима сведочи бесмртна народна поезија кроз јединствени по својој лепоти, Косовски циклус.

Кључне речи: Петар Коњовић, опера, *Вилин вео*, *Отаџбина*, еп, позоришни комади

Наводећи три Коњовићеве музичке драме, стављена је у „друштво“ са *Кнезом од Зейе* и *Отаџбином* и *Женидба Милошева (Вилин вео)*. Од последње се композитор на почетку удаљавао, али је није напустио, прерађујући је у више махова, и током рада на другим својим операма. „Елем као што рекох, то сам ја радио још док бејаш у препарандији. После, у Прагу, окупан и крштен у Јордану Вагнеровог схватања, сасвим сам окренуо леђа том делу, које је међутим било пуно мелодике...“² После „Вагнеровог Јордана“ прераду своје „романтичне опере“ учинио је композитор за извођење у загребачком Казалишту, којим поводом и пише свом пријатељу и ментору Остојићу. Опера је остала романтична, али ипак са „натрухама“ музичке драме у извесним композиционим поступцима, који се односе и на Коњовићев речитативни стил. Композитор је сматрао, између осталог, да је његова опера донела „први пут у нашој музици, једну доследно израђену декламацију.“³ Сасвим је вероватно да се под утицајем Вагнера десио и финале опере *Вилин вео* у Загребу 1917, када су у коди трећег и последњег чина зазвучале и оргуље, са православном темом, која је у свом „католичком руху“ зачутила присутне на премијери Србе.⁴

Компонујући *Женидбу*, Коњовић је знао само Веберовог *Чаробној сирелца*, Вагнера је тек наслуђивао, слушајући на светосавским беседама у Новом Саду одломке из његових дела, најчешће у аранжманима за клавир, уз то доживљавајући га вербално кроз исказе Лава Толстоја. Касније, после упознавања са оригиналним Вагнеровим опусом у Прагу и писања о његовом делу, у преписци са Тихомиром Остојићем истакао је потенцијалне црте вагнеризма у литерарном предлошку своје прве опере.⁵ Сасвим је могуће да је Драгутин Илић, боравећи у Русији за време Великог рата знао за Рихарда Вагнера, а засигурно га је познавао Иво Војновић, о чему сведочи његов *Еквиноцио*. Лазу Костића везујемо за Шекспира, али је прихватањив у *Максиму Црнојевићу* и додир Вагнера, који писцу није био стран. Ослонивши се на оба Костићева узора (Шекспира и Вагнера), Коњовић је потенцирао врхунац своје музичке драме *Кнез од Зейе* самоубиством протагониста у финалу (*Ромео и Јулија? Трисџан и Изолда?*).

Поред литерата-либретиста, заинтересованих за Вагнера, у Србији су се композитори немачком мајстору отворено дивили. Сетимо се Косте Манојловића који се за кратког боравка у Русији, где није могао започети студије, очаравао Вагнером у Москви, при чему је руска музика отишла у задњи план. Створитељ музичке драме имао је великог заговорника у Милоју Милојевићу. Ни Стеван Мокрањац није крио своје поштовање према Вагнеровој музици, али нико од њих није остварио сценска дела великог формата. За то је код Срба био Миленко Пауновић, као и сам Коњовић, који је према Вагнеру имао амбивалентан однос.⁶

2 Из Коњовићевог писма Тихомиру Остојићу, од 21 марта 1916. године (cf: Мосусова 1971:154).

3 Из писма Јулију Бенешићу, односно Срећку Албинију од 21. августа 1916, године (Коњовић 1983:80)

4 Из (необјављеног) Коњовићевог писма Јулију Бенешићу од 5. марта 1918.

5 Видети фусноту 2.

6 Композиторов став према Вагнеру (на основу есеја „Рихард Вагнер и модерна уметност“, *Нова искра*, 1906 бр. 9, 10 и 11-12) анализирао је Катарина Томашевић: (2006: 119-135).

Ипак, не би без неке врсте опчињености великим немачким реформатором музичког позоришта, Коњовић инсистирао 1922. године на (успешном) извођењу *Парсифала*, као „тврдокорни“ директор загребачке опере. За то је имао опробану екипу, која се већ показала и на Вагнеру за време Великог рата и на послератном словенском репертоару.

Вреди стога овде споменути и интерпрете, оне који су допринели реализацији Коњовићевих дела на сцени, с обзиром и на то да је музикологија и уопште историја музике дуго занемаривала извођачку димензију као неодојив део анализираних композиција. За приказивање Коњовићевих опера, увек су биле ангажоване првокласне снаге, диригентске, певачке, редитељске и сценографске, почев од *Вилиној вела* у Загребу 25. априла 1917. кад је на челу оркестра био Фридерик Рукавина, редитељ Иво Рајић – Лоњски, сцена и костими Томислава Кризмана. Певачи: Кнез – Јосип Крижај, Кнегиња – Јелена Жежић, Милош – Станислав Јастшебски, Марко – Светозар Писаревић, Хреља – Марко Вушковић, Равијојла – Вика Енгел, Бродарица – Љубица Облак, Областиња – Ружа Перша, Марта Врачара – Марта Поспишил Иванова, Грабанцијаш – Александар Бинички, Паж – Љубица Шторек.

После рата, када је могла Коњовићева прва опера имати своје право име као и поједини ликови, давала се у Загребу 1925. године *Женидба Милошева* у режији аутора, који је такође дириговао. Цар Лазар је био Милош Зец, Царица Милица – Марија Леонхард, Краљевић Марко – Јосип Крижај, Реља Крилатица – Драго Хржић, Милош Обилић – Марио Шименц, Равијојла – Зденка Зикова, Бродарица – Лудмила Радобој, Областиња – Ева Лебедева, Марта Врачара – Марта Поспишил, Грабанцијаш – Милорад Милутиновић и Паж – Олга Головкина. Сцена и костими као на премијери *Вилиној вела*.

У Београду 1923. *Женидба Милошева* је добила кореографа у лицу Клавдије Исаченко, оркестар је водио Стеван Христић, редитељ Феофан Павловски, сцена и костими Леонида Браиловског, Цар Лазар – Евгеније Маријашец, Равијојла – Ксенија Роговска. Милош Обилић је био Жика Томић, Краљевић Марко – Светозар Писаревић, Марта Врачара – Евгенија Пинтеровић. Мирко Полић је извео *Женидбу* када је она била први пут постављена у Љубљани 1927. године (за ту прилику је сценска опрема позајмљена из Загреба), да би београдску обнову у виду премијере 1941. године водио са редитељем Ерихом Хецелом. Сцена Станислава Беложанског и костими Владимира Жедринског, кореографија Анатолија Жуковског. Цар Лазар – Жарко Цвејић, Царица Милица – Евгенија Мозговаја, Вила Равијојла – Злата Ђунђенац, Милош Обилић – Слободан Малбашки, Краљевић Марко – Милорад Јовановић, Марта Врачара – Евгенија Пинтеровић.

Милошеву женидбу је Нови Сад видео после Другог светског рата, 1960. године у режији Јосипа Кулунџића. Дириговао је Лазар Бута, Цар Лазар био је Иван Кнежевић, Царица Милица – Аранка Херџан (такође Вила Областиња), Милош Обилић – Озрен Бингулац, Краљевић Марко – Мирко Хаднађев, Реља Крилатица – Влада Поповић. Матија Скендеровић и Ирена Давосир смењивале су се у роли Равијојле, Мирјана Врчевић и Јелена Јечменица биле су Марта Врачара,

Аница Чепе – Бродарица и Владан Цвејић – Грабанцијаш. Сцена – Милета Лесковац, костими – Стана Јатић. Опера Српског народног позоришта је са Коњовићевим првенцем гостовала у Загребу, Београду, Сомбору, Зрењанину и Љубљани. Несвакидашњи подвиг; мало је или нимало у Југославији било оваквих „повремено путујућих“ оперских ансамбала, и то још са домаћим репертоаром.

Следећи Коњовићев креативни потез је музичка драма по Костићевом *Максиму Црнојевићу*. Сада је то прави врхунац, круна стваралачког рада на средини уметничког пута. Није претерано тврдити да је датог тренутка била за Коњовића друга по реду опера и његов *Лоенгин* и *Борис Годунов*, а последњи, са премијером у Загребу 1918. (тада већ у Краљевини Срба, Хрвата и Словенаца) и прави естетски шок за већ афирмисаног српског композитора. У оно време Коњовић за дела руских „реалиста“ још није знао, али је касније у „окужењу“ Мусоргског и Вагнера завршио *Кнеза од Зетје* 1926. са премијером у Београду 1929. За пултом је био Ловро Матачић, редитељ Бранко Гавела, сцену и костиме дао је Владимир Загородњук кореограф – Маргарита Фроман, Иво Црнојевић – Светозар Писаревић, Јевросима – Евгенија Пинтеровић, Максим Црнојевић – Милан Пихлер, Анђелија – Лиза Попова и Злата Ђунђенац, Надан Бојимир – Станоје Јанковић.

Ако је у Коњовићевом доживљавању Вагнеровог дела почетком века било скепсе, Мусоргски је био прихваћен беспоговорно и трајно, као најзначајнији представник националног стила и источне оријентације у словенској музици (Коњовић 1947: 127-132).⁷ Био је руски мајстор подстрек Коњовићу не само у првој верзији *Кнеза* већ и другој, датираној тридесетих година прошлог века. Није искључено да је уз све интензивније Коњовићево размишљање о *Борису* и *Хованиччини*, настала и инкриминисана појава калуђера придворне цркве у Зети (мушки хор са Коњовићевим текстом), чинећи Седму слику дефинитивне верзије *Кнеза од Зетје*, изведене децембра 1946. Дириговао је Крешимир Барановић, режија је била Јована Коњовића, кореографија Димитрија Парлића, сцена Станислава Беложанског, костими Милице Бабић, Иво Црнојевић – Жарко Цвејић, Јевросима – Меланија Бугариновић, Максим Црнојевић – Никола Цвејић, Анђелија – Злата Сесардић, Надан Бојимир – Јован Глигоријевић.

У нападима на Коњовиће (композитора и његовог сина Јована, као редитеља) због монашког хора, не знамо да ли је прозван и тадашњи директор опере Оскар Данон од стране „агитпропа“ због допуштања на сцену оваквог „светосавља“ (Милан Богдановић, најоштрији критичар је ваљда хтео да каже „православља“).⁸

7 Проширени чланак у односу на првобитни, објављен у *Српском књижевном гласнику*, књ. LVII, бр. 1, 1. мај 1939 (мај-август), 36–39.

8 Сам Данон је касније остварио знатну уметничку каријеру и у иностранству, изводећи руске „православне“ опере, како се једном приликом усмено изразио публициста Винко Шале, а аутор ових редова анализирао према хришћанским постулатима сценска дела Мусоргског и Римског-Корсакова (за зборник *Русскогезарубежье: музика и православие*, Москва 2013, 188–210). Не заборавимо да се из ових сценских композиција (руских опера) у Југославији могла јавно чути православна црквена музика у доба кад се на концертима или на радију није смела допустити Литургија Петра Чајковског а камоли духовна дела Стевана Мокрањца.

Да ли *Кнез од Зејте* (можда са *Женидбом Милошевом*) спада у светосавске или православне опере? *Отаџбина* свакако јесте и једно и друго. Њен садржај и музика могу се у потпуности посматрати и са тачке гледишта хришћанског морала, као и сама драма Ива Војновића.

Кнез од Зејте је било склоњен с репертоара у току 1947. године, да би се осмелили Новосађани да прикажу Коњовићево „светосавље“ 1966. године на сцени Српског народног позоришта, у режији апострофираног редитеља Јована Коњовића, са асистенткињом Мирјаном Марцикић. Дириговао је Душан Миладиновић, кореограф је био Бранко Марковић са помоћником Жарком Миленковићем. Иво Црнојевић – Рудолф Немет, Мирјана Врчевић – Јевросима, Максим Црнојевић – Влада Поповић, Милош Обренбеговић – Владан Цвејић, Дужд – Мирко Хаднађев, Лоренцо (и Гондолијеров глас) – Лучано Манцин, Анђелија – Ирена Давосир, Филета – Јелена Јечменица. Сцену је опремио Стеван Максимовић, костиме је креирала Божана Јовановић.

Кнез од Зејте је у Београду био поново стављен на репертоар 1968. године, у обновљеној згради Народног позоришта, онда када је био ред да се појави на сцени ново Коњовићево дело – *Отаџбина*. Њено уобличавање или размишљање о уобличавању одвијало се на почетку Другог светског рата. Тада је композитор дефинитивно прешао у Београд, као ректор и професор новоосноване Музичке академије. Предавао је на њеном драмском одсеку сценски говор. Одабрао је студенткињу, будућу глумицу Мирјану Коџић да за њега рецитије делове из Војновићеве поеме (Kodžić 1979: 44-54). Није композитору била примарна музичка компонента гуслања. За гуслање је знао исто као и Иво Војновић који је имао необичну част да као дете у дому својих родитеља декламује епску Косовску поезију самом Вуку Караџићу. Истичемо да на почетку беше реч за многа дела Петра Коњовића, а потом се рађала музика. Тако је ритам десетерца и Костићев јамб из *Максима Црнојевића* успео да истакне композитор на упечатљив начин у опери *Кнез од Зејте*, повремено мењајући пишчев текст и додајући у приличној мери свој.

Слично је поступио Коњовић и са поемом *Смрт Мајке Јујовића*, мада је *Отаџбина*, за разлику од *Кнеза* опера у којој је највише следио њену књижевну потку, Војновићеву драму, тако да износићи садржај *Отаџбине*, говоримо о садржају самог позоришног комада. У Коњовићевој *Отаџбини* чиновни односно пјевања носе исте називе као у Војновићевој драми: *Снахе*, *Авеј* и *Косово*. Прво и Друго пјевање поје се са чардака Југ-Богданове куле, како је речено у поднаслову, а Треће на Косову, око Видова-дне 1389. године. Садржај и опере и драме је потребно упоредити и са народном епиком Косовског циклуса, која је у ствари обојици уметника била полазна тачка у представљању хронике историјских догађања, а десетерац основа и књижевнику и композитору.

Уприличио је оперу на Војновићеву поему (на оригиналном језику) и словеначки композитор Мирко Полич, предратни диригент београдске Опере, коме је Петар Коњовић био узор. Поличева опера је изведена делимично (из Трећег пјевања) на смотри савремене словеначке опере у Љубљани 7. фебруара 1946, уз учешће Миле Когеј (Мајка), Наде Видмар (Косовка Деворка), Векослава

Јанка (Гуслар) и Маруше Патик (Пастирче). Дириговао је и режирао композитор, сцену је опремио Ернест Франц, костиме Дагмар Качер. У целини дело је изведено јуна 1947. са композитором за пултом, у режији Бранка Гавеле и кореографији Пина Млакара. Мајка, Косовка Девојка и Гуслар са Пастиром као у претходној поставци, Миро Брајник као Дамјан уз Вилму Буковец (Анђелија, девета снаха) и Ондину Оту (Јола, осма снаха) (Neubauer 2000: 67-69). Аналитичари (међу њима и Драготин Цветко) сматрали су да је овим делом словеначка музика први пут добила велику оперу (Cvetko: 116-118). Њоме је аутор обележио тридесетпету годишњицу свог уметничког рада.

У новим сагледавањима музике у Словенији једва да би се и споменуло Поличево, по речима Цирила Цветка монументално дело. Сматрао би се такав потез за демодиран. Да ли су и три у овом раду прозване Коњовићеве опере застареле у трећем миленијуму и као непожељни остаци прошлости? „Није ли *Ошцаубина* данас и извесни сценски анахронизам?“ обратио се инсценаторима београдски новинар још приликом представе из 1983 године (Стефановић 1983 : 12). У данашњем тренутку изношење на сцену Косовског боја и целог система симболике везаног за Косовску трагедију представљало би актуелност, у смислу подсећања на оно што смо били и на оно шта смо сада.

Нешто је хтео Коњовић да поручи свом народу тим свечаним приказом у години 1960, када је партитура завршена, као и целим својим сценским опусом. Без обзира на мало подсмешљив тон којим композитор говори о „убојитој“ српској поезији с краја XIX и почетком XX века, желео је и он да да свој обол програму „освећења/освете и ослобођења“ Косова.⁹ Вероватно је засметало и аутору *Ошцаубине* што такорећи ниједном већом композицијом српски музичари нису дали свој прилог ни Балканским победама ни Великом рату, док је његов успон у музичко-сценском изражавању, на средокраћу Мокрањак – Вебер – Вагнер – Мусоргски (са оградама од касног Јаначека), био еманација патриотских осећања без икакве позе или „фанфара“. У распону од 60 стваралачких година сагледавамо јасно садржајни континуитет, на линији Вагнер – Мусоргски: Коњовићев Обилић се жени у *Вилином велу* (који је на неки начин био допринос композиторов пробоју Солунског фронта) и умире у *Ошцаубини* („Милош, нам је, Госпо, погинуо!“ објављују гласници Мајци Југовића у Првом пјевању *Ошцаубине*).

Коњовићева идеја о српском *Парсифалу* потекла је такође из религијског ритуала причешћивања пред битку, кнеза Лазара и његових витезова. Та чаша коју Мајци Југовића и њеним снахама износи девета снаха, Анђелија, као симбол косовске жртве, доминира првом сликом *Ошцаубине*. У трећој, чашу замењује кондир с вином којим Косовка Девојка причешћује умируће ратнике. Њена слика нас гледа са корица књиге Владимира Јовановића о Гордани Јевтовић, као подсетник на пропуштене прилике, јер је неопростиво што представа последње Коњовићеве опере није снимљена. Зато наводимо и овде учеснике Коњовићеве „лабудове песме“.

9 Радило се о имитаторима стихова Мите Поповића. (Cf Коњовић, 1954 : 31; Носусова 1989, 42, 43).

Оркестрацију је довршио Душан Миладиновић, који је и дириговао делом. Асистент диригента и диригент сценске музике био је Јанез Говедник. Хорове увежбао Слободан Крстић. Редитељ Дејан Миладиновић, асистент режије Викторија Пижмохт, сценографи Александар Златовић и Дејан Миладиновић, костими Светлана Чкоњевић, светло Сава Крављанац. Певачи су: Мајка Југовића – Бреда Калеф, Прва снаха – Гордана Кесић, Друга снаха – Јадранка Јовановић, Трећа снаха – Олга Ђокић, Четврта снаха – Дубравка Зубовић, Пета снаха и Девојка – Светлана Бојчевић, Шеста снаха – Олга Вукичевић, Седма снаха – Мирјана Васиљевић, Осма снаха – Олга Милошевић, Девета снаха (Анђелија) – Радмила Смиљанић, Косовка Девојка – Гордана Јевтовић, Једна бака – Татјана Сластјенко, Дамјан Југовић – Горан Глигорић, Слепи гуслар – Миливој Петровић, Бакин унук – Никола Мијаиловић, Турски роб и Момак – Јово Рељин, Први и Други гласник – Тома Јовановић и Небојша Маричић. Деца Југовића, народ, ратници, нарикаче. чланови Дечјег хора РТБ (Златан Вауда), женски хор иза сцене: гласови звијезда-свијећница и глас ноћног вјетра у Другом пјевању.

Требало је да надлежни предвиде устаљену појаву кратковечности опстанка домаћих музичких дела на сцени и да се постарају да „Свечани посветни приказ“, спремљен изузетно од стране оперског колектива Народног позоришта, прикажу и у другим српским местима (по угледу на новосадску Оперу), не само у Пожаревцу (априла 1984) и да овековече представу одговарајућим снимком. Поготову што је сценска реализација била испред свог времена: Миладиновић и Златовић су се инспирисали скулптуром, употпуњавајући радњу међу чиновима немом „акцијом“ војника Кнеза Лазара, пошто се у драми о сукобу на Косову пољу само говори, а сам бој се не приказује, што је редитељ надокнадио „живим сликама“ на ротирајућој бини између чиновна-пјевања.

О чему размишљамо ми данас, шест добрих столећа после фаталне битке на Косовом пољу? Да ли су се узалуд бавили Косовском тематиком Душан Радић (опера *Смрти Мајке Југовића*) и Рајко Максимовић (ораторијум *Пасија Свјетоме Кнезу Лазару*), такође Витомир Трифуновић (балет *Косовка Девојка*)? Писац драме, којом се исто инспирисао Радић, ухапшен је био у Дубровнику, проведши Први светски рат у шибеничком затвору и загребачкој болници, док се Коњовић после Другог светског рата није могао изборити за извођење своје фестивалске музичке драме у време комунистичке интернационале и негирања српске историје, када су неким оперским администраторима (за почетак) засметале многобројне Југовићеве снахе (њих девет, пет сопрана и четири алта). Митови који се проглашавају за народне легенде-фантазије (иза којих у ствари стоје чињенице) нису били пожељни ни у комунистичко доба, ни у данашње време. Упућени смо изнова на реалност и „срећну будућност“.

Шта је легенда, шта је стварност? И једно и друго је постојање српске народне поезије, Југ-Богдановог двора-утврђења (замка Вратка Немањића?), чије је рушевине у околини Прокупља отишао да види Иво Војновић док је писао драму *Смрти Мајке Југовића*. Реалност је турско ропство, потпадање Срба под власт непросвећених Османлија током средњег века, што је значило деградацију народа на цивилизацијском путу, добрим делом „трасираног“ за

влада цара Душана Силног.¹⁰ У време потоњег турског мрака „песма нас је одржала, њојзи хвала“!

Мора се на крају нагласити да по садржају и лепоти израза и форме, ниједан словенски народ нема нешто слично Косовском циклусу народне поезије. Зар такво ет(н)ичко и уметничко литерарно-музичко благо треба препустити индивидуалном и колективном забораву? Нису то заслужиле ни музичко-сценске композиције, српском епиком инспирисане, на свој начин јединствене, које на највишем нивоу величају општечовечанске вредности. Не сметнимо с ума да је и (историјско) сећање – кроз уметничка дела – савест и морал једног народа и сваког људског бића појединачно. У том смислу је *Ојшаубина* и *Деветиа симфонија* и Косовски завет и Видовдански храм Петра Коњовића.

Прилог – Фотографије са премијере опере *Отаџбина*



¹⁰ Ако је импозантна слика његовог крунисања у Скопљу, дело Паје Јовановића, склоњено са зида обновљеног београдског Народног музеја, живи свој уметнички и историјски живот цар Срба и Грка, олицетворен од стране Алфонса Мухе, у Чешкој републици, као украс прашког Националног музеја, за успомену на свесловенско братство, како га је замишљао творац *Словенске епидије* (1910–1928), серије од двадесет слика монументалног формата.

