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SYNAXA

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WHY SYNAXA?

In an era of growing global interdependence and compression of history, any sort of self-isolation might not only result in provincialization, peripheralization, or self-marginalization, but may also imperil the very survival of nations and their authentic cultures. In the history of mankind, ethno-contact zones have usually represented porous borders permeable to both conflict and cooperation. Unproductive conflict has been, by default, destructive, while the fruitful intersection and intertwining of cultures has strengthened their capacities for creative (self)elevation. During all times, especially desperate and dehumanizing ones, cultural mutuality has opened the doors of ennoblement, i.e., offered the possibility of bringing meaning to the dialectic of the conflict between the universal material (usually self-destructive) *horizontal* and the specific spiritual (auto-transcending) *vertical*.

It would be naïve and pretentious to expect any journal (including this one) to resolve these major issues.

In 2017, Matica Srpska founded *Synaxa* – International Journal for Social Sciences, Arts and Culture.

Synaxa is a scientific journal, whose authors try to contribute to an explanation (and understanding) of long-term phenomena and processes of a structural character and strategic specific weight. Nowadays, tendencies towards knowledge integration prevail globally: therefore, the Journal will be supporting and encouraging a trans- or postdisciplinary (problem-oriented) instead of a narrow specialist approach. Comparative perspective is welcome, while multiperspectivity is, more or less, expected.

This Journal gathers, collects... people and ideas; it is a *place of dialogue*.

It is, therefore, a SYNAXA!

Because: *synaxa* means: gathering, encounter, assembly, convocation.

Some people believe that the Balkans (the “First Europe”) are the point where the signs of forthcoming changes first appear. If the Balkans are a “heterotopia,” where the Central Global Seismometer is located, then all those who are preparing for the future (and care about it) should be focusing on the Balkans. And reading *Synaxa*. Because, in the *post-truth* era, it still strives to be a “different place,” where the truth is sought with monastic dedication.

Editor-in-Chief

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ARTICLES AND TREATISES

ORIGINAL SCIENTIFIC PAPER

CONSUMER CULTURE UNDER CONSTRUCTION, THE REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN PRINTED ADVERTISEMENTS (1900–1940)

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SUMMARY: In the context of mass production of media images, the early appearance of illustrations in the popular structure of advertisements is an extremely valuable indicator of a revolutionary shift of attention — from words to image — which occurred in Serbian print media at the end of the 19th century. The crucial role in the shaping of both the visual and the textual aspect in mass printed media was played by the appearance of finished clothing products around 1900, the majority of which were made for women, both in European countries and in Serbia. The industrial production of ready-made clothing was accompanied by new shops and department stores as well as illustrated printed advertisements. It can be said that the industrial production of products was closely followed by the mass production of images.

KEY WORDS: advertisement, image, illustrations, modern, women's studies, print media.

In the 19th century, advertising pages contained information about fairs, bazaars, dinner dances at civil clubs, educational books, and even *cigarettes for teeth, against toothache* [Janc 1978]. Chaotic and heterogeneous pages with cultural programs and advertisements have been offered to generations of readers, informally, as a form of relaxation, on the last pages of newspapers and magazines, after all the important events [Peković 2004], and this established hierarchy in the informative content of print media functions in more or less the same way today. But no matter how exciting and varied the contents of those messages have been through the years, their visual form has preserved the frozen façade of framed and scanty textual information.

The graphic designers' uniformity of advertisement design did not change for decades in most Serbian-language newspapers and magazines published during the nineteenth century. It would, thus, be easy to conclude that the advertising message was articulated almost exclusively in the text of the advertisement,

while the visual aspect was of secondary significance in the communication with the readers. Rarely, decorative frames and symbolic graphic signs appeared, among which the best known was the hand with the extended index finger. Clichés taken over from illustrated catalogues were the only source of the scanty visual presentations in printed advertising messages during the 19th century. The typified visual forms, which were multiplied without any apparent connection to the products, built a harmonious relationship with the clichés in the textual portions of the advertisements. Entire phrases in advertisements were so monotonously repeated on pages of various newspapers, as is the case today, that even a quick glance was sufficient to find the needed information.

The benumbed, cliché-ridden attention of the readers of the Serbian was broken in the last decade of the 19th century when the first advertisements with illustrations appeared¹. First the “fashionable shops”, like the shop *Roza Štern and son*, sought new tactics for advertising corsets, hats and parasols² [Narod 1896; Janc 1978]. The key innovation occurred when the informative text was moved to one side, precisely to the margin, to show the image of the advertised product in the central position of the advertisement. Of course, this was just a drawing – an amateur illustration of the most desirable and most delicate part of the woman’s costume of that time – the girdle or corset. Other items would soon gain this privileged status as well, adding a visual presentation to the textual one. By about 1900, schematic drawings had already taken over the newspaper advertising pages. In essence, the predictably patterned forms of textual narration in advertisements were complementary with the extremely stylized graphic illustrations of the advertised objects. However, in the context of the mass production of media images, the early appearance of illustrations in the popular structure of advertisements was quite a valuable indicator of the revolutionary change in the focus of attention – from words to image – which occurred in Serbian print media at the end of the 19th century.

The appearance of ready-made garments around 1900, the majority of which were intended for women – both in Europe and in Serbia – was of crucial importance for the shaping of the visual, rather than just the textual, aspect of communication in the mass print media. Industrial garment production was accompanied by the appearance of new department stores, as well as illustrated printed advertisements. In 1906, the prominent Buli family engaged architect Milan Antonović to design a multi-storey gallery for exhibiting and selling industrial goods in Belgrade. The Secession-style building made of glass and brass still stands today, in Belgrade’s commercial Kralja Petra (King Peter)

¹ Jovan Skerlić noted that, until the 1890s, only political leaflets existed in Serbia, before the appearance of newspapers that were more *focused on readers than on supporters* [Stojanović 2008]. This turn towards entertaining and interesting content with plenty of illustrations was visible in print media throughout Europe [Roebuck 1982].

² “There is not a single thing in women’s apparel that is as popular as the girdle, despite all the criticism coming from all directions. Using illustrations, doctors and aestheticians tried to demonstrate its harmful effect and unattractiveness in the development of the chest, but all their efforts were fruitless” [Slavić 1921: 104]. The book cover for this luxurious book, as well as advertisements reproduced in color, were designed by Ivo Tijardović (1895–1976), who was an illustrator, set designer and composer. Ljubica Ćorović drew my attention to this book and I am very grateful to her.

ВЕЛИКИ ИЗБОР

<p>ЖЕНСКИХ ЖАКЕТА КЕШОВА КРАГНОВА РАДМАНТИЛА ШЕШИРА МУФОВА КАПА ВАНРЕДНО ЈЕФТИНА ЦЕНА</p>	<p>МИДЕРА</p>  <p>ВАНРЕДНОГ КРОЈА СВЕ МОГУЋЕ ВЕЛИЧИНЕ</p>	<p>ДЕЧИЈИХ КАПУТЯТА КАПИЦА КАПИЖОНА ЖАКЕТИЋА ПАНТЉЕКА ЧНПКЕ ПОЗАМЕНТИР ВАНРЕДНО ЈЕФТИНА ЦЕНА</p>
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ПРВА И НАЈСТАРИЈА ПОМОДНА РАДЊА
РОЗА ШТЕРН И СИН
 КНЕЗ МИХАЈЛА БР. II.
 „КОД ЦРВЕНЕ ЗВЕЗДЕ“

Image 1. Large selection of corsets, *Narod*, Belgrade, November 31st, 1896,
 “Svetozar Marković” University Library, Belgrade

street. The model for new gallery spaces, intended for the display of various types of goods was provided by the famous Parisian ten-storey department store Gallery Lafayette. From its opening in 1912, it set an example for all subsequent commercial and representative spaces intended for exhibiting and selling goods³. Large quantities of manufactured and exhibited industrial goods occupied the floors and shelves of newly-built department stores, and all of that, inevitably, had to be represented in the form of graphic illustration, for that was the only way that all those goods could continuously be exposed to the view of large numbers of users or customers. The citizen became a consumer, and that is how advertising messages have been addressing him/her to this day.

The emergence of drawings or visual representations in illustrated advertisements in the first decade of the 20th century was intended to stimulate the reader's pleasure from looking at images, i.e. *scopophilia*. However, unlike in

³ Garments were sold in the newly opened stores in Belgrade under advertising slogans such as “One hundred wagons of trousers at Talvi and Mandilović” or “There is no place like Talvi and Mandilović” [Stojanović 2008: 69]. The garment industry and new stores also changed the appearance of other European capitals [Guenther 2004].

the past, this enjoyment was not linked with elite artwork, but with banal industrial objects. Thanks to newspaper illustrations, i.e., drawings and pictures, not only girdles, but shoes, hats and *šajkača*⁴, parasols and umbrellas, wood-burning stoves and cookers, which were otherwise quite ordinary objects, captured *representative space* in the print media, thus escaping the anonymity of commercial shelves and everyday life.

It can be said that the industrial production of goods was accompanied by a mass production of images. In addition, according to research of consumer culture, the number of people for whom these industrial and not hand-made objects were intended, was never greater in the history of humanity than in 1900 [Leonard 1998: 22]. Cheap and mass printing also counted on the increasing numbers of the city population, and thanks to technical improvements, there were unprecedented capacities for the graphic design of both modern packaging and advertising.

In this brief review of the beginnings of printed advertisements, it should not be forgotten that industrial products have radically transformed the appearance of newspaper advertisements. Bicycles, French kitchen ranges, metal cash registers, *porcelain stoves*, *mignon pianos*, pate phones and record player (phonographs), as well as typewriters emerged on newspaper advertising pages and in the urbanized centers of Serbian cities where shining new large shops and department stores appeared⁵. They were all part of the building of a unified system of capitalist markets, regardless of whether they came from domestic or foreign garment industries, primarily those of Berlin and Paris. And all of them were inevitably represented by an image, a newspaper illustration, in order to participate equally in the construction of the fascinating spectacle of goods, as defined by Guy Debord [Debord 2003]. The large number of almost unknown industrial products could not be quickly and adequately described with words. The picture offered radically new aspects in the presentation of new goods. In comparison to the old, textual and concise form of advertising that had been imposed, to a significant degree, for commercial reasons, the picture, first the drawing and then the photo, was able to speak more directly to the “common man”, as was noticed by Rastko Petrović [Todić 2001: 57–60]. Industrial goods demanded an industry of images, a mass visualization of goods, among other things because the rhetoric of the image is not just more convincing but more seductive than text.

A FREE GUIDE TO THE PRESERVATION OF BEAUTY

The image, a modest illustration patterned in a standard way, was at first necessary in the presentation of new industrial goods intended primarily for the personal and home comfort of the citizen. In fact, at the beginning of the

⁴ A traditional hat worn by men in the Serbian countryside (translator’s note).

⁵ “The first light bulb in Belgrade was lit in 1880. There was indescribable celebration and noise when the incredible, previously unseen flash appeared”. Belgrade waited until 1893 for the construction of city lighting, when electricity was introduced in many other European cities as well [Stojanović 2008: 120, 122–125, 68–73, 85–108]. Electricity has been used in the weapons factory in Kragujevac since 1884 [Dimić et al. 2004: 132].

modern era, the image and the word functionally shared the burden of massive distribution of information about the products of the capitalist industry in full swing. However, especially since the 1960s, the visual field has been increasingly expanding at the expense of the textual. While at the end of the 19th century the text was ubiquitous in advertisements, among other things because it was the bearer of factual information, from the beginning of the 20th century, it was the picture that opened the window into the associative and symbolic plane of the significance of the presented object in print advertising messages. After all, the text and the image have functioned complementarily until the present, both in the print and electronic media of mass culture. It is important to emphasize, however, that in Benjamin's era of mechanical reproduction of images, and above all, thanks to the introduction of photography into the structure of advertisements, the picture has taken over the lead role in the design of advertising messages.

