



# SERBIAN MUSIC: YUGOSLAV CONTEXTS

Edited by Melita Milin and Jim Samson



Institute of Musicology  
Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts

## Serbian Music: Yugoslav Contexts

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Note

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## PREFACE

*Melita Milin*

The initial idea for this volume was expressed during a study session called *The Multiple Identities of Serbian Musics in Changing Geopolitical Contexts: Views from Without and from Within*, presented at the Congress of the International Musicological Society, held in Rome in July 2012. Jim Samson, coordinator of the session, which consisted of four participants from Serbia, one from Greece and one from Britain, kindly agreed to help in preparing and editing the present book, which has a rather different focus: Serbian music within the Yugoslav multinational state. Four of the papers read in Rome (those by Katy Romanou, Melita Milin, Katarina Tomašević and Biljana Milanović) have been substantially revised; Atanasovski has provided an article on a new topic in accordance with the different focus of the present book; and another four articles (by Ivan Moody, Ivana Medić, Jernej Weiss and Ana Petrov) were newly commissioned.

As its title suggests, the volume aims to throw light on different aspects of Serbian music (art and popular) composed and performed during the lifetime of the Yugoslav state (1918–1991). The Yugoslav multinational frame is considered by most of our authors as of essential importance for the shaping of Serbian music and musical life, as indeed it was for the music of all the other nations in Former Yugoslavia. What kind of continuity was established with the era that preceded the establishment of that complex state? How did the competing political programmes of the different nations influence the sphere of music? How was the official cultural policy of rapprochement among the different Yugoslav nations implemented in practice? How did the different nationalisms shape musical creativity in Yugoslavia? Is it possible to speak of Yugoslav music at all? What can musicological discourses tell us about self-representation among the different Yugoslav nations? And how were political tensions (communism *v* capitalism) reflected in popular music? These are some of the questions which the authors of this volume attempt to address.

In order that a wider temporal context is provided, two chapters (3 and 8) focus on major developments in Serbian music before and after the existence of Yugoslavia, thus representing a kind of temporal prelude and postlude to the seven-decade long period of the state.



In addition to the six chapters on the construction of Serbian cultural identity within Yugoslavia by Serbian scholars ('insiders'), there are 'outsider' perspectives by scholars who have researched Serbian and Yugoslav music. There is a contribution from Greece, exploring how Serbian music has been dealt with in Western music historiography, another from Portugal on an issue concerning Serbian church music as transposed into art works, and finally a contribution from Slovenia, a former Yugoslav republic, on the correspondence between two outstanding composers of the interwar period, a Serb and a Slovenian.

This book is the first of its kind in English. Its aim is by no means to present a history of Serbian music from the last decades of the nineteenth century to the present, but rather to offer fresh insights into the complex, dynamic relationship between national continuities and state discontinuities in a country that has always viewed itself as part of European cultural space.

## INTRODUCTION

*Jim Samson*

In Chapter 1 of this volume, Katy Romanou refers to the emergence of a global music historiography in recent years, citing several exemplary writings and projects. The message is that the age of national histories of music (initiated in Germany in the nineteenth century), like the similarly motivated, all-powerful and all-pervasive folklore movement, is finally on the wane. Yet neither will recede quickly or gracefully. Witness the continuing folklore projects – scholarly and performative – around the edges of Europe today. And witness too the institutionalized pedagogies that still place the nation at the heart of cultural histories. ‘Nationalism and the properties that created it are disintegrating’, are Romanou’s words. Well, it will be a lengthy process.

My own contribution to the symposium of which this book is a partial record was well attuned to Romanou’s argument. It was a polemical call for a denationalization of music histories, referring not just to Serbia but to the wider meta-region of southeastern Europe. I cited there the pioneering multi-volume literary history edited by Cornis-Pope and Neubauer as a possible exemplary model for musicology,<sup>1</sup> and I went on to propose a historiography of this region that recognized the commonalities stemming from shared cultural substrata, from common imperial legacies (both Habsburg and Ottoman), and, more recently, from the lure of modern Europe. I suggested too that even the so-called national schools of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were not exempt, in the sense that each nation displayed in practice a variant of a single bourgeois culture, while at the same time competitively elevating, asserting and promoting its uniqueness. In other words, there was a divorce between practice and discourse.

For long enough commentaries on cultural nationalism, whether by historical musicologists or ethnomusicologists, have recognized this divorce. If I were to cite just two seminal, influential texts along these lines,

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<sup>1</sup> M. Cornis-Pope and J. Neubauer (eds.), *History of the Literary Cultures of East-Central Europe: Junctures and Disjunctures in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries*. 4 vols. (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2004).

I would opt for an essay on nationalism and music by Carl Dahlhaus and a book on the music of European nationalism by Philip Bohlman.<sup>2</sup> Historical musicologists today, even when working within the boundaries of national projects, are alive in the main to Dahlhaus's central insight: that nationalism is by no means a material category of music history, but rather a receptional category, albeit one that had material consequences (on those consequences, note that Dahlhaus's larger agenda was to demonstrate that, *pace* Marxist historians, ideas can change history). Likewise, even those ethnomusicologists actively involved in folklore movements today are usually careful to acknowledge, with Bohlman, that the folklore movement was ideologically freighted right from the start, differentiating 'folk music' (the scare quotes are now inescapable) from traditional music.

Yet the full implications of this divorce for the writing of music histories have not always been fully drawn. For long enough the discourses of music history were frankly chauvinistic. There were lands 'without music', after all, as Oskar Adolf Hermann Schmitz announced to the world in 1904, and note that his book ran to no fewer than eight editions.<sup>3</sup> And it was precisely the persistence of such chauvinism at self-defined centres (Dahlhaus himself was not exempt here) that gave continuing life to nationalist discourses on their peripheries. It is time, then, to look more closely at the nature of the discourses.

Heidegger reminds us in *The Concept of Time* that historical references can really only function within discourses, and that we therefore need to start at the discourse level rather than with the references themselves; we need, in other words, to understand the nature of the discourse before we 'do' history.<sup>4</sup> Here we might note that ideologies of nationhood (segmenting space) have been welded to the wider ideology of structural history (segmenting time), whose shadow still falls on so much historiography today. Structural history effectively freezes the present, so that the present takes on something like an autonomy character rather than a dependency character. A line is drawn between past and present, enabling an autonomous present to appropriate the past, rather than to assimilate it. From this self-absorbed present, synonymous with the modern, his-

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<sup>2</sup> Carl Dahlhaus, 'Nationalism and Music', in *Between Romanticism and Modernism*, trans. M. Whittall (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1980); Philip Bohlman, *The Music of European Nationalism: Cultural Identity and Modern History* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC – CLIO, 2004).

<sup>3</sup> Oskar Adolf Hermann Schmitz, *Das Land ohne Musik: Englische Gesellschafts-probleme*. 3<sup>rd</sup> edn. (Munich: G. Müller, 1914).

<sup>4</sup> Martin Heidegger, *The Concept of Time* (New York: Wiley, 1992).

torical references then become points in a picture, and one has the illusion that this picture is rather stable. For cultural histories, it has often been configured as so-called national traditions with which the modern can negotiate.

At risk of obfuscation, I want to emphasize that while discourses of modernism and nationalism were often at odds (the nation and the new were represented as alternative options in a good deal of interwar journalism in Yugoslavia), there is a deeper sense in which structural history – of which national histories are a kind of sub-set – actually relates rather closely to the creative praxes of modernism as a cultural movement, where the modern self-consciously crafts an image of its own past. This is an important association, and it helps us locate structural history within the field of an evolving human consciousness, embodied in significant musical works, and with the modern privileged as a kind of spearhead. One result is that history can easily become fetishized in the ways Hayden White has written about, so that, in his words, ‘the events seem to tell themselves’.<sup>5</sup> Another result is that it can tend towards grand narratives (including national narratives), and also towards stable structures. In contrast, many music historians these days seem more interested in locating their subject within the field of human communication rather than human consciousness, stressing agencies, events (with their eventual sites) and practices, rather than significant, innovatory, musical works. The effect is very often to privilege little stories rather than grand narratives.

By and large, the authors in this volume approach their task in this latter spirit. Their wish to give visibility to music in Serbia, perfectly understandable in light of the chauvinism I mentioned earlier, should on no account be equated with narrow nationalisms. For one thing, a central aim of the book, explicit in its title, is to interrogate precisely how the sense of belonging that we associate with nationalism was problematized by the non-congruence of nation and state during the lifetime of Yugoslavia. In other words, the spirit of the nation is interrogated here rather than crudely affirmed. For another thing, the focus is very often on discourse, not just where we might reasonably expect this, i.e. where historians are the principal actors, but also where composers, performers and consumers take centre stage. And for yet another thing, our authors prefer in the main to look behind the scenes of the national history, exploring some of the mini-histories unfolding in the wings. Or, to change the

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<sup>5</sup> Hayden White, ‘The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality’, *Critical Inquiry* vii/1 (Autumn 1980), 7.

metaphor, they seek to unravel some of the threads that make up a seemingly uniform national fabric.

Taking her starting point from the landmark history of Yugoslav music published in 1962, Melita Milin reflects on the singular failure of music historians to meet the challenge of Yugoslavia, and this despite the pervasiveness of Yugoslavism as a political ideology from the 1830s onwards. Yet, as Milin points out, the alternative (effectively the default) position – separate national histories unfolding under a state umbrella – posed its own set of challenges, and it is hard not to interpret some of these as mirroring the challenges faced by political actors during the later stages of Yugoslavia, with consequences we all know.

Interestingly, leading composers seemed more able and willing to break out of the narrow national frame, and to do so as part of an active political project. Thus, as Biljana Milanović demonstrates in a wide-ranging essay in symbolic geography, Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac, by any reckoning the pioneering figure in modern Serbian music, extended the frame from Serbia to a proto Yugoslavia (he died in 1914), not only through the expanding ‘regions’ of his *rukoveti*, but through his concert tours with the Belgrade Choral Society. And Petar Konjović, much of whose characteristic output dates from the years of the first Yugoslavia, extended it yet further. The ‘shifting homelands’ identified by Katarina Tomašević finally come to rest with a *Moderna* movement that can only be emblematic of the new Europe. Nor was this unique to Konjović. By offering us a glimpse behind the scenes of Yugoslav *Moderna*, Jernej Weiss’s study of correspondence between the Serbian composer Miloje Milojević and the Slovenian Slavko Osterc during the 1930s and early 1940s throws the association of Yugoslavia with modern Europe into sharp relief.

Although the official line of Tito’s administration was to recognize individual national cultures within a supranational state, a position at variance with the Yugoslavism of the inter-war state, there remained a central tension between nation and state throughout the lifetimes of both Yugoslavias. To oversimplify the picture, we might say that politics and imaginative culture tended to move somewhat in step during the first Yugoslavia, but were increasingly in counterpoint during the second, the politics ever more divisive, the culture ever more unified. As to the culture, it seems to me that under state socialism in Yugoslavia, tensions between nation and state were less crucial to creative artists than tensions between two wider master narratives, which we might label respectively narratives of emancipation and of homecoming. The first (broadly modernist) narrative would see Yugoslav composers slipping seamlessly into the mainstreams of European music, while the second (broadly postmodern) narrative saw

rather a quest for roots – regional or meta-regional rather than national – very often expressed through a kind of poeticized archaism.

In Serbia this latter response was associated above all with Ljubica Marić, one of the most powerful creative voices to emerge from Yugoslavia. On the few occasions when Marić turned to traditional music in the 1950s, as in her *Passacaglia* for Orchestra, it was a very far cry from the paper-cut folklore pastiche of socialist realism. More often, as in works such as *Octoïcha 1*, *Byzantine Concerto* and *Threshold of Dream*, she turned to yet another inheritance, one that Ivan Moody labels ‘Serbo-Byzantinism’. The very term, with its hint of oxymoronic play, invites a reflection on antonyms: nation-empire, particular-universal, art-liturgy. It resonates widely, and in ways that cannot really be explored fully here, but Moody makes a start by relating Marić’s essays in ‘Serbo-Byzantinism’ to earlier achievements in Serbia, bearing in mind that liturgical music, as distinct from appropriations of Serbian chant by art music, was not acceptable politically during the second Yugoslavia.

By the time Marić came to write her later Octoechos-inspired works (including *Monodia octoïcha* and *Asymptote*, both from the 1980s), our two narratives had been largely conflated. Another way of saying this is that it was becoming hard to say what constituted ‘modern’ music any more. Poeticized archaism might now be perceived as an avant-garde, just as spectral music might be labelled a throwback to an outmoded ‘high’ modernism. It was likewise becoming hard to say what constituted ‘east’ and ‘west’ in the sphere of imaginative culture. There was now a west in the east and an east in the west. This was as true of popular music, however this may be defined, as of art music (the ambiguities have been discussed at length by Catherine Baker in relation to Croatia).<sup>6</sup> And it was as true of receptional communities as of creative strategies. Something of this emerges from Ana Petrov’s account of Yugoslav concert tours in the Soviet Union. We learn here some of the reasons that Yugoslav popular music could become such a cult in Russia; through all the nuances, one point stands out: Yugoslav pop-rock could constitute an acceptable face of the west in the east; or as Petrov puts it, it could represent an ‘eastern version’ of the West.

In the end all such categories were thrown into question by the collapse of the Soviet Union and the Wars of Yugoslav Succession, at which point there was a further separation of, and re-investment in, our two

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<sup>6</sup> Catherine Baker, *Sounds of the Borderland: Popular Music, War and Nationalism in Croatia since 1991* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010).

narratives. As to 'homecoming', the resurgence of liturgical settings (discussed by Moody), and of spirituality more generally, in Former Yugoslavia was in part politically motivated (here the key point is that Serbian Orthodox chant was an already nationalized repertory), but it was also a more general reaction to years of spiritual repression. This was not a story confined to Former Yugoslavia. Spiritual revivals, like narratives of nostalgia in art music, were widespread if not fashionable in the 'nineties and 'noughties, and right across the Balkans; indeed right across the former Soviet bloc. As to 'emancipation', we need only cite the economic and cultural lure of modern Europe, with the European Union now represented as the Shangri La of Yugoslav successor states. As Andrew Baruch Wachtel put it, the Balkans was transmuting into South East Europe.<sup>7</sup>

Such were the dilemmas of identity in a transitional world, and nowhere were they felt more acutely than by the many Yugoslav composers who, for obvious pragmatic reasons, went into exile from the 1990s onwards, accelerating a practice (of study abroad) that might be considered a *Leitmotif* of Yugoslav music history. It has been the task of Ivana Medić to record the story of those from Serbia, and as she demonstrates the game could be played two ways. Composers could merge with local environments and leave the Balkans behind (was this acculturation really equivalent to emancipation?). Or they could invest in roots, and in doing so create a distinctive brand within a competitive market (was this branding really equivalent to homecoming?). The truth is that exile changes the parameters of national identity and likewise of cosmopolitanism. An absent culture may be studiously preserved or inadvertently caricatured, notably through idealization. Likewise, a host culture may be a source of creative transformation or an object of facile imitation.

From the 1970s onwards a number of historians developed a conception of historiography that can best be labelled 'everyday history' [Alltagsgeschichte].<sup>8</sup> One way or another, this has penetrated music historiography at several levels. As already noted, most of our authors here are concerned with what happened behind the (musical) scenes

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<sup>7</sup> Andrew Baruch Wachtel, *The Balkans in World History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).

<sup>8</sup> Carlo Ginzburg, *Il formaggio e i vermi. Il cosmo di un mugnaio dell '500* (Turin: Piccola Biblioteca Einaudi, 1976). Eng. trans. *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1982); Alf Lüdtke (ed.), *Alltagsgeschichte. Zur Rekonstruktion historischer Erfahrungen und Lebenswelten* (Frankfurt am Main and New York: Lang, 1999); Richard van Dülmen, *Kultur und Alltag in der Frühen Neuzeit*. 3 vols. (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1990-94).



during the lifetime of Yugoslavia and beyond: with contexts and motivations, with agency. However, our final chapter takes a step closer to the true spirit of *Alltagsgeschichte*, a genre whose full implications for musicology were spelt out in an important essay by Nicole Schwindt.<sup>9</sup> Srđan Atanasovski places the spotlight firmly on the consumer, in a close study of extant custom-made music albums assembled in domestic contexts in Serbia. Since most of these were compiled prior to the First World War, our final chapter brings us back full circle to the pre-Yugoslav era explored in a very different way by Biljana Milanović. Atanasovski's essay in material history, comparable in methodology to Martin Loeser's study of Hamburg in the early eighteenth century,<sup>10</sup> allows the documentation to generate a bottom-up conception of nationalism (Serbian and Yugoslav); he refers to an 'everyday Yugoslavism', a term apparently coined by Du-bravka Stojanović. Romanou's global historiography is one way to challenge pedigreed national narratives. Everyday history is another.

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<sup>9</sup> Nicole Schwindt, 'Konzepte der Alltagsgeschichte und die Musikalischen Alltage in der beginnenden Neuzeit', in N. Schwindt (ed.), *Musikalische Alltag im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert* (Trossinger Jahrbuch für Renaissancemusik, 1) (Kassel: Birenreiter, 2001), 9-18.

<sup>10</sup> Martin Loeser, '"Kleinmeister", Dance Masters, Women and Everyday Life. What are the Foundations of Music History'. Unpublished paper given at the conference *New Music in History Writing and New Approaches to Writing Music History*, Estonian Academy of Music and Theatre, Tallinn, February 2012. I am grateful to Martin Loeser for making this text available to me. It has informed much of the last paragraph of this introduction.



## Chapter 1

### SERBIAN MUSIC IN WESTERN MUSIC HISTORIOGRAPHY

*Katy Romanou*

This chapter is based on an earlier conference paper on Serbian music in western music historiography.<sup>1</sup> The revisions to the paper have been extensive, not least due to the intervening publication of Jim Samson's *Music in the Balkans*.<sup>2</sup> This book marked a significant turning point in western approaches to the music of South East Europe. It covers the subject in an admirably comprehensive way, and is fully attuned to the most recent developments in music historiography. *Music in the Balkans* points the way to a meaningful global music historiography, further evidenced in other recent publications and projects (see, for example, the editorial of a recent *Acta Musicologica*, and also Reinhard Strohm's current Balzan programme 'Towards a Global History of Music').<sup>3</sup> The book has erased or ignored borders, disciplinary, historical and geographical, presenting the Balkans, with its continuously transforming blend of religions, cultures, ethnicities, and nations, as 'a working model of a musical ecumene'. It is a prototype of music historiography for the coming age. It will probably take some time to grasp and estimate the underlying principles governing this age's culture. But what is already clear is the depreciation of old values, and the challenge to existing hierarchies.

We are experiencing today the end of the 'civilizing mission' of the Great Powers, and with that the disintegration of the conditions that created national music histories in the first place. International institutions with humanitarian goals, familiar from an earlier era, have been replaced

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<sup>1</sup> As noted in the Introduction, the chapter originated in a conference session at the IMS meeting in Rome 2012.

<sup>2</sup> Jim Samson, *Music in the Balkans* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013).

<sup>3</sup> Federico Celestini & Philip V. Bohlman, 'Editorial: Musicology and the Discourses of Global Exchange', *Acta Musicologica*, lxxxvi/1 (2014), 1-3. For Strohm's research project, see <http://www.balzan.org/en/prizewinners/reinhardstrohm/research-project-strohm>

by 'executive bureaucracies'<sup>4</sup> and by 'philanthrocapitalism',<sup>5</sup> and this combination has deprived the representatives of nation states of the possibility to protect their national interests. 'The pattern of influence and decision-making that rules the world has an increasingly marginal connection with sovereignty'.<sup>6</sup> In a word, nationalism and the properties that created it are disintegrating.

In the years prior to World War II one such property was the prevailing concept of a standard model or leading paradigm of civilization, usually given the simple label 'western civilization'. In the second half of the twentieth century this model made its way to North America, where it was first institutionalized and then imposed globally, notably by way of the UN. However, within this newly emergent global community, nation states that were notionally equal by no means shared the same ethical values, and this, combined with the development of relativizing anthropological studies in the US itself, meant that civilization (meaning a leading civilization, *de facto* western civilization) even began to acquire derogatory connotations. Western civilization was no longer considered a prerequisite for 'fundamental human rights', even if these rights had been shaped by the moral codes of 'The West' in the first place.

#### SHIFTING SERBIAS

The Balkan Christians were for the most part emancipated during the nineteenth century. At the same time their nation states were formed, partly thanks to the intervention of the Great Powers, and in many cases motivated by their antagonism. Sima M. Ćirković gives the following description of a continuously floating Serbian land, unique even among the wandering peoples of the Balkans:

Most European peoples settled in their territories after significant migrations and frequent struggles over shifting borders. In the case of the Serbs, mobility was so incessant that for centuries people did not establish

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<sup>4</sup> Mark Mazower, *Governing the World. The History of an Idea* (New York: The Penguin Press, 2013), 421.

<sup>5</sup> The word appeared in 2006. Philanthrocapitalists are those few rich people of the globe who expect financial returns from their investment in social programmes. An early application of the term is in the article 'The birth of philanthrocapitalism', at <http://www.economist.com/node/5517656>.

<sup>6</sup> Martti Koskiennieni, 'What Use for Sovereignty Today?', *Asian Journal of International Law*, i (2011), 61–70 (cited in Mazower, *ibid.*).

lasting links with a definite territory, causing their development to be pithily characterized as *shifting Serbias* by St. K. Pavlowitch.<sup>7</sup>

Pavlowitch goes on to describe the Serbs' century-long migrations across the Balkan peninsula, their dispersed settlements in the vicinity of Byzantium, their conversion to Christianity in the 9th century, and with that the beginning of a distinctive Serbian literature (the creation of Serbian alphabet) and Serbian culture more generally. It was indeed the Byzantine emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitos who first wrote (in the tenth century) about the distinctive identities of neighbouring Slavs, and who gave us some of our earliest information on the pagan past of the Serbs.<sup>8</sup> And likewise it was a Byzantine historian of the seventh century, Theofylaktos Simokattes, who first mentioned the musical instruments of the Slavs, well before their Christianization.<sup>9</sup>

\* \* \*

When national feeling began to develop among the Christians in the Ottoman Empire, people in the West speculated about the possible political outcomes of their revolts. Just what kind of political organization might replace the empire? A federation of Slavs and a Greek state seemed the most probable solution, and one that could well have been viable. 'Almost none anticipated the process of fragmentation that actually occurred', remarked Mark Mazower,<sup>10</sup> and he went on to cite Saint-Marc Girardin from 1864: 'Even in our days, how often have I heard people ask who the Christian population of Turkey belongs to -- Russia, Austria, France? And when some dreamers replied: "These populations belong to themselves" -- what amusement, what pity of such utopianism'.<sup>11</sup> Then later, just prior to the Balkan Wars, Leon Trotsky gave his own political slant on this fragmentation of the Balkans:

<sup>7</sup> Sima M. Ćirković, *The Serbs*, trans. Vuk Tošić (Malden MA.: Blackwell, 2004), xxi.

<sup>8</sup> Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, Greek text ed. Gy. Moravcsik, Eng. trans. R.J. H. Jenkins; new rev edn (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies. Trustees for Harvard University, 1967), 152-160.

<sup>9</sup> C. de Boor (ed.), *Theophylacti Simocattae Historiae* (Stuttgart: P. Wirth, 1972 [1887]). See also Sonja Marinković, 'Serbian Music', in Sokol Shupo (ed.), *Art Music in the Balkans* (Tirana: Amus, 2001), 136-81.

<sup>10</sup> Mark Mazower, *The Balkans. From the End of Byzantium to the Present Day* (London: Phoenix Press, 2002), 3.

<sup>11</sup> Cited in T. G. Djuvara, *Cent projets de partage de la Turquie* (Paris: Félix Alcan, 1914), 496.

The states that today occupy the Balkan Peninsula were manufactured by European diplomacy around the table at the Congress of Berlin in 1879. There it was that all the measures were taken to convert the national diversity of the Balkans into a regular melee of petty states. None of them was to develop beyond a certain limit, each separately was entangled in diplomatic and dynastic bonds and counterposed to all the rest, and, finally, the whole lot were condemned to helplessness in relation to the Great Powers of Europe and their continual intrigues and machinations.<sup>12</sup>

It seems clear that these new Balkan states could entertain very little hope of ever reaching a powerful status among European nations.

#### NATIONALIZING THE BALKANS; NATIONALIZING WESTERN MUSIC HISTORIES

The nationalization of music historiography occurred before the nationalization of the Balkans. It was initiated by German writers early in the nineteenth century, and its effect was to 'fragment' the general music histories of Europe into the histories of competing nations. Researchers dug deep into their nation's past, in order to demonstrate its importance to narratives of music history, and to bolster its status through the familiar agents of canon formation (performances, publications, and in due course recordings).

One consequence of the nationalization of music historiography in the nineteenth century was a diminishing curiosity about other cultures. Indeed, the only information on the music of South East Europe prior to the twentieth century is to be found in music histories of the eighteenth century and in non-German music histories of the nineteenth century (i.e., in pre- or non-nationalized music histories). The pioneering eighteenth-century British historiographers Charles Burney and Sir John Hawkins had the curiosity to enquire about music in the Balkan Peninsula, for example. Perhaps unsurprisingly, their focus was entirely on what they understood to be 'Greek Christians'; in other words, on the music and the musical notation of the Greek Orthodox Church, since this was considered the main identity marker for all Orthodox Christians under the Ottomans. Thus, Burney describes the notation used by the Greeks.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Leon Trotsky, 'The Balkans, Capitalist Europe, and Tsarism', in George Lavan Weissman (ed.), *The War Correspondence of Leon Trotsky* (New York: Anchor Foundation & Pathfinder Press, 1980), 15–27:15. The article was initially published in *Proletary*, xxxviii (1 [14] November 1908).

<sup>13</sup> Charles Burney, *A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period*, ii (London: self-published, 1782), 46–55.

And Hawkins, speaking of the captivity of the people in the area, remarked: 'From that time the Greek Christians, excepting those who inhabit the empire of Russia, have lived in a state of the most absolute subjection to the enemies of true religion and literature'.<sup>14</sup>

The Ottoman Empire was widely regarded by West Europeans as an uncivilized monolith, and one that ruled over a people who were the potential inheritors of the standard model of (European) civilization. The fragmentation of 'Turkey in Europe' (as the European part of the Ottoman Empire was often called) in the nineteenth century was justified by an unwritten 'international law' that distinguished peoples according to their relation to the 'civilized world'. The Great Powers were thus given an imprimatur to intervene in the Balkans, as independence from Ottoman rule was considered a prerequisite for civilizing the Balkan peoples.

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Written in the second half of the nineteenth century, François-Joseph Fétis's *Histoire générale de la Musique* (1869–1876)<sup>15</sup> has much in common with recent developments in music historiography, not least because it covers subjects of an anthropological nature, giving information on the music of primitive cultures and of the developed cultures of other continents. The major difference from today's anthropology, aside from the sheer amount of information provided, is that Fétis obviously does not feel that it is in any way insulting to speak about the supremacy of the 'standard model of civilisation'; nor is he interested in relativizing that model. Significantly, he does not connect the Slavs of the Balkans with the Greeks, covering Greek Church music extensively and commenting thus on the Slavs:

The establishment of Slavs in Europe is considered the result of the third great asiatic migration in the Occident. Mixed with other people of germanic race, the Slavs inhabited Pomerania, Lusatia, Bohemia Silesia Moravia, Bosnia, Valachia [...]. The musical sensibility of the people of slavie race is very much accented: their melodies are in general tender and melancholic. Their inclination for harmony is manifested in a way that cannot be denied; the traditions of the use of such harmony are to be found everywhere by them, and seem very ancient.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Sir John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, ii (New York: Dover, 1963), 146.

<sup>15</sup> F.-J. Fétis, *Histoire générale de la musique depuis les temps les plus anciens jusqu'à nos jours*, 5 vols. (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1869, 1872, 1872, 1874, 1876).

<sup>16</sup> Fétis, *ibid.*, i, 162.



Westerners visiting the Balkans at the turn of the nineteenth century were impressed by the great diversity of peoples, and by their very different social mores and cultural levels. Many descriptions, however, tend to present this diversity in binary terms, speaking of Europe and Asia, West and East, Christianity and Islam, and of societies asymmetrically divided into minorities and majorities. Mazower proposes yet another binary, referring to a 'social fabric divided into a modernising surface and a traditional substance'.<sup>17</sup> But we should note that this duality was only meaningful to western observers and to the minority of local people inhabiting that 'modernising surface'. It was they who conceived this duality, as well as the term 'traditional', thus giving weight to cultural rather than social or economic criteria. To be backward was to be picturesque; to be undeveloped was to be traditional.

The persons constituting the 'modernising surface' considered themselves moderns, i.e., westerners, and in most cases their background was indeed both modern and western. For instance, among those Serbian composers of what is considered 'national music', Josif Marinković studied in Prague, Stevan Mokranjac in Munich and Leipzig, Petar Konjović in Prague, Miloje Milojević in Munich, Paris and Prague, Petar Stojanović in Budapest and Vienna, Stevan Hristić in Leipzig, Moscow, Paris and Rome. 'After acquiring basic knowledge at home', notes Katarina Tomašević, 'from the end of the nineteenth century practically all renowned Serbian composers studied abroad. Traditionally, they studied most frequently in Prague, but they also went to Munich, Leipzig, Moscow, Paris, Rome and London'.<sup>18</sup>

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Western music historiography does not seem to have embraced Serbian art music until after World War II. The earliest related bibliography I have come across refers to Serbia as part of Tito's Yugoslavia. As noted in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*, which is not of course a cultural history, 'In the rivalry between the Soviets and the Western allies after 1947, cultural life and cultural institutions moved from the sidelines to the centre of the political confrontation. Both Soviet and American policy makers realized that to "win the minds of men" in Europe, they needed to appeal more to their cultural than to their political identity'.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Mazower, *ibid.*, 11.

<sup>18</sup> Katarina Tomašević, 'Musical Life in Serbia in the First Half of the 20th Century: Institutions and Repertoire', in Katy Romanou (ed.), *Serbian and Greek Art Music. A Patch to Western Music History* (Bristol and Chicago: Intellect, 2009), 45.

<sup>19</sup> Francis J. Gavin, 'Nuclear Proliferation and Non-Proliferation During the Cold War', in Melvyn P. Leffler and O. A. Westad (eds), *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*, ii (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 401.

Significantly, the name 'Balkan', with all its negative connotations, did not enter either Western or Eastern consciousness during the Cold War. At this time the political division into East and West was the only binary that was generally understood. And as a consequence, all national issues were forgotten.

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It is interesting and no doubt understandable that it has been western writers, much more than locals, who have felt uncomfortable addressing issues of national music in this region. In the January 1965 issue of the *Musical Quarterly*, celebrating the periodical's fiftieth anniversary (published as a book edited by Paul Henry Lang and Nathan Broder in 1968),<sup>20</sup> the American musicologist Everett Helm wrote about Yugoslavia. He entitled his contribution 'Music in Yugoslavia', and began his article by defending his choice of the title: 'We cannot properly speak of Yugoslav music, but rather of music *in* Yugoslavia. As in few other countries of the world, the various cultures, languages, and ethnic groups that comprise present-day Yugoslavia are more heterogeneous than homogeneous. Not only the musical life but to a certain extent the creative products of Yugoslavia reflect this fact'.<sup>21</sup> Before embarking on the main part of his article, which consists of short biographies of composers, carefully chosen from all six republics, and discussions of selective works, he tried to explain to his Western readers the situation in Yugoslavia, a situation that was obviously alien to him. 'The fact that music in Yugoslavia is only now beginning to reach a European level, is, of course, a reflection of the country's history – or lack of history'.<sup>22</sup>

Undoubtedly, Everett Helm had much difficulty in finding sources for his article, and possibly this is what he meant by a 'lack of history' in Yugoslavia. The truth is that very little may be found before 1965 in Western European languages.

#### THE RIGHT CHURCH OR THE RIGHT MUSIC?

One pioneering text is a paper by Dragan Plamenac, first published in *Papers read by members of the American Musicological Society, 1936-41* (published in 1937-46) and made more easily available in Chapter 14 of

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<sup>20</sup> Paul Henry Lang and Nathan Broder (eds), *Contemporary Music in Europe: A Comprehensive Survey* (New York: Norton, 1968).

<sup>21</sup> Everett Helm, 'Music in Yugoslavia', in Lang and Broder, *ibid.*, 215.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 216.

Gustav Reese's revised edition of *Music in the Renaissance*, in a chapter written by other musicologists on the music of Hungary, Bohemia, Poland and the Adriatic coastal areas of the Southern Slavs. The section by Plamenac makes for a very interesting study.<sup>23</sup> It describes a duality that is less thoroughly investigated by researchers than the dualities mentioned earlier: that of the musics associated with Greek and Latin church rituals, as practised side by side in the islands and coastal towns of the Adriatic littoral and other areas in Eastern Mediterranean.

The limited discussion of this antithesis (in contrast to the Ottoman-Christian antithesis) is due to the fact that the Orthodox Church, through its Patriarchates, had been a very powerful institution, secular and political as well as religious, that had lost its power when the numerous Balkan peoples began to identify themselves through ethnicity rather than, or as well as, by religion. A unitary Orthodox entity was divided into antagonistic nations. Even more crucially, the fulfilment of these nationalist ambitions was intimately linked to integration within Western European civilization, and Orthodoxy was viewed as an obstacle to this integration, because western culture (and specifically western music) retained strong ties with its own religious sources. This is why in countries with a powerful Orthodox tradition, church and secular music are destined to remain separate fields of practice and knowledge.<sup>24</sup>

In the fifth edition of *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1954), a search for 'Serbian music' takes us to 'Serbian Church music' and from there to 'Eastern Church music'. Under that heading, there are short articles on the music of the various Orthodox Churches – Armenian, Syrian, Coptic, Ethiopian and Slavonic – with a short discussion on Serbian church music included in the Slavonic section. All these articles make reference to Byzantine chant.

One may also find short references to Serbia in ethnomusicological articles in the same dictionary. Thus, in the very long article on 'Folk Music', which is subdivided into numerous sections dealing with separate national traditions, the section on Yugoslavia was written by Cvjetko Rihtman, himself a Yugoslav musicologist. It is interesting, and it sup-

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<sup>23</sup> Dragan Plamenac, 'Music in the Adriatic Coastal Areas of the Southern Slavs', in Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (New York: Norton, 1959), 757–62.

<sup>24</sup> It is true though that in Serbia, composers, such as Kornelije Stanković and Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac, aspiring to bring Western music to the people, introduced harmony and polyphony to the Serbian chant, following the Russians rather than the Greeks in that respect, and contributing to the popularisation of Western music.

ports my general thesis here, that it was because western musicologists needed to conceive music history as a history of nations that this article was not further divided into the separate ethnicities that made up Yugoslavia. The writer emphasizes diversity as a characteristic of Yugoslav music. After a very good description of this multi-national country, Rihtman remarks: 'All this explains what is so confusing to strangers, the extraordinary diversity among these people, as something that is both natural and inescapable'. Note that in this edition of *Grove* there is no article on Yugoslav art music, though there are short entries on several Yugoslav composers.

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*The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1980) has an article on Yugoslavia divided into I. Art music and II. Folk music. But whereas 'art music' is subdivided into periods (Middle Ages, Renaissance, Baroque, Classical, Nineteenth century, Twentieth century), 'folk music' is divided into ethnicities (Introduction, Serbia, Bosnia and Hercegovina, Croatia).

In the 2001 printed edition of *The New Grove*, under 'Serbia' one is advised: 'See under Yugoslavia'. There an introductory paragraph informing us that the state (*de facto* Serbia and Montenegro) had been formed in April 1992 following the break-up of the Socialist Republic, which had also included Bosnia and Hercegovina, Croatia, Macedonia and Slovenia. Under the heading 'Art music', all periods prior to the nineteenth century are contracted to form a short and all-inclusive section 'Before 1800'. Another difference from 1980 is that the article on folk music, now called 'Traditional music', is also subdivided by ethnicity, now narrowed down to Serbia, Montenegro and Kosovo (and related Albanian traditions).

In Tito's Yugoslavia minority issues did not rise to the surface. They re-emerged only when Communism collapsed in 1989, and were resolved (inasmuch as they have been resolved) through western intervention and Great Power rivalry in 2003. It is worth noting that the international law that authorized this western intervention was no longer based on adherence to Western European civilization. The 'level' of civilization could not be a factor in the international recognition of the newly independent states. Since the end of the Cold War (during which cultural antagonism brought western music to unprecedented heights of prestige and popularity), it has been considered both anachronistic and unrealistic to speak about 'levels' of civilization; the West assumed now the responsibility to defend human rights. It was in these ideas that was cloaked, in the long last, the kernel of the perception of "a musical ecumene", a working model of which is music in the Balkans, according to Jim Samson.

## EPILOGUE

Having brought the discussion back to Jim Samson's *Music in the Balkans*, I finish with a pragmatic characteristic of the book that caused the revisions of this conference paper, the fact, namely, that this is a western work of music historiography dealing extensively with Serbia, Yugoslavia and all participating nations.

Written little after the dramatic events that ended up with the "humanitarian" NATO bombing of the Serbs, *Music in the Balkans* was based on bibliography reflecting conflicting ideologies and expressing consequently ideas that are eligible to arouse suspicions of political propagandizing from all sides. It is –and calls for– an unrestricted but objective indulgence into the past, that shows the vainness of sticking to inherited aesthetics, liberating the mind from weights traditionally connected to culture and the arts: Looking from most possible sides, *Music in the Balkans* leads the reader to the conclusion that all efforts in the countries covered in the book, to create a culture that would be integrated in Western Art Music, were a natural manifestation within the cultural and political evolution in the area, but were grounded on an aim that was mistimed and utopic.

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## Chapter 2

### WRITING NATIONAL HISTORIES IN A MULTINATIONAL STATE

*Melita Milin*

The aim of this chapter is to examine the strategies used by some music historians during the lifetime of Yugoslavia for presenting the musical heritage of their own peoples (or nations) living within the common federal state. I will attempt to show how the politics of the 'first' and 'second' Yugoslavias influenced the writing of national and supranational (Yugoslav) histories of music, which were inevitably ideologically freighted. Since overviews of the main political events that shaped the history of Yugoslavia, a country that existed for some seven decades (1918–1991), can be found elsewhere, here I shall only point to the fact that both the first Yugoslavia, a monarchy expiring with the Nazi invasion of 1941, and the second one, an atypical communist state, inaugurated after World War II and lasting until 1991, proved to be utopian projects, ending in disastrous ways. So the idea of gradually surmounting or harmonizing historical and cultural differences existing among the three peoples – the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes – whose leaders created Yugoslavia in 1918 with substantial support from the victorious Allies, ended in catastrophic failure. During communism, some new nations were officially recognized – Macedonians, Montenegrins, Muslims (officially designated a 'nation' in 1971) – which however did not help achieve stability for the country.

It is telling that no satisfactory history of Yugoslav music appeared either before 1991 or after the country began to disintegrate. Typically we were given encyclopedia-like aggregates of separate surveys of musical cultures created by the different Yugoslav peoples. What we were *not* given were studies that attempted to place these separate musical heritages in a wider perspective by focusing on what they had in common rather than what separated them.

This indicates, among other things, that no detailed preliminary research on the music of the Yugoslav peoples, a prerequisite for writing a comprehensive history of Yugoslav music, was made until the late 1950s.

Accordingly, the first history of music in Yugoslavia (and by far the most ambitious) was a three-authored composite volume *Historijski razvoj muzičke kulture u Jugoslaviji* [The Historical Development of Musical Culture in Yugoslavia], which appeared in 1962.<sup>1</sup> I will now attempt a short overview of the state of research within the different national musical cultures of Yugoslavia at the time of the publication of that very substantial volume.<sup>2</sup>

The first 'national' history of music to appear within Yugoslavia was Božidar Širola's *Pregled povijesti hrvatske muzike* [Survey of the History of Croatian Music],<sup>3</sup> the only history of the music of a Yugoslav people to appear in the first Yugoslavia. The first post-war history of Croatian music, published as part of the afore-mentioned three-part volume on Yugo-

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<sup>1</sup> Josip Andreis, Dragotin Cvetko and Stana Đurić-Klajn, *Historijski razvoj muzičke kulture u Jugoslaviji* [The Historical Development of Musical Culture in Yugoslavia] (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1962).

<sup>2</sup> This three-part history of music of the Yugoslav peoples is usually taken to be the first of its kind. But actually the first attempt at writing a book on Yugoslav music was made, paradoxically enough, by a foreign musicologist, the Soviet author Israil Yampolsky [Израиль Ямпольски], in *Музыка Югославии* [Music of Yugoslavia] (Москва: Государственно музыкально издательство, 1958), a modest booklet of 137 pages. It was followed, the next year, by another short book in English: Josip Andreis and Slavko Zlatić (eds), *Yugoslav Music* (Belgrade: Edition Jugoslavija, 1959), with only 30 pages on the history of the art music of the Yugoslav peoples, and the rest of the book devoted to musical folklore, institutions, performers and publishing activities (the bulk of the publication is a dictionary of composers, artists and musicologists). In view of this exiguous record of publications, one might also mention a little volume that was neither a fully-fledged history nor even technically a publication, but rather a modest textbook written in typescript, and xeroxed for the use of students at the Belgrade Music Academy: Stana Đurić-Klajn, *Uvod u istoriju jugoslovenske muzike i* [Introduction to the history of Yugoslav music] (Belgrade: Muzička akademija, 1959), reprinted by the Academy of Arts [Belgrade: Umetnička akademija, 1963]. The next book to appear in Serbia covering the music of different Yugoslav nations was Roksanda Pejović, *Istorija muzike jugoslovenskih naroda* [A History of the Music of the Yugoslav Peoples] (Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, 1983). The latest book that tries to encompass music of the different nations of ex-Yugoslavia (not really a history, but a collection of texts) was written by the Russian musicologist Elena Gordina (Елена Гордина), *Музыкальная культура Сербии, Хорватии, Словении* [Musical Culture in Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia] (Москва: Музыка, 2008).

<sup>3</sup> Božidar Širola, *Pregled povijesti hrvatske muzike* [Survey of the History of Croatian Music] (Zagreb: Edition Rirop, 1922).

slav music culture (1962),<sup>4</sup> was written by Josip Andreis, later revised and published in both Croatian and English (1974).<sup>5</sup> Other Croatian musicologists also contributed to their national music historiography, including Lovro Županović,<sup>6</sup> and it would be fair to say that during the lifetime of Yugoslavia, Croatian musicology was the most developed in this field.<sup>7</sup>

The Slovenians published their first national history of music in the late 1950s. This was Dragotin Cvetko's rich, detailed *Zgodovina glasbene umetnosti na Slovenskem* [A History of Music in the Slovenian Lands] in 3 volumes,<sup>8</sup> later abridged, edited, and incorporated in the composite *Historijski razvoj muzičke kulture u Jugoslaviji* (1962).<sup>9</sup> It was later translated into French.<sup>10</sup>

Petar Konjović, the distinguished Serbian composer and music critic, was the author of the first substantial historiographical article on Serbian music, published in 1920.<sup>11</sup> A number of fine texts by Konjović himself, by Kosta Manojlović and Miloje Milojević (these two also successful as music critics as well as composers), and by several others, all prepared the ground for the first true history of Serbian music, by Stana Đurić-Klajn, a pianist by training, but raised in a cultured milieu and intellectually alert. Her 'Razvoj muzičke umjetnosti u Srbiji' [The Development of Music in

<sup>4</sup> Josip Andreis, *Razvoj muzičke umjetnosti u Hrvatskoj* [The Development of Music in Croatia], in Andreis, Cvetko, Đurić-Klajn, *Historijski razvoj*, 11–277.