НАДЕЖДА МОСУСОВА
МИЛОШЕВА ЖЕНИДБА И СМРТ: ОД ВИЛИНОГ БЕЛА ДО ОТАЏБИНЕ ПЕТРА КОЊОВИЋА





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NADEŽDA MOSUSOVA

THE WEDDING AND DEATH OF MILOŠ OBILIĆ: FROM THE FAIRY’S VEIL TO THE FATHERLAND

(SUMMARY)

The prominent Serbian and Yugoslav composer Petar Konjović (1883–1970) wrote five operas between 1900 and 1960. Konjović’s operatic opus represents his homeland and his spiritual spectrum: in the first place, indelible memories of his childhood and youth focused on the Serbian National Theatre in Novi Sad, in particular its heroic repertoire of Serbian literature. Consequently, three out of five of Konjović’s music dramas are derived from Serbian epic and theatre plays. In addition to Ivo Vojnović’s *Death of the Jugović Mother*, these are Dragutin Ilić’s *Wedding of Miloš Obilić* and Laza

Kostić's *Maksim Crnojević*. Therefore three of Konjović's operas can be conditionally brought together as being in many ways related, not only by their content but also by music and the scope of time they were created: *The Fairy's Veil* (based on *Wedding of Miloš Obilić*) during World War I, *The Fatherland* (based on *Death of the Jugović Mother*) during World War II, and between them *The Prince of Zeta* (based on *Maksim Crnojević*). The last of them, subtitled "A sacred festival drama" (following with its subtitle the idea of Wagner's *Parsifal*) had its gala performance in Belgrade National Theatre on 19 October 1983. The structure of the musical composition was inspired by the "Kosovo mystery play" by Vojnović (1857–1929), an outstanding dramatist from Dubrovnik. In this case, the playwright was a narrator of the historical-legendary past of the Serbs. Drawing on Serbian national epic poetry which deals with the downfall of the Serbian medieval empire caused by the Turkish invasion, Vojnović constructed his play on the basis of the central poem of the epic cycle about Kosovo, *The Death of the Jugović Mother*. Both the epic and Vojnović's play present the tragedy of Serbian people in the figure of the Mother. She dies with a broken heart after the loss of her heroic husband, Jug-Bogdan, and her nine sons, the Jugovići, in the decisive battle against the Turks in the Kosovo field in 1389.

Vojnović's play was performed in Belgrade and Zagreb in 1906 and 1907 respectively, as well as in Trieste (1911) and Prague (1926); and several Serbian and Croatian composers wrote incidental music for it. Slovenian composer Mirko Polič was also inspired by it and his work was performed in Ljubljana in 1947, while Konjović's "festival drama" finished in 1960 was staged much later. Its premiere in 1983 was scrupulously prepared by the father-son duo, Dušan Miladinović (conductor) and Dejan Miladinović (director), who paid special attention to the visual aspect of the performance. The director, together with the scenographer Aleksandar Zlatović created for *The Fatherland* a semi-permanent set of symbolical characters, with an enormous raven, made of jute, replacing the backdrop. The costume designer was influenced by medieval frescoes from Serbian monasteries in Kosovo. The director himself conceived a "mute" and motionless appearance of figures of Serbian warriors in "tableaux vivants" by placing them in attitudes of combat on the edge of the revolving stage during the curtain music between the acts.

What the composer Konjović aimed for with his last music drama was to eternalize in music the beautiful Serbian epic, depicting the tragic history of his people and thus reminding Serbs of their roots. In this sense *The Fatherland* was Konjović's *Ninth Symphony* and his oath of Kosovo.

KEYWORDS: Petar Konjović, opera, *The Fairy's Veil*, *The Fatherland*, epic, theatre plays

VARIA

THE TRIESTE PHILHARMONIC IN SERBIA

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ABSTRACT

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The dismissal of Radio Trieste's musicians

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[...]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

32 Programmes of individual concerts are listed in the Appendix.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE TRIESTE PHILHARMONIC AFTER THE TOUR IN SERBIA

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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НЕЈЦ СУКЉАН

ТРШЋАНСКА ФИЛХАРМОНИЈА У СРБИЈИ

(РЕЗИМЕ)

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

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

POSSIBLE IMPLEMENTATION OF HEINRICH CHRISTOPH KOCH'S ANALYTICAL TERMINOLOGY IN CONTEMPORARY ANALYTICAL PRACTICE

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ABSTRACT

This paper aims to interpret two capital works of Heinrich Christoph Koch, the most important theorist of the eighteenth century: *Musical Lexicon* (*Musikalisches Lexikon*) and *Introductory Essay on Composition* (*Versuch einer Anleitung zur Composition*) in three volumes, from the viewpoint of his analytical terminology. For better understanding of the piece, and bearing in mind that his *Introductory Essay* is a textbook, and therefore has a pedagogical nature, his view on the composer's relation with his work is discussed, and with it, creating a piece based on three parameters: conception, realization and elaboration, as well as the concepts of feeling, genius, fervour, impression and taste. Koch's relationship to the work from the viewpoint of the analysis of musical form and its dissection is considered. Some concepts, which have always been used in the analysis of form, whose meaning is understood by default, are explained: character, genre, style.

This paper arises from the necessity of re-examining Koch's analytical terminology and to introduce it into today's analytical practice, especially for the better understanding of music of the baroque and classical periods and its more logical explication. Special emphasis has been given to sonata form, which is necessary to be seen in a different way, in accordance with the stylistic period in which it was created.

Koch's music theory is completely neglected in the textbook literature and therefore the contribution of this scientific work is twofold: the analysis of Koch's postulates as well as an attempt to implement them in today's practice.

KEYWORDS: Heinrich Christoph Koch, music theory, *Musical Lexicon*, *Introductory Essay on Composition*, Günter Wagner

INTRODUCTION

The problem of the complexity of music theory and analysis of musical works, as regards terminology, becomes increasingly pronounced as the centuries go by. Despite the fact that through history there is a limited number of formal types in different circumstances of style and/or genre, the analytical apparatus becomes more complicated. Although the founders of music theory in different environments mostly agree on basic questions, later interpreters have, as the centuries passed, referred to their postulates less and less. This especially concerns music theory and analytical practice of the 20th century, so there is a general impression that nowadays there are deep polemics about even the primary concepts, and thus it leads to many disagreements. Paradoxically, in the textbook literature, as regards its conception, there is a tendency towards a unified approach to the form, without looking back at the specificities of the stylistic period. The biggest problem is perhaps the analytical approach to the work exclusively from the viewpoint of its passing, while the founders of music theory, and in that sense Koch as well, also approached the musical work from the viewpoint of its creation, in the compositional-technical sense, and in the search for the expression of the feeling that created it.

There are many analytical approaches today, and a substantial question arises: what is the purpose of music analysis? To confirm a theory, to show how something functions, to present the tendencies of some style or simply one individual interpretation? Lawrence Zbikowski thinks that “analysis rarely, if ever, simply corroborates a theory: analysis pulls theory and pushes it, extending and changing theory just as it also extends and changes our understanding of musical phenomena” (Zbikowski 2002: 19).

Defects in contemporary analytical postulates are frequent because of insufficient knowledge on the part of earlier theorists; thus, there is the defect of a single comprehensive insight and the carrying forward of music theory of the past, as well as neglecting during analysis the totality of the aspects of the musical work, especially the emotional aspect.

This paper aims to interpret two major works of Heinrich Christoph Koch, the most important theorist of the eighteenth century: *Musical Lexicon* (*Musikalisches Lexikon*) and *Introductory Essay on Composition* (*Versuch einer Anleitung zur Composition*) in three volumes, from the viewpoint of his analytical terminology. His theory is discussed from the viewpoint of different authors. Koch’s music theory is totally neglected in the textbook literature and therefore the original contribution of this scientific work is double: analysis of Koch’s postulates as well as an attempt to implement it in today’s practice, which is especially important for better understanding of music of the baroque and classical periods and a more logical explication thereof. Special emphasis is given to sonata form, which is necessary to be seen in a different way, in accordance with the stylistic period in which it was created.

KOCH’S THEORETICAL APPROACH TO THE MUSICAL PIECE

In theory, Koch examines everything in music apart from the interpretation and creation of a piece. Thus, “knowing grammar, rhetoric and aesthetics, besides knowing

the instrument's construction" (Koch 1802: 1534). He who considers the creation of a composition, e.g. "the art of linking notes so that through them feelings might be expressed" (Koch 1802: 877–878).

The concept of the "expression of a feeling" (*Ausdruck der Empfindung*) has a special meaning for Koch and "represents, in fact, the final goal of musical art, and therefore the most exquisite demand of every piece" (Koch 1802: 184). He says that feeling alone represents a psychological as well as moral concept, because, on the one hand, it resists clear recognition, and on the other, it marks the perception that makes the nature of the things recognizable by influencing us. From this concept he differentiates the concept sense (*Gefühl*), for which he says that it "often represents the interpretation of a musical artist's feelings, and that means a vividly illustrated representation of the act of sensibility" (Koch 1802: 644), while under modification and expressing feelings in general he uses the term emotions (*Gemüthsbewegungen*). Feelings are, thus, the very focus of Koch's theory. It is therefore of primary importance for him that the composer, besides knowing the mechanical rules, also has genius, which he defines as "a natural gift" for achieving progress. But, if even without studying the rules he brings the piece to perfection, then he is said to be a genius (Koch 1802: 660). This is very much in line with the way of thinking of the period in which he lived, in which "only genius can explain how a beautiful melody is created; only taste, the ultimate eighteenth-century arbiter, can be the final judge of what is beautiful" (Kovaleff Baker 1977: 183). Beside this, Koch tries to explain the artist's fervour (*Begeisterung*) as a state in which the composer builds the form "with an extraordinary ease, but without consciousness of intention" (Koch 1802: 231). Under an impression (*Eindruck*), he understands the effect that a piece has on us, and under taste (*Geschmack*) he understands the power to invent the beautiful.

By the notion of aesthetics itself, Koch understands the capacity of something to intrigue the feelings and influence taste (Koch 1802: 92). It is considered that he took most of his aesthetic views on the musical work form Johann Georg Sulzer (Kovaleff Baker 1977: 184). Besides the determination of feeling and taste, above all, he took the concepts of unity (*Einheit*) and variety (*Mannigfaltigkeit*), which in fact represent some sort of a philosophy of his comprehension of an ideal form, and they refer to the tendency for individual pieces towards a purpose of wholeness (unity), but also for them to bring in various changes (variety) through parsing, mixing with secondary thoughts, in different parts of the form, as well as tonalities, so they can "repeatedly appear in changed relations" (Koch 1802: 189–191). Koch defines character as a diversity between the objects of same type, which define bar type, tempo, rhythm, melodic figures, form, accompaniment, modulations, style and basic feeling (Koch 1802: 313). Unfortunately, Koch does not define the concept of genre (*Gattung*), but nevertheless uses it in the context to differentiate types of compositions (sonata, symphony, minuet etc.), while style (*Styl, Sreibart*), in his opinion, represents the main feature in every single genre, which takes into account feelings expressed and modified, as well as accidental circumstances, such as time, place and occasion (Koch 1802: 1450). Here there belongs also the content of specificities, which is defined through strict or

linked or free or unlinked style, which he identifies with the concept of galant style (Koch 1802: 1453).

By composition Koch understands “the art of linking notes so that feelings could be expressed with them” (Koch 1802: 878). If one piece is going to be successfully written, it is necessary, according to him, that the composer be capable of building a whole piece in his imagination with the help of notes as well as the usual signs. For that reason some kind of inborn ability is required, which cannot be gained by studying, because it belongs to genius. On the one hand, the material part of the art of composing represents “the science which can be learned and mastered and which is usually thought of when we speak of studying composition” (Koch 1802: 879). Koch considers that the artist’s genius should be cherished, and that can be achieved by learning the rules which are divided in two disciplines: grammar and rhetoric. Grammar deals with the rules, relations between elements and components of music, which “must match their most favourable use, which is validated by many teachers of music with long experience and from entire nations, in which refined taste predominates” (Koch 1802: 678). It processes the tonal system, harmony and melody. Rhetoric, on the other side, confirms the rules, according to purpose and, in this manner, corrects the material part of the artistic statement (Koch 1802: 1251). Koch uses Forkel’s (Johann Nikolaus Forkel) differentiation between rhetoric and grammar (Koch 1802: 680).

However, that which presents the framework for understanding Koch’s analytical approach is his relation with theme, as well as his conception of composition. Taking the rhetorical conception of form as a starting point, Koch recommends the composer to organize the work process of a piece according to these three parameters: the conception (*Anlage*), the realization (*Ausführung*) and the elaboration (*Ausarbeitung*). Firstly, he must determine the final goal or at least the character or a feeling which he thinks would intrigue the listener. “Determination of the character or the feeling of a piece, but especially finding those substantial parts with which the feeling will be expressed, is called the conception of a piece” (Koch 1802: 147). How important an adequate conception is Koch underlines by stating that “it remains a permanent value” for centuries, unlike the realization and elaboration, which change with the taste of the time. He warns that bad conception can turn off the desire for any further elaboration by the composer, and that is why he suggests that one should not continue to work on other segments, while one has not brought the conception to an appropriate stage. During the realization, the parts of the conception are distributed into periods and the ways of processing are to be found. Hence, they are brought into different relations and dissected. In this way the piece achieves its range and continuance. While the conception, in Koch’s opinion, depends more on pure talent, realization is a question of taste, on which the total impression of a piece depends. By elaboration Koch means “the final processing of a piece of art, after the whole layout and presentation of all parts is totally formed, or, so to say, adding the sporadic unities” (Koch 1802: 181). Under this falls adding harmonies, additional voices and everything that is implied by the grammatical part of the task.

THE CONCEPT OF THEME IN KOCH'S MUSICAL THEORY

Koch was familiar with the concept of theme, because it exists as an entry in his *Musical Lexicon*. But it is merely a referral to another entry – main sentence (*Hauptsatz*), which is defined as “that melodic sentence of a piece which signifies its main character, or in which the feeling expressed is presented in an understandable picture or impression” (Koch 1802: 745). Although it is crucial for the substance of a musical piece, Koch also says that, as regards its appearance, there are no general rules prescribed: “Sometimes the composer will begin his artistic pieces immediately with the main sentence, and this is especially usual in the art of the sonata (*Sonatenart*), and sometimes he will allow a short introductory sentence to precede the main one, as for example in modern symphonies, or in ritornello, or in arias and concertos” (Koch 1802: 745–746). By analytical process Koch understands the parsing of a musical piece, namely: “observation of the individual sentences of which a piece is compound, especially individually, from the viewpoint of their content or form etc., so that according to these features the whole piece can be evaluated” (Koch 1802: 1756). In the article “Remarks about Heinrich Christoph Koch's theory of form” (“Anmerkungen zur Formtheorie Heinrich Christoph Kochs”), Günter Wagner noticed that Koch, as well as the notion of the main sentence, also differentiates other sentences: tight, containing four bars, (*enge Satz*), extended (*erweiterten Satz*), overlapping (*zusammengeschobenen Satz*). The final formula of the whole piece is called the final sentence (*Schlußsatz*), and parsing sentences (*Zergliederungssätze*) are those which are divided in different ways during the realization. He defines such conceptions as delimitation (*Absatz*) which in the German language has the word “sentence” included in it, cut, (*Einschnitt*), segment (*Abschnitt*), caesura or incision (*Cäsur, der Schnitt*), which will enable the segmentation of musical flow. Also, he establishes the terminology of the cadential process (Wagner 1984: 87).

KOCH'S VIEW OF PERIOD AS THE MAIN UNIT OF FORM

Günter Wagner makes a statement that period is also, like sentence, “the central concept of the Kochian study of composition” (Wagner 1984: 88). His interpretation of Koch's theory is important because he recognized the fact that the period is not defined as a particular construction, but rather a function of a closed whole which it fulfils in the particular piece; and also because of his desire to research the ideology of Koch's analytical view of a piece to make a parallel between his and later theories of form, for the purpose of a better analytical view of music before romanticism (Wagner 1984: 90). In his *Musical Lexicon*, Koch announces that period “signifies unity of different sentences, namely, different melodic parts with an autonomous sense, and, by uniting an idea, or much more the expression of a feeling, presented in a certain finished degree” (Koch 1802: 1149–1150). However, he notes as well that “it seems that there is no united opinion on music, because many often call period a part of the whole piece which in itself makes complete sense and which is called a sentence in language” (Koch 1802: 1150).

In the *Introductory Essay on Composition* Koch explains how the period fits into smaller and larger pieces. As for small forms, as a first type he cites the dances from the baroque suite (Gavotte, Bourrée, Anglaise, Polonaise, Minuet, March), giving an overview with general guidelines for character, rhythm, bar, not dealing with their construction. As a second type he names the melodies for odes or songs: chorale and figured melodies. In the third type, he includes other “common pieces of small range, which do not have a particular character and whose bar type, motion and rhythmical or interpunctual ordering completely depends on the whim of the composer” (Koch 1793: 52). As well as these pieces, here he includes theme and variations. As far as the structure of these three sorts of pieces is concerned, Koch mentions that for the dance melodies the quadruple (*Vierer*) usually employ the structure of a tight sentence, precisely because they have the most pleasant influence on our senses (Koch 1793: 53). He points out that the unity of brief pieces requires “closer correspondence of the parts; it requires that a minimum of one of existing parts be repeated in another link or turn etc.” (Koch 1793: 55).

To understand how Koch imagines the form of one movement of a dance suite, it is necessary to explain one more concept – melodic parts. That is, as in language, Koch implies in music more or less striking caesuras in the melody, which are necessary for the feelings to be affected. The most striking caesura is the period, while the less striking include sentences and melodic parts. Melodic parts are the cut (in today’s terminology, the motive), which implies uncompleted thought. Completed thought represents the delimitation (if it is placed in the sentence), and if contains the cadential formula, the final movement (*Schlußsatz*). With the general concept of “melodic punctuation” (*melodische Interpunction*) Koch designates lesser or greater caesuras in the melody. He underlines that all kind of types of parts contain caesuras, or punctuation marks, but that range or the bar number – which he calls “the rhythm” (*Rythmus*) – must also be considered (Koch 1787: 342–347). He mentions that during the linking of four melodic parts, just one, or perhaps two, of them need to end with complete closure and in that way divide the whole piece into two shorter periods (Koch 1793: 56). The most important elements for the structure of the form are indeed the cadential turns, and the cadences that form it, or “punctuation form”, as he calls it. He follows the modulational flow on the basis of those tonalities in which an important cadence is made, and not on the basis of all the tonalities in which the modulation is executed.

Koch comes to the following conclusion: “As long as the second period of the small piece does not consist of anything but one sentence, those forms in which the first period also concludes with the cadence in the main tonality, from the viewpoint of tonal change, are not capable of variety” (Koch 1793: 68). It follows, then, he says, that for modulations are used pieces of a wider range, such as minuet and country dance (*Contertanz*) in which, specifically, the second period is obtained from more than two melodic parts... (Koch 1793: 69). He also, makes the following statement: “To arrive at the common form, which a small piece of sixteen bars should have, a case should be introduced in which the second period, instead of having two self-sufficient melodic parts also could occasionally consist of one joined phrase.” On the basis of these standpoints, it could be thought that, as well as the concept that melodic

parts could correspond with the concept of musical thoughts, so his understanding of the period could be more appropriate to the concept of a part of a form. But, in explaining that figure, Koch focuses on the cadential turns, namely on the punctuation form, rather than on the thematic plan and the range of the second "period", in regard to the first, respectively, in the proportionality of the parts. In that sense, he specifies a rule, on which basis two different "melodic parts" could not follow one another if both have a perfect cadence in the same tonality (it would be possible if the same cadence were in two different tonalities!), but it could be possible if they are the same – in the same or in a different tonality (Koch 1793: 113–116). If, however, two different melodic parts have the dominant cadence, they can follow one another if they are not in the same tonality (Koch 1793: 113–116).

Based on the description on pages 87 and 88 of Koch's *Introductory Essay on Composition*, it can be concluded that Koch differentiates permeation form between binary and ternary form, but he does not so name them. In addition, on page 128, he considers how short pieces with more than four melodic parts connect mutually to form one whole piece, from the viewpoint of cadential turns, and afterwards, also the proportions of the form itself. The first part sometimes allows the possibility of the three-sentence structure, with the condition that the third should finish with the cadence in the dominant tonality (Koch 1793: 146). This fact is very important, because it is indeed in the dance movements, whose first parts contain three sentences, that the embryos of the future sonata form can be detected. It can be concluded that by the analysis of small forms Koch actually means the analysis of the modulational plan of the composition, with the accent on the relation between the cadential turns of the sentences in the whole piece – that is, the most important is the punctuation form. There are some very rare and precious moments, such as the following, when he considers the example of Christian Gotthelf Scheinpflug, in which he makes a return to the thematic material: "When, in this case, the repetition of the small piece contains more than sixteen bars, than either the structure of the melodic parts is repeated, or the sentences are extended according to the terms of the next chapter" (Koch 1793: 145).

The fourth chapter of the third volume of the *Introductory Essay on Composition* has the title *Concerning linking melodic parts into periods of greater length, or concerning the arrangement of larger pieces* (*Von der Verbindung der melodischen Theile zu Perioden von größerem Umfange, oder von der Einrichtung der größern Tonstücke*). Koch mentions that they are "treated according to the punctuational or rhythmical rules and maxims" as well as small forms, but that "concerning their linking into periods of greater length many more things should be noticed" (Koch 1793: 231). He gives a definition of the main period (*Hauptperiode*), under which he considers the "linking of sentences, from which the last is finished with the form-distinguishing cadence, in the main or in the close tonality" (Koch 1793: 231–232). Therefore, the number of sentences included in the period is not limited!

Koch divides the larger forms into vocal and instrumental categories. In vocal music, as special types are distinguished recitative, aria, chorus, and on the basis of their linking arise cantata, oratorio and opera (Koch 1793: 233). "In instrumental

music the principal types of genre are used, namely, opening and preparatory pieces, sonatas and concertos" (Koch 1793: 292). To the opening pieces (*Eröffnungsstücke*) belongs overtures and symphonies. Sonatas can be written for one or more voices, according to Koch. If the writing for the voices is polyphonic, then they are called duets, and if one voice is distinguished as the main voice, they are called solos. As far as the concerto is concerned, he distinguishes the chamber concerto, which consists of one main instrument and the orchestra, and the concerto grosso, in which the orchestral groups rotate, but occasionally also sound together (Koch 1793: 231–294). There then follows a description of the the overture, "which stands out from other pieces through a fugue that distinguishes the form, but which always precedes a short sentence of very serious and pathetic character, written in a special style" (Koch 1793: 294). Considering that the overture is an opening piece before an opera, oratorio or cantata, the character of the fugue, as a main sentence (theme) is subordinate to the following movement. If, nevertheless, it presents an opening piece for chamber concerto, then it can have the character of an Allegro or a dance melody, according to Koch (Koch 1793: 300).

The *sinfonia* or symphony, which he claims to have suppressed the overture, also represents an opening movement before a drama, cantata, chamber music or concertante music. It can consist either only of Allegro or it can have three movements: Allegro–Andante–Allegro. He quotes Sulzer, who perceives the symphony as an instrumental choir, unlike the sonata, which could represent an instrumental cantata. The festive character is inherent to it, he says, and it is its "final goal to prepare the listener to what follows, namely to give all glory to the instrumental concerto (Koch 1793: 303). Above all others, it may precede an opera, church music, or a chamber symphony.