Immediately at the beginning, an ambivalent attitude towards mass and media culture was formed, which at various levels preferred imitation over originality. While some blamed the mass media – and at the beginning of the 20th century these were the magazines – for forming false ideas of daily life and negatively impacting women's morale and her role in society, teaching her to be “a slave to fashion”⁶, others thought that participating in the formation of mass culture and being “a la page” (highly fashionable), as Božo Tokin put it, was a matter of social prestige and an expression of modern attitudes. Accusations of blindly obeying the dictatorship of fashion were primarily addressed to the woman, for whom it was written that she was “ruining her family and relatives, having become enthralled with luxury, and, in order to purchase pointless little things, she would occasionally agree to deals that stain not just her honor, but also her dignity, and everything that is beautiful and pure in her” [Prošić-Dvornić 2006: 481].

The woman was like “a slave to fashion”, and the main culprit for excessive consumption in the house, or at least for the insufficient saving of her husband's hard-earned money. The degree to which the women, rather than the men, were inclined towards shopping was illustrated in an advertisement in the *Politika* newspaper in 1911, in which city and country women are shown, in an almost futuristic painting, running with their hands full of merchandise out the big store at Terazije in Belgrade [*Politika* 1911; Janc 1978: 139]. Today, almost a hundred years later, inside the very busy city transport, we once again see a woman on an advertising poster, carrying an armful of colorful bags and announcing a new film – also an old gender stereotype – by the name of “Shopaholics”.

Since the beginning of modern age, the woman has been blamed for having an exaggerated interest in her own physical appearance and an aestheticized public presentation. She has even been accused of being “a slave to luxury” [*Žena i svet* 1925: 10], according to a reader of the magazine *Žena i svet* (*Woman and*

⁶ “In order to follow fashion, that capricious and implacable fashion, one voluntarily accepts a yoke around the necks and everything is sacrificed, including the aesthetics and joy of home; fashion ruthlessly swallows the income intended for the welfare of the family. The woman loses perfect awareness of her duties.” [Prošić-Dvornić 2006: 481].

Image 2. A Guide to the Preservation of Beauty, “Orao” a large illustrated calendar for the year 1900, Belgrade 1899, “Svetozar Marković” University Library, Belgrade

Pharmacies took care of her beauty and figure, such as the pharmacy of Ludvig Verteš, which also offered a free booklet with entitled *A Guide to the Preservation of Beauty* in the illustrated calendar “Orao” (Eagle) for the year 1900. This printed advertisement was intended for every reader, and it did not only represent the beginning of all subsequent free advertising catalogs and

samples of various goods, but was also an innovative and interesting example of intertextual articulation of a mass media message⁷.

The aforementioned advertisement published in “Orao” aggressively expands over the whole page of the richly illustrated calendar, which does not surprise today’s readers of illustrated magazines whose eyes have been trained to easily skim through entire blocks of advertising pages. However, in the year 1900, this commercial advertisement of the pharmacy in Vršac was a radically bold innovation. The focused and fragmentary message conveyed by the Orao



Image 3. Ivo Tijardović, Savić i Majdanac, 1921. Local History Collection, Belgrade City Library, Belgrade

⁷ “Orao”, a big illustrated calendar for the year of 1900, edited by S. V. Popović, Belgrade 1899.

pharmacy essentially functioned as an advertising poster in an illustrated calendar. It took up the entire page of the calendar and thus occupied the full attention of the reader, who was usually presented with dozens of diverse advertising contents on a single page. Conquering the entire page in the calendar and the reader's constant attention, the advertising message was isolated from all other "serious" topics in this luxurious publication, so that it could unobstructedly, soundlessly communicate with the reader, the viewer and the consumer.

It is also important to note the year 1900 saw the constitution of the multimedia form of communication between merchandise and consumer, in the advertising message of Ludvig Verteš's Oraz pharmacy from Lugoš, Banat, which was simultaneously addressed to the reader and the viewer, synthesizing the text and image in the modern form of the comic book. The alternation of picture (drawing) and text had a synchronized effect on the user's/reader's/viewer's different senses, aggressively capturing his/her full attention.

It is interesting that the left, traditionally women's side in this advertisement begins with a picture of a woman in front of a mirror and the accompanying text: "She is ashamed" (because "her face is not clear"), and ends with the offer of "Diet pills from Lugoš". The right side of the advertisement, always reserved for men, deals with "handsome mustaches" and visibly bald head, focusing the reader's or viewer's eyes on problematic points in the representation of the ideal of beauty for both sexes. Finally, in building a quasi-cinematographic narration in the form of a comic book, spread over the entire page of the great eponymous illustrated calendar for the year 1900, the advertising message of the Oraz pharmacy effectively uses the ambiguous and heterogeneous structure of comics and posters. All those couplings – of the names of the pharmacy and the calendar, of text and drawings, of comics and posters – are in the function of enhancing the media message.

MOTHER, YOU MUST DO THE WASHING USING RADION!

After the end of the First World War, the drawings of elegant and slim ladies disappeared from the advertising pages, and the smiling and young Radion Girl⁸ came on the scene. She was a simple "neighborhood girl" wearing modest clothes, in a black and white striped skirt and white blouse, and flat dark shoes on her feet. Instead of the starched white apron of the former maid-servant, she tied an ordinary dark scarf around her waist. She was covering her hair again, but with a spotted scarf, and waving a big white sheet, like a flag, printed with the message: "Radion washes without any help". The same slogan, "Radion washes without any help", was printed on every box of detergent that the Radion Girl held in front of herself and stuck into the forefront on the printed

⁸ The Radion Girl represented the detergent Radion, or Blue Radion as it was called on the territory of Yugoslavia, because it was packed in a blue cardboard box with a yellow sun in the corner. The Unilever Company tried unsuccessfully to restore this famous brand of the Weimar Republic, which was popular across Europe, in 1989. Radion appeared on the territory of Yugoslavia in 1922, when the soap factory in Osijek (founded in 1894) became affiliated with the German factory of detergents of Georg Schicht. Radion was also referred to as Schicht's Radion, after the owner of the factory.

advertisements. The process of mass media copying, imitation and multiplication of advertising slogans shyly began with this advertising trick, with the doubling of the phrase “Radion washes without any help”.



Image 4. Radion, *Žena i svet*, № 7, Belgrade 1928. “Svetozar Marković”
University Library, Belgrade



Image 5. Radion, *Ženski svet*, № 1, Ljubljana 1930. “Svetozar Marković”
University Library, Belgrade

A distant visual model, and in some way the great-grandmother of the Radion Girl, can be discerned in the allegorical figure of Liberty which Eugène Delacroix raised up on the barricades and brought to the forefront of the July Revolution of 1830 in the painting *Liberty Leading the People* (July 28, 1830). If the woman of Romanticism waved a tricolor flag and carried a gun in the fight for her rights, the woman of the modern era unfurled a white sheet and carried a detergent box to defeat not just dirt, but also the underestimation of her own work in the house, which ultimately led to the overcoming of disorder in social relations. Reflection on real values “inevitably became reflection of the relationship between order and disorder. Dirt is essentially disorder, while cleanliness represents the establishment of order – of social status”, as Mary Douglas precisely concluded on the basis of her extensive research of different cultures [Douglas 1993: 15].

In the 1920s, the Radion Girl was also an allegory for all those young girls who could enjoy the new liberties and rights, and not just the civil ones, because corsets, along with rigid rules of behavior were rejected and relegated to the oblivion of the darkness of their mothers' and grandmothers' closets during the traumatic years of the First World War. Namely, the first post-war decade brought many radical changes models of behavior, both in private and public life. One of them was promoted by the Radion Girl, with the help of her companions who represented Merima and Zlatorog (Goldhorn) soap or Labud (Swan) soap flakes.

Radion, Merima, Elida, Nivea and all other merchandise brands which used girls in their advertising campaigns started to appear systematically in domestic printed advertisements during the 1920s. And all of them consistently supported the visual model of modern advertising, with the young girl in the lead role who has become a replacement for the modern middle-class heroine. The cheerful, joyful and smiling "neighborhood girl" coquettishly conquered the visual field, beginning with the famous commercials for Kodak cameras and Coca-Cola. But the most exciting was her appearance in French posters designed by Jules Chéret, Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec and Alphonse Mucha for liqueurs, tobacco and, of course, night bars and cafes circa 1900. Lending her "sweet little girl" charm to each product, she was more tempting than all liqueurs. The new advertising strategy easily and quickly expanded to the other side of the Atlantic, because the presence of the "beautiful secretary" in commercials, as noted by Leopold Bloom, the protagonist of Joyce's *Ulysses*, could significantly improve every trading venture [Roth 2015; Wicke 1988: 8].

Alphonse Mucha's unrealistic goddesses with loose hair became modest, hard-working and simple Radion Girls in the years of rebuilding after the First World War. The woman was carrying out a multitude of household chores by herself, since the help of maid-servants was significantly reduced in times of crisis. The mass appearance of home electrical appliances, which met with so much enthusiasm, starting with the iron (1909) and vacuum cleaner (1915), did not occur until the 1960s in Serbian households [de Garcia & Furlough 1996: 274]⁹. It is sufficient to look at the advertisement for home and kitchen utensils in the magazine *Žena danas* (*Woman Today*) and the pedantic illustration of the devices that could be bought in Belgrade in 1938, to learn about the kind of iron objects that the modern city woman had to handle as she prepared daily meals for her family [Žena danas 1938; Vučetić 2007: 131–164].

If the researcher is right in concluding that the woman who earned money was the most important audience of the mass press in the roaring twenties, then the women's magazines were the media avenue where that employed woman publicly showed her desires and anxieties. The newly-gained freedom of critical self-observance led to, inter alia, a multiple increase in the number of newspapers aiming directly at a female audience, as well as their high circulation during the period between the two world wars [Todić 2008/2009]. The

⁹ It should not be forgotten that, at the beginning of the last century, Serbia had a problem with expensive and insufficient electricity and water, as well as a large rural population living in modest conditions as it worked somebody else's land [Žena i svet 1940: 3].



Image 6. Alphonse Mucha, Beer de la Meuse (Bières de la Meuse), 1898.

increase in women's periodicals was complementary to the increase in the number of employed women, of course. According to the published censuses, in the period between the two wars in Serbia, the number of employed women rose to over twenty thousand (22. 391) in 1931, which accounted for 15% of the total number of workers. Women mostly worked in public services and stores, as is the case today [Vučetić 2007: 135]¹⁰.

In the rapid transformation of identity, from housewife to worker and employee, the modern woman closely consulted the mass media representations on the pages of women's publications. Illustrations with Radion, Merima soap and Kalodont toothpaste girls could be immediately imitated according to the

¹⁰ In 1934, 149,457 employed women were registered in Yugoslavia, while that number rose to 188,729 in 1938 [Žena danas 1940: 3]



Image 7. Household and kitchen utensils Filipović, *Žena i svet*, № 14, Belgrade 1938. “Svetozar Marković” University Library, Belgrade

dialectic principle of self-recognition in another, as they were given as fully rounded visual models. Adoption of certain gender roles and stereotypes is well known in psychology and personality development, but this process is even more successful if it is repeated many times and the same pattern is varied through the media. Advertisements for Radion, for example, applied this principle not only throughout former Yugoslavia, but on the territory of all of Europe. The same consumer goods, Radion detergent or Lux soap, the same films, the same hits that were broadcast on the radio, and – why not? – the same printed advertisements and packaging, served as media of communication, as well as channels of expansion of the power that would inevitably lead capitalism and consumer society towards the processes of globalization. On a Polish advertising poster, for example, a black cat would pop out as white from a bucket with Radion, while a commercial jingle specially composed for Radion and broadcast from 1934 to 1938 in Warsaw, stressed that Radion washes without any help, just like in the advertising messages published in Serbia¹¹.

¹¹ http://www.russian-records.com/details.php?image_id=3125&mode=search

Од 10 људи
7 имају зубни каменац
...но сви су угрожени од њега!

Зуби и године више
се не враћају!

Над већ зубни каменац уништи
зубе, онда је прекасно. Оно, што
не може сваки зубни крем да учини,
то чини Саргов Налодонт: он посте-
пено отстрањује опасни зубни ка-
менац и уздржаје зубе чврстим и
здравим. У нашој држави садржи
само Саргов Налодонт сулфо-
рицин-олеат по Др. Бројлиху. И
управо на томе се оснива његово
јединствено деловање.