<sup>5</sup> Josip Andreis, *Music in Croatia* (Zagreb: Institute of Musicology, 1974). In the Foreword the author informs the readers that when compared with the original Croatian edition (1962), 'the text now appears in a considerably changed, updated and enlarged form'.

<sup>6</sup> Lovro Županović, *Stoljeća hrvatske glazbe* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1978). This book was later translated into English, as *Centuries of Croatian music* (i: Zagreb: Music Information Center, 1984; ii: Zagreb: Zagreb Concert Management & Music Information Center, 1989). In addition, Krešimir Kovačević published in English *The History of Croatian Music of the Twentieth Century* (Zagreb: Association of Composers of Croatia, 1967).

<sup>7</sup> Like Andreis's history, later Croatian histories of music were translated into English; see note 7.

<sup>8</sup> Dragotin Cvetko, *Zgodovina glasbene umetnosti na Slovenskem* [A History of Music in the Slovenian Lands], 3 vols., (Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije, 1958–60).

<sup>9</sup> Dragotin Cvetko, 'Razvoj muzičke umjetnosti u Sloveniji' [The Development of Music in Slovenia], in *Historijski razvoj muzičke kulture u Jugoslaviji*, 289–27.

<sup>10</sup> Dragotin Cvetko, *Histoire de la musique slovène* (Maribor: Obzorja, 1967).

<sup>11</sup> Petar Konjović, 'Muzika u Srba' [Music among Serbs], in *Ličnosti* (Zagreb: Izdanje knjižare Čelap i Popovac, 1920), 119–50.

Serbia] appeared as one of three separate national histories in *Historijski razvoj* (1962),<sup>12</sup> and it was later translated into English.<sup>13</sup> It is worth noting that in the English version there is additional information on younger contemporary composers (since a decade had passed since the publication of the original Serbian text), as well as on composers belonging to ethnic minorities (Albanian and Hungarian), and at the end of the book, a short chapter on light music.

It is interesting to note that although these three national histories soon became canonical works, and were widely appreciated generally, this did not prevent the same and other musicologists in Yugoslavia continuing their research into the music history of their separate 'nations' and writing new volumes on it. In Slovenia Cvetko's achievements have yet to be seriously challenged, while in Croatia Lovro Županović and Krešimir Kovačević did not wait long after the publication of *Historijski razvoj* to present the results of their own researches.<sup>14</sup> In Serbia two volumes have appeared since Đurić-Klajn's work. The first was *Srpska muzika od naseljavanja slovenskih plemena na Balkansko poluostrvo do kraja XVIII veka* [Serbian Music from the Settlement of Slavic Tribes on the Balkan Peninsula to the End of the 18th Century] (1998), written by Roksanda Pejović and a team of younger authors.<sup>15</sup> The second, appearing as recently as 2007, is a multi-authored *Istorija srpske muzike* (History of Serbian Music), with contributions from as many as fourteen professors from the Faculty of Music in Belgrade.<sup>16</sup>

The first history of music in Bosnia and Hercegovina after Zija Kučukalić's *The Development of Musical Culture in Bosnia and Herzegovina* (1967), which was quite modest in scope,<sup>17</sup> appeared in 2011. Ivan Čav-

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<sup>12</sup> Stana Đurić-Klajn, 'Razvoj muzičke umjetnosti u Srbiji' [The Development of Music in Serbia], in: *Historijski razvoj muzičke kulture u Jugoslaviji*, 529-709.

<sup>13</sup> Stana Đurić-Klajn, *Serbian Music Through the Ages* (Belgrade: Association of Composers of Serbia, 1972).

<sup>14</sup> See note 5.

<sup>15</sup> Roksanda Pejović i saradnici [Roksanda Pejović and collaborators], *Srpska muzika od naseljavanja slovenskih plemena na Balkansko poluostrvo do kraja XVIII veka* [Serbian Music from the Settlement of Slavic Tribes on the Balkan Peninsula to the End of the 18th Century] (Belgrade: Univerzitet umetnosti, 1998).

<sup>16</sup> Mirjana Veselinović-Hofman (ed.), *Istorija srpske muzike. Srpska muzika i evropsko muzičko nasleđe* [A History of Serbian Music. Serbian Music and the European Musical Heritage] (Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike, 2007).

<sup>17</sup> Zija Kučukalić, *The Development of Musical Culture in Bosnia and Herzegovina* (Sarajevo: Association of Composers of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1967) [in English].

lović was the author, and the volume was published by the Institute of Musicology of the Music Academy in Sarajevo.<sup>18</sup> Here Čavlović presents the the results of many years' devoted research into the musical past of his country, basing his narrative on widely dispersed data about musical activities of all kind on the soil of Bosnia and Hercegovina since the earliest times. It could be remarked that the Yugoslav context of music in Bosnia and Hercegovina has been neglected by Čavlović, but the same goes for other national histories of the music of Yugoslav peoples, as I will indicate later. At the very least, this demonstrates the strong need felt by authors to assert the distinctiveness of their own peoples' musical traditions, as markers of their national identity. It seems that many Yugoslav peoples were nervous that unification would lead to a demotion of the individual nations, and compensated by clearly demarcating their musical and other traditions. In doing so, they risked sidelining not just the broader panorama of a Yugoslav culture, but also the necessary context for their own national histories.

Although a number of books and articles on different aspects of musical culture in Montenegro have already been published, comprehensive histories of its national music have not yet been written. The closest we have to this is a two-volume study by Manja Radulović Vulić on Montenegrin musical culture from its beginnings up to the eighteenth century.<sup>19</sup> The first serious effort at writing about the history of music in Macedonia was made by Dragoslav Ortakov in his book *Muzičkata umetnost vo Makedonija* [Musical Art in Macedonia] (1982).<sup>20</sup> Important works followed in the post-Yugoslav era, when the Macedonian state gained independence.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Ivan Čavlović, *Historija muzike u Bosni i Hercegovini* [A History of Music in Bosnia and Hercegovina] (Sarajevo: Muzička akademija u Sarajevu, Institut za muzikologiju, 2011).

<sup>19</sup> Manja Radulović Vulić, *Drevne muzičke kulture Crne Gore* [Ancient Musical Cultures of Montenegro], i (Cetinje: Univerzitet Crne Gore and Muzička akademija, 2002); also her *Muzička kultura Crne Gore XIII-XVIII vijek* [Musical Culture of Montenegro XIII-XVIII century] (Podgorica: Crnogorska akademija nauka i umjetnosti, 2009).

<sup>20</sup> Dragoslav Ortakov, *Muzičkata umetnost vo Makedonija* [Musical Art in Macedonia] (Skopje: Makedonska revija, 1982).

<sup>21</sup> Sotir Golabovski, *Istorija na makedonskata muzika* [A History of Macedonian Music] (Skopje: Prosvetno delo, 1999); Georgi Stardelov, Dragoslav Ortakov and Dimitrije Bužarovski (eds), *Muzikata na počvata na Makedonija* [Music on Macedonian Soil], in the series *Istorija na kulturata na Makedonija* [History of Macedonian Culture], vii (Skopje: Makedonska akademija na naukite i umetnostite,

One of the main problems confronting music historians investigating the traditions of peoples who have had no state 'ceiling' of their own for long periods of time – in the case of ex-Yugoslav peoples, for centuries – was how to present fragmented national histories of music as continuous narratives in their own right. Many of the Yugoslav peoples had sovereign states at some point during the Middle Ages, albeit often rather small in scale and of shortish (though respectable) duration. But without exception they suffered long-term oppression from rising empires – the Ottomans in the east and Habsburgs to the north, to say nothing of Byzantium and later Venice, both of whom extended their powers as far as the coastal areas of the Adriatic for centuries. In the course of the nineteenth century, the era of 'national awakenings', peoples living on the territories of former Yugoslavia fought to emancipate themselves, and that included both those who were still under foreign rule, and those who had already formed independent, or semi-independent states, but wished to liberate certain ethnically related territories beyond the state and still within the Ottomans empire.

As regards writing continuous histories of music of the peoples who had once lived within the Ottoman borders (as was the case with the majority of Serbs), there was an issue about how to fill the gap between medieval (pre-Ottoman) times and the rebirth of sovereign states in the post-Ottoman era. It is a fact that no musical life of western orientation existed there during the Ottoman period and that the only continuous forms of musical expression (apart from Ottoman traditions of various kinds) were to be found in the oral musical traditions of the church and the 'folk' (in the case of the church, a knowledge of neumatic notation was not lost, but the oral tradition was dominant). The historical gap could be filled, at least partly, by drawing attention to the fact that the Serbian population living in Austria (mostly descendants of émigrés from the south Serbian region of Kosovo at the end of the 17th century),<sup>22</sup> participated actively in the musical life of the Habsburg monarchy. This proved later to be highly beneficial because the 'border Serbs', as they were sometimes known, were in a position to transmit Western culture to

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1999), and Stardelov, Ortakov and Bužarovski (eds), *Muzikata na počvata na Makedonija od Atanas Badev do denes* [Music on Macedonian Soil from Atanas Badev to the present], in the series *Istorija na kulturata na Makedonija*, xii (Skopje: Makedonska akademija na naukite i umetnostite, 2004).

<sup>22</sup> There had been Serbs on Habsburg territory during the Middle ages, but at the time of an independent Serbian state south of the Sava and Danube there were several massive migrations of the Serbian population northwards, due to the brutality of the new rulers, fear of retaliation and similar reasons.

their southern compatriots, just as these were building a state of their own in the nineteenth century (they finally gained full independence from the Ottomans in 1878). For music historians, the major link connecting the histories of music of the Serbs living in these two separate neighboring states, Serbia proper and Austria, was to be found in their common church music tradition, which underwent some important changes after having come into contact with both Western and Eastern (Ukrainian) traditions during the eighteenth century.

A related problem facing historians of Serbian music was how to deal with issues connected with the traditions of Serbian populations living outside the present borders of Serbia, either in their medieval states with fluid boundaries or during the centuries when they were stateless, living under foreign rules. Historians needed to ask themselves – still need to ask themselves – how legitimate it is to regard the cultural heritage related to all those state territories as belonging primarily to the Serbian tradition. And other former Yugoslav peoples, including those that were recognized as late as the post-World War II period, face the same problem. It goes without saying that to stake too great a claim here is to court criticism; indeed the whole matter needs to be handled with care because of the many and complex historical and cultural aspects involved.

One example of the problems of dealing with Serbian musical traditions in today's neighboring states (former republics of Yugoslavia) can be found in the above-mentioned book by Roksanda Pejović and collaborators (*Srpska muzika...*). Here separate chapters are devoted to certain aspects of musical life in medieval Boka Kotorska (in Montenegro) and Dalmatia (Croatia). The editor found herself obliged to explain, in the Introduction, that the reason behind the inclusion of those two chapters was the need for an integral survey of the Serbian musical past, taking into account regions outside today's borders, as well as those within. However, Pejović did not mention there that the chapter on the musical instruments depicted on Serbian medieval monuments also looks beyond the national borders, as it is based on fresco paintings in Serbian monasteries which are today outside Serbia – in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, in Kosovo (a former Serbian province still within Serbia at the time of the publication of that book), and in Montenegro. On the other hand, there is no need to explain the inclusion of Serbian musical traditions in Vojvodina, since that province, which used to be part of the Habsburg monarchy, is today within Serbian borders.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> After the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, Vojvodina became a part of the new Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (renamed Yugoslavia



Historians of the music of former Yugoslav peoples living within the Habsburg and Venetian empires encountered the problem of how to evaluate the contributions of Slavic composers and musicians towards the overall musical development of the Austrian and Italian nations. It was to be expected that historians would concentrate on the works and activities of composers and musicians whose names indicated their Slavic – Croat or Slovenian – origins. Later, when during the nineteenth century the political and cultural climate changed, those composers seemed to want to proclaim their nationality more explicitly and to distance themselves from the dominant Habsburg mainstream. With this, a new and important stage was reached.

In order to provide continuity, the works and activities of nineteenth-century Croat and Slovenian composers were linked in most historical surveys with those of previous periods according to two criteria: shared ethnic origins and territory. The latter was taken to correspond first with the administrative borders of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia, all lands within the Habsburg monarchy, and then with the Adriatic littoral under Venetian rule. Together all those territories corresponded more or less to the administrative borders of the Croatian Republic of Former Yugoslavia and to present-day Croatian state borders.

As noted earlier, the national histories of music written by Cvetko, Andreis and Đurić-Klajn, and by others, were considered to be expertly done, and there were no overt polemics about them, although there may have been some *sotto voce* criticism in musicological circles. When those books were translated,<sup>24</sup> a negative review of Andreis' *Music in Croatia* (1974) appeared in the well-known journal *Music & Letters*. Its author was the distinguished British scholar Gerald Abraham,<sup>25</sup> who began by pointing out that it was 'honest' that the book was called *Music in Croatia* rather than *Croatian Music*, because 'it is not at all the same thing'.<sup>26</sup> He did not comment, though, on the very frequent use of exactly that adjective throughout the book. In fact, Abraham reacted primarily against An-

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in 1929), and after 1945 it became an autonomous province of the Republic of Serbia in federal Yugoslavia; it retained its status as an autonomous province when Serbia became an independent state in 2006.

<sup>24</sup> Cvetko, *Histoire de la musique slovène*

<sup>25</sup> Gerald Abraham, 'Music in Croatia. By Josip Andreis', *Music and Letters*, lvi/ 2 (1975), 208-10.

<sup>26</sup> Abraham was obviously not aware of the fact that the original of the book had the title *Povijest hrvatske glazbe* [History of Croatian music], (Zagreb:Liber – Mladost, 1974).

dreis's appropriation of segments of Venetian and Austrian musical cultures which had existed in the past on the territory of the then Yugoslav republic of Croatia. In other words, Andreis included composers whose origins were held to be Croatian and/or who were born on that territory, but who spent their lives in towns outside present-day Croatia (the cases of Franciscus Bossinensis, Andrea de Antiquis, Jacques Moderne, etc.).<sup>27</sup>

Slovenian music historians faced similar problems. For example, the fifteenth-century composer Jacobus Gallus Carniolus was born in Carniola (Kranjska in Slovenian), which used to be a Habsburg duchy and is today mainly within Slovenia. Slovenian musicology holds Gallus to be of Slovenian ethnic origin because the majority of the Carniola population at that time already was Slovenian. This is a bold claim, and it has to be said it is one without real substantive backing. In Austrian and German literature, as far as I could check, there are no attributions whatever as to Gallus's ethnic origins, presumably because they are taken to be non-problematic, i.e. Austrian.<sup>28</sup>

There were also problems for musicologists who wrote national histories of music dealing with composers of different ethnic origins or who had spent a major part of their lives in a region (republic) of the country that belonged historically to another people. In most cases ethnic origins were the decisive factor for inclusion or exclusion. Thus we find that both Petar Konjović, a Serbian composer who spent the whole interwar period as opera director in the Croatian capital Zagreb, and Marko Tajčević, a Serb born on present-day Croatian territory who lived in Zagreb until the break-out of World War II, are not even mentioned in Croatian histories.<sup>29</sup> The same principle informs the inclusion into Slovenian and Croatian histo-

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<sup>27</sup> Abraham's article caused something of a stir in Croatian musicological circles, and defences of Andreis's work soon appeared. See Lovro Županović, 'Impresivna kronika hrvatske glazbene kulture. Josip Andreis, *Povijest hrvatske glazbe*' [An Impressive Chronicle of Croatian Musical Culture. Josip Andreis, *History of Croatian Music*], *Arti musices*, vii (1976), 179-81, and Bojan Bujić, 'Letter to the Editor', *Music & Letters*, lvi/3-4 (1975), 441-42. See also Zdravko Blažeković's two articles: 'Andreisove nacionalne odrednice pri kreiranju imaginarnog muzeja hrvatske glazbe' [The National Context of Josip Andreis's Imaginary Museum of Croatian Music], *Arti musices*, xl/1-2 (2009), 67-88, and 'Re/Defining the Imaginary Museum of National Music. The Case of Croatia', *Musicologia Austriaca* (2009), 15-31.

<sup>28</sup> See, for example, Rudolf Flotzinger and Gernot Gruber, *Musikgeschichte Österreichs*, i (Graz-Wien-Köln: Verlag Styria, 1977), 265.

<sup>29</sup> In fact, Tajčević is mentioned in one history, but only as a pupil of Blagoje Bersa, in a footnote. See Andreis, *Music in Croatia*, 245.

ries respectively of Davorin Jenko, of Slovenian origins, and Josip Slaven-ski, of Croatian origins, both of whom spent the major part of their lives in Belgrade. Both composers are in fact included in Serbian histories of music, but with their ethnic origins noted.<sup>30</sup> One could also mention the case of Rikard Švarc, a Jewish composer who was born in Croatia and lived there until he was 29, when he moved to Belgrade and later to Novi Sad. He spent fourteen years there before being killed in the Jasenovac concentration camp in Croatia. He is mentioned only in Serbian histories.

One might reasonably expect that such aspects of writing national histories of music – notably the issue of the inclusion or exclusion of composers on grounds of nationality – would be presented and explained in a theoretical text on the national historical canon, as indeed has been suggested by Zdravko Blažeković.<sup>31</sup> There are, however, no such discussions in those histories, even in their forewords or introductions, which are usually quite short, where they exist at all.<sup>32</sup>

Let it be said in passing that in the Introduction to the two-volume Flotzinger-Gruber publication, important observations concerning the territory of the once vast Habsburg empire are supplied: Austria, we are told, ‘consists of the main lands of the Habsburgs, which basically conform to the present-day Republic of Austria’; ‘The knowledge of history is presupposed...’; ‘Therefore the geographical notion of *Austria* in the title and in the presentation is tacitly always used without further precision: whether the present-day territory of the state or the earlier historic borders are referred to, should be deduced from the context’.<sup>33</sup> Short and to the point!

One feature may surprise the readers of our national histories of music, especially if they are foreigners. Although they deal with peoples who lived side by side, with their territories by no means coinciding neatly with administrative or state borders, the music histories of Slovenians, Croats and Serbs – especially of the latter two nations – are written as if almost no contacts ever existed among them. And what may seem especially strange is that the same goes for the historiographical writings on musical developments prior to the creation of Yugoslavia. In discussing the development of national musical cultures, the Austrian and Italian

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<sup>30</sup> An exception to the rule is the brief, unelaborated mention of the Slovene composer Mihovil Logar in Slovenian histories. Logar spent the greater part of his long life in Belgrade, and he has always had his deserved place in Serbian histories.

<sup>31</sup> Cf.: Blažeković, ‘Andreisove nacionalne odrednice...’, 68.

<sup>32</sup> Cvetko, *Histoire de la musique slovène*; Đurić-Klajn, *Serbian Music Through the Ages*.

<sup>33</sup> Einleitung, in Flotzinger-Gruber *Musikgeschichte Österreichs*, 17.

contexts are largely ignored for the period before 1918, as is the case with the Yugoslav context for the period that began in 1918.

The forewords of some music histories have emphasised that the national music being investigated belonged to the European heritage.<sup>34</sup> Such claims may seem obsessive sometimes, and they no doubt emanate from a sense of the music of this part of Europe having been undeservedly omitted from general histories of music published elsewhere.

As usual, things get more complicated when it comes to Bosnia and to presentations of national histories of music, as there is no 'Bosnian nation', but only constitutive nations – Serbs, Croats and Muslims, the latter called Bosniaks today (whether of Slavic or Turkish origins). It is expected – it is at the very least politically correct – that we should strive for a balance in the presentation of these respective traditions and that common features should be noted. The first attempt at producing such a volume has been made by Ivan Čavlović, as noted earlier, and new investigations will certainly follow.

Turning back to the three-authored *Historijski razvoj muzičke kulture u Jugoslaviji*, it could be added that the idea for producing that History would have come from the political authorities who were eager to promote integrative Yugoslav values. There must have been some nego-

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<sup>34</sup> For instance: 'Regarded as an autonomous and independent element, whose contribution to universal musical culture has original features, Croatian music is for the first time in such works [i.e. general histories of music] presented in a separate chapter' (Quoted from Josip Andreis, Foreword to *Povijest glazbe* [History of music] (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatske, 1942)); '[Music in Slovenia] did not achieve success comparable to that of many other peoples, but it did not differ from them as regards style, and in spite of the current deadlock, it developed and was actively included in European music as a natural and indispensable part' (Quoted from Dragotin Cvetko, Foreword to *Zgodovina glasbene umetnosti na slovenskem* [A History of Music in the Slovenian lands], (Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije, 1958), 5); 'I will be very happy if on reading this book they [foreigners] begin to realize that the development of Croatian music fits very well, at numerous points, into the mainstream development of European music, and that Croatia has made its contribution to music in Europe, even though very unfavourable political and social conditions in the greater part of Croatia for centuries hampered the growth of original music and the practice of musical performance' (Quoted from: Andreis, *Music in Croatia*, vii); 'At the end of these introductory notes we would like to point out that the Croatian nation is one of the oldest in Europe, with a long and rich political and constitutional history, which originated in the early Middle Ages. Since then the Croats have been creating their own cultural tradition in which one can point out a number of original elements and values still alive until today' (Quoted from: Andreis, *Music in Croatia*, Introductory Notes, xv).

tiation before finally the three distinguished scholars from Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia – Dragotin Cvetko, Josip Andreis and Stana Đurić-Klajn – agreed to produce such a book. The result was a volume consisting of three separate histories, indicating thereby that the authors did not pursue a joint enterprise, but really wanted to promote their own nation's musical heritage. As already stated, the book consists of separate histories of three constitutive peoples of Yugoslavia – the Croats, Slovenians and Serbs – with minimal reference to the other Yugoslav nations living in different republics of the same federal state, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro and Macedonia. In the Introduction Andreis explained that these omissions were due to the fact that the relevant national musical cultures were too young and undeveloped to be presented, that their musical histories were too short. Yet in order to avoid criticism, he offered at least brief accounts of those musical cultures in the same Introduction.

One might have expected that after that volume, the next step would have been to produce a single-authored history of music in Yugoslavia, starting from the foundation of the state in 1918. Instead, a historiographical work appeared that not only crossed the Yugoslav borders but also took into considerations all the centuries of documented musical culture. This was Dragotin Cvetko's *Musik der Südslawen* [Music of the South Slavs, published first in German, 1975],<sup>35</sup> which meant that Bulgarian music was added to those of the other Slavic peoples, those living in Yugoslavia. It was an ambitious undertaking, whose main features were that the music history of the southern Slavs was presented, as far as possible, as a continuous narrative intertwined with fragments from the separate national histories, and that the inclusion of Bulgarian music is taken to require no real explanation. That the idea of 'South Slav unity' could be seen as standing behind the project, as a belated echo of nineteenth-century Pan-Slavism, does not seem very likely. Rather this symbolic 'opening out' of the Yugoslav borders eastwards to Bulgaria, and thus including all south Slav musical cultures observed through several centuries, might be thought to offer an alternative political view of the region and its borders, one that calls into question Yugoslavia as a state. There are, of course, plausible objections to this interpretation, since the political events of the 1970s and 1980s resulted not in the merging of Yugoslavia with its eastern neighbor but the disintegration of the state. Another in-

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<sup>35</sup> Dragotin Cvetko, *Musik der Südslawen* (Maribor – Kassel: Obzorja –Baerenreiter, 1975); later it was published in Slovenian and Serbian, with a slight but significant change in the title: *Južni Slovani v zgodovini evropske glazbe* [The South Slavs in the History of European Music], (Maribor: Obzorja, 1981); *Južni Slovani u istoriji evropske muzike* (Belgrade: Nolit, 1984).

terpretation could be that Cvetko was aware of the difficulties of writing a history of music in Yugoslavia (or of Yugoslav music), which should really include not only the music of the Slavic peoples, but also that of minorities, such as Albanians, Hungarians, and Muslims, who after 1971 were given the status of 'nation' in Yugoslavia. Such inclusions would have required additional research and a delicate handling of complex political questions, and Cvetko was probably not ready for that. It was perhaps easier to write about the music of the South Slav peoples, and Bulgarians certainly were one of them.<sup>36</sup>

At any rate, Cvetko deserves tribute, not only because he 'dared' to write about the musical traditions of other Yugoslav peoples (only exceptionally did musicologists investigate composers or traditions other than their own)<sup>37</sup> but also because he managed to relate several parallel narratives and to provide helpful contexts. On the other hand, Cvetko's unbalanced evaluation of some Serbian composers cannot entirely escape criticism; for instance, the space devoted to the two most important Serbian composers of the nineteenth century, Kornelije Stanković and Stevan Mokranjac<sup>38</sup> is disproportionately small in relation to Croatian and Slovenian composers of that time and of similar relevance.<sup>39</sup> And the same is the case with some twentieth-century composers.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> There is evidence that at a conference on cultural and educational policy held in Bled (Slovenia) in 1949 it was decided that the subject to be taught at all three music academies in Yugoslavia should be called *A History of South Slav Music*. See Marija Bergamo, 'Povijest kao važan komunikacijski događaj. Bilješke uz polustoljetni jubilej *Historije muzike* (1951-54) Josipa Andreisa' [History as an Important Communicative Event. Notes at the Half-centenary Jubilee of Josip Andreis's *History of Music*, 1951-54], *Arti musices*, xl/1-2 (2009), 51-65, footnote 8. According to Bergamo, Andreis taught such a subject, but in Belgrade it is hard to find evidence of the same policy.

<sup>37</sup> Mirjana Veselinović-Hofman on Krešimir Baranović, Dragana Stojanović-Novčić on Vinko Globokar, etc. The music of Josip Slavenski, a Croatian composer who lived most of his creative years in Belgrade and was therefore considered to 'belong' to both nations, has often been written about by Serbian musicologists.

<sup>38</sup> There is only half a page and a little over one page on Stanković and Mokranjac, respectively. Also, there is no mention of Mokranjac's sacred music, which is of major historical and artistic importance.

<sup>39</sup> On Vatroslav Lisinski there are more than two pages, on Ivan Zajc two and a half; on the Slovenians Benjamin Ipavec and Anton Foerster one page each: the same as for Mokranjac!

<sup>40</sup> Petar Konjović, one of the most important Serbian composer of the twentieth century (and a personal friend of Cvetko) gets two pages, Josip Slavenski three pages, Marij Kogoj a little more than three, Slavko Osterc three and a half; and the

Another aspect of musicological/historiographical work to invite comment is the problem authors clearly encountered when they were defining the real object of their research. Again this could be linked to political contexts. The term 'Yugoslav music' was usually avoided in favour of 'music in Yugoslavia', indicating that the former expression was felt to be unsuitable, empty of content, or pro-centralistic and pro-unionist, and that for most commentators national identity was still based on ethnic origins. The fact is that all music created in Yugoslavia was primarily associated with the separate nationalities of the composers (Serbian, Macedonian, etc.), and accordingly placed mentally within their particular national space, whereas foreign commentators really did think in terms of 'Yugoslavia', and the label 'Yugoslav' was widely used.

In accordance with that it was increasingly considered 'politically correct' to refer to 'music in Serbia/Croatia/Bosnia & Herzegovina' etc., rather than 'Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian music'. A glance at the titles of a cross-section of musicological studies indicates how widespread this was, and it was certainly a response to official directives to avoid divisions along national/ethnic lines, as such divisions were thought to threaten the unity of the state. There is no need now to go into the shifting and often contradictory attitudes towards that question in Yugoslavia throughout the post-World War II era, nor to look at the varying practices between the separate republics. It is enough to say that texts written by Serbian musicologists tended to support a Yugoslav line, whereas those by musicologists in the other Yugoslav nations tended towards a more centrifugal, separatist approach. All this takes on very particular meanings in light of later political events, culminating of course in the violent dissolution of Yugoslavia in the early 1990s.

As for Yugoslavia functioning as an umbrella for several different peoples/nations and many minorities, it is evident that music historians were reluctant to provide a Yugoslav context for their separate national histories. That can be seen, for instance, in the ways – especially in the case of Croatian and Slovenian texts – the narrations tended either to marginalize the importance of the founding of the new state in 1918, or indeed to criticize it. Stress was placed on continuity with the earlier musical history of the particular nation in question, as if such an immense event as the founding of a new state had no effect, and certainly no positive effect, on musical life, and as if no comment was necessary about the newly created South-Slav (minus Bulgarian) context. This is the case with

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relevance of Vasilije Mokranjac, an outstanding Serbian composer of the second half of the twentieth century, is explained in just one sentence!

Cvetko's chapters on Slovenian music in the three-authored book, where the founding of Yugoslavia is only mentioned in passing.<sup>41</sup> In the same book Andreis points only to the negative aspects of the new politics, remarking that 'the centralist constitution [...] was such that it denied them [i.e. Croats and other Yugoslav peoples] the possibility of preserving their national characteristics and protecting their interests in the new Yugoslav state'. However, such claims, no matter how much truth they possessed, were not borne out by the musical material that was actually presented.<sup>42</sup> It was only Stana Đurić-Klajn who gave a short, but balanced account of the effects of the new political circumstances on the field of music after the creation of Yugoslavia.<sup>43</sup>

At the end of this chapter, it may be helpful to summarize the main points. The music histories offer a great deal of material for exploring the self-representations of the Yugoslav peoples, now independent nations that constantly competed for an autonomous status and for wider recognition as Europeanized/westernized, and thus worthy of being accepted by the European community of nations as legitimate co-members. How successful this was could be analysed on some other occasion, but generally speaking, the effects seemed to have been unsatisfactory.<sup>44</sup> The difficulties of writing both national and Yugoslav music histories can be seen as a mirror to some basic problems that had consistently faced the political leaders of the new state, notably the problem of harmonizing heterogeneous cultural heritages and meeting the political interests of constitutive nations and minorities. Now that Yugoslavia does not exist any more, a non-nationalistic history of music in Yugoslavia from its beginning to its end (during 72 years) might be possible, one that would be able to provide something one might reasonably expect of such a history:

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<sup>41</sup> See Cvetko's chapter, 'Putovi i uspjesi daljeg razvoja moderne' [Directions and Successes in the Further Development of Moderna], in *Historijski razvoj*, 502 *passim*. See also the analogous chapter in the French translation: 'La période des orientations nouvelles', *Histoire de la musique slovène*, 292.

<sup>42</sup> See Andreis's chapter, 'Muzička kultura u Hrvatskoj između dva svjetska rata' [Musical Culture in Croatia Between the Two World Wars], in *Historijski razvoj*, 196. See also the English translation: Andreis, *Music in Croatia*, 229.

<sup>43</sup> See Đurić-Klajn's chapter, 'Stilske tendencije između dva rata' [Stylistic Tendencies Between the Two World Wars], in *Historijski razvoj*, 684-5 (English translation, *Serbian Music Through the Ages*, 147).

<sup>44</sup> See Dragotin Cvetko, 'The Present Relationship Between the Historiography of Music in Eastern and Western Europe', *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, ix/2 (1978), 151-60.



observations critical of all ideologies and open to discussions of aesthetic evaluation, mutual influences and non-coerced cooperation. Since a certain 'historical distance' is needed for such a project, its author will probably be somebody who was born only after the disintegration of Yugoslavia.

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## Chapter 3

### DISCIPLINING THE NATION: MUSIC IN SERBIA UNTIL 1914

*Biljana Milanović*

The expression ‘disciplining the nation’ connotes here a set of strategies whose collective aim is to explore how ideological, and in particular national, projects associated with an official political discourse resonated within a much broader concept of culture (here musical culture), one that could influence the minds and hearts of individuals, and could thus create a homogeneous body of experience and knowledge identifiable as ‘the nation’. I begin, then, with the roles of political, social and historical contexts – roles that have perhaps been somewhat overemphasized in earlier writing – in enabling and establishing a European musical culture in Serbia, starting from the 1830s. However, since these contexts involved processes of modernization, ‘disciplining the nation’, which was primarily about exercises in being a good Serbian, also involved exercises in being a modern citizen. This by no means implies a reinvestment in older musical discourses premised on a binary opposition of Serbia and Europe. Local musical practices in Serbia, like other cultural practices, and indeed like the modern concept of the nation itself, were initially formed in the context of so-called Europeanization. Thus, I understand them as parts of a much broader process, one that Edgar Morin defines as a cultural dialogue within the system of a European polyculture.<sup>1</sup>

The notion of ‘disciplining’ both the nation and modern society could embrace various compositional and performing practices that were active in Serbia within the context of ideological and political articulations of the nation prior to 1914. But the corpus of choral singing associated with what was then, and to some extent still is, regarded as a national canon of Serbian art music is especially indicative. It was concentrated around the activities of the *Beogradsko pevačko društvo* [Belgrade Choral Society] and of its conductor Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac (1856–1914), whose fifteen choral suites, named *rukoveti* [garlands], were the most

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<sup>1</sup> Edgar Morin, *Penser l'Europe* (Paris: Gallimard, 1987).

highly valued works in Serbian music at the turn of the century. Although they were subject to criticism by those anxious to demonstrate the ‘originality’ of Serbian art music – a much sought-after quality throughout the twentieth century, but more open to challenge in recent musicological writings – the *rukoveti* have always scored highly in terms of authenticity, to cite yet another essentially contested term. From that point of view they established and confirmed their reputation through public performances (highly acclaimed by critics and audiences alike), through their resonance in both compositional history and musicological discourse, and through their strong, if changing, profile in subsequent reception.

Starting with Mokranjac’s positioning relative to the nation, my aim is to question several important aspects of musical culture in the Serbia of his time, based partly on my earlier research on Mokranjac and ‘symbolic geography’. Two separate ideological steps towards imagining the Serbian nation were taken in his compositional project of *rukoveti*, as well as a third step (in his role as a choral conductor) that signalled his later identification with a much broader pan-Yugoslav mutuality.<sup>2</sup> I stress the importance of Mokranjac as an ‘engaged’ intellectual, the first Serbian musician who really did attempt to respond to official political discourses by way of a fully rounded artistic project. As showed by Jane Fulcher in her work on French music, the active relationship of many composers to the broader political and intellectual movements of their time is crucial to a better understanding of their creative works. They ‘faced the same questions as [...] intellectuals in other fields’, locating themselves in relation to either the dominant ideological positions adopted by the status quo or alternatively to more subversive, counter-cultural positions. Thus ‘the most important issue for them was how to respond’ to such various stances ‘through symbolic gestures, as well as by stylistic decisions’ and other options enabled by ‘the unique register provided by their art’.<sup>3</sup> The

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<sup>2</sup> I considered these topics in detail in the following texts: ‘Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac et les aspects de l’ethnicité et du nationalisme’, *Études Balkaniques* (Recherches interdisciplinaires sur les mondes hellénique et balkanique), xiii (2006), 147–70; ‘Muzičko projektovanje nacije: etnosimbolizam Mokranjčevih rukoveti’ [Musical Projections of the Nation: the Ethno-symbolism of Mokranjac’s *Rukoveti*], *Muzikologija/Musicology*, xvii (2014), forthcoming; ‘Musical Representations of Mokranjac and the Belgrade Choral Society as a Form of Cultural Diplomacy’, in Biljana Milanović (ed.), *Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac (1856–1914): The Belgrade Choral Society Foreign Concert Tours* (Belgrade: Institute of Musicology SANU and Serbian Musicological Society, 2014), 11–42.

<sup>3</sup> In defining ‘intellectual’, Fulcher underlines three important aspects: (i) their work and its status qualifies them to propose a ‘direction to society’, (ii) they

case of Mokranjac as public intellectual opens up in turn much wider questions about change within Serbian music itself. In due course music in Serbia achieved sufficient professional and creative status to participate in elite creative enterprises involved with the cultural and aesthetic paradigm of national identity. In that context, I examine in particular Mokranjac's relation to a model of patriarchal culture. This is crucial for a better understanding of his compositional project and its effects on younger musician-intellectuals, as well as its manifestation in choral performances of that time, where it was strongly marked by a 'myth of authenticity'.

The theoretical aspects of my study comprise the legacy of both constructivist theories and the interactionist theories of Fredrik Barth, but also rely on elements of theoretical discourses critical of modernist thinking that could be helpful for a consideration of Mokranjac and Serbian music. Among them is Liah Greenfeld's idea that nationalism is a 'path to modernity', while the nation is an element in the transformation of the old order into modern society.<sup>4</sup> Although I dissociate myself from Greenfeld's typology of nationalisms, I believe that her inversion of the modernist position makes sense in relation to the so-called European periphery, in which processes of urbanization, industrialization and democratization followed the formation of the nation and the nation state. Such was the case with Serbia, and my initial premise relies precisely on the above-mentioned inversion. At the same time, the ethno-symbolism associated with Anthony Smith, and especially those aspects through which the articulation of national identity activates connections with pre-modern myths, recollections and collective symbols, can be a fruitful line of enquiry if we seek to contextualize so-called 'folk music' and its role in art works. Moreover, in his recent approaches Smith underlines 'the reciprocal influence of elites and non-elites', whose relationship is important in 'the processes by which the highly abstract concept' of the community 'became the concrete "body" of the nation, a visible and palpable creation, to be apprehended by the senses'. According to Smith, 'central to this

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practise professions that inherently predispose them to the treatment of general ideas or philosophies concerning both society and its most appropriate means of governance, (iii) they have 'clout' because they bring to their political or ideological involvement a reputation and renown that they have gained elsewhere, in their own fields. See Jane Fulcher, *The Composer as Intellectual. Music and Ideology in France 1914–1940* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 4–5.

<sup>4</sup> Liah Greenfeld, *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1992).

process of embodiment has been the rise of an aesthetic politics in which artists of all kinds have been encouraged not just to imagine, but to fashion, the nation'.<sup>5</sup>

#### BEING A COMPOSER-INTELLECTUAL IN SERBIA AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY

Several key aspects of the musical culture, and for that matter of the very history, of Serbia are important if we are to contextualize Mokranjac's achievement adequately. Serbia was among the first Balkan states to gain its (relative) independence from the Ottoman Empire, but not even after gaining full independence in 1878 did it achieve real national unity. Therefore, for policy-makers, the 'national question' remained a priority; it was even turned into a dogma that marginalized all other problems. Thus, the commitment to build a unified state prevailed over building a modern society, although insurmountable obstacles stood in the way of extending the territory to other areas populated by Serbs. As modern historians emphasize, the state itself assumed outstanding importance, and it represented – both in Serbia and in the broader region of the Balkans – a kind of 'substitute for society'. Social stratification took place very slowly, and entrepreneurs with sufficient capital were exiguous, while the institutions of civil society – quickly evolving from the second half of the century – were associated only with a small handful of urban environments and lacked the strength necessary to restrain the power of the state and to overcome the limitations of a prevailing agrarian society. Thus, it was only the state that was in a position to undertake substantial processes of modernization, but those initiatives were directed primarily toward the political and bureaucratic spheres, with only marginal impact on the economy and culture. The state was also 'the most important source of influence, prestige and wealth for individuals'. This is also what defined the character of the insufficiently differentiated Serbian elite, which was to a large extent confined to the civil service, and which did not possess the autonomy necessary to become, as a group, 'the chief "motor" of social change'.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Anthony D. Smith, *Ethno-symbolism and Nationalism: a Cultural Approach* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009), 32–33.

<sup>6</sup> Dubravka Stojanović, 'Ulje na vodi: politika i društvo u modernoj istoriji Srbije' [Oil on the Water: Politics and Society in the Modern History of Serbia], in Ljubodrag Dimić, Miroslav Jovanović and Dubravka Stojanović (eds), *Srbija 1804–2004: tri viđenja ili poziv na dijalog* [Serbia 1804–2004: Three Points of View

In such circumstances, music was invariably at the tail end of cultural policy, as we can see just by looking at the very late dates its institutions were established. For instance, the first music school in Belgrade that achieved any continuity in its work dates from 1899; it was as late as 1937 that an institution of higher musical education was established; the Belgrade Philharmonic was founded in 1923; the first opera seasons at the National Theatre occurred in the decade prior to the First World War, but uninterrupted work began only after 1920. This was the context that was to determine the long-lasting characteristics of Serbian musical culture, which was – due to the lack of professionals – dominated by the practices of amateur musicianship. For decades, a solution was sought in alternative lines of development. Certain practices, which in most European countries constituted a substantial but marginalized area of activity with respect to professional art music, represented in Serbia for a long time the pivotal force of creativity and performance. Due to the arduous work undertaken by certain individuals, such practices became the major source of the professionalization and stratification of musical life, as a developing art music sphere became increasingly separated off from more popular forms of music-making. We associate this especially with military ensembles and choral societies, some of which – the *Orkestar kraljeve garde* [Orchestra of The Royal Guard] or the Belgrade Choral Society, for example – were considered high-status activities by the social and artistic elite.

From the beginning of the twentieth century creative work in composition increasingly engaged with larger musical forms such as opera and symphony, but there were few opportunities to get such works performed or to maintain them in the repertoire. It is not surprising, then, that the national musical canon was established precisely within the confines of choral singing, which in most other European cultures existed somewhat in the margins of ‘high art’. In that sense, it was choral music that had the greatest potential to engage in cultural work. Moreover, already in previous decades it had proved itself a powerful mode of nationalist propaganda, not least because it created networks across diverse social strata within the state itself, and also among the Serbian diaspora. Partly by appropriating folk songs, this practice of singing promoted rural-urban solidarity, and nowhere more so than in the *rukoveti* by Stevan Mokranjac.

In the traditional manner of choral conductors, Mokranjac composed mostly *a cappella* vocal music and gave the premières of almost all

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or Invitation to a Dialogue] (Belgrade: Udruženje za društvenu istoriju, 2009), 115–48; at [http://www.udi.rs/dod\\_knj.asp?knj=149](http://www.udi.rs/dod_knj.asp?knj=149).



his works with the Belgrade Choral Society.<sup>7</sup> This strong tie with his predecessors and contemporaries also threw into relief his distinctiveness. Mokranjac raised the professional and artistic level in composition as well as in conducting and choral performance. The Belgrade Choral Society under his direction strengthened and expanded its influence, acting as one of the leading national institutions that set the bar for musical standards and did much to shape public taste. This was the fertile ground that enabled the *rukoveti* to become core repertoire, widely accepted and disseminated across the extensive network of Serbian choral ensembles. However, the prestige of the *rukoveti* was also down to their artistic qualities, their allusions to, but independence of, an earlier tradition of choral rhapsodies, and their establishment of a novel form in choral literature. Mokranjac accomplished a nice aesthetic equilibrium by selecting, combining, elaborating, alternating and mingling folk songs, by linking them musically and textually, by activating all parameters in order to create contrast, and by achieving an overall formal stability that is grounded in a suite or cycle, but at the same time fuses the separate elements into a single-movement whole, somewhat in the manner of some formal principles in instrumental music.<sup>8</sup> He relied on widely accepted

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<sup>7</sup> After his studies with E. Sachs at the Munich Conservatory (1879–83), he took private lessons in vocal polyphony with A. Parisotti in Rome and also studied with S. Jadassohn and C. Reinecke at the Leipzig Conservatory (1885–87). Mokranjac then became the conductor of the Belgrade Choral Society, and remained in this post until his death in 1914. His *rukoveti* were written for mixed chorus, but with frequent passages for soloists. The exceptions are the first, for male voice choir, and the fourth, for bass, mixed chorus, piano and castanets (cf. footnotes 11 and 12). Among other important works are *Primorski napjevi* [Coastland tunes], *Kozar* [Goatherd], Two Turkish Songs, the solo songs *Lem Edim* and *Tri junaka* [Three heroes] for bass and piano, music for the play *Ivkova slava* [Ivko's saint's day], the sacred choral works *Liturgija Sv. Jovana Zlatoustog* [Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom], and *Opelo* [Requiem]. For a list of works and bibliography, see Đorđe Perić, 'Bibliografija Stevana St. Mokranjca' [Bibliography of Stevan St. Mokranjac], in Dejan Despić and Vlastimir Peričić (eds), *Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac: Život i delo* (Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac. *Sabrana dela*, x) [Stevan Mokranjac: Life and Works (Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac. Collected works, x) (Belgrade and Knjaževac: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva; Muzičko-izdavačko preduzeće Nota, 1999), 251–408.