The description of the structure of the first Allegro of a symphony represents a model for all other descriptions of sonata-form movements. He sees this movement as binary, and the first part, according to him, consists "of one single main period", which often can be extended (Koch 1793: 303). The structure of this period, according to Koch, does not substantially differ from the structure of the sonata or concerto in its tonal plan or by the succession of perfect or dominant cadences, but "1) by the fact that that the melodic parts are, already at their first exposure, often more extended than in other pieces, and 2) especially by the fact that that the melodic parts are usually linked together more, and are more continuous in flow than in the periods of other pieces; that is, they are so tightly joined to each other that their delimitations are less perceptible" (Koch 1793: 305–306). Its features also include overlapping and the absence of a form-distinguishing delimitation, as long as "the rushing and sonorous sentence, together with reduced strength of the sound, do not replace the exposure of the more singable sentence. This is why so many periods can be seen in which only one form-distinguishing delimitation can be heard, while the modulation in the nearest tonality is not yet accomplished because the main melodic part also has far less tendency, as in other pieces, to be in one tonality; however, after the theme is heard in the second melodic main part, already in the third melodic part with the modulation it turns to the dominant tonality (in the related minor key, a third above), in which other parts are exposed, because the second and larger part of this

period is especially dedicated to this tonality” (Koch 1793: 306). It is precisely this that makes the most trustworthy description of the exposition of sonata form, with Koch’s terminology. Further, he describes the possibility of the opening sentence in slow motion and of serious character, which can be found before the beginning of this “exposition”. It is in the main tonality, and it ends with a perfect or dominant cadence – often with a seventh chord. According to Koch, the second part of the Allegro is divided into two main periods, of which the first cultivates “various types of structure”, of which the most typical are two. The first starts “with a theme or some other melodic main part”, which is often exposed in inversion, in the dominant key. In the next segment it modulates to the main tonality or to a minor key (parallel, or of the second or third degree), after which it returns to the main tonality (Koch 1793: 308–309). This description of the modulatory plan, with the accentuation of motivic similarity, viz., work with the motives from the first part, completely corresponds to the structure of the second part of the baroque binary form, which Koch also divides into two periods, i.e., sections. The first leads from the dominant to the main tonality, and then to other nearby minor tonalities (the tonality of the sixth, second or third degree) – the return to the main tonality may be omitted – and then directly, through the technique of the sequence or in some other way leads to one of the minor tonalities. Between the first and the second “main period” a short linking sentence occurs, “which consists of the structure of some melodic main part, with a similarly postulate and through the technique of the sequence the modulation leads back again to the main tonality, in which the last main period will arise”. (Koch 1793: 309) The second means of constructing this period, which is, according to Koch, frequent in modern symphonies, uses only one sentence from the first part, or just one segment from her, which, through the technique of the sequence or imitation move from one voice to another and undertakes digressions to closer or more distant keys, before it arrives at the final tonality. If it ends with a dominant cadence, then the period continues, and if it finishes with a complete cadence it closes (Koch 1793: 309–310). The last period of the first Allegro is above all dedicated to modulation to the main tonality, with the possibility of a subdominant digression. It is important to highlight that Koch notices that it can start with a theme or some other melodic main part in this tonality. But, unlike the ‘first theme’ which is only optionally repeated, Koch sees as obligatory the recapitulation of the ‘second theme’: “Finally the other half of the first period, or the melodic parts of the first period, which followed after the dominant cadence in the main tonality, are repeated in the main period and with this close the Allegro” (Koch 1793: 311)

This kind of description of the Allegro of a symphony suits the sonata Allegro form, with the only difference that for Koch it was not in fact of crucial importance which segment of “the first period” recapitulated in the “third period”, which indicates the possibility of the joining of all sonata form types into one, with many subtypes, unlike the “deviation” from one imaginary ideal mould, which is the frequent interpretation in the textbook literature.

As far as the second movement is concerned, with the tempo marks Andante or Adagio, Koch says that it can be in three different types of form, and the first is similar

to the Allegro. Its first part is the same as in Allegro, and the second part depends – according to Koch – on whether the Andante is greatly developed or not. That is, if it is smaller in range, than it has one, and if it is larger, then it, as an Allegro, contains “two main periods”. As a more meaningful difference Koch notes a more noticeable parsing of “melodic parts” in regard to Allegro (Koch 1793: 312). As for the recapitulation of the thematic material from the first part, Koch says that “the theme either repeats once more or, if there is no repetition those sentences are transposed to the main tonality, which in the first part followed after the dominant cadence” (Koch 1793: 313). On the basis of this statement by Koch’s, as well as the example of Haydn’s Andante on page 179 of *Introductory Essay*, to which he refers, it can be concluded that he implies here the Scarlatti sonata form. The second and the third type of form which Koch specifies as typical for this slow movement are rondo and variation forms. With regard to the third movement of the symphony, Koch considered that the form is defined after the “nature of its character”, particularly as “the form of the first Allegro” or rondo form. In the remark he indicates the possibility of a symphony being written in four movements, adding a minuet with trio, occasionally before, but still more often after the Andante.

Based on the description of a symphony as a cyclic form, it can be seen that Koch was fully informed with regard to what today’s understanding of sonata form implies, but he accented it in a different way. In addition, he did not actually call it sonata form, but “the form of the first Allegro”, so it is curious that he did not recognize this form as almost unique for sonatas of that time. However, there follows a description indicating that he did not see the potential of the symphony in the sonata, because of its ‘milder’ character and he emphasized that feelings in sonata must be more nuanced, and thus these two genres must be framed and modified in a different way (Koch 1793: 315–316). Koch sees the two-part sonata as the most sophisticated in expression, and Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach as the best composer of piano sonatas of his time. Concerning the sonata form, Koch states that it is not necessary to speak specifically of the forms of Allegro and Adagio in the sonata “because sonata takes all the forms which were earlier described in the symphony” (Koch 1793: 315–316). This refers to the last movement as well, Allegro, with the only difference that it can also have the form of a small piece. He warns too that “as much as they can be similar, the forms of the sonata and symphony, from the viewpoint of the number of periods, and the modulational leading, as is, contrast by their different inner nature of the melody” (Koch 1793: 319). Very important is his observation that the parsing is more obvious in the sonata than in the symphony, in which the melodic parts are more continuously framed. One more tendency in the sonata is extension, in the form of extra sentences, unlike the symphony, where the extensions are accomplished by means of thematic work. Based on this observation it can be concluded that, from the viewpoint of structure, according to Koch, the symphony is an evolutionary movement, while for sonata architectonicity is more typical. In addition, Koch describes how the sonata is adapted to other arrangements: duo, trio, quartet.

In his explanation of concerto form, Koch again uses the comparison with sonata, by quoting Sulzer, who admits that a piece written in the genre of sonata is able to

transfer its capacity of feeling, while in the concerto this capacity is smaller. Koch wonders how it is possible to lack this capacity, when the composer has more means than in the sonata to increase the expression of the main voice with the accompaniment than in sonata. He finds the answer in Sulzers article Sonata: "It seems that the purpose of the concerto is rather to give the opportunity to a player, and to hear many instruments in the accompaniment, than applied the description of passions" (Koch 1793: 330). He also wonders what makes the difference between sonata and concerto forms, so that the sonata favours the expression of feelings, while in the concerto this aspect is disturbed? Koch notices a certain use of "long passages, which does not represent anything but the studies of a player" (the soloist's cadence) as a crucial feature of concerto, although often far from the piece's expression of feeling itself (Koch 1793: 331). It seems to Koch that it needs to be seen not from the viewpoint of a solo composition, because, in his opinion, the accompaniment and the solo part engage in "a passionate dialogue" in which the feeling of a concerto is contained. It can, like the first Allegro of the symphony, begin with an opening sentence. The first ritornello of a concerto, which can undergo a long exposition, "contains the most exquisite melodic parts which belong to the conception of the Allegro" (Koch 1793: 333). The form of the ritornello, according to Koch, can be triple: a period in the main tonality, and two connected periods, with the following modulation plan: from the main to the dominant tonality, and after the dominant cadence there follows a cantabile sentence, which is derived from the solo, which then ends with a complete cadence in this tonality; or it can be formed so that after the modulation to the dominant key in it follows "the melodic main part", which afterwards, without cadencing, returns to the main tonality and encloses the ritornello. The first main period, namely the solo, starts after the end of the ritornello and Koch warns that here there must be no overlapping, because "the cadence of the ritornello must calm down entirely" (Koch 1793: 336). After the ritornello follows the movement whose modulational flow is already defined in the symphony. However, Koch mentions that, "the second type of melody, however, is very similar to the sonata. It is also built like this, but usually even more expanded with the use of well-known means for extensions, and the melodic parts are more connected on account of the omission of delimitation" (Koch 1793: 336). After the end of the main period in the dominant key, the second ritornello starts, which is connected motivically with the first, and ends in the dominant key, after which follows the second solo, on the new thematic material. This period is equivalent to the second period of the Allegro of the symphony, and after its closure follows the ritornello, which can be extended with the technique of the sequences or in some other way. Its modulational plan consists of the return to the main tonality and the dominant cadence, so that it prepares the third exposure of the solo, which corresponds, as far as the structure is concerned, to the third period of the Allegro of the symphony, after which follows a re-exposition of the ritornello, ending the concerto.

As far as the second movement is concerned, Koch states that it can be written in the form of a vocal aria, which can be binary, and the parts are separated by a transitional section. The first part contains two main periods, and the second, one, after which

the first part repeats, partially or completely (Koch 1793: 241–242). The second type of form in which the second movement can be written is a romance, in rondo form (Koch 1793: 340). The last movement, Allegro or Presto, is in the form of Allegro or rondo.

Based on the preliminary consideration of the conception of period, the conclusion can be drawn that it does not represent a concrete structure, as is shown in the contemporary textbook literature. On this issue, Wagner states: “Period [...] can manifest different formal types in different genres. [...] This formal neutrality or multiplicity of the period makes clear that the *melodic punctuation*, without the help of other criteria, does not represent the means by which the form can be constructed in the right sense. [...] Or, in other words: *period* does not represent any specific unit of form (*Formeinheit*), but a grammatical uniqueness, which acts formally as multiple or neutral” (Wagner 1984: 97).

Wagner considers that there is a hierarchy in Koch’s methodology of the structure of form. Firstly, it is necessary to subordinate the form by means of melodic punctuation: “Only through motivic connection of the ‘melodic parts’, through resumption of melodic forms, placing the main feeling in the *main sentence* and its further parsing, by the ordered, varied mutual action, which is connected with the tonal level, does the form occur, mutual relations, correspondences and references are built; in this respect, the essential legitimacies are connected via *melodic punctuations*. [. . .] That fact that the tonal progression, and also the flow, play a crucial role for the formal structure of the piece, is absolutely seen and advocated by Koch” (Wagner 1984: 98).

BRINGING KOCH’S THEORY UP TO DATE IN THE CONTEXT OF THE PRE-CLASSICAL SONATA FORM

Gunter Wagner sees Koch as the most relevant connoisseur of the period between the baroque and classicism, because his theoretical research took place in the time span of 1730–1780.

The need for the reassessment of Koch’s theory came about because of the extremely powerful influence in the textbook literature of nineteenth century theorists, primarily Adolf Bernhard Marx. Specifically, for pedagogical purposes in Marx’s theory there is a classification of forms, which is based on the conception of an “artificial” genesis, in which the forms are represented from the simplest to the most complex, how one arises from the other. Carl Dahlhaus sees four controversial categories in the approach of the analysis of form of the baroque and classical periods. The first consists of the fact that the theorists of the 19th century did not take into account that in the musical thought of the earlier theorists, contrary to their view, vocal music was considered a priority. The second category refers to the “modern” understanding of the concept of theme as a central category of independent instrumental music, about which he says the following: “the fact that in sonata theory from the 19th century the thematic – the contrast of themes – was moved to the forefront, as was already mentioned, was recognized primarily in historical rather than pedagogically-oriented research, as a one-sidedness that did not correspond to the musical reality of the eighteenth century. The third category which Dahlhaus mentions is

built on the viewpoint which, based on the comparison of music and architecture, sees repetition as the skeleton of musical form (Dahlhaus 1978: 158) In contrast, Koch uses the rhetorical concept as a basic pillar of structure, where repetition contributes to the clarity and the expression, but do not represent the backbone of the form. As the fourth controversial category between Koch's theory and nineteenth-century theory, Dahlhaus sees in the "consequences founded on the far-reaching difference that exists between the methods of harmonic-tonal formal analysis" (Dahlhaus 1978: 158). Recalling the exposition of the sonata, he claims that modern theorists make a difference between sections that are tonally closed and those that modulate, while Koch does not make such differentiations, but focuses on his conception of "punctuation form", in which the cadential turns are considered as innocuous indicators of the volume and diversity of sections.

In the *Musical Lexicon* Koch identifies the concept of theme with the concept of main sentence, but in the analysis and descriptions of form he almost always uses the second term. Günter Wagner considers that the term "main sentence" is more appropriate because "the concrete substance of the meaning lies in the intersection of the levels of form and content" (Wagner 1984: 87). By formal definition he means part of a word that refers to a sentence, while the content represents that part of word that indicates whether this is a main musical thought. This is especially important when the forms which contain more themes, such as sonata form, are explained. Koch mostly analysed pre-classical forms (Joseph Haydn, Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach), in which the specificity of the first themes is contained in the fact that they are really determinant for the whole piece, because from them all other thematic materials are derived. That is why Wagner underlines Koch's stance: "The musical sentence at the beginning of a musical piece is the rule-carrier of the main thought; secondary sentences should parse the main thought in different ways. Besides, thoughts must be arranged so as to show the main thought 'always from a new point of view'. The required unity is preserved, because the main thought and secondary thoughts 'must specifically be designed in such way that, mutually linked, they always make a beautiful whole'" (Wagner 1984: 92).

In explaining Scarlatti's sonatas, Ralph Kirkpatrick did not see the concept of theme itself as controversial, but the concept of exposition, of which he says that "although the material announced in the tonic at the opening of a Scarlatti sonata may determine the character and suggest or even state the principal thematic elements of the piece, it is not necessarily subject to recapitulation or even to later allusion. Therefore the first half of the Scarlatti sonata cannot be called an *exposition*, in the sense of a classical sonata, nor in the sense of a fugue" (Kirkpatrick 1953: 253). He thus considers that the unpredictability of the openings in the recapitulation of the Scarlatti sonata form means that "it is a mistake to speak of first and second themes, or even of principal and subsidiary themes in Scarlatti" and he noticed that some of his most striking and impressive thematic material is stated only once (Kirkpatrick 1953: 253). Nevertheless, in his analytical apparatus there is the concept of the first theme. Walter Gerstenberg took the analysis of motive following the example of Scarlatti's sonatas and gave up on the concept of theme as a main musical thought – namely, the sentence. For monothematic sonatas he introduces

the concept of motive kernel (*Motivkern*) or ground motive (*Urmotiv*) for the main motive on which the whole piece is built, while for the piece in which thematic materials are less differentiated he uses the terms motivic group 1 (*Motivgruppe 1*) and motivic group 2 (*Motivgruppe 2*), to delineate them (Gerstenberg 1933: 76–77). For the sonatas in which not only are motives differentiated, but also the structural plan, he speaks of a head motive group (*Kopfmotivgruppe*) and a subsidiary motive group (*Seitenmotivgruppe*) (Gerstenberg 1933: 76–77).

The question of thematism is especially complicated because of the ingrained models of 19th century music theory concerning its understanding. William Dean Sutcliffe considers that this is because we used to understand the “theme” as similar to the term “idea”. “Of course, we would never expect the two to be identical, but in practice we would expect an opening theme to have a good deal to do with the creative ‘idea’ of a work” (Sutcliffe 2005: 19). But in Koch’s theory, the term “idea” is linked to the term “concept”, which represents its advantage. Although some of the above-mentioned theorists did not link the term “theme” with the sentence, it should be mentioned that Koch is explicit in this stance, because he took Sulzer’s comparison with the main thought of the of the orator and therefore requests that it should be represented as an apprehensible picture or impression. Only in the form of fugue does Koch allow the theme not to build a completed musical thought: “The fugue represents a piece in which a sentence or a melodic part, which is particularly constructed so that it should be capable of implementing various types of imitation, according to certain specific rules for this type of piece, so that it can be transmitted throughout the whole piece from one voice to another under certain changes.” (Koch 1793: 280–281)

Günter Wagner sees the understanding of the theme in classicism as a mix of Koch’s terms “theme” and “conception”: “The difference between the *theme* in the Kochian sense and in its classical form, as it is defined by Hugo Riemann, consists in the fact that the classical *theme* is built from contrasting motives and that in it a greater degree of rounding can be detected. Both this features are characteristics of the *conception*: *main thoughts* can be very different and they must be adjusted to one absolute whole” (Wagner 1984: 108). He also notes that the conception is a preliminary stage of composing, unlike the classical theme which is part of a piece.

Eagerly searching in Koch’s theoretical work for any sign of sonata form, a conclusion can be reached that may be found in the description of the first part of a dance movement. As has already been said, it allows the possibility of a structure of three sentences, with the condition that the third must be finished with a cadence in the dominant key, which exactly represents the sonata exposition of a dance movement. He numbers a few possibilities for the punctuation form: the first sentence could end with a perfect cadence, and the other with a dominant cadence, and in the third it could modulate to the dominant tonality (Koch 1793: 146), He also allows that the modulation may appear in the second sentence and end with a dominant cadence in the closing key, and this case is even closer to our goal. In this last case the first sentence can be completed with a perfect cadence or with a dominant cadence in the main tonality. As for the second part, Koch suggests the possibility that it could start with the main sentence, namely the theme, in the dominant key, and that it should afterwards, in the next sentences, return to the main tonality. He thus empha-

sizes the following: “that at the end of the second repetition all three melodic parts of the first part do not usually repeat: but only the main or concluding sentence is usually repeated, as in figure 3, or, as in figure 4, both at the same time” (Koch 1793: 148–151). In figures 1 and 4 (example 1) from Koch’s *Introductory Essay on Composition*, a miniature sonata form with repeated first and second theme can be seen. There are countless examples like this as well as more elaborate ones in the keyboard pieces of Johann Sebastian Bach and Domenico Scarlatti. But Koch insisted above all that pieces such as the one explicated in example 1 should have unity in terms of motives and in terms of the relation of the endings, and he dealt with these questions widely in the *Introductory Essay*, neglecting description of the forms themselves. Wagner considers that this is primarily because the *Introductory Essay* represents a practicum for composers, and not a textbook for musical forms, “at least because melodic punctuation does not represent a procedure that starts from the act of the constitution of a form” (Wagner 1984: 96). Further, today’s understanding of form, which links the names of rondo, sonata form, song form with particular formal moulds, is not close to Koch. Koch considered, rather, the limited means of construction of the sentence from the viewpoint of the thematic plan, as well as the punctuation form under the character that the different genres manifest, such as small forms, dances, symphony, sonata, concerto.

As a conclusion, Günter Wagner makes a basic difference between Koch’s understanding of form and later understandings, and this is that Koch does not limit it only to an architectural model and the symmetry of the whole piece, because in his opinion “the structure of the parts and their linking in a whole piece is connected in an autonomous, absolute, abstract feeling for the form, which can refer to different artistic spaces. Punctuation, thus, corresponds to the laws of the construction of particular parts into a whole: the joining of the beams to the supporting skeleton of a half-timbered house or an arrangement of pillars for the management of statics, as well as all the technical-constructive demands, without which the structure of a building is not possible, but which do not constitute the actual formative elements” (Wagner 1984: 111–112).

While in the textbook literature period is considered as a strictly determined structure, by Koch it is rather seen according to the sense in a particular piece, and therefore its definition as a closed totality is of utmost importance. This approach was adopted by Russian music theorists (Cf. Veljanović-Ranković 2008). This paper also discusses the possibility that the period is seen as part of form (Cf. *Ibid.*), but again, that would not be quite precise. Specifically, as punctuation form is of crucial importance for the determination of period, so, for example, precisely in the first Allegro form of a sonata or a symphony (the sonata form) the “exposition” can consist of one or two periods, irrespective of the fact that in both cases it contains the main and the secondary sentence (that is, the first and second themes). If there is no clear “punctuation sign” between them, then they build only one period together, and if they are separated by one, then two.

Bringing Koch’s music theory up to date could, therefore, mean that the elements and components of a musical form may not be viewed strictly and rigidly, because this is certainly not possible in music, for the aim of a musical piece while it is being created is not to undergo to a strict pattern, but to achieve a plurality of realization from a unique form. Therefore, Koch’s approach, which is based on viewing the musical piece

as a continuous process of development, with a rich, appropriate and flexible analytical apparatus, could well serve as an ideal for today's theories of form, which, it seems, try to reduce themselves to a simple scheme or a one-sided analysis, which neglects all the aspects of formal structure. The sense of the analysis is thereby lost, a sense which should, essentially, represent a subjective, individual interpretation and a view of a particular musical piece, as well as using terminology which is already grounded in earlier music. Koch did not devise an original terminology at the end of the eighteenth century, but he systematized in the best possible way the contributions of musical theorists from the mid-seventeenth century, concluding with his own work.

Example 1

fig. 1.

fig. 4.

JASNA VELJANOVIĆ
POSSIBLE IMPLEMENTATION OF HEINRICH CHRISTOPH KOCH'S ANALYTICAL
TERMINOLOGY IN CONTEMPORARY ANALYTICAL PRACTICE

The image displays a handwritten musical score on six staves. The music is written in G major (one sharp) and 3/4 time. The notation includes various rhythmic values such as eighth and sixteenth notes, often grouped with beams and slurs. There are also rests and dynamic markings like 'fz' (forzando). The score concludes with a double bar line and repeat dots. The handwriting is clear and professional, typical of a composer's manuscript.

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ЈАСНА ВЕЉАНОВИЋ

МОГУЋА ПРИМЕНА АНАЛИТИЧКЕ ТЕРМИНОЛОГИЈЕ ХАЈНРИХА КРИСТОФА
КОХА У САВРЕМЕНОЈ АНАЛИТИЧКОЈ ПРАКСИ

(РЕЗИМЕ)

У овом чланку разматрам два остварења Хајнриха Кристофа Коха, најзначајнијег музичког теоретичара осамнаестог века: *Музички лексикон* (*Musikalisches Lexikon*) и *Покушај увода у композицију* (*Versuch einer Anleitung zur Composition*) у три свеске, са становишта његове аналитичке терминологије. Имајући у виду да је *Увод у композицију* конципиран као уџбеник, дакле примарна намена му је педагошка, тумачим његове погледе на композиторов однос према сопственом делу, затим, компоновање на основу три параметра: замисли, реализације и зараде, као и на његове термине осећања, генија, заноса, утиска и укуса. Сагледавам и Кохов однос према делу са становишта анализе музичке форме. При томе објашњавам поједине термине, који се одвајкада користе у анализи музичке форме, а чије значење подразумевамо: карактер, жанр, стил.

Овај чланак је проистекао из неопходности поновног разматрања Кохове аналитичке терминологије и њеног увођења у савремену аналитичку праксу,

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посебно зарад бољег разумевања музике раздобља барока и класицизма и њеног логичнијег објашњења. Посебан акценат је стављен на сонатни облик, који морамо да сагледамо на другачији начин, а у складу са стилским раздобљем у којем је настао.

Кохова теорија музике је потпуно запостављена у уџбеничкој литератури, тако да је допринос овог текста двострук: с једне стране, он доноси анализу Кохових постулата, а с друге стране, покушава да их примени у данашњој пракси.

Кључне речи: Хајнрих Кристоф Кох, теорија музике, *Музички лексикон*, *Покушај увода у комјоновање*, Гинтер Вагнер

THE POLITICIZATION OF MUSIC DURING THE PERIOD OF TOTALITARIAN RULE IN BULGARIA (1944 – 1989)

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ABSTRACT:

Since this is a phenomenon of recent times, the significance of the politicization of music during the period of totalitarian rule in Bulgaria (1944–1989) is still unexplored. This paper focuses on the interplay between the political regime, musical life in Bulgaria, and the status of Bulgarian composers. Many books, articles, conferences and PhDs have been presented recently in the field of cultural studies, promoting a multidisciplinary approach in several fields. A new approach to this dynamic period would clarify the overall development of Bulgarian musical culture in the twentieth century.

