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# SERBIAN MUSIC: YUGOSLAV CONTEXTS

Edited by Melita Milin and Jim Samson



Institute of Musicology  
Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts

## Serbian Music: Yugoslav Contexts

SERBIAN MUSIC: YUGOSLAV CONTEXTS

Edited by

*Melita Milin and Jim Samson*

Published by

*Institute of Musicology SASA*

Technical editor

*Goran Janjić*

Cover design

*Aleksandra Dolović*

Number of copies

300

Printed by

Colorgrafx

ISBN

978-86-80639-19-2

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OF THE SERBIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES AND ARTS  
BELGRADE 2014

This book has been published thanks to the financial support of the Ministry of education, science and technological development of the Republic of Serbia.

Cover illustration: Vera Božičković Popović, *Abstract Landscape*, 1966. Courtesy of Zepter Museum, Belgrade.

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Note

Chapters 2, 3, 4, 8 and 9 were written as part of the project *Serbian Musical Identities within Local and Global Frameworks: Traditions, Changes, Challenges* (no. 177004) funded by the Ministry of Education and Science of Republic of Serbia.

## 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

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<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 Fowers 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 'Čimbirčice, čimbir 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 Mirosavljevića, 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 (Traveler'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.

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<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 Milojević' [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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