<sup>8</sup> Vlastimir Peričić, 'Beleške o formalnoj strukturi rukoveti' [Notes on the Formal Structures of the *Rukoveti*], *Stevan St. Mokranjac 1856–1981*. (Special edition of *Pro musica*, 5–8 September 1981, 68); Ksenija Stevanović, 'Tekstualno-muzička dramaturgija rukoveti' [Textual and Music Dramaturgy of the *Rukoveti*], *Novi Zvuk*, xiv (1999), 101–14.

archetypes from classicism and romanticism, already incorporated into the local artistic heritage, but by focusing on the rhythmic and tonal peculiarities of folk music he created a distinctive stylistic variant of those archetypes, and this was perceived by many of his contemporaries as the starting point for imagining a national musical art.<sup>9</sup> Finally, his *rukoveti* were the first works in Serbian music to arise from an aesthetically rounded and ideologically orientated compositional project. This not only secured their high status, but also presented Mokranjac as a composer-intellectual.

In addition, as a conductor, music pedagogue, folklorist, instrumentalist and energizer, Mokranjac laid the foundation stone for Serbian music in many other domains.<sup>10</sup> These pioneering initiatives both in creative

<sup>9</sup> For a discussion of stylistic connections to Serbian composers (Kornelije Stanković, Josif Marinković), influences from the Leipzig romanticists (Felix Mendelssohn, Robert Schumann) stemming from the years of his studies, and analogous compositional praxes in Brahms, Grieg and the Russians, see Nadežda Mosusova, 'Mesto Stevana Mokranjca među nacionalnim školama evropske muzike' [The Place of Stevan Mokranjac in the National Schools of European Music], in Mihailo Vukdragović (ed.), *Zbornik radova o Stevanu Mokranjcu* [Collection of Papers on Stevan Mokranjac] (Belgrade: SANU, 1971), 111–35; also Dejan Despić, 'Harmonski jezik i horska faktura u Mokranjčevim delima' [Harmonic Language and Choral Texture in Mokranjac's Works], in Dejan Despić and Vlasimir Peričić (eds), *Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac: Život i delo (Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac. Sabrana dela, x)* [Stevan Mokranjac: Life and Works (Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac. Collected works, x)] (Belgrade and Knjaževac: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva – Muzičko-izdavačko preduzeće Nota, 1999), 145–80.

<sup>10</sup> Mokranjac founded and performed in the first string quartet ensemble to appear in Serbia (1889), as well as establishing the first Serbian Musical School (1899, today the Musical School *Mokranjac*), of which he was the first director. He took part in foundation of the Union of Serbian Choral Societies, acting as a member of its Steering Committee (1905) and as its president (1906), and he helped form the Union of Serbian Musicians (1907), of which he was first president. At the turn of the century Mokranjac made foreign concert tours with the Belgrade Choral Society to the cities of the Austro-Hungarian, Ottoman, Russian and German empires, as well as to Bulgaria and Montenegro, and was thus involved in making the first organized presentation of Serbian music abroad. His educational work included a position in the Theological Seminary of St. Sava in Belgrade (1901–1914), where he modernized the teaching of church chant. He recorded traditional folk melodies and Serbian Orthodox church chants, laying the foundations for ethnomusicology in Serbia. At the peak of his career he was included in the work of the Ethnography Board of the Srpska kraljevska akademija [Serbian Royal Academy]. He became a corresponding member of the Academy in 1906.

and infrastructural spheres represent his key contributions to the modernizing of the nation. Mokranjac's position with the Belgrade Choral Society, which was patronized by the Serbian royal house, as well as his membership of the Freemasons, which included many important figures from the government and from different fields in public life, afforded him many possibilities for networking with key figures in Serbian politics and society. Through his many contacts he progressively acquired prestige, and that in turn helped him to improve the social standing of musical culture and to bring music gradually under the care of the state. Some of results, such as the procurement of a state subvention for the Serbian Musical School and government support for most of the foreign concert tours of the Belgrade Choral Society, evidence the increasing prominence of music in official state cultural policy as well as its enhanced importance as an agent of cultural diplomacy.

Mokranjac was never active in politics, but the nature of his work in various musical fields involved some interaction with the political sphere, and linked him closely to specialists in other intellectual and artistic domains in Serbia at that time. He was one of those individuals who are ready to adapt all their professional activities to the 'collective task' and to transform them into a 'national mission'. He was a representative of a national elite whose aim was to create the conditions that would finally provide a proper place for the Serbian nation within European polyculture. After their return from studies at the universities of Western and Central Europe, such intellectuals became leading figures in politics, education, science, literature and art. With a strong belief in the idea of national unification they saw the necessity to promote the professional standards and high artistic values associated with a European ideal, but at the same time to preserve political sovereignty and collective distinctiveness. Taking into account the role of educated elites as a primary force in articulating social and national consciousness, they shared the opinion of the influential scholar Jovan Cvijić: 'Those intellectuals who want to represent the most mature fruits of civilization for our nation have to influence its political and social development, have to inform, to express their opinion, regardless of the reactions of professional politicians'.<sup>11</sup>

Mokranjac's work in ethnomusicology might also be compared to some of Cvijić's ideas. His analytical approach to the material, based on western musical theory, represented a position that legitimized the spe-

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<sup>11</sup> Vesna Matović, *Srpska Moderna. Kulturni obrasci i književne ideje. Periodika* [Serbian Modernism. Cultural Models and Literary Ideas. Periodicals] (Belgrade: Institut za književnost i umetnost, 2007), 29.

cific ethnic tradition as a part of the wider European context. This way of thinking fitted the academic environment of that time, close to writings by Cvijić, Tihomir Đorđević and other scholars who relied on contemporary empirical and analytical methods when approaching a traditional patriarchal culture, having found in that culture what they believed to be more universal values. Mokranjac's affinity to the approach of that intellectual circle, which laid the groundwork for emergent disciplines of anthropogeography and ethnography in Serbia, was already apparent in his fieldwork in Priština (Kosovo) in 1894, when he examined patterns of migration and tried to gain insight into local music-making by different ethnic and confessional groups.<sup>12</sup> His relationship to the collection of folksong matured during his work with the Ethnography Board of the Serbian Royal Academy, when he stressed the need to use a phonograph and to publish clear guidelines for collecting.<sup>13</sup> We may assume that his approach was influenced by other members of the Board, among them the archaeologist Mihailo Valtrović and the linguist Jovan Belić, as well as Cvijić, who published *Uputstvo za proučavanje sela u Srbiji i ostalim srpskim zemljama* [Instructions for studying the villages of Serbia and other Serbian lands] in 1894. Finally, the focus of these scholars on territories beyond the state borders (especially Kosovo and Macedonia) was part of a much broader political, scholarly, cultural and artistic movement. Mokranjac participated in these dominant trends. His recordings of folk songs, and especially his embrace of the South as a new focus for Serbian musicians, was symptomatic of the widening field of research into local folklore. It was connected to other spheres of his activities, including his foreign concert tours and his creative work on the *rukoveti*.

#### SHAPING THE NATION THROUGH MUSIC: POLITICS, POETICS, IDEOLOGY

The chronology of composition, as well as the various titles given to the *rukoveti*, demonstrates the importance of symbolic geography, and is revealing of how Mokranjac conceived of the state and of the nation. The

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<sup>12</sup> The same was true of his other fieldwork, although we have limited information, since Mokranjac notated the songs rather casually in his meetings with some singers in Belgrade or on his tours with the Belgrade Choral Society. For example, he recorded some songs from Macedonia during the tour to Thessaloniki and Skopje in 1894, and it is possible that his eighteen recordings of Turkish and Greek songs originate from the same trip. For detailed information on the manuscripts, see Perić, 'Bibliografija', 316–17.

<sup>13</sup> Olivera Mladenović, 195–96.

first six works, each bearing the title *Iz moje domovine* [From my homeland] (1883–1892), contain folk melodies from the territory of what was then the Kingdom of Serbia, proclaimed in 1882.<sup>14</sup> The other nine compositions (1894–1909) indicate a widening of the symbolic space to include music from the regions to the south, southwest and west of the state borders, precisely those territories in which Serbs lived alongside other nations within the Ottoman Empire, including independent Montenegro and occupied Bosnia and Herzegovina.<sup>15</sup> Whereas the first group of *rukoveti* can be characterized as a cycle that through musical folklore articulates and reinforces the notions of the nation and its state, uniting them by the customary, emotionally effective yet politically neutral syntagm ‘my homeland’, the second group manifests a kind of displacement from that concept. The territory now acquires a strong political dimension, and the music becomes a projection of a desired, expanded state of the future. Considering that the strategies of official Serbian politics at the turn of the century were strongly concerned with the possibility of national unification, the imaginary geographical map of Mokranjac’s *rukoveti* even follows the chronology of political events. The southward advance during the era of both Serbian dynasties is mirrored in those works from the second half of the 1890s. Thus, the *rukovet* from Montenegro was written in 1896, when the relationships between the Petrović and Obrenović dynasties temporarily improved and the Montenegrin

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<sup>14</sup> I rukovet *Iz moje domovine* [Garland No. 1 *From my Homeland*] for male choir (1883), II rukovet *Iz moje domovine* [Garland No. 2 *From my Homeland*] for mixed chorus and tenor solo (1884), III rukovet *Iz moje domovine* [Garland No. 3 *From my Homeland*] for mixed chorus and tenor solo (1888), IV rukovet ‘Mirjano!’. *Iz moje domovine* [IV Garland ‘Mirjana!’. *From my Homeland*] for bass, mixed chorus, piano and castanets (1890), V rukovet *Iz moje domovine* [Garland No. 5 *From my Homeland*] for soprano and tenor solo and mixed chorus (1892), VI rukovet ‘Hajduk Veljko’. *Iz moje domovine* [Garland. No. 6 ‘Haiduk Veljko’. *From my Homeland*] for tenor solo and mixed chorus (1892).

<sup>15</sup> VII rukovet (*Iz Stare Srbije i Makedonije*) [Garland No. 7 (*From Old Serbia and Macedonia*)] for mixed chorus and tenor solo (1894), VIII rukovet (*Sa Kosova*) [Garland No. 8 (*From Kosovo*)] for mixed chorus (1896), IX rukovet (*Iz Crne Gore*) [Garland No. 9 (*From Montenegro*)] for mixed chorus (1896), X rukovet (*Sa Ohrida*) [Garland No. 10 (*From Ohrid*)] for mixed chorus (1901), XI rukovet (*Iz Stare Srbije*) [Garland No. 11 (*From Old Serbia*)] for mixed chorus (1905), XII rukovet (*Sa Kosova*) [Garland No. 12 (*From Kosovo*)] for mixed choir (1906), XIII rukovet (*Iz Srbije*) [Garland No. 13 (*From Serbia*)] for mixed choir (1907), XIV rukovet (*Iz Bosne*) [Garland No. 14 (*From Bosnia*)] for mixed choir (1908), XV rukovet (*Iz Makedonije*) [Garland No. 15 (*From Macedonia*)] for mixed choir (1909).

prince Nikola visited Belgrade, while the *rukovet* from Bosnia dates from the time of the Bosnian Annexation in 1908. Finally, the second group of works represents an anticipation, as it were, of later events, for the projected state project would partly be confirmed by the change of state boundaries after the Balkan Wars.

If this context represents two distinct phases in the composer's projection of the nation and its territory, then Mokranjac's work as a conductor might be perceived as a third phase, mapping an even larger symbolic space. It was precisely after the completion of the last *rukovet* that Mokranjac toured the regions of what would eventually become Yugoslavia. The programmes of these tours, organized in 1910 and 1911, indicate that, besides his own works, Mokranjac performed almost exclusively works by Yugoslav composers.<sup>16</sup> The *rukoveti* were designed to represent the territories of Serbia, Bosnia, Montenegro and Macedonia. In order to designate Croatia and Slovenia he added his *Primorski napjevi* [Coastland Tunes] and songs by Matej Hubad. To this, he added a few choruses by Petar Konjović, Franjo Vilhar and other composers, as well as two Turkish songs he composed himself. That is how he delineated the map of an imaginary Yugoslavia.

Most of these travels had a national and political character. The concert tour in Cetinje was organized as part of the coronation ceremony of the Montenegrin Prince Nikola. The anniversary of the Serbian Women's Charitable Society was the occasion to perform in Sarajevo, whereas his trip to Mostar was conceived as the national mustering of local Serbs. Concerts in Split, Zadar and Šibenik resulted from a collaboration between the Belgrade Freemasons and the Mayor of Split, who, together with several Dalmatian politicians, championed the idea of Yugoslav unity and the New Course policy. Such were the diverse contexts in which Mokranjac and his choir were invariably greeted with rapturous applause, with the concept of the programme warmly embraced, either from the standpoint of Serbian nationalism or of Yugoslav unity.

However, in the years prior to World War I, Yugoslavism was not thought to be in contradiction to the conception of an expanded Serbia, but rather represented an extension of the ubiquitous 'national question', guided by the general aim of liberating the Balkan regions from Ottoman or Austro-Hungarian rule. It was not unusual for many of the elite to change their attitude and extend their notions of Serbhood into Yugoslavism, as was the case with Jovan Cvijić, Stojan Novaković and other

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<sup>16</sup> Milanović, 'Musical Representations of Mokranjac and the Belgrade Choral Society'.

politicians and scholars with whom Mokranjac was in contact. The sense of an imminent Yugoslavia could invite feelings of narrow national affiliation as well as of wider Slav mutuality. These modalities of identification functioned as segmented identities, which did not exclude, but rather subsumed one another. The permeability of borders was seen as the possible fulfilment of goals that would be difficult to achieve within existing frames of identity, and the adoption of Yugoslav and Slav ideologies was often perceived as a way to preserve separate national communities within a common circle.<sup>17</sup> Despite differences in the imaginings of Yugoslavism, this was a position shared by many intellectuals and artists from the territories of Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Vojvodina, Bosnia and Herzegovina and, until the Balkan wars, Bulgaria. There were frequent mutual contacts through Yugoslav Youth congresses, meetings of writers, journalists and teachers, art societies and their exhibitions, theatre and musical performances, and other forums for the exchange of ideas.<sup>18</sup> Furthermore, such events confirmed that there was a similar mood among the 'ordinary' people, who gave expression to a kind of 'underground Yugoslavism' as 'the need to create some informal connections to the people that speak understandable, if not the same, language'.<sup>19</sup> The concert tours of Mokranjac and the Belgrade Choral Society acted as exactly such cases of the interconnectedness of elites and non-elites. The formal concerts, as well as various occasions for informal singing and sentiments expressed during speeches, toasts, warm welcomes and mass gatherings, all showed this 'reciprocal influence', something visible and palpable, an aural 'embodiment' of collectiveness (Smith).<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Ljubinka Trgovčević, 'South Slav Intellectuals and the Creation of Yugoslavia', in Dejan Djokić (ed.), *Yugoslavism. Histories of a Failed Idea 1918–1992* (London: Hurst and Company, 2003), 222–37.

<sup>18</sup> Trgovčević, 'South Slav Intellectuals'; Đorđe Stanković, *Srbija i stvaranje Jugoslavije* [Serbia and the Creation of Yugoslavia] (Belgrade: Službeni glasnik, 2009), 9–12; Ljubinka Trgovčević, *Evropski uzori u razmatranju jugoslovenskog ujedinjenja među srpskim intelektualcima početkom 20. veka* [European Role Models in Consideration of Yugoslav Unification among Serbian Intellectuals at the Beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century], in Hans-Georg Fleck and Igor Graovac (eds), *Dijalog povjesničara/istoričara* [Dialogue of Historians], iii (Zagreb: Zaklada Friedrich Naumann, 2001), 259–61.

<sup>19</sup> Dubravka Stojanović, *Kaldrma i asfalt* [Cobblestones and Asphalt] (Belgrade: Udruženje za društvenu istoriju, 2008), 229–235.

<sup>20</sup> Milanović, 'Musical Representations of Mokranjac and the Belgrade Choral Society'.

Resolving the 'national question' acted as a strong impetus behind Mokranjac's *rukoveti*, and this agenda was completely incorporated within his poetics of music, with the musical integration of the community through folk songs as the major creative task. It was primarily imagined as a projection of the Serbian nation, but it could also be directed towards a sense of Yugoslav identity, demonstrating the flexibility and breadth of Mokranjac's conception and also the dynamism, variability and relativity of the very category of the national. The name of the genre clearly symbolized his artistic project. Denoting 'the amount of crop that one could hold in single hand', the Serbian term '*rukovet*' alluded to the harvest,<sup>21</sup> and this strong rural association pointed directly to folk music as an essential constituent of the national art music project.

Considering the *rukoveti* through the prism of Anthony Smith's ethnosymbolism may point us towards a whole repertoire of musical and textual symbols. Mokranjac displayed them as a representative sample in the legitimizing of national consolidation and homogenization, constructing at the same time his own creative poetics. Searching for the results of population drifts and regional blending, he chose musical and textual examples of both ancient and recent rural traditions, as well as songs from semi-urban settings that preserve the foundation of patriarchal culture. Through such very different kinds of material, he underlined multiple historical layers of traditional culture as well as the affinities between ethnic groups and regions.

His focus was above all on lyrical songs. It was in these songs that he found poetic, emotional and dramatic episodes from the archaic rural community, or alternatively elements of *sevdah* and other idioms from the semi-urban environment. Accordingly, there is only one isolated example (in *Rukovet* No. 6) that explicitly refers to historical memory, represented by the ballad of the famous national hero and *haiduk*, Veljko Petrović. However, the strongest ethnosymbolism proceeds from the multitude of tales from everyday life, the pastoral motives and the imaginary landscapes. Along with geographical toponyms, they produce an 'ethno-scape' endowed with poetic meanings and with ethnic memories implicitly built in. 'If the community is thereby "naturalised" and becomes a part of its environment, its landscapes become conversely "historicised" and bear the imprint of the community's peculiar historical development. Through these processes, the territorialisation of memories and attachments creates the idea of a homeland tied to a particular people

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<sup>21</sup> Đurić-Klajn, *Istorijski razvoj muzičke kulture u Srbiji* [Historical Development of Musical Culture in Serbia] (Belgrade: Pro musica, 1971), 179.



and, conversely, of a people inseparable from a specific ethno-scape'.<sup>22</sup> Thus, the *rukoveti* achieve a relationship to historical and mythical contexts that were already inscribed in the symbolic geography of their titles. Here a special place was allotted to Kosovo and Old Serbia, marked by the mythic recollections of the nation's 'sacred place' and medieval empire.

The musical ethno-symbolism of Mokranjac's *rukoveti* is inseparable from characteristic elements of his style, since all matured together, and it is also revealed through his investigation of folklore. Some of the symbols were singled out by composer himself in the Foreword of his *Collection of songs and dances from Levač* (1902). He presented them as musical ethno-symbols, 'a musical grammar and logic, according to which our people sing and dance', imagining them as the principal ground for Serbian art music. In addition to the rhythmic peculiarities and formal structures of folk melodies, some characteristic scales were especially important, because of the harmonizations they implied. Mokranjac liked to end melodic lines on the second degree of the major and minor scales, and he employed the augmented seconds, 'Lydian' fourths and/or augmented sixths that were grounded in Balkan and/or 'gypsy' scales. Harmonic progressions deriving from these elements contributed to the prominence of the secondary dominant sphere, which directed Mokranjac's harmonies 'to the dominant tonality', as well as to frequent oscillations between the dominant and the principal key.<sup>23</sup> These melodic and harmonic features were found in various songs from different regions, and thus produced a relatively unified creative world suggestive of an integral image of the nation and its music. In addition, Mokranjac explored elements of modality and applied them to diatonic melodies, resulting in completely new stylistic features in Serbian music of that time. There were only a few conspicuous examples of these procedures, for the majority of the songs belonged to a more widely understood and accepted form of modality.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Smith, *Ethno-symbolism and Nationalism*, 50.

<sup>23</sup> Despić, 'Harmonski jezik i horska faktura', 164–165.

<sup>24</sup> One example is the song 'Cveće cafnalo' [The Flowers have Blossomed] (Rukovet No. 12), where there is an oscillation between Aeolian A minor and its relative C major, as well as song 'Biljana platno beleše' [Biljana whitened her linen] (No. 10), in which the oscillation between Bb major and its relative G minor brings a more consistent presence of Aeolian features of the minor scale and its harmonic treatment. Other shorter examples include the presence of chord connections outside classical tonal functions, the use of plagal relations and secondary degrees chords (see Mosusova, 'Mesto Stevana Mokranjca', 123–28; Despić, 'Harmonski jezik i horska faktura', 165–69).

However, for some of Mokranjac's successors, as well as for many scholars, these novelties were enough to reveal a 'pure' element of Serbian and Slav 'authenticity'. Contrary to these interpretations, Mokranjac himself by no means marginalized the 'oriental' layers of the local heritage. On the contrary, most of his *rukoveti* presented an inclusiveness and a constant blending of older and newer ethno-historical elements in order to construct a unique tradition of national song, as an integral time-and-space image of the nation.

For example, by using the songs that represented the products of semi-urban heritage under the Ottomans, he established connections between the regions of Vranje (Rukovet No. 4) and Negotinska Krajina (Rukovet No. 6) in Serbia and the territory of Bosnia (Rukovet No. 13).<sup>25</sup> In addition, in some cases when he denoted a peasant surrounding he introduced an 'oriental' atmosphere, expressed by melodies of an improvisatory character, with melisma and characteristic augmented seconds.<sup>26</sup> In these processes of creative blending, there are examples of a very individual imagining of the folk tradition. Thus, one of songs from the Bosnian *rukovet*, 'Što no mi se Travnik zamaglio?' [Why is Travnik so misty?], does not display the kind of melismatic richness we might expect of *sevdalinka* songs. Its harmonization shows traces of modality, and this, together with its structure and the treatment of the choral voices, recalls Russian songs, as indeed do some other examples of diatonic melodies in Mokranjac's works.<sup>27</sup> The other case, the final song from the sixth *rukovet*, 'Bolan mi leži, more, Kara-Mustafa' (Kara-Mustafa lies ailing), does not contain the 'oriental' elements we might have expected from its

<sup>25</sup> The song 'Mirjano' (No. 4), was transferred from Prizren (in Kosovo) to Vranje by the writer Zarija R. Popović and from there to Belgrade by the writer Dragutin Ilić, who changed its text before singing it to Mokranjac. The song belongs to the same circle of semi-urban heritage as a *sevdalinka* 'Što no mi se Travnik zamaglio?' [Why is Travnik so Misty?] (No. 14) and Roma-lautari song 'Knjigu piše Mula-paša' [Mula-Pasha Pens a Letter] (No. 6).

<sup>26</sup> Typical cases are the songs 'Čimbičice, čimbi mi dala' [A Pretty Handkerchief you have Given Me] (No. 3) and 'Prošeta' devet, majko, godini' [Nine Years I've Spent, Mother] (No. 15). Here the augmented seconds are the result of the 'sharpened' scale degree of the Balkan scale; they come near the beginning of 'Knjigu piše Mula-paša'. All of these songs are characterized by a changing metre. Thus: 4/4–3/4–4/4 in the first song, 4/4–2/4–4/4–2/4–3/4–4/4–2/4–4/4–2/4–3/4 in the second one, and 5/8–7/8 in the third.

<sup>27</sup> The similarity between elements from Rukovet No. 6 and the polyphony of Russian folk song is stressed in Ivan Martynov, *Stevan Mokranjac i serbskaia muzyka* (Moskva: Gosudarstvennoe muzykal'noe izdatel'stvo, 1955).

text. The first two melo-stanzas (4+4), with descending diatonic moves within the range of a major sixth, resemble the song 'Pušči me' (Let me out) from the tenth, Macedonian, *rukovet*, the composition that would come to be perceived as the purest expression of Slav and Serbian authenticity by many of Mokranjac's successors.

These examples illustrate some of typical ways in which Mokranjac made creative play with a notionally integral folk tradition, representing a true meeting point between the political and the poetical aspects of his artistic project.<sup>28</sup> Moreover, his approach to the folk heritage could then serve as a very broad reference point for the treatment of all musical and textual parameters to make possible a balanced form and structure, and at the same time to stay connected to the idea of a musically integrated nation.

#### QUESTIONING THE CULTURAL MODEL

A good deal of recent scholarship has been devoted to demonstrating that the songs used in the *rukoveti* cannot really be considered an authentic record of folk material 'in the field'. Processes of creative stylization and aestheticization are typical of the approach of the Romantics to folklore, and they are important features of Mokranjac's poetics too. It is also important to make a distinction between his activities in ethnomusicology and in composition. Although the former were directly stimulated by his artistic project (since he wanted to use those songs in his works), as a scholar he sought to notate the songs in a manner as close as possible to how he heard them in the field. Those songs were transformed in his *rukoveti* in the process of composing.<sup>29</sup> However, despite the fact that

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<sup>28</sup> For more discussion see Milanović, 'Muzičko projektovanje nacije: etnosimbolizam Mokranjčevih rukoveti'.

<sup>29</sup> This distinction has sometimes been neglected or treated ambivalently by recent researchers. For example, Dragoslav Dević was the first to undertake comparative research on some of the folk songs Mokranjac both notated in the field and used in his *rukoveti*, and his conclusion was that a song became 'something different when it was a component of the *rukoveti*, since it underwent changes according to the "higher purposes of the musical art"' (Dragoslav Dević, 'Neke narodne melodije u Rukovetima Stevana Mokranjca' [Some Folk Melodies in the *Rukoveti* of Stevan Mokranjac], in Mihailo Vukdragović (ed.), *Zbornik radova o Stevanu Mokranjcu* [Collection of Papers on Stevan Mokranjac] (Belgrade: SANU, 1971), 53). However, despite the fact that less than half of more than eighty *rukoveti* songs were identified as having been notated in the field, Dević thinks that all the other songs should also be included among them (Dragoslav Dević, 'Predgovor' [Introduction] to Dragoslav Dević (ed.), *Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac: Etno-*

Mokranjac made numerous changes to the folk melodies, blending them and even inventing some of them, he does not seek to escape the powerful image of an unchanging body of folk material. His works thus 'give an impression of an authenticity in which his contemporaries, as well as many later authors, could 'believe'.<sup>30</sup> For Mokranjac as an engaged intellectual it was important not to dissociate himself from the foundational procedures of the folk singer, but rather 'to build a sung line (melo-line), then a sung stanza (melo-stanza)'.<sup>31</sup> Thus, a melo-line was an initial segment of the horizontal musical and textual structure of the *rukoveti*, an element by means of which the composer could transmit or simulate the creative process of the anonymous author, producing an image of an 'untouched' material, regardless of its derivation. Through this dimension of collectivism we can see Mokranjac's close connection to the patriarchal culture, and it remained an important ethno-symbolist element in both the politics and the poetics of his artistic project. At the same time, it provided a platform for free invention when it came to the next stages in composing the work, when the patriarchal culture would be subject to transfiguration by his individual creative imperatives.<sup>32</sup>

Already from the time of Mokranjac's work, his project 'was marked by the myth of an authentic collective musical expression of the nation'. A decisive role in the emergence of such images 'was played by many

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*muzikološki zapisi* (Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac. *Sabrana dela*, ix) [Stevan Mokranjac: Ethnomusicological Works (Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac. Collected works, ix)] (Belgrade and Knjaževac: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva – Muzičko-izdavačko preduzeće Nota, 1996), xvii; Dragoslav Dević, 'Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac – melograf i etnomuzikolog' [Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac – Recorder of Songs and Ethnomusicologist], *Novi Zvuk* xxviii (2006), 21). A different line is taken by Srđan Atanasovski, who is suspicious of Mokranjac's observation that he notated the songs as accurately as possible. He claims that Mokranjac sometimes recorded his folk songs not as he heard them but as he imagined them in the *rukovet*. See Srđan Atanasovski, 'Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac and Producing the Image of Serbian Folk-Song: *Garlands from "Old Serbia"* as a Form of Musical Travelogue', *Musicological Annual / Muzikološki zbornik* xlviii/1 (2012), 86.

<sup>30</sup> See, for example, Sonja Marinković, 'Delo Stevana Mokranjca u kritičkom sudu njegovih naslednika' [The Work of Stevan Mokranjac in the Critical Judgment of his Successors], *Razvitak*, i–ii (1991), 78–82.

<sup>31</sup> Dragoslav Dević, 'Neke narodne melodije u Rukovetima Stevana Mokranjca' [Some Folk Melodies in the *Rukoveti* of Stevan Mokranjac], in Mihailo Vukdragović (ed.), *Zbornik radova o Stevanu Mokranjcu* [Collection of Papers on Stevan Mokranjac] (Belgrade: SANU, 1971), 53.

<sup>32</sup> Milanović, 'Muzičko projektovanje nacije: etnosimbolizam Mokranjčevih rukoveti'.

factors incorporated into the whole context, from the artistic reception and written discourse to the large-scale performances and public recognition from the audience and critics'.<sup>33</sup> The concert programmes were among the important factors that contributed to the myth of authenticity, since the *rukoveti* were occasionally presented without their titles but with subheadings indicating which geographical areas the folk songs came from. In addition, a similar impression was produced by published collections of folk songs, and sometimes tunes from the *rukoveti* were printed as part of such collections.<sup>34</sup> These practices were important in the processes of national homogenization both within the state and throughout the diaspora at the turn of the century, when Mokranjac's works were being disseminated by many choral societies. In that sense, they acted to shape an image of the nation and also to project that image to wider social groups, reaching out to the 'ordinary' people as well as to the social and intellectual elites, though we need to be clear that this image – indeed this whole concept of the nation – originated with the latter.

The key player here was undoubtedly the Belgrade Choral Society, which was very active in the construction and presentation of its own national mission. The Society presented itself as the guardian and transmitter of Serbian song. At the turn of the century, it developed a very distinctive form of self-presentation, expressed through travelogues from some of its concert tours. These publications, and especially the memorial collection written on the fiftieth anniversary of the Society by Spira Kalik, the director of the chorus, treated the Society as the real power behind the national musical tradition.<sup>35</sup> In that context, they assigned the main role

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<sup>33</sup> Milanović, 'Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac et les aspects de l'ethnicité et du nationalisme', 154.

<sup>34</sup> Both types of examples are stressed by Atanasovski, 'Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac and Producing the Image of Serbian Folk-Song', 82. The policy of changing the titles of Mokranjac's works was the important part of the strategy of presentation on his foreign concert tours with the Belgrade Choral Society (see Milanović, 'Musical Representations of Mokranjac and the Belgrade Choral Society').

<sup>35</sup> Sr. J. Stojković, *Na lepom srpskom Dunavu. Od Beograda do Radujevca* [On the Beautiful Serbian Danube. From Belgrade to Radujevac] (Belgrade: Štamparija Kraljevine Srbije, 1893); Jedan izaslanik (Miloš Cvetić) [One envoy, (Miloš Cvetić)], *O Gundulićevoj proslavi* [About Gudulić's Celebration] (Belgrade: Štamparija Kraljevine Srbije, 1893); Spira Kalik, *Iz Beograda u Solun i Skoplje s Beogradskim pevačkim društvom. (Putničke beleške)* [From Belgrade to Thessaloniki and Skopje with the Belgrade Choral Society (Traveller's Notes)] (Belgrade: Štamparija P. K. Tanaskovića, 1894); Dragomir Brzak, *Sa Avale na Bosfor. (Putne beleške sa pohoda Beogradskog pevačkog društva)* [From Avala to the Bosphorus

and agency to Serbian folk song. Perceived as a national classic that could preserve a sense of collective authenticity, it was mythologized as a timeless, sacred representation of national identity. Serbian song was understood as literature and history at the same time, reflecting all aspects of everyday life throughout the ages, and an everyday life that had always remained aloof from foreign influences. The mission of the Society and of its composers was to preserve folk songs in order to connect the past and the future of the nation, and to maintain this precious sense of authenticity in the modern world. Stereotypes that celebrated a patriarchal culture were part of the common ideology of Serbian literature and art during the nineteenth century, but their effects could be intensified and reactivated in music, which lacked a robust compositional tradition. Mokranjac apparently accepted this tradition of self-presentation without question. Although he gave his own version of a patriarchal culture, expressed through his concept of consolidating folk song, he was willing to be perceived as one who transmitted its 'authenticity'. It seems clear that the main reason for this was the fact that such images could ensure a rapid and widespread acceptance of his music across different strata of society.

The other reason was probably Mokranjac's indifference to an aesthetic that prioritizes originality, to invoke another myth that has accompanied the reception of his creative work.<sup>36</sup> Actually, one must stress that the concept of originality did not yet burden the Serbian music of Mokranjac's time. It would be constituted only with those younger composers-intellectuals who began by treating Mokranjac's works as one part of their imagining of an 'original' national art music. Before becoming leading composers of Serbian modernism in the period between the two

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(Travel Notes from the Tour of the Belgrade Choral Society)] (Belgrade: Izdanje i štampa Dragoljuba Miroslavljevića, 1897); Mil. L. Komarčić, *Na Adriju ... Sa Beogradskim pevačkim društvom kroz Bosnu, Hercegovinu, Crnu Goru i Dalmatinsko primorje. (Putničke beleške)* [Towards Adria ... Through Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro and the Dalmatian Coast with the Belgrade Choral Society (Travel-ler's Notes)] (Belgrade: Električna štamparija S. Horovica, 1911); Spomenica Beogradskog pevačkog društva prilikom proslave pedesetogodišnjice 25. maja 1903. god [Memorial Chronicle on the Occasion of the 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Celebration on 25 May 1903] (Belgrade: 'Miloš Veliki' – Štamparija Bojovića i Mičića, 1903).

<sup>36</sup> See Tijana Popović-Mladenović, 'Mit o originalnosti i recepcija stvaralaštva Stevana Stojanovića Mokranjca u kontekstu pisane reči o muzici' [The Myth of Originality and the Reception of the Work of Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac in the Context of Musical Writings], in Ivana Perković-Radak and Tijana Popović-Mladenović (eds), *Mokranjcu na dar* (Beograd and Negotin: FMU – Dom kulture Stevan Mokranjac: 2006), 241–63.

world wars, the main representatives of the then youngest generation, Petar Konjović (1883–1970), Miloje Milojević (1884–1946) and Stevan Hristić (1885–1958), started to imagine a national music, and they did so right from the very beginning of their artistic activities. Already in the years prior to the Balkan wars (1912–1913), they strived to enrich the local musical culture with new genres as well as to broaden its stylistic base with elements drawn from impressionism.<sup>37</sup> Their work was strongly imbued with reflections on national music, but it was also close in some ways to the modernist quest that characterized a good deal of Serbian literature at the time. The question of whether to radicalize the creative relationship to a traditional patriarchal culture in order to achieve more subjective and modern artistic results, or alternatively to find a new model that would not rest on musical folklore, marked their works and their writings, as well as signalling future debates about the identity of Serbian music.<sup>38</sup> However, the power of the images related to Mokranjac's works was not totally bypassed by this generation, and their early evaluation of the *rukoveti* directly confirms that Mokranjac was still regarded as a model. Hristić stressed that the *rukoveti* 'laid out for the rest of us a kind of harmonic system, together with Serbian motives and related "exotic" features',<sup>39</sup> understanding these works as collections of folk songs that 'provided a path and direction for Serbian music'.<sup>40</sup> Highly appreciating the *rukoveti*, 'which stand on firm artistic ground', Konjović highlighted that they are 'the best selected folk-songs, both textually and mu-

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<sup>37</sup> One thinks of Konjović's Symphony (1907), or the impressionistic elements in his Quartet (three movements from 1906) and his song *Chanson* (1906); or again of Milojević's songs *Nimfa* [Nymph] (1908) and *Japan* (1909); or the stylistic *mélange* of Hristić's oratorio *Vaskrsenje* [Resurrection] (1912), and many other examples. For detailed information and musicological references, see Katarina Tomašević, *Na raskršću Istoka i Zapada. O dijalogu tradicionalnog i modernog u srpskoj muzici (1918–1941)* [At the Crossroads of the East and the West. On the Dialogue of the Traditional and the Modern in Serbian Music (1918–1941)] (Belgrade and Novi Sad: Muzikološki institut SANU–Matica Srpska, 2009), 41–42.

<sup>38</sup> On the dynamics of the traditional and modern in Serbian music between the two wars, see Tomašević, *Na raskršću*; on the dynamics of different cultural models, see Biljana Milanović, 'Proučavanje srpske muzike između dva svetska rata: od teorijsko-metodološkog pluralizma do integralne muzičke istorije' [Studying Serbian Music Between the Two World Wars: From Theoretical-methodological Pluralism to Integral Music History], *Muzikologija/Musicology*, i (2001), 49–92.

<sup>39</sup> Stevan K. Hristić, 'Dvadesetpetogodišnjica Stevana Mokranjca' [Twenty-fifth Anniversary of Stevan Mokranjac], *Srpski književni glasnik*, xxii/10 (1909), 779–80.

<sup>40</sup> Stevan Hristić, 'Stevan Mokranjac', *Bosanska vila* xxiv/11 (1909), 161.

sically',<sup>41</sup> while Milojević observes them as a 'sequence of several folk melodies',<sup>42</sup> 'vocal rhapsodies' and 'our ballades and romances', in which Mokranjac completely 'identified himself with an anonymous folk-composer'.<sup>43</sup> Although both Hristić and Milojević mention that the *rukoveti*, because of their musical materials, are not exactly original creations, Milojević went on to be more explicit in denying Mokranjac's originality in his extensive criticisms dating from 1923, now bolstered by more considered aesthetic reflections.<sup>44</sup> Here the familiar question, the relation of artistic creativity to borrowings from a traditional patriarchal culture, was understood as a limiting factor in modern individuality. Indeed it seems that the two myths, of authenticity and originality, present the two faces of Janus. Maybe the case of Milojević's writings, in which he persistently awaited 'the appearance of a composer-genius who would develop the "national style"', could be a paradigm of a new relationship between the two faces.<sup>45</sup> In any case, despite such criticism Mokranjac's artistic project was – and still is – perceived as the foundation of Serbian national music, and his *rukoveti* as part of the national canon. Acting as 'the starting point for the music of his most gifted successors', he contributed to the 'construction of a new identity for Serbian art music'<sup>46</sup> but also to the invention of a new concept of Serbian folk song and its tradition.

<sup>41</sup> Petar Konjović, *Ličnosti* [Personalities] (Zagreb: Izdanje knjižare Čelap i Popovac, 1920), 67–68. See also 'St. St. Mokranjac (O 25-godišnjici umetničkog mu rada)' [St. St. Mokranjac (On the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of his Work)], *Brankovo kolo*, xv/21 (1909), 321–22.

<sup>42</sup> Miloje Milojević, 'Stevan St. Mokranjac. Povodom današnjih muzičkih svečanosti u spomen umetnika' [Stevan St. Mokranjac. On the Occasion of Today's Musical Festivities in Memory of the Artist], *Politika*, 20 October 1919, 1.

<sup>43</sup> Miloje Milojević, 'Umetnička ličnost Stevana St. Mokranjca' [The Artistic Personality of Stevan St. Mokranjac], *Misao*, i/2 (1919), 137.

<sup>44</sup> Miloje Milojević, 'Umetnička ličnost Stevana St. Mokranjca', *Srpski književni glasnik*, x/3 (1923), 186–195; x/4 (1923), 276–283; x/5 (1923), 354–366.

<sup>45</sup> Aleksandar Vasić, 'Problem nacionalnog stila u napisima Miloja Milojevića' [The Problem of National Style in the Writings of Miloje Milojević], *Muzikologija/Musicology*, vii (2007), 244.

<sup>46</sup> Katarina Tomašević, 'Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac and the Inventing of Tradition: a Case Study of the Song "Cvekje Cafnalo"', *Muzikološki zbornik/Musicological Annual*, xlvii (2010), 38.



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## Chapter 4

### IMAGINING THE HOMELAND: THE SHIFTING BORDERS OF PETAR KONJOVIĆ'S YUGOSLAVISMS

*Katarina Tomašević*

The main focus of this paper is Petar Konjović (1883–1970), a composer and critic, director of both the Opera (1921–1926) and the Croatian National Theatre in Zagreb (1933–1935), and the first and the only Yugoslav composer to be elected a foreign member of the Czech Academy of Sciences and Arts (in 1938). He was also appointed Rector (1939–1943; 1945–1947) and Professor at the Music Academy in Belgrade (1939–1950), was the first elected member of the Serbian Academy of Sciences after World War II (1946), and was the founder and first director of the Institute of Musicology of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (1947/8–1954), the first of its kind in the Balkans.<sup>1</sup> It has been a long time since Petar Konjović was referred to as a Yugoslav composer. While contemporary musicology in Serbia claims and appropriates him entirely, emphasizing his major contribution to the overall rise and improvement of the national musical culture, Croatian musical historiography from the 1990s – following the earlier distinguished example of *Povijest hrvatske glazbe* [History of Croatian Music] by Josip Andreis<sup>2</sup> – does not recognise him at all.<sup>3</sup> Yet, as chapter 2 in this book clearly demonstrates, the

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<sup>1</sup> For the most recent biography of Petar Konjović, see Katarina Tomašević, 'Petar Konjović', in Čedomir Popov (ed.), *Srpski biografski rečnik* [Serbian Dictionary of National Biography], v (Novi Sad: Matica srpska, 2011), 226–30. For the most comprehensive list of Konjović's works and a bibliography, see Katarina Tomašević, 'Prilog za biobibliografiju: Petar Konjović (1883–1970)' [Contribution to a Bio-bibliography: Petar Konjović (1883–1970)], *Zbornik Matice srpske za scen-ske umetnosti i muziku*, xlv (2011), 153–64.

<sup>2</sup> Josip Andreis, *Povijest hrvatske glazbe* [History of Croatian Music] (Zagreb: Liber Mladost, 1974).

<sup>3</sup> Tatjana Marković, 'Balkan Studies and Music Historiography: (Self)Representation between "Authenticity" and Europeanization', at <http://www.kakanien.ac.at/beitr/balkans/TMarkovic1.pdf> (2009), 1–8.

foundations for such a ‘methodology’ were already laid in the three-author composite history, *Historijski razvoj muzičke kulture u Jugoslaviji* [The Historical Development of Musical Culture in Yugoslavia] dating from 1962.

Among the many reasons for the failure to produce a comprehensive history of Yugoslav music after World War II, one stands out in particular. It concerns the historical and political context in which Yugoslavism, in all its variants, emerged and spread as both a national and a state idea: a paradox, but by no means a contradiction.<sup>4</sup> Yugoslavism, as proclaimed by the socialist order, was radically different from the older, civil and monarchist concept bearing the same name. And since the musical historiography and lexicography of the socialist period successfully ‘cleansed’ the biographies of an older generation of composers of ‘undesirable’ facts about their pre-war political attitudes and activities, I will use this opportunity to reconstruct a political portrait of Petar Konjović from the first half of the twentieth century, something that is essential for the purpose of discussing the shifting borders of his ‘imagined homelands’.