KEYWORDS: music, political aspects, Bulgaria, history of the twentieth century, Bulgarian composers

INTRODUCTION

This article focuses on the interplay between the political regime, musical life in Bulgaria and the status of Bulgarian composers between 1944 and 1989. My interest in the history and problems of Bulgarian composers and specifically in the politicization of music during the period of totalitarian rule in Bulgaria (1944–1989) stems from the early days of my musical career and my childhood. Music written by Bulgarian composers has significantly influenced me over the period of my formal education. Nowadays, there is an interest in Bulgarian classical and folk music mostly from American universities.

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CULTURAL POLITICS

The Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) remained in control of all political, economic, social, and cultural life during the aforementioned period. The Red Army occupation officially lasted three years, from September 1944 to December 1947. Many articles, conferences and doctoral theses have been presented recently in the field of cultural studies, promoting a multidisciplinary approach in several fields – history, politics and musicology. They depict the periods of political repression in Bulgaria and cast new light on the changes to the musical repertoire during the period 1944–1989. 1 February is the Day of Remembrance and Respect for Victims of the Communist Regime in Bulgaria. The Bulgarian Parliament also proclaimed 23 August as the day of remembrance of the crimes of the national-socialist, communist and other totalitarian regimes, and as a day for commemorating the victims of these regimes.²

On 10 November 1989 – one day after the fall of the Berlin Wall – Bulgaria's veteran Communist Party leader Todor Zhivkov³ was overthrown. Besides industrialization and urbanization, other very important changes in cultural politics had occurred under the communist totalitarian dictatorships that ruled Bulgaria under Georgi Dimitrov (1947–1949), Vulko Chervenkov (1949–1956), and Todor Zhivkov (1956–1989). A new period of cultural politics coincided with Lyudmila Zhivkova's term as chair of the Committee for Science and Culture, from 1975 to 1981. In particular, Bulgaria's "public relations" with Western Europe, the United States, India and Japan improved greatly as cultural contacts were intensified. Bulgaria celebrated the 1300th anniversary of the founding of the Bulgarian state, spending lavish amounts of money on nationwide celebrations and the building of public monuments in 1981. The cultural politics of Bulgaria in the period 1944–1989 have a close connection to the aforementioned leaders. Nowadays, the Museum of Socialist Art is open in Sofia, focusing on the communist period. Many books and poems written by Bulgarian writers, kept in the dark during the communist regime, were published at the beginning of the 21st century. Bulgarian composers were not as courageous as their Russian and Polish counterparts and followed the party line.

COMPOSERS AND THE "SOVIET GENERAL LINE"

Relationships between government authorities and composers and performers proved to be complex yet dynamic. Both governments called for new music to draw on popular national traditions and to communicate to the public in easily accessible

2 The decision was adopted by the 41st Bulgarian National Assembly on 19 November 2009. The European Day of Remembrance, known as the Black Ribbon Day in some countries and observed on 23 August, is the international Remembrance Day for victims of totalitarian communist regimes, Stalinism, Nazism and fascism.

3 Todor Hristov Zhivkov (1911–1998) was the former President of Bulgaria, and the leader of the Communist Party from 1954 until 10 November 1989, when the Communist regime was toppled and a multi-party system was established in Bulgaria. "His daughter, Lyudmila Todorova Zhivkova (1942–1981), was one of the few women in Eastern Europe to achieve significant political influence during the Communist era."

ways. “Formalism” and abstruse harmonic experimentation were pointedly criticized. Jazz music was banned as it was deemed “politically inappropriate.” For their part many composers found ways to live with communist policies and to take advantage of government sponsorship. A number of them proved willing during the high Stalinist period to compose in genres and styles such as mass songs, cantata, oratorio (dedicated to the Communist Party), simplistic music dominated by social, historical and nationalistic issues. Some composers who cooperated and kept the idea that culture must be close to the people were tolerated and applauded. Many others, even those known for their communist beliefs, were forced to adapt to this philosophy. Other composers, who did not have any political preferences, were dubbed “formalists” and people who propagated “bad Western European culture.” In a recent meeting with my old professors, I asked them: “What were the negative sides of ‘Composing within the General Line’ during the totalitarian regime?” The answer was: “The carrot or stick”, and talentless musicians, seeking better job opportunities, strived to maintain their close relationship with the Communist Party. They stressed that not “everything was bad during the totalitarian regime”.

For example, the most prominent Bulgarian composers of the twentieth century such as Pancho Vladigerov (1899–1978)⁴ and Lyubomir Pipkov (1904–1974)⁵ were criticized for writing music dedicated to the Communist Party after the end of communist regime. After September 9th 1944, Vladigerov also wrote works related and/or dedicated to the Communist Party. These are the *Symphony No 2 May*, op. 44 (1949)⁶ for string

4 Pancho Vladigerov (1899–1978) studied composition and piano at the Staatliche Akademische Hochschule für Musik in Berlin. He was awarded twice the Mendelssohn Prize of the Academy for his Piano Concerto No 1 (in 1918) and the *Ten Impressions* for Piano, Op. 9 (in 1920). Vladigerov became music director at the Deutsches Theater in Berlin and worked with the famous theatre director Max Reinhardt (1920–1932). His mother, Dr Eliza Pasternak, was a Russian Jew and he decided to return to Bulgaria in 1932. Vladigerov was appointed professor of piano, chamber music and composition at the National Academy of Music in Sofia, which is now named after him. He is considered the “Patriarch” of Bulgarian music and the founder of Bulgaria’s national music school. He primarily wrote works for large symphony orchestras, and was also a great pianist. His music is a unique synthesis between late romanticism and Bulgarian folklore. Vladigerov’s most performed and emblematic work is unquestionably *Bulgarian Rhapsody Vardar*, Op. 16 (1928). His music is performed all over the world.

5 Lyubomir Pipkov (1904–1974) is the son of the composer Panagiot Pipkov (1871–1942). He studied composition with Paul Dukas and Nadia Boulanger and graduated from the École Normal de Musique de Paris. Pipkov’s operas and orchestral works are comparable in style with Shostakovich, Bartók and Britten. His music represents Bulgarian classical music of the twentieth century and its stylistic characteristics, thematic and harmonic language, rhythm and building of form. Pipkov was among the founding members of the Contemporary Music Society (1933). He was appointed Professor of Vocal Ensembles at the National Academy of Music in 1948. Pipkov chaired the Union of Bulgarian Composers from 1945 to 1954, and he presented his works in many European countries; later on he participated in a number of music congresses and was a board member of international music competitions. He began publishing the magazine *Music* in 1948 (later renamed *Bulgarian Music* in 1953).

6 *May Symphony* was recorded by the Bulgarian National Radio Symphony Orchestra under the

orchestra, and the heroic overture *The Ninth of September*, op. 45 (1949) for symphony orchestra, as well as some mass choir songs. Some of these works supported the composer's successful efforts to save prominent musicians such as his former student Trifon Silyanovski (1923–2005)⁷ and Alexander Nikolov (1915–1961),⁸ who had been convicted and sent to the Belene forced labour camp. The violin player Alexander Nikolov, better known by his nickname “Sasho Sladura”, liked telling political jokes. Somebody reported him to the authorities. He was sent to the Lovech labour camp, where in 1961 he was beaten to death. Alexander Nikolov played the violin in the “Ovcharov” jazz band.⁹ An invitation to tour in the USA in 1949 aroused jealousy, maliciousness, and political repression.

Vladigerov also tried to help his brother-in-law Anton Zhekov (an officer from the Shumen army unit), who had been sentenced to death. The composer dedicated and presented the manuscript of his song *September 1944* to lieutenant-general Dobri Terpeshev,¹⁰ in an effort to obtain a commutation of Zhekov's death sentence to life imprisonment. The People's court abolished the death penalty, but still Zhekov was shot in March 1945. One of the composer's closest friends and fans Dimitar Shishmanov (1889–1945, Minister of Foreign Affairs between 14 October 1943 and 1 June 1944) met the same tragic fate. Vladigerov dedicated *Autumn Elegy* for piano, op. 15, no 2 (1922) to him. The composer was famous abroad and was required to become a member of the Bulgarian

conductor Alexander Vladigerov (1933–1993); for recordings, visit the official website of the Bulgarian National Radio, www.bnr.bg.

7 Trifon Silyanovski (1923–2005) was a Bulgarian composer, pianist, pedagogue and musical theoretician. He was persecuted by the authorities for political reasons and he was sent to a forced labour camp (1949–51); later on he was periodically jailed and was interned outside Sofia. His music was banned until 1959. Then he was allowed to work as an accompanist at the Sofia Opera. Silyanovski co-founded the Blagoevgrad Chamber Opera in 1973, where he worked as music director until 1982. He taught score reading at Plovdiv Academy of Music and Dance Art (1982–91). After the fall of the communist regime he was appointed professor at the National Academy of Music in Sofia (1997).

8 Not much is known about Alexander Nikolov as the documentation about him was destroyed during the totalitarian regime. Nikolov studied at an Italian school and the French college “Saint Augustine” in Plovdiv, and graduated from the Prague Conservatory. He worked at the Royal Symphony Orchestra in Sofia, which was disbanded and later renamed Sofia State Philharmonic Orchestra in 1949. After losing his job, Nikolov started playing jazz in restaurants orchestras, and as a performer was most beloved by the public.

9 Assen Ovcharov (1906–1972) created the first classical jazz orchestra in Bulgaria. He was arrested and charged with espionage for the USA and England in 1949. Ovcharov must have visited the foreign missions, but only in order to obtain original musical scores. The government arrested him and after a six-month stay in prison, he was exiled to Tutrakan. Later, he was sent into the Belene forced labour camp. He was released in 1952, but accused again and sentenced to six years in jail in a scandalous political process. The orchestra's soloist was the vocalist Lea Ivanova (1923–1986), another repressed musician, sent to Nozharevo forced labour camp.

10 Dobri Terpeshev (1884–1967) was a minister without portfolio in the first communist government after 9 September 1944. Later on he was victimized by the communists because of his speech against Todor Zhivkov and interned outside Sofia.

Fatherland Front¹¹ as were many other public figures. Although it seems that Vladigerov's music was very nationalistic and political, he was in fact trying to keep away from politics and one cannot therefore speak about a new period in his work following 1944.

On the contrary, Lyubomir Pipkov never hid his sympathy for the Communist Party before World War II. Bulgarian partisans of the Fatherland Front resistance movement entered the capital city of Sofia singing his song *Shumete Debri i Balkani* ["Whisper Nooks and Mountains"] (Example 1), written in spring 1944. After 9 September 1944, like many other composers, Pipkov had to adjust to the communist regime, making his music more understandable and acceptable to the masses. He began writing mass songs, which were very popular during those years and recommended by the government. In addition to their expressiveness and strong sense of drama, his work from the mid-1950s brought a sense of optimism. This is particularly true of the *Oratorio for Our Time* (1959) and *Muted Songs* (1972). The Third Symphony (1965)¹² and the Fourth Symphony (1970) are highly individual, while the piano piece *Spring Caprices* (1972) borrows compositional ideas from earlier works.

Since the fall of the regime in 1989, many Bulgarian composers have been criticized for writing works dedicated to Stalin. However, all of them are now considered amongst the classics of Bulgarian music. In an older example, the orchestral musicians and the guest conductor refused to play Pipkov's *Heroic overture* (1949) – dedicated to Stalin – in a concert for the October Revolution in 1987. The decision to include this work came from "the top". The answer to the performers' refusal (again from "the top") was that "this work has many good characteristics, and it has been unfairly forgotten" (Peev 1990). However, Peev did not consider the fact that Pipkov's opera *Momchil* (1948) had been publicly rejected by the *Music* magazine in 1951. The composer wrote the *Heroic overture* in 1949, based on musical material from his opera. Then the opera was "bad" and the overture "good", but can the opposite be said nowadays? How many years need to pass before people reach the right historical and musicological approach to composers and their work in the aforementioned period?

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A PROFESSIONAL MUSIC NETWORK

Nowadays Bulgarian musicology considers that the decentralization of Bulgarian music from the capital city Sofia and the establishment of a cultural network throughout the whole country can be seen as a positive aspect of the communist period. Ideological limits did not necessarily compromise artistry. New opera houses, symphony orchestras, secondary music schools and many other professional and amateur music ensem-

11 The Bulgarian Fatherland Front (OF) was an anti-fascist popular organization founded in 1942. After the People's Uprising of 9 September 1944, it formed a government and won a large majority after being the only party or alliance listed on the ballot (November 18, 1945). The Fatherland Front was the largest mass organization in socialist Bulgaria; it would continue to be a political alliance until the fall of communism in 1989.

12 Pipkov's biographer Ivan Hlebarov noted that, "Pipkov wrote his Third Symphony in the 60s and he condemned the repressive system, which itself swallowed up the revolution" (Hlebarov 1997:138).

bles were founded throughout the country. The Sofia Opera House briefly interrupted its activities after the bombing raids of 1944, but the increase in state subsidies in the years following 1945 gave a significant push to the company to renew its position. State-sponsored folk ensembles were charged not only with preserving heritage, but also with the task of elevating folk art forms to the level of high culture. New festivals of Bulgarian music were organized (for example the Pan-Bulgarian Competition for Singers and Performers, the National Review of Bulgarian Music, the Periodical Reviews of the State Symphony Orchestras. Some years later the Annual Review of Works by Young Composers, and the March Music Festivals in Ruse began). All these state organizations and music festivals systematically stimulated the development of Bulgarian music and performance both on a national and international scale. Bulgarian composers during the second half of the twentieth century experimented with new tonality in vocal and instrumental music, and recordings and concert tours abroad won much wider audiences for traditional Bulgarian vocal music.

An interview

Immediately after World War II, the ideological line of the Soviet and Bulgarian governments dominated musical life. I would like to continue with an extract of an interview given by a 75-year-old Bulgarian musician:

We were serving under a false slogan. The slogan was about how art should be close to the people ... There are mass popular genres, there is entertaining music, let's hope it's good. We have very good composers writing popular music, there is more entertaining literature – those are for the mass consumer; and great art with high artistic merits, in my deep conviction, is an elitist manifestation of the human spirit. It is not possible for Goethe's Faust to become a mass culture of all people or the symphonies of my beloved Johannes Brahms – and it is not necessary!

But I was not saying what I was thinking, and I was repeating a formula of the founder of Soviet aesthetics, Andrey Zhdanov, who said: All great art is close to the great masses of people. ' This is not true! And that made us make too many compromises. For example, as a musician I was developing the theory that the religious nature of Bach's music did not reflect his religiosity, and that was the obligatory garment in which he had to dress his works - he and Handel. This is not true! Bach was deeply religious! But I did not say that, and I knew I was lying to people. I have been a member of the Communist Party; I have to say since 1967..... and I still remember how they persecuted Dobrin Petkov (one of the greatest Bulgarian conductors) for being a distributor of Western decadent music. Why? Because he played the works of Stravinsky, Prokofiev and other great contemporary composers. And do you know that he studied in London? And he was a typical English gentleman. They put him in front of the party leadership and began to grill him: "Why do you distribute Western (ideology)?" He tried to explain that these are great composers – "No, explain it to us". Finally, Dobrin did not comply and said: "Look, Comrades, music is an area in which, in order to express an opinion, you still have to get into it a little, to understand." And Pencho Kubadinski told him: "What do you mean? That we are fools?" And Dobrin said: "Something like that." (Kelbecheva 2014: 8, 9).

SOCIALIST REALISM IN BULGARIA (1940s)

After the 1944 socialist revolution, Socialist Realism dominated musical circles. All similarities with Western European contemporary classical music tradition were criticized and dismissed. The government promoted folklore as a symbol of national pride. "The more it is among the people, the closer it is to life!" became the new ideology. This "line" brought about the belief that each piece of music must reflect the happiness and success of the Bulgarian people. The arts were state funded (and regulated), centralized and acquired a strong ideological orientation. Additionally, artists not in favour with the government were regularly removed or banned from the stage. There were some periods of liberalization (meaning the entry of Western literature and music into Bulgaria in the 1950s, which lasted until the Hungarian revolution in October 1956). The state also controlled the Union of Bulgarian Composers, the production and distribution of records and musical scores, and even the repertoire of restaurant orchestras. Composers and musicologists developed the new socialist musical culture, and promoted Bulgarian music both nationally and internationally. Bulgarian folk music replaced the neo-romantic trend of the 1930s and 1940s. Many young composers and performers were not permitted to study abroad, and were only allowed to specialize within the Soviet Union. Bulgarian contemporary music dominated the public domain and was subject to detailed discussions, reflected in the pages of the publication of the Union of Bulgarian Composers, the monthly magazine *Bulgarian Music*. The magazine was first called *Music* and was initially published in 1948 by the Bulgarian Philharmonic Orchestra Directorate. After a brief interruption, from 1950 it was issued ten times a year.

By the end of the 1950s, Bulgarian composers were using modern compositional techniques such as dodecaphony, serialism and aleatoricism, as seen in the practice of Arnold Schoenberg, Alban Berg and Anton Webern. The effect of totalitarianism on music is particularly difficult to define. Art began to be judged by radically different standards and was used as a means for ideological propaganda. In totalitarian systems, composers were subjected to many forms of pressure. Many composers and musical figures in Bulgaria were either isolated or criticized for their works. Composers,



Jul Levi among Bulgarian composers (Sofia, 1952). Photo credit: Centropa (<http://www.centropa.org/photo/jul-levi-among-famous-bulgarian-composers>)

including Konstantin Iliev (1924–1988)¹³ and Lazar Nikolov (1922–2005)¹⁴ had many problems with the government and music critics. They were writing atonal music or using the twelve-tone system. Their music was rejected and they were accused by the “powerful of the day” of promoting Western formalism. Another substantial factor (not in favour of the young composers) was the conservatism of the greater part of the older generation of composers in charge of the Union of Bulgarian Composers from the 1940s to the mid–1980s. Beginning with his first composition, *Concerto for String Orchestra*, written in 1949 and premiered in 1951 (Example 2), Nikolov showed an interest in the contemporary tendencies in European music. 1956 was the year in which the partisan intolerance towards Nikolov and Iliev reached one of its ugliest climaxes. Works inspired by the Second Viennese School were simply absent from the stage. Even Lyubomir Pipkov (1904–1974), who chaired the Union of Bulgarian Composers from 1945 to 1954, was criticized for some of his works.

According to the needs of the time, many heroic and epic-romantic operas were written in 1940s and 50s. The most important include Pipkov’s *Momchil* (1939–43, based on a folk tale and staged in 1948), Marin Goleminov’s¹⁵ *Ivaylo* (in the grand

13 Konstantin Iliev (1924–1988) graduated from the State Academy of Music in 1946, majoring in composition under Pancho Vladigerov, conducting under Marin Goleminov, and violin under Vladimir Avramov. He continued his studies at the Prague Music Academy, and attended quarter-tone composition classes given by Alois Hába in 1946–47. Iliev was one of Eastern Europe’s best conductors, and his conducting won recognition in many countries in Europe, America and Asia. He also was the undisputed leader of the musical avant-garde in the post war Bulgaria. He was appointed Professor of Orchestral Conducting at the State Academy of Music in Sofia in 1967. As a composer he was in a constant search of new paths for Bulgarian art music, and he was among the first to introduce modernist musical ideas into Eastern Europe and the first experimenter with non-tonal devices. During his years as a conductor, he established a professional orchestra and opera company in Ruse; he was the musical director of the Varna State Symphony Orchestra, and later on of the Sofia State Philharmonic orchestra. Thanks to his worldview, broader than that of those previously in charge of the Union of Bulgarian Composers until the 1980s, Iliev introduced the music of Schoenberg, Bartók, Honegger, Stravinsky, Webern, Messiaen, Stockhausen and Boulez to the Bulgarian public.

14 Lazar Nikolov (1922–2005) studied at the State Academy of Music in Sofia with Dimirat Nenov (piano and composition, 1946) and Pancho Vladigerov (composition, 1947). Like his close friend Konstantin Iliev, he began his creative path at a very difficult and complicated time. Nikolov was a prolific composer; he contributed substantially to the development of Bulgarian music in the second half of the twentieth century. Many of his works were exposed to very harsh criticism during his lifetime, and some of them were seldom performed. From the late 1960s, he began to take part in many contemporary music festivals, including the Warsaw Autumn Festival (1962, 1964, 1968); the Berlin Musik–Biennale (1969, 73, 79); the Zagreb Biennial (1967) etc. The Bulgarian National Radio and some foreign radio stations such as WDR, FR-3, and SRB recorded many of Nikolov’s works. Some of his compositions were published by Peters and Schott–Mainz. The composer taught score reading at the State Academy of Music (1961) and he was promoted to full professor in 1980. After the fall of the regime, Nikolov was granted a number of awards. He chaired the Union of Bulgarian Composers from 1992 to 1999.

15 Marin Goleminov (1908–2000) studied music (violin, composition and conducting) in Sofia, Paris and Munich. He was offered a post at the Sofia State Academy in 1943, where he taught orchestration, conducting and composition for over 40 years. Goleminov acquired fame as a composer with the

opera style), and Parashkev Hadjiev's¹⁶ *Lud Gidiya* ("The Madcap", which is one of the best Bulgarian comic operas, also performed abroad), the last two premiered in Sofia in 1959. Hadjiev's first operetta, *Delyana* (1952) was brutally criticized and removed from the stage of the Sofia Musical Theatre in 1952. The story, in hindsight, is ridiculous but at that time it could have ruined any career. *Delyana* was condemned for the dance "Swing and Zos" (involving so called "morally decadent" youths who wore tight trousers and short skirts). A senior communist party member watched the operetta and he was disgusted to see ladies with short skirts and men with hats and canes screaming on stage. They were declared by him to be bourgeois characters, incompatible with socialism.¹⁷

1960s, 70s, 80s

The 1960s brought a relaxation of the political situation and composers enjoyed greater aesthetic freedom. Lilia Kracheva wrote in *A Short History of Bulgarian Musical Culture*: "In the 60s people were quiet and the Government didn't need their previous rough methods" (Kracheva 2001: 243). The 1960s Bulgarian avant-garde group of composers was also joined by Georgi Tutev (1924–1994), Ivan Spassov (1934–1996, a student of Kazimir Serotski in Warsaw), Vassil Kazandzhiev (b. 1934) and Simeon Pironkoff (1927–2000). The new interpretation of folklore and the adoption of many of the experiments carried out in the 1960s and 70s led to a new stage in the development of Bulgarian music. A new term, "European provincialism," was given to composers who employed serial, aleatoric, cluster or any such compositional tech-

production of his dance drama *Nestinarka* ("The Fire-Dancing Woman", 1942), which is considered to be the best Bulgarian ballet. He was elected Rector of the Sofia State Academy (1954–56), Director of the Sofia Opera (1965–67), and he was promoted to the position of academic (1989). Goleminov won the Gottfried von Herder Award of the Vienna University (1976). He wrote four operas, two dance dramas and four symphonies, other works for symphony and string orchestra, chamber music and theoretical studies. His numerous works are rooted in the melody, metre and rhythm of Bulgarian folk music.

