

The background of the cover is an abstract painting. It features a complex composition of colors and textures. On the left side, there are vertical bands of white and light brown, with some red and pinkish tones. The central and right portions are dominated by dark, almost black, areas with visible brushstrokes and some red highlights. The overall effect is one of depth and intensity, with a strong sense of movement and contrast.

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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OF THE SERBIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES AND ARTS
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Note

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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.¹ Furthermore, the ultimate triumph of the

¹ 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 Pribičević, 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.*, *Muzičke 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.² 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 1918.³ 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.⁴ Secondly, I will judge the

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.

² 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.

³ 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).

⁴ 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’.⁵ 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

(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.

⁵ 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 experience⁶

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.⁷ 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.⁸ 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

⁶ 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).

⁷ 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).

⁸ 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 repertory (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.⁹ As these are held in libraries and not in archival collections,¹⁰ 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

⁹ 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.

¹⁰ 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.¹¹ 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.¹²

Theoreticians of nationalism have often stressed the capacity of the family to produce and maintain dominant social ideologies.¹³ 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

¹¹ Jeremić-Molnar, *Srpska klavirska muzika*, 33–40; also Dragana Jeremić-Molnar, 'Muzički 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.

¹² 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.

¹³ Anne McClintock, 'Family Feuds: Gender, Nationalism and the Family', *Feminist Review*, xliv (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.¹⁴

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',¹⁵ music albums contain a vast number of 'sentimental'

¹⁴ 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.

¹⁵ 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’.¹⁶ 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.¹⁷ 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,¹⁸ 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.¹⁹

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.).

¹⁶ 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.

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

¹⁸ 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 Sundhussen, *Geschichte Serbiens. 19.-21. Jahrhundert* (Wien, Köln and Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 2007), 82–97.

¹⁹ 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.²⁰ 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,²¹ 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-

²⁰ 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’ [*Polniches Lied*, sic!], but the word ‘Polniches’ 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’.

²¹ 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.²² 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.²³ 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.²⁴

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.²⁵ 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-

²² 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.).

²³ 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.

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

²⁵ 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.²⁶ 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 1912.²⁷

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 nation²⁸ (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).²⁹ Anton Stöhr turns out to have been the most popular Croatian composer among Ser-

²⁶ 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).

²⁷ 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.

²⁸ 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.

²⁹ 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 croâte', '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.³⁰ This purported unity was, thus, not so much actively practised as represented on a shelf.

³⁰ 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.³¹ In the interwar period several competing versions of Yugoslavism vied for supremacy in the public discourse.³² ‘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

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

³¹ 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 Maćejovska).

³² 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

(1) – music editions with Yugoslav connotation present in the album (see table 2)
(2) – total number of individual music editions and pieces in manuscript in the album
— – before/after First World War divide (also in table 2)
* – album bears engraved title: *Album ruskih, srpskih i hrvatskih pjesama* ('Album of Russian, Serbian and Croatian Songs')
† – album containing manuscript material
§ – see table 3

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 Knjaginjice Milice Petrović-Njegoš sa Njegovim Carskim Visočanstvom Petrom Nikolajevićem</i> (Wien: Jos. Eberle & C°, 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 croâte</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. 25. "Za tebe draga". Chanson nationale croate transcrite</i> (Wien: Rebay & Robitschek, s.a.)
f	T. Machulka [Prigodom vjenčanja hrvatske kompozistice 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 ⁽³⁾	A. Šravec, <i>Dalmatinski Šajkaš (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°])
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 ⁽⁴⁾	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

Album F (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.] ⁽¹⁾
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.] ⁽²⁾
Album H (NLS, M III 4374, Belgrade (?), 1920s)
[3 sheet music editions: Anton Dvořak, 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.³³ Hav-

³³ 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.³⁴ 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.³⁵ 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 Dvořak 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

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.

³⁴ 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.

³⁵ 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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