\* \* \*

Born in the year 1883 into a respectable Serbian family in Čurug near Sombor, which held a prominent position in the history of the independence movements of Serbs and other Slavonic peoples in Austria-Hungary from 1848 onwards (and notably in the proclamation of a disputed ‘Serbian Vojvodina’),<sup>5</sup> Petar Konjović was born in the year that the first

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<sup>4</sup> About the complex history of the Yugoslav idea, from its beginnings in the nineteenth century until World War II, see the articles by Dennison Rusinow, Kosta St. Pavlowitch, Andrej Mitrović, Dejan Djokić, Ljubinka Trgovčević and Andrew B. Wachtel in Dejan Djokić (ed.), *Yugoslavism. Histories of a Failed Idea. 1918–1992* (London: Hurst and Company, 2003), 11–26, 27–41, 42–56, 136–56, 222–37, 238–52; also Jovo Bakić, *Ideologije jugoslovenstva između srpskog i hrvatskog nacionalizma. 1914–1941* [Ideologies of Yugoslavism between Serbian and Croatian Nationalism. 1914–1941] (Zrenjanin: Gradska narodna biblioteka ‘Žarko Zrenjanin’, 2004).

<sup>5</sup> For more about events in Čurug in 1848, see Jugoslav Veljkovski, ‘Čurug u srpskom narodnom pokretu’ [Čurug in the Serbian National Movement], <http://www.arhivns.rs/lat/27jug1.html>; about ‘Serbian Vojvodina’, see, *inter alia*, Dušan J. Popović, *Srbi u Vojvodini* [Serbs in Vojvodina], iii (Novi Sad: Matica srpska, 1990), Sima M. Ćirković, *The Serbs* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004), Dejan Mikavica, *Srpska Vojvodina u Habsburškoj Monarhiji 1690–1920* [Serbian Vojvodina in the Habsburg Monarchy] (Novi Sad: Stylos, 2005), and Vasilije Krestić, *Iz prošlosti Srema, Bačke i Banata* [From the Past of Srem, Bačka and Banat] (Belgrade: SKZ, 2003).

*rukovet* (garland) by Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac (1856–1914) was composed. We know from his youthful autobiography that during his early years as a student at the prestigious Grand Serbian Orthodox High School in Novi Sad (1894–1899) and the Teachers' College in Sombor (1899–1902) Stevan Mokranjac's work had already engaged this young and ambitious musician. That was just one of many ways that his professor from Novi Sad, Dr Tihomir Ostojić (1865–1921) – a highly regarded Slavacist and an outstanding music connoisseur<sup>6</sup> – shaped and brought to maturity Konjović's youthful intellectual and artistic personality, as also his basic ideological and political views. I will discuss the close relationship between Ostojić and Konjović in more detail later in the chapter.

If in the eyes of most representatives of the Slavonic political elite in Austria-Hungary, the young, independent Kingdom of Serbia was a kind of Piedmont in the Balkans,<sup>7</sup> the music and musical activities of Stevan

<sup>6</sup> Tihomir Ostojić, a distinguished literary historian, whose main contributions – especially on Dositej Obradović (1739–1811), Zaharija Orfelin (1726–1785), and early Serbian urban poetry – were revealing of the cultural history of Serbs in the eighteenth century, was also engaged as a political activist, particularly before World War I. A dedicated member and secretary of Matica Srpska (since 1911), as well as editor-in-chief of its principal magazine, *Letopis Matice srpske* (1912–1914), Ostojić openly advocated the administrative and cultural autonomy of the Serbs and other Slavic peoples within the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Because of his liberal ideas, he was arrested by the Austro-Hungarian authorities and interned in Baja and Székesfehérvár (in present-day Hungary) from 1912 to 1917. After the end of World War I, he was a professor of Yugoslav literature at Skopje University. A corresponding member of the Serbian Royal Academy from 1921, and one of the leading intellectuals of his time, Ostojić was a great connoisseur of music, particularly of the Orthodox tradition. At the time when he worked as a professor at the Grand Serbian Orthodox High School (Srpska pravoslavna velika gimnazija) in Novi Sad (1899–1910), he collected and harmonized melodies belonging to the 'Karlovci chant' tradition. This collection is published in Tihomir Ostojić, *Pravoslavno srpsko crkveno pjenje po starom karlovačkom načinu. Udesio Tihomir Ostojić za mešoviti i muški hor* [Orthodox Serbian Church Singing According to the Old Karlovac Chant. Arranged for mixed and male choir by Tihomir Ostojić], edited by Danica Petrović and Jelena Vranić (Novi Sad and Belgrade: Matica srpska and Muzikološki institut SANU, 2010); see especially the introductory chapter by Danica Petrović, 'Tihomir Ostojić i srpska muzička baština' [Tihomir Ostojić and the Serbian Musical Heritage], 9–23; also Katarina Tomašević, 'Tihomir Ostojić i muzičko prosvetivanje' [Tihomir Ostojić and Musical Education], *Sveske Matice srpske*, xx, Serija za književnost i jezik [Literature and Language Series], vii (1991), 82–89.

<sup>7</sup> Dennison Rusinow, 'The Yugoslav Idea Before Yugoslavia', in *Yugoslavism. Histories of a Failed Idea*, 23. See also Dušan T. Bataković, 'The Balkan Piedmont Ser-



Mokranjac, in projecting the political goals of the Kingdom and ‘mapping the borders’ of future Slavonic free territories,<sup>8</sup> were widely recognised as a viable and efficient musico-political model, especially for the younger generation of composers to whom Konjović belonged. By the time Konjović went to study in Prague in 1904, Mokranjac had already composed his first ten *rukoveti*, all of which quickly dominated the repertoire of choral societies, and gained the full attention and support of audiences.

The decision to continue his musical education in the Czech capital turned out to be crucial not just for Konjović’s creative development, but for his political and ideological activities too. On submitting his extensive score *Ženidba Miloševa* [The Marriage of Miloš] in 1904, Konjović was admitted to the Prague Conservatoire; this was the earliest version (composed while he was still a self-taught musician) of what would be his first successful opera, the work which, at the height of World War I, would win him recognition as a ‘Yugoslav composer’ when it was premièred in Zagreb. Two years later, in 1906, Konjović gained his diploma from Prague with the symphonic poem *Serbia liberata*, and it was also in Prague that he composed his first collection of solo songs inspired by folklore. In the spirit of Mokranjac’s *rukoveti*,<sup>9</sup> this was given the title *Iz naših krajeva* [From Our Regions], and it expanded the symbolic territory of Mokranjac’s ‘musical homeland’ by including a popular Vojvodina song, ‘Škripi đeram’ [The Well Pole is Creaking].<sup>10</sup> During his Prague years, the composer also contributed successfully to the field of the mo-

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bia and the Yugoslav Question’, *Dialogue*, x (1994), 25–73; David MacKenzie, ‘Serbia as Piedmont and the Yugoslav Idea, 1804–1914’, *East European Quarterly*, xxviii/2 (1994), 153–82.

<sup>8</sup> Biljana Milanović, ‘Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac et les aspects de l’ethnicité et du nationalisme’, *Etudes Balkaniques*, xiii (2006), 147–70; also chapter 3 in this book.

<sup>9</sup> See chapter 3, notes 14 and 15.

<sup>10</sup> The first edition is presented as follows: Petar Konjović, *Iz naših krajeva. Srpske narodne pesme* [From Our Regions. Serbian Folk Songs] (Novi Sad: S. F. Ognjanović, 1906). Besides the ‘Vojvodina’ song ‘Škripi đeram’ (second in the cycle), one – ‘Aman, devojko’ [Mercy, Girl] – is from Bosnia, and three others – ‘Vetar duše’ [The Wind is Blowing], ‘Kupi mi babo’ [Father, Buy for Me] and ‘Pod pendžeri’ [Below the Window] – are from the southern regions. Four of these songs were later included in the first volume of Konjović’s cycle *Moja zemlja. 100 jugoslovenskih pesama za glas i klavir* [My Country. 100 Yugoslav Songs for Solo Voice and Piano] (Belgrade: Napredak, 1921): ‘Škripi đeram’ (No 12); ‘Aman, devojko’ (No 1), ‘Vetar duše’ (No 13), and ‘Pod pendžeri’ (No 15).

dern Slavonic Lied; the song 'Iščekivanje' [Waiting] stands out as the first indication of what would later become a close cooperation with Julije Benešić (1883–1957), the prominent Croatian writer and the post-war director of the Croatian National Theatre in Zagreb. In fact, a long-term friendship and collaboration between Konjović and Benešić started in Prague in 1906, when Benešić arrived from Vienna and Kraków to continue his studies in the lively university atmosphere of the Czech capital. The two men had similar views on new stylistic directions in the arts, frequently attended performances at the Národní divadlo [National Theatre] together, and belonged to the same broad circle of young Slavic students in Prague, who engaged in constant discussion about the present and the future status of the Slavic nations within the Austro-Hungarian empire.

Developing his political views based on the then current, modern and progressive ideas of Tomáš Masaryk (1850–1937), Konjović also proved himself a gifted and diligent cultural correspondent while in Prague. He worked primarily for the journal *Novi Srbobran*, a paper associated with the *Srpska samostalna stranka* [Serbian Independent Party] in Croatia and Slavonia, and published in Zagreb under the guidance of the energetic Svetozar Pribićević (1875–1936), one of the first leaders of the Croat-Serb Coalition, founded in 1905. At that time, firmly committed to the politics of accord and togetherness between Serbs and Croats, and orientated to the so-called 'new course'<sup>11</sup> and to Yugoslavism as a national idea,<sup>12</sup> Pribićević maintained close ties with Serbian intellectuals in south-

<sup>11</sup> The main ideas and strategies of the 'new course', represented in the journal *Novi Srbobran*, are discussed in detail in Ranka Gašić's publications: 'Moderno u shvatanjima Srpske samostalne stranke 1903–1914. godine' [The Modern in the View of the Serbian Independent Party], in Hans-Georg Fleck and Igor Graovac (eds), *Dijalog povjesničara – istoričara 3, Pečuj, 12.–14. maja 2000* [Dialogue of Historians 3, Pécs, 12–14 May 2000] (Zagreb: Friedrich Naumann, 2001), 171–87; "Novi kurs" Srba u Hrvatskoj. *Srbobran 1903–1914* [The 'New Course' of the Serbs in Croatia. *Srbobran 1903–1914*] (Zagreb: Srpsko kulturno društvo 'Prosvjeta', 2001); "Novi kurs" u Srpskoj samostalnoj stranci 1903–1914. Promena paradigme nacionalne politike' [The 'New Course' in the Serbian Independent Party. A Paradigm Shift in National Politics], in Darko Gavrilović (ed.), *Serbo-Croat Relations in the Twentieth Century. History and Perspectives* (Salzburg and Novi Sad: Institute for Historical Justice and Reconciliation and Centar za istoriju, demokratiju i pomirenje, 2008), 13–21.

<sup>12</sup> Rusinow, *The Yugoslav Idea before Yugoslavia*, 22–25; also Ljubinka Trgovčević, 'Evropski uzori u razmatranju jugoslovenskog ujedinjenja među srpskim intelektualcima početkom 20. veka' [European Models in the Consideration of Yugoslav Unification among Serbian Intellectuals in the Early Twentieth Cen-

ern Hungary. Among them was Konjović's former teacher Tihomir Ostojić,<sup>13</sup> who would remain one of the most influential figures in the composer's future musical, as also his political, career.

Konjović openly confirmed his sympathies with the Croat-Serb Coalition in his lively contributions to *Novi Srbobran* in (Austro-Hungarian) Zemun, where he settled in 1906 immediately after leaving Prague. In parallel, he continued to develop his musical activities in Zemun up to the beginning of the World War I, as a composer, pedagogue, entrepreneur and critic.<sup>14</sup>

At the personal invitation of Stevan St. Mokranjac, Konjović at the same time became a guest lecturer at the first Serbian music school in Belgrade. Through direct contact with Mokranjac – the leading ideologue of Serbian musical Romanticism – Konjović gained a valuable opportunity to deepen and develop his personal creative strategy and poetics, as well as to set temporary borders for his then 'imagined musical homeland'. The conclusions of Biljana Milanović (chapter 3) provide convincing evidence that Mokranjac's strategies in his *rukoveti* from the first decade of the twentieth century directly corresponded to the political views and aspirations of the Serbian Kingdom of that time. In the same way, Konjović's Symphony in C minor (1907), traditionally labelled 'the first symphony in Serbian music' in the national histories of both the socialist and contemporary periods,<sup>15</sup> unambiguously sets 'new state borders' for

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tury], in Hans-Georg Fleck and Igor Graovac (eds), *Dijalog povjesničara – istoričara 3, Pečuj 12–14. maja 2000* [Dialogue of Historians 3, Pécs, May, 12–14, 2000] (Zagreb: Friedrich Naumann, 2001), 257–73.

<sup>13</sup> Tihomir Ostojić's correspondence, Matica srpska, Department of Manuscripts.

<sup>14</sup> Upon arriving at Zemun, Konjović first worked as a music teacher at a Serbian school. In 1908, he founded his own private music school, which survived until 1911. Conducting the choir of the Serbian Singers' Association, he composed most of his sacred music during that time. Besides collaborating with *Novi Srbobran*, he was an active correspondent of the journals *Nova iskra*, *Novo pozorište*, *Bosanska vila*, *Pokret*, *Brankovo kolo* and *Letopis Matice srpske*. In 1910, together with the prominent historian Stojan Novaković and another friend Milan Grčić, Konjović initiated a publishing enterprise 'Napredak' [Progress]. See Milica Andrejević, 'Mladi Petar Konjović u Zemunu' [Young Petar Konjović in Zemun], *Zbornik Matice srpske za scenske umetnosti i muziku* xxxii/xxxiii (2005), 155–61; Nadežda Mosusova, 'Slavenski izdavački zavod u Beču (Milan Obuljen i Petar Konjović)' [Slavonic Publishing in Vienna (Milan Obuljen and Petar Konjović)], *Zvuk*, lxxxv/lxxxvi (1968), 263; Tomašević, 'Petar Konjović', 227.

<sup>15</sup> 'Konjović Petar', in Vlastimir Peričić, *Muzički stvaraoci u Srbiji* [Composers in Serbia] (Belgrade: Prosveta, s.a. [1969]), 183; Dragana Stojanović-Novčić and

the Serbian territories in the Balkans, whilst also anticipating the outcome of the forthcoming Balkan wars (1912–1914); compare Mokranjac's Rukovet No. 12 (*Sa Kosova* [From Kosovo]), composed a year earlier. Based on two tunes from Mokranjac's rukoveti – 'Lele, Stano, mori' [Alas, Stana] from No. 5 (*From My Homeland*) and 'Cvekje cafnalo' [The Flowers Have Blossomed] from No. 12 ('Kosovo rukovet') – Konjović's Symphony would eventually have its première in 1923 in Zagreb. This is of some significance in the context of his increasingly noticeable orientation towards Zagreb in the pre-war years as the most promising 'Yugoslav' cultural centre.

It is quite possible that Konjović, fascinated as he was with the rich artistic life, and especially the theatrical life, of Prague, considered that Belgrade lacked the capacity to nurture those bigger national projects that would enable the Serbs to establish an equal position among the musical nations of modern Europe. The differences and tensions between Austro-Hungarian and Serbian cultural models at the beginning of the twentieth century became increasingly obvious, just as the turmoil on the Balkan political scene intensified, and with as yet no indication of how the Habsburg Empire or the Slavonic peoples within its territories would resolve their destinies. Yet all this only partially answers the question as to why Konjović, in 1913, considered that the seat of the Alliance of Serbian Choral Societies should be transferred from his native Sombor to Zagreb.<sup>16</sup> His later enthusiastic support for the foundation of The Croatian Philharmonic in 1918 (he called it 'the strongest *Yugoslav* [my italics] musical association'),<sup>17</sup> already offers further evidence about the shifting borders of Konjović's political orientation and of his 'imagined homeland'.

The turbulent years of World War I proved to be crucial for the development of the creative, as well as the ideological and political, concepts

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Marija Masnikosa, 'Orkestarska muzika' [Orchestral Music], in Mirjana Veselinović-Hofman (ed.), *Istorija srpske muzike. Srpska muzika i evropsko muzičko nasledje* [The History of Serbian Music. Serbian Music and the European Musical Heritage] (Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike Beograd, 2007), 493. Melita Milin, however, notes that *Vsegord and Divna*, an early work (1903) by Miloje Milojević (1884–1946), can be considered the earliest extant Serbian symphony; see 'Contributions to a Genre in Decline: Serbian Symphonies in the First Half of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century', *Musikgeschichte in Mittel- und Osteuropa*, v (1999), 152–159.

<sup>16</sup> Petar Konjović, 'Savez srpskih pevačkih društava i njegovo prvo muzičko izdanje' [Alliance of Serbian Choral Societies and its First Publication], *Letopis Matice srpske* 291, i (1913), 92–97.

<sup>17</sup> Petar Konjović, 'Hrvatska filharmonija' [Croatian Philharmonic], *Hrvatska njiva*, xxxiv (1918), 580.

of Petar Konjović. Unlike Miloš Crnjanski (1893–1977), whose bitter experience of fighting the war on the Austro-Hungarian side left a permanent mark on his later literary work,<sup>18</sup> and also unlike his future close friend, the composer Miloje Milojević (1884–1946), who would, in his uniform, accompany the Serbian army on its way through Albania to France, Konjović remained, but only at first glance, ‘completely absent’ from the war scene.<sup>19</sup> Just like other representatives of the Serbian and

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<sup>18</sup> See in particular Crnjanski’s book of poems *Lirika Itake* [Lyrics of Ithaca] (1918), and the novel *Dnevnik o Čarnojeviću* [The Diary of Čarnojević] (1921).

<sup>19</sup> A ‘hidden history’ confirms, however, that the challenges and tragedies of war did not bypass Petar Konjović completely. Since he was, due to his illness (probably tuberculosis), exempted from conscription, the first two years of the war (1914–1916) were spent together with his wife and his two little sons in Sombor, at his father’s home. On the face of it, these years were dedicated to his creative work; along with the symphonic variations *Na selu* [In the Countryside] (a second homage to Mokranjac, after the Symphony, and the first essay in this genre in Serbian music), Konjović was working intensely on his second opera, *Knez od Zete* [The Prince of Zeta], and was completing the detailed revisions to his first opera, *Miloševa ženidba*. However, what does not emerge from existing biographies and articles about him published during socialist Yugoslavia (SFRY), and can only be gleaned discreetly from other published sources (such as the correspondence with Tihomir Ostojić), is that Konjović was – throughout the war years – in intensive correspondence, and even in frequent direct contact with two of his younger brothers, Dimitrije and Jovan, who were both participating in the war on the Austro-Hungarian side (Nadežda Mosusova, ‘Prepiska između Petra Konjovića i Tihomira Ostojića’ [Correspondence Between Petar Konjović and Tihomir Ostojić], *Zbornik Matice srpske za književnost i umetnost*, xix/1 (1971), 153–169). From the same source, we learn that the war successes of Dimitrije Konjović – a distinguished young officer in the Austro-Hungarian Navy – were reported in the Zagreb press in 1916. However, the overall war activities in which Dimitrije participated, reveal a fuller political, and indeed ethical, portrait of him on the eve of the first Yugoslavia: besides entering world history as the ‘first pilot to sink a submarine from the air’, and immediately afterwards saving the lives of the sailors (for which act, much later in 1968, he received the recognition of the French government!), he also – in 1918, when he was the captain of a frigate – awaited the victorious units of the Kingdom of Serbia and handed them the whole fleet of the Austro-Hungarian army in Kumbor, in Boka Kotorska bay (present-day Montenegro). See Dimitrije Konjović, [http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dimitrije\\_Konjovi%C4%87](http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dimitrije_Konjovi%C4%87). The youngest brother of Petar and Dimitrije Konjović, Jovan, died during the war, before 1917. This is why the first edition of the piano excerpt from the opera *Ženidba Miloševa/Vilin veo* is dedicated to the memory of the composer’s deceased brother. See Petar Konjović, *Vilin veo. Romantična opera u tri čina* [The

Croatian elite in Austria-Hungary, such as Ivo Andrić (1892–1975) and Milan Kašanin (1895–1981), he not only found physical protection in Zagreb from 1917 onwards, but also an opportunity to work actively towards completing national, cultural and political projects.

We may ask, though, just what was the nation, or the people, that Konjović had in mind while actively publishing music critiques in Zagreb in the weekly *Hrvatska njiva* [Croatian Field] during 1918, or in the journal *Savremenik* [Contemporary] during 1917–1918, with the aforementioned Julije Benešić at the head (it was Benešić who was, among other things, responsible for bringing Konjović into the Croatian Writers' Association's Board of Directors). Careful analysis by the Croatian musicologist Dubravka Franković in 1983 has already confirmed that Konjović, 'in writing about Croatian, Serbian and Slovenian music, commonly uses the term *Yugoslav* or *ours*'.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, this ideological position is confirmed by a fragment of text about musical life in Zagreb, written towards the end of war:

Today, before the war ends, this art of *ours*, particularly music, which goes deepest into all sections of *our* society, has distinct and important duties. It is precisely one of those forces, which, persuasively and unwaveringly, joins and binds *all our regions and tribes into one unified whole*; in the myriad of its forms and manifestations it blends into *one unified spirit of the creation of one unified race*. [my italics]

Undoubtedly, Konjović, in Zagreb, was here associating with a wide swathe of the pro-Yugoslav orientated Croatian and Serbian intellectual elite, and their ideas also found favour with democratically inclined Serbs living in southern Hungary. Moreover, in one of his earlier letters to Tihomir Ostojić (from 31 May 1916), Konjović had professed himself 'an unconditional follower of *one script*', meaning here the Latin script.<sup>21</sup> This obvious sign of faith in the unity of the Serbian and Croatian languages as the foundation stone for the building of a Yugoslav nation would be con-

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Fairy's Veil. Romantic Opera in Three Acts] (Zagreb [Vienna]: [Edition Slave], 1917, [iii].

<sup>20</sup> Dubravka Franković, 'Petar Konjović – muzički kritičar "Hrvatske njive" 1918. godine' [Petar Konjović – Music Critic of 'Hrvatska njiva' in 1918], in Dimitrije Stefanović (ed.), *Život i delo Petra Konjovića* [The Life and Work of Petar Konjović] (Belgrade: SANU and Muzikološki institut SANU, 1989), 141, note 4.

<sup>21</sup> Letter by Konjović to Ostojić, No 4 (from Zombor [Sombor], Čonoplai, 31 May 1916), in Nadežda Mosusova, 'Prepiska između Petra Konjovića i Tihomira Ostojića' [Correspondence Between Petar Konjović and Tihomir Ostojić], *Zbornik Matice srpske za književnost i umetnost*, xix/1 (1971), 156.

firmed in 1920 by the publication of his first book of essays, *Ličnosti* [Characters]; written in the Ekavian dialect (a sub-dialect of Stokavian), this collection of texts was printed in the Latin script.<sup>22</sup>

Let us for the time being focus on Konjović's essay 'Music of the Serbs', originally written at the request of the *Südslavische Rundschau* journal from Zagreb. Already the introductory note is indicative, as the author tries to explain why is it still useful to publish an article about 'tribal' and 'regional' musical phenomena at the very moment that a new, Yugoslav art arises:

This draft of the development of Serbian music was put together hastily. The editorial board of the Zagreb review *Südslavische Rundschau* wanted to present to its readers the names and major works that represent what is nowadays called Serbian art music. Before entering into the much wider question of *Yugoslav art* it is necessary to know its beginnings in *tribal* and *regional* musics. It seems to me that for this reason a sketch such as this justifies its place in a book devoted to *our art*.<sup>23</sup> [my italics]

According to Konjović, the Serbs are simply one tribe of the Yugoslav nation, and 'the youngest composers' – in which group, beside himself, he includes Stevan Hristić and Miloje Milojević – are those 'who, [together] with Croatian and Slovenian ones, want to give their art a character which will bring Yugoslav music as it is into the European setting'.<sup>24</sup> It is unnecessary to probe very far in order to see the root of these ideas in the ideological programme of the pre-war Croat-Serb Coalition, in whose actual political actions during the war Konjović was, moreover, directly involved.

During the winter of 1917, in Vienna, Konjović accomplished the task of delivering a confidential letter from Svetozar Pribičević to Dr Anton Korošec,<sup>25</sup> the Slovenian political leader and a member of the Austrian parliament.<sup>26</sup> This resulted in an encounter with Milan Obuljen

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<sup>22</sup> Petar Konjović, *Ličnosti* [Characters] (Zagreb: Čelap and Popovac, 1920).

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 121.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 139.

<sup>25</sup> Mosusova, 'Slavenski izdavački zavod u Beču', 264.

<sup>26</sup> Dr Anton Korošec was elected to the Reichsrat as a member of the Slovenska ljudska stranka [Slovenian People's Party]. As president of the Yugoslav club, on 31 May 1917, he read out the 'May Declaration', which called for all South Slavs to be unified in one state within the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. This declaration was, however, rejected by the Austrian parliament. Following the break-up of Austria-Hungary, Korošec was president of the National Council of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs, which on 29 October 1918 declared the creation of the King-

from Dubrovnik, and the beginnings of a very significant publishing enterprise, the orientation of which could only partially be sensed from its relatively neutral title 'Edition Slave'.<sup>27</sup> In actual fact, the foundation for this forthcoming, fruitful cooperation between Obuljen and Konjović, as well as that for the entire physiognomy of Edition Slave, was a project of Yugoslavism in its broadest meaning. It is known that the political aspirations of the Yugoslav-orientated elite in Austria-Hungary were not entirely compatible. While some of the Croat-Serb Coalition leaders were still thinking about the possibilities of a tripartite reorganisation of the Habsburg Monarchy, the eyes of the 'Yugoslavs' from Dalmatia, from the beginning of the twentieth century, were visibly directed at Belgrade with the objective of unification with the Kingdom of Serbia. The precise answer to the question 'Which political concept was Konjović closer to?' requires further investigation, with possibly uncertain results; in general, it seems that his personal attitudes to the 'Yugoslav question' oscillated somewhat 'in harmony' with the dominant power relationships acted out on the actual political stage. For now, we should draw attention to the choice of evidence that will, we believe, confirm the breadth and elasticity of his 'Yugoslav horizons' in the unstable and uncertain times that preceded the radical reconstruction of the geo-political map of Europe after the ending of the First World War.

First, let us briefly return to the event that can rightly be considered a turning point, not only in the artist's biography but also in the history of the Croatian National Theatre in Zagreb. It is, without doubt, the première of Konjović's first opera *Ženidba Miloševa*, performed under the title *Vilin veo* [The Fairy's Veil] on 25 April 1917. According to the Croatian theatre specialist Slavko Batušić, the management of the Zagreb Theatre, together with Srećko Albini, the director of opera, showed great courage when they included in the repertoire 'an opera whose composer was a Serb'.<sup>28</sup> The

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dom of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs. In the newly born Kingdom, Korošec took the position of president of the first government.

<sup>27</sup> Mosusova, *ibid.*; also Nada Bezić, 'Notna izdanja Edition Slave (Slavenski izdavački zavod), Beč' [Music Publications of Edition Slave (Slavic Publishing Company), Vienna], in Vjera Katalinić and Zdravko Blažeković (eds), *Glazba, riječi i slike. Svečani zbornik za Koraljku Kos* [Music, Words and Images. Essays in Honour of Koraljka Kos] (Zagreb: Hrvatsko muzikološko društvo, 1999), 127–44, and the comment on Bezić's chapter by Tatjana Marković in *Zbornik Matice srpske za scenske umetnosti i muziku*, xxiv/xxv (1999), 180.

<sup>28</sup> Slavko Batušić, 'Petar Konjović i zagrebačko kazalište' [Petar Konjović and the Zagreb Theatre], *Zvuk*, lviii (1963), 331.



performance itself, however, brought a hint of modern times into the Croatian Theatre. The director of opera was Ivo Raić (1881–1931), a pioneer of modern stagecraft developed from the legacy of Max Reinhardt (1873–1943) and Jaroslav Kvapil (1868–1950),<sup>29</sup> while the scenography and costumes were realised by Tomislav Krizman (1882–1955), a gifted successor of the Viennese Secession and, more importantly, one of the founders and distinguished members of the Association of Croatian artists ‘Medulić’ (1908–1919), with Konjović’s famous contemporary Ivan Meštrović (1883–1962) as a leading figure.<sup>30</sup> Composed under the strong influence of *Der Freischütz* by Carl Maria von Weber, Konjović’s opera, in a musical sense, belongs entirely to the era of Romanticism. However, as the opera was inspired by Serbian national epic poetry and by an ancient medieval legend, the modern staging encouraged some critics to establish a direct link between the opera and the Yugoslav ideology and practice of the Moderna movement, as represented by the ‘Medulić’ art group. ‘None of our musicians dared access the national Grandeur and extract characters for their operas’, wrote Viktor Novak in the pages of *Narodne novine* on 28 April 1917. ‘The first person who ventures to do so is P. Konjović, evidently encouraged by the successful results of sculptors and painters (...)’. Undoubtedly, Novak makes reference to Meštrović’s *Vidovdanski hram* (Vidovdan Temple),<sup>31</sup> when, in addition, he says: ‘The will and aspiration to

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<sup>29</sup> About Raić’s contribution to the modernity of the *Vilin veo* stage production, see Martina Petranović, ‘Likovnost u redateljskim ostvarenjima Ive Raića’ [Visual Aspects of Ivo Raić’s Stage Productions], in Boris Senker and al. (eds), *Dani hvar-skoga kazališta* [Hvar Town Theatre Days] (Zagreb and Split: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti and Književni krug, 2011), 383 and 394.

<sup>30</sup> For recent research on the ideological and political frame of the ‘Medulić’ group, see Sandi Bulimbašić, ‘Prilog poznavanju povijesti Društva hrvatskih umjetnika “Medulić”, 1908–1919’ [A Contribution to the History of ‘Medulić’, the Association of Croatian Artists, 1908–1919], *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, xxxiii (2009), 251–60; Radina Vučetić, ‘Jugoslavenstvo u umjetnosti i kulturi – od zavodljivog mita do okrutne realnosti (Jugoslavenske izložbe, 1904–1940) [Yugoslavism in Art and Culture – From Seductive Myth to Harsh Reality (Yugoslav Exhibitions 1904–1940)]’, *Časopis za suvremenu povijest*, iii (2009), 699–712.

<sup>31</sup> Devoted to the Kosovo battle in 1389, Ivan Meštrović’s monumental project of *Vidovdanski hram* was created in Paris in 1908–9, clearly demonstrating the sculptor’s basic ideas that ‘all Yugoslav peoples have their own Kosovo’, and with the aim of confirming the national unity of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. For the first time, the project was presented and awarded with the highest prize at the World Exhibition in Rome, in 1911.

contribute with sounds *to the building of the temple of the national arts* is something Konjović must keep in his soul'.<sup>32</sup> [my italics]

Based on Konjović's later close cooperation with Tomislav Krizman, the creator of one of the composer's most famous portraits [Illustration No. 1], as well as a pictorial contributor to the first luxurious edition of the *Vilin veo* piano score (also published in 1917 and issued by Edition Slave) [Illustrations Nos. 2, 3, 4], one can sense that Konjović primarily gravitated towards the political views of the 'Yugoslavs' from Dalmatia. Some little-known details in his political biography from the defining months of the constitution of the new state in the Balkans point, on the other hand, to Konjović's orientation towards Zagreb, not only as a cultural, but as an administrative centre, and one under whose jurisdiction the territories of the former Serbian territories in southern Hungary, including Novi Sad, would have come. He was not completely alone in his views. Once again, he had the support of the circle of the democratically orientated Serbian elite from Vojvodina, with his former professor Tihomir Ostojić at the forefront.<sup>33</sup>



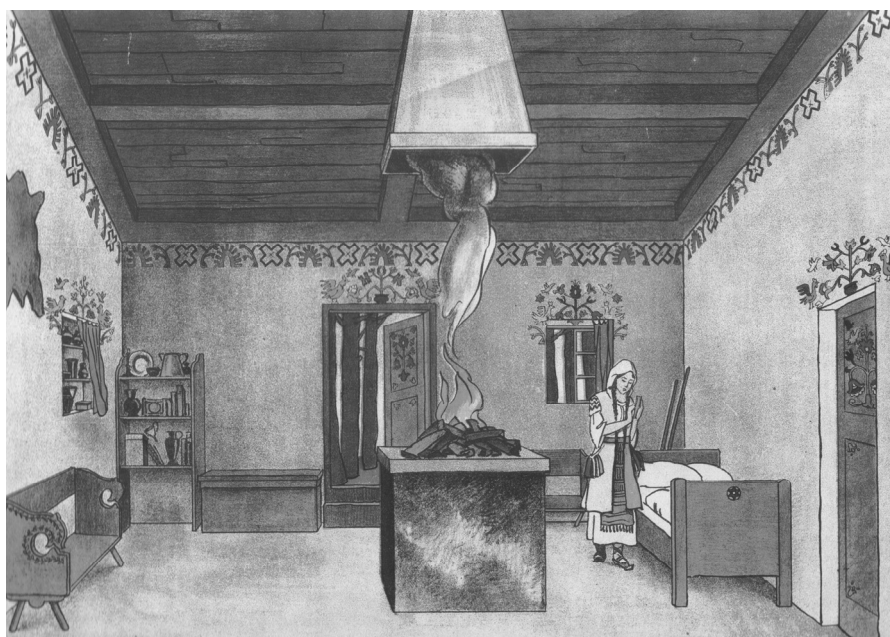
Illustration 1. Tomislav Krizman, portrait of Petar Konjović

<sup>32</sup> Quoted from Batušić, 'Petar Konjović i zagrebačko kazalište', 331.

<sup>33</sup> See Konjović's letter with the text of the *Resolution* of independent Croats and Serbs from south Hungary from 2 October 1918, in Marina Štambuk-Škalić and Zlatko Matijević (eds), *Narodno vijeće Slovenaca, Hrvata i Srba u Zagrebu 1918–1919. Izabrani dokumenti* [National Council of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs in Zagreb 1918–1919. Selected Documents] (Zagreb: Hrvatski državni arhiv, 2008), 476–77; also Ante Sekulić, 'Prilog istraživanju društvenog života bačkih Hrvata od 1918. do 1928'. [Contribution to Research into the Social Life of the Croats in Bačka from 1918 to 1928], *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskog fakulteta*, xxiii (1990), 195–96.



*Illustration 2. Tomislav Krizman, stage design for Konjović's opera Vilin veo [The Marriage of Miloš], piano score, Edition Slave, Vienna 1917: Act I*



*Illustration 3. Tomislav Krizman, stage design for Konjović's opera Vilin veo [The Marriage of Miloš], piano score, Edition Slave, Vienna 1917: Act II*



Illustration 4. Tomislav Krizman, stage design for Konjović's opera *Vilin veo* [*The Marriage of Miloš*], piano score, Edition Slave, Vienna 1917: Act III

After the establishment of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Konjović would finally make clear his political position by entering the Democratic party of Ljuba Davidović, founded in Sarajevo in 1918. Most members of Pribićević's Croat-Serb Coalition would join this party. In these new circumstances, Konjović accepted political duties in Novi Sad. As the vice president of the National Board for Banat, Bačka and Baranja, he set up the journal *Jedinstvo* (Unity), a party-political paper of the Democratic party and, for a short time in Belgrade, he worked as an inspector of arts in the Ministry of Education under Pribićević. By listing these bare facts, it is not my intention simply to indicate those segments of the composer's biography that have been most frequently omitted from the lexicographic entries published in the time of the SFRY. The point is rather that they provide the best evidence on which to base an answer to the central question raised in the title of this paper. After changing course several times before and during the war, the inter-war, mature Yugoslavism of Petar Konjović came closest to a variation of so-called 'integral Yugoslavism'. In the composer's own understanding of this, it is a supranational idea, a way of entering the union of European nations, but also a uniquely realistic attempt to project the interests of the Yugoslav peoples as a polar opposite to those of local particularism and primitivism.

With these convictions, Konjović eagerly and enthusiastically accepted the invitation of his like-minded friend, Julije Benešić, to take on the duties of Director of Opera at the Croatian National Theatre in Zagreb in 1921. In 1963, Slavko Batušić assessed that ‘the management team of Benešić, Gavella (director of drama) and Konjović marked one of the most significant periods in the development and rise (...)’ of this theatre.<sup>34</sup> By carefully planning the repertoire, Konjović enabled numerous opera and ballet premières by Croatian composers (we will mention only Dobronić, Širola, Baranović), while at the opening of the Operetta Theatre in Tuškanac (Zagreb), he also enabled Ivo Tijardović from Split – the former gifted illustrative associate of Edition Slave – to prove himself as composer. The systematic building and widening of the Slavonic repertoire (Borodin, Rimsky-Korsakov, Mussorgsky, Stravinsky) was Konjović’s principal, but by no means his only, strategic goal. Zagreb, for example, was the first town in the Kingdom to see *Pelléas et Mélisande* by Claude Debussy, while to satisfy the needs of the Opera, Konjović worked devotedly on a translation of Wagner’s music-dramas (*Walküre*, *Lohengrin*). However, conflicts with the passionate ‘Bayreuthers’ at the time of the *Parsifal* première in 1922,<sup>35</sup> clearly announced that the political split between Belgrade and Zagreb had started to erode the young, Yugoslav-orientated theatre scene in Zagreb. Despite the numerous and increasingly frequent clashes which followed his dynamic and fruitful work in Zagreb, by taking over the position of the Rector of the Music Academy, Konjović finally settled down permanently (in 1939) in Belgrade. Here, shortly after, his political, ideological, and artistic viewpoints would find themselves faced with new and different challenges.

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Leaving a discussion about Petar Konjović’s Belgrade period for another occasion, I will briefly highlight in the coda of this paper the important issue of ‘the shifting borders of Konjović’s imagined homelands’. Two approaches are possible: first, from the perspective of ‘symbolic geography’ and second, from a stylistic perspective. In both cases it is useful

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<sup>34</sup> Batušić, ‘Petar Konjović i zagrebačko kazalište’, 334.

<sup>35</sup> Batušić, ‘Petar Konjović i zagrebačko kazalište’, 335; Eva Sedak, ‘Petar Konjović u hrvatskom tisku’ [Petar Konjović in the Croatian Press], in Dimitrije Stefanović (ed.), *Život i delo Petra Konjovića* [The Life and Work of Petar Konjović] (Belgrade: SANU and Muzikološki institut SANU, 1989), 123; Katarina Tomašević, ‘Petar Konjović – Pro et Contra Wagner’ [Petar Konjović – Pro et Contra Wagner], in Sonja Marinković (ed.), *Vagnerov spis ‘Opera i drama’ danas* [Wagner’s Essay ‘Opera and Drama’ Today] (Novi Sad: Matica srpska, 2006), 119–35.

and, indeed necessary, to return to Mokranjac as a starting point.<sup>36</sup> We have already seen that the ‘territories’ of Konjović’s early works – the poem *Serbia liberata*, the collection of songs *Iz naših krajeva* and the Symphony – mostly corresponded to Mokranjac’s ‘lands’. Konjović remained faithful to them in the most important achievements of his inter-war oeuvre: in the operas *Koštana*, and *Knez od Zete* (The Prince of Zeta), as well as in his two instrumental homages to Mokranjac: the symphonic variations *Na selu* (In the Countryside) (1915), with its main theme (‘Pušči me’ [Let Me Go Out]) taken from Rukovet No. 10, and the violin concerto *Jadranski kapričo* [Adriatic Capriccio] of 1936, which is a direct counterpart of Mokranjac’s *Primorski napjevi* [Coastland Tunes].

The most obvious example, which clearly shows a break in Konjović’s musical ‘geo-political’ vision and his expansion into the territories of an initially dreamed-of, but eventually (when the war was over) fully accomplished state, is represented by his major collection of solo songs inspired by folklore. Created during two crucial decades, from 1905 to 1925, published under the significant title, *Moja zemlja* [My Country], and subtitled (and this is even more important for our topic!) *100 jugoslovenskih narodnih pesama za glas i klavir* [100 Yugoslav Folk Songs for Voice and Piano], it could be perceived as Konjović’s musical manifesto of Yugoslavism. This rich and colourful musical map of Konjović’s country embraces songs from Bosnia, Serbia, Vojvodina, Herzegovina, Istria, Macedonia, Međumurje, Bačka, Croatia, Carinthia, Montenegro, Slovenia, Dalmatia, and even from Trieste (Italy) and Gradište (in Austria). Among them is a group of songs that Konjović got to know through Mokranjac’s *rukoveti*.

From the perspective of stylistic analysis, these songs are of special interest as recording the first symptoms of Konjović’s paradigm shift towards modernity or, more precisely, towards (Slavonic) Moderna. The stylistic territories of the Moderna movement were for Konjović the composer *his true musical homeland*. Within its borders, the Yugoslav idea could be recognised as just one testimony to the breadth of the composer’s modern horizons and to his overt ambition to ensure the integration of Serbian art music, with that of Croatia and Slovenia, into the family of the modern European music nations of the twentieth century.

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<sup>36</sup> Katarina Tomašević, ‘Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac and the Invention of Tradition: a Case Study of the Song “Cvekje Cafnalo”’, *Muzikološki zbornik/Musico-logical Annual*, xlv/1 (2010), 37–57.

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## Chapter 5

### THE INTERWAR CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN MILOJE MILOJEVIĆ AND SLAVKO OSTERC

*Jernej Weiss*

Already before the end of the 1920s, the Slovenian composer Slavko Osterc (1895–1941) had developed a broad range of activities that were not solely concerned with the formation of a generation of Slovene composers favouring modernism in music, but were also directed elsewhere. Though documentation is rare, we may suppose that he had already made several contacts, both in person and through correspondence, outside Yugoslavia. These were not only links with Slovene musicians studying abroad, but also with foreign musicians, and in particular with Alois Hába and his circle.

Correspondence for almost the whole of the 1930s and the early 1940s is available in much greater measure. But, unfortunately, it is mostly one-sided. What has been preserved are mainly the letters sent to Osterc by musicians from abroad, while Osterc's letters sent elsewhere are almost non-existent, either discarded by their recipients or lost forever in one way or another.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, one may discern from the letters written to Osterc by his foreign contemporaries the kind of thing that interested him, and in many cases what the content of his own letters had been. The replies he received make it clear that in many cases it was Osterc who initiated the communication. In establishing contacts with other musicians, he was not merely stimulated by his own ambition, which was considerable, but also by his active association with the International Society for Contemporary Music [ISCM].

During Osterc's studies in Prague, Hába had drawn his attention to the significance, tasks and aims of this organization, which clearly had the potential to be of great use to him. It seems that it was actually Hába who advised Osterc to contact Josip Štolcer-Slavenski, himself active in the ISCM and close to Hába in general outlook. Hába and Slavenski per-

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<sup>1</sup> Dragotin Cvetko, *Fragment glasbene moderne: iz pisem Slavku Ostercu* [A Fragment of Musical Moderna: From the Letters Sent to Slavko Osterc] (Ljubljana: Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, 1988), 5–10.

suaded Osterc sometime around the late 1920s and early 1930s to join the ISCM, which had branches in many countries, including newly established Yugoslavia. Quick to recognize not only Osterc's composing skills but also his entrepreneurial acumen and his sympathy with new thinking, Slavenski in particular was keen that his contemporary should work within the framework of the ISCM. Prominent initially in the Slovene world, but soon throughout Yugoslavia, Osterc was considered, along with Slavenski and the Serbian composer Miloje Milojević (1884–1946), a leading musical personalities in the Yugoslav section of the Society, and certainly the most important Slovene composer in the period between the two World Wars.<sup>2</sup> It was in all these capacities that he made contact with the Society's headquarters in London.