¹⁶ Parashkev Hadjiev (1912–1992) was born into a family of musicians and grew up in the theatre among singers, actors and musicians. He contributed significantly to Bulgarian professional music in the second half of the twentieth century. He was the most productive Bulgarian stage composer, writing 21 operas, six operettas and three musicals, a ballet, etc. He studied at the Sofia State Academy of Music with Andrey Stoyanov (piano) and Pancho Vladigerov (composition) and graduated in 1936. He continued his studies with Joseph Marx in Vienna in 1937; he also specialized in composition with H. Tissen at the Hochschule für Musik in Berlin, from 1938 to 1940. After his return to Bulgaria, Hadjiev was appointed Professor of Harmony and Composition at the State Academy of Music in 1947, a post he held for over forty years. His textbooks of harmony and music theory essentials still educate generations of Bulgarian musicians. He chaired the Union of Bulgarian Composers (1990–92). Some of his operas were staged in Belgium, the Czech Republic, Germany, Russia, etc.

¹⁷ See the article "Vredno proizvedenie" ["A Harmful Work"] in *Rabotnicheskoto delo* [Workers' Deed] Newspaper (27–10–1952), which was the organ of the BCP's Central Committee and was one of the newspapers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria's with the highest circulation.

niques in the early 1970s. The party–activist composers used this term to show that their colleagues were using techniques as old as World War II, thus acting as residents of a remote province of Europe. Although some of the avant-garde composers were able to present their work at the Warsaw Autumn Festival, the Berlin Musik–Biennale, the Zagreb Biennial, and so on, they did not have the slightest chance of breaking through the Iron Curtain. The majority of Bulgarian musicians, performers, students and journalists who were interested in these trends had either to count on chance radio broadcasts of performances outside of Bulgaria, thus enabling imitation of the music by ear, or rely on close friends or relatives travelling abroad to bring recordings of new music back to the country.

As part of the new period of partial normalization and the cyclical liberalization of cultural life, the most important operas from 1960s explored the psychological dimensions of drama and human rights. This is particularly true of Hadjiev’s opera *The Masters* (1966), Krasimir Kyurkchiyski’s¹⁸ *Yula* (a two–act psychological opera, staged in 1969), and Goleminov’s *The Icon Painter Zakhary* (premiered in 1972). Pipkov’s opera *Antigona 43* (1962, staged in 1963) brought Sophocles’ philosophical and ethical questions into the context of the antifascist struggle. The force of the drama is transferred through static, oratorio–like choral episodes and the chorus is used in the role of commentator. Lazar Nikolov’s *Prometheus Bound*, a chamber opera (oratorio) after Aeschylus (1969) was premiered in 1974. It is a clever work, “whose theme of ethical stoicism becomes a symbol of artistic dissidence under government dictatorship” (Kostakieva 1992: 638). The next two decades gave birth to many new operas by Simeon Pironkov, Dimitar Hristov (1933–2017), Bozhidar Spasov and others. Many of these operas included the artistic principles of satire, irony, parody and the grotesque, managing to distance themselves from the communist times.

The 1960s also brought a new era in Bulgarian jazz, starting with the composer, pianist, conductor and arranger Milcho Leviev (b. 1937). Conservatory–trained¹⁹ Leviev worked as a pianist and director of the Bulgarian Radio and Television Big Band in the mid–1960s and was able to overcome some of the aesthetic conservatism of the totalitarian system. He straddled the boundaries of jazz and classical music and combined different genres and textures with a beguiling ability to navigate through them. His music is a successful synthesis of Bulgarian folklore and jazz. He founded “Focus 65” jazz quartet in 1965 and won the Critics’ Prize at the newly-

18 Krasimir Kyurkchiyski (1936–2011) graduated from the Sofia State Academy of Music in 1962, majoring in composition under Pancho Vladigerov. Later on, Kyurkchiyski studied at the Moscow Conservatoire with Dmitri Shostakovich. He made a name as an innovative writer of folksong arrangements and worked as a conductor of the “Philip Kutev” State Folk Ensemble orchestra and then as a conductor of the Choir at the Ensemble for Folk Songs of the Bulgarian National Radio, later known as “The Mystery of Bulgarian Voices”. Many of his works were performed in Italy, France, Russia, Germany, Australia and other countries.

19 Milcho Leviev studied at the Sate Academy of Music in Sofia with Pancho Vladigerov (composition) and Andrey Stoyanov (piano) and graduated in 1960.

founded Montreux Jazz Festival. Communist Bulgaria had given the musical genius an excellent education, but also brought him many problems. Leviev received an invitation from Don Ellis and left Bulgaria for Los Angeles in 1970 for political reasons. The composer lived and worked abroad for over 40 years and achieved professional acclaim on prestigious international music stages. He was allowed to perform in Bulgaria after 1980. Nowadays Leviev lives and works in Greece, seeking new paths in Balkan jazz.

According to all Bulgarian musicologists, the period from 1970 to 1990 should be regarded as having established a close connection between Bulgarian composers and the new trends in Europe/ European music. Born after World War II and familiar with modern trends, the composers Stefan Dragostinov (b. 1948), Emil Tabakov (b. 1947), Plamen Dzhurov (Djurov, b. 1949), Bozhidar Spasov (b. 1949), Alexandar Kandov (b. 1949), Rumén Baliozov (Balyozov, b. 1949), Yuliya Tzenova (also spelled Julia Cenova, or Zenova, 1948–2010), and Neva Krasteva (Krysteva, b. 1946) were able to create an individual style, independent from the totalitarian regime's realist aesthetic. Their work appeared in contemporary music forums around the world and won prestigious prizes.

WRITING A NEW HISTORY OF MUSIC

The politicization of music during the period of totalitarian rule in Bulgaria is regarded as the main problem in the reassessment of national music history. All books written during the communist era strived to change or interpret music in relation to a socio-political ideology, and they are often seen as biased or limited today. Nowadays Bulgarian musicologists consider that the worst damage by the communist regime was done not to composers, but to national musical historiography. From a musicological point of view, the period between the two world wars was one of the most interesting and productive moments in the cultural and sociological history of Bulgaria. It is regrettable that it was the first period in the country's musical history that suffered from the Marxist ideology of art that dominated Bulgarian historiography for the second half of the twentieth century. It is true that in the first two decades after 1944 the "grand narrative" of history was ideologically narrowed and brought into line with the main principles of historical materialism to become a narrative of class struggle.

Furthermore, new books on the complete history of Bulgarian music were written only after the fall of communism. The first attempt belongs to the leading musicologist and Professor at the Sofia Academy of Music Ivan Hlebarov (1934–2015), in his book *The New Bulgarian Music Culture, Vol. i (1898–1944), Vol. ii (1944–1989)* (Sofia: State Music Academy Pancho Vladigerov, Hayni Publishing House, 2003:I, 2008: II). The writer was a witness to all that happened at this confused time and he has determined the "four waves of political terror" and repression against the Bulgarian music:

1. 1937–1943. The public discussion about Shostakovich's opera *Lady Macbeth of Mtsensk* (1934)²⁰ in 1936 brought the discussion about Lyubomir Pipkov's opera *Yana's Nine brothers* (1932-37, staged in 1937) and other contemporary operas to Bulgaria. It took a long time for Bulgarian composers to write new operas. The writer stressed the ideological connection between the two totalitarian systems – Hitlerism and Stalinism.

2. The period between 1948 and 1952 was “the first clash of Bulgarian socialist culture with totalitarian rule”. On 10 February 1948, the Soviet government issued a decree called “On the Opera *The Great Friendship* by Vano Muradeli.” From then on, musical works in Bulgaria were to be labelled formalistic or realistic, depending on who wrote them and the whims of those in power at the time.

3. 1958 – “The year of incoming hopes”. In 1956, following Nikita Khrushchev's example, the Bulgarian Communist Party condemned Chervenkov's personality cult during its April plenum. Todor Zhivkov was appointed First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. There was hope and excitement within the intellectual circles that some fundamental changes would take place, such as more freedom of speech, increased contact with Western countries and greater liberty in the arts. This atmosphere of hope lasted until the Hungarian revolution in October 1956. It was during Zhivkov's tenure, in late 1956, that one of Bulgaria's most horrible concentration camps, Lovech, came into existence. Over the next years almost 200 musicians, journalists and peasants were beaten and tortured to death there.

4. 1968 or “Fighting against the avant-garde”. Radical political changes and crises occurred in Bulgarian music in 1968. According to Professor Ivan Hlebarov, it was “a time of summation and synthesis”, and its first symptom was the appearance of a work in the conflagration of new repression – Konstantin Iliev's *Fragmenti* (1968). *Fragmenti* set a precedent for new compositions in the neo-folk idiom, and its premiere in November 1968 showed that “in spite of all obstacles, artistic tendencies managed to open new paths”.

The young composers Konstantin Iliev, Lazar Nikolov, Georgi Tutev, Ivan Spasov, and Vasil Kazandzhiev were artists of protest; they had a hard time and their works were criticized by the communist regime and their older colleagues. The most brilliant of their compositions were performed at the Warsaw Autumn International Festival of Contemporary Music in Poland.

5. The last year: 1988 or “Fighting against the monopoly” in Bulgarian music (Hlebarov 1997: 138, 114, 123-124; 1998).

At the beginning of the twenty-first century many new books were written, promoting a new approach to the Bulgarian music from the final decades of the twen-

20 Shostakovich's opera *Lady Macbeth of the Mtsensk District* was premiered in 1934, and was used for a general denunciation of his music by the Stalinist regime. An anonymous article (sometimes attributed to Joseph Stalin) was published in *Pravda* in early 1936, and it laid out the grounds for the conviction and banishment of the opera in the Soviet Union until 1961.

tieth century. They study aspects of contemporary Bulgarian composers in relation to the European avant-garde, national traditions and the composers' spiritual self-expression from different perspectives.²¹ *The Encyclopaedia of Bulgarian Composers* was published in Bulgarian and English in 2003 by the Union of Bulgarian Composers (UBC). The current edition includes biographical details and a selected list of works of 262 Bulgarian composers connected with UBC's history and present-day development.

The rich musical history of Bulgaria is connected to its cultural, social, economic and political life. In this period of 45 years many new and very different works were composed; some of them were ironic and critical, others pathetic and validated the system, but all of them were signs of their times. These 45 years are not an isolated phenomenon; they are rooted in the democratic art of bourgeois Bulgaria and could be categorized chronologically. The neo-Romantic pathos found in Bulgarian music of the 1930s and 40s was replaced by an emphasis on folklore as the expression of a democratic aesthetic, particularly in genres such as mass songs, cantatas, oratorios, and other choral works. But composers continued to write symphonies, operas and chamber music; they wrote music in every major musical genre. The picture of the creative output of Bulgarian composers in the last decades of the twentieth century is so multifaceted that it is impossible to mention all the global trends, let alone the variety of individual, often contrasting artistic concepts. At the beginning of the 21st century, many composers, from various generations, and performers who worked and lived in Bulgaria or abroad aimed to enable contemporary Bulgarian music and performance to gain international recognition.

CONCLUSION

Since this is a phenomenon of recent times, the significance of the politicization of music during the period of totalitarian rule in Bulgaria (1944–1989) is still unexplored. A new approach to this dynamic period would clarify the overall development of Bulgarian musical culture in the twentieth century. To summarize, the various mechanisms, including significant local differences in every country, which were employed by institutions and the resultant manipulation of music were similar across totalitarian political systems in different countries of the Warsaw Pact. A comparative study of the actual impact of communist rule on musical composition in any country of the Soviet bloc during the early Cold War era and totalitarian regimes is still lacking. With access to archives, one can hope for even more detailed, analytical research in the future on the relationship between government authority and cultural and intellectual life during the communist era of Central, East-Central and Eastern Europe.

21 See Kratcheva 2001; Valdinova–Chendova 2003, 2004; Dachina 2004; Palieva 2006, etc.

Music Examples

ШУМЕТЕ, ДЕБРИ И БАЛКАНИ
Младен Исаев

Бодро Любомир Пипков

Шу- ме- те, де-бри и бал- ка- ни, шу- ме- те, вол- ни ле- со- 'ве! Ний

н- дем бод- ри пар- ти- за- ни, на-

Example 1

V chest na Velikiya Oktomvri [In Honour of Great October], printed score of one and two-voice songs with accordion accompaniment (Sofia: Otdel Nauka i Izku-stvo, 1953:20-21).

No 9. Shumete debri i balkani “Whisper Nooks and Mountains”

Poetry by Mladen Isaev
Music by Lyubomir Pipkov
Spring 1944, first version

1. *Whisper nooks, crannies and mountains,
Whisper majestic forests and woods.
The proud partisans are coming,
We are the people's true devoted sons.*

2. *Go to battle under pure flags,
For the freedom of our home,
Because ours, with the foreign Nazis,
Trample on the poet Botev's land.*

ЗА СТРУНЕН ОРКЕСТЪР || POUR ORCHESTRE A C

Allegro ma non tanto

Violini I

Violini II

Violeni

Violoncelli

Contrabassi

div.

f

unif.

p

unif. pizz.

p

mf semplice

p

Example 2

Lazar Nikolov, *Concerto for String Orchestra* (1949), printed score, Sofia, Nauka i Izkustvo Publishing House, 1968.

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СТАНИМИРА ДЕРМЕНЦИЈЕВА

ПОЛИТИЗАЦИЈА МУЗИКЕ ТОКОМ РАЗДОБЉА ТОТАЛИТАРНЕ ВЛАСТИ У
БУГАРСКОЈ (1944–1989)

(РЕЗИМЕ)

Овај чланак је усмерен на међусобни однос политичког режима, музичког живота у Бугарској и статута бугарских композитора у раздобљу између 1944 и 1989. У новије време, бројни чланци, конференцијски радови и докторске дисертације промовишу област културних студија и интердисциплинарни приступ, који се обједињују историја, политикологија и музикологија. Тиме је на нов начин осветљен репертоар остварења компонованих и извођених у поменутом периоду.

Након социјалистичке револуције у Бугарској 1944. године, социјалистички реализам постаје доминантна доктрина у музичким групама. ”Што је више међу људима, то је ближи животу!” гласила је нова идеологија. Током социјалистичког раздобља, уметности су биле финансиране (и регулисане) од стране цржаве, централизоване и снажно идеолошки усмерене. Уметници који нису били по вољи режиму били су елиминисани. Широм земље основане су нове оперске куће, симфонијски оркестри и средње музичке школе. Идеолошка ограничења нису нужно компромитовала уметничко изражавање, поготово током повремених периода либерализације (којима је дозвољена западноевропска књижевност и музика у Бугарској). Држава је такође контролисала Удружење бугарских композитора, производњу и дистрибуцију музичких албума и партитура, па чак и репертоар који се изводио у ресторанима. Композитори и музиколози су развијали нову соцреалистичку културу и промовисали бугарску музику у домаћим и интернационалним оквирима. Основани су нови фестивали бугарске музике, а бугарски фолклор је заменио неоромантичарски тренд карактеристичан за тридесете и четрдесете године XX века. Већини младих композитора и извођача није било дозвољено да студирају у иностранству, са изузетком Совјетског Савеза, нити да асимилију трендове савремене западноевропске музике. Након слома државног социјализма 1989. године, државна улагања у музику су смањена, те су појединци и ансамбли морали да се преоријентишу на тржишно пословање (док су у социјалистичком раздобљу плате и програми углавном били у надлежности Министарства културе).

Од почетка XXI века, бугарски композитори разних генерација, као и извођачи, било да живе у Бугарској или у иностранству, настоје да промовишу савремену бугарску уметничку музику на престижним светским сценама.

Кључне речи: музика, политички аспекти, Бугарска, историја XX века, бугарски композитори

THE COMPASS REVISITED: REWRITING HISTORIES OF MUSIC IN THE SOUTH*

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ABSTRACT:

The history of music in the countries of Southern Europe has, in general, been examined either from the West or from the East. This has had to do with traditional and uninvestigated assumptions of divisions on religious and linguistic grounds, amongst others, and a lack of familiarity with the relevant literatures which it self derives in large part from a lack of familiarity with the relevant languages. Thus, there has been very little comparison of aesthetics in the context of emerging or newly-established nations, and the vital and simultaneous investigation of modernism in those countries, that takes into account both the countries of the Mediterranean and of the Balkans, rather than viewing them as peripheries and discussing them almost exclusively in relation to a theoretical centre. In a number of recent publications and papers, I have aimed to break down some of the seoborders precisely by confronting the question of tradition and modernism and by comparing and contrasting the music of the Latin/Roman Catholic South-West with that of the Slavic and Greek/Orthodox East, at the same time endeavouring to discuss this problem in a very broad sense, which I believe to be necessary in establishing the groundwork for future investigation in this area. In this article I discuss this approach and examine the problems inherent in its implementation, given both the need for breadth of historical and geographical vision (i.e., denationalizing music histories) and for the avoidance of a musicology of cliché, born of ideology rather than unbiased curiosity.

KEYWORDS: Southern Europe, the Mediterranean, the Balkans, East-West, music historiography

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One of my research interests over the past few years has been an attempt to discover connections between the countries of Southern Europe in terms of their musical culture – my initial thoughts on this were presented as a conference paper, subsequently published, entitled “Turning the Compass”:² One of the chief motivating elements in this has been the fact that I live in the westernmost part of Southern Europe, just outside Lisbon, and have undertaken considerable research into the music of what one might describe as the Latin South, and, at the same time, have spent a large part of my career as a musicologist working on music from the Orthodox world. One of the consequences of this apparent dichotomy was to encourage me to think laterally, to try to find connections across the geographical boundaries that seemingly define these two categories of research, in part in order to satisfy my own personal curiosity as to why these two things should seem to me to have some connection – or else to refute such an idea completely – and in part because no such research has ever seriously been undertaken, though it is my intention to remedy this situation with a substantial project devoted to this Mediterranean-Balkan theme over the next few years.³

The latter fact means, of course, that there are few bases, no givens and nothing to take for granted. In researching this probably unending and certainly unfinishable project, I came upon some valuable clues as to possible avenues of research – to which I shall return – but came upon a much greater absence of thought about the subject. Why should this be? Certainly in part this is attributable to a lack of familiarity: a lack of familiarity of researchers in the Latin South with the music of the Balkan South, and vice-versa. This has to do with differences in culture, and specifically a lack of mutual interest and knowledge on the part of these different geographical areas – and this can be taken down a level or two, as the general lack of interest of Croatian musicologists in what happens in Serbia, or that of Spanish musicologists in what happens in Portugal demonstrates. And when I refer to culture here, I mean a wide array of different things, including the obvious contrasts between Latin and Eastern, Latin and Slavic, Catholic and Orthodox. But this is to see things only through a negative prism, as it were; if we choose to avoid those obvious evaluative approaches and begin to think laterally, drawing a line that might begin for not entirely arbitrary reasons in Portugal and continue Eastwards through Spain, and jump, perhaps landing occasionally in France, to Italy, and thence to the countries of the former Yugoslavia, to Bulgaria, and to Greece, what insights might we attain that reinforce or contradict the knowledge (and the prejudices), we already have built on established taxonomies? How might we find a way of investigating possible connections between these areas without being in thrall to extant categories of musicological investigation and falling victim to the imposition of fashionable ideologies that do not necessarily relate to them? In other words, how might one retain one’s independence in a field that promises new results but that has no established theoretical framework?

2 Ivan Moody, “Turning the Compass”, paper read at the International Conference *Beyond the East-West Divide: Balkan Music and its Poles of Attraction*, Belgrade, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 26-28 September 2013; later published in a revised version as Moody 2015: 46–55.

3 One of the first results of this research may be seen in Moody 2017: 29–41.

One way to guarantee defeat is by deploying particular fields of knowledge without flexibility. For example, to argue that a multi-layered study of this kind should include, say, some knowledge of post-colonial studies⁴, is common sense. Post-colonial studies have a great deal to teach us with regard to, for example, the “colonies” that made up the former Yugoslavia. But to insist that such studies, with their methodological presuppositions and - let us call them what they are, in any discipline - commonplaces and clichés be foundational in this kind of undertaking is to limit the possibilities of expansion and broadening of vision that might arise were a less restricted and restrictive approach to be taken. What is needed is a vision in which a new area of research is proposed, and in which, obviously, the researchers involved are clearly shown to be competent through their previous work, but which does not limit itself initially to particular theoretical or methodological frameworks in order to be seen to be fashionable and/or acceptable to particular grant-awarding bodies. This, however, is a systemic problem, and one unlikely to be solved by my complaining about it here in a sympathetic environment of broad-minded musicologists, a description amply proved by the very title of the conference at which the original version of this text was given.

Nevertheless, if we wish to go beyond national borders and chronological limits, it is necessary to find a way to speak about different cultures in a simultaneous fashion without indulging in any kind of cultural imperialism or cultural relativism. In principle one might think this easier in a purely European context than in one that requires Europeans to find a useful way of discussing non-European cultures (and vice-versa). However, as the divisions I mentioned earlier, Latin and Eastern, Latin and Slavic, Catholic and Orthodox, indicate, things are not so straightforward. When we also take into consideration the ambiguous relationship that the Balkan countries have always had with Western Europe, things become more complicated still: it is only very recently that commentary on Balkan culture in general has received any genuinely sympathetic coverage by Western authors.⁵ There is the idea that Greece is perhaps not Europe at all⁶. There is the pan-Slavist movement and its complicated relationship with the Russian Empire. There is the much less-discussed concept of pan-Iberianism⁷. There is postsocialism⁸ and postfascism⁹. Europe has its own micro-cosmic empires and colonies, and therefore certainly its own possibilities for imperial and post-colonial, politically contextualized studies.

4 Particularly significant in this field are Chakrabarty 2008 and Bohlman 2013: 255–276.

5 Of enormous significance in this regard are Samson 2013; and Rice 2015: 11–26. Though studies in Byzantine chant lie somewhat to one side of what is under discussion here, it is also important to make mention of Lind 2012.

6 This idea is placed in historical context in Todorova 2009: 42–45.

7 This is the political idea of unifying all the nations of the Iberian Peninsula. Further on this, see Sardica 2014: 55–70, as well as Sabaté and Adão da Fonseca 2015.

8 Significant here is Vesić et al. 2015.

9 See, *inter alia*, Freedon 2001, especially chapters 7 and 8; Forlenza and Thomassen 2011: 263–281; and Tamás 2000.

In the second of the notes accompanying the call for papers for the conference at which the original version of this paper was given¹⁰, headed "De-nationalizing music histories", I was encouraged to read the following questions:

- 1) Might we challenge the practice of writing national histories of music, and explore instead the commonalities that arise from shared cultural substrata, common imperial legacies, the lure of modernity, and (paradoxically) the rise of nationalism itself?
- 2) Might we explore more fully a historiography of periphery, acknowledging chauvinism where we find it?
- 3) Within national histories themselves, might we liberate the regions at the expense of the charismatic cultural capitals, and do adequate justice to mobility and migration flows?

Of these three questions, it seems to me that the second is that where most progress has so far been made, the idea of centres and peripheries having begun to be gradually eroded from many sides, and, especially noteworthy, from the "periphery" itself. Mirjana Veselinović-Hofman's article "Music at the Periphery under Conditions of Degraded Hierarchy between the Centre and the Margins in the Space of the Internet", published in 2012, is particularly significant in this respect, extending as it does the deconstruction of the ideas of centre and periphery into the new context provided by the digital age: "[...] in such situations", she says, referring to the centre's constant awareness of itself as its own self-definer and consequent positioning of the periphery, neither did the centre forget that the periphery actually displayed its creativity and innovativeness upon the centre's professional musical foundation, its results or at least certain starting points and incentives, as its ontological premise. And that was – and in the psychological sense it still largely is – enough for the periphery to remain the periphery 'forever', even when it essentially enriched the musical centre or, in fact, grew into its fresher and more innovative alternative (Veselinović-Hofman 2012: 32).