КАЛОДОНТ
Против зубног каменца

Image 8. Kalodont, *Žena i svet*, № 10, Belgrade 1932.
“Svetozar Marković” University Library, Belgrade

Уверите се у огледалу!



Пажљиво прокотрите унутар у страну доњих зуба!
То је једноставније него што когледати. Чувајте се правообно, а ако сте до-
сада били поштеђени од зубног каменца, тог ружног тамно смеђег талога,
који се у већини случајева учврстои на зубе и обавља своје разорно дело.

Чистите Ваше зубе редовито Сарговим Калодонтом, јер
Саргов Калодонт је у нашој држави једини крем, који
садржи сулфорицинолеат, небројено пута испробано
средство против зубног каменца. Зубни каменац нестаје
после једноставно редовног узотребе Сарговог Кало-
донта. Истовремено се спречава његово поново стварање.

Пажња! Посушите једном нову Калодонт воду на уста. Концентрација је
саставна, нарочито погодна у употреби, дезинфицира и уклања остаци.

САРГОВ
КАЛОДОНТ
ПРОТИВ ЗУБНОГ КАМЕНЦА
ДОМАЋИ ПРОИЗВОД

Image 9. Kalodont, *Žena i svet*, № 4, Belgrade 1936,
“Svetozar Marković” University Library, Belgrade



Image 10. Merima, *Žena i svet*, №11, Belgrade 1928, “Svetozar Marković” University Library, Belgrade



Image 11. “Mother, you must do the washing using Radion!”, *Žena i svet*, № 5, Beograd 1936, “Svetozar Marković” University Library, Belgrade

The advertisement was likened to the services of the best friend in the capitalist world, and Dušan Slavić could, thus, write in 1921: *As lungs are to a human being, so is the advertisement for business*¹². And another early analyst of advertising, made a similar comparison: *As wine is to the body, so is the advertisement for business*¹³. The Radion Girl did not remain lonely in doing so many important and complicated advertising jobs in the press. Help came in the form of the Merima Girl, in 1928. Emphasizing the tradition of the domestic brand, she stood on a pedestal on which it was written Merima, 1839, which was the year of the foundation of the candle-making workshop in Kruševac that grew into the eponymous well-known soap and detergent factory¹⁴. Nevertheless, the largest advertising space in women's periodicals between the two wars in Yugoslavia was captured by the multinational Radion Girl [*Žena i svet* 1925–1941; *Ženski svet* 1923–1941]. Illustrated advertising messages were typical for magazines, while daily newspapers did not have such large advertising space. Illustrated advertisements were pushed to the margins of newspaper pages or published along with other heterogeneous advertising messages. Our analysis is focused on the construction of the image of women in advertisements published in women's illustrated publications, and leaves aside other illustrated and daily newspapers.

The Radion Girl, who was a fixture on the advertising pages of women's periodicals from 1928 to 1941, articulated, before all, a stereotype or image, and indirectly a role model for middle-class women, whose presence was more and more conspicuous in the social and cultural public view. She offered a stylized picture of a modern and modest housewife or mother, who “doesn't lose her head” when it's time to wash loads of laundry. So the Radion Girl, in the role of mother and pedagogue, teaches her little daughter Radojka to use Radion detergent, because while it washes without any help, she can read her Radion stories [*Nedelja* 1931; Vučetić 2007: 152]. For over a decade, from issue to issue, the Radion Girl regularly addressed the readers of the Serbian magazine *Žena i svet* as well as the Slovenian magazine *Ženski svet* (*The Women's World*) with the same advertising slogan: “Radion washes without any help”, or “Schicht's Radion washes everything” („Schichtov Radion pere sve”), which was a translation from the German — „Schicht Radion wäscht alles”! More

¹² “Modern trade has put the print advertisement among its best friends, to whom we must be grateful for our success. The advertisement-friend works for a merchant both in his place of residence and throughout the world. When the merchant rests, the advertisement still works, when the merchant is in bed, the advertisement does not sleep; when the merchant travels, the advertisement is flying on wings. When the merchant leaves his business worries aside and goes to church to pray to God, or to a party for entertainment, his faithful friend the advertisement continues to work even then, so that it could be freely said: *As lungs are to a human being, so is the advertisement for business.*” [Slavić 1921: 110]

¹³ „As wine is to the body, so is the advertisement for business”, Heinrich von Dillman [Roth 2015: 4]

¹⁴ In 1839, a candle making workshop in Kruševac adapted its production to soap making, especially children's soap, and after 1924, under the name Merima-Henkel, it expanded its production to other hygiene products: Odis toothpaste, Merima soap flakes for silk, and the like. Fritz Henkel was the founder of an eponymous factory in Aachen in 1876, which already began to widely advertise itself in 1878. Today, Henkel is one of the leading hygiene product manufacturers.

precisely, *Žena i svet* published the first advertisements for Radion in 1928 and *The Women's World* in 1930 [*Žena i svet* 1928: 15; *Ženski svet* 1930]. During the 1930s, advertising campaign for Radion was intensified, so the Radion Girl regularly appeared on the pages of many illustrated magazines and daily newspapers, such as *Nedelja (Sunday)*, *Politika*, *Vreme (Time)*, etc.

The young and joyful girl, no matter how familiar or well-known she appeared, was not really a local neighborhood girl, but a commercial fantasy. As an illustration, but also as an illusion of social order, she represented a firm visual foundation of the mass media culture and consumer society between the two world wars. In order to successfully perform her role in the world of print media and to participate in the international spectacle of pictures, she first had to remove all traces of her historical, cultural and geographical origin and present herself as a transnational heroine of the pure kingdom of goods. However, the Radion Girl also had to upgrade her role of object, viewed by millions of people, by taking on the role of mother. If she was lonely middle-class young heroine during the 1920s, then, in the 1930s, the Radion Girl quite naturally, had to become a responsible young mother. Her media image of the mother was successfully modulated in advertising messages. In one instance, she is the mother of the cute girl Radojka, while, in another, she is the mother of an even younger child which, as it hugs its mother, addresses the audience with the following words: "Mother, you must do the washing using Radion! I do not want a tired and angry mom, I want a mom who smiles while she is doing the washing!"¹⁵

The history of soap and its cult role in the propagation of imperialism in the 19th century has been studied in detail. However, both soap and its technologically advanced relative – detergent, such as Radion, continued to jointly build the position of merchandise as a fetish in the advertising messages of the 20th century [McClintock 2001: 8–77]. An organized system of pictures, in which the lead role belongs to a young and smiling girl, contributes, on the one hand, to the fetishism of banal objects such as soap and detergent, and, on the other, to the international marketing which will decreasingly recognize the barriers between languages, alphabets, cultures, as the end of the modern age approaches.

THE CRITICAL EYE OF MEN

The World Economic Crisis (1929–1933) led to, among other things, an increase in the number of unemployed, and among those who lost their jobs there was a large percentage of women who were forced to return to their traditional household chores. As a tactic of refocusing people's attention from the fundamental problem of women's unemployment, a survey was launched in the midst of the crisis in 1932 in the magazine *Žena i svet* [*Žena i svet* 1932: 1–2], with the following question: "Does not public work impede the woman in her duties of mother and housewife?" Some newly-created magazines, such as *Ženski svet* (1930–1934) of Jelena Zrnić, ceased publication, and some famous

¹⁵ The illustration shows a young woman with a daughter, who keeps only a spotted scarf, while the printed text of the advertisement also provides instructions for use, because "Schicht's Radion washes everything." [*Žena i svet* 1936].

ones, such as the *Die Deutsche Elite* or *Ženski Pokret* (Women's Movement) (1920–1938), disappeared from the media scene due to loss of readers. The trend of return to traditional values was visible in many fields, and dramatic discussions about gender inequalities were rejected in favor of discussions related to the aesthetics of femininity, because “men are much happier to see that women's clothes are again feminine and that women are enjoying their roles of gentle femininity” [Guenther 2004: 86]¹⁶.



Image 12. The critical eye of men..., *Žena i svet*, № 4, Belgrade 1936.
“Svetozar Marković” University Library, Belgrade

What it looks like when women are enjoying their “gentle femininity” is best shown by the printed advertising for Elida soap, published in color on the whole back cover of the magazine *Žena i svet* in 1936 [*Žena i svet* 1936]. The

¹⁶ That the expectations of men should be fulfilled is also the message of an advertisement in the magazine *Žena i svet*: “Men have a critical eye... However, what man could resist a smiling mouth with beautiful white teeth? Your teeth can be attractive as well, Chlorodont will help you with that.” [*Žena i svet* 1936].



Мислите увек на то, да је сапун тежељ сваке неге коже. Лоши сапун може све покварити. Само овај сапун, којег име јамчи за квалитет, може Вашој кожи дати ону негу, која је потребна да постане лепа.

БИРАЈТЕ ИЗМЕЂУ ОВИХ

ЕЛИДА САПУНА

ЕЛИДА ФАВОРИТ већ деценију уназад љубимац размажених људи.	ЕЛИДА БЕЛИ ЈОРГОВАН сапун снежно-бели у боји — заносан у мирису.
ЕЛИДА 7 ЦВЕТОВА луksусни сапун, којег си свако може приуштити. Особито парфумисан.	ЕЛИДА КРЕМ САПУН позива на негу! Особито благ за осетљиву кожу. Кретоупотребљива моћ Елида крем.

ИМЕ ЕЛИДА ЈАМЧИ ЗА КВАЛИТЕТ

&

Image 13. Elida soap, *Žena i svet*, № 1, Belgrade 1936.
“Svetozar Marković” University Library, Belgrade



Коса којој се увек, наново дивимо!

Ако мушкарци говоре о женама онда мисле у првом реду на чар лепе косе. Ако им се диве, онда мисле најпре: како одлично је негована ова коса!

Ако и Ви негујете своју косу Елида Шампоном биће стално бујна, податна и прекрасног сјаја. Коса се даде лепо и лагано чешљати, а валови дуже држе.

ЕЛИДА ШАМПОН

КАМИЛО ФЛОР
Специјални Шампо за плавокоје, слободан од алкалија, одржи направи, стално сјајни израз и лепе косе тега враћа ако се изгубио. Даје коси ванредан сјај.

БРУНЕТА ФЛОР
Специјални Шампо за тамну косу, слободан од алкалија, даје коси диван сјај, доводи тачно свеђе тонове косе нарочито до изражаја.

Image 14. Elida shampoo, *Žena i svet*, № 4, Belgrade 1936.
“Svetozar Marković” University Library, Belgrade

“gentle blonde,” as the idealized type of woman was referred to in commercials then, was presented in her private space sitting on a quasi-antique armchair, in front of a quasi-antique large oval mirror, holding another mirror directly in front of her face. The mirror, Venus’s famous attribute, multiplied in an advertisement, emphasizes the position of the woman as an object. A double check of her outward appearance, with the aid of two mirrors, is necessary in taking care of her ideal beauty and femininity, because, according to the warning from the advertising text, she should always “keep in mind that the soap is the basis of all skin care. Bad soap can ruin everything.” [*Žena i svet* 1936]

According to Irene Guenther, the famous German cosmetic house Elida, founded in 1925, supported and promoted a conservative orientation towards the return of order and femininity in its advertising campaigns of the 1930s¹⁷. It is in that context that we should understand the advertising message for Elida soap published in the magazine *Žena i svet*. In it, a quasi-antique, i.e., classical, private interior with a woman in the role of Venus was publicly displayed in a commercial message for soap. This visual form, constructed in the mass media for the needs of powerful industry and capital, was an image of a woman successfully functioning not only in a printed advertisement, but also in the family, and finally, in society. The construed elitist ambience of privacy is exposed to public view along with an elegant and *gentle blonde*, as a spectacle for an invisible and unattainable object of desire – the soap. Of course, the soap was omitted in the sophisticated advertising presentation, because it was lacking, it was a fetish that should be found in order to achieve success in society. The soap did not appear in the advertisement, because the function of the advertising image was not to carry information, but to encourage positive emotional states that would then “stick” to unattainable and fetishized goods.