The interest shown by Osterc in the Yugoslav section and the role assigned to him by headquarters were both of great importance to him. Links between national sections had to be established according to the instructions of the ISCM, and the reciprocal concerts of contemporary music, enabling an ever-widening audience to listen to works by young composers, stimulated creative work throughout the society. Osterc ardently supported, and worked for, these objectives, as is confirmed by his links with other foreign sections and his contacts with other musicians of a modernist orientation. Many of these were composers, and they belonged, in either the broader or the narrower sense, to the circles of Schoenberg, Hindemith or Hába. From the extant correspondence, we can find no concrete evidence that Osterc had personal links with the first two of these during the 1930s, though we know of course that he knew Hába. Nothing can be ruled out, however. It remains an imponderable, as does the whole question of his planned contacts with Russian composers.

On the other hand, Osterc's extensive legacy of correspondence with Yugoslav musicians contains over 250 addresses, and these include many well-known Serbian musicians. Among them were some of the leading composers, such as Miloje Milojević, Mihailo Vukdragović, Milenko Živković, Stana Đurić-Klajn, Milan Ristić, Stanojlo Rajičić, Vojislav Vučković and Ljubica Marić.<sup>3</sup> All these, and numerous other musicians who corresponded with Osterc (and whose letters form part of his legacy), wrote to him about a wide diversity of issues, asking for advice and discussing matters of compositional technique and style.

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<sup>2</sup> Borut Loparnik, 'Kogoj in Slavenski: Prispevek k tipologiji jugoslovanskega glasbenega dogajanja' [Kogoj and Slavenski: A Contribution to the Typology of Yugoslav Musical Trends], *Muzikološki zbornik / Musicological Annual*, xxii (1986), 29–38.

<sup>3</sup> Cvetko, *Fragment glasbene moderne*.

Above all, the correspondence between the two main protagonists of Serbian and Slovenian music between the two World Wars, Miloje Milojević and Slavko Osterc respectively, gives us valuable insight into their musical ambitions, their relationships with other colleagues, the functioning of musical societies (especially the ISCM), and the Serbian and Slovenian cultural climates of those times. The correspondence between Osterc and Milojević did not begin in Prague, since Milojević had left there as early as 1925, when Osterc was just arriving.<sup>4</sup> It seems that it started after Osterc's return to his homeland, probably around 1929, and that it was Slavenski who brought the two composers together.<sup>5</sup> One of the principal reasons for the more intensive correspondence between them was a common interest in having their compositions performed at the ISCM's international festivals. As secretary of the Society's Yugoslav section, Osterc had a key role in the final selection of compositions by Yugoslav composers. Moreover, Osterc and Milojević were close to one another in musical poetics, in the sense that both were focused on musical modernity, albeit each in his own unique way.

Precisely when the two men first met, and in which period their correspondence began, are not known. Yet this correspondence was certainly relatively extensive, as we know from numerous extant sources.<sup>6</sup> More precisely, 41 items of Osterc's correspondence to Milojević dating from the period between 1933 and 1941 have been preserved, as well as 10 items of Milojević's correspondence to Osterc in the period from 1934 to 1941.<sup>7</sup> All the extant correspondence is in the Serbian language, or in Osterc's version of it.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Vlastimil Blažek, *Sborník na paměť 125 let konservatoře hudby v Praze* [Celebratory Volume on the Occasion of the 125th Anniversary of the Music Conservatory in Prague] (Prague: Nakladatelství Vyšehrad, 1936).

<sup>5</sup> Dragotin Cvetko, 'Veze Josipa Slavenskog sa Slavkom Ostercom' [Relations Between Josip Slavenski and Slavko Osterc], *Arti Musices*, iii (1972), 65.

<sup>6</sup> Dragotin Cvetko, 'Iz pisama Miloja Milojevića Slavku Ostercu' [From Miloje Milojević's Letters To Slavko Osterc], *Spomenica SANU*, xlv (1970), 265–76. See also Dragotin Cvetko, 'Kontakti Slavka Osterca z Milojem Milojevićem' [Slavko Osterc's Contacts with Miloje Milojević], *Muzikološki zbornik/Musicological Annual*, xxii (1986), 39–52, and Melita Milin, 'Osterčeva pisma Milojeviću' [Osterc's Letters to Milojević], *Muzikologija/Musicology*, ii (2002), 107–46.

<sup>7</sup> The first scholar to deal with this subject was Dragotin Cvetko, who researched Osterc's correspondence to Milojević, which had been passed on by Milojević's grandson, Vlastimir Trajković.

<sup>8</sup> In most of his letters, Osterc uses a sort of Slovenian-Serbian-Croatian language mixture. And here and there one also finds Czech and German terminology. The

The first known letter sent by Osterc to Milojević is dated 24 June 1933. Here he already addressed Milojević as 'dear friend', which confirms that the two knew each another before 1933, and, judging by their style of writing, had become close friends. In this letter Osterc congratulated Milojević on his appointment as an associate professor at Belgrade University, remarking that it was 'not before time', and that from now on he 'could finally compose without having to worry'.<sup>9</sup> In this letter he also requested Milojević's friendly assistance in applying for the position of Principal of the Ljubljana Conservatory, and at the same time briefly mentioned his competitors for the position. Of these, the real thorn in his side was apparently Julij Betetto, about whom he writes: 'So that you know, Betetto and I are friends; he is a fine man, but allow me to present to you in general his and my ideals. Betetto's compositional ideal: E. W. Korngold: *Tote Stadt*. / My ideal: Stravinsky, the Russian Five and our orientation - etc. [...] Instead of Mendelssohn, Lajovic; instead of Schumann, the two of us; instead of Brahms, Slavenski, etc.'. He concludes his letter with the request: 'Please, if you have any influence there, support me. / Write back! Regards, yours truly, Slavko'.<sup>10</sup>

How Milojević replied is not known, but Osterc certainly did not become Principal of the Conservatory; that honour did indeed go to Betetto. Several factors may have contributed to the decision. What probably compromised Osterc the most was the fact that already at that time he was reputed to be a radical modernist.<sup>11</sup> The influential institutions and committees distrusted him, and, even more importantly, looked upon him as an advocate of the ISCM, and an atheist into the bargain! And none of these were desirable attributes in the Slovenia of the 1930s. So it comes as no surprise that Betetto was chosen. Regardless of how influential Milojević was, he would not have been able to do anything on Osterc's behalf, and this episode did not essentially dampen their friendship.

Osterc's second letter was sent from Ljubljana on 11 February 1934; in between there had probably been several more in the relatively long

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letters reveal that Osterc did not have a very good command of the Serbian language. For this reason he occasionally resorted to languages other than Serbian, mostly Slovenian.

<sup>9</sup> Slavko Osterc, *Letter to Miloje Milojević*, Ljubljana, 24 June 1933.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> Zoran Krstulović and Borut Loparnik, *Moja smer je skrajna levica* [My Direction is the Extreme Left] (Ljubljana: Oddelek za muzikologijo Filozofske fakultete, 1995).

interval from June 1933 onward. This time Milojević was again Osterc's 'dear friend', to whom he wrote, 'in his usual manner', saying that 'I have a big favour to ask from you'.<sup>12</sup> He mentioned that Milojević was undoubtedly informed that four of his songs had been accepted at the internal festival,<sup>13</sup> and asked him for financial support, so that 'I may address to you at the Artistic Department (perhaps together with Josip) a request for support to our section'.<sup>14</sup> Evidently, Milojević had enough influence in Belgrade's decisive circles to be able to occasionally provide financial support for Osterc.

In his letters to Milojević, Osterc was usually extremely communicative. He reported on everything that seemed worthwhile to him, notably on his compositions and their performances. In his reports he covered a wide range of topics. He was also interested in what Milojević was composing, and what other Serbian composers who shared his ideas were currently engaged in, especially those whom he counted among like-minded modernists.<sup>15</sup>

Osterc's contacts with Milojević encouraged the editor of *Zvuk* [Sound] magazine, Stana Ribnikar, later Klajn, to ask Osterc to write an article on the occasion of Milojević's fiftieth birthday. He responded on 20 August 1934 that he would be pleased to write a suitable study, but that he was sufficiently well acquainted with 'only his sonata for violin and piano, the cycle of 10 songs, the song *Majka* [Mother], and some choruses'.<sup>16</sup> He requested that she send him all the other materials, including biographical data. From this it is clear that at the beginning of their correspondence, Osterc was not acquainted in detail with Milojević's creative output.

In a letter sent to Milojević on 11 October 1934, Osterc repeatedly mentioned the ISCM festivals in Florence and Vienna. He was interested in international festivals in general, but above all he was interested in the performances of Yugoslav compositions abroad. He worked hard to gain

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<sup>12</sup> Osterc, *Letter to Miloje Milojević*, Ljubljana, 11 February 1934.

<sup>13</sup> This was the ISCM festival in Florence in 1934.

<sup>14</sup> Osterc, *Letter to Miloje Milojević*, Ljubljana, 11 February 1934.

<sup>15</sup> These included, *inter alia*, Predrag Milošević and Ljubica Marić. See Jernej Weiss, 'The Correspondence Between Ljubica Marić and Slavko Osterc', in D. Despić and M. Milin (eds), *Prostori modernizma: opus Ljubice Marić u kontekstu muzike njenog vremena* [Spaces of Modernism: Ljubica Marić in Context] (Belgrade: SANU and Muzikološki institut SANU, 2009), 169–78.

<sup>16</sup> Osterc, *Letter to Stana Ribnikar*, Ljubljana, 20 August 1934.



performance of those compositions of Yugoslav composers that were modernist in aesthetic at such festivals as early as possible. But, as he emphasized, this was increasingly difficult 'due to financial obstacles'.<sup>17</sup> He also informed Milojević that his *Magnificat* had been published by Universal Edition and asked him to write a review in the journal *Politika*.<sup>18</sup>

This was followed by the first letter from Milojević to be found among Osterc's surviving papers.<sup>19</sup> In this letter Milojević described in detail his life and career, his artistic views and the persons who influenced him, as well as giving a list of his completed works. He did, however, request that not a single word from this letter be quoted in Osterc's article for *Zvuk* magazine.<sup>20</sup> He also asked Osterc to consider the information he was sending him as confidential: an intimate conversation of a friend with a friend.

Milojević's next letter, which followed in the same year, is also interesting. In it he commented on Osterc's remark about being troubled by arthritis deformans, remarking that he was too young for anything to deform him. He went on to say that he was grateful to Osterc for his support for Yugoslav music, and that it would be wonderful if they could organize some concerts in Belgrade, Ljubljana and Zagreb in the winter of 1935. He also asked Osterc to send him his new compositions, which he would be willing to review.<sup>21</sup> He then wrote about the Yugoslav section of the ISCM, remarking that he was far from satisfied with it and believed it should intensify its efforts. He also criticized the youngest composers, who in his opinion had not yet produced anything worthwhile and who thought they had to negate everything.<sup>22</sup>

This letter was followed by a brief intermission in their correspondence. Osterc's next letter is dated 26 April 1935.<sup>23</sup> It was conceived in a

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<sup>17</sup> Osterc, *Letter to Miloje Milojević*, Ljubljana, 11 October 1934.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> All of Milojević's correspondence can be found in the Osterc archive kept in the Music Collection of the National University Library (NUK).

<sup>20</sup> In his longest letter, which is not precisely dated, Milojević also wrote: 'The breath of my native land is dear to me; the passion of Chopin is dear to me; the artistic heritage of Europe and the mystery of the East are dear to me'. Miloje Milojević, *Letter to Slavko Osterc*, Belgrade, 1934.

<sup>21</sup> Milojević was particularly interested in Osterc's *Magnificat* for mixed chorus and piano, four hands, which he intended to write about for the newspaper *Politika*.

<sup>22</sup> Milojević, *Letter to Slavko Osterc*, Belgrade, 1934.

<sup>23</sup> Osterc, *Letter to Miloje Milojević*, Ljubljana, 26 April 1935.

style that is typical for all his previous and subsequent correspondence. He sent Milojević an excerpt from the daily *Jutro* (Morning), dated 26 April 1935, containing a contribution about Milojević. He hoped that Milojević would be satisfied with it. In his letter he also mentioned his *Magnificat*, and in connection with that, he remarked that if a composition so required there was no reason that it should not be diatonic. This is an important observation, since it directly contradicts the view that Osterc was always an extremist with regard to new compositional techniques, something his adversaries often reproached him with.

While the majority of Milojević's songs were sent from Belgrade, his next actual letter was sent on 3 August 1935 from Jezersko, and it was from there that he announced his proposed journey to Ljubljana and his wish to meet with Osterc.<sup>24</sup> It is not entirely clear from what we know of Osterc's biography whether this meeting actually occurred. In his next short message to Osterc dated 23 December 1935, and also signed by Ivanka M. Milojević, Jelena Krstić and Darijan Božič, Milojević wrote that Osterc's *Religioso* had had a resounding success in Belgrade.<sup>25</sup>

Milojević was certainly one of Osterc's most frequent correspondents. Throughout the years of their friendship he arranged for numerous performances of Milojević's compositions. Their warm personal association was probably not the only reason for this, for it is also true that Osterc regarded Milojević as a constructive critic of his own works. Of special interest is his letter of 24 January 1936, in which he reports to Milojević 'that as soon as the *Grimaces* and *Arabesques* are published, I will send a copy to S. Prokofiev, too', given that to his knowledge, the latter 'likes to play all the new, good compositions'.<sup>26</sup> Although there are no extant documents confirming that Osterc did actually send these compositions to Prokofiev, it is certainly true that he wanted to establish contact with the famous Russian composer. Just how much Prokofiev meant to Osterc is shown by the fact that he devoted his ballet, *Iluzije* [*Illusions*], to Prokofiev himself.

Osterc constantly showered Milojević with news and requests. In a postcard dated 22 February 1936, he encouraged Milojević to hurry up

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<sup>24</sup> Milojević, *Letter to Slavko Osterc*, Jezersko, 3 August 1935.

<sup>25</sup> Milojević was referring to the performance of *Religioso* held in Belgrade on 23 December 1935, which he conducted himself. Milojević, *Letter to Slavko Osterc*, Belgrade, 23 December 1935.

<sup>26</sup> Osterc, *Letter to Miloje Milojević*, Ljubljana, 24 January 1936.

with *Grimase* [*Grimaces*], because he was receiving enquiries about it from ‘all sides’; he also wanted to know whether his *Religioso* would also be performed on Radio Belgrade, etc.<sup>27</sup> Osterc valued the Serbian composer’s work very highly – he himself tells us as much – and its artistic as well as its historical importance seemed clear to him. That he differed in this respect from certain other Slovene critics is not so surprising. To them, Milojević’s artistic vision seemed a strange one. Yet this did not disturb Osterc unduly. He followed his own path, and would not be led astray.

In his reply to Osterc’s letter of 26 March 1936, Milojević informed Osterc that he was travelling to the ISCM festival in Prague via Ljubljana, and that he was displeased because he had not received any reply to his letter sent to his ‘friends in Ljubljana’.<sup>28</sup> At the end of his letter he interposed, in a somewhat offended tone, a remark in connection with his arrival in Ljubljana to the effect that he did not wish to see Osterc if the latter did not reply soon. Osterc answered Milojević’s letter two days later, as follows: ‘I am not angry that you do not write to me more often, because I know you all too well’, and in this way confirmed Milojević’s general passivity as a correspondent.<sup>29</sup> Milojević was certainly much less active in this correspondence than Osterc, which leads us to assume that it was mostly Osterc who expected certain benefits from Milojević.

Osterc sent his next postcard to Milojević from Paris, and it was dated 21 December 1936. Addressing him with the words ‘Dear old Slav’, he reported to Milojević on the results of the jury session – he was a jury member – devoted to the next Paris festival.<sup>30</sup> He requested that Milojević make a phone call to Slavenski, along the lines ‘I know you are nervous about this event’.<sup>31</sup> Slavenski had submitted his *Religiofonija* [Symphony of Religions], later renamed *Simfonija Orienta* [Symphony of the Orient], which, due to its technical complexity, was not included in the programme of the festival. Slavenski blamed Osterc for this, but unjustly. He held it against him, and the silence between them lasted for some years to come.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 22 February 1936.

<sup>28</sup> Milojević, *Letter to Slavko Osterc*, Belgrade, 26 March 1936.

<sup>29</sup> Osterc, *Letter to Miloje Milojević*, Ljubljana, 28 March 1936.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, Paris, 21 December 1936.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>32</sup> Exactly who instigated this conflict and subsequent silence is not entirely clear. Dragotin Cvetko presumes that it was Slavenski. Cvetko, ‘Veze Josipa Slavenskog sa Slavkom Ostercom’, 63–76.

In his letter of 23 January 1937, Osterc wrote to Milojević that their 'friend' Slavenski 'is blaming you and me in some letter for what happened in Paris', adding, in the margins, that Slavenski was sending copies of 'such writings to Mahkota, Polič and who knows to whom else!', though 'I did everything I could for him [...]'. So one day I'll explain and show you his letters – You will roll your eyes'.<sup>33</sup> And then: 'So, for me as far as I'm concerned, Slavenski is finished! (not as an artist, for I still respect him in this way – but as a person and character)'.<sup>34</sup> In the same letter, Osterc expressed his support for Risto Savin and his opera, *Matija Gubec*.<sup>35</sup> He requested that Milojević bring this work to the attention of the Belgrade Opera, because he felt the opera 'deserved' it'.<sup>36</sup>

In many of his letters to Milojević, Osterc intervened on behalf of other Slovene musicians. For example, in his letter of 1 March 1937 he drew Milojević's attention to a violin teacher at the Ljubljana Conservatory, Jan Šlajs, who hoped to be accepted at 'the Music Academy, which will [...] soon be opening its doors'.<sup>37</sup> It is not known whether Milojević actually intervened on behalf of Šlajs. In any case, the latter was not selected for the position.

Though it happened very rarely, Osterc could also at times be annoyed with Milojević; in particular his letter to Milojević dated 18 May 1937 was full of sound and fury. In it he mentioned that he was not accustomed to this manner of doing business by means of telegrams, express mail and the like, and that this had 'completely exhausted' him; 'I have neither the will nor the time nor the money for these kinds of things'.<sup>38</sup> Complications had arisen because the pianist Lisa Fuchs had not been included in the programme of the festival in Paris. Osterc intervened at the French section of the ISCM in an attempt to keep her name at least in the provisional programme. In Osterc's opinion, Milojević was to blame for this problem, because 'you did not send your information, pictures, etc. to Paris immediately'.<sup>39</sup> After all he had done, this negligence infuriated him: 'It's all the same to me whether I receive any money

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<sup>33</sup> Osterc, *Letter to Miloje Milojević*, Ljubljana, 23 January 1937.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> Risto Savin, relatively speaking a traditionalist, was a great friend of Osterc despite their age difference, and the difference in their artistic outlooks.

<sup>36</sup> Osterc, *Letter to Miloje Milojević*, Ljubljana, 23 January 1937.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 1 March 1937.

<sup>38</sup> Osterc, *Letter to Miloje Milojević*, Ljubljana, 18 May 1937.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

or not; I have become completely indifferent and I am contemplating the possibility that another section might accept me as a guest, and let our section be run by someone else or by no-one at all'.<sup>40</sup> As can be discerned from his letter, in this case there was some disagreement between the Yugoslav section of the ISCM and Osterc as its secretary, though supposedly this did not adversely affect the personal contacts between Osterc and Milojević. In the same letter Osterc informed Milojević that 'this situation will not change anything between us as friends and old fellow Slavs'.<sup>41</sup>

Milojević did not respond by letter regarding Osterc's dispute with Slavenski, as it seems that his next letter was not until 12 June 1937.<sup>42</sup> In it he mentions the compositions he had recently written, and commented that it would be a good thing if they could be performed. Nevertheless it seems that the contacts between Osterc and Milojević had been at least slightly tainted by some of the events discussed earlier. Osterc did not write to Milojević again until 8 November 1937, when he informed him that his wife Marta would soon be playing his compositions on Radio Belgrade.<sup>43</sup> This letter was again followed by a long silence lasting almost a full year, with no communication in either direction. During this period it was Osterc's wife Marta who wrote to Milojević.<sup>44</sup>

There is no further extant correspondence with Milojević until 17 March 1940, when, due to his growing health problems, Osterc wrote to Milojević from the hospital.<sup>45</sup> Yet despite the difficulties mentioned earlier, a three-year silence in their correspondence is hardly plausible. The two men continued to cultivate a genuine friendship, and we may assume that some of their letters from this period have simply not been preserved. In his letter of 17 March Osterc notified Milojević that due to the onset of World War II, the upcoming ISCM festival would not be held in Budapest as initially planned, but in New York, and that it would take place as early as October. He wanted Milojević to send

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<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>42</sup> Milojević, *Letter to Slavko Osterc*, Belgrade, 12 June 1937.

<sup>43</sup> Osterc, *Letter to Miloje Milojević*, Ljubljana, 8 November 1937.

<sup>44</sup> She wrote to him regarding the concert to be held in Belgrade on 22 February 1939, presenting the programme, which comprised compositions by Scarlatti, Beethoven, Chopin, Smetana, Janko Ravník and Milojević. At the end of her letter she added: 'Should you wish to make any changes in the programme, please notify me as soon as possible'.

<sup>45</sup> Osterc, *Letter to Miloje Milojević*, Ljubljana, 17 March 1940.

him an orchestral, chamber or piano composition so that he could send on to the United States by 1 April 1940. He also informed Milojević that his attempt to obtain a position at the newly established Academy of Music in Ljubljana had not been successful. The first full professors to be given full-time positions at the Academy of Music were Stanko Premrl, Anton Trost, Julij Betetto and Janko Ravnik. Invitations for the remaining positions had 'probably been announced, but there is already talk that even Škerjanc is more likely to be placed than me. At best I will become an assistant professor, or a teacher at a secondary school, or retire – who cares!', he wrote.<sup>46</sup> Osterc seemed to be very depressed, which can largely be attributed to his state of health. Everything was a nuisance for him, and the only thing that still interested him was music – his own, of course. He still solicited on his own behalf, as we can see in an excerpt from this letter, where he warns Milojević about Škerjanc with the words, 'don't believe everything he tells you. Owing to Škerjanc, in Slovenia the Paris festival "affair" was interpreted entirely according to Slavenski's version'.<sup>47</sup>

In his response to Osterc on 23 March 1940, Milojević wrote that he was deeply saddened by the news concerning his state of health, and asked specifically where his ulcer had come from. He was pleased that Osterc's operation had gone well and advised him to remain calm and to change the pattern of his (late) nights. He warned him to be aware of just how much this meant for art. Milojević devoted the remainder of his letter to the Belgrade section of ISCM, expressing his regret that it was so passive. In his opinion, the position of the 'music international' was rather dubious, because he felt that certain people were working only for themselves and not for more general, modernist ideals. He obviously did not trust the Belgrade section, and for this reason he informed Osterc that he would send him his *Suita za godalce* (*Intima*, op. 56), so that Osterc could submit it to the jury for the upcoming ISCM festival. He also wondered why Osterc had so many problems with the Academy, given that he was such a high-profile figure. He expressed the thought that it would be better for Osterc to come to the Academy in Belgrade, which was Škerjanc's ambition too. Initially, the latter had

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> Osterc, who was orientated towards different ideals, was in more-or-or-less constant conflict with Škerjanc. The two of them were competitors, but only in Slovenia and not in the international arena, where Osterc undoubtedly had the advantage. Naturally each of them had his own followers on home soil. Ibid.

also not been accepted among the professors of the Academy of Music, and this was the reason for suggesting that both Osterc and Škerjanc come to the Academy of Music in Belgrade.<sup>48</sup>

As on so many earlier occasions, Osterc was again experiencing various difficulties and animosities, but at this time they were all the more painful because of his declining health. Yet he knew how to keep these problems to himself, complaining only rarely and certainly not to everyone. Moreover, he did not give in, for he obviously he had a great will to live. As if sensing what awaited him in the near future, he devoted himself even more intensively to composition. And so in 1940 he was again filled with creative aspirations. No letters have been preserved from the longer period that followed, although Osterc and Milojević probably did correspond during this period. In his last letter, dated 10 February 1941, Milojević informed Osterc about his most recent composition. He also asked Osterc to send him a list of his published compositions. He concluded with the remark that he loved all of Ljubljana's musicians (Osterc's circle!) dearly and longed to be close to them, even if Osterc could at times be somewhat hypercritical.<sup>49</sup> The last known postcard sent by Osterc to Milojević is dated 15 February 1941. In it he let Milojević know that 'I am filled with new ideas again, but I don't have enough space to explain everything to you. In any case I will support the performances of Serbian compositions at ISCM'.<sup>50</sup> Osterc may have written to Milojević again after this, i.e. before April 1941, but no more letters have been preserved from this period. The time had run out. Soon afterwards the country in which he lived and worked was defeated and fragmented, and shortly afterwards Osterc was dead (on 23 May 1941).

The entire correspondence between Slavko Osterc and Miloje Milojević comprises 51 items of correspondence. The two men maintained very good relations throughout the period of the correspondence (from 1933 to 1941),<sup>51</sup> and their letters provide ample evidence of mutual generosity, as they helped one another in their respective careers. They also point to certain highly significant details that are essential for understanding the dynamic interactivity between the major protagonists of the musical scenes of individual Yugoslav nations between the two wars,

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<sup>48</sup> Milojević, *Letter to Slavko Osterc*, Belgrade, 23 March 1940.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 10 February 1941.

<sup>50</sup> Osterc, *Letter to Miloje Milojević*, Ljubljana, 15 February 1941.

<sup>51</sup> It should be mentioned that the precise date is not specified in some pieces of correspondence.

though it should be said that Osterc corresponded with Milojević mainly from Ljubljana, while Milojević wrote from Belgrade.

Both composers had come from the Prague school, Osterc as a student of composition, and Milojević as a student of musicology. They were both modernist in orientation, with Osterc slightly more radical in his views than Milojević (the latter, no doubt under the influence of his study of composition in Munich, held rather more liberal views about musical style). The relationship between the two composers was further consolidated by their mutual affiliation to the ISCM, which was an important and useful instrument for both of them in enhancing their international connections and promoting performances of their compositions abroad.

Milojević, unlike Osterc, was not very active as a correspondent. He acknowledged this himself, and Osterc was not surprised by it. Of course we may assume that some of Milojević's letters to Osterc were for some reason not preserved. Milojević's legacy, in contrast, contains numerous letters written by Osterc, filled with reports on his own work and on other events about which he informed Milojević. He was keen to give detailed information about everything he was planning, whether about compositions under preparation, performances of his music in Slovenia and abroad, or music by Milojević and others of like modernist sympathies or belonging to his immediate circle. Furthermore, he wrote to Milojević about the connections he had established abroad with foreign composers (e.g. A. Honegger, A. Hába, S. Prokofiev, etc.), as well as with performers (e.g. K. Ančerl, L. Fuchs, K. Reiner, H. Scherchen, etc.), all of whom valued his works, and in many cases performed them as well. Moreover Osterc would report to Milojević not only about his positive achievements, but also about his unpleasant experiences and the troubles that never ceased to accompany him (including his illness and his conflict with Josip Štolcer-Slavenski).

Not only is their correspondence (letters and postcards) extensive and valuable in its own right; it also tells us a great deal about music and musical life in Slovenia, Yugoslavia and, to some extent, Europe during the 1930s. This was a time when Slovene music, mostly due to Osterc, reached a high point in its development, effecting a significant stylistic break with its immediate past. It finally managed to align itself with contemporary European trends, and neither the Second World War nor the short-lived post-war reorientation towards traditionalism was able to negate this. All this is foreshadowed in the correspondence between Osterc and Milojević during the musically animated 1930s, when Osterc undoubtedly exercised a strong influence well beyond the borders of Slovenia.



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## Chapter 6

### BYZANTINE DISCOURSES IN CONTEMPORARY SERBIAN MUSIC

*Ivan Moody*

Byzantium remained a powerful symbol of a lost and glorious past throughout the Balkans long after the Fall of Constantinople in 1453, simultaneously an emblem of lost Christian political power and the *fons et origo* of the Orthodox faith which underlies so much of Balkan life and culture: hence Nicolae Iorga's formulation of the idea of 'Byzance après Byzance' in his book of that title published in 1935. Its continuing but changing power during the long nineteenth century is particularly interesting in light of the rise of nationalism and its cultural consequences in Bulgaria, Romania and Serbia.<sup>1</sup>

In Serbia, the rise of polyphonic choral music and the simultaneous codification of the chant repertoire in its post-Byzantine manifestation as 'Serbian national church chant' by Kornelije Stanković, Stevan Mokranjac and others meant that the Byzantine heritage was very much present and had been filtered to become something distinctively Serbian.<sup>2</sup> The quantity of polyphonic settings of sacred music composed during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries for use in the Serbian Orthodox Church was large, and after a certain point there was therefore no longer necessarily an imperative for composers to set standard liturgical texts; also, with the inimical circumstances of the new political regime after 1946 a decline in the production of music for actual liturgical use was to be expected. In spite of the noteworthy efforts of such composers as Petar Konjović (1883–1970), Miloje Milojević (1884–1946) and Stevan Hristić (1885–1958) in the period immediately preceding, and such remarkable experimental settings of the Liturgy as those made in 1925 and 1938 respectively by Milenko Živković (1901–1964) and Milivoje Crvčanin

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<sup>1</sup> This phenomenon is discussed in detail in Dimitris Stamatopoulos, *To Byzántio μετά το Έθνος* [Byzantium After the Nation]. Athens: Alexandreia Publications, 2009.

<sup>2</sup> See, *inter alia*, Ivan Moody, 'Integration and Disintegration: Serbian Monophony in a Polyphonic Context', *Muzikologija/Musicology*, xi (2011), 147–158.

(1892–1978), overt interest in the composition of sacred music had in general to wait until a further change of regime, as indeed did that of concert music with a religious theme. It should be said here that Hristić's *Vaskrsenje* (Resurrection, 1912), the first Serbian oratorio, was not only far removed from any idea of neo-Byzantinism, displaying instead the stylistic heritage of Russian opera and of Perosi, with whom Hristić studied in Rome, but was controversial on account of this, and was attacked by Milojević.<sup>3</sup>

A comparison can be made between the work of Živković and Crvčanin and 'Byzantine modernism' in architecture, building on the Serbo-Byzantine style of the Karađorđević period and evident particularly in the work of Momir Korunović (1883–1969) and Branko Tanazević (1876–1945). The architectural historian Ljiljana Blagojević dismisses this as 'a new aberration of the Byzantine paradigm',<sup>4</sup> but the reality of the search for an identity that was both truly Serbian in national terms and a genuine vehicle for the Orthodox heritage in spiritual terms cannot be so easily dismissed. Živković's Liturgy is explicitly described as 'Byzantine', and indeed quotes two chant melodies, but both harmonic and melodic treatments in general are extremely adventurous, and the work is highly contrapuntal; this is no Byzantium of nostalgia, but one that is able to refresh and renew the creative tradition (Example 1).

These approaches also need to be placed in the context of the continuing debate in Serbia concerning contemporary music during this period. Particularly significant were essays produced by Vojislav Vučković (1910–42), who aligned himself firmly with Communist ideals and considered that the crisis in modern music was in fact the crisis of bourgeois music,<sup>5</sup> and Stana Đurić-Klajn (1905–86), whose article 'The Paths of Our Modernism' expressly described nationalism (and Serbo-Byzantinism

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<sup>3</sup> The context and consequences of this work are analysed in detail in Katarina Tomašević, 'Stilske koordinate oratorijuma *Vaskrsenje* Stevana Hristića (1912) i pitanje raskršća tradicija u srpskoj muzici na početku 20. veka' [Stylistic Directions in Stevan Hristić's Oratorio *Vaskrsenje/Resurrection*. The Question of Cross-roads Traditions in Serbian Music at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century], *Muzikologija/Musicology*, iv (2004), 25–37, available at <http://www.doiserbia.nb.rs/img/doi/1450-9814/2004/1450-98140404025T.pdf>

<sup>4</sup> Ljiljana Blagojević, *The Elusive Margins of Belgrade Architecture 1919–1941* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MTI, 2003), xi.

<sup>5</sup> For a wide-ranging discussion in English of Vučković's work, see Jelena Milojković-Djurić, *Tradition and Avant-Garde: The Arts in Serbian Culture Between the Two World Wars* (Boulder: East European Monographs, 1984), 73–98.

clearly falls into this category for Đurić-Klajn) as a barrier to future development.<sup>6</sup>

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Example 1. Milenko Živković, 'Cherubic Hymn', from *Byzantine Liturgy of St John Chrysostom*, 1925.

<sup>6</sup> *Muzički glasnik*, January 1938, 7–10. See also Milojković-Djurić, *Tradition and Avant-Garde*, 99.

The Byzantine thread was more easily picked up later on in the more 'abstract' frame of instrumental music, as the work of Ljubica Marić (1909–2003) shows. In works such as the *Vizantijski koncert* (Byzantine Concerto) of 1959 and *Ostinato super Thema Octoecha* (1963), Marić found a way to intertwine the modern and the archaic, or more exactly, she created a vocabulary that partook of both, and was able to look simultaneously backwards to Serbia's Byzantine heritage and resolutely forwards to a modernist future: there was no sense of nostalgia for something lost. Her 'objective' stance in relation to the spiritual aspect perhaps equipped her uniquely to do this; as I have noted elsewhere, her reference to 'a particular creative force... able to live on and extend through time as an uninterrupted, eternal now' is supra-religious in its implications.<sup>7</sup>

Marić's work treats what she conceived of as the Byzantine Octoechos (though it is in fact its descendent, the Serbian Octoechos, as notated by Mokranjac), as a cultural resource, upon which she could draw freely and use in her quest to situate her music in time past and time future – her 'uninterrupted, eternal now'. It certainly carries the implications of its spiritual function, but it is seen in a different context, a context at once cultural and historical.<sup>8</sup> The importance of this, and the wider implications, have been well expressed by Jim Samson:

[W]e might say that the *Octoicha* works represented a significant stage in the journey of Serbian and Yugoslav music from a political confinement and imposed insularity towards freedom of expression and integration within European music more generally. [...] Yet at the same time [...] they are privileged precisely because they fought shy of a "progressive" Western

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<sup>7</sup> See Ivan Moody, 'Aspects of Spirituality and Modernism in the Music of Ljubica Marić', in Dejan Despić and Melita Milin (eds), *Spaces of Modernism: Ljubica Marić in Context* (Belgrade: SANU, 2010), 75–82. There is a highly detailed discussion of Marić's conception of Byzantium in Melita Milin, 'Byzantium as a Spiritual Homeland for a 20th Century Serbian Woman Composer. Ljubica Marić's Bridging Centuries', *Musicology Now*, vi/2 (2011), 93–106, available at <http://www.musicologytoday.ro/BackIssues/Nr.6/studies1.php>

<sup>8</sup> For the only detailed and substantiated discussions of Marić's use of the Octoechos in her work, see Melita Milin, 'The Melodies from the Serbian Octoechos in Ljubica Marić's Byzantine Concerto', in Vlastimir Peričić, Dragoslav Dević, Mirjana Veselinović and Mladen Marković (eds), *Folklor i njegova umetnička transpozicija* (Belgrade: Fakultet muzičke umetnosti 1991, 199–212), and Ivana Perković, 'Šta je to u srpskom crkvenom pojanju inspirisalo Ljubicu Marić?' [Ljubica Marić: Drawing Inspiration From Serbian Chant ], in *Spaces of Modernism*, 331–344.

avant-garde, bearing in mind that [...] this was hardly less ideological, and hardly less subject to political manipulation'.<sup>9</sup>

Such a positioning of Marić is clearly at odds with Blagojević's characterizing of the use of Byzantine elements in architecture as an 'aberration', and indeed, it is hard not to see such very public buildings as Tanazević's Telephone Exchange in Belgrade as being also simultaneously part of a tendency towards freedom of expression and Europeanization as well as stopping short of full absorption of more radical trends in the field.

While actual musical reference to the Octoechos (or, indeed, liturgical chant from outside the Octoechos) is not, of course, necessary for a composer to make a connection with Byzantium, or to Serbian Orthodox church music, as a cultural symbol, as the work of Rajko Maksimović (b. 1935), who has made extensive reference to Serbia's past in such works as *Testamenat vladike crnogorskog Petra Petrovića Njegoša* [The Testament of Petar Petrović Njegoš, Bishop of Montenegro] of 1986 and the *Pasija svetoga kneza Lazara* [Saint Prince Lazarus Passion] of 1989 shows, any declared interest in the spirituality of Orthodoxy must inevitably raise questions as to how to proceed in terms of the musical expression thereof.<sup>10</sup> Two composers born in the 1970s, Milorad Marinković (b. 1976) and Djuro Živković (b. 1975), have found fascinating and vastly different answers to these questions.

Marinković, a former pupil of Maksimović, has (unusually) been very specifically concerned with the composition of liturgical music, moving gradually away from a quite contrapuntal approach that reconciled liturgical function with the kind of dramatic gesture that suggests the work of a composer such as Penderecki, as may be seen, for example, in his Liturgy of St John Chrysostom, from 2001. Example 2 shows part of the Cherubic Hymn.

Later works show a simpler, chant-based approach (for example, *Bogorodice Djevo* [Virgin Mary], from 2007, based on a Russian chant melody). Example 3 shows part of the Trisagion from his *Opelo* [Requiem], written in 2004. The most immediately striking reference here, visible

<sup>9</sup> Jim Samson, 'Back to the Future with Ljubica Marić', in *Spaces of Modernism*, 33.

<sup>10</sup> There are, of course, other composers who have from time to time made reference to Byzantium in various ways, including Vasilije Mokranjac (1923–84), Vuk Kulenović (b. 1946), Miloš Petrović (1952–2010) – especially his *Istorija Vizantije* [History of Byzantium] – and particularly Slobodan Atanacković (b. 1937: *Polielej* [1990], *Sugubaja jektenija* [1990], and a more recent concentration on liturgical work).

both in the chromatic nature of the writing and the rhythmic structure, is to Stevan Hristić's *Opelo* from 1915.

3

24 rit. . . . . **F** *Meno mosso*

C. - но о бра зу ю шче три - сја - ту .

A. три - сја - ту .

T. тај но о бра зу ю шче

B. три - сја - ту

28 **G** *dim. pp*

C. ю пје - саж

A. ю пје - саж

T. пје - саж

B. три - сја - ту ю пје - саж

32 *pp*

C. при - пје - ва - ю шче при - пје - ва - ю шче при - пје - ва - ю

A. при - пје - ва - ю шче при - пје - ва - ю шче при - пје - ва - ю

Example 2. Milorad Marinković, 'Cherubic Hymn', from *Liturgy of St John Chrysostom*, 2001. © 2001 Milorad Marinković. All rights reserved.  
Reproduced by permission.

3      Grandioso, con tutta forza      Svjati Bože

**D** *f*

S. Svja - ti Bo - že Svja - ti krjep - ki

A. Svja - ti Bo - že Svja - ti krjep - ki

T. Svja - ti Bo - že Svja - ti krjep - ki

B. Svja - ti Bo - že Svja - ti krjep - ki

**E**

S. Svja - ti Svja - ti be - smert - ni po - mi - luj

A. Svja - ti be - smert - ni po - mi - luj

T. Svja - ti be - smert - ni po - mi - luj

B. Svja - ti, Svja - ti be - smert - ni po - mi - luj

Come grande campane

Largamente

*mp cresc. poco a poco*

**F**

S. nas; po-mi-luj nas!

A. nas; Svja - ti be - smert - ni po-mi-luj nas!

T. *ff tutti* nas; Svja - ti be - smert - ni po-mi-luj nas!

B. nas; po-mi-luj nas!

*mp cresc. poco a poco*

Svja - ti Bo - že

*mp cresc. poco a poco*

Svja - ti Bo - že

Example 3. Milorad Marinković, 'Trisagion', from *Opelo* (2004). © 204 Milorad Marinković. All rights reserved. Reproduced by permission.



The composer has said that every piece requires a different compositional solution, but points to elements that are common to his output as a whole; in particular, the use of the *ison* or drone, bell sounds, certain techniques derived from minimalism and, particularly interesting in this context, a dramatic conception spread over a large scale.<sup>11</sup> In a wide-ranging speculative essay discussing 'religious, spiritual and church music', Marinković observed that '[r]eligious music is characterized by the creation of individual and subjective religious consciousness, which may exist inside the church, and personal – introspective moments'.<sup>12</sup>

Such a perspective clearly enables the composer to deal with spiritual material outside the liturgical context, whether in paraliturgical composition or in concert works that have no overt spiritual agenda. In his Piano Concerto (2010), the generation of harmony from an *ison*, the evocation of bells, and, at one point, even the indication 'religioso', all suggest this extension of the liturgical, or at least the ritual, into the secular. The art historian Timothy Hyman once described the Sienese painter Duccio's *Maestà* as an 'expanded icon';<sup>13</sup> in the same way, one might regard work, whether pictorial or musical, that springs from the iconic impulse, and pushes it outwards, as a continuation of that expansion (See Example 4).

The music of Djuro Živković (b. 1975) may appear in some senses to be an extension of Ljubica Marić's approach, but there are two very important differences. First, there is no reference to chant, or to the modal structure of chant, in a structural, systematic way (though the composer says that a *znamenny* chant from the Monastery of Valamo was the inspiration for *Ascetic Discourse* and *Unceasing Prayers*),<sup>14</sup> and secondly, there is no sense of detachment from the spiritual tradition of Byzantium (that is to say, Orthodoxy).

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<sup>11</sup> E-mail to the author, 6 May 2014.

<sup>12</sup> 'Religioznu muziku odlikuje individualna kreacija i subjektivna religiozna svest, koja može da ima u sebi saborne, ali i lično-introspektivne momente'. Cit. from Milorad Marinković. 'Religiozna, duhovna, crkvena muzika – tri Bogonadahnutalica muzike' [Religious, Spiritual, Church Music – Three God-inspired Faces of Music], *Jezik muzike. Muzika i religija & Reč i slika. Ikonografija i ikonografski metod – teorija i primena*. Zbornik radova sa VI međunarodnog naučnog skupa održanog na Filološko-umetničkom fakultetu u Kragujevcu (28–29. X 2011) (Kragujevac: Filološko-umetnički fakultet, 2013), 65.

<sup>13</sup> Timothy Hyman, *Sienese Painting* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2003), 17.

<sup>14</sup> E-mail to the author, 9 May 2014.