This observation is of the first importance. That is to say, if the periphery disregards its contribution to the centre and rejoices merely in its having made that contribution but continues to consider itself the periphery, we are scarcely further on than we were before the question of the validity of the terms "centre" and "periphery" was raised in the first place.

And that first question, regarding that complicated intersection between the rise of the nation-state during the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and the "lure of modernism", is precisely something that *is* a phenomenon of the "periphery". It is only with an apparently strong nation-state, with a clearly defined set of cultural presuppositions and a fine sense of its own cultural achievements that one can encom-

¹⁰ International Conference *The Future of Music History*, call for papers, <http://www.music.sanu.ac.rs/Dokumenta/Skupovi/2017FutureOfMusicHistory.pdf>

pass modernism as, perhaps, part of an evolving narrative, or else as a shocking reaction to those very cultural achievements, part of an attempt to undermine good taste, education and possibly civilization itself. If a national identity has not yet been established, or has only been established very recently, and the history of the “fine arts” goes no further back than the eighteenth century or so, modernism seems much less shocking, especially if taken within the context of some kind of revolutionary politics.

This is arguably the case with Bulgaria and Serbia, say, but not so with Italy, whose legacy of art music goes back much further and was absorbed into what we now view as Italian culture when the country finally became unified in 1871. Greece is a still more complicated case, having, as it does, the longest musical legacy of any European country, but not becoming the country we now know by that name until 1832. The problem of the continuity of that legacy is another aspect of the problem: ancient Greek music is transcribable and performable, but its connections with Byzantine chant, and the further ramifications of Ottoman court music, and the question of the development of Western music education in the Greek world, are all facets of a prism that fits even less well into the round hole of conventional historiography than the square peg of a “central” European country. Even with slightly more “obvious” historical timelines – in the sense that they are more conventionally related to the “centre” – as in the cases of Spain and Portugal, it is only recently that the narrative of a gradual decline after the flourishing of polyphony in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the revival of fortunes late in the nineteenth century, has come to be viewed as a drastic simplification, in large part simply because so much of the music between these two chronological points has become available for performance and study.

The third question swings the compass round yet again, moving the lens so that it focuses upon regions, thus making peripheral capitals central: “Within national histories themselves, might we liberate the regions at the expense of the charismatic cultural capitals, and do adequate justice to mobility and migration flows?” This is an essential part of the task, and it must be done simultaneously with the liberation of the periphery writ large from the centre writ large, because cultural traffic has always flowed where it will, and regions have often been more receptive to trans-national currents than the “charismatic cultural capitals”, and this phenomenon is contemporaneous with the self-identification of those capitals as both peripheral to elsewhere and as important as centres themselves. It is enough to look at the cultural history of any provincial city to prove this point.

To find a way forward, then, I would argue that we must, in the first place, not be constrained by pre-ordained models of discipline but must, in the second place, have the flexibility to make use of them when they offer us a glimmer of light into the vast topic before us. Such a broad approach has been used with the greatest success by Jim Samson in his book *Music in the Balkans* (2013). Indeed, I recall that when he announced the beginning of that project, at a conference in Belgrade in 2007, I wondered how on earth it could be done, so vast was its scope. The answer was in fact a question, one that is to be seen on the book’s back cover: “This book asks how a study of many different musics in South East Europe can help us understand the construction of cultural traditions. It crosses boundaries of many kinds, political, cultural, repertorial

and disciplinary” (Ibid.) And there it is: this book of 667 pages is in fact a question. If we, as music historians, remember that all we are doing, and all we can do, in dealing with broad themes is asking questions, we will assuredly find answers, and those answers will cross many, many boundaries.

In conclusion, and at the risk of being thought trendy (or rather, at the risk of being thought to be someone who would like to be thought trendy), this seems a good moment to quote Foucault. In the introduction to his *L'Archéologie du savoir*, in his discussion of the functions of history, Foucault said the following:

To be brief, then, let us say that history, in its traditional form, undertook to 'memorise' the monuments of the past, transform them into documents, and lend speech to those traces which, in themselves, are often not verbal, or which say in silence something other than what they actually say; in our time, history is that which transforms documents into monuments. In that area where, in the past, history deciphered the traces left by men, it now deploys a mass of elements that have to be grouped, made relevant, placed in relation to one another to form totalities. There was a time when archaeology, as a discipline devoted to silent monuments, inert traces, objects without context, and things left by the past, aspired to the condition of history, and attained meaning only through the restitution of a historical discourse; it might be said, to play on words a little, that in our time history aspires to the condition of archaeology, to the intrinsic description of the monument (Foucault 1982).

If, then we have moved beyond the “memorization” of the monuments of the past and its attendant consequences, how might we leap on to Foucault's bandwagon (admittedly a wagon that passed through as long ago as 1969) and deploy masses of elements in order to form totalities? How might we arrive at an “intrinsic description of the monument”? My reaction is to let the bandwagon roll past: there is no reason why, even while desiring to make silent monuments speak, and while keeping an eye on academic trends and recently-invented disciplines, we cannot maintain our independence in terms of an altogether more instinctive approach to what was once history and is now -ology (and once again I applaud the organizers of the conference at which this paper was first given for using the term “music history”). Let us never forget that music history – or even musicology – is a creative discipline.

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ИВАН МУДИ

ПОВРАТАК КОМПАСУ: ПИСАЊЕ НОВИХ ИСТОРИЈА МУЗИКЕ НА ЈУГУ

(РЕЗИМЕ)

Историја музике у земљама Јужне Европе углавном је досад проучавана из перспективе Запада или Истока. Оваква ситуација узрокована је, између осталог, традиционалним, подразумеваним и никад преиспитаним поделама дуж религијских и лингвистичких координата, али и непознавањем релевантне литературе потекле из ове географске регије, што је, пак, у највећој мери продукт непознавања јужноевропских језика. Услед тога, готово да нема компаративних естетичких студија између нација које су настајале на почетку двадесетог века и успостављале сопствене верзије модернизма, а које би обухватиле земље Медитерана и Балкана; уместо тога, ове области се углавном сагледавају као "периферија" Европе и естетичка разматрања су усмерена готово искључиво на њихов однос према теоријском "центру". У својим радовима објављеним и презентованим током протеклих неколико година поставио сам себи за циљ да срушим ове баријере, тиме што суочавам, у најширем смислу, питања традиције и модернизма и паралелно изучавам музику латинско-романског, католичког југозапада и словенско-грчког, православног југоистока Европе. Сматрам да је овако широко постављена дискусија од пресудне важности за будућа детаљнија истраживања ове географске регије. У овом чланку разматрам меродавност оваквог приступа и осврћем се на проблеме који произилазе из покушаја његове имплементације, имајући у виду како потребу за ширином поставке историјске и географске визуре (укључујући денационализацију историје музике), тако и за избегавањем музиколошких клишеа, проистеклих из идеолошких поставки и тиме некомпатибилних са непристрасном истраживачком радознаношћу.

Кључне речи: Јужна Европа, Медитеран, Балкан, исток-запад, музичка историографија

UNIVERSAL ORGANISING PRINCIPLES OF MUSIC AND FAIRY TALES

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ABSTRACT:

This article's focus is the universal organising principles underlying the energy transformation process in music and fairy tales. Taking into account relevant research in Jungian analytical psychology and music analysis, a comparative study of energy transformation processes in fairy tales and music is given. This yields an outline for a potential new meta-analysis of music introducing the symbolic and psychoid nature of music and its relevance for psychological development.

KEYWORDS: energy, archetype, music, symbol, fairy tale

“Once, someone asked if Einstein knew anything for absolute certain. He thought about the question for a long time. [...] ‘The only thing I know for certain is that something is moving.’” (Castleman 2004:175)

Movement, as formulated within the laws of thermodynamics, is a token of life (Jung 1970). The choreography of ever-occurring patterns of energy flow generates different forms which are profoundly meaningful. The organizing principles are recognized in patterns of biological, chemical, physical structures, as well as in art and music. The foundation of human behaviour is based on these innate patterns, coming from the deepest layer of the unconscious. They manifest through the many layers of the unconscious - cultural, ancestral and individual. The science of music, music psychoanalysis, psychology of music, ethnomusicology, analytical psychology, and other scientific disciplines inform us that music comes into being through the interplay between the conscious and the unconscious. We remain astonished by the occu-

rence of symmetrical patterns in music of which composers were apparently not aware.. How did these patterns come into being? What is their meaning? How is the initial movement generated? What is the purpose of the movement? ...

The generic patterns of the unconscious, the universal organizing principles and formal patterns are the central point of research in analytical psychology. Analytical psychology draws upon a wide spectrum of scientific perspectives in which the common organizing principles can be observed. These disciplines include: psychiatry, medicine, psychology, anthropology, physics, ethology, art, and linguistics. Extensive research shows that products of the unconscious – such as dreams, narratives, artwork, music or other tokens of spontaneous activity bear these intrinsic patterns of symmetry and order, which, apart from their powerful aesthetic impact, carry profound meaning relevant to survival. This generally applies to unconscious material which comes from the collective unconscious, the deepest and universal layer of human psyche. Since *meaning* signifies a multifold and complex spectrum of denotata, a comparative approach involving different perspectives might shed a new light on the problem in focus.

In the search for a common framework to understand the principles underlying human experience and behaviour and to inform us about music, the choice fell on fairy tales.

Fairy tales, myths and legends originate from the collective unconscious. It is fairy tales which bring 'the purest' skeleton of universal patterns with the fewest cultural additions (von Frantz 1996). Myths and legends are linked more to the national cultural unconscious, the layer closer to consciousness. This makes them somewhat easier to interpret and quite often more aesthetically pleasing. However, unlike fairy tales, they do not always communicate across cultural, racial and age differences. Fairy tales are older than earliest literary records. Phylogenetic comparative methods imply the Bronze Age (Tehrani and da Silva 2016). They remain active and unaltered for thousands of years. What is it that makes them so vibrant over the course of time? Why are they important for humanity? How do universal generic patterns occur in fairy-tales? What is their meaning? What is the relationship between universal patterns in fairy tales and the human psyche? How do they inform us about music?

In order to explore these questions, we will first take a close look into fairy-tale phenomena from the perspective of analytical psychology.

FAIRY TALES

Scientific interest in fairy tales arose in the eighteenth century, bringing a view of them as symbolic expressions of old faiths. According to Johann Gottfried Herder, they influence national identity, language and thought (Clark and Forster 2007). Soon after the Brothers Grimm published their collection of fairy tales in 1812, almost every country in Europe followed with a basic collection of their national fairy tales. The large number of recurrent themes became apparent and stirred further research on the origin and nature of these universal themes. There is a wide range of hypotheses

regarding their origin. For example, Benfey (1894) related them to old cultures and migration, von Bulow (1914) observed them as mystical teachings on God, Bastian (1968) as inborn in every individual. The first systematization of fairy tales based on the recurring motifs was made by a group of Finnish folklorists (Aarne 1910) and was later enriched by a motif index (Thompson 1936). In time, fairy tales became an object of great interest to a wide spectrum of scientists, such as literary scholars, structuralists, psychoanalysts, anthropologists, ethnologists, comparative historians of religion and sociologists. The most comprehensive research into the phenomena of motifs is found in the work of the Swiss psychiatrist C. G. Jung, founder of analytical psychology, and by the post-Jungian scholars.

MOTIFS

Carl Gustav Jung dedicated his life-long research to understanding the origin, nature and purpose of motifs which he, very early in his work, discovered in various expressions of his clients' psyches. He not only detected their underlying presence, but as a result of his clinical work, he also recognized their profound impact on the psychological development of humans in general. "These motifs are not *invented* so much as *discovered*; they are typical forms that appear spontaneously all over the world, independently of tradition, in myths, fairy tales, fantasies, dreams [...]. On closer investigation they prove to be typical attitudes, modes of action – thought processes and impulses which must be regarded as constituting the instinctive behaviour typical of the human species" (Jung 1960:261). Motifs are representations of archetypes in consciousness as archetypal images. Jung uses the term image (*imago*) in order to mark a representation of a psychic content. The term is not used to imply only visual manifestation, because the representations of psychic content can be in any type of medium or form. Images present the subjective functional complex rather than the object itself and are the consequence of personal experience combined with archetypal images in the collective unconscious (Sharp 1991).

Jung's long-term collaboration and friendship with the theoretical physicist and Nobel Prize winner Wolfgang Pauli deepened his understanding of the motifs and the phenomena of archetypes in the context of physics. Wolfgang Pauli, as a result of the collaboration with Jung, took an archetypal view of science and the phenomena of life in general. Jung analysed more than 1300 of Pauli's dreams and the analysis contributed to the articulation of Pauli's scientific discoveries. Interestingly enough, it was a repeated musical dream which prompted his articulation of the spin concept. Pauli put strong emphasis on the connection between phenomena in physics, biology and the unconscious, taking the archetypal view: "Psyche and matter are governed by common [...] not in themselves ascertainable ordering principles." (Jung and Pauli 2001:118). Jung's considers archetypes as primordial foundations of experience which reside in the collective unconscious. He further explains that "these patterns of experience are by no means accidental or arbitrary; they follow strictly preformed conditions which are [...] the preconditions of all apprehension. They are ideas *ante rem*, determinants of form, a kind of pre-existent ground plan that gives the stuff of experi-

ence a specific configuration, so that we may think of them, as Plato did, of *images*, as schemata, or as inherited functional possibilities which, nevertheless, exclude other possibilities or limit them to a very great extent. [...] The fairy tales of the most widely separated races show the same tie. Even the images that underlie certain scientific theories – energy, its transformation and constancy, the atomic theory [...] – are proof of this restriction.” (Jung 1971:304)

The dynamics of energy flow are determined by archetypal patterns which affect both the world of psyche and the world of matter, as shown by the *Unus Mundus* concept (Jung and Pauli 2001). Jung and Pauli observed the connection between energy and matter, the transformation of energy and especially the relationship between the unconscious and occurrences in the material world directing special focus to the acausal connecting principle (synchronicity). They recognized a meaningful connection between the psychic and physical processes and events emphasizing their symbolic nature. The propositions articulated by Jung and Pauli that eventually were to constitute the archetypal hypothesis may be summarized as follows (Morirau and Card 1998):

- 1) Physis and psyche represent complementary aspects of the same transcendental unitary reality, the *Unus Mundus*.
- 2) Archetypes act as fundamental dynamic patterns whose various representations characterise all processes whether mental or physical.
- 3) Archetypes acting simultaneously in both the realms of matter and mind account for synchronistic phenomena.

“The *unus mundus* contains all of the preconditions which determine the form of empirical phenomena, both mental and physical. These preconditions are archetypal in nature and are, therefore, completely non-perceptual, pregeometrical, and prelogical. When they reach psychic perception, they take on specific representations in the form of images of geometric or numerical structures. Such preconditions, i.e. archetypes, are the mediating factors of the *unus mundus*: when they operate in the realm of psyche, they are the dynamical organizers of images and ideas; when operating in the realm of physis they are the patterning principles of matter and energy” (Morirau and Card 1998:74).

Archetypes manifest in consciousness as images or symbols. They interact to form *universal plots* which are found in their purest symbolic form in fairy tales. The types of symbols, the manner of their occurrence and interaction (*the plots*) are governed by natural laws. Explaining the notion of energy, Jung emphasized that the idea of energy is not based on the very substance moving in space (the mechanistic view), but on their relations. Archetypes are the formulae, the universal patterns by which libidinal dynamics are organized. “The archetype itself is empty and purely formal, nothing but a *facultas praeformandi*, a possibility of representation which is given a priori. The representations themselves are not inherited, only the forms.” (Jung 1969a:79) Fairy tales provide maps of these formulae and relationships, portraying the interactive dynamics of archetypes of the collective unconscious. The key to understanding of the meaning fairy tales convey is the symbol.

SYMBOL

The process of symbol formation designates a process of energy transformation. Libidinal energies are constantly in a dynamic process aiming towards optimal realization. Movement as such can only take place if there are poles of opposites constellated. The transformation process occurs as energy flows between the poles of instinct and culture (often also called "spirit"). Impulses which come from the instinctual spectrum of the psyche find their form and meaning in images: "Images represent the meaning of the instinct" (Jung 1969b:44). Emotions (Latin *emovere*, from *e*, variant of *ex*- 'out' + *movere* 'move') play an important role in this process, designating an inward symbol. Inwardly, symbols are lived out as emotions; outwardly, emotions are apprehended as symbolic qualities. "The symbol is thus the emotion itself in the aspect of an exciting image" (Hillman 1961:258). Symbols, unlike signs, always possess a certain amount of libidinal charge and are emotionally meaningful. As energy transforms from the unconscious, bringing unknown inputs in the form of images into the dimension of consciousness, symbols mediate the expression of something hitherto unknown. "The theory of relativity was a music thought that came to me" (Suzuki and Suzuki 1969:90) – this statement by Albert Einstein is a useful illustrative example of the symbolic nature of the psyche. Actual psychic development happens by the attraction of the symbol, which occurs when the conditions for energy transformation are met. Therefore, all the characters, objects, landscape, etc. in fairy tales are considered symbols in this sense, and their multi-layered positioning in the story, mutual relations and interaction are diagnostic tools for the developmental process of an individual or collective, depending on the context within which a fairy tale is constellated. Fairy tales provide a map of archetypes underlying the developmental process. The map shows a particular interaction of archetypes which informs about the stage of the energy transformation process, its potential and challenges, as well as the inherent qualities which are the key for the realization of the process (hero overcoming the obstacles set by 'the evil' forces in order to fulfil his task). Dreams often bring fairy-tale symbols and plots of which dreamers have no conscious knowledge, on account of their origin in the collective unconscious which is universal for the whole of humanity. "Fairy tales are the purest and simplest expression of collective unconscious psychic processes. Therefore their value for the scientific investigation of the unconscious exceeds that of all other material. They represent the archetypes in their simplest, barest, and most concise form. In this pure form, the archetypal images afford us the best clues to the understanding of the processes going on in the collective psyche" (Von Frantz 1996:2).

Fairy tales thus provide the purest insight into symbols and symbolic manifestation of the libidinal energy out of which a meaning relevant for the life of individual or collective could be brought into consciousness. Symbols provide a bridge between inputs from the unconscious and their compelling nature (patterns of automatic behaviour), and relatively fixed attitudes of consciousness. They function as *rites of passage* indicating a critical transitional period of the developmental process. They are the vital link between the archaic and cultural man and between something unknown which is of vital importance and present knowledge. As they are manifestations of energy, their respec-

tive positioning and movement within the energy flow, as well the relations they form, are governed by the universal organizing principle. Therefore, the symbolic nature of the psyche is a multi-layered semantic and syntactic system with inherent rules governing its manifestation. The way a fairy tale begins, which landscapes a fairy tale depicts, when a hero appears in the narrative, or what the similarities and differences are between a hero and a king, do not come about by chance. One might also wonder how the hero's movement through the narrative is aided and challenged, in particular by 'the evil' character. It could be said that the process of fairy-tale interpretation is to a great extent analogical to the participants' observer-interpretation process of a physics experiment which necessarily includes, 'for better or for worse', the attitude of the interpreter (observer effect in quantum experiments affecting the outcome, Rosenblum and Kuttner 2000).

METHOD OF INTERPRETATION

Given the essentially symbolic nature of fairy tales, which implies that they will always carry something deeply unknown to the present conscious mind, and that every archetype is in its essence an unknown psychic factor, no final intellectual interpretation of fairy tales is possible. As with dreams, "the fairy tale itself is its own best explanation" (Von Frantz 1996:1). However, it is science's mission to attempt to square the circle and deepen the understanding of the mystery of life articulating it through its respective discourses; therefore, interpretation of fairy tales as well as any other spontaneous expression of the energy from the unconscious brings valuable information about life processes.

The scientific method of analysing expressions of the unconscious is articulated by Jung, who, apart from studying motifs from fairy tales, myths, legends, rites and rituals as well as the connection between the body and symbolic nature of the psyche (psychosomatic symptoms), analysed more than one hundred thousand dreams. The method aims at distinguishing between personal, cultural and archetypal or collective unconscious material, thus indicating the most appropriate approach to a given situation and could be causal (reductive) or constructive (final). Although some situations will require a reductive approach, Jung's main view is towards the innate goal of energy transformation, the natural aim of cathexis and ways of optimal facilitation of the immanent transformation process. To the unconscious content which reaches consciousness from the collective unconscious, Jung applies a method of amplification by which he connects it with universal imagery: use of mythic, cultural, historical and other parallels. He thus clarifies and makes evident the symbolic content of the unconscious (Samuels 1986). Marie-Louise von Franz, who worked closely with Jung and Pauli, focused her research especially on fairy tales and provided an in-depth scientific insight into some of the most important features of the collective unconscious as well as into life phenomena as such.

According to von Frantz's outline of the method of interpreting fairy tales, the archetypal story is divided into four stages (as with classical drama which originates from it):

1. *Exposition* – This is what opens the time and place of the collective unconscious (*illud tempus*). Jung considered the categories of space and time to be relative. "The

factor of time proves to be equally “elastic” as space under ESP conditions. [...] We are confronted with two four-dimensional systems in a contingent contiguity. One might ask the question whether we can as hitherto go on thinking in terms of space and time, while modern physics begins to relinquish these terms in favour of a time-space continuum, in which space is no more space and time no more time. [...] It might be that psyche should be understood as unextended intensity and not as a body moving with time. One might assume the psyche gradually rising from minute extensity to infinite intensity, transcending for instance the velocity of light and thus irrealizing the body. That would account for the “elasticity” of space under ESP conditions” (Jung 1974:45).

2. *Dramatis personae* indicate the main archetypes constellated. It brings the implicit information of something missing, or the *initial imbalance* containing, at the same time, the entelechy of the development to come. The number of *dramatis personae* is highly significant, and when compared to the number of characters at the end, indicates that which was missing at the beginning of the developmental process and to what extent the process progressed in reaching wholeness. For example: “The king had three sons”, a total of four male characters. The story may end with four characters again, but, for example, with one son and a bride and two bride’s sisters. From the very beginning of his research, Jung was interested in the phenomenon of natural numbers: “Number may well be the most primitive element of order in the human mind [...] thus we define number psychologically as an archetype of order which has become conscious” (von Franz, 1974:45). The archetypal nature of numbers was one of the central areas of focus in the cooperation between Jung and Pauli. Pauli had a view that this “should be understood in such a way that included within it is the ‘mathematical primal intuition’ which expresses itself, among other ways, in arithmetic, in the idea of the infinite series of integers, and in geometry, in the idea of the continuum...” (Morariu and Card 1998:74). Von Franz developed further the archetypal hypothesis of numbers, reaching the understanding that numbers are common motion patterns of both psychic and physical energy, and, in fact preconditions for all conscious knowledge of nature (von Franz 1974:167).

3. *Naming the problem* – This is the explicit statement, expressed in symbolic language, of what the problem in the story is, or the *initial imbalance*, and thus the core reason for the major *movement* to take place (tendency towards equilibrium). For example: the king’s wife is ill and somebody needs to go to a faraway kingdom to find a cure and bring it back to save the queen. Naming the problem provides encoded information about the specific way of achieving a new level of balance of different options and outlines the cathexis. This ‘specific way’ is either *the best* or *the only available way* that the individual or collective is capable of taking in their respective development, which is vital for their survival. This is how the universal essence of energy transformation becomes essentially personal, of a unique relevance to the individual or collective. Naming the problem and goal also informs us about the final nature of the developmental process focusing on energy transformation fulfillment rather than the cause, which implies a reductionist approach.