The cosmetics house Elida is remembered in the history of advertising for its intensive and innovative advertising campaigns in Germany and in the print media of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia as well¹⁸. The most important breakthrough in Elida’s advertising strategy came in the domain of visual presentation of merchandise, cosmetics above all, thanks to the introduction of photography

¹⁷ Elida organized a competition in 1928 entitled “The most beautiful portrait of a German woman for the year 1928.” The reward was an incredible 10.000 Reichmarks. The organizers hoped that the team work of cosmetic experts and artists would give a clear picture of the ideal, modern, German woman. Three hundred and sixty-five artists participated, but only twenty-six works were exhibited at the Guzlitt Gallery in Berlin. The competition attracted great attention and many articles were published in newspapers, magazines and specialized magazines. However, when Elida announced the winner, many were disappointed. The winner was a full figured, healthy looking, athletically built blonde. This young girl was shown from the front, wearing a simple summer knee-length dress. The newspapers, nevertheless, praised the return of femininity and the feminine woman [Guenther 2004: 85].

¹⁸ The presence of advertisements of that time in the print media can be, at least partly, gauged on the example of the magazine *Žena i svet* from 1932, where advertisements for Elida cream, Elida shampoo, Elida soap, Odis, toothpaste, saline diet pills, etc. were published on a regular basis. It is needless to say that Elida’s products were also advertised in daily newspapers, but in a considerably smaller space and, almost always, on the edge of the page, just where the reader needed to put his/her finger to turn the page. Products of Elida’s cosmetics under the name of Elida Faberge are still present on the global market. Retrieved from <http://www.inancinguniverse.com/company-histories/Unilever-Company-History.html>



Image 15. Merima shampoo, *Žena i svet*, № 11, Belgrade 1929, Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade

into the advertising field. A photographic image is, in a sense, a perfect medium of representation, because it possesses the possibility of indexed linking of goods and notions. The illustration, or drawing, as a traditional and artistic form of advertising, was rejected in favor of revolutionary new technical images – the photograph and film¹⁹. The illustration was replaced by the photograph among other things, because the rhetoric of the photographic image was more complex and provocative in advertising messages, especially when Hollywood and theater celebrities were in the photo. Thus, in the magazine *Žena i svet*, Betty Compson assumed the role of the Elida Girl whose perfectly tidy and glistening curly hair was set in an oval frame, which was previously reserved only for painted portraits of significant ancestors [*Žena i svet* 1930].

However, the crucial moment in the radical shift from illustration to photo in printed advertisements during the thirties should be recognized in the significantly different media language of photography [Bart 1981: 71–82]. The

¹⁹ During the 1930s, illustrations for *Elida* products were also published [e.g. *Politika* 1931]. Nevertheless, the largest number of advertising messages relied on the rhetoric of the photographic image.

technical or mass production of images, more precisely, the unlimited reproduction of the photographic image, was of fundamental importance for shaping the mass spectacle of merchandise. The further expansion of consumer society, along with the ideology of *par excellence* spectacles of merchandise, would be supported and advanced by all the other mechanical images: first film, then television, the Internet, etc. Minute Movies became a part of the film industry, while German producers of detergents and cosmetics owned film companies of their own²⁰. The Serbian and Yugoslav industry very inventively joined in the production of advertising films, with some of them, such as the commercial for Kusaković's Kalodont of 1930, being directed in the form of silent films²¹. It is more than obvious, but it should be emphasized, that there is no social spectacle without mass media, but also "without the negation of real life," as Debord has noted [Debord 2003].



Image 16. Elida Ideal Cream, *Žena i svet*, № 5, Belgrade 1937.
University Library "Svetozar Marković", Belgrade

²⁰ The film commercial for Esso petrol can be seen as a prototype for television spots, <http://www.archive.org/details/ExtraEss1938>

²¹ http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Rzzbeb2qDQU&feature=player_detailpage I am very grateful to Maja Ćirić who helped me find this amazing advertisement, which heralded the principles of modern film narration in the service of marketing.

If the woman was an object, blended into an elite home interior, as shown in the advertisement for Elida soap in the magazine *Žena i svet* in 1936, then she was there to articulate an ideal or at least a desirable lifestyle as the background of a promoted object that was not even visible. The woman's photo is a substitute for the fetishized object of the soap industry. She ensures the personality and the visibility of the merchandise. Betty Compson as an Elida girl and hair shampoo are in mutual dependence, so the substitute for the ideal woman, but also the Hollywood heroine, is hair shampoo. "If men think about women then they first think about the allure of beautiful hair," goes the message of one of Elida's advertisements. Through a series of free associations – viewer\consumer, woman\man, Hollywood diva\shampoo, etc., relations between ideal beauty and the banal object are impeccably identified, because the process of consumer fetishization of goods works on the principle of compensation.

In some other advertisements for Elida, large close-up photos are used, showing only the face of a smiling girl. But the most radical decision, equal to surrealistic photography, is an advertisement for Elida's Ideal Cream, which aggressively fragments the woman's face diagonally, accentuating only her mouth and eyes. Of course, such a bold visual concept also answers the direct question: "Is my physical appearance such as not to reveal my age?" [*Žena i svet* 1937]. Fragmentation in presenting the world, as it is known, belongs to the repertoire of avant-garde artistic strategies. A fragmented and deconstructed body may be a vessel for aggressive impulses of objectivization and eroticism of the female body. Additionally, instead of face-to-face contact, there is an opportunity for the viewer/voyeur to transform into a lover on the basis of the fragmented photographic presentation in the advertisement²².

For the viewer/consumer, multimedia messages are always carefully combined: in Elida's advertisement, word and photograph are combined in order to present a "scenario of happiness and satisfaction", amidst a lack of real enjoyment in immaterial values, such as, for example, love, attention and beauty, which truly mean something to people, according to research on consumer culture [Leonard 1998: 14–16]. According to some research, the printed forms of happy, even famous girls representing merchandise in the visual form of either illustration or photograph and film, are functionally connected with the ideology of capitalism, because "the woman is an allegory for the capitalist way of production – she articulates the processes of consumer culture and the fetishism of goods" [Wicke 1988: 9].

MODERN ADVERTISEMENT

On a formal level, the visual message in print advertisements published in women's magazines from 1900 to 1940 is much better designed than all the other pages. Intertextuality between word and photo sometimes functions in the manner required by revolutionary avant-garde arts programs: Dadaism,

²² When comparing a photograph for Elida's Ideal Cream from 1937 and photographs for the Belgian mineral water Spa Reine from 1988, there is a striking similarity in the position of the female body, but the fragmentation process was a bit more radical in Elida's campaign [Tilleuil 2002].



Image 17. Jo Klek, Advertisement, *Zenit*, № 34, Belgrade 1924.
National Library of Serbia, Belgrade

constructivism and surrealism, for example. The dynamic dialogue of the visual and the textual in advertising messages builds polygraphy – a combination of photography and typography, as it was called by representatives of the Russian avant-garde. In this context, it is also necessary to read the text entitled “Modern Advertisement” which, based on Jo Klek’s *Advertisement*, constructs and visualizes the language of advertisements in the magazine *Zenit* in 1924. The picture and text identify the two key phases in modern advertising practice: a) it is first necessary to name the goods, which can be done by the text, and, b) it is then necessary to show the goods, which can be done using photo mechanics.” [*Moderna reklama* 1924].

The essence of all advertising constructions or campaigns lies in adherence to this simple procedure laid out by *Zenit*’s associates, as it directly leads to comprehensive modern branding.

The advertising messages for Elida, in which intertextuality and fragmentation were established as the basic principle of multimedia rhetoric, laid the foundation for all collage-montage procedures that would later be used by film and television. “It should be known that modern man (especially the metropolitan one) is overwhelmed with billboards and posters. Therefore, it is highly suitable for goods to be shown, rather than just named. A photographic presentation of the object is necessary, or its effect, or both, should fill the surface of the poster or advertisement... For this purpose, photomechanical reproduction takes precedence over any less or more skillfully drawn or painted reproduction. The exact trumps the foggy, the real trumps imitation,” was the far-sighted recommendation of the author of *Modern Advertisement*, signed under the initials D.V.S. in *Zenit* magazine.

An examination of printed advertising messages from the first half of the 20th century can be quite valuable for the purpose of reading current posters

and billboards, as well as understanding long-term and multinational advertising strategies. The boundaries between print advertising and other content in newspapers and magazines were clearly visible in the first half of the last century, but they increasingly faded towards its end, so that, by the beginning of this century, it became difficult even for experts to clearly distinguish between media and the commercial message, or advertising, as it is called in globalism.



Image 18. Evening shoes, *Žena i svet*, № 12, Belgrade 1926.
Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade

Multimedia and multiplied commercial messages, which are aggressively repeated from issue to issue and from magazine to magazine, together with the “global market, build a unique system of meanings, prestige and identity by associating only some products with desirable lifestyles, symbolic values and pleasures.” According to Harms and Kellner, “advertisements do not carry just information, but socially mediated symbolic meanings.” [Harms & Kellner 2009].

Print advertisements for Radion and Elida only gave the first contours of hyper-commercialism, which should not be understood only as a part of the economy or a statistical category, but as an integral part of culture – of course, consumer culture. Mass media, which also means the print media of the first half of the 20th century, do not only sell detergents and cosmetics but offer ideas and ready-made behavioral patterns. It is known that the reading and understanding of text and photos is especially successful when it is founded on easily recognizable cultural models of gender identity representation. In other words, “the dialectic of recognizing oneself in the other is connected with the relation of interaction between principally equal antagonists.” [Habermas 1986: 47]. Turning the pages of Japanese magazines, for example, would not lead the Serbian reader to dialectically identify himself\herself with the other, but the process of recognizing himself\herself in the other goes on smoothly within the same cultural code.



Image 19. Elida shampoo, *Žena i svet*, № 2, Belgrade 1930,
Museum of Applied Arts, Belgrade

As a result of the extensive study of models of stereotype building in modern mass media culture, the study of long-term and continuous media propaganda of one and the same gender stereotype has been partly neglected. Without the ambition of opening this important question, it should be said that any analysis of the visual aspect of print advertisements in the first half of the 20th century

must not overlook the decisive role of the visualization of the corset, as well as all the other attributes of ideal beauty. It has already been said that illustrations of the corset or girdle were already imposed as a point of visual focus in the advertisements of the old Serbian press, i.e., at the end of the 19th century, and that Elida's advertising photographs of the 1930s continued to build this eroticized image of the woman. A crucial role in shaping and imposing stereotypes of the idealized woman-object, more precisely, the young, beautiful and conspicuously slender female figure, was played by illustrations and photographs that were massively reproduced in the illustrated women's periodicals, which disseminated the media-constructed model of femininity.

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EXPRESSIONISM AND SERBIAN INDUSTRIAL ARCHITECTURE

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SUMMARY: As the original movement in European Avant-garde architecture, Expressionism expanded in the Serbian inter-war construction industry, with echoes even after 1945. Unlike its representation in profane, sacral, and memorial structures, its manifestations in industrial architecture have not been thoroughly considered in their historical sense, even though it provoked innovative compositional solutions. Here we will analyze the expressionistic elements in industrial structures of leading Serbian architects of the post-war period and the period between two wars.*

KEY WORDS: expressionism, industrial architecture, artistic freedom, Serbia.

As the original movement in European Avant-garde architecture, Expressionism expanded in the Serbian inter-war construction industry, with echoes even after 1945 [Kadijević 1990; Brkić 1992; Miletić Abramović 2007; Kadijević 2012]. Unlike its representation in profane, sacral, and memorial structures, its manifestations in industrial architecture have not been thoroughly considered in their historical sense, even though it provoked innovative compositional solutions. Here we will analyze the expressionistic elements in industrial structures of leading Serbian architects of the post-war period and the period between two wars.

Dilemmas about what is primary in the industrial structures: architecture – construction or the aesthetic element of the project task, technology or form, usefulness or aesthetics, impersonal functionality or expressive symbolism, visual inconspicuousness or urban intrusiveness – marked the work of the generation of that specific discipline's protagonists. Experience shows that, during the drafting of conceptual design, authors of industrial facilities were

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conspicuously leaning towards one of the abovementioned principles – civil engineers towards function and technology and architects towards imagination and originality [Frankstel 1964; Kadijević 2002]. But even if it has been more present, the artistic component has been significantly abated to appease the strictly utilitarian, impersonal layers of constructed entities. That impression was corroborated by the past research of the historical industrial facilities design, whose initial aesthetics got substantially diluted in the finishing modifications. That is the reason why only a small number of accomplished capacities received representative architectural finishing treatment, since the investors lacked appreciation for the financially demanding aesthetics of these projects.