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The musical score is for measures 12-14 of Milorad Marinković's Piano Concerto. The staves are arranged as follows:

- Fl. picc.**: Measure 12 has a whole note, measure 13 has a whole rest, and measure 14 has a whole note.
- Ob. 1, 2, 3**: Measure 12 has a half note, measure 13 has a half note, and measure 14 has a half note.
- Cl. picc. (Mib)**: Measure 12 has a half note, measure 13 has a half note, and measure 14 has a half note.
- Cl. (Sib) 1, 2**: Measure 12 has a half note, measure 13 has a half note, and measure 14 has a half note.
- Fg. 1, 2**: Measure 12 has a half note, measure 13 has a half note, and measure 14 has a half note.
- Timp.**: Measure 12 has a half note, measure 13 has a half note, and measure 14 has a half note.
- Pfte.**: Measure 12 has a half note, measure 13 has a half note, and measure 14 has a half note.
- Vn. I**: Measure 12 has a half note, measure 13 has a half note, and measure 14 has a half note.
- Vn. II**: Measure 12 has a half note, measure 13 has a half note, and measure 14 has a half note.
- Vl.**: Measure 12 has a half note, measure 13 has a half note, and measure 14 has a half note.
- Vc.**: Measure 12 has a half note, measure 13 has a half note, and measure 14 has a half note.
- Cb.**: Measure 12 has a half note, measure 13 has a half note, and measure 14 has a half note.

The score includes various musical notations such as slurs, ties, and dynamic markings like *espress. molto* and *p*.

Example 4. Milorad Marinković, *Piano Concerto*. © 2010 Milorad Marinković.  
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Indeed, there is at times almost a pictorial element present, most directly in *The White Angel* (2006). The title of this work refers to one of Serbia's most significant spiritual and cultural symbols, the depiction of an angel dressed in white – *Beli anđeo* – at the tomb of the risen Christ, in the Monastery of Mileševa, built in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. The icon is, while rooted in tradition, highly original, and characterized by a remarkable dynamism, a sense of movement apparent in the face, body and wings of the angel (See illus. 1). That supernatural, but tangible, *kinesis* is what is also felt in Živković's piece.



*Illustration 1. The White Angel (detail), Monastery of Mileševa, 13<sup>th</sup> century*

A further plastic metaphor may be found in the composer's description of *Ascetic Discourse* (2012) as a 'sound painting of the Philokalia',<sup>15</sup> surely a unique attempt at a physical portrayal of the life of prayer in music. The *Philokalia* is a collection of texts written by, or taken down from, spiritual masters over the course of many centuries, and collected together by two monks from Mount Athos in a printed edition first pub-

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<sup>15</sup> See <http://www.baldur.info/blog/talking-to-djuro-zivkovic/>

lished, in Greek, in Venice in 1792. The texts are intended as a directive to monks wishing to practise the contemplative life; they are an expression of hesychasm, an eremitic tradition of inner prayer whose aim is union with God.<sup>16</sup> 'A hesychast', writes St John of the Ladder, 'is one who strives to enshrine what is bodiless within the temple of the body, paradoxical though this may sound. A hesychast is one who says, "I sleep but my heart is watchful" (*Song of Songs* 5:2)'.<sup>17</sup> This definition is cited by Nikiphoros [Nicephoros] the Hesychast, a monk from the second half of the thirteenth century, who was born in Italy but became an Orthodox monk on Mount Athos, and whom St Gregory Palamas quoted with approval in his text 'On Watchfulness and the Guarding of the Heart'. To his further commentaries on the hesychastic entry of the intellect into the heart, he adds the following, straightforwardly practical, advice: 'If, however, in spite of all your efforts, you are not able to enter into the realms of the heart in the way I have enjoined, do what I now tell you and with God's help you will find what you seek and deliberate and formulate prayers, psalms and other things in our breast. Banish, then, all thoughts from this faculty – and you can do this if you want to – and in their place put the prayer "Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on me", and compel it to repeat this prayer incessantly'.<sup>18</sup>

The injunction to 'banish all thoughts' is squarely at odds with the use of the imagination in prayer; the human imagination is seen, indeed, as a barrier to genuine God-centred prayer. For the artist, of course, at least as conceived of in the western tradition, such a warning is doubly potent, for what is the artist without imagination? A possible answer may be found in the work of the contemporary Greek iconographer, Fr Stamatios Skliris. In speaking of beauty in western art, he says that it 'devital-

<sup>16</sup> See, *inter alia*, Kallistos Ware, *Act out of Stillness: The Influence of Fourteenth-Century Hesychasm on Byzantine and Slav Civilization* [ed. Daniel J. Sahas] (Toronto: The Hellenic Canadian Association of Constantinople and the Thessalonian Society of Metro Toronto, 1995), 4–7.

<sup>17</sup> St John Klimakos, *The Ladder of Divine Ascent*, Steps 27 and 26 (P.G. lxxxviii, 1097B, 100B, 1029B, 1088A; English translation quoted in G.E.H. Palmer, Philip Sherrard and Kallistos Ware (eds and trans), *The Philokalia* (London: Faber & Faber, 1995), 200.

<sup>18</sup> Nikiphoros the Monk, 'On Watchfulness and the Guarding of the Heart', cit. in *The Philokalia*, 206. Further information on the life of Nikiphoros is available in Antonio Rigo, 'Niceforo l'Esicasta (XIII sec.): alcune considerazioni sulla vita e sull'opera', in Olivier Raquez (ed.), *Amore del Bello: Studi sulla Filocalia* (Mignano: Edizioni Qiqajon, 1991), 81–119.

izes Byzantine ontology, which seeks what is true rather than the ephemeral and consequently wishes to express aesthetically only what is permanent'.<sup>19</sup> On the other hand, he also notes that '[w]e ought to be able to appreciate the beauty in a work by Rembrandt or in a symphony by Beethoven as much as we can share the ontology expressed by a Byzantine icon or a Byzantine canticle, without the fanaticism or obsession of the Orthodox Christian side or the arrogance of the Western side (indeed very many Western historical studies, in spite of their high level, either underestimate or ignore the contribution of Byzantium in much the same way as Orthodox theology occasionally neglects the achievements of the Western spirit)'.<sup>20</sup>

These, then, may serve as the ontological and aesthetic presuppositions underlying the creation of new art that aims at the transmission of spiritual content. In the case of *Ascetic Discourse*, the composer says that he attempted to 'mirror [The Philokalia] on an intimate, and purely personal level', an observation that, while it may initially appear contradictory to the Christian idea of salvation as being achieved in community (whether monastic or secular), can also be seen as the epitome of the reality of the individual, eternally distinguished from every other human being.<sup>21</sup> It can also be seen as an attempt to 'enshrine what is bodiless' if not through the body, then through the actions of the body, including musical performance.

The beginning of the work is unrooted, as though something is emerging from the unconscious; only gradually does it seem to take concrete form (the mandolin's repeated intonations of a descending scalar figure, which are taken up by the guitar and which then gradually infect the entire ensemble), but paradoxically this eventually happens through a musical disintegration, a kind of meltdown, after which the mezzo-soprano soloist gradually gains words, having struggled to become articulate, causing all movement to cease. But hesychasm implies spiritual warfare, and Živković is not afraid of confrontation in his music; spiritual honesty, after all, requires recognition, acknowledgement and struggle, and Byzantine ontology expresses 'only what is permanent'. There are moments when the discourse breaks down, and we are left with the resonance of strongly vibrating strings. (See Example 5)

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<sup>19</sup> Stamatis Skliris, *In the Mirror* (Alhambra: Western American Diocese of the Serbian Orthodox Church, 2007), 29.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 31.

<sup>21</sup> This is why, in the Orthodox Church, each communicant is mentioned by name when receiving the Sacrament.

26

Estremo lontano e molto placido.

ppp

pp

What is the mystery... of contemplation what is

EO-AsDi-vp

Example 5. Djuro Živković, *Ascetic Discourse*, p. 26. © 2012 Octoechos. All rights reserved. Reproduced by permission

It begins again, and the nature of the mystery is spoken of, because the journey must continue, but the work's final moments (entitled 'Crystallization') are characterized by repeated blasts on the clarinets that, while they may conceivably suggest an anchor for the music, also and just as loudly suggest an alarm: here, surely, the sound of the last trump.

*On the Guarding of the Heart* (2011), for which Živković was awarded the prestigious Grawemeyer Award in 2014, had already explored this territory, though in purely instrumental terms. The idea of 'guarding the heart' is essential to the spirituality of the *Philokalia*. In interview, the composer said:

Once, I was asked how it is possible to speak of spirituality and yet have such a dramatic, even violent style in that work. My answer is that it reflects my spiritual journey; but not the end of the journey, where it would be a silence or stillness. The journey itself is a drama, a struggle, a development. In *On the Guarding of the Heart*, I experienced my inner spiritual journey. I identify with that music.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>22</sup> <http://artificialist.blogspot.pt/2014/01/five-questions-for-uro-zivkovic.html>

The reality is that the work, once again, grows from something that appears to be nothing, a few ghostly notes and rhythms, a kind of shadow world from whence the journey is undertaken and reality constructed. (See Example 6.)

SCORE

!! This version of the score is not intended for performance !!

# ON THE GUARDING OF THE HEART

Djuro Živković (\*1975)

**6** **4**  
**4** **4**  
**Echoing, ♩ = 58**

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ODH-5-4-6

Example 6. Djuro Živković, *On the Guarding of the Heart*, page 1. © 2011 Octoechos. All rights reserved. Reproduced by permission.

‘[... T]he act [acting] of musical composing’, says Živković, ‘is not to make a construction of correct dimensions, but more – to un-compose the Truth which listeners will be able to reassemble again. The correct dimensions are those of the soul, but never of numbers, since the correctness existed before numbers, as I said, in the mercy of God’.<sup>23</sup>

Such an approach might suggest parallels (they are inexact but thought-provoking) in the field of the plastic arts. While something of the layered, synthetic approach of Marić’s work might be seen in the recontextualizing of Byzantine, Gothic and Romanesque elements within the contemporary language of Lazar Vozarević (1925-1968),<sup>24</sup> Živković is perhaps better mirrored in the work of Kosta Bogdanović (1930-2012), in whose *Vizanteme* series, where, according to Zoran Jovanović, ‘the spectator will not need to discern in the portrait the characteristics of a painted holy person’,<sup>25</sup> the truth is ‘uncomposed’, but the listener, or the viewer, is given the materials with which to reassemble it. It is this unmaking and remaking of an icon, whether an actual icon or a cultural icon, a ‘Byzance après Byzance’, made distant not only by time but by geography, that provides such rich material for artists wishing to explore it.

Byzantium was, of course, never monolithic. The richness and long duration of its culture and the diaspora of that culture after the fall of the Empire were not only multifaceted phenomena in themselves, but their transplanting to other cultures and subsequent development meant that not only could Byzantium be a symbol for a lost and glorious past, but that it could underlie the reality of life, physically and spiritually, in those new cultures in many different ways. The variety of its expression in the music under discussion here, all of it composed within the past one hundred years, not only bears eloquent witness to that, but suggests a highly promising future in which the legacy of Byzantium will be continually reinterpreted by artists who have the spiritual capacity to view it in cultural terms that are as wide as they are deep.

<sup>23</sup> <http://www.zivkovic.eu/category/notebooks/> (English slightly amended by the present author.)

<sup>24</sup> See, *inter alia*, Lidija Merenik, *Umetnost i vlast. Srpsko slikarstvo 1945-1968* [Art and Power. Serbian Painting 1945–1968] (Belgrade: Vujičić kolekcija 2010), 111–14.

<sup>25</sup> Zoran M. Jovanović, *Vizantina u savremenoj srpskoj umetnosti* [Byzance in Contemporary Serbian Art] (Beograd: Službeni glasnik, 2011), 184–88 and 212.



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## Chapter 7

### ‘A WINDOW TOWARDS THE WEST’ YUGOSLAV CONCERT TOURS IN THE SOVIET UNION

*Ana Petrov*

#### INTRODUCTION

Radmila Karaklajić, a singer, has just come back from St. Petersburg where she gave four successful concerts. In October, a documentary on the Yugoslav music scene was presented on Russian national television. In it, special attention was given to a legend of Yugoslav popular music, Đorđe Marjanović. Recently, Vlada Divljan has been working on the project of translating the songs of the group *Idoli* into Polish. In Poland there have been three albums recorded lately, *Jugopolis* 1, 2 and 3, with Polish musicians singing the songs of the Yugoslav ‘new wave’ and rock from the 1980s.<sup>1</sup>

If we read this paragraph we could be forgiven for thinking that it comes from an archive dated around 20 or 30 years ago, since at that time Yugoslav pop musicians were extremely fashionable in Russia and Poland. However, it is a report from these two countries published in the Serbian journal *Vreme* in 2011. Apparently, what was once a developed, powerful and authentic Yugoslav popular musical culture has left a trace that is still discernible not only on the territory of former Yugoslavia itself but in other countries where Yugoslav music was popular.

In this chapter I identify some of the main features of the (at times ambivalent) reception of Yugoslav pop musicians in the Soviet Union. I look at how the data is analyzed in the press, on internet forums, fan pages and similar online resources. Bearing in mind that this data mostly refers to the whole of Former Yugoslavia, I will here focus on Serbian musicians, trying to detect specificities in this part of the popular music scene of the time. Taking my departure point in recent developments in popular postcolonial musicology and the sociology of popular music, I here want to problematize the reception of certain musicians as ‘western’,

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<sup>1</sup> Jovana Gligorijević, ‘Put za Istok [A Road to the East]’. *Vreme*, 15 December 2011, at <http://www.vreme.com/cms/view.php?id=1024944&xprint=yes>.

with reference to cultural politics in both Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, and to the specific role played by (popular) music within that politics. I will also explore other possible reasons for the popularity of Yugoslav music in these countries.

#### YUGOSLAVIA AS 'THE WEST'? CULTURAL POLITICS IN YUGOSLAVIA AND THE SOVIET UNION

In the 1950s a Yugoslav popular music culture emerged through the development of local festivals, radio programmes and a recording industry.<sup>2</sup> Within it, the most important festival in Serbia in the second half of the twentieth century was *Beogradsko proleće* [Belgrade Spring], founded in 1961 and modeled on the San Remo festival. It was the third major festival of Yugoslav popular music (after Zagreb in 1953 and Opatija in 1958). Popular music was also played at events celebrating official holidays, and in 1959 Tito attended a concert in Belgrade for the Youth Day celebrations at which some of Yugoslavia's best pop singers performed alongside the Jazz Orchestra of Radio Belgrade.<sup>3</sup>

From the 1950s onwards, local popular music was usually referred to as 'zabavna' or 'dance', 'entertainment' and 'light' music. Jazz, pop and, by the end of the decade, rock, were the styles of popular music being listened to in Yugoslavia and around the world. The Yugoslav popular music scene was characterized on one hand by compositions and performances that were recognized as 'typical', 'predictable' and 'appropriate' for Yugoslavia, and on the other hand by music labelled as 'foreign', 'western' and 'unsuitable'. Rock also influenced *schlager* singers, including Đorđe Marjanović, whose repertoire included *schlager* and *canzone*-like ballades, Russian songs, and faster dance songs in a rock idiom. Throughout the 1950s Yugoslavia's cultural and political elites called for the development of a Yugoslav popular music culture centred on domestically produced songs that would not only meet people's needs for entertain-

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<sup>2</sup> By the late 1950s, the institutional foundations for a Yugoslav popular music culture were established; radio and television stations, festivals and record companies were all ready to produce and promote the soundtracks that would accompany the subsequent decades of Yugoslav history. See Jelena Arnautović, *Između politike i tržišta. Popularna muzika na Radio Beogradu u SFRJ* [Between Politics and the Market. Popular Music on Radio Belgrade in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] (Belgrade: RTS, 2012).

<sup>3</sup> Dean Vuletic, 'Generation Number One: Politics and Popular Music in Yugoslavia in the 1950s', *Nationalities Papers*, xxxvi (2008), 871.

ment and better reflect everyday life in Yugoslavia, but would also remain in accordance with the state ideology.<sup>4</sup>

The development of a Yugoslav popular music culture at this time was not only rooted in international cultural trends but was also shaped by the domestic and foreign policies that were pursued by the ruling League of Communists of Yugoslavia. It was the attitude of Yugoslav communists to international affairs that was politically decisive for popular music in the 1950s. Most important was the split with the Soviet Union and its Eastern European satellites in 1948, when the Communist Information Bureau expelled Yugoslavia from its ranks and withdrew all economic and technical aid after Tito refused to submit to Soviet political domination. Soon after, the communist party abandoned the more extreme form of Soviet-sponsored socialist realist aesthetics that had labelled popular music as part of the cultural-political armoury of the West, even as it increasingly sought economic and political support from the US and its allies. Thus, during the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s Yugoslavia was deemed to be more open to Western culture than the other socialist countries, and was regarded as subject to processes of 'Americanization'.<sup>5</sup> The widespread perception was that the highly specific culture of this country represented 'the West of the East'.<sup>6</sup>

Popular culture and everyday life during the Cold War were the *loci* for numerous symbolic, as well as actual, confrontations between the East and the West. Since Yugoslavia was in a sense 'betwixt and between', it became an obvious battlefield, and was exposed simultaneously to American cultural 'products' such as jazz, rock and Hollywood movies, within the field of popular culture, and to abstract expressionism, and other forms of avant-garde and pop art, within the field of so-called 'high' art. In comparison to the Soviet Union and other territories 'behind the iron curtain', Yugoslavia was not only 'between East and West', but 'both in the East and in the West',<sup>7</sup> and could thus offer very attractive music scenes to the audiences in the 'real' East. Yugoslavia's cultural products were popular and highly valued in Eastern Europe precisely because they

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<sup>4</sup> Vuletic, 'Generation Number One', 861.

<sup>5</sup> Radina Vučetić, *Koka-kola socijalizam* [Coca-Cola Socialism] (Belgrade: Službeni glasnik, 2012).

<sup>6</sup> Radina Vučetić, 'Rokenrol na Zapadu Istoka. Slučaj *Džuboks* [Rock and Roll in the West of the East. The Case of *Džuboks*]', *Godišnjak za društvenu istoriju*, xiii (2006), 71–88.

<sup>7</sup> Vučetić, *Koka-kola socijalizam*, 16.

were experienced as 'windows' to the modern trends associated with the West.<sup>8</sup>

#### REPRESENTING THE WEST IN THE EAST?

Like the discourses on pop culture in Yugoslavia, those in the Soviet Union need to be interrogated critically. In particular, we should note that although they were under strict political surveillance, certain kinds of popular music scenes did in fact exist even in the countries that were officially 'behind the iron curtain'. In the Soviet Union, amateur pop bands were in demand from the early 1960s onwards. They were created and promoted by private individuals, who lived by the principle that they should express the feelings and concerns of their own constituency, whatever the authorities might like them to have included. In contrast, professional bands were created by state agencies (beginning in 1968) as a counterbalance to the growth in amateur bands, and in an attempt to satisfy the demand for the kind of swinging, shaking, electric guitar music that had already reached a peak in the 1960s. For many years these state-created and state-funded bands, officially known as 'vocal-instrumental ensembles', fulfilled their functions quite satisfactorily. Unlike the amateur bands, which composed and produced their work without any interference, the professional bands played songs written by members of the Union of Soviet Composers. Their stage performances were subject to strict regulation by censorship committees, usually consisting of Party officials. Nevertheless, the bands were able to bring on to the stage electric guitars and a beat and style adopted from the West, and this gave some impression of the relaxed and carefree spirit and spontaneity of Western pop music.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Predrag J. Marković, *Beograd između istoka i zapada 1948–1965* [Belgrade Between the East and the West 1948–1965] (Belgrade: Službeni list SRJ, 1996), 471.

<sup>9</sup> The situation changed, bringing stricter supervision by officials, as late as the 1980s with the emergence of rock and punk groups. From early summer 1984 onwards Soviet pop musicians became aware that the Ministry of Culture, under whose supervision pop groups in Russia work and on whose policies their very existence depends, were trying to destroy them. The Ministry launched a campaign against pop groups in July 1983, immediately after the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, at which matters of Party ideology and political work among the masses were discussed. It was pointed out that the Party was not happy with the state of affairs in Soviet popular music. Moved by this criticism, the Russian Republic's Ministry of Culture issued new instructions for pop groups working under the aegis of state-run concert agencies, which

From this perspective, the phenomenon of Yugoslav concert tours as a 'western' import seems to be even more intriguing. And it should be kept in mind too that even though relations between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union changed after 1948, they were not non-existent. The Soviet model in political, cultural and scientific life had been dominant in the period immediately following World War II. By 1948, there were many societies of Serbian-Russian friendship, scholarships were given to Yugoslavs for studying in the Soviet Union, and a significant number of artists finished their education there. The cultural collaboration involved a two-way traffic of literature and other cultural products between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union. However, from 1949 onwards, there was an obvious change in Yugoslav cultural politics. The Soviet influence certainly lost its leading position, but it was still present, especially as many Yugoslavs finished their education within the Soviet system, and went on to implement Soviet policies when they returned to Yugoslavia. After 1949 relations between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union were volatile, with cultural collaboration entirely dependent on the political climate at any given time. Thus, there was a period of almost total ignorance of the Soviet model in the immediate aftermath of 1948, while in the 1960s there was a tendency to reestablish cultural links, especially those regarding literature, art and theatre.<sup>10</sup>

It was actually due to a collaboration between concert agencies, Yugoslav *Jugokonzert* and Soviet *Goskonzert*, that Yugoslav pop stars started giving tours in the Soviet Union in the early 1960s, initially a few day visits, but later some month-long tours. It all began with a handful of performances by Anica Zubović, Duško Jakšić, Radmila Dimić and Aca

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followed the procedure of setting a standard for the central Russian Republic to be followed by the rest of the republics. The instructions primarily referred to the need to review the repertoires of the official groups. Amateur groups saw this as an omen of bad times to come, and indeed the Ministry felt it necessary a year later to issue further instructions concerning the repertory and status of amateur groups, as well as the tightening-up of controls on professional groups. This was a clear message from the authorities that despite their popularity and success the pop bands were getting out of hand and had to be curtailed; see Terry Bright, 'Soviet Crusade against Pop', *Popular Music*, v (1985), 123–48. For further details, see Richard Stites, *Russian Popular Culture. Entertainment and Society since 1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 98–148; also Robert A. Rothstein, 'The Quiet Rehabilitation of the Brick Factory: Early Soviet Popular Music and Its Critics', *Slavic Review*, xxxix (1980), 373–88.

<sup>10</sup> Branka Doknić: *Kulturna politika Jugoslavije 1946–1963* [Cultural Politics in Yugoslavia 1946–1963] (Belgrade: Službeni glasnik, 2013), 271–79.



Sarajevski in 1960, part of an economic fair in which Yugoslavia participated. Then, starting from the following year, 1961, a larger group of Yugoslav musicians, including some key names such as Lola Novaković, a well-known Serbian singer, went on a two-month tour. Soon after, tours of this kind became rather common, with many Yugoslav musicians giving concerts in the Soviet Union. However, the year 1963 was a watershed in the reception of the Yugoslav musicians as 'a window towards the West'. In that year the Moscow audience was confronted with a 'hurricane under the name Đorđe Marjanović'.<sup>11</sup>

Marjanović was certainly the most famous of the Yugoslav musicians who visited the Soviet Union, being recognized as both 'a true Slavic artist' (with the 'heart and soul of a Slav') and a Western-style star.<sup>12</sup> However, he was by no means an isolated case in the decades from the 1960s through to the 1980s. A perceived 'western' orientation brought great popularity to quite a few musicians (Lola Novaković, Radmila Karaklajić, Miki Jevremović, Boba Stefanović, Cune Gojković,<sup>13</sup> the groups *Korni grupa*, *Sedmorica mladih*, *Pro arte*, and many others) who took part in these highly successful concert tours. In addition to the exhilarating performances, the popularity of the Yugoslav musicians was also down to a repertoire that included internationally well-known songs given in different western languages (especially Italian, French, and English) as well as Russian translations of those same songs. Unlike their counterparts in Yugoslavia, audiences in the Soviet Union viewed the 'western' qualities of Yugoslav performances not as an undesirable western import, but as a modern and progressive 'window towards the West' coming from a fellow Slavic and socialist country. In addition, similar concert tours were

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<sup>11</sup> Đorđe Marjanović (b. 1931) is one of the most famous Yugoslav *schlager* singers. Having released his first solo album in 1959, he attracted a great following due to his participation in popular Yugoslav music festivals. After performing for the first time in the Soviet Union, he became increasingly popular there, though he was also criticized in the following years in Yugoslavia. He has never been famous because of his voice or even because of the songs he performed, but mostly for his performance style, including physical gestures on stage that were not typical for either Yugoslavia or the Soviet Union at that time. He is remembered as the first singer in Yugoslavia to take the microphone in his hands and move freely around the stage; see Dikan Panić (ed.), *Đorđe: Moj život* [Đorđe: My Life] (Belgrade: Admiral books, 2001), at [http://www.djordjemarjanovic.com/download/knjiga\\_o\\_djordju.doc](http://www.djordjemarjanovic.com/download/knjiga_o_djordju.doc).

<sup>12</sup> Panić, *Đorđe: Moj život*.

<sup>13</sup> Cune Gojković is unusual in this group, as he is a folk singer.

organised in Poland, Bulgaria and Romania, although it was not always the same performers who gained popularity in these countries. As general rule, the Soviet Union favoured Yugoslav pop, Poland the 'new wave', and Bulgaria and Romania the folk or pop-folk stars.<sup>14</sup>

Yet this eastern opening out to a socialist version of the West was taking place just at the time when another 'West' was arriving in Yugoslavia, namely western rock. By the end of the 1960s this was the great attraction in Yugoslavia, just as Yugoslav pop singers were the great attraction in the Soviet Union.<sup>15</sup> And it was this unique combination of influences that partly explains why certain singers' performances could be intriguing to Soviet audiences in ways that were no longer possible for them in their own country.

#### 'WESTERN GESTURES', 'SLAVIC SOULS', AND THE AMBIGUITIES OF LANGUAGE

Even when the tours involved pop groups, it was not really the 'group' that was discussed in the press or advertised widely. It was generally known who were the favorite performers, and in reviews about the tours, there was seldom even a mention of the groups, but only of the high-profile stars within them. These were regularly singled out, and sometimes in such a manner that there would be something of an upset, or even a scandal.<sup>16</sup> I will here single out Đorđe Marjanović and Radmila

<sup>14</sup> Note that pop, chanson and *Schlager* singers were popular in the Soviet Union in the 1960s and the 1970s. However, from the 1980s onwards a new wave emerged and 'moved to Poland'; see Jovana Gligorijević, 'Put za Istok'. Supposedly, enthusiasm for the new wave was mostly down to one person, Gregor Brozović, a music journalist who had lived in Yugoslavia, but later moved to Poland, bringing information on the Yugoslav new wave scene, which in turn led to performances by new wave musicians from Yugoslavia, such as the group *Električni orgazam*. The popularity of Yugoslav musicians in the Soviet Union did not stop in this period, but rather expanded to embrace other socialist countries and other kinds of music scene (Jovana Gligorijević, 'Put za Istok'). Incidentally, there was a successful tour by Lola Novaković in Tokyo, where she became popular after her participation in the Eurovision contest in 1962; see Ivan Ivačković, *Kako smo propevali. Jugoslavija i njena muzika* [How We Sang. Yugoslavia and its Music] (Belgrade: Laguna, 2013), 84–85.

<sup>15</sup> Ivačković, *Kako smo propevali*, 81.

<sup>16</sup> When Radmila Karaklajić, as a member of a group, had eleven encores (thus turning the occasion into a sort of solo performance) the attitude towards her changed, according to the testimony of the singer herself. After the 'incident', she

Karaklajić, two singers generally known as the ‘god’ and ‘goddess’ of Yugoslav pop music in the Soviet Union.

Marjanović certainly stood out as an individual rather quickly. He attracted special attention, and was very soon accepted in the Soviet Union as one of ‘our own’.<sup>17</sup> When a ‘hurricane under the name Đorđe Marjanović appeared’, he became ‘the god’ of the Soviet pop music scene, being labelled ‘a magician’ of the scene and ‘a socialist god’,<sup>18</sup> a man who opened the eyes of audiences in a closed Soviet society and informed them about the true nature of the pop scene: its songs, gestures, performing ethos, and even its ‘ecstasy’ and its ‘gymnastics’!<sup>19</sup> In just a few months, ‘Russia was in ecstasy’, according to the reviews of the time.<sup>20</sup> Regarding his performances, the gestures were interpreted as Italian, and the spontaneity as French, while it was common to read about the authenticity of his interpretations, his prodigious talent and his great voice. Furthermore, Marjanović was also labelled the pride of Yugoslav ‘zabavna music’,<sup>21</sup> and as a typical socialist artist.<sup>22</sup> Thus, he was identified

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performed exclusively solos; see Ljubica Z. Tomić, ‘Radmila Karaklajić: ispovest legende. Istočna kraljica’ [Radmila Karaklajić: a Confession of the Legend. The Eastern Queen], at <http://archive.today/www.ilustrovana.com>.

<sup>17</sup> Within a couple of decades, he entered the Russian elite, socializing with academics, ministers and artists, and was widely recognized as a true star in the Soviet Union. In 1968 he was awarded a prize for improving international relations between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union. It helped that he married a Russian woman and that his first daughter was born there, so that he was also labelled as a kind of Russian ‘son-in-law’; see ‘Prva ruska iskustva’ [First Russian experiences], at <https://www.facebook.com/notes/djordje-marjanovic-%C4%91or%C4%91e-marjanovi%C4%87/prva-ruska-iskustva/148010145269176>.

<sup>18</sup> Panić, *Đorđe: Moj život*. The journalist Petar Luković stated that ‘we were all the same’, whether in Yugoslavia or the Soviet Union, in our view of Marjanović’s performances. Luković claimed that ‘we forgot plenary meetings and congresses, liberals and leftists, revisionists and anarchists’, because Marjanović sang and ‘we loved him’. Quoted in Đorđe Matić, ‘Marjanović, Đorđe’, *Leksikon Yumitologije* [Lexicon of Yugoslav mythology], <http://leksikon-yu-mitologije.net/marjanovic-dorde/>.

<sup>19</sup> Quoted in ‘Prva ruska iskustva’.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> It should be remembered that at this time the singer was sharply criticized in his own country and was certainly not yet recognized as a typical representative of Yugoslav ‘zabavna’ music; see ‘Kritičari i kritizeri’ [Critics and Criticizers], at <http://www.djordjemarjanovic.com/biografija/7.html/>.

<sup>22</sup> Prva ruska iskustva’.

as 'Yugoslav', 'socialist' and 'Slavic', and his passionate singing and behavior on stage were regarded as the consequence of his 'Slavic soul'. His performances were characterized by spontaneous gestures, elaborate dancing, and moments when he left the stage to mingle with the audience, all of which left his fans ecstatic. In an apparent contradiction, he was also seen as 'a window towards the West', since he performed in ways that had not been seen before in the Soviet Union. In 1969 the Italian paper *La stampa* wrote about 'a young Yugoslav' who was 'an idol for the Soviets', 'looked like a hippie', and gave performances that were considered the equal of the Rolling Stones, Bob Dylan and other Western stars.<sup>23</sup>

Radmila Karaklajić (1939), 'the female Đorđe Marjanović',<sup>24</sup> started her career in the Soviet Union in a rather specific fashion. Three days before the first group tour started in 1964, she had been informed by officials from the agency *Jugokonzert* that she was not adequate for the Soviet market, since she sang in English and her repertoire was 'too much' centred on twist and rock, all of which made her 'too politically provocative for Russia'.<sup>25</sup> However, the singer went to the Soviet Union the next year and was a huge success, since she was invited to perform for a month but actually stayed for six months due to her popularity. As in the case of Marjanović, her supposedly provocative and technically limited performances were completely accepted in the Soviet Union, resulting in the label 'eastern queen'.<sup>26</sup> Like Marjanović, she performed with free energetic movements, dancing, provocative clothes, which were unusual characteristics at a time when most of the (especially female) singers stood still in front of the microphone.<sup>27</sup> According to the Karaklajić's own testimony, she was the first female singer who sang and danced simultaneously, and who, furthermore, performed 'foreign' pop and rock music in the Soviet Union.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Quoted in Ivačković, *Kako smo propevali*, 38.

<sup>24</sup> This label was given to the singer because of the similar free energetic movements on the stage; see Ljubica Z. Tomić, 'Radmila Karaklajić'.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.* The singer has been popular in Russia since the first year of her performance and even today girls have been given names after her (Ivačković, *Kako smo propevali*, 87–88). In 1983 Russians organized Karaklajić's concert in New York for the diplomats in the United Nations, presenting her as a star of the Eastern Europe; see 'Radmila Karaklajić', *Sećanja* [Memories], at <http://secanja.com/2012/radmila-karaklajic/>.

<sup>27</sup> Ivačković, *Kako smo propevali*, 87–88.

<sup>28</sup> Aleksandar Nikolić, 'Ispovest poznate pevačice. Radmila Karaklajić: Ovacije diplomata UN za moje ciganske pesme' [Confessions of a Famous Singer.

Numerous groups also attracted the attention of Soviet audiences, and of these one of the most interesting was *Sedmorica mladih*, officially known as one of the first Yugoslav beat bands to perform in several languages and to explore all popular music genres. Unlike other Yugoslav groups, this one used most of the known and often forbidden genres; they are remembered, for example, as the musicians who played Afro-American gospel music in the Soviet Union, although in their own arrangements. They were well aware of Soviet realities, but this did not stop them performing 'degenerate' genres such as jazz, in a variety of arrangements, in addition to the Russian music they, like everyone else at that time, were obliged to include. In addition to their music, they attracted attention due to their striking appearance on the stage, since they regularly presented themselves as entertainers or showmen, fully dressed up for the part, and combining their musical performances with a kind of cabaret show, complete with parody sketches.<sup>29</sup>

In addition to their own songs, most Yugoslav musicians also performed actual music from the West, such as songs by the Beatles, Bob Dylan and French and Italian traditional songs. Thus, that repertoire attracted special attention in the Soviet Union (for which it was adapted), and was interpreted as a tool that enabled the Soviets to see through the musical 'iron curtain' and be entertained in ways that had not been familiar to them. Marjanović, for instance, regularly translated his own songs into Russian, in addition to following the common practice of translating well-known songs by the *Beatles*, Bob Dylan, Bryan Ferry, and the like. Radmila Karaklajić sang in Russian as well, and also performed traditional Russian songs, though, as noted earlier, she also sang in English,<sup>30</sup> considered a provocative gesture in the Yugoslav context, but as one of the ways of looking through the western window in the Soviet context. Rock, which was thought to be heretical in the Russian public sphere of the time, thus found its way to audiences through performances

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Radmila Karaklajić: Ovarions from the UN Diplomats for my Gypsy Songs], *Blic*, 16 May 2010. <http://www.blic.rs/Intervju/189488/Ovacije-diplomata-UN-za-moje-ciganske-pesme/>.

<sup>29</sup> Bane Đorđević, 'Sedmorica mladih: Imali smo dušu' [*Sedmorica mladih*: We had a soul], *Večernje Novosti*, 5 February 2011, at <http://www.novosti.rs/vesti/spektakl.147.html:318040-Sedmorica-mladih-Imali-smo-dusu>.

<sup>30</sup> Her occupation was an English teacher, which was not unusual for that time. Many singers in the mid twentieth century were educated in many fields and started performing in their free time, but were noticed and invited to perform professionally.

of an 'acceptable' kind. Karaklajić was also famous because of her performances of Roma songs, some of which she composed, and which she sang in many languages, but usually in Russian when in the Soviet Union, even though there were often versions of the same songs in Serbian. The issue of language seems to have been one of the factors that brought these musicians such a unique status. Moreover, it seems that singing in translation may have led to their construction as 'Slavic' and therefore close to the Soviets.

With this in mind, it is relevant to point out that the songs performed by these musicians were really only partly suitable for the official Soviet market. Marjanović and Karaklajić did have songs that conformed to conventional Russian expectations, but also songs that combined all manner of current pop traditions, such as German *schlager*, Italian *canzone*, and French *chanson*. Thus, it was partly the translations that ensured their positive reception among Soviet audiences. Furthermore, both of these popular singers performed 'western' (faster) rock and twist songs, which apparently helped bolster the sense that they were a sort of compromise between East and West, simultaneously close enough to and far enough from the usual Soviet music pop scene. Bearing in mind the situation in the Soviet Union, this kind of opportunity to enjoy a partly forbidden product had a great impact on the musical preferences of the younger generation. Being exposed to the sounds of jazz, swing and rock, and all in divergent linguistic versions in at least two languages (their mother tongue and another world language), Soviet youth had a sense of being tuned into world trends.

#### CONCLUSION: YUGOSLAV POP MUSIC AS A BRAND

The tours discussed in this chapter began in the 1960s and lasted until the late 1980s, though Yugoslav music retained its popularity in Russia after that date.<sup>31</sup> Even though Yugoslav politics entailed many examples of the censorship of all sorts of music,<sup>32</sup> it seems that pop music became

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<sup>31</sup> For instance, in 1985 a group called *Bajaga i instruktori* had a remarkable success. In the concert in Moscow there were between 50,000 and 90,000 people in the audience. The organizer did not expect such a number, and the security services had great difficulty controlling the crowd. Even the performer, Bajaga, tried to help by playing the slower songs, but after one of his faster ones, the crowd went crazy and the concert was interrupted; see Gligorijević, 'Put za Istok'.

<sup>32</sup> Ana Hofman, 'Ko se boji šunda još? Muzička senzura u Jugoslaviji' [Who is Still afraid of *Schund*? Musical Censorship in Yugoslavia], in Lada Duraković and Andrea Matošević (eds), *Socijalizam na klupi. Jugoslavensko društvo očima nove*

one of Yugoslavia's most successful exports, and achieved major success elsewhere. At some point, Yugoslavia's cultural and political elites accepted that popular music was an essential element of their citizens' cultural and social life. According to certain interpretations, a key stage in the transformation of official Yugoslav politics arrived precisely when the authorities decided to tolerate the 'decadent sounds' of popular music, and to permit a wide range of pop-music genres, including those previously labelled as the most problematic, to flourish without too much interference from the regime.<sup>33</sup> A new basis for collective identity appeared, essentially depoliticized and providing a field of transnationally shared experience. Yugoslav 'zabavna music' emerged as one of the most enduring transnational frameworks of popular culture, allowing Yugoslav youth to feel part of a common Yu-pop/rock culture, and with a brand that could be exported with great success.<sup>34</sup> When the time was right and the institutional field established, this music was transmuted from a problem to an exportable brand.

As to the reception of these same music practices in the Soviet Union, a similar sort of compromise was effected there through Yugoslav pop music. Since 'genuine' western products were not acceptable, this 'eastern version' of the West was just the thing that was needed at the time to meet the needs of audiences. Another issue that can be addressed relates to the role of creating a collective youth identity through music consumption.<sup>35</sup> Yugoslav 'zabavna' music in the 1960s, and later 'Yu-

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*postjugoslavenske humanistike* [Socialism on the Bench. Yugoslav Society as Seen from the Perspective of New Post-Yugoslav Humanities] (Pula and Zagreb: Srednja Europa, Sveučilište Jurja Dobrile u Puli, Sa(n)jam knjige u Istri, 2013), 279–316.

<sup>33</sup> Vuletic, 'Generation Number One', 874.

<sup>34</sup> Martin Pogačar, 'Yu-Rock in the 1980s: Between Urban and Rural', *Nationalities Papers*, xxxvi (2008), 820–21.

<sup>35</sup> Pop journalism was particularly important in circulating knowledge and mediating values and beliefs about the creation, characteristics and influence of recorded music. Journalism helped folk, blues, jazz and rock fans make sense of their music, but inevitably on very particular terms. Rock criticism elsewhere evaluated rock as a sincere and meaningful expression of the aspirations of youth, and as a music that supposedly transcended cultural boundaries by being transmitted and shared by peoples of many different nations and backgrounds; see David Hesmondhalgh et al, 'Introduction: Popular Music Studies: Meaning, Power and Value', in David Hesmondhalgh et al. (eds) *Popular Music Studies* (London and New York: Arnold, 2002), 2. In the case of Yugoslav pop music, the creation of youth identity had been quintessential since the post-war construction

rock' (or 'Yugo rock') from the 1970s onward, and most importantly in the 1980s, played the role of one of the most resistant transnational frameworks of popular culture, both in Yugoslavia and in other socialist countries. I here concur with Vuletic, who points out that 'popular music is one of the cultural phenomena that has been most shared among the peoples inhabiting the territory of the former Yugoslavia'.<sup>36</sup> It is also relevant to consider the persistence of a common popular music culture there even after the break up of the Yugoslav federation in 1991, which is why Vuletic concludes that there is perhaps 'little in cultural life' that unites the peoples of the former country more than the music.<sup>37</sup>

Much the same seems to obtain in the reception of this music in the Soviet Union and other former socialist countries. The great popularity of Yugoslav music might be further construed as a 'cultural repertoire'<sup>38</sup> that has become ubiquitous in most of the former socialist countries. Judging by the very recent reports I mentioned at the beginning of the chapter and by current (usually nostalgic) references to this period of Yugoslav history as 'the time when we were the West',<sup>39</sup> Yugoslav pop music has certainly been a transnational and, it appears, a transtemporal phenome-

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of the United Nations. The history of popular culture in this country certainly shows relevant characteristics of the tendency to preserve those products that were disseminated in youth culture, thus contributing to a unified 'youth cohort'. Yugoslav music was certainly one of these products.

<sup>36</sup> Vuletic, 'Generation Number One', 861.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.* 861.

<sup>38</sup> Popular music scholars refer to the repertoires, mutual influences and discourses of musical culture as entities that constitute ways of playing, listening and moving to, as well as talking and thinking about, music, and from that to ways of knowing other aspects of our social world. All these constitute 'traditions', wherein people involved in musical cultures can draw from the past to justify or explain the values of their distinctive musical present. These discourses have never existed separately from each other, and their availability to different cultural groups varies at particular moments, just as different styles of popular music draw upon these discourses to different degrees and often in contradictory ways. They therefore constitute the repertoires out of which a distinctive (and new) musical culture can be built. Which aspects of the repertoire will be drawn upon, and in what way, will depend upon how these practices are made meaningful by the particular cultural group. See Tim Wall, *Popular Music Culture. Studying the Media* (London and New York: Arnold, 2003), 21–22.

<sup>39</sup> 'Tribina Put za Istok: kad smo bili Zapad [Reviewing Roads to the East: When we were the West]', *Vreme*, 28 December 2011, at <http://www.vreme.com/cms/view.php?id=1027458>.



non. For example, in 2011 the journal *Vreme*, in collaboration with the Ministry of Culture and Information of the Republic of Serbia, organized a discussion on Yugoslav popular music in the countries of the Eastern Block, in which many familiar names from that period of Yugoslav history, such as Radmila Karaklajić herself, participated. There was a positive, slightly nostalgic reception of past times in the discussions. Karaklajić, for instance, pointed out that she did not regret the fact that she had to make certain adjustments since it was 'the right thing to do' and it was good for the Yugoslav music business. Most of the participants pointed out that at that time musicians were educated, sang well in many languages and were able to adjust to meet the needs of the audience and the officials, which finally brought the kinds of results that made Yugoslav music famous.<sup>40</sup> Making a compromise between the East and the West, this music marked the time when 'we were the West' for someone else, just as we ourselves confronted the 'real' West.