4. *Peripeteia* or *peripeteiai* with the point which brings the height of the tension - climax, or the decisive point. This process is characterized by the challenge of the capacity to hold or contain within a still point before the climax (abreaction, regression, transformation). It challenges the 'vessel' of the energy flow or the Ego structure's capacity to withstand the impact of the released libidinal energy from the unconscious and to allow the process of transformation to take place fully. We often find information that, for example, hero spent "three days and three nights" in an unbearable situation before unexpected help arrives.

5. *Lysis* with an *ending formula* as an exit from the collective unconscious dimension. The end of the archetypal narrative depicts the result of the transformation process. It is usually a new level of balance with a different energy formation. It varies in the degree of achievement and sometimes the end shows a failed attempt at transformation which indicates that the *élan vital* for the transformative process will withdraw back into the unconscious and be released again when the time for a new cycle is ripe. The ending formula provides an exit from the archetypal dimension back into the everyday context and it usually comprises simple 'meaningless' rhymes or unexpected, abrupt interpolations of a banal everyday content which are not related to the previous fairy tale narrative.

ORGANIZATIONAL PRINCIPLE OF ENERGY FLOW

Studies of fairy tales, dreams and series of dreams, music compositions, and formations in nature studied in chemistry, biology and physics, are a few of the fields which inform us about the underlying organizing or constructional principles based on symmetry. This signifies fundamental properties of balance, similarity and order in relation to the cathexis of the developmental process. The movement itself is conditioned on the imbalance or existence of opposites (second law of thermodynamics) and the dynamics of the movement or energy flow by the equivalence principle (first law of thermodynamics). Jung's view of psycho-dynamic processes is based on the principles of entropy and equivalence (Jung 1969a). When the occurrence of libidinal flow is brought to life through an innate choreography that leaves an individual or entire society moved and affected, according to the entropy view of psychodynamics, it is a token of the constellation of opposites which have vital relevance for development. These occurrences can, for example, take the form of a series of dreams or a work of art or events of a special nature which in their symbolic aspect indicate the developmental issue. This marks a process which aims towards equilibrium or energy balance, or, rather, towards the establishment of a less extreme imbalance, given that the psyche is a relatively closed system, and thus total equilibrium is not possible (Jung 1969a:26). With regards to the energy transformation process, and relating to the first law of thermodynamics, Jung states that "disappearance of a given quantum of libido is followed by the appearance of an equivalent value in another form" (Jung 1969a:19). A new psychic fact occurs as a substitute formation, bearing in mind that in the process of energy transformation libido does not live a structure as pure inten-

sity, but that “there is a psychological extensity factor which cannot pass into a new structure without carrying over parts or characteristics of the previous structure” (Jung 1969:21). The general rule which underlines a process of energy transformation is that psychic activity can find a substitute only on the basis of equivalence.

The dynamics of the libidinal energy manifested through the archetypal symbolism in fairy tales portray the multi-layered movement from the initial imbalance (something is missing), towards more complete constellation of the libidinal actors at the end, which is achieved both on the level of content (the task is achieved, a union of opposites – usually in the form of marriage, takes place) and the formal level (numerical and geometric formations). As in dreams, a wide spectrum of symmetrical relations occurs, both in terms of manifest and concealed symmetries. They are based on the principle of equivalence.

THE CONSTRUCTIONAL PRINCIPLE IN MUSIC

The equivalence principle plays a key role in governing the interrelatedness of segments of musical flow: “In a piece of music all segments with a minimum of equivalence enter into specific relations. No part [...] can exist freely – that is an independent or isolated. Whatever we learn about the function of any segment within the work comes from the observation of the interaction of the given segment with other segments of the same work, provided they possess a minimum of equivalence. Interaction between segments is a substantial element of their existence” (Popović 1998:21). In his seminal work *Music Form or Meaning in Music*, Berislav Popović explores the principles of the cohesion of musical flow pointing to the “inseparable bonds between the law of symmetry and the law of consistency of any music whole, provided these laws comply with the principle of a minimum of equivalence” (Popović 1998:54). Furthermore, Popović emphasises the relativity of space and time with regards to musical flow:

The nature of music is essentially a four-dimensional construction in which time and space are inseparably tied. [...] For example, as the imagined properties of space-time in a formal model like sonata form influence the choice of behaviour of musical material ... so does, undoubtedly, the newly created particular form of space-time represent the result of the quality of the chosen musical material and its overall arrangement in the given composition (Popović 1998:67).

In this respect, following Einstein’s connection between the geometry of space and the material content of space, Popovic proposes the analogous relation in music: form \rightarrow substance. (Popović 1998:68). Gravitation as a feature of musical flow, with special focus on musical works with the most destabilizing effect on the gravitational wave (Debussy, Schoenberg, Berg, Webern, Stravinsky, Ives and Cowell), was the most recent study project of Professor Malcom Longair, astrophysicist and cosmologist and the London Sinfonietta, illustrating Einstein’s vision of (musical) relativity (Longair 2018).

In order to deepen understanding of the organizational principles of musical flow it is necessary to understand its construction through the lens of symmetry, as its essential

formative principle. All other dimensions and approaches to in-depth studies of musical flow derive from it. Musical analysis informs us about the constructional universality of musical form. "The fundamental formative principles are still the same, independent from the actual compositional system, level of technical development and [...] immune to the changes in the civilisational outlook of the world" (Popović 1998:368).

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS ABOUT POTENTIAL META-ANALYSIS OF MUSIC

In order to explain the fundamental organizing principle which resides 'beyond' psyche and matter, i.e. in the underlying unified realm, Jung used the spectrum of light as an analogy:

The dynamism of instinct is lodged as it were in the infrared part of the spectrum, whereas the instinctual image lies in the ultra-violet part. [...] The realization and assimilation of instinct never take place at the red end, i.e., by absorption into the instinctual sphere, but only through integration of the image which signifies and at the same time evokes the instinct, although in a form quite different from the one we meet on the biological level (Jung 1969a:211).

Jung termed the non-psychic, infrared aspect of the archetype *psychoïd*, forming a bridge to matter in general, and extending beyond a neurophysiological basis into the general dynamic patterns of matter and energy. Jung, referring to Bleuler, observes *the psychoïd* as a collective term, chiefly for the subcortical processes (e.g. amygdala, hippocampus) insofar as they are concerned with biological adaptive functions. (Jung 1969a:176). The *psychoïd* is the sum of all purposes, mnemonic and life preserving functions of the body and the nervous system, with the exception of those cortical functions which are usually regarded as psychic. Furthermore, "where instinct predominates *psychoïd* processes set in, which pertain to the sphere of the unconscious as elements incapable of consciousness." (Ibid.:183). The *psychoïd* resides in the organic sphere and sets in motion the development of the germinal potential inscribed in matter: "the directing principle, the reactive determinant the prospective potency of the germinal element; it is the elemental agent discovered in action, the entelechy of real acting" (Ibid.:176). The *psychoïd* is that elemental agent, the very carrier from the *naturalistic* to the *psychological*. It radiates "the germinal potential" affecting the body (morphogenesis) – psyche and the world. Therefore, automatic, reflexive, organic or physiological reactions to music, as well as reactions which include affects as precursors of emotions, are essentially *psychoïd* in nature. Humans, however, also experience symbols which are brought to consciousness as a result of the interaction with music flow, which is a token of the activity which originates from the ultraviolet sphere of the psychic spectrum. This concept could contribute to deeper understanding of the impact that music has on physiological processes starting from the prenatal period and continuing throughout life as well as the polarity between 'absolute' and 'programme' music.

Developmental psychology, psychoanalysis with a special emphasis on infant observation, and analytical psychology portray this unifying realm through the concepts of coenesthetic communication, primal relational patterns (RIGs) and special psychic energy values which Jung called complexes. René Spitz, who based his work on infant observation, speaks of *coenesthetic communication* as the primal relational pattern, which is based on a “total sensing system” of the body (Spitz 1965). Coenesthetic responses are not localized; they are extensive and involve a pervasive sensibility. “The sensorium plays a minimal role in coenesthetic reception; instead, perception takes place on the level of deep sensibility and in terms of totalities, in an all-or-none fashion. Responses to coenesthetic reception also are totality responses, e.g., visceral responses” (Csepregi 2006:24). Constructional principles governing the formation of memory and biographical behavioural patterns are described by Daniel Stern through the concept of *representations of interactions that have been generalised*, or “RIGs” (Stern 1985:98). These amodal perceptions in the earliest period of life gradually form the predisposition for our experience and for relating with the world in a generalized form. They are the pivotal tokens of the organizing principle of infant life experience and, subsequently, narratives and metaphors in adults. They enable the mechanism of making links across different modalities of experience. These early patterns of experience do not disappear in adult life, but recede from consciousness. Psychoanalysis observes this connection which with some individuals remains very much alive as a vital source of creation, both in music and arts and science:

The non-discursive intuitive mode of thought used by artists forms an integrated bridge to the archaic coenesthetic world of experience described by Spitz (1965). This hypothetical sphere of early impressions, dominating particularly during the first six months of life, is marked by vague [...] comprehensive categories – tensions, equilibriums, temperatures, postures, touches, vibrations, rhythms, durations, pitches, tones, etc. – in which neither perception and affect, nor somatic and psychic, have yet been differentiated. In general, the adult is hardly aware of them, and they are difficult to express rationally (Piha 2005:32).

Therefore, communication with the unconscious, which is governed both by the principles of entropy and equivalence, is a constant process of energy transformation between the instinctual and the symbolic, the archaic and the ‘cultured’, modelling the stages of human development through the richness of styles of different *Zeitgeists*. The process of energy transformation, its dynamism and its critical stages are manifested as psychoid and symbolic. “Music flow stirs our imagination [...] affects the hidden parts [...] of our organism, as well as our emotions. This [...] depicts something which is evoked in the mind and which awakens a sensation. The process which produces and directs the energy I am talking about is set in motion by the music flow.” (Popović 1998:101) Music seems to resonate in the most immediate and authentic manner with the psychoid, infrared aspect of psyche. Music also has the (secondary?) ability to ‘carry’ (with the necessary help of emotion) archetypal images to consciousness, where symbols can be translated, to a certain extent, by human ratio (O’Brien 2018).

The ultraviolet side of the spectrum, which is on the symbolic pole of the opposites, has its most immediate manifestation through fairy tales with their purest depiction of archetypal images and their interaction. Therefore, fairy tales are the best paradigm for the study of the *meaning* and *purpose* of energy transformation expressed for the psyche through symbols.

Bearing in mind that the 'grammar' as well as the semantic level of archetypal language is articulated scientifically by analytical psychology and other respective scientific disciplines, a new meta-analysis of the libidinal energy transformation process could provide new insights relevant for human development. The focus of interest is music phenomena, the *symbolic* meaning of which can be explored with reference to the analysis of fairy tales. Analysis would aim to search for answers to questions such as: Is there a similarity between formal types of fairy tales and music? What are the generators of the energy flow in music and fairy tales? Does 'a hero energy' have its counterpart in music flow? How is the transition between "a" - "a1" and "a" - "b" achieved in music and fairy tale material and how does it inform us about the libidinal energy transformation? For example: what if a hero in a fairy tale is similar to the evil magician whose evil actions he needs to overcome? What do these 'contrasts' signify and how are they constructed by the energy transformation flow, both in music and in fairy tales? Could in this respect an analogy be drawn to the music equivalence principle, where the process of transition (a-a1 / a-b) or transformation is apparently a dialectically contradictory process, which consists of "underlying of difference by discovering similarity, ... and discovering the common in what appears to be very different in the other"? (Popović 1998:41) Furthermore, if in this context "dissimilarity means detecting the opposite in the similar, and similarity (analogy) refers to the point of fusion of what seems to be disparate" (Ibid), does it inform about the original state of opposites residing in harmony in the unconscious and initially deriving from the core organizing principle of the psyche (The Self)? What is the relationship between the inherent meaning of a musical flow and the explicit narrative - 'musical programme'? What is the potential symbolic meaning of the new energy set up achieved at the end of a musical flow and fairy tale narrative (partial equivalence)? Is there a relationship between 'the hero energy' or the immanence of libidinal development and a music creation drive?

New meta-analysis would open areas of research such as:

- formal types in music and fairy tales and all known symmetries (including dissymmetry);
- energy flow with respect to space - time dimension in music and fairy tales;
- content analysis in terms of types of symbols and music material with special focus on the energy spectrum (psychoid and psychological);
- relationship of musical works and fairy tales belonging to the same social, cultural, historical, etc. contexts with the respective *Zeitgeist*;

An attempt to design and conduct such a meta-analysis might result in a more comprehensive archetypal hypothesis of music and an interactional map of music archetypes providing a rare comparative insight into the psychoid-symbolic dynamism of human soul and life phenomena in general, an insight unique to music.

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НАДА ИВАНОВИЋ О'БРАЈЕН

УНИВЕРЗАЛНИ ПРИНЦИПИ ОРГАНИЗОВАЊА МУЗИКЕ И БАЈКИ

(РЕЗИМЕ)

Наука о музици, физика и аналитичка психологија пружају нам информације о фундаменталним организационим принципима у процесу трансформације енергије. Универзални заједнички принципи се посматрају кроз призму феномена симетрије, као и хипотезе о архетиповима, произашлих из аналитичке психологије и физике. Разумевање психолошког значења ових принципа, начина њихове интеракције, њиховог манифестовања у људској свести и утицаја на људски развој уопште, подржано је сазнањима из студија о процесу формирања симбола и психоидних феномена у аналитичкој психологији. С обзиром на то да бајке представљају најчистији симболички вид манифестовања и интеракције архетипова, феномен бајки може да се посматра као парадигма за симболичко интерпретирање процеса трансформације енергије, како у музици тако и у физици. С друге стране, суштинске карактеристике музике су, изгледа, психоидне природе. Ово је објашњено у психоанализи музике, развојној психологији, етномузикологији и новим компаративним студијама музике и физике. Ово поређење стимулише нове начине размишљања о процесима трансформације енергије у бајкама и музици. Чланак се завршава пажљивим скицирање нове мета-анализе музике, која би пружила свеобухватнији увид у суштинску природу музике и кореографију људске душе.

Кључне речи: енергија, архетип, музика, симбол, бајка

НАУЧНА КРИТИКА
И ПОЛЕМИКА
SCIENTIFIC REVIEWS
AND POLEMICS

RUSSIAN MUSIC SINCE 1917: REAPPRAISAL AND REDISCOVERY.
EDITED BY PATRICK ZUK AND MARINA FROLOVA-WALKER.
PP. XIII + 434. PROCEEDINGS OF THE BRITISH ACADEMY.

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The book *Russian Music since 1917: Reappraisal and Rediscovery* originates in the eponymous international conference held at the University of Durham over four days in July 2011. The conference was organized by one of the editors of the present volume, the Irish-born musicologist, composer and pianist Patrick Zuk. Back in 2011 I was one of the handful of young scholars fortunate enough to participate in this truly memorable conference that, for the first time, gathered together, on the one side, remarkable Anglophone scholars working in the field of Russian and Soviet music and, on the other hand, some equally remarkable Russian scholars, many of whom had never previously presented their research in the United Kingdom. Zuk's decision to allow conference participants to read their papers either in Russian or in English was highly unusual in the Anglocentric world of international academic conferences, allowing us not only to brush up on our Russian, but also to shift our perspectives and engage in passionate debates with Russia's homegrown scholars, who presented us with a great deal of information that could only have been known to them.

While it took six years for the conference proceedings to see the light of day, upon reading this hefty, 450 page-long volume, I can acknowledge that it was worth the wait. The editors have selected 18 papers to be expanded into book chapters that reassess music of the Soviet and post-Soviet eras in Russia and bring into focus the transformation of scholarship in this field since *glasnost*, whilst appraising the current state of research on the development of Russian art music since the 1917 Revolution. Just like the conference itself, the proceedings volume brings together two traditions of scholarship on Russian music and its contexts, with the native Russian contributors greatly outnumbering the Anglophone scholars. Aside from editors Patrick Zuk (University of Durham) and Marina Frolova-Walker (University of Cambridge; Fellow of the British Academy), the list of contributors includes Marina Rakhmanova, Marina Raku and Levon Hakobian (State Institute for the History of the Arts, Moscow), Yekaterina Vlasova (Moscow Conservatoire), Ol'ga Manulkina (St Petersburg Conservatory), Liudmila Kovnatskaya (Russian Institute for the History of the Arts, St Petersburg), Ol'ga Digonskaya (Glinka Museum of Musical Culture, Moscow), Lidia Ader (Rimsky-Korsakov Apartment-Museum, St Petersburg), Inna Klause (Georg-August-Universität Göttingen, Germany), Daniil Zavlunov (Skidmore College), Richard Taruskin (University of California Berkeley), Pauline Fairclough (University of Bristol), William Quillen (University of Cambridge), Elena Dubinets and Laurel Fay (independent scholars). As we can see, even the list of "Western" scholars includes a number of first- or second-generation Russian/Soviet expats — and, as their essays show, these authors are keenly aware of their crossbred identities and often forced to negotiate their position "between two worlds", on account of the

conflicting requirements of the academic environments on the either side of the East-West divide. The editors' goal in giving ample space to Russian writers was not only to introduce their work to Western readers, hitherto largely unfamiliar with contemporary Russian musicology, but also to present new material from Russian archival sources that challenges many Western preconceptions about music written in the Soviet era. In that sense, this book is less about music per se, and more about musicology, i.e. about contexts and discourses surrounding music, about musical life in Russia (and the Soviet Union) post-October Revolution and, last but not least, about the state of scholarship on Russian music on both sides of the former Iron Curtain. As proof of to his dedication to this project, Patrick Zuk translated eight chapters himself – one (by Klause) from German and seven (by Rakhmanova, Hakobian, Raku, Vlasova, Manulkina, Kovnatskaya and Digonskaya) from Russian.

In their extensive "Introduction", Zuk and Frolova-Walker examine the field and highlight their aim of providing an overview of the transformation that the study of Russian music of the past century has undergone during the last three decades, both in Russia itself and abroad. They remind the readers of the censorship issues (in the USSR) and the ideological constraints (on both sides of the East-West divide) that hindered an objective appraisal of many aspects of Soviet cultural life. The events of the last three decades have dismantled many of these obstacles and encouraged the development of the discipline of Russian music studies. Zuk and Frolova-Walker thus embarked on a mission to rectify problematic received ideological narratives from the previous decades and to place the twentieth- and twenty-first-century Russian music in appropriate historical contexts.

The book is divided into six thematic parts and eighteen chapters. After a comprehensive "Introduction", Part I, entitled *Russian Music History and Historiography Today*, consists of four essays by Marina Rakhmanova ("Russian Musicological Scholarship of the Last Two Decades: Achievements and Lacunae"), Patrick Zuk ("Soviet Music Studies Outside Russia: Glasnost' and After"), Levon Hakobian ("The Adventures of Soviet Music in the West: Historical Highlights") and Marina Frolova-Walker ("Soviet Music in Post-Soviet Musicology: The First Twenty Years and Beyond"). These essays explore changes in Russian music scholarship, providing a comprehensive critical overview of recent research, but also reminding us of the pre-*glasnost'* ideological strictures that continue to affect academia and hinder progress. The editors' decision not to obscure the fact that all essays have originated from conference papers read some six years earlier results in an interesting presentation of Marina Rakhmanova's keynote address, where the original paper is typeset in regular font, while the new additions which comment on the developments in the period between 2011 and 2017 are printed in italics. Such layered presentation is perhaps unnecessary, although it does remind readers of the passing of time and the slow but imminent progress.

The second part, *Reappraising the Soviet Past*, focuses on the music and musical life of the Stalinist era and comprises essays by Marina Raku ("The Phenomenon of 'Translation' in Russian Musical Culture of the 1920s and Early 1930s: The Quest for a Soviet Musical Identity"), Pauline Fairclough ("From Enlightened to Sublime:

PATRICK ZUK AND MARINA FROLOVA-WALKER
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Musical Life under Stalin, 1930–1948”), Yekaterina Vlasova (“The Stalinist Opera Project”) and Inna Klause (“Composers in the Gulag: A Preliminary Survey”). It is interesting that here “Soviet” is more-or-less equated with “Stalinist”, since there are no discussions of the state of musical life under Soviet leaders such as Nikita Khrushchev and Leonid Brezhnev.

Part III *Soviet and Post-Soviet Musicology* explicitly deals with the state of the discipline and emphasizes the detrimental effect of the decades-long censorship on Soviet musicology (and, consequently, post-Soviet musicology as well); this issue is discussed comprehensively in Ol’ga Manulkina’s illuminating essay “‘Foreign’ versus ‘Russian’ in Soviet and Post-Soviet Musicology and Music Education”, while Daniil Zavlunov focuses on the landmark case of Mikhail Glinka in the essay “Glinka in Soviet and Post-Soviet Historiography: Myths, Realities and Ideologies”.

Two essays that comprise Part IV, aptly named *The Newest Shostakovich*, assess the state of scholarship after the infamous “Shostakovich Wars” which mired the area of Shostakovich studies in controversy from the 1979 publication of his alleged memoirs edited by Solomon Volkov – later expertly debunked by Laurel E. Fay as a forgery, but which have nevertheless inspired a host of populist publications such as Ian MacDonald’s *The New Shostakovich* (hence the pun in the subtitle of Part IV) and even very recent books such as Julian Barnes’s melodramatic 2016 novel *The Noise of Time*. Here, Liudmila Kovnatskaya focuses on Shostakovich’s early correspondence (“Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man: The Shostakovich–Bogdanov-Berezovsky Correspondence”), while Ol’ga Digonskaya writes about “Shostakovich’s ‘Lenin Project’: The ‘Pre-Twelfth’ Symphony”, thus putting the final nail in the coffin of the imaginary figure of “Shostakovich-the-dissident”.

The last two parts of the book focus on contemporary Russian music, both in Russia and in the rest of the world. Part V, entitled *Russian Music Abroad*, contains articles by American scholars Richard Taruskin and Elena Dubinets (herself an expat, working as the Vice President of Artistic Planning for the Seattle Symphony). In his response to the question “Is there a ‘Russia Abroad’ in Music?” Taruskin also overviews the state of Russian *musicology* abroad throughout the twentieth century. Dubinets’s essay “Defining Diaspora through Culture: Russian Émigré Composers in a Globalising World” complements Taruskin’s, as the author resumes her long-standing preoccupation with Russian composers who have left the matrix and attempted to pursue international careers, with mixed success. On the other hand, the final portion of the book, *1991 and After*, contains three essays by Laurel Fay (“Musical Uproar in Moscow (II)”), William Quillen (“The Idea of the 1920s in Russian Music Today”) and Lidia Ader (“Paradigms of Contemporary Music in Twenty-First-Century Russia”) dealing with the ways in which the difficult “transition” after the dissolution of the USSR has affected Russian composers who have remained in their homeland.

One of the defining features of this volume is that the editors did not attempt to impose their viewpoints on contributors, in order to tame some overzealous interpretations of newly-discovered primary sources, or to iron out obvious differences in academic style; this decision has resulted in a vibrant book that has preserved the spirit of the debates that I remember from the Durham conference. My sole objec-

tion is that the period of “stagnation” is hardly addressed, leaving a gap between the Stalinist years and the situation during and after *glasnost*. This lacuna will certainly be filled in the years to come by new publications that will perhaps offer a more unified approach, as well as a more careful engagement with the archival material. Nevertheless, *Russian Music since 1917: Reappraisal and Rediscovery* is an outstanding contribution to the field of Russian music studies and a vivid depiction of the present state of affairs. Since the authors do not engage with music analysis, this book will be accessible both to music specialists and to the general reader interested in Russian/Soviet intellectual and cultural life. As Zuk and Frolova-Walker remind us, “The overwhelming emphasis in much Western writing on Soviet music on the effects of censorship and bureaucratic controls risks distorting and oversimplifying our impressions of a cultural scene that remained stubbornly complex and diverse, in spite of all the pressures to conform.” The present book beautifully illustrates precisely this complexity and diversity.

Ivana Medić

JOSIP SLAVENSKI (1896–1955)
POVODOM 120. GODIŠNJICE ROĐENJA KOMPOZITORA
[ON THE OCCASION OF THE 120TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE
COMPOSER'S BIRTH]
UREDNIKA IVANA MEDIĆ [EDITED BY IVANA MEDIĆ]

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[Belgrade, The Institute of Musicology SASA, 2017]
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Some composers are present in our daily lives like a continuum, their names and music serving as a reference for certain musical styles or periods of music. Some burst onto the stage of music history seemingly out of nowhere and then disappear from that stage even faster. There are some whom we remember mostly on special occasions or anniversaries. Josip Slavenski, it seems, belongs to all of these groups: notably well known and widely performed in the first half of the twentieth century, celebrated before and after his international success and then almost forgotten on the European music scene, but always remaining a composer whose works provoke the attention of scholars and performers alike.

However, thirteen years have passed since a scientific symposium about his time and works was held for the first time in Belgrade, the city where Slavenski chose to spend the rest of his rich creative life and where he fully developed his musical potential. Proceedings from that symposium, commemorating fifty years since his death, resulted in eighteen musicological studies and four essays, memories and reflections, published in Belgrade in 2006 (Живковић 2006: 9). That same year, another important book regarding Slavenski's life appeared in print, prepared by the composer's widow (M. Slavenski 2006).

It took another anniversary to remind us of his creative input in Serbian music, and in the music history and culture of the surrounding nations, as well as the rest of Europe. That event happened on May 11, 2016, one hundred and twenty years since Slavenski's birth. The Institute of Musicology of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (SASA), in collaboration with the Serbian Musicological Society, organized a round table dedicated to the composer's life and work. This valiant effort also included a presentation of the newest music publication – the first part of a collection of Slavenski's choral compositions for mixed choirs, *Horske kompozicije Josipa Slavenskog I* [Choral works by Josip Slavenski, Book I] (Slavenski 2016)¹ and a concert dedicated to Slavenski's music – a performance of his piano, chamber and vocal works.²

1 In the meantime, in 2017 the second volume of this capital work was published (Slavenski 2017).

2 The concert was organized in Belgrade by pianists from the ensemble "Radionica za klavirsku muziku prof. Milanke Mišević" [The Workshop for Piano Music of prof. Milanka Mišević] with guests musicians.

Keeping the memory of a composer and his music alive by presenting a concert of his compositions is already a worthwhile effort at which every musicologist should aim.³ Continuing to present his work through musicological studies and preserving the continuation of musicological research regarding his work in subsequent publications is a task that should be gratefully acclaimed. Hence the publication *Josip Slavenski (1896–1955) – Povodom 120. godišnjice kompozitorovog rođenja*, edited by Ivana Medić and published by the Institute of Musicology SASA (Medić 2017) represents an important contribution not only for Slavenski scholars, but for Serbian and European musicology overall.⁴

The aim of this collection of essays by ten authors, according to the editorial foreword, is to present the newest research results concerning Josip Slavenski's life and work and his overall contribution to the Yugoslav music scene in the first half of the twentieth century.

The general scope of the publication gravitates around three main themes: the life and work of the composer, analytical studies of Slavenski's compositions and discourses regarding Slavenski's music style and reception throughout the twentieth and the beginning of the twenty-first centuries.

Some interesting aspects of Slavenski's life and work, his contribution to Croatian and Serbian culture and the historical perspective in the presentation of his music are discussed in the articles written by Mirjana Živković, Maša Hrustek-Sobočan, Ana Kotevska and Nebojša Todorović.

The composer Mirjana Živković, one of Serbia's best known and most widely respected Slavenski scholars, reflects in her essay on important dates in the composer's life and the social circumstances regarding the reception of the composer's music before and after World War II, abroad and in the former Yugoslavia, along with some personal reminiscences about Slavenski ("Društveni aspekti izvođenja muzike Josipa Slavenskog" [Social aspects of the performances of Josip Slavenski's music]). Despite a mixed reception throughout his life – acceptance and rejection, accolades and critiques before as well as after World War II – Živković noted a revitalization of Slavenski's music towards the end of the twentieth century and a marginalization of his opus in his native Croatia. Her conclusion questioning the position of Slavenski's opus nowadays sounds like a valid invitation for further research of Slavenski's music within the boundaries of global music history.

Ana Kotevska provides an intriguing polemic about Slavenski's performances in the late twentieth century ("Dis/continuum – Slavenski na kraju XX i početkom XXI veka" [Dis/continuum – Slavenski at the end of the twentieth and the beginning

3 In November 2015, a concert of Slavenski's chamber works at the Gallery of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Belgrade commemorated sixty years since the composer's death.

4 The attention-grabbing cover (designed by Dejan Medić) and dedication page (to prof. Milanka Mišević) precede the content, as does the list of contributors (listed chronologically by birth rather than alphabetically – with Jim Samson's birth year erroneously listed as 1947 rather than 1946), which we usually find at the end.

of the twenty-first century]) with an invaluable chronology of the most important activities regarding Josip Slavenski and the reception of his music in Belgrade and Serbia from 1994 through 2017. Despite some discontinuity (between 2009 and 2013), performers and musicologists in Belgrade were active in preserving the composer's legacy, concludes Kotevska, underlining that Slavenski's music is still not present in the regular concert repertoire as it should be.

In her richly illustrated study about Slavenski's life, education and works, and especially his connection with his native Čakovec and Međimurje ("Josip Štolcer Slavenski – čakovečki skladateljski genij s beogradskom adresom i svjetskim glasom" [Josip Štolcer Slavenski – A musical genius from Čakovec with a Belgrade address and a worldwide reputation]), Maša Hrustek-Sobočan, director of the Slavenski Memorial Collection at Međimurje Museum (Croatia),⁵ paints a picture of a composer who outgrew local surroundings to become internationally recognized, but stayed deeply connected with his roots. Nebojša Todorović compares Serbian and Croatian music between World Wars I and II and Slavenski's place in that context, concluding that Slavenski was a composer who could be treated equally as Croatian and Serbian ("Josip Slavenski u kontekstu srpske i hrvatske muzike između dva svetska rata" [Josip Slavenski in the context of Serbian and Croatian music between two world wars]).

Two authors from abroad, Danijela Š. Beard and Ivan Moody, analyse Slavenski's music from the viewpoint of the aesthetics of the Zenit movement.⁶ As someone who was among the early researchers of this topic (Cf. Grujić 1983),⁷ I was especially interested in these two papers. Ivan Moody in his paper "Slavenski, zenitizam i Evropa" [Slavenski, Zenitism and Europe] positions Slavenski in an international context in correlation to the international tendencies of the Zenit movement. Moody considers the *Slavenska sonata* (for violin and piano) and *Chaos* (for symphony orchestra) as central to Slavenski's "search for *barbarogenije*" – the creative force of new, reborn art. Moody also offers an interesting comparison between Slavenski's work as a precursor or predecessor of newer compositions by composers such as Schnittke, Górecki and Tavener – ideas that are intriguing and valuable cues for future researchers of Slavenski's work in European and international context.

With her earlier studies about the composer, Beard positions herself at the forefront of Slavenski scholars abroad. Presenting the case for the central role of Slavenski's music in his connection with the Zenit movement, his concrete vision of the "masculine essence of Balkan discourse", Beard cites his numerous works with "Balkan" titles and concludes that the most ideologically and thematically complete view of the Balkans among them is the suite "Igre i pesme sa Balkana" [Dances and

5 Her text was originally published in the catalog accompanying the exhibition on the 120th anniversary of the birth of Josip Štolcer Slavenski, "Vrag vas skeljil Međimurci, idemo pljesat" (Čakovec, the Museum of Međimurje, 2016).

6 Their texts, originally written in English, appear in the book in Serbian translation by Ivana Medić.

7 I would like to mention another two valuable studies regarding the Slavenski-Zenitism relationship: Milin 2005 and Mikić 2009.

Songs from the Balkans] from 1927. As precursors to the Zenit movement, Beard cites theories that were developed in Croatia at the turn of the twentieth century as well as the idea of unity of south Slavic nations (54).⁸ Beard also states that the Zenit movement was distinctively nationally oriented (56). However, the movement was rather local with ambitions of becoming international; contributing artists from all over Europe presented and published in *Zenit* magazine. This variation of expressionism was similar to Slavenski's view of Balkan folklore and folk music overall as a vehicle for the revitalization of European artistic music, his "folklore expressionism." The movement resonated with Slavenski through the idea of folklore as a "mother tongue" that spreads as a lingua franca throughout the Balkans and unifies nations in the creation of a renewed European art and culture (Grujić 1963: 60). In the final part of her paper – "Antipijanizam' Slavenskog" [Slavenski's "anti-pianism"] – Beard presents a detailed stylistic analysis of the piano suite "Sa Balkana" [From the Balkans], also known as "Aus Dem Balkan" in Schott's edition from 1927. This slightly abrupt transition to analysis of this piano work was probably on account of its second movement "Zagorski tamburasi" being published in the magazine *Zenit* (October 1925, no.36).⁹

Three authors offer new readings of Slavenski's music through analysis. Regarding Slavenski's treatment of piano and the structures of his piano scores, Ivana Medić in "Problemi interpretacije klavirskog stvaralastva Josipa Slavenskog" [Problems in Performing Josip Slavenski's Piano Works] offers a view in opposition to Beard's "anti-pianism." Discussed from the standpoint of a musicologist-performer, she offers a more acceptable term – "robustni pijanizam" [robust/vigorous pianism] (150), a term that equally describes Slavenski's relation with the piano as an instrument of interpretation of the score and the source of greater musical sonority. In that sense, Ivana Medić's paper offers a valuable source for interpreters of Slavenski's piano music.

Miloš Bralović presents a comprehensive analysis of Slavenski's string quartets, "Gudački kvarteti Josipa Slavenskog: elementi modernizma" [Josip Slavenski's String Quartets: Elements of Modernism], underlining their modernistic compositional technique and offering detailed tonal plans in graphic tablets that will please every serious researcher in the field of music analysis. Milena Medić, on the other hand, interprets the composer's creative poetics through aesthetic and stylistic analysis based on Bakhtin's semantic theories of "folklore 'chronotopes'". Following her analysis of the composer's compositional technique, she finds a certain lyrical character in Slavenski's compositional style. This new reading of Slavenski's musical language, from a completely different standpoint, sheds new light on the composer's creative process. Finally, the intriguing title of Jim Samson's paper "Srbo-Hrvat: ko poseduje Slavenskog?" [Serbo-Croatian: Who Owns Slavenski?] was adapted by the editor from a chapter of his earlier book *Music in the Balkans* (Samson 2013: 369–376).

8 Beard presented a similar thesis in wider form in her earlier study: Špirić 2006.

9 In the magazine "Zenit" the composer signed his work as "Jos. Chtolzer-Slavensky" and the title of the piece as "Danse Balcanique" (in Cyrillic: Јос.Штолцер-Славенски, "Загорски тамбураши"). See: Grujić 1983: 55; 57–59.

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JOSIP SLAVENSKI (1896–1955) POVODOM 120. GODIŠNJICE ROĐENJA KOMPOZITORA

As a well known Balkan music specialist, Samson juxtaposes Slavenski's "Croatian" and "Serbian" sides, the importance of the duality that needed to be accepted (and existed) in the composer's work as a whole, unique and antithetical in their synthesis. Thus, his conclusion is that Slavenski – born in Hapsburg Croatia, grew (as a composer) in Serbia – is not and cannot be owned by any of those, as he was Serbo-Croat, Yugoslav, Balkan – and also Međimurac (137–8). This statement strikes a chord with anyone who belongs, lives and works/creates in a world of dual culture, dual heritage, or who has a multinational background. Because of this important reminder, this essay would be, in my opinion, best placed at the very beginning of this collection of papers about Slavenski.

Since there are no English summaries of the articles published, this book limits use of publication to Serbian/Croatian (Bosnian, Montenegrin) language speakers.

It is regrettable that there are still very few recent recordings of Slavenski's music – all are noted in the lists of references by Živković, Kotevska and Ivana Medić (and even those are not widely available as they were published in limited editions).

"At a time when we are rediscovering Slavenski," wrote the author of this text 35 years ago in her book about Slavenski's orchestral music (Grujić 1984). Just recently, I have learned about a film on Slavenski's life being filmed in Belgrade.¹⁰ Let us hope that the rediscovery of Josip Slavenski will never cease.

Sanja Grujić-Vlajnić

¹⁰ From electronic correspondence with one of the actresses, Sonja Kalajić, a violinist, who plays the role of Slavenski's mother Julijana.

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VLADIMIR TOŠIĆ
REDUKCIONISTIČKI PRINCIPI KONSTRUKCIJE MUZIČKOG DELA

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Књига *Редукционистички принципи конструкције музичког дела* Владимира Тошића, композитора, мултимедијалног аутора и редовног професора у пензији, коначно је – после више од три деценије од свог заокружења – угледала светлост дана захваљујући издавачкој делатности Факултета музичке уметности у Београду. Наиме, ова студија настала је, како аутор и сам пише у *Предговору из 2016. године*, „давне 1985. године“ као резултат његовог интересовања за теоријске поставке минималистичке музике, а, као таква, била је приложена као хабилитациони рад за пријем у звање доцента на Факултету музичке уметности.¹ Рецензентски пар су тада чинили Дејан Деспић, редовни професор, и Берислав Поповић, ванредни професор на истој институцији, док су издање које је пред нама рецензирали др Миодраг Шуваковић и др Марија Масникоса. Узевши у обзир велики пораст интересовања музикологије, естетике и теорије уметности за минималистички покрет у уметностима (чему су свакако у нашој средини својим теоријским радом допринели и рецензенти овог издања), Тошићев допринос овом пољу – иако објављен тек недавно – може се разумети и као један од пионирских подухвата теоретизације и експликације композиционих принципа минималистичке музике на нашим просторима.²

У Предговору из 1986. године, Тошић истиче да је минимализам „(...) сасвим сигурно, после серијалне музике, једини стилски правац у музици друге половине XX века, који је јасно одређен јасним стилским и техничким особинама“, те да је минималистичка музика, након вишедеценијског „дубоког јаза“ између нове музике и публике, „успела (...) да врати слушаоце на концерте“ (7). Нова организација и комуникативност овог правца су карактеристике које аутор наводи као кључне у покретању његовог теоријског и практичног рада. У *Предговору* насталом тридесет година касније, у тренутку када је и сама историја минималистичке музике „старија“ и богатија искуствима изузетно турбулентног и садржајног периода у друштву и у уметности, Тошић има прилику да осмотри разлику и примети значај најпроминентнијих аутора правца, те да изнова заокружи свој теоријски покушај „(...) да се оформи прецизан аналитички апарат за анализу минималистичке музике“ – што, уосталом, и чини. Потврђујући да је овај рад посвећен „обликовању и техникама изградње дела у минималистичкој музици“ и да би, према његовом мишљењу, „пуко вербално теоретисање“ без одговарајућих нотних и звучних примера удаљило читаоца од „жељеног циља“,

1 У скраћеном облику, овај рад је објављен у часопису *Звук* 1986. године (двоброј 3–4).

2 Тошић је такође писао о раду групе Опус 4 у издању београдског Студентског културног центра: *Опус 4 – Документи* (2001).

Тошић истиче да су у књизи и на пратећем диску представљена његова бројна дела која потпомажу и допуњују предочене анализе.³

Књига садржи целовите партитуре укупно шест композиција – *Melange* за клавир, тимпан, гонг и чинелу (1975), *Di/fuzija* за два клавира (1982), *Ne/zavisnost* за два клавира (1985), *Arios* за гудаче (1986), *Varial* за клавир (1990) и *Dual* за флауту и контрабас (1992) – чији се снимци налазе на пратећем компакт-диску. Поред тога, аутор је дао бројне нотне примере сегмената својих других дела, док је на истакнута и парадигматична дела америчких композитора упућивао у фуснотама.

Након поменута два предговора следе *Увод*, два поглавља под називима *Минималистичка музика* и *Главне особине минималистичке музике*, потом *Закључак*, те *Нотни примери*, Изводи из рецензија, Списак литературе и Биографија аутора.

Уводно поглавље, које носи поднаслов *Порекло минималистичке музике*, нуди кратак и сажет преглед историјског развоја монотематског начина мишљења, које се, како наводи Тошић, јавља у различитим видовима током читаве историје европске музике. Већ на почетку аутор уводи идеју „процесуалне композиције“, која је ипак конкретније појашњена тек у другом поглављу. Тошић индиректно порекло минималистичке музике види у композиционим техникама коришћеним у облицима пасакаље, канона, фуге, варијација, а као непосредног претходника именује серијалну музику. „Све темељне поставке минималистичке музике налазе се у серијализму“, пише Тошић, наводећи, пре свих, име Антона Веберна (Anton Webern). Осим тога, музика Ерика Сатија (Erik Satie) – од чијих је дела за минималисте можда и најупечатљивија композиција која захтева чак 840 понављања задатог модела, *Vexations* за клавир (1893) – била је веома утицајна. Џон Кејд се такође истиче на историјском путу минимализма, првенствено због значаја концепта редукације у његовом стваралаштву и заслуга за 'оживљавање' интересовања за Сатијев опус током педесетих година XX века. Као непосредног претходника америчког минимализма Тошић наводи Мортонa Фелдмана (Morton Feldman), а европског Карела Хуивертса (Karel Goeyvaerts). Коначно, аутор долази и до шездесетих година и појаве минималистичке музике „у ужем смислу“, истичући као кључне чувену 'четворку' Ла Монт Јанга (La Monte Young), Стива Рајша, Филипа Гласа, Терија Рајлија, затим Фредерика Рзевског (Frederic Rzewski), те европске композиторе попут Мајкла Најмана, Гевина Брајерса (Gavin Bryars), Ханса Карстена Рекеа (Hans-Karsten Raecke), и друге. У Србији, делатност аутора окупљених око групе Опус 4 означио је долазак минимализма и на просторе тадашње Југославије.

Прво поглавље, *Минималистичка музика*, пружа увид у основне карактеристике минималистичке музике, „засноване на свесној редукацији и аскези својстава звука, звучне грађе и композиционих поступака“ (15). Тошић

3 Коришћење Гласових (Philip Glass), Рајшових (Steve Reich), Рајлијевих (Terry Riley), Најманових (Michael Nyman) композиција у целини проблематично је због ауторских права, истиче Тошић.

VLADIMIR TOŠIĆ
REDUKCIONISTIČKI PRINCIPI KONSTRUKCIJE MUZIČKOG DELA

издваја најпроминентнија обележја музике овог правца: поступне промене, понављање, дуга трајања, одсуство наглих контраста и богатство звучних боја. Ове карактеристике препознатљиве су у већини композиција, међутим, оно што се издваја као најважнија, „*conditio sine qua non*“, јесте редукција. Због тога, Тошић сматра да би вероватно термин „редукционистичка музика“ био погоднији за све што се данас разуме као музички минимализам. Редукција се, с једне стране, односи на звук на његовом микро и макро плану, а с друге, на умањивање броја поступака. Стога, када пише о редукцији звука, Тошић објашњава и примерима поткрепује на који начин се могу, на микро плану, редукovati јачина, боја, трајање и висина тона, док се на макро плану умањује 'количина' звучне грађе – ритма, метра, малодије, хармоније. Редукција поступака подразумева употребу „малог броја сродних поступака“, од којих су најчешћи понављање, наслојавање, пермутирање, интерполирање и испредање. Сваки од ових поступака сажето је објашњен и поткрепљен одговарајућим нотним записом.

У поглављу *Главне особине минималистичке музике* Тошић се усредсредео на разраду раније поменутих особина минимализма у музици, почевши од процесуалности. Монотематизам и, „последња карика ланца монотематских облика“, процес, јесу, како је истакнуто, концепти за који се минималисти недвосмислено опредељују у поређењу са политематизмом. Специфичност процеса јесте стварање композиторске (и извођачке) ситуације у којој су облик дела и сам поступак обликовања изједначени/обједињени. Процес, дакле, постаје облик и као такав постаје најважнија особина минималистичке музике – непроцесуална редукционистичка дела су могућа, али не толико типична као процесуална. Тошић даље прави поделу процеса према односу између целине и детаља (строги и слободни), начину на који се остварује развој (репетитивни и континуални), главном носиоцу развоја у композицији (ритмички, мелодијски, хармонски, тембрални и динамички), броју линија развоја (једноструки, вишеструки и мешовити), односу између делова у целини (симетрични и асиметрични). Поред тога, Тошић издваја и електронске процесе, тј. процесе остварене на електронским уређајима, који могу бити живи или фиксирани. Закиривши у историју музике, пример строго репетитивног, тембрално-динамичког процеса, Владимир Тошић види у *Болеру* Мориса Равела (Maurice Ravel), истичући при том да је ово дело готово у потпуности засновано на поставкама минималистичке музике, а да се од данашњих процеса оно разликује по дужини и изразитости теме.

Говорећи о новом доживљају музичког времена аутор истиче да је он последица неколико битних својстава ове музике међу којима су једнообразност или потпуно одсуство ритмичког пулса, примена посебних поступака и смањена количина догађаја у времену. Посезање за примерима из прошлости још једном се показало као моћан алат у промишљеној експликацији концепата минималистичке музике – наиме, у појашњењу утицаја обликотворних поступака на музичко време, Тошић пореди два супротстављена доживљаја времена користећи се познатим делима Антона Веберна и Ла Монт Јанга. Пример „вечности сабијене у тренутак“ аутор проналази у Веберновим *Варијацијама за клавир ой. 27*, док „тренутак продужен у вечност“ репрезентује дело *Корњача*,

њени снови и њујџовања (*The Tortoise, his Dreams and Journeys*) Ла Монт Јанга, при чему се „минималистичка музика недвосмислено опредељује за други“, вечни тренутак, у коме је „само време догађај“ (77).

Пре него што је резимирао своју студију у *Закључку*, Тошић је истакао изразиту важност звучне боје за минималистичку музику. Нотни примери који следе у посебном одељку текста, као што је речено, доносе комплетне партитуре шест композиција, са кратким анализама.

Књига Владимира Тошића специфична је не само по својој тематици и приступу проблему који аутор у њој користи, него и по начину приповедања и објашњења. У овом тексту нема сувишних речи, количина текста *редукована* је како би уступила део свог простора нотним примерима и конкретним решењима. Тошић постепено, концизно и прецизно разрађује своје мотиве, понављајући оно за шта сматра да је неопходно за разумевање минимализма и за анализу ове музике. Ово издање, може се чак рећи, могло би у својој темељности и јасноћи послужити и као својеврсно *ујџисиво* за писање минималистичких композиција. С једне стране, то је педагошки прегледан, јасан и разумљив текст, а са друге, то је текст који својим особинама открива природу минималистичког композитора, који о музици пише на начин инхерентан писању музике.

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