The history of new Serbian architecture shows that in, a qualitative sense, the constructional types have been developing unequally, in accordance with their unequal status in the system of academic studies [Manević 1972: 7–38; Kadijević 2011]. As opposed to churches and other representative types of public and private buildings, industrial architecture has received the least regard. In the higher education curriculum and the civil engineering legislative system, for too long (1901 to 1945) it has been tied to so-called commercial structures – and it has been treated as a separate entity after the Second World War. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, up until 1932, the subjects “Agricultural Building Design” and, later, “Commercial Building Design” were thought by the versatile Nikola Nestorović, who was superseded by Branislav Kojić. The subject “Commercial and Industrial Buildings” was added to the curriculum after 1941 [Roter Blagojević 1997].

During the entire twentieth century, the suppression of the author’s personal component has substantially deterred Serbian designers from specializing in the architecture of industrial structures, where the knowledge of technological processes has been more important than resolving artistic issues. The spatial positioning of industrial structures, with a few exceptions, has not been thoroughly considered with regards to the esthetic and the urban aspect. Although the fundamental civilizational and economic importance of comprehensive industrialization has been publicly emphasized, production capacities have not received equal attention in the urban spatial hierarchy. There were no awards for contribution, no publicity and no substantial financial benefit in that demanding area. These constructions have not been depicted on postcards, daily or periodic illustrated press and, even when that was the case, instead of the designers’ names, only official terms and the names of the owners were mentioned. With the exception of the National Printing Office (1933) and the National Postage Stamp factory (1936), there were no larger public tenders for industrial structures. Pushed to distant suburban areas or built on the brinks of city centers, they never caught the eye of most architects. The notion that there is no room for style studies, spiritual expression, placement of conventionally recognizable symbols of power or decoration which would occupy the artist with details in these projects was predominant.

The non-artistic character of most of the functional facilities was influenced by the pragmatic customers, giving architectural importance only to the administrative buildings and offices in the city, while factories were mostly

built by civil engineers and anonymous foreign architects-specialists. Mills, steel-works, brickyards, cement and glass factories, lumber mills, silk, gravel, salt factories, rolling mills, breweries, printing presses, sugar factories, foundries, bakeries, dairy plants, slaughterhouses, repair shops, warehouses, hangars, harbors, gas stations, refineries, mining shafts, thermo-electric and hydro-electric plants, pumping stations and water towers, special technologies factories, storehouses, factory circle gates and guard facilities were not considered valuable, not even when they were made by respectable architects. Although some of the examples possess plastic, spatial and decorative qualities, shown in the effective grouping of the masses, suitable internal organization or refined stylistic details, they have not reached the level of typical recognition reserved for other types of public buildings. Unlike most factory facilities, structures of technical culture (main telephone exchange, train stations, underground and above ground parking lots, observatories, laboratories, research institutes, telecommunication centers, etc.), were built on more important city locations and gained a more representative architectural treatment, making them more noticeable.

The recorded authorized structures of industrial architecture, mostly located in the capital [Kulenović 2010], in Vojvodina and a few industrial centers in central Serbia, show the interest their authors had in the three aesthetic constants, methodologically differentiated when it comes to the question of planning production facilities. Most industrial facilities have been built on the principles of utilitarian *objectivism*, with modestly decorated interiors and simple paneling in the style of Romanticism, Secession and Academism (application of shallow recesses and simplified dividing cornices, triangular gables, shallow bay windows, double pitch roofs, etc.), as well as functionalistic minimalism (characteristic for elementary cubic constructions, no decorations, light-dark contrasts and significant urban signature), while the smaller, and for the domestic culture more important part, has been done more originally, with the marks of Rationalism and moderated Expressionism. However, unlike in Germany, the radical non-contextual paroxysm (more present in some other types of buildings in Serbia) was not applied but the expansive structures were used to primarily enrich the ambience of city outskirts.

Unlike the Functionalists, for whom the purpose of the building and the current entrepreneurial interest represented the primary goal, the Rationalists observed utilitarianism in a more elastic way, adapting industrial structures to various and longer-lasting uses, leaving room for the initiatives of future generations. The Rationalist is always looking for the middle value, instead of blindly succumbing to one particular case, stating a creational self-consciousness with balanced formal-structural solutions, instead of *l'art pour l'art* plastic and visual displays. On the other side, the Functionalist always remains in the narrow frame of the stated mission, the sphere of pure adaptation and objectivism, where the lack of authorial individuality is prominent. On the third side, in the circles of architectonic fantasists, hyper-individualists and expressionists, there were diametrical criteria used, to confirm the primacy of unconfined imagination in the creation of the spiritual, naturalistic and emotional component of architectural creation. The various emotions, spiritual unrest and cultural ideologies

of inspired individuals have gained their extreme architectonic expression, representing the moving force in adapting broader ambience to the initial vision (buildings understood as symbolical “crowns, monuments and lighthouses” of cities, regions and countries). One expressionist wing turned to the dynamism architecture led by Erich Mendelsohn, and insisted on the abstract geometrical form for expressing strong feelings and involved messages, while the other was inspired by nature and primordial urges [Mako 2009: 3–28]. Both wings were connected by the theoretically precise determination of the material-spiritual and symbolic properties of the applied plastic means.

All three differentiating constants had their creational exponents and characteristic examples in Serbia, which should be more thoroughly researched in the future. Current interpretations show that the highest achievements were made in the architecture of authorial rationalism (Jan Dubovi, Branislav Kojić, Ivan Antić, Milorad Macura, Svetislav Ličina) and expressional dynamism (Josif Najman, Momir Korunović, Danilo Kačanski, Filip Šmit, Aleksandar Đokić), with the entrepreneurial spirit of Dragiša Brašovan operated in between the two concepts. The impersonality of Functionalism, characteristic for its stereotypical solutions and the cult of the straight line, was the most efficiently opposed by the supporters of Expressionism, since Rationalism remained undeveloped.

Architectural Expressionism was based on the expression of artistic intuition and internal expression [Sharp 1966; Pehnt 1973; Juras 1997: 31–45; Alfirević 2012]. The passionate revolt of its bearers, marked by an extreme personal vision, was pointed at the change of the set order of urbanism and architecture, unlike Functionalism, which placed the outside influences, social needs and analytical sensibility of the scientific and technical era above the individual vision. Expressionism leaned towards utopia and a performance of whirlwind emotions, while Functionalism sought unification and serial standardization of purified structures.

Realized and imagined objects were visually represented in two different ways by the Expressionists: with perspective and without perspective, which influenced their shaping in Serbia as well. The space with perspective, often to be found in their works, implied a static experience of a building, derived from a privileged frontal position, adjusted to the orthogonal matrix of thought-out configurations. With the orthogonal concept, the position of the spectator in the axis or in the point of axis opening, provided for an easier orientation in the hierarchically organized space, intensifying the impression of an arranged optical sensation. On the other hand, the revolutionarily imagined space without perspective implied a deviation from the static impression of a building in order for it to be dynamically perceived by a constant change in the spectator's position. In the space-visual organization of such structures, the harmony between the parts and the whole was often lost, as evidenced by the most expansive of the known examples. Sometimes both concepts are combined [Borsi 1984] while taking care that the expressive emphasis does not threaten the compactness of the indented structures.

Interwar Expressionism, without any deeper theoretical preparation, primarily manifested itself in Serbia through external compositional emphasis, and rarely through the whole spatial structure and interiors. The ideas of Expressionism came to Serbian architecture indirectly, by way of emulating examples from international expert magazines, as opposed to analyzing the signpost Central European examples *in situ*. Also, Serbian architects had no personal nor collaborative contact with the expert leaders of the Central European Expressionism, nor was it mentioned in schools or current architecture critiques, boiling down to an idiom to be adjusted to local conditions. However, the value of certain works inspired by Expressionism, as well as the parallel time of appearance alongside the colorful Expressionism of Serbian art and common aspirations in avant-garde literature and music, shows that the style of the movement was significantly present on the Serbian interwar cultural scene. Expressionism was occasionally revived in the production of the authors of the Belgrade school of modern architecture (1952–1980), as well as in the ensuing Neo-Modernism and globalist Monumentalism, deprived of the initial critical potential [Brkić 1992; Miletić Abramović 2007].

Neo-Romanticism and Neo-Gothicism associations found in the shapes of gables, bay windows, openings and towers, close to the romanticism branch of Expressionism, are noticeable on industrial structures throughout Vojvodina, Belgrade and central Serbia. Although this segment shows certain significance, it is more likely that the expressive details were built into stylistically various structures, rather than buildings that were more expressionistically shaped. It is important that Serbian industrial architecture never combined straight and slanted (or round) roofs, in order to emphasize the height differences and plastic dynamism of the used volumes (as was the case in Germany), since investors never showed any interest in that.

Expressionism initially appeared on the structures of technical culture, and then on some industrial facilities. The indented massive block of the Ministry of Post and Telegraph (1926–1930; *Image 1*) by architect Momir Korunović, represents the most impressive accomplishment of the national-romanticism branch of Serbian Expressionism. The shape and the tripartite façade link it to the conventional academic principles of composition, while by any other attributes it represents an unusual and original structure. Full of internal strength pouring out of the massive bulging volumes, as well as the expressive contrast of the horizontal and vertical emphasis, bright and shadowy surfaces, it will leave no observer indifferent [Kadijević 1996: 56–57; Pantelić 1997: 32–33; Živanović 2001].

On his next anthological accomplishment, Post Office 2 in Belgrade (1927–1929), Korunović emphasized the contrasts of the indented façade zones more prominently, while the brimming spatial energy of the extended arches increased the expressive effect (*Image 2*). Details of second phase plastic and lively heraldic decoration have revived the silhouette of a once striking building (damaged in bombardments of 1941–1944, after the war reconstructed in an unidentifiable fashion) [Kadijević 1996: 63–65; Pantelić 1997: 32–33; Milašinović Marić 2002: 54].



Image 1. Ministry of Post and Telegraph, Belgrade



Image 2. Post Office 2, Belgrade

An important establishing example of a moderate modernist Expressionism is the National Bank of Serbia's Institute for Manufacturing Banknotes and Coins (1927–1929; *Image 3*), the work of Josif Najman, tied in with the lowland landscape of Belgrade's Topčider, the parks of which the author was also in charge of.

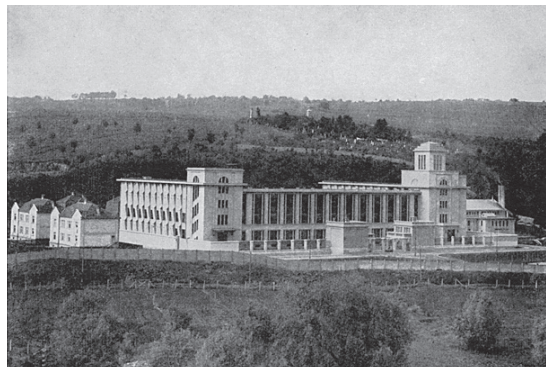


Image 3. National Bank of Serbia's Institute for Manufacturing Banknotes and Coins, Belgrade

The Expressionism shapes are also those of the wavy, ribbed structure of the lateral façade, windows that are placed at a slanting angle in the opposite corner, as well as the non-conventional solution of the printing department, characterized by a ribbed ceiling divided into sections with plastic (*Image 4*). Slanting lines of the frame overhangs and window rows of the towers, set in opposite directions (North–South) on the sides of the building emphasize asym-

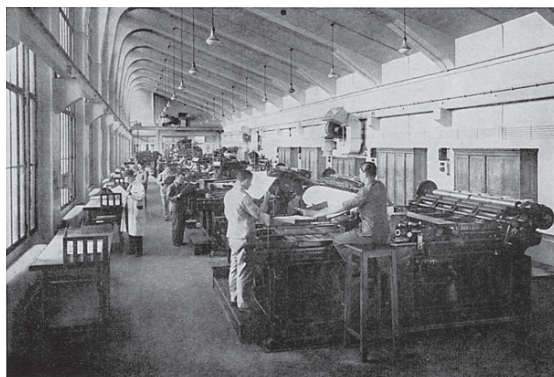


Image 4. Printing Department of same building

metry and the relationship of light and dark. With his inspired contribution of industrial architecture, planted in a green suburban landscape, where the approaches with and without perspective intertwine, Najman has connected imagination and reality with invisible bonds [Kadijević 1990: 96–97; Đurić Zamolo 1992: 230–231; Kulenović 2010: 97–98].

At the beginning of the 1930s, while arranging the foundations of Belgrade public buildings, traditional two-wing solutions were more and more commonly exchanged for free composed plans. This is the case in the expressionistically composed ground-plan that won the project competition for Post Office 1 (1930) by Hans Poelzig's student Josip Pičman and his associate Andrija Baranji from Berlin [Drljević 2009; Mihajlov, Mišić 2009] (*Image 5*). The strong expressive curvature of the side and frontal block was tamed by the massive paneling by the architect Vasily Androsov, upon a bureaucratic decision from higher up (*Image 6*). Thermo-electric power plant “Strength and light” (1930–1932), built on the banks of the Danube in Belgrade based on the project of Swiss architects, possesses elements of Art deco and modern rationalism (*Image 7*) as well as the silhouette symbolism of asymmetric blocks with a tower, characteristic of moderate Expressionism [Knežević 2011] (*Image 8*).

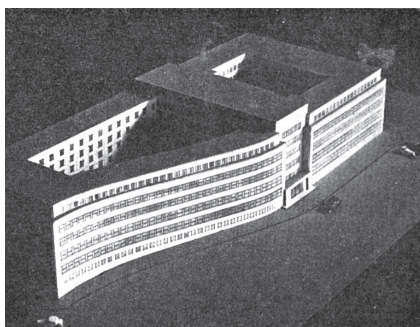


Image 5. Post Office 1, Belgrade (project by J. Pičman and A. Baranji)

Plastic expansiveness of volumes arranged without perspective can be seen on Najman's factory "Teleoptik" in Zemun (1938–1939) [Kulenović 2010: 130], which was reduced to parts of the interior in the National postage stamp factory (1940) by the same architect [Bogunović 2005: 1004].



Image 6. Completed Post Office 1 (by V. Androsov)

Expressionism appeared in some industrial facilities built outside of Belgrade, such as the "Albus" factory (*Image 9*) by Danilo Kačanski on the outskirts of Novi Sad, and Šmit's Beočin cement factory [Mitrović 2003; Mitrović 2010], while it can be found in traces at the frontal openings of the administrative building of the textile factory in Vučje, by Grigorije Samojlov [Kadijević, Marković 1996: 89–92, 101; Prosen 2005: 102].



Image 7. Thermo-electric Power Plant "Strength and Light", Belgrade



Image 8. Front façade of Thermo-electric Power Plant "Strength and Light"

The National Printing Office in Belgrade (1933–1940), (*Image 10*) the work of Dragiša Brašovan, is the pinnacle of Serbian pre-war Modernism, containing the echoes of Expressionism, found in the dynamism of the finished parts of the prominent corners, although it is the author's rationalism that prevails in the lower zones and the interior [Brkić 1992: 99–100; Milašinović



Image 9. “Albus” Factory, Novi Sad



Image 10. National Printing Office, Belgrade

Marić 2002: 106; Blagojević 2003: 182–183]. The composition of the transformer station “Filmski grad” (1979), (*Image 11*) by Aleksandar Đokić, [Bogunović 2005: 780] exploits the expressive characteristics of the circle, cylinder and arch, melting them into one unrestrained indented whole. Built on a high position in the southwest rim of the capital, it became an effective visual clue [Manević 1995: 44, 88–91]. As a romanticist in nature, fighting against the “straight line” canon all his life, Đokić skillfully combines cylindrical segments and arcs, combining the traditions of Futurism and Expressionism [Brkić 1992: 320–321; Milašinović Marić 2002: 132]. The floating structure with expressively emphasized supporters was received positively. The critics have pointed out the “virtuous gothic paraphrase,” close to the romantic branch of Expressionism [S1] [Jevtić 2004: 119], (*Image 12*).



Image 11. Power Transformer Station “Filmski grad”, Belgrade



Image 12. Power Transformer Station “Filmski grad” (opposite façade)

An example of moderate structural Expressionism is the base of the slim three-sided stem of the telecommunication tower on Avala (1960–1966), the work of architects Uglješa Bogunović and Slobodan Janjić. By using the three-sided prism (or a symbolical tripod), the authors have removed the usual cylindrical

monomorphism from the long dart-shaped mass of the tower [Brkić 1992: 198–199; Milašinović Marić 2002: 134]. However, the Expressionism of the structure was significantly alleviated with the constructivist shape of the six-sided gondola near the top.

The overview of the influences of European Expressionism on Serbian industrial architecture shows the variety of methods by which this repertoire was used in a multifunctional way. Here was a disposition towards the innovative stylistics and seductive symbolism of the movement on the part of both the less and the more known Serbian architects, whose works in the domain of industrial architecture have not been studied enough. That is why creating the records of the remaining examples of this tendency is becoming an important topic for historiography.

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HUMAN NATURE AND *STASIS*: ON THE INFLUENCE OF THUCYDIDES ON HOBBS' SCIENCE OF POLITICS

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SUMMARY: The article assesses the influence of Thucydides on Hobbes' conception of man and, more generally, on his model of "Civil Science". That influence is traced back to the time when Hobbes worked on his translation of Thucydides' history of the Peloponnesian War. At that time already, Hobbes described Thucydides as "the most politic historiographer that ever writ". The main thesis of the article is that Hobbes' admiration for Thucydides can be best explained by his ability to describe political conflict. This thesis is supported by a comparative analysis of some important themes in Thucydides' historical narrative and a number of major theoretical statements of Hobbes' anthropology and political theory. There is a remarkable similarity between Hobbes' account of the three principal causes of conflict between individuals in the state of nature – competition, diffidence and glory – and the three main instincts of man to which the Athenians appeal to justify their striving for power in a speech that Thucydides relates. However, Thucydides exerted the most powerful influence on Hobbes by his descriptions of internal war. The final part of the article examines two topics from Thucydides' famous description of the *stasis* which took place in Corcyra – the impossibility of justice and the perversion of language in time of sedition.*

KEY WORDS: history, justice, nature, polis, politics, science, *stasis*, war.

As Reinhart Koselleck wrote, "Hobbes' doctrine of the State grew out of the historical situation of civil war" [Koselleck 1988: 23]. It is therefore not surprising that one historian exerted decisive influence on Hobbes. As is well known, that historian was Thucydides, the author to whom we owe the most

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impressive descriptions of civil wars in ancient Greece. Some interpreters of Thucydides went so far as to consider his life's work – *The Peloponnesian War* – as an unfinished history of one long civil war that inflamed Greece in Pericles' time. Thucydides' influence on Hobbes was deeper and wider still. It shaped the main features of Hobbes' conception of human nature, as well as some central arguments of his political theory.

THUCYDIDES' EXCELLENCE

Hobbes was deeply critical of the intellectual authorities of classical antiquity. He described the reception of Aristotle's, Cicero's and Seneca's works which took place in independent universities of his time as one of the sources of the greatest evils in political life – of rebellion and civil war. Hobbes censures ancient Greek philosophers, especially Aristotle, not only for their teachings on man and state, but also for their metaphysics, as well as for their misconceptions of knowledge, which they handed down to posterity. However, Hobbes' polemic against ancient Greek authors reaches its climax when it comes to their political ideas, above all to their concept of civil liberty and to its modern interpretations [Hobbes 1968: 261–268, 682–703; EW VI: 216–218, 233]. In Hobbes' view, the common trait of these political conceptions lies in the fact that they subvert the only sound principle of political science – the one of absolute sovereign power, which all citizens must obey as the sole provider of their safety and protection. Hobbes thought that the dissemination of ancient Greek ideals in the culture of Christian Europe contributed to the decay of what he saw as the most important virtue of the citizen, his obedience to public authority.

For Hobbes, Thucydides was an exception among Greek authors. The first work that Hobbes published under his name was a translation of Thucydides' *The Peloponnesian War*. This was, at the same time, its first translation from the Greek (in Emilio Porta's edition) into English. In fact, the only earlier translation of Thucydides into English had been done from a translation into French by Claude de Seyssell. However, even that was not taken from the original Greek but from a Latin translation made by Lorenzo Valla. Furthermore, according to Hobbes, Valla had used a less perfect version than the one he had at his disposal. Hobbes invested much effort in translating the book. Among other things, he enriched his translation with maps, one of which was drawn by himself, taking into consideration several ancient sources [EW VIII: ix–x; Schlatter 1945: 350–352].

Hobbes held Thucydides in extremely high regard. In the two texts he published alongside his translation – “A preface to the readers” and a short essay entitled “On Thucydides' life and history” – he described Thucydides' merits as a historian in superlatives. According to Hobbes, Thucydides is an author “in whom /.../ the faculty of writing history is at its highest” [EW VIII: vii]. The reason of Thucydides' excellence is that he fulfills the true task of a historian, which consists in reporting the course of events and not in speculating on them or in moralizing: the nature of history is, according to Hobbes, “purely

narrative". Following this principle of writing history, Thucydides does not insert his own personal thoughts into his report of the Peloponnesian War, nor does he lecture on politics or morality, but limits himself to narrating the sequence of events. As Hobbes admits, the only exception to this are the speeches of historical actors, which Thucydides had partially to reconstruct taking into account the circumstances in which they were delivered [cf. PW I: 38–39]. This method, according to Plutarch's expression, makes Thucydides' reader a spectator who looks upon historical events with his own eyes, which is the reason why Thucydides deserves the title of "the most politic historiographer that ever writ" [EW VIII: viii; cf. Plutarch 1962: 500–503].

How should we understand this conclusion? There is no doubt that Hobbes read many of his own political preferences into the life and work of Thucydides. When he says that it is manifest that Thucydides, of all forms of government, least liked democracy [EW VIII: xvi], and that he himself had learned from him how incompetent democracy is [Hobbes 1839: I, lxxxviii], his judgment is in accordance with the antidemocratic reputation of Thucydides widely shared by posterity. One could even say that Hobbes is more prudent than those who ascribe to Thucydides oligarchic sympathies [EW VIII: xvi; cf. Pope 1988: 276]. And yet, his thesis that Thucydides most valued the third, "regal" form of government could hardly be sustained. The only argument supporting this view is Thucydides' obvious reverence for Pericles, whose rule is described in *The Peloponnesian War* as democratic in name, but monarchical ("rule of the first man", as Thucydides says) in reality [EW VIII: xvii; PW I: 376–377]. This is why Hobbes tries to corroborate his views on Thucydides' political affinities by emphasizing his Thracian regal descent and by reminding of the gold mines that were the source of his family's fortune. Hobbes describes the exile in which the former Athenian general wrote his magnum opus as an aristocratic retreat to privacy, which was only temporarily interrupted due to an unavoidable service to the state, which ended in disaster. He also reports that Thucydides purposely "forbore to come into assemblies" and avoided the multitude, which is always in love with itself and eager to hear flattery [EW VIII: xvi–xviii].

However, the eminently "political" character which Hobbes assigns to Thucydides' history is obviously not based on political bias. For example, Hobbes defends Thucydides' objectivity from the criticism of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who believed that the author of *The Peloponnesian War* as a historian had had a duty, in which he failed, to place himself on the side of his city and to remove from his work all elements that could cause damage to the honour of his city [EW VIII: xxv–xxvi]. One can assume that what Hobbes considers as the eminently political character of Thucydides' history comes from its essential contribution to political science: for Hobbes, "the most politic historiographer" means: "the one who best understood politics".

Hobbes' characterization of Thucydides could be partly explained by the ambiguity which is constitutive for the classical concept of politics. When writing his preface to *The Peloponnesian War*, Hobbes took the word "politics" in its Aristotelian sense, which refers not only to the practice of politics, but

also to the science thereof.¹ Not more than a decade later, Hobbes himself would take the most important step towards resolving this ambiguity, by laying the foundations of a new science of politics, called “civil science”. Hobbes would conceive this science as an exact discipline, capable of overcoming the deficiencies of the old politics: for Aristotle, politics was a subdivision of the “philosophy of human nature”, which, due to the nature of its subject matter, is not capable of scientific demonstration [Aristotle 2009: 106, 203]. On the contrary, in his first systematic works, Hobbes considers this new, true political science as the only possible guide for political action [EW I: 8–10].

At the time when his texts on Thucydides are being written, Hobbes doesn’t have this new concept of political science at his disposal yet. However, he already explains the superiority of the Greek historian in terms of his ability to teach his readers about what matters most in politics, for which history provides much empirical evidence. However delightful it might be, the observation of the flow of historical events is not an end in itself. The purpose of history is to “to instruct and enable men, by the knowledge of actions past, to bear themselves prudently in the present and providently towards the future” [EW VIII: vii].² That knowledge involves the understanding of the motives of political actors, which Thucydides scarcely mentions: as Hobbes says, he does not speculate about hidden intentions or unspoken thoughts of historical characters. However, Thucydides’ distinction as a historian lies in the fact that his presentation of the sequence of historical events puts the reader in the position of a witness who “may from the narrations draw out lessons to himself, and of himself be able to trace the drifts and counsels of the actors to their seat”, which is located in their heart [EW VIII: viii].

There is another explanation of Hobbes’ view on Thucydides as “the most political historiographer”, which does not contradict the previous one. It concerns Thucydides’ ability to present conflict, which is an essential feature of politics. To be sure, Hobbes assigned to his new political science, with its central doctrine of the sovereign power, the task of eliminating conflicts from social life, its pacification or “neutralization” [Schmitt 1982: 61–78]. But this precisely means that conflict was axiomatic for him, especially in the form of internal political discord or civil war. In this respect, it can be stated that the principal stimuli for the development of Hobbes’ program came directly from Thucydides’ history. This is true, above all, of Thucydides’ depiction of the worst possible form of political conflict, civil strife or sedition (*stasis*), but also of some other themes in his work.

¹ In spite of the demise of the Aristotelian concept of politics at the beginning of the modern age, the ambiguity of the word “politics” subsisted until the 19th century. This is evidenced by the survival of the university discipline of the same name, which was later to be changed, for the purpose of scientific objectivity, to “political science” [Ritter 1969: 106–107].

² Neither does this view contradict Aristotle, in principle at least. In the preface to the translation of *The Peloponnesian War* the absence of Hobbes’ later harsh criticism of the Greek philosopher is noticeable. Nevertheless, notwithstanding all his admiration for Thucydides, Hobbes is content to grant him the place of honour among historians only – the one which he gives to Homer among poets, to Aristotle among philosophers and to Demosthenes among rhetoricians [EW VIII: vii].

THE DIALECTICS OF DIFFIDENCE AND THE HAPPINESS OF MAN

Thucydides' influence on Hobbes was considerably greater than could be assumed from the number of times he mentions the historian's name. In order to appraise it, it is necessary to engage in the interpretation of the writings of the two authors.

The most conspicuous confirmation of Thucydides' influence on Hobbes can be found in the 13th Chapter of *Leviathan*. It is dedicated to the description of the state of nature, which, in theory, precedes the emergence of the commonwealth. The main characteristic of the state of nature is universal conflict among men, or "the war of all against all": it is worth noting that civil war is one of the examples which Hobbes cites to bring his notion of the state of nature closer to the mind of his readers. In this state, everybody is perfectly free. However, their freedom is not of much value, since it constantly conflicts with the freedom of others. And as all men are more or less equal as to their mental and physical capacities, no one is capable of protecting themselves from others in a durable and efficient manner [Hobbes 1968: 183–184]. This is to say that the state of nature is as unbearable as civil war. In order to escape it, men must forsake their freedom and submit to a sovereign power.

However, what are the causes of this general conflict or quarrel between people? According to Hobbes, these are the three basic drives which are rooted in human nature itself: competition, diffidence and glory. Each of them has an aim towards which it is directed: gain, safety and reputation [Hobbes 1968: 184–185]. Thus, people enter into conflict with each other either because 1) they desire the same thing, which they cannot share with others, or 2) they fear – rightfully or not – that their neighbors will do harm to them, which they try to prevent, or 3) they want to distinguish themselves from others, because they value themselves more.

Hobbes' inventory of the principal causes of quarrel between people reproduces, point for point, a theme from a speech which the Athenian embassy at Sparta delivered in answer to the accusations made by the Corinthians, Lacedaemonian allies, shortly before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War. The Corinthians claimed that Athens had, with its military operations in Potidaea, offended the interests of the Peloponnesian alliance and thereby broken the peace treaty on the delimitation of the spheres of influence of 445 B.C. [PW I: 108–109, cf. 42–43]. The answer of the Athenians is modulated in two similar utterances, which amount to a single statement: accused of having endeavoured to increase the power of their polis to excess, the Athenians say that they had simply acted under the compulsion of the strongest human instincts, which are natural, eternal and common to all mankind, and to which therefore nothing can be objected: they were "influenced chiefly by fear, then by honour also, and lastly by self-interest as well". Manifestly, "fear" (*deos*) corresponds to Hobbes' "diffidence", "honour" (*timê*) to his "glory", and "self-interest" (*ôphelia*) to his "competition" [PW I: 126–129].³

³ Hobbes translates the three terms respectively as „fear“, „honour“ and „profit“ [EW VIII: 81]. The similarity between the texts of Thucydides and Hobbes has often been pointed to [cf. Scott 2000: 122, 134, with references to literature].

Even if there could be any doubts about the strict conceptual correspondence between Hobbes' and Thucydides' terms, for which there is no reason, one thing is certain: the structure of the argument of the Athenian embassy exhibits the same dialectics of diffidence which is at work in Hobbes' description of the "state of nature", "war of all against all", or civil war. In fact, as they say themselves, the Athenians became concerned for their safety – which led them to persist in their striving for power – when they had become aware that the Lacedaemonians had become suspicious and hostile toward them [PW I: 129]. In like manner, the Corinthians censure their Lacedaemonian allies for their inertness, inciting them to adopt, for the future at least, a strategy of "preventive war" against Athens: it would have been prudent for Sparta to destroy the power of her enemies at its inception, and not now, when it has doubled itself [PW I: 112–113]. This confirms the principal thesis of Thucydides' work that Sparta's fear of the growth of Athenian power was the principal cause of the Peloponnesian War [PW I: 42–43]. At the same time, the argument fits excellently into Hobbes' description of the state of nature. Indeed, we come upon a very similar idea in the following passage of his book *On the Citizen*, which concerns the precautions to be taken against one's future enemy: "Since the right of protecting ourselves according to our wills, proceeded from our danger, and our danger from our equality, it is more consonant to reason, and more certain for our conservation, using our present advantage to secure by taking caution, than when they shall be full grown and strong, and got out of our power, to endeavour to recover that power again by doubtful fight" [EW II: 13].

There are many other traces of the influence of Thucydides' work on Hobbes' conceptions. One of the episodes of the Peloponnesian War deserves particular attention, all the more so because Hobbes extensively commented on it. It reproduces a dialogue between the Athenian embassy and the leaders of the small Aegean island Melos, which is even nowadays considered to be one of the best examples of imperialist discourse [PW III: 154–179]. In this dialogue, the Athenian generals confront the Melian rulers, who wish to maintain their neutrality in the conflict between Athens and Sparta, with the ultimate choice – either to completely submit to Athens by entering the Athenian maritime alliance, or else to have their city destroyed after the defeat by an overwhelmingly stronger enemy. In the moment when the negotiations began, the Athenian war fleet had already been anchored just off the island.

Thucydides wrote that the Athenians refused to discuss with the Melians the issue of the justice of their proposal. That was the reason why Dionysius of Halicarnassus reprimanded him for saying things which harm the dignity of his city. While presenting an apology of his author, Hobbes goes so far as to defend the point of view of the Athenian embassy, saying that the generals had not been authorized by the Athenian people to debate questions of equity and report the outcome back to the assembly, but had simply been ordered "to take in the island by all means whatsoever", regardless of their justice [EW VIII: xxviii–xxix]. Another point of the dialogue is worth noting, although Hobbes says nothing about it here. The choice between the vital interest of security or salvation (*asphaleia*, *sotêria*) and the complete destruction and death as the

most terrible things (*ta deinotata*), as it is presented in the speech of the Athenian embassy, is of central importance for Hobbes' argument in *Leviathan* about the reason why it is necessary to establish a commonwealth: the danger of violent death, which is a constant threat in the state of nature, and which Hobbes himself describes as the most terrible thing which can befall a man, requires the founding of a political community in which the security of every citizen will be protected [PW III: 160–163, 168–169; Hobbes 1968: 186, 223–225].

The Melians, absolutely inferior to the Athenians in military regard, nevertheless asked the Athenian ambassadors what their advantage or profit would be if they agreed to submit to a foreign power. The answer to this was that the “profit” would consist in avoiding death, which is the greatest evil of all. This assertion could be understood as an expression of overt brutality and cynicism. However, Hobbes was able to find in it an inspiration for his criticism of the Aristotelian notion of the highest good as a final goal toward which all human life is directed or, at least, to find in it a confirmation of this criticism. Taking into account the differences among different people's desires, there can be no such thing as the highest good (*summum bonum*) which would be common to all humans, if it is not their self-preservation and things that foster it. However, the “greatest evil” (*primum malum*) is the same for everyone – death, particularly “a death in pain”. One could say that what is called the highest or the first good, is nothing but the avoiding of death, because all other things which are held to be good presuppose one's own conservation [Hobbes 1968: 160; Hobbes 1839: II, 98].

The connection between Thucydides' work and the fundamental conceptions of Hobbes' anthropology and philosophy of morality can be followed still further. In the abovementioned speech of the Corinthian embassy, the Athenians are presented as the exact opposite of the passive Spartans, who are defensive and not prone to conquering, because they rather desire to preserve what they already have than to obtain something new. On the contrary, the Athenians “toil, with hardship and dangers, all their life long; and least of all men they enjoy what they have because they are always seeking more, because they think their only holiday is to do their duty, and because they regard untroubled peace as a far greater calamity than laborious activity” [PW I: 118–121]. There can be little doubt that Hobbes had in mind this passage when he wrote, in *Leviathan*, the following lines about man in general: “the felicity of this life, consisteth not in the repose of a mind satisfied”; quite the reverse, it is “a continually progresse of the desire, from one object to another; the attaining of the former being still but the way to the later” [Hobbes 1968: 160].

This progress has no limit or end, in much the same way as the strengthening of empire in the description of Thucydides, whose work as a whole reflects how, in the minds of historical actors, the measures undertaken to ensure safety for Athens required a continual increase of power. Hobbes applied this view to all mankind, whose “general inclination” is the “perpetual and restlesse desire of power after power that ceaseth only in death” [Hobbes 1968: 161]. It is obvious that he projected the features which Thucydides attributed to individuals and political collectivities on the nature of man.

THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR: *POLEMOS* OR *STASIS*?

Many interpreters of Thucydides consider his accounts of the internal war which took place in particular poleis as the most significant part of his work. This view is sometimes related to the belief that the condition of civil war, strife or *stasis* represents the crystallization point of the entire conflict which Thucydides' work depicts. Volkmann-Schluck has stated that the Peloponnesian War was, because of the complicated system of alliances which came to be established in Greece, the first conflict which, as to its origin and course, displayed the characteristics of a "political" war [Volkmann-Schluck 1977: 15]. That author saw the "monster" of civil war – the word is presumably an allusion to Hobbes' *Behemoth* – as a sort of ideal type: according to him, civil war is the sharpest and the most intensive form of political conflict, which enables us to discern the ultimate significance even of those conflictual conditions which have not yet developed fully and to the extreme [Volkmann-Schluck 1977: 60]. According to a more recent interpretation, Thucydides saw the Peloponnesian War not exactly as *polemos*, but as one immense internal war, which spread across the whole Greek world and its neighbouring areas. *Stasis* is thus raised to the role of the model of the entire conflict which is the object of Thucydides' history [Price 2004: 3, 67–73]. Those statements, which contain part of the truth, require further explanation.

Thucydides, of course, distinguishes armed conflict between poleis (*polemos*) from civil war or bloody strife within the city (*stasis*), even though in his time this conceptual distinction was not yet fully developed in philosophy.⁴ Nevertheless, *stasis* and *polemos* were conceived of as poles apart long before Thucydides' time. They also had opposite value-loading, which is evidenced in Greek tragedy. Thus, for example, Athena in Aeschylus' *Eumenides* dissuades the goddesses of revenge, the Erinyes, from implanting in her people the spirit of intestine war (*Arê emphyllion*), and calls instead for war against the external enemy (*polemos*) [Aeschylus 1926: 354–355; Loraux 1987: 101]. The Erinyes comply with this and pray that *stasis* may never come into the polis and that the blood of the citizens may not be shed in internal strife, but that they may live in a spirit of mutual love, unanimous in their hatred towards the external enemy [Aeschylus 1926: 364; cf. Meier 1990: 116]. Democritus would later say that *stasis* is an evil that befalls both the winners and the losers, which indirectly shows the advantage of interstate war which, as a rule, benefits one of the warring parties [Diels 1922: II, 110 = Democritus B 249; cf. Loraux 1987: 106].

The view that *stasis* is a flaw of the city is as old as Solon's poetry. Solon described civil strife as "the common evil" (*dêmosion kakon*) which destroys many in the flower of their youth; it comes to everyone's house, jumps over the highest wall and finds them even while they are hiding in the most remote

⁴ In spite of certain reservations as to the translation of the Greek term *stasis* with the syntagm "civil war", which rather corresponds to the Latin *bellum civile* [Loraux 1987: 110], it is occasionally used in this text to refer to internal conflicts in ancient Greece. Hobbes, as a rule, translates *stasis* as „sedition“, sometimes as „commotion“ [EW VIII: 28, 338, 347].

angle of the room. *Stasis* is a misery, “an inescapable wound” (*helkos aphykton*) in the body of the polis. However, this personified strife is not some sort of mystical or inexplicable force. According to Solon’s elegy, it stems from the aristocrats’ unscrupulous desire for wealth, which creates slavery in the polis, while slavery, in turn, “awakens” (*epegeirei*) discord [Noussia-Fantuzzi 2010: 86–87; Loraux 1987: 107–108].

However, the contrast between *stasis* and *polemos* in Solon’s fragment is perhaps not as sharp as it would become a few generations after his time. For example, Solon calls *stasis* an intestine or domestic war (*stasin emphylyon polemon*) [Noussia-Fantuzzi 2010: 86], thus bringing the two concepts closer than we would expect. With regard to the later emphasis of the advantages of *polemos* over *stasis*, as well as Solon’s own condemnation of civil strife, the combination of the two words is somewhat surprising.⁵ But something else can be inferred from Solon’s verses too: his metaphor of “awakening” civil strife seems to imply that it always “sleeps” in the polis: the danger of *stasis* always remains virtually present. This means that there is a fundamental connection between *stasis* and politics. A provision of Solon’s law, which is at first sight perplexing, speaks in favour of this interpretation. According to Aristotle’s testimony, those who refused to choose sides in civil strife were punished by loss of civil rights – by exclusion from participation in the life of the polis, which for the Greeks was the most severe punishment [Aristotle 1935: 30–31]. Civil strife is truly an “inevitable” wound, also in the sense that it imposes a choice which can be avoided only at the price of losing political existence. *Stasis* is thus inseparable from the very sense of politics.

The connection between *stasis* and the dimension of politics in the sense of choosing one’s side, which excludes neutrality, can be traced back to the etymology of the word. The noun *stasis* is derived from the verb *histēmi* (“set up”, “make to stand”, “bring to a standstill” or “stand still”), and originally meant nothing more than “placing”, “position”, “the place in which one stands”, and therefore “standpoint”. Gradually, the word came to mean “party”, later still, “party with seditious purposes”, and finally, “division”, “discord” and “civil strife” [Liddell/Scott 1996: 1634]. This semantic evolution seems to be pretty unusual, since a term which originally denotes stillness or stability acquires at the end the meaning of internal war and political overturn, which would rather make us think of movement: indeed, at the beginning of his work, Thucydides described the Peloponnesian War as the “greatest movement (*kinēsis*) that had ever stirred the Hellenes” [PW I: 2].

However, this peculiarity is not hard to explain. One standpoint, insofar as it is opposed to other standpoints, always remains a potential source of political discord. Even in modern languages words like “standpoint” or “position” have similar conflictual implications. To the same group belong some of the English terms which in Hobbes’ works always have a pejorative meaning since they denote potential causes of political dissension and ultimately civil

⁵ According to one hypothesis, Solon „purposefully presents civil strife as *polemos*“ in order to suggest „that the city’s leaders treat Athens as if it were a foreign conquest whose goods are distributed among the victors“ [cf. Noussia-Fantuzzi 2010: 248].

war: “sedition”, and the adjective which is derived from it, “seditious” (which Hobbes, as a rule, applies to perilous doctrines or people), as well as “faction”. As was rightly noted, Hobbes believed that there is “incipient war /.../ in the facts of how individual appetites and aversions are naturally formed” [Sorell 2001: 132]. This statement also applies to differences between opinions which, if expressed without any restraint, can always create dissensions in society.

The insight that every particular standpoint or point of view represents a possible threat to the interest of the community as a whole is clearly formulated by ancient Greek political authors, which “all insist that the state must stand outside class or other factional political interest” [Finley 1962: 6–7]. On the other hand, the politics of ancient Greece does not allow for a *stasis* which would take place on behalf of the whole, which is characteristic of the modern concept of revolution. Neither does Hobbes know of the latter concept, which is one of the reasons why he remains the last genuine theorist of civil war [cf. Koselleck 1995: 71–72].

However, as opposed to Hobbes, who believed that the danger of sedition and civil war

could be prevented only by absolute subjection to sovereign power, which amounts to doing away with politics altogether, Greek democracy is best understood as an attempt to head off that danger by establishing a political mechanism for majority decision-making. It was observed that the vote in democratic Athens was a prophylactic against civil war (*polemos epidēmios*) [Glotz 1929: 56]. This solution to the problem did not involve the complete elimination of political dissensus, which would later be accomplished in the absolutist state. On the contrary, it makes sense to say that Athens “was content to effect from day to day in the Assembly and the tribunal a fragmentary and piece-meal revolution” [Glotz 1929: 324]. This explains why the agonistic view of man remains relevant in the Greek political mentality not only for war but also for peace [Vernant 2007: 635] and has no negative implications whatsoever.

All of this, however, applies only to the Classical period, marked by the existence of the polis as the basic form of organization of state life. In Thucydides’ time, the polis was already on the way of disappearance as an independent political unit. Its decline can also account for the fact that Thucydides was able to be a great admirer of Pericles as a man and political leader and, at the same time, an ardent critic of Athenian democracy, in particular of its orators and demagogues. Hobbes, as is known, favoured the latter aspect of Thucydides’ work – among other things, he wrote that he had translated his history in order to warn his countrymen not to succumb to the dangerous influence of democratically-minded rhetoricians [Hobbes 1839: I, lxxxviii]. However, another point is of interest in our context: with the decadence of the polis, the borderline between *polemos* and *stasis* becomes unstable.

The two concepts cannot be rigorously distinguished in Thucydides’ history. Having in mind the devastating experience of the Peloponnesian War itself, Plato would later say that every war between the Hellenes is in reality a civil war – *stasis* and not *polemos* [Plato 1930: I, 494–497]. The Peloponnesian War once and for all destroyed the old bonds of protection and allegiance between

Greek poleis, especially between metropolises and their colonies, as well as the traditional kinship and customary ties within Greek tribes [PW IV: 110–117]. It put an end to the earlier Greek logic of belonging, which was based on filiation and shared cultural background, and replaced it with a system of wavering political alliances. Thucydides gave an impressive depiction of the consequences of these changes, which affected even military operations. For example, during the Sicilian expedition, the singing of paeans by their Dorian allies caused the biggest disarray in the ranks of the Athenians, who were Ionians: “Whenever /.../ the Argives or the Corcyraeans or any other contingent of the Athenian army would raise the paean, the Athenians were just as much terrified thereby as when the enemy sang. And so finally, when once they had been thrown into confusion, coming into collision with their own comrades in many different parts of the army, friends with friends and citizens with fellow-citizens, they not only became panic-stricken but came to blows with one another and were with difficulty separated” [PW IV: 88–89].

The difficulty of distinguishing between *stasis* and interstate war is evident in the very composition of Thucydides’ history. During the war between enemy poleis, the threat of internal strife is constantly hanging in the air. Thus, for example, the oligarchic government of Melos in the abovementioned dialogue refuses to debate on the Athenian ultimatum before the assembly out of fear of a possible popular uproar in the city [PW III: 154–157]. In reverse, the first book of Thucydides’ history makes it clear that political strife in the polis constantly invites the intervention of the most powerful external players, Athens on the side of the people’s party, Corinth or Sparta on the side of the oligarchic regimes [PW I: 42–57, 148–167]. In Thucydides’ work, there is a constant shift between depictions of interstate and intrastate war and transition between the two.

This indiscernibility between *polemos* and *stasis* makes Thucydides’ work all the more relevant today, with regard to the condition of the modern world, which can be described in terms of a “world civil war”, unconstrained by national boundaries.

HOBBES AND *STASIS* IN CORCYRA

Despite the fact that the Peloponnesian War saw internal conflicts with more significant consequences, such as the *stasis* in Athens, Thucydides’ most famous depiction concerns the civil strife of Corcyra, which, in fact, preceded the outbreak of the war itself [PW II: 124–151; cf. Price 2004: 304–327]. It was rightly remarked that these pages include the most comprehensive author’s comments that can be found in Thucydides’ entire work [Orwin 1988: 833]. In a way, Thucydides justified the attention he devoted to this particular case of *stasis* by emphasizing that it was “among the first that occurred” and that its brutality seemed all the greater since it was novel [PW II: 142–143]. As we shall see, the description of the civil war in Corcyra was of great interest for Hobbes, although he didn’t treat it thematically.

Thucydides presents the genesis of the conflict in Corcyra near the beginning of his book, almost immediately after the general remarks on its goals

and method [PW I: 42–79]. One of the events that led to the war was the conflict between Corcyra and Corinth over the control of a Corcyraean colony, Epidamnus, today's Durrës in Albania. That polis had also experienced civil war between the people's party and the aristocracy. The years-long internal conflicts were temporarily ended by the victory of the people and exile of the nobility. However, foreign powers then interfered in the conflict: first Corcyra, whose army fought on the side of the people, then Corinth, which supported the aristocrats. The conflict was subsequently extended to other participants as well – not only to Peloponnesian cities with a Dorian population, but also to poleis outside Peloponnesus, such as Megara in Attica, which entered into an alliance with Corinth, and Athens, whose fleet intervened on the side of Corcyra, and against Corinth, to support democracy. Finally, the Lacedaemonian assembly voted that the Athenian involvement in the conflict over Epidamnus constituted a breach of the peace treaty between Athens and Sparta, thereby declaring war against Athens [PW I: 148–149]. The decision was preceded by the aforementioned negotiations at Sparta.

The Corinthians had significantly contributed to the outbreak of the *stasis* in Corcyra. They set free the Corcyraeans whom they had earlier captured in the battles over Epidamnus, hoping that they would get their fellow citizens to come over to the side of Corinth and its allies. Thucydides says that the Corinthians had treated the prisoners with consideration from the very beginning, with that intention [PW I: 92–93]. Indeed, when they came back to Corcyra, these men started to stir up the citizens against Athens and the people's party which was in power. The Corcyraean senate first voted that the city should maintain the alliance with Athens, but also decided to renew the friendship with the Peloponnesians. However, open hostilities and armed clashes