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

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## Chapter 8

### MUSIC OF THE LOST GENERATION: SERBIAN ÉMIGRÉ COMPOSERS

Ivana Medić

Starting from the early 1990s, a period marked by the dissolution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the ensuing war, hundreds of thousands of professionals left the country (or, more precisely, the newly established countries that replaced the former Yugoslavia) and settled all over the world.<sup>1</sup> Such a massive ‘brain drain’ from small countries such as Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina has had a devastating impact on many professional realms in the entire region. In the field of classical/art music, at least forty composers, members of different generations, left Serbia, many of them never to return. Admittedly, a number of Serbian composers (or instrumentalists who later specialized in composition) had left Yugoslavia even before the outbreak of war, in pursuit of professional opportunities abroad, among them Ivan Jevtić (b. 1947; lived in France and briefly in Brazil, currently holds dual French/Serbian citizenship), Ingeborg Bugarinović (b. 1953; settled in Vancouver), Dušan Bogdanović (b. 1955; lived in San Francisco, currently teaches in Geneva), Miloš Raičković (b. 1956; lived in France, Hawaii and Japan, before settling in New York), Aleksandar Damnjanović (b. 1959; moved to France in 1978), Mitar Subotić (b. 1961, moved to Sao Paulo, Brazil in 1990, where he tragically died in 1999), Jovanka Trbojević (b. 1963, moved to Helsinki in 1989), and Dijana Bošković (b. 1969; moved to Munich in 1989). However, these were exceptional cases; it was only after the onset of the 1990s crisis in Yugoslavia that a large

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<sup>1</sup> For a recent overview of the events that contributed to the break-up of Yugoslavia and its consequences, see Dejan Djokić and James Ker-Lindsay (eds), *New Perspectives on Yugoslavia: Key Issues and Controversies* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), in particular Nebojša Vladislavljević, ‘The Break-up of Yugoslavia: The Role of Popular Politics’, 143–60, and Florian Bieber, ‘Popular Mobilization in the 1990s: Nationalism, Democracy and the Slow Decline of the Milošević regime’, 161–75.

number of composers moved abroad, and the trend has continued in the new millennium.

Since the 1990s the following composers have permanently settled abroad: Vuk Kulenović (b. 1946; currently lives in Boston), Leon Miodrag Lazarov Pashu (b. 1949; Montreal), Katarina Miljković (b. 1959; Boston), Ivan Božičević (b. 1961; Split, Croatia), Mateja Marinković (b. 1961, London), Tatjana Grečić-Dutoit (b. 1962, Santa Fe, NM, USA), Nebojša Jovan Živković (b. 1962; Vienna), Stevan Kovač Tikmajer (b. 1963, Orléans, France), Tatjana Ristić (b. 1964; Kristiansand, Norway), Ognjen Bogdanović (b. 1965; London), Vera Stanojević (b. 1965; Columbus, OH, USA), Dragan Vujović (b. 1965; New York), Nataša Bogojević (b. 1966; Chicago), Milica Paranosić (b. 1968; New York); Ana Sokolović (b. 1968; Montreal), Ana Mihajlović (b. 1968; Rotterdam), Jelena Jančić (b. 1968; London), Aleksandra Vrebalov (b. 1970; New York), Katarina Ćurčin (b. 1971; Toronto), Laura Mjeda-Čuperjani (b. 1971; Pula, Croatia), Snežana Nešić (b. 1973; Hannover), Jasna Veličković (b. 1974; Amsterdam), Djuro Živković (b. 1975; Stockholm), Maja Filipović Frangeš (b. 1976; Zurich), Melinda Ligeti (b. 1978; Abbadia San Salvatore, Italy), Marko Nikodijević (b. 1980; Stuttgart), Jovana Backović (b. 1980; London), Teodora Stepančić (b. 1982; The Hague), Milica Djordjević (b. 1984; Berlin) and Maja Leković (b. 1986; Amsterdam). It is likely that this list is not exhaustive.

The list could also be expanded by including composers who emigrated in the 1990s, but have since returned to Serbia: Svetlana Maksimović (b. 1948, lived in Toronto between 1996 and 2006), Boris Kovač (b. 1955, lived in Italy, Austria and Slovenia in the early 1990s, returned to Serbia in 1996), Boris Despot (b. 1965, lived in Toronto between 1990 and 2003), Igor Gostuški (b. 1966, lived in Vienna in the 1990s, returned to Belgrade in 1999), as well as a group of younger composers such as Branka Popović (b. 1977), Jasna Veljanović (b. 1980), Aleksandar Sedlar (b. 1982), Maja [Mitrović] Bosnić (b. 1985) and Svetlana Maraš (b. 1985), who completed their undergraduate and/or postgraduate studies in the United Kingdom, Ukraine, USA and Finland respectively and returned to Serbia. Another two composers of the older generation, Srđan Hofman (b. 1944) and Ivana Stefanović (b. 1948) spent several years abroad during the 1990s and 2000s because they were in the diplomatic service in South Africa (Hofman) and Syria, Turkey and Romania (Stefanović), but have since returned to Serbia. The remaining forty (or so) composers are unlikely to return, due to a combination of professional and personal reasons.

This chapter is an attempt to track down these émigré composers and to re-incorporate them in a history of Serbian music. The discussion that follows is predominantly based on interviews conducted with members of these 'lost' generations. Between September 2013 and May 2014 I conducted a series of interviews (either in person or online) with Serbian émigré composers.<sup>2</sup> The interviews focused on the reasons behind their decision to leave the country and on their experiences abroad. I am grateful to all composers who responded to my questions and who authorized the use of their answers in this text. Since not all composers were accessible at this point, I also turned to interviews published in daily newspapers and musical reviews, usually when these émigré composers were on a visit to Serbia, and often because their music was being performed in their homeland. Since it is impossible to include all their answers here, I will summarize the main issues and attempt to draw some conclusions. I will also try to keep these conclusions unbiased, in spite of the fact that I also lived abroad for six and a half years – between 2006 and 2013 I studied and worked in Manchester, United Kingdom – and am thus writing from both an insider's and an outsider's point of view.

I should add that in this chapter I only consider academically trained composers.<sup>3</sup> The reason for this decision is that the story of composers and performers (mostly without university education) working in the field of popular music genres has been somewhat different, in that the vast majority of them have chosen to remain in Serbia. They regard Serbia as their base, from which they can embark upon tours abroad and perform for immigrants from former Yugoslav republics. The Serbian diaspora has yet to produce its own pop or folk music star, and the communities in diaspora seem happier to welcome touring musicians who are permanently based in the homeland, possibly because this gives them a sense of maintaining some sort of connection with their roots.

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<sup>2</sup> I interviewed Jovana Backović, Nataša Bogojević, Boris Despot and Svetlana Maksimović in person, at the Institute of Musicology SASA, Belgrade. The following composers were interviewed online: Tatjana Ristić, Milica Paranosić, Ana Sokolović, Ana Mihajlović, Dijana Bošković, Djuro Živković, Maja Filipović Frangeš, Marko Nikodijević, Jasna Veljanović and Milica Djordjević. All composers have given their consent to have their responses published in this chapter.

<sup>3</sup> Almost all of them are members of the Composers Association of Serbia – the Section for Composers of Serious Music – in spite of the fact that some of them have lived abroad for more than two decades: 'Sekcija kompozitora klasične muzike', at [http://composers.rs/?page\\_id=347](http://composers.rs/?page_id=347)

Of course, composers are not the only musicians who have emigrated during the past twenty-five years; hundreds of instrumentalists, conductors and other music professionals have also moved abroad. However, there is an important difference. In Serbia, a country that still maintains a system of state-funded primary and secondary music schools and music academies and produces a large number of musicians every year, there is no shortage of performers; moreover, since their profession involves foreign travel as a matter of course, the issue of where they are based is much less relevant. In contrast, there are only three state-funded universities in Serbia that offer composition courses – in Belgrade, Novi Sad and Kosovska Mitrovica<sup>4</sup> – and no more than five composers graduate every year. In light of that we can understand the extent of the loss to Serbian contemporary music. The most striking exodus was that of composers born in the 1960s, who were at the beginning of their professional careers at the outset of the war. Before emigrating, the composers of that generation had been transforming the face of Serbian art music, notably in the fields of electro-acoustic music and classical-popular crossover genres.<sup>5</sup> Even more strikingly, at least fifteen of the aforementioned composers (members of all generations) had been employed as teaching assistants, lecturers and professors at the Faculty of Music in Belgrade and the Academy of Arts in Novi Sad (either at the composition or music theory departments), or as teachers at secondary music schools. For example, the list of composers who worked at the Belgrade Faculty of Music before moving abroad includes Vuk Kulenović, Katarina Miljković, Ivan Božičević, Tatjana Ristić, Ognjen Bogdanović, Nataša Bogojević, Milica Parano-

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<sup>4</sup> Kosovska Mitrovica is a town in the north of Kosovo that has been a UN protectorate under UNSCR 1244 since 1999. In February 2008 Kosovo declared its independence from Serbia, under the name of the Republic of Kosova; as of July 2014, it has been recognized as a sovereign state by 109 out of 193 UN member states. See 'Who recognized Kosova as an Independent State?', at <http://www.kosovothanksyou.com/> However, Serbia continues to claim it as its own Autonomous Province of Kosovo and Metohija. Among EU members, five have not recognized the Republic of Kosova as an independent state: Cyprus, Greece, Romania, Slovakia and Spain. See 'EU 5 "less likely than ever" to recognize Kosovo', *B92.net*, at [http://www.b92.net/eng/news/politics.php?yyyy=2012&mm=11&dd=26&nav\\_id=83353](http://www.b92.net/eng/news/politics.php?yyyy=2012&mm=11&dd=26&nav_id=83353)

<sup>5</sup> Vesna Mikić, 'Elektroakustička muzika – Tehnomuzika', in Mirjana Veselinović-Hofman (ed.), *Istorija srpske muzike. Srpska muzika i evropsko muzičko nasleđe* [A History of Serbian Music. Serbian Music and the European Heritage] (Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike, 2007), 621.

sić, Ana Mihajlović and Laura Mjeda. Hence it was inevitable that the quality of teaching at these institutions suffered as a result of their departures.

Philip V. Bohlman defines diaspora as a 'condition of placelessness'.<sup>6</sup> He argues that the modern concept of diaspora was established in the fifteenth century, with the discovery of America, the expulsion of non-Christians from Spain and other geopolitical events that caused human displacement to become massive and worldwide. Thus, diaspora became 'one of the defining conditions of early modernism'.<sup>7</sup> When discussing musical diasporas worldwide, Bohlman identifies

three very general forces that bring about the need to leave a place regarded as a people's own. First, there are religious reasons leading to the expulsion from a place of origin. [...] Second, there are peoples and cultures with no place to call their own, thus making it necessary to move ceaselessly (such as the Romas, Kurds, Jews etc.). [...] Third, there are more modern diasporas spawned by socioeconomic reasons. The widespread emigrations and immigrations following from the breakup of empires and the conflicts of nationalism are among the chief causes for the third type of diaspora.<sup>8</sup>

The majority of Serbian composers emigrated due to the third reason, i.e. the dissolution of Yugoslavia, the ensuing civil war, and the immense economic crisis, exacerbated by the economic sanctions imposed by the UN, and by the NATO bombing of FR Yugoslavia in 1999. In his discussion of the exodus of composers from the Balkan countries, including Serbia, but also Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria and others, Jim Samson asserts that in at least one case, that of Vuk Kulenović (born in Sarajevo before settling in Belgrade),<sup>9</sup> exile to North America was a direct result of political protest against the Milošević regime.<sup>10</sup>

When preparing questionnaires for the composers, the obvious first question was about their reasons for leaving Serbia. Here one observes a clear generational gap. A majority of composers born in the 1940s, 1950s

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<sup>6</sup> Philip V. Bohlman, *A Very Short Introduction to World Music* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 115.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, 111.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid*, 117.

<sup>9</sup> Vuk Kulenović is the son of a famous Bosnian poet Skender Kulenović, whose major works were inspired by World War II. Skender Kulenović moved to Belgrade with his family in the 1960s and subsequently became a Fellow of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts. Vuk Kulenović led the protests organized by the Association of Serbian Composers against Milošević's regime in the early 1990s.

<sup>10</sup> Jim Samson, *Music in the Balkans* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013), 564.



and 1960s left the country in the early 1990s to escape war and poverty. Most of them went to Canada and the United States, with Canada often serving as an entry point for the older composers before they relocated to the USA, while the younger composers – i.e. those who were of an appropriate age to start postgraduate study – went straight to the USA. Two composers of the older generation who settled in Canada were Leon Miodrag Lazarov Pashu (who left Yugoslavia with his family in 1991, just before the break up of the country) and Svetlana Maksimović (who left with her family in 1993; she has since returned to Serbia). Three younger composers born in the 1960s who went to Canada were Ana Sokolović, who settled in Quebec and has since become one of the most prominent Québécois composers, Boris Despot, who completed his undergraduate and postgraduate studies in Toronto, spending a total of thirteen years there, before returning to Serbia in 2003, and Katarina Ćurčin, who still lives in Toronto.

Two composers left Serbia for Croatia: Ivan Božičević and Laura Mjeda-Čuperjani. Both of them were born and educated in Belgrade and remained in their Serbian hometown throughout the 1990s, moving to Croatia in the 2000s. Božičević is now based in Split, Dalmatia, where he works as a freelance composer and jazz musician, while Čuperjani lives in Pula, Istria, and teaches at the Dobrila University.

On the other hand, the generations born in the 1970s and 1980s, i.e. those who were educated in Serbia during the war and afterwards, stated that the main reason for leaving the country was the feeling that Serbia was too isolated and the composition courses too conservative. The oldest composer who cited this as a reason for leaving was Boris Despot, born in 1965. In particular the composers born in the 1980s, such as Marko Nikodijević, Jovana Backović, Milica Djordjević and Svetlana Maraš, insist that they went westward because they were interested in electro-acoustic and computer music, and felt that they could not pursue these interests in Serbia.<sup>11</sup> Throughout the 2000s European countries slowly

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<sup>11</sup> It should be noted that only two professors at the Department for Composition and Orchestration at the Belgrade Faculty of Music, namely Srđan Hofman and Zoran Erić, encouraged their students to pursue electroacoustic composition and allowed them to get some experience at the Studio within the faculty; see Ivana [Medić] Janković, 'The Recording Studio of the Faculty of Music in Belgrade: History, Development, Prospects', *New Sound*, xx (2002), 93–99. On the other hand, some professors from the department did quite the opposite and actually prevented their students from getting familiar with electronic equipment. Several émigré composers have stated that it was easier for them to move abroad than to

started to relax their visa regimes for Serbian students, and a majority of composers of these generations went to European countries: Germany, The Netherlands, United Kingdom, Czech Republic, Switzerland, Sweden, Russia, Ukraine, Finland etc. Interestingly, while throughout the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s a number of Serbian composers went to France to study with great names such as Olivier Messiaen, Pierre Boulez and Nadia Boulanger, only two composers who left Serbia after 1990 went to France: Stevan Kovač Tikmajer (Stevan Kovacs Tickmayer, who settled in Orléans) and Milica Djordjević, who had a brief stint in France before relocating to Germany. One may conclude that France was no longer considered at the cutting edge of contemporary music, and that the study programmes and funding opportunities available there were insufficiently attractive to foreign students.

The composers who returned to Serbia cite both professional and private reasons for doing so. Jasna Veljanović, who was born in Germany but completed her secondary education in Serbia and then graduated in composition in Ukraine, admits that although both Serbia and Ukraine are countries in transition, the employment prospects and overall outlook are actually better in Serbia, in spite of the fact that the profession of a composer of classical music is held in much higher esteem in Ukraine. She currently holds a full-time lecturership at the University of Kragujevac in central Serbia, and although she enjoys teaching modules on music theory, she laments that the demands of the job leave her very little time to compose. Two composers, Svetlana Maksimović, who is now retired, and Igor Gostuški, a freelance composer of film and theatre music, returned because they had to take care of their elderly, ailing parents. As to the other returnees, Boris Despot is a full-time professor of sound technology at the Belgrade Faculty of Dramatic Arts and also active as a jazz musician and music producer; Branka Popović is currently a PhD student and teaching assistant at the department of composition at the Faculty of Music in Belgrade; Aleksandar Sedlar works as a composer, producer and multi-instrumentalist both in the domains of classical and popular music; and Svetlana Maraš is a freelancer.

As to the *émigrés'* employment histories, again we observe a generational difference. A majority of composers born in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s had steady jobs in Serbia; most of them held teaching posts, either at secondary music schools or at music academies and faculties of music. As I have already mentioned, unlike most European countries, Serbia has

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change their composition tutor within the same department, because they feared repercussions.

preserved a system of state-funded primary and secondary music schools established during socialist times; hence the students who enroll at the faculty of music have already received up to ten years of specialized musical training before commencing their studies. The composition graduates in Serbia usually teach theoretical disciplines such as harmony, counterpoint, orchestration, introduction to composition, and like subjects at the secondary music school level, while at the music academies they teach in composition or music theory departments.

Thanks to the political and economic crisis of the early 1990s, it became impossible for composers to survive on their measly teachers' salaries and rapidly declining commissions (not to mention that, due to hyper-inflation, the money was losing value at an astonishing speed, which meant that the already meagre amounts of money that they received quickly became worthless). This was particularly traumatic for the generations born in the 1950s and 1960s, those who were raised in Socialist Yugoslavia and expected to have a steady job and secure income. Thus, in spite of the ever-decreasing number of tenured positions available in the USA and Canada, they did their best to obtain full-time or part-time teaching posts in their adopted countries, in addition to freelance work; that was the case with Vuk Kulenović, Leon Miodrag Lazarov Pashu, Katarina Miljković, Tatjana Grečić, Vera Stanojević, Milica Paranosić, Ana Sokolović, Aleksandra Vrebalov and others. For example, Katarina Miljković is currently Chair in Music Theory at the New England Conservatory; Vuk Kulenović is Professor of composition at Berklee College of Music in Boston; Dragan Vujović teaches at the Academy of American Studies High School in New York, etc. Some of them have more than one employment; for example, Nataša Bogojević gives private piano lessons in Chicago, and works part-time as a composition tutor at DePaul University. Likewise, Milica Paranosić juggles three jobs: she is an adjunct professor in composition and music technology at the Juilliard School, a co-director of the New York-based Composers Concordance (an organization for contemporary music), and the owner of a private music school ParAcademy. Tatjana Grečić-Dutoit, meanwhile, moved to Santa Fe, NM after completing her doctoral studies in Pittsburgh, PA, and is now an Assistant Professor of Music at New Mexico Highlands University and owner of a publishing house Core-Age Records and Publishing. Ingeborg Bugarinović has ventured outside of the realm of music and owns a nursery school Inge's Family Childcare.

In contrast, the younger generation of Serbian composers usually went abroad straight after graduation, with little work experience. Of these, Jovana Backović now works in London as a voice and piano teacher at a private

music school, Snežana Nešić teaches in Hannover, and Djuro Živković is a part-time lecturer at the Royal Academy in Stockholm. The majority of the other composers who have settled in Europe survive as freelancers.

Not all émigré composers continued to compose after they emigrated. Maja Filipović Frangeš has married in Switzerland, and now works in the charity sector. Ognjen Bogdanović works as a DJ in London and composes 'serious music' only sporadically, usually after being persuaded by his Serbian friends to write something for them. Nataša Bogojević, based in Chicago, went through a creative crisis lasting for about 10 years; in her words, this was a reaction to the trauma of moving to the United States, going through a divorce and having to do two jobs in order to raise her children as a single mother. Her return to composition occurred gradually, after she started copying her old manuscripts into Sibelius software, and revising them in the process; through doing that, she slowly regained her interest in writing new works.

A number of composers have been very active, with a steady string of commissions and major awards. They include Djuro Živković, based in Stockholm, whose work *On the Guarding of the Heart* won the 2014 Grawemeyer Award for music composition, Marko Nikodijević, based in Berlin, who won a handful of awards, including the Gaudeamus annual prize in 2010, and Ana Sokolović, living in Montreal, who also won several major awards; in 2012 the Société de musique contemporaine du Québec (SMCQ) marked the twentieth anniversary of her arrival in Quebec with a celebration of her body of work.

The most diverse answers came for the question about the differences between the contemporary music market in Serbia and abroad. Ana Mihajlović, who lives in Rotterdam, said that contemporary music in The Netherlands has a much wider audience, with numerous contemporary music festivals, big and small, that have managed to survive, though she notes that even in an affluent country such as The Netherlands funds for contemporary music have been drastically cut. Moreover, according to Mihajlović, it is easy to find performers interested in contemporary music in the Netherlands, which has not always been the case in Serbia, where a majority of performers prefer to stick to the tried-and-tested classical repertoire. Djuro Živković pointed out that his adopted homeland Sweden is a country with a small population, and that Swedish musicians are forced to think globally and pursue international careers. A very good standard of living in Sweden allows the government to invest in contemporary music, which in turn increases composers' chances of getting commissions for new works. Furthermore, the Swedish Association of Composers has established a 'minimum wage' for composers, i.e. the

tariff below which they should not accept commissions. This is confirmed by Tatjana Ristić, who lives in Norway and praises the Scandinavian countries not only for their economic stability, but for having clear regulations and a well-defined status for all professions, including composition. Ristić has reduced her teaching duties at the Agder University from full-time to part-time, in order to have more time for composition.

Maja Filipović Frangeš, who now lives in Zurich, observed that, in stark contrast to Serbia, contemporary music is frequently performed in Switzerland, with the concerts usually sponsored by successful business corporations. There are also public funds available to contemporary artists but, according to Filipović, it would still be near impossible to organize major cultural events without corporate sponsorship. Marko Nikodijević praises Germany as a country that invests huge sums of money in education, culture and state-funded broadcasting corporations. He testifies that artists in Germany do feel the populist market pressure, but that there is also a well-organized resistance against the closing down of orchestras, state-sponsored theatres or ensembles. Nikodijević's view is endorsed by Milica Djordjević, who was in France for three years before relocating to Germany in 2011. She tells us that German support for contemporary music is second to none, since huge efforts are paid towards educating audiences and making contemporary art accessible to all social strata. Nikodijević finds it particularly interesting that in Germany it is quite normal to see members of the political elite attending festivals of contemporary music, not to mention opera and ballet, and art exhibitions, something unimaginable in transitional Serbia, where political elites are not interested in art. (Actually, this was also the case in Serbia during the socialist era and during the Milošević dictatorship.) Moreover, Germany has a highly reputable authors' agency GEMA, the highest proportion of orchestras in the world, a professional network of performers and ensembles specializing in contemporary music, several important radio stations, insurance policies tailored for artists, and a considerable number of fellowships and residencies available to composers, both the established names and the newcomers. In such a stimulating environment, it is easier to go freelance. Still, as estimated by GEMA, less than 5% of German composers can comfortably live off composition only, and Nikodijević, whose works are published by Sikorski, is among the privileged few.

Jovana Backović praises the openness of the British music market, which is highly competitive but open to experiment and accepting of styles that cannot be easily pigeonholed. She admits that she found the Serbian system of music education, inherited from communist times, too rigid, conservative and dismissive of both experimental music and of po-

pular music genres. On the other hand, Jasna Veljanović compares Serbia to Ukraine and concludes that the contemporary music market in Serbia is underdeveloped not only because of constantly diminishing funding, but because, unlike in Ukraine, Serbian audiences have not been systematically educated to understand and appreciate classical and contemporary art music alike. Thus in Ukraine the concerts of new works are attended by all social strata, while in Serbia new music is only written for a narrow circle of specialists.

Stevan Kovač Tikmajer is critical of the fact that contemporary composition has lost the aura of a true art. He says: 'The problem with the western world today is that art is understood as a diversion to occupy one's leisure time, a commodity to give instant pleasure to the idle upper classes. In North America, all music is "entertainment", while in France, where I live, everything is "spectacle". Music is no longer appreciated, but consumed'.<sup>12</sup> This observation is confirmed by a host of composers based in the USA and Canada. An interesting testimony is that of Nataša Bogojević, who was a teaching assistant at the Belgrade Faculty of Music, a widely performed composer, and a member of the unofficial group *Sedam veličanstvenih* (The Magnificent Seven)<sup>13</sup> before moving to the USA. She admits that she was completely unprepared for the American way of life, which requires business acumen and skills such as career planning, self-marketing and self-analysis, which she did not possess. Her observation that it is all but impossible to get noticed in the USA is confirmed by Jim Samson: 'For Bogojević, Miljković and Vrebalov there has been a steeper mountain to climb. [...] the North American pool is a large one, and it is hard to be noticed; there are many composers with impressive curricula vitae of whom few in the wider musical world have heard'.<sup>14</sup> Bogojević quickly realized that to be a composer in Chicago meant that one had to

<sup>12</sup> Adrian Kranjčević, 'Stevan Kovač Tikmajer: Panonski vidik koji zvuči tajnovito' [Stevan Kovač Tikmajer – A Mysterious-sounding Panonian Landscape], *Novamisa* – Časopis za kulturu Vojvodine, 3 August 2011, at <http://www.novamisa.org/2011/08/stevan-kovac-tikmajer-panonski-vidik-koji-zvuci-tajnovito/>

<sup>13</sup> Aside from Bogojević, this group was made up of Vladimir Jovanović, Srđan Jaćimović, Igor Gostuški, Isidora Žebeljan, Ognjen Bogdanović and Ana Mihajlović. Jaćimović is now deceased, Bogdanović and Gostuški write popular and 'functional' music, Mihajlović is in Rotterdam, and Jovanović works at the Electronic Studio of Radio Belgrade. Of the original seven, only Mihajlović and Žebeljan, who is still resident in Belgrade, have continued to compose prolifically.

<sup>14</sup> Samson, *Music in the Balkans*, 566.

find a steady job to pay the bills, and then to pursue a career in music as a hobby – unless one was born into a wealthy family and did not have money worries. Vuk Kulenović confirms Bogojević's observation. He points out jokingly that 'in the USA, it is impossible to find funding for a performance of an orchestral work unless you are a son or a lover of an investment banker or the owner of Coca-Cola'.<sup>15</sup> Joking aside, Kulenović bitterly regrets that almost two thirds of his total output of over 100 works has remained unperformed.<sup>16</sup>

Bogoević is critical of the fact that composition courses at the major American universities are still dominated by serialism or post-serialism. As a composition teacher at DuPont, she has been criticized for letting her students write what they like, instead of teaching them 'proper' composition (read: serialism). On the other hand, she praises the very dynamic amateur musical life in the United States, with countless chamber ensembles and orchestras, school orchestras, performances of all sorts of music in churches, and so on. She observes the abundance of amateur composers who predominantly work in the domain of electronic music, using contemporary software such as Logic Pro. All of these contribute to a diverse musical life in their local settings, but make it near impossible for a classically trained composer to make a living.

Svetlana Maksimović and Leon Miodrag Lazarov Pashu have had similar experiences in Canada. In his lengthy interview with the Canadian Association of Composers, Lazarov Pashu admits to a cultural shock when he arrived in Canada, caused by what he perceived as 'pragmatism, capitalism, free market economy; the self-propaganda attitude to "sell" yourself; the strong influence of money on the society, the culture and individual lives; the importance of the stock market; the feeling of passing and changing of everything – styles in clothes, but also in music and in art; in a word – a completely different living environment';<sup>17</sup> however, he admits that Canada has provided him with 'a feeling of stability'.<sup>18</sup> Svetlana Maksimović points to the fact that the 'ghost of Milton Babbitt' is

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<sup>15</sup> Muharem Šehović, 'Mužičko pismo iz Bostona' [A Musical Letter from Boston], *Politika*, 29 January 2010, at <http://www.politika.rs/rubrike/intervjui-kultura/Muzichko-pismo-iz-Bostona.lt.html>

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> Colleen Renihan, 'Interview with Leon Miodrag Lazarov Pashu', *Canadian Music Centre* (2009), at [http://www.musiccentre.ca/sites/www.musiccentre.ca/files/resources/pdfmedia/IoMM\\_Lazarov\\_Pashu\\_interview.pdf](http://www.musiccentre.ca/sites/www.musiccentre.ca/files/resources/pdfmedia/IoMM_Lazarov_Pashu_interview.pdf), 12.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 14.

still very much alive at North American universities and that the composition courses are still based on serialism; on the other hand, in recent years there has been a surge in interest in electroacoustic music. Being interested in neither, Maksimović had to carve out her own path, drawing inspiration from Eastern religious teachings.

Most émigré composers remain in touch with their Serbian roots, and to some extent, follow the work of those composers who stayed in the homeland. Again, we can see here a generational divide, as the émigré composers mostly follow the work of their immediate peer group, with whom they remain friends, and they use Skype and social networks such as Facebook to maintain regular contact. Marko Nikodijević admits that he is not too interested in the classical music scene in Serbia (although he holds his former composition teacher Srđan Hofman in high regard), but he does follow the underground electronic music scene; although this is mostly dismissed by local established composers as 'trivial', it has attracted a much greater following among young audiences than 'serious' contemporary music. Tatjana Ristić is grateful to the Association of Serbian Composers for sending her regular updates on musical events in Serbia even though she has lived in Norway for more than a decade, while New York-based Milica Paranosić relies on her friend, the musicologist Vesna Mikić, to keep her informed on the contemporary music scene in Serbia. Paranosić has found it difficult to compare American and Serbian music markets because she has not had any commissions or other music-related activities in Serbia since leaving the country.

Another interesting issue is the influence of Serbian traditional and popular music on the outputs of the émigré composers. While in Serbia, all of them lived in urban centres and received instruction in 'cosmopolitan' classical and contemporary musical styles, while folk and traditional music were seen either as something alien or inferior. Thus, very few of them incorporated Serbian or Balkan traditions into their works. However, the situation changed when they emigrated, and a number of them started to respond to these influences. The likely reason for this was not nostalgia, but a desire to offer something new and original in the new environment.<sup>19</sup> A prime example here might be Aleksandar Damnjanović

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<sup>19</sup> An interesting case for comparison is that of the Slovenian-French composer and trombonist Vinko Globokar, who has spent a great part of his career abroad. His employment of Bosnian songs ('*sevdalinke*') and the evocation of the round dance *kolo* are very much an expression of nostalgia for Yugoslavia, the lost country where he had spent his formative years. See Dragana Stojanović-Novičić,



(self-styled as Alexandre Damnianovitch), who has lived in France since 1978, and yet regards himself as a Serbian composer and frequently references the Serbian Orthodox heritage.<sup>20</sup> Some younger composers, such as Milica Djordjević, have referred to the oldest layers of the Serbian folklore heritage, but only in terms of employing the non-tempered scales, traditional heterophony and rhythmical patterns typical of the region. The one composer who was firmly 'into' Balkan music even while she was living in Serbia was Jovana Backović, who had a band Arhai with whom she performed contemporary *world-jazz-fusion* arrangements of traditional songs. She continued with Arhai in London, and they have recently released a CD *Eastern Roads*.<sup>21</sup> On the other hand, the composers who embraced Balkan musical idioms after emigrating include, among others, Aleksandra Vrebalov, Katarina Miljković and Nataša Bogojević, possibly due to the aforementioned necessity to 'stand out from the crowd' in an overcrowded North American music scene. In his discussion of these three composers' recent outputs, Samson praises Katarina Miljković, whom he calls 'A latter-day Xenakis',<sup>22</sup> and her works such as *Threads* (2005), *Window* (2006) and *Drop* (2007) for their 'appropriate sense of distance'. On the other hand, he is not enamored of Vrebalov's 'crude symbolism', as exhibited in works such as *...hold me, neighbour, in this storm...* (2006), a work that Samson dubs 'a kind of musical sermon on the political divisions of the Balkans'.<sup>23</sup> He adds:

Arguably a work such as *...hold me, neighbour, in this storm...* conflates a number of discomforts. First, there is the facility – in two senses – with which ensembles like the Kronos Quartet feel able to draw world music into the realm of a western cultural production, without a hint that there might be any problematic associated with this transfer. Secondly, there is the presumption of the artist who poses as healer, and in doing so gains the sympathy of the audience before a single note is heard. And lastly, there is

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*Vinko Globokar: Muzička odiseja jednog emigranta* [Vinko Globokar: The Musical Odyssey of an Emigrant] (Belgrade: Fakultet muzičke umetnosti, 2013), 129–41.

<sup>20</sup> Sylvie Nycephor, 'Alexandre Damnianovitch: de l'orient à l'occident'. *Muzikologija/Musicology*, v (2005), 167–80.

<sup>21</sup> Ivana Medić, 'Arhai's *Balkan Folktronica*: Serbian *Ethno Music* Reimagined for British Market'. *Muzikologija/Musicology*, xvi (2014), in press.

<sup>22</sup> Samson, *Music in the Balkans*, 565.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.* Interestingly, there are very few musical works that provide a commentary on the political events in the Balkans during the 1990s; see Melita Milin, 'Art Music in Serbia as a Political Tool and/or Refuge During the 1990s', *Muzikološki zbornik/Musicological Annual*, xlvii/1 (2011), 216.

the awkward positioning of the outsider who is at the same time an insider. This latter is of course the issue of exile.<sup>24</sup>

When asked what needs to be done to improve the status of contemporary music in Serbia, all composers in exile answer: 'More money!' But they also remark that the first requirement is defining a clear cultural policy and establishing systemic support for contemporary music, in order to make the occupation of a composer economically feasible. Several composers have complained of sectarianism and corruption in Serbian cultural institutions. Moreover, they have expressed the view that audiences should be educated and contemporary music should be promoted, e.g. there should be TV shows dedicated to contemporary composers, both domestic and foreign; music academies should establish departments for students who wish to specialize in performing modern music; the state, i.e. the Ministry of Culture, should have a clear vision of the role of contemporary music and other arts in society and why they should be nurtured; radio and TV stations should actively commission and record new works; new music should not be performed only at specialized festivals for the educated elite, but also at mainstream music festivals; finally, there should be more openness towards all music genres and new ideas. All these practices had been part of official cultural policies in socialist Yugoslavia, but as a result of the devastating wars and the equally traumatic transition, they have been abandoned in almost all former Yugoslav republics. Nikodijević bluntly asserts that the transition from socialism to liberal capitalism in Serbia has dismantled all the positive legacies of socialism and preserved only the worst ones; thus, he argues that, in the case of musical composition, what has survived has been anachronism and academism, coupled (since the onset of the 1990s) with a (neo-Orthodox) quasi-spirituality and with burgeoning nationalism; it goes without saying that he has zero interest in either of these.

Of all the composers who have lived abroad for more than ten years, only three have expressed any interest in returning to Serbia. Vuk Kulevović is the most likely candidate to do so, because he is approaching retirement, whilst Tatjana Ristić and Ana Mihajlović, would only return if they could find suitable teaching posts in Serbia (such as those that they have held at the Belgrade Faculty of Music before emigrating). Currently, however, there are very few opportunities, as all positions have been assigned to those who remained in Serbia. Those composers who have re-

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<sup>24</sup> Samson, *Music in the Balkans*, 566–567. It should be mentioned that one of the main reasons for the Kronos Quartet's support of Vrebalov's work is her close personal relationship with the quartet founder, violinist David Harrington.

turned, such as Boris Despot, complain that they have been sidelined and overlooked.

As to the issue of the émigré composers' inclusion in (or exclusion from) both local (Serbian, former Yugoslav) and global (read: Western) histories of music, it is not just the musicologists who are undecided; the majority of the composers themselves no longer know where they belong. Melita Milin asserts that the issue of who gets included in histories of music is a political one.<sup>25</sup> And Mirjana Veselinović-Hofman observes that countries such as Serbia, which have built their professional cultures under the influence of a (western) 'centre' or 'centres' will forever be marginalized, due to the ever-present imbalance of power: 'the (sub)conscious of that centre contains some psychological reminder of its professional-historical value, which always justified the centre's conviction that such an advantage gained it the natural right to the status of an arbitrator – in spite of the fact that the periphery was often musically more creative and innovative than the centre'.<sup>26</sup> On the other hand, Samson points to the paradox that of all Serbian contemporary composers, the one with the highest international profile is actually Isidora Žebeljan, who has never left Serbia, because although 'Belgrade may not be the centre of new music, it provides Žebeljan with a clearly focused identity as a Serbian composer (she was elected to the Serbian Academy at a surprisingly young age), and a base for the highly-skilled Europe-wide networking that has made her one of the most widely performed Serbian composers today'.<sup>27</sup> This leads Samson to observe that

composers of an older generation such as Xenakis and Ligeti would probably not have made the mark they did on the new music had they remained in Greece and Hungary respectively. There was a rather clear sense of centre and periphery in the 1960s, and for these composers the charismatic centres of new music in Europe and North America proved to be the gateways to international acclaim. [...] Arriving at the centres did not guarantee visibility, of course; they were nothing if not competitive arenas. But avoiding the centres all but guaranteed invisibility. For a later generation

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<sup>25</sup> Melita Milin, 'General Histories of Music and the Place of the European Periphery', *Muzikologija/Musicology*, i (2001), 142-45.

<sup>26</sup> Mirjana Veselinović-Hofman, 'Music at the Periphery Under Conditions of Degraded Hierarchy Between the Centre and the Margins in the Space of the Internet', in Tilman Seebass, Mirjana Veselinović-Hofman and Tijana Popović-Mladenović (eds), *Identities: The World of Music in Relation to Itself* (Belgrade: Faculty of Music, 2012), 25.

<sup>27</sup> Samson, *Music in the Balkans*, 567.

the conditions were rather different. [...] For this generation the major cultural centres are no longer quite the passport to fame they once were, and this may have some bearing on the story of our Serbian women composers. In the end, a clear local identity, such as that carefully cultivated by Žebeljan, may prove more valuable than an allegiance to cosmopolitan modernisms.<sup>28</sup>

In this respect, Serbia has long shared the destiny of all small peripheral cultures that have not been 'on the radar' of the major European cultural centres. This is confirmed by the Italian musicologist Luca Cossetini, who, in his overview of the electroacoustic music by Vladan Radovanović (b. 1932), admits that

very little is known in Italy of the musical production of Vladan Radovanović, as goes for almost all the rest of Serbian and former Yugoslav artistic music of the twentieth century. Former Yugoslav composers are exceptions in the Italian books on history of music. The only composers cited are the ones who worked in the big West European centres (e.g. Ivo Malec).<sup>29</sup> Italian publications about electronic music are focused on a canonical view of music creation that implies a West-eurocentric idea of culture, thus ignoring those realities that do not fit the schemas that German, French and – to a lesser extent – Italian composers and musicologists had developed in the last fifty years.<sup>30</sup>

Cossetini argues that the main reason for this is the language barrier, which in the past had made access to primary and secondary sources on Serbian and former Yugoslav music very hard. But although nowadays this issue has largely been bypassed thanks to the internet and Google Translate, this does not solve the problem of the still prevailing imbalance of power between the 'centre' and the 'periphery', between the rich and the poor, the large and the small.

Thus, when it comes to deciding who gets included in which histories of music, someone like Ana Sokolović, who left Serbia more than twenty

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid, 568.

<sup>29</sup> The same observation could also apply to the aforementioned Slovenian (i.e. former Yugoslav) composer Vinko Globokar, who made a name for himself as an active participant in the West European avant-garde scene both as a trombonist and a composer; he is best known as a collaborator of both Pierre Boulez and Karlheinz Stockhausen, the two major protagonists of the post-WWII European avant-garde.

<sup>30</sup> Luca Cossetini, 'Beyond the Mix. On Vladan Radovanović's Mixed Electronic Music', in *Stvaralaštvo Vladana Radovanovića* [Vladan Radovanović's Oeuvre] (Belgrade: Univerzitet umetnosti, 2013).

years ago before making any sort of impact there, and who has won major national accolades in her adoptive country Canada, is likely to be regarded as a Serbian-born Canadian (Québécoise) composer. In fact, it was only after Sokolović made a name for herself in Canada that the protagonists of the contemporary music scene in Serbia paid attention to her work, and she has only recently been (re)introduced to Serbian audiences.<sup>31</sup> The same applies to Aleksandar Damnjanović, Nebojša Jovan Živković and a few other composers who have only recently been (re)discovered in Serbia, after finding fame abroad. An interesting case is that of Marko Nikodijević, who was selected a few years ago to receive the Mokranjac Prize, the top national accolade in Serbia, but had the award withdrawn when it was discovered that he had renounced Serbian citizenship in order to obtain a German passport. Hence, in future histories of music, he is likely to be regarded as a naturalized German composer (he has just won the 2014 Deutscher Musikautorenpreis [German Composers' Prize] in the category Promotion of New Talent)<sup>32</sup>. Should they decide to remain permanently in the countries where they are now based, the same will probably happen to Jovanka Trbojević, Dijana Bošković, Vera Stanojević, Djuro Živković, Snežana Nešić, Melinda Ligeti, Jovana Backović, Milica Djordjević and others who left Serbia while relatively young and who are building careers abroad. On the other hand, the composers who were already established names before emigrating, such as Vuk Kulenović and Leon Miodrag Lazarov Pashu, will forever be regarded as Serbian (or, more precisely, Yugoslav, or Former-Yugoslav) composers, in spite of the fact that they have spent several decades in emigration. Miloš Raičković claims that he is 'both here and there', and although he has spent a good half of his life abroad, he still feels that he has left Belgrade 'only temporarily'.<sup>33</sup> Finally, the composers born in the late 1950s and throughout the 1960s are likely to remain 'split personalities',

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<sup>31</sup> In 2012 her chamber opera *Svadba/Wedding* was performed at the 44<sup>th</sup> BEMUS Festival in Belgrade to positive reviews; see Ksenija Stevanović, 'Baština u stilizovanom ruhu' [Tradition in a Stylized Outfit], *Politika*, 19 October 2012, at <http://www.politika.rs/rubrike/Kritika/muzicka-kritika/Bastina-u-stilizovanom-ruhu.lt.html>

<sup>32</sup> 'Nikodijevic, Marko'. *Sikorski*, at [http://www.sikorski.de/5692/en/nikodijevic\\_marko.html](http://www.sikorski.de/5692/en/nikodijevic_marko.html)

<sup>33</sup> Zorica Premate, 'Tonsko podsećanje na čistu vodu' [Sound Reminder of a Pure Water and Better Times], *Politika*, 21 August 2010, at <http://www.politika.rs/rubrike/Kulturni-dodatak/Tonsko-podsecanje-na-cistu-vodu-i-bolja-vremena.lt.html>

themselves unsure whether they still belong to their homeland, and yet unable to fully integrate into their adoptive countries. Were the funds for performances of contemporary music in Serbia more than symbolic (or, recently, non-existent<sup>34</sup>), it would have been possible to organize regular performances of substantial new works by Serbian composers in exile and to reinforce the feeling that they 'still belong'. Unlike some other, larger émigré groups, Serbian composers have been unable to establish diaspora communities abroad because they are so dispersed. As a consequence, everyone is ultimately left to their own devices and, more than anything, it is their personal decision whether they want to attempt to fully integrate into their new environments, or to remain 'unclassifiable' and 'in a no man's land'.

#### COMPOSERS' PERSONAL WEBSITES

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Djuro Živković <http://www.zivkovic.eu/>

Dušan Bogdanović <http://www.dusanbogdanovic.com>

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Ivan Božičević <http://free-st.t-com.hr/Ivan-Bozicevic/>

Ivan Jevtić <http://ivan-jevtic.net/>

Ivana Stefanović <http://www.ivanastefanovic.com/>

Jasna Veličković <http://jasnavelickovic.com/>

Jasna Veljanović <http://jasnaveljanovicranko.musicaneo.com/>

Jovana Backović <http://arhai.com/>

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<sup>34</sup> In 2014 the Serbian Ministry of Culture denied funding to the only festival of contemporary art music, the International Review of Composers, which has caused a huge backlash in Serbian musical circles. Letters of support for the festival, both from Serbia and abroad, have been published on the website of the Serbian Composers' Association, at <http://composers.rs/en/?p=1400> and <http://composers.rs/?p=3498#more-3498>.

Jovanka Trbojević <http://composers.musicfinland.fi/musicfinland/fimic.nsf/WLCBND/trbojevic>  
Katarina Miljković <http://www.katarina-miljkovic.net/>  
Maja Bosnić <http://www.zabuna.org.rs>  
Maja Leković <http://mayasound.webs.com>  
Marko Nikodijević [http://www.sikorski.de/5692/en/nikodijevic\\_marko.html](http://www.sikorski.de/5692/en/nikodijevic_marko.html)  
Melinda Ligeti <http://www.acustronica.com/melinda-ligeti.html>  
Milica Djordjević <http://www.milicadjordjevic.com/>  
Milica Paranosić <http://mparanosic.wix.com/milicaparanosic>  
Miloš Raičković <http://library.newmusicusa.org/MilosRaickovich>  
Nebojša Jovan Živković <http://www.zivkovic.de/>  
Ognjen Bogdanović <https://soundcloud.com/ognjen-bogdanovic>  
Snežana Nešić <http://www.snezana-nesic.de/>  
Stevan Kovač Tikmajer (Stevan Kovacs Tickmayer)  
<http://www.tickmayer.com/>  
Svetlana Maraš <http://www.svetlanamaras.com/>  
Teodora Stepančić <http://teodora.stepancic.com>  
Tatjana Grečić-Dutoit <http://www.tatiana.core-age.com/>  
Vera Stanojević <http://talasmusic.com>

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## Chapter 9

### FLOATING IMAGES OF YUGOSLAVISM ON THE PAGES OF FAMILY MUSIC ALBUMS

*Srđan Atanasovski*

For scholars of Serbian nationalism in the early twentieth century Yugoslavism remains a perpetual conundrum. Many cultural practices, discourses and artefacts produced in the decades that preceded and followed the First World War are germane to a study of Serbian nationalism, but are at the same time connected to the ideology of Yugoslavism, thus making it hard to distinguish where Serbian nationalism ends and Yugoslav nationalism begins.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, the ultimate triumph of the

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<sup>1</sup> To take some examples from the field of musical practice, one might cite the activities of the Serbian academic choral society *Balkan*, based in Zagreb, but allied to the Serbian Independence Party [Srpska samostalna stranka] under its new leader Svetozar Pribićević, and related to ideas fostered by the Croat-Serb Coalition. In the period between its founding in 1904 and the outbreak of the war, *Balkan* collaborated with similar Croatian academic cultural societies, such as *Mladost*, in creating representations of Yugoslav cultural unity, but at the same time adopted a strong Serbian nationalistic agenda, especially visible in its touring strategies; Srđan Atanasovski, 'Performing Nation on the Move: Travels of the Srpsko akademsko pjevačko društvo Balkan [Serbian Academic Choral Society "Balkan"] from Zagreb, 1904–1914', *TheMA*, ii (2013), 61–79; for the Serbian Independent Party and the Croat-Serb Coalition see Ranka Gašić, "Novi kurs" u Srpskoj samostalnoj stranci 1903–1914. Promena paradigme nacionalne politike [The 'New Course' in the Serbian Independence Party 1903–1914. A Paradigm Shift in National Politics], in Darko Gavrilović (ed.), *Serbo-Croat Relations in the Twentieth Century. History and Perspectives* (Salzburg: Institute for Historical Justice and Reconciliation and Novi Sad. Centar za istoriju, demokratiju i pomirenje and Grafo marketing, 2008), 13–21. In the interwar period major Serbian composers active in the unified kingdom, who adhered to the principles of 'national music' based on national/folk material, such as Petar Konjović and Miloje Milojević, often chose to use vague deictic references such as 'my land', 'our music', etc.; see, for example, Miloje Milojević, 'Za tragom narodne melodije našeg Juga' [Following the Footprints of the Folk Melody of Our South], in *idem.*, *Mužičke studije i članci. Druga knjiga* (Belgrade: Izdavačka knjižarnica Gece

Serbian nationalistic project resulted in a Kingdom of Yugoslavia (initially known officially as the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes), ruled by the Serbian royal dynasty of Karađorđević, coincidentally ending the history of the Kingdom of Serbia and for the first time unifying the purported extent of Serbian national territory.

Historians have asked themselves to what extent Yugoslav nationalism became a mass phenomenon when the First World War drew to a close, with victory for the Entente Powers. Characteristically, Dennison Rusinow concludes that Yugoslav nationalism never reached the stage of a mass movement – as defined by the Czech historian Miroslav Hroch – but was transmitted and propagated only by individual agents, namely, nationalist-sympathizing members of the educated elite, or the intelligentsia.<sup>2</sup> However, Marie-Janine Calic takes a different view, describing examples of mass fervour in the Yugoslav provinces of Austro-Hungary in favour of the unification during 1918.<sup>3</sup> In an effort to overcome these difficulties of interpretation, I will propose an alternative way of thinking about the phenomenon of nationalism, succinctly laid out in two propositions.

First, I will analyze nationalism not as a closed position that subjects can at some point firmly adopt (or that is ‘awakened’ at some point through the ‘revival’ of a nation), but rather as a political strategy of *over-coding* affective, embodied social practices.<sup>4</sup> Secondly, I will judge the

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Kona, 1933), 143–60. For details of Konjović’s political outlooks, see chapter 3 in this volume; for the use of deixis in nationalistic practices, see Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism* (London: Sage, 1995), 105–11.

<sup>2</sup> Dennison Rusinow, ‘The Yugoslav Idea before Yugoslavia’, in Dejan Djokić (ed.), *Yugoslavism. Histories of a Failed Idea. 1918-1992* (London: Hurst & Co., 2003), 13. See also Miroslav Hroch, *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe: A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups among the Smaller European Nations*, trans. Ben Fowkes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 22–24. For an endorsement of Hroch’s approach to analyzing South Slavic nationalisms, see Ivo Banac, *The National Question in Yugoslavia. Origins, History, Politics* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1984), 28–29.

<sup>3</sup> Marie-Janine Calic, *Geschichte Jugoslawiens im 20. Jahrhundert* (München: C.H.Beck, 2010), 79–82. The author draws heavily on Milorad Ekmečić, *Stvaranje Jugoslavije: 1790-1918* [Creation of Yugoslavia: 1790–1918], ii (Belgrade : Prosveta, 1989).

<sup>4</sup> John Breuilly defines nationalism as a ‘political movement seeking or exercising state power and justifying such action with nationalistic arguments’; in other words, he suggests that there is ‘a nation with an explicit and peculiar character’, whose ‘interests and values [...] take priority over all other’ and which ‘must be as independent as possible’; John Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State*, 2nd edn

‘success’ of nationalism not only by its amassment, but by the nature and resilience, of its overcoding techniques. It is obvious that both propositions are concerned more with the ways nationalism becomes deeply embedded in daily material life than with questions about what a particular nationalism stands for, or how we might explore the intricate discursive facets of its ideology. By adopting this praxeological outlook I believe we can come closer to discovering how nationalism garners its political power, both on the macro level of the state and the micro level of ‘bio-power’.<sup>5</sup> As I will show, this perspective also enables us to overcome difficulties of impossible categorizations of social practices when we try to distinguish between Serbian and Yugoslav nationalisms; defining nationalism as a political strategy and a social machine which overcodes certain social practices is a step further in de-essentializing it, pushing it further from the Foucauldian (political) subject and its material reality. If we adopt the view that nationalism basically overcodes, rather than engendering, social practices, events and artefacts, and only then introduces them into a nationalistic system of representation, we might then assume (and expect) that such practices, events and artefacts might be subjected to multiple overcodings by several different nationalistic machines. Finally, studying nationalism as a social machine enables us to grasp its heterogeneous nature, both on the level of discourse and on the level of lived experience. The capacity of nationalism to overcode certain social practices may in fact benefit from internal putative contractions that are far from detrimental to its prospects, as one would be tempted to conclude if studying it as an ideology. Referring to nationalism’s heterogeneity constituent on the level of experience, it is important to emphasize that its overcoding techniques are intrinsically ontologically heterogeneous, encompassing various forms of discourses, prescripts, narratives, habits, but also buildings, landscape, material culture, etc. These form an assemblage

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(Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), 2. For the concept of ‘overcoding’, I draw on Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, who describe overcoding as a process in which social machines (namely, what they call *Urstaat*, the territorial despotic social machine) encode ‘the flows of desire by introducing them into systems of representation’; Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus. Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. Robert Hurley, Mark Seem and Helen R. Lane (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983), 244–62: 336.

<sup>5</sup> Michel Foucault defines bio-power as the practice of using ‘numerous and diverse techniques for achieving the subjugations of bodies and the control of populations’, which are ‘present at every level of social body and utilized by very diverse institutions’; Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, i: An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 139–41.

that transcends divisions between ‘social reality’, representations and subjectivities, and that is ultimately conditioned by the materiality and ‘messiness’ of lived experience<sup>6</sup>

I will use this proposed theoretical model in order to examine the home music-making of Serbian bourgeois families at the end of the long nineteenth century. Domestic music-making has been mostly studied by way of contemporary written sources, which describe its nature and its social role, or by analysing the music (and the sheet music editions) marketed for home consumption.<sup>7</sup> In this regard, I offer an approach that differs both on the question of its immediate object of research, and on the method applied. In order to provide a window into the daily practice of home music making, I use contemporary music albums that were custom made, as artisanally fashioned hardcovers enclosing a selection of individual sheet music publications and handwritten manuscripts (both transcriptions and amateur compositions). I focus on albums that were assembled (or at least consist mainly of sheet music published) before the First World War, and that include compositions by Serbian composers.<sup>8</sup> The albums that form my sample have been preserved in collections held by the Library of the Faculty of Musical Arts in Belgrade, the Archive of

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<sup>6</sup> The concept of assemblage teaches us that social machines are irreducible to representation of part or whole, as they are shaped by the capacity of the parts for mutual influence and interaction, rather than by their properties per se; see Jason Dittmer’s journal article, ‘Geopolitical Assemblages and Complexity’, *Progress in Human Geography* (available online 2 September 2013). One of the main challenges that the concept of assemblage was designed to meet is overcoming the borders between ‘reality’, ‘representation’ and ‘subjectivity’; see Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus. Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), 25. On the concept of ‘messiness’, see the journal article, Zoë Avner et al., ‘Moved to Messiness: Physical Activity, Feelings, and Transdisciplinarity’, in *Emotion, Space and Society* (available online 28 November 2013).

<sup>7</sup> On the context of long nineteenth century in Serbian music, see Dragana Jeremić-Molnar, *Srpska klavirska muzika u doba romantizma (1841–1914)* [Serbian Piano Music in the Age of Romanticism (1841–1914)] (Novi Sad: Matica Srpska, 2006), and Marijana Kokanović Marković, *Društvena uloga salonske muzike u životu i sistemu vrednosti srpskog građanstva u 19. veku* [The Social Role of Salon Music in the Life and the Value System of Serbian Citizenship in the Nineteenth Century], unpublished Ph.D dissertation (Univerzitet u Novom Sadu, 2011).

<sup>8</sup> Thus, my sample does not include hardcovers which contain only standard repertoire of Western music; these most often contain either selections of piano pieces, or selections from the canonic repertoire (e.g. Beethoven’s piano sonatas).

the Institute of Musicology of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, and the Printed Music Collection of the National Library of Serbia.<sup>9</sup> As these are held in libraries and not in archival collections,<sup>10</sup> no definite records of their origin are kept; it is probable that they were gifted to the libraries and to the archive, or purchased in second-hand bookshops. However, there are certain clues to the origins of the albums, which can help us determine where they were assembled, notably places inscribed as part of dedications on individual sheet music editions, and stamps of the bookstores where they had been purchased, as well as markings from the bookbinder (only in two cases). Using this data, it is possible to determine significant differences in repertoire between albums coming from Austro-Hungary (mainly urban centres of southern Hungary, such as Novi Sad, Pančevo, etc.) and albums from families in the Kingdom of Serbia (mostly the capital, Belgrade), with the former reflecting the multi-ethnic and multilingual milieu of the Empire.

As custom-made objects designed by their owners and often put to regular use, these artefacts provide insight into complex choices made by amateur music makers as to the repertoire they were performing in their homes. Thus, one can study the selection of musical pieces, the ordering, the singular features of music manuscripts (if present), as well as various

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<sup>9</sup> Three of the twenty-seven albums I have examined are held in the Library of the FMA and in the National Library of Serbia; the rest are kept in the Archive of the Institute of Musicology SASA. As part of the project of cataloguing and digitalizing the Archive of the Institute of Musicology, led by Katarina Tomašević, I have started a detailed analytical processing of these artefacts, and they are to be held as a separate collection within the archive. For details on this collection, see <http://www.music.sanu.ac.rs/English/MusicAlbums>. At the moment, this project does not include Albums I, J and K (see table 1), which are discussed in this paper as apposite to the topic. For a less up-to-date description of this sample (taking into account seventeen albums), see Srđan Atanasovski, 'Imprinted on Paper, Imagined in Space: Semblances of National Territory in Music Albums', in Mirjana Veselinović-Hofman et al. (eds), *Music Identities on Paper and Screen* (Belgrade: Faculty of Music, 2014), 311–28.

<sup>10</sup> The Archive of the Institute of Musicology SASA is partly organized as a library collection of rare sheet music editions; see Aleksandar Vasić, 'Archives of the SASA Institute of Musicology. Collection of Documents, Autographs, Copies, Old Editions of Music Printing and Photographs', trans. Ranka Gašić, *Muzikologija/Musicology* x (2010), 86–100. Of twenty-one music albums from the sample, thirteen were included in the catalogue; however, they were included only for the sake of the music editions they contain, and were not archived as historical objects in themselves.

markings that testify to the ways a certain piece was used (fingerings, marginalia, and even the physical wear and tear of the paper). Individual sheet music editions often have additional markings, such as dedications, which show how these objects also played a role in reinforcing intra-familial affections. Investigating home music-making in the romantic era, scholars have often emphasized issues of class, gender and cultural capital in understanding the social role of this practice. In terms of class, the music albums which are the subject of this investigation belong to the realm of affluent urban families, forming the nucleus of the incipient Serbian bourgeoisie, both in Austro-Hungary and in the Kingdom of Serbia. These families were inclined to adopt cultural models from the Western and Middle European bourgeoisie, developed in the course of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and that included music-making practices. Treated both as a musical instrument and an emblem of affluence, the piano was at the heart of domestic music-making, and this is reflected in the music albums, where we find an overwhelming dominance of piano pieces. The piano had been introduced to Serbian bourgeois families during the nineteenth century, first in the cities of Austro-Hungary and later in the Kingdom of Serbia, where it became – as in the West – an important component of middle-class education, especially that of young ladies.<sup>11</sup> Musical knowledge, and especially piano playing, was an inevitable part of the bachelorette's social capital and the image of a young lady seated at the piano, performing for her family or a close circle of confidantes, became emblematic in representations of the bourgeois lifestyle.<sup>12</sup>

Theoreticians of nationalism have often stressed the capacity of the family to produce and maintain dominant social ideologies.<sup>13</sup> We might place the historical apex of the family alongside, and coeval with, the zenith of nationalism and capitalism. Throughout the nineteenth century the family acted as the locus for reproducing dominant cultural models. Seen as the embodiment of nationalism, which was conceptualized in

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<sup>11</sup> Jeremić-Molnar, *Srpska klavirska muzika*, 33–40; also Dragana Jeremić-Molnar, 'Mužički prilog modernizaciji – klavir i građanstvo u Srbiji 19. veka' [The Musical Contribution to Modernization – the Piano and the Middle Class in the Nineteenth Century], *Sociologija*, xliii (2001), 153–70.

<sup>12</sup> For the wider European context, see Ruth A. Solie, *Music in Other Words. Victorian Conversations* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2004), 85–117.

<sup>13</sup> Anne McClintock, 'Family Feuds: Gender, Nationalism and the Family', *Feminist Review*, xlv (1993), 61–80.

ethnic, racial, linguistic and religious, as well as historical and cultural, terms, the family represented the nation writ small. Its role in a wider process of national identity-building was underlined in a contemporary Serbian study by Vojislav Bakić, who is regarded as a founding father of pedagogy in Serbia:

In the Serbian family a child is taught to feel and think in Serbian, to speak and to do in Serbian. In the family, the child is entertained in Serbian fashion and lives by Serbian customs. And so, from birth to adulthood, a sense of national and patriotic feeling is developed, and the Serbian character is reinforced.<sup>14</sup>

It is important to note that while endorsing the power of the family to instil 'national feeling', Bakić does rely mainly on non-discursive means: the child should learn to *feel* and *live* the Serbian nation, and even entertainment should be performed in such a way as to express one's belonging to this 'imagined community'. Family music-making does exactly this: it presents a practice which is enjoyable, entertaining, part of one's habits and cultural habitat, as well as emotional and embodied. Unlike other written sources, music albums, because of their artefactual nature, not only testify to national sentiments in particular families, but also provide evidence tracing the affective everyday mechanisms through which nationalism was ingrained as a cognitive *doxa* into the bodies and minds of individual family members. They also demonstrate that nationalism was not discussed as a set of ideas, but rather practiced as a bodily activity, a physical practice of playing, dancing and listening to music, inextricably linked with enjoyment.

However, before we start exploring the mechanism of overcoding and national identity by way of music albums, we have to acknowledge that, on closer inspection and in their essence, music albums also testify to the 'messiness' and instability of national identity formation, suggesting that we really need first to de-essentialize our theories of nationalism. Of course, family music albums, as assembled by individuals, differ hugely in their contents from what one might expect to see in an object of state-sponsored propaganda. Besides incorporating pieces that blatantly 'flag the nation',<sup>15</sup> music albums contain a vast number of 'sentimental'

<sup>14</sup> Vojislav Bakić, *Srpsko rodoljublje i otačastvoljublje* [The Serbian Love for Ethnicity and the Fatherland] (Belgrade: Srpska kraljevska akademija, 1910), 75, cited in Aleksandra Ilić, *Udžbenici i nacionalno vaspitanje u Srbiji (1878–1918)* [Textbooks and National Education in Serbia (1878–1918)] (Belgrade: Filozofski fakultet, 2010), 41–42.

<sup>15</sup> For the concept of 'flagging the nation', where certain objects are unambiguously and materially marked (or labelled), using simple and seemingly banal techniques



pieces, as well as early examples of what we might call ‘popular music’.<sup>16</sup> Especially when albums come from Austro-Hungary, there is a pronounced conflation of musics coming from different European, imperial, and regional centres, with marked differences in language, musical style, and function. More importantly, several albums testify to their owners’ unstable identities, in terms of language and script usage; in other words, different scripts and languages are used in the production of music manuscripts, in the names of home cities, and in the spelling of family names.<sup>17</sup> Bearing in mind that language was adopted as the cornerstone of Serbian nationalism in the nineteenth century, and has generally played a major role in drawing national borders throughout Central and South-Eastern Europe,<sup>18</sup> this phenomenon must be regarded as consequential. As Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper indicate, national identity should not be reified, i.e. regarded as a stable, objectified entity; rather we should examine processes of identification and categorization as complex and multi-faceted, inscribing the notion of national identity incrementally onto the tirelessly resilient subject.<sup>19</sup>

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of citing the nation’s name, flag, emblems, etc., I draw on Billig, *Banal Nationalism*, 93 ff. In this case, I refer to sheet music editions such as Jovan Paču’s *Srpska molitva* [Serbian Prayer] and *Prag je ovo milog srpstva* [This is the Threshold of Our Beloved Serbdom]; Jovan Paču, *Srpska molitva* (Novi Sad: Srpska knjižarnica Braće M. Popovića, 1884) and Jovan Paču, *Prag je ovo milog srpstva – Airs serbes* (Novi Sad: Braće M. Popovića, s.a.).

<sup>16</sup> I would argue that these pieces also played a nation-defining role, because they generated affects that were thereafter hybridized by the nationalistic social machine; on the concept of ‘hybridization of affects’ see Srđan Atanasovski, ‘Hybrid Affects of Religious Nationalism: Pilgrimages to Kosovo and the Soundscapes of the Utopian Past’, *Southeastern Europe*, forthcoming.

<sup>17</sup> For example, in one album we find a single family name written by hand in three different spellings (‘Vuits’, ‘Wuits’ and ‘Вуйћ’), and in another a home city is given in two different languages (‘Панчево’ and ‘Pantchova’).

<sup>18</sup> For the importance of vernacular language in nationalistic discourses and the role of philology in the generation of nationhood, see Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 67–82, and Patrick J. Geary, *The Myth of Nations: The Medieval Origins of Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 29–33. For the Serbian case in particular, see Holm Sundhaussen, *Geschichte Serbiens. 19.-21. Jahrhundert* (Wien, Köln and Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 2007), 82–97.

<sup>19</sup> Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, ‘Beyond “Identity”’, *Theory and Society*, xxix (2000), 1–47.

This discussion begs a question: which are the mechanisms of national identity-building present in the music albums, and which successfully inscribe a Serbian national identity? I will offer a threefold answer to this question: strategic flagging, national socializing, and homeland anchoring. By *strategic flagging* I denote the strategic positioning of pieces that are clearly labelled as national. Pieces of music unambiguously marked as Serbian – various marches, arrangements of folk songs and popular dances – are often not only dominant in sheer number, but also strategically placed at the beginning of the album, or interspersed throughout the volume.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, these pieces are very often vehicles for the display of shared affections in the family, bearing intra-familial dedications. In order to discuss *national socializing*, I will first separate domestic repertoire into two broad categories: salon music and social music. The often undervalued category of salon music was fashioned according to the musical taste of early nineteenth-century salons, which were semi-public spaces, and often saturated with overt sentimentality and blatant virtuosity. Although situated in private homes, performances of salon music inevitably created barriers between the ‘performer’ and the non-participatory, listening ‘audience’. On the other hand, social music,<sup>21</sup> encompassing various marches and dances, simple accompanied folk songs, etc., was far less demanding technically and was meant to be played and enjoyed in company, thus erasing the boundary between listeners and performers, enhancing conviviality, and creating shared communal feelings. Very much in accordance with the aforementioned prescription of Vojislav Bakić, social music belongs to the realm of Serbian national culture, creating a sense of community and fostering shared en-

<sup>20</sup> In two cases the title of such a piece is used as a title for the whole album and engraved on the front hardcover; these titles are ‘Srpsko cveće’ [Serbian Flowers; IoM, MI-XXII/An 926] and ‘Zbirka srpskih igara i pesama’ [Collection of Serbian Dances and Songs; FMA, not catalogized]. One can also see something of the attitude to a simple, ideology-free naming of a song through an intervention found on the pages of *Erstes Salon-Album* in one of the albums (NLS, M III 3056). One of the songs in this salon album was named ‘Polish Song’ [*Polnishes Lied*, sic!], but the word ‘Polnishes’ was aggressively struck out, there is an array of question marks, and the epithet ‘Serbian’ [*Serbisches*] was inscribed instead. For more details, see Atanasovski, ‘Imprinted on Paper, Imagined in Space’.

<sup>21</sup> I borrow this term from Margaret Notley, who coins it in order to discuss certain neglected genres in Franz Schubert’s oeuvre (part-songs, piano dances, piano duos, etc.); see Margaret Notley, ‘Schubert’s Social Music: the “Forgotten Genres”’, in Christopher H. Gibbs (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Schubert* (Cambridge University Press, 1997), 138–54.

tertainments, unlike the 'foreign' musical culture which imposed an artificial divide. Finally, by *homeland anchoring* I refer to a specificity of place inherent in a significant number of Serbian music publications, either in the sense that certain dances or songs have a specific geographical origin, or that certain music seeks to 'depict' a specific landscape.<sup>22</sup> One of the particularities of a sense of national identity is a strong territorial attachment; the nation is simultaneously defined by 'its people' and by 'its homeland', the territory which by 'nature and justice' belongs to the nation.<sup>23</sup> Incorporating published music containing specific place references, the albums thus anchor the experience of domestic music-making in a sense of place, creating mental maps – semblances of national territory – that correspond to the imagined 'homeland' of the nationalistic discourses.<sup>24</sup>

Yugoslav ideology, initially formulated in the 1830s by the Illyrian movement (mostly consisting of Croatian intellectuals) was based on the presumption that the South Slavs, sharing a common ancestral origin and language, form a single nation, and have a 'natural right' to independence and a unitary state.<sup>25</sup> Although mainly restricted to the intellectual elite, the idea of Yugoslavism entered the political mainstream in the decade preceding the outbreak of the First World War, both in Austro-Hungary and in the Kingdom of Serbia. The year 1903 proved to be important: in Zagreb, the capital of autonomous Croatia-Slavonia, the Serbian Independence Party entered the Croat-Serb Coalition, which was to dominate political life up to the war, while in Belgrade the May Coup toppled the pro-Austro-Hungarian Obrenović dynasty and brought to power the Karađorđević dynasty, which was more eager to foster irredentist ideas and to look across its Drina-Danube border in search of territorial acqui-

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<sup>22</sup> Of the former category, the *Album 100 srpskih narodnih najnovijih igara* [Album of 100 of the newest Serbian Folk Dances] was extremely popular. With up to twenty-six dances containing some reference to a particular site, it provided a kind of musical-geographical compendium of the Serbian 'homeland'. *Album 100 srpskih narodnih najnovijih igara* (*Album cent danses nationales Serbes. Compositions de divers auteurs*) (Belgrade: Izdanje knjižare Mite Stajića, s.a.).

<sup>23</sup> George W. White, *Nationalism and Territory: Constructing Group Identity in Southeastern Europe* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2000), and John Etherington, 'Nationalism, Territoriality and National Territorial Belonging', *Papers: Revista de Sociologia*, xcvi (2010), 321–39.

<sup>24</sup> I have discussed this in more length in Atanasovski, 'Imprinted on Paper, Imagined in Space'.

<sup>25</sup> Rusinow, 'The Yugoslav Idea', 12.

sitions. The ideology of the Croat-Serb Coalition, promoting cultural and political cooperation between Croats and Serbs, saturated publications such as *Srbobran*, the popular Serbian daily newspaper published in Zagreb.<sup>26</sup> In her history of Belgrade, Dubravka Stojanović also finds ample evidence for what she calls ‘everyday Yugoslavism’, starting with the elaborate celebrations of King Petar I’s coronation in 1904. In the same year the Congress of ‘Yugoslav youth’ was held in Belgrade, and an array of similar manifestations followed right up to 1912.<sup>27</sup>

Interestingly, none of the extant albums yield any evidence that they had been assembled in the period between 1903 and 1914, when, purportedly, Yugoslavism started entering the realm of everyday life. However, seven albums probably bound in the 1890s do reflect Yugoslav ideas, incorporating music that is labelled either as Yugoslav, or as belonging to a neighbouring Slavic nation<sup>28</sup> (see tables 1 and 2; I will refer to the albums by the letters in table 1). This sample allows us to formulate two discernible models of how Yugoslavism was materially enforced in music albums: as marginal Yugoslavism and compound Yugoslavism. Albums A–E, connected to urban centres in Croatia and southern Hungary, such as Zagreb, Novi Sad and Zemun, belong to the first model. Two sheet music editions present in these albums are clearly marked as ‘Yugoslav’, while four others are marked as Croatian (see table 2).<sup>29</sup> Anton Stöhr turns out to have been the most popular Croatian composer among Ser-

<sup>26</sup> Ranka Gašić, ‘*Novi kurs’ Srba u Hrvatskoj. Srbobran 1903–1914* [The ‘New Course’ of the Serbs in Croatia. *Srbobran 1903–1914*] (Zagreb: Srpsko kulturno društvo ‘Prosvjeta’, 2001).

<sup>27</sup> Dubravka Stojanović, *Kaldrma i asfalt. Urbanizacija i evropeizacija Beograda 1890–1914* [Cobblestones and Asphalt. The urbanization and Europeanization of Belgrade, 1890–1914], 3rd edn. (Belgrade: Udruženje za društvenu istoriju, 2012), 229–35.

<sup>28</sup> I have not included music referring to Montenegro, as this was mainly composed by Serbian composers and was a cornerstone of the Serbian national music repertoire, particularly in southern Hungary; see Srđan Atanasovski, ‘Imagining the Sound of the “Serbian Sparta”’, in Katerina Levidou and George Vlastos (eds), *Revisiting the Past, Recasting the Present: The Reception of Greek Antiquity in Music, 19th Century to the Present* (Athens: Hellenic Music Centre, 2013), 296–302.

<sup>29</sup> Machulka’s *polka tremblante* is advertised as dedicated to the wedding of the ‘Croatian composer’ Slava (sic!) Atanasijević. The virtuoso pianist and composer Slavka Atanasijević was born in Osijek, in Croatia, but is also regarded as a Serbian composer (purportedly by ethnic origin), and she published piano fantasies based on Serbian songs. Therefore, for the purpose of this research I have not regarded Atanasijević as a Croatian composer.

bian families, as the majority of these pieces belong to his oeuvre. There are several reasons to refer to the presence of these pieces in music albums as 'marginal'. In sheer amount, they make up only one seventh of the albums' contents, if we look at the total number of individual publications (as well as pieces in manuscript), and substantially less if we look at the number of pages. Moreover, they are not strategically placed, but nested in the middle of the albums among other Serbian and Slavic folk song arrangements. All the Croatian-labelled pieces employ 'soft flagging'; unlike Serbian-labelled pieces which are blatantly nationalistic and patriotic, Croatian labels are present only in arrangements of single folk songs of urban provenance, without any geographical reference to the origin of the song. They also belong to the realm of salon music, and Stöhr's adaptations, labelled 'elegant transcriptions' [transcription élégante] or 'concert fantasies' [fantaisie de concert] are paradigmatic in this regard. His piano transcription of the 'chanson nationale croate', 'Miruj srce moje' [Be Still my Heart], incorporated in three albums, is devised as a through-composed set of variations designed to produce an effective performance by employing standardized piano techniques of the day, and inevitably creating the sense of a quasi-concert performance (see example 1). Importantly, none of these pieces are present in manuscript form; nor are they the vehicles of intra-familial dedications, which are reserved for editions employing the 'hard flagging' of Serbian nationalism. One can conclude that the presence of these pieces does not impede the functioning of the overcoding machines of Serbian nationalism.

Album F, produced in the Croatian town of Gospić, is a peculiar example of compound Yugoslavism. It is one of the few extant albums that were given a title as a volume – *Album ruskih, srpskih i hrvatskih pjesama* (Album of Russian, Serbian and Croatian songs) – and it consists of only three voluminous sheet music editions, namely, collections of folk songs of the nations spelled out in the title (see table 3 and illustrations 1 and 2 in table 4). Setting aside the issue of the Russian songs, it is important to note that the album keeps Serbian and Croatian folk songs separated, creating a rather odd juxtaposition or admixture. Examining the material condition of this album, it is also possible to conclude that it was not regularly used, and that it was most likely part of a 'bookaflage', rather than an actively used household object.<sup>30</sup> This purported unity was, thus, not so much actively practised as represented on a shelf.

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<sup>30</sup> Megan Benton discusses the phenomenon of 'domestic bookaflage', arguing that in the early interwar period in America, possessing 'fine books', in a period swamped with cheap available editions, served as a mark of cultural distinction;

Another five music albums reflecting Yugoslavism were assembled after the First World War, since at least some of the music editions they contain were published after the war.<sup>31</sup> In the interwar period several competing versions of Yugoslavism vied for supremacy in the public discourse.<sup>32</sup> 'Integral Yugoslavism', publicly endorsed by the ruling dynasty and often adopted as state cultural policy, preached the existence of one unitary primordial Yugoslav nation, where all the differences between Serbian, Croat and Slovene 'tribes' would be attributable to unfortunate historical circumstances and would be superceded through life in a shared state. However, this view was regularly appropriated by the Serbian political elite in order to impose its dominance within the political system of the state, and with the idea of Yugoslavism articulated as a mere appendage to a Serbian nationalist ideology. This is a fitting interpretation of four albums from this period – Albums G and I–K – which also correspond to the model of marginal Yugoslavism. Albums J–K serve as telling evidence of the resilience of Serbian nationalism, which could not be overcome by the state-imposed vision of an integral Yugoslav nation. While non-Serbian Slavic labels hold a marginal position, both pre-war and interwar editions of Serbian folk songs – which cater to the new music tastes shaped by the early rise of popular music – are present in abundance. Interestingly, in serial editions of Yugoslav folk songs (namely, Petar Konjović's cycle *Moja zemlja* [My Land], issued by the music publisher Napredak, and folk songs published by Nova litografija, both in Belgrade), the owner and assembler of album J decided to acquire, and to include in his selection, only the ones of Serbian provenance. However, discussing albums I–K based on their material appearance raises yet another important issue. Compared to the pre-war albums these objects are far less exquisite in their fashioning, as the quality of the paper, the engraving, and the binding have all drastically deteriorated. The hardcover is here more likely produced to offer minimal and cheap protection to

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see Megan Benton, "Too Many Books": Book Ownership and Cultural Identity in the 1920s', *American Quarterly*, xl (1997), 268–97.

<sup>31</sup> Albums G and H predominantly consist of editions published prior to World War I. Album G in particular seems to have only one interwar edition, featuring a Serbian song from the war (*Tamo daleko daleko na Krfu – Au loin, au loin sur Corfu* (sic), arranged by Mara Mačejovska).

<sup>32</sup> For an overview, see Jovo Bakić, *Ideologije jugoslovenstva između srpskog i hrvatskog nacionalizma 1918–1941: sociološko-istorijska studija* [Yugoslav Ideology Between Serbian and Croatian Nationalism, 1918–1941: Socio-historical Study] (Zrenjanin: Gradska narodna biblioteka Žarko Zrenjanin, 2004).

consumer music of transient popularity, than to dignify a prized family object destined to be used, as well as appreciated and treasured.

Table 1. Music albums reflecting Yugoslavism

	call number	place and time of origin	(1)	(2)
A	IoM, MI-XXI/An 917	Zagreb (?), (1890s)	a	12
B	IoM, MI-XXII/An 919	(Southern Hungary, 1890s)	b, c	15
C	IoM, MI-XXII/An 923	(Novi Sad, 1890s)	c	11
D	IoM, MI-XXII/An 925*	Zagreb (?), (1890s)	f, d	14
E	IoM, not catalogized (black hardcover)	Zemun (?), (1890s)	c, e	25
F	IoM, MI-XVII/An 783*	Gospić, 1897.		\$
G	IoM, MI-XXI/An 913†	Belgrade, c1918	g	31
H	NLS, M III 4374	(Belgrade?, 1920s)		\$
I	FoM, not catalogized (green hardcover)	(Belgrade, 1920s)	h	31
J	IoM, MI-XVII/An 784	(Belgrade, 1920s)	i, j	55
K	IoM, Bib. 1490	(Belgrade, 1920s)	k, l	59
<p>(1) – music editions with Yugoslav connotation present in the album (see table 2)</p> <p>(2) – total number of individual music editions and pieces in manuscript in the album</p> <p>— – before/after First World War divide (also in table 2)</p> <p>* – album bears engraved title: <i>Album ruskih, srpskih i hrvatskih pjesama</i> ('Album of Russian, Serbian and Croatian Songs')</p> <p>† – album containing manuscript material</p> <p>\$ – see table 3</p>				

Table 2. Sheet music editions with South-Slav, non(-exclusively) Serbian connotations in the albums

a	F. S. Vilhar, <i>Kolo. Jugoslavjanski narodni ples. U slavu presretnog vjenčanja Njezine Svjetlosti Knjaginje Milice Petrović-Njegoš sa Njegovim Carskim Visočanstvom Petrom Nikolajevićem</i> (Wien: Jos. Eberle & Co, s.a.)
b	Ante Stöhr [Anton Stöhr], <i>Mila si mi ti. Jugoslavjanska pjesma prenešena za glasovir. [Mila si mi ti. Transcription über ein südslavisches Lied für das Piano. Op. 41.]</i> (Varaždin: J. B. Stifler, s.a.)
c	Anton Stöhr, <i>Clavier-Compositionen. 23. "Miruj srce moje". Transcription élégante sur une chanson nationale croate</i> (Wien: Rebay & Robitschek, s.a.)

d	Anton Stöhr [Antoine Stöhr], <i>Domorodni glasi. Koncertna fantazija</i> [ <i>Fantaisie de Concert sur les thèmes croates</i> ] Op. 30 (Varaždin: Naklada J. B. Stifler, s.a.)
e	Anton Stöhr, <i>Clavier-Compositionen</i> . 25. "Za tebe draga". <i>Chanson nationale croate transcrite</i> (Wien: Rebay & Robitschek, s.a.)
f	T. Machulka [Prigodom vjenčanja hrvatske komponistice gospodjice Slave Atanasijević složio i posvetio], <i>San nevjeste. Polka tremblante</i> (S.l.: Vlastita naklada, s.a. [engraved by Wien: Lith. F. Johne])
g	Dragutin F. Pokorni, <i>Sveslovenski sokolski marš</i> [ <i>Sveslovenski sokolski marsch</i> ] (Beograd: Štamparija LJ. J. Bojovića, s.a.)
h <sup>(3)</sup>	A. Šrabec, <i>Dalmatinski Šajkaš</i> ( <i>Oj mila mi Dalmacijo</i> ) (Beograd: Jovan Frajt, s.a.)
i	Lutz Gjuro, <i>Južno slovenske narodne pjesme</i> (S.l., s.a. [engraved by Wien: Jos. Eberle & C <sup>o</sup> ])
j	Jovan Frajt, "Od kako je Banja-luka..." i "Ej sinoć dockan...". <i>Bosanske pjesme</i> (Beograd: Jovan Frajt, s.a.)
k	Jovan Frajt, "Aman, aman...". <i>Bosanska pesma</i> (Beograd: Jovan Frajt, s.a.)
l <sup>(4)</sup>	V. Ružić, ed. <i>Mali pijanista. 20 hrvatskih i slovenskih melodija. Svezak I.</i> (Zagreb: Knjižara L. Hartmana, s.a.)

Table 3. Details of content of two music albums

<b>Album F</b> (IoM, MI-XVII/An 783, Gospić, 1897)
[Front page missing: album of 194 Russian songs, published by Litolff, 80 pp.]
Slavoljub Lžičar [Eduard František], <i>Album srpskih pesama. 100 srpskih narodnih pesama za glasovir</i> [ <i>Album National Serbe</i> ] (Braunschweig: Henry Litolff, s.a.) [64 pp.] <sup>(1)</sup>
Slavoljub Lžičar [Eduard František], <i>Album hrvatskih napjeva. 100 hrvatskih narodnih napjeva za glasovir</i> [ <i>Album National Croate</i> ] (Braunschweig: Henry Litolff, s.a.) [70 pp.] <sup>(2)</sup>
<b>Album H</b> (NLS, M III 4374, Belgrade (?), 1920s)
[3 sheet music editions: Anton Dvořák, Edward Grieg and Stevan Hristić, 44 pp. in total]
Blagoslav Bersa, <i>Jugoslavenske narodne pjesme za glasovir. III. Svezak, lako izdanje za decu</i> , Edition Slave, Wien, Praha, Zagreb 24 pp.
<i>Album slovenskih napevov. 50 slovenskih narodnih napevov za klavir</i> . Priredili Fran Gerbič. L. Schwentner v Ljubljani 36 pp.
<i>Album Hrvatskih Pjesama. Zbirka hrvatskih popjevaka za glasovir</i> priredio Ante Stöhr. Naklada St. Kugli, Zagreb [100 pp.]



[4 sheet music editions by Vladimir Đorđević, including I, II, III i V volume of *Srpske narodne melodije* ("Serbian folk melodies"; Jagodina, 1904 and 1907), 60 pp. in total]

Vilhar [Franjo Serafin Vilhar-Kalski], *Nove Djulabije. Prvi svezak* (Zagreb: vlastništvo glasbotvorčevu, s.a. [1889?]) [bearing a dedication by the composer]



Illustration 1. Title pages of selected sheet music editions (see tables 2 and 3)

## a. Measures 1–6



## b. Measures 19–22



## c. Measures 62–64



Example 1. Anton Stöhr, 'Miruj srce moje'. Transcription élégante sur une chanson nationale croate

These music albums suggest that 'everyday Yugoslavism' was more a matter of public display (as was the occasion of King Petar I's coronation) than of everyday private practice, present in the life of a family, at least in the matter of investing in nationhood. Although present in mainstream official policies, Yugoslavism did not to any great extent affect the everyday experience of Serbian bourgeois families in Austro-Hungary, the Kingdom of Serbia, or the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.<sup>33</sup> Hav-

<sup>33</sup> In like vein, Stevan Pavlowitch concludes that in Serbia, before the outbreak of the First World War, 'there were no plans and no popular movement for the creation of a Yugoslav state', and that a sense of 'ambivalence between a narrowly Serbian identity, expressed in striving for a greater Serbia, and a hazier Yugoslav identity,

ing enabled us to reach this conclusion, music albums prove themselves an important source for historical research into private life, as they are not mass produced or state-sanctioned objects, but privately assembled artefacts, whose manufacture mostly relied on music publications available in the marketplace, but with a capacity to be supplemented by manuscript copies. They testify to the inability of Yugoslavism to generate its own myths, relying instead on its 'tribal' nationalisms as unavoidable proxies, represented moreover through ambiguous admixtures of cultural products.<sup>34</sup> This analysis also allow us to understand the importance of these objects both for Serbian and Yugoslav nationalisms: the presence of a model of marginal Yugoslavism does not actually impede the functioning of a Serbian nationalism identity formation, demonstrating that an object can function within several concurrent assemblages simultaneously.<sup>35</sup> Moreover, the resilience which Serbian nationalism seems to show in this process should not be considered as the resilience of an essentialized subject, but rather the resilience of the material mechanism of overcoding, of an identity-building process that functions on the material level of everyday performativities.

However, within this sample Album H stands out as the most clearly articulated instantiation of a Yugoslav identity (see table 3). While it can be observed as belonging to the model of compound Yugoslavism, unlike Album F this is no bookaflage but a worn out personal material object: the presence of markings speaks of performance preferences and proves that this volume really has been put to use. Beside two pieces by Anton Dvořák and Edward Grieg which open the album, all the others were composed or arranged by Yugoslav composers. The sequence of editions is carefully designed: following a new high-quality edition of Blagoslav Bersa's *Jugoslavenske narodne pjesme* (Yugoslav Folk Songs), selected editions of Slovene, Croatian, and Serbian folk songs are adjoined, and all

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with Serbia as the potential Piedmont of the South' was present. Stevan K. Pavlowitch, 'Serbia, Montenegro and Yugoslavia', in *Yugoslavism. Histories of a Failed Idea*, 60.

<sup>34</sup> A similar view was expressed by the composer Kosta Manojlović, when he wrote an essay on the possibility of creating a unified Yugoslav music culture in his capacity as an officer at the Ministry of Education. Manojlović's opinion was that this culture would have to rely on the existing musical heritage of the Yugoslav 'tribes'. See Ljubodrag Dimić, *Kulturna politika u Kraljevini Jugoslaviji: 1918–1941* [Cultural Politics in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia: 1918–1941] (Beograd, Stubovi kulture, 1997), 278–79.

<sup>35</sup> See Dittmer, "Geopolitical assemblages", 3.

them can be regarded as music meant for socialising and entertaining. This single volume defies a potentially unambiguous conclusion that Yugoslavism was never present at the level of everyday affective practice, and again indicates the 'messiness' of lived experience, for whose understanding in history material culture could offer us a window for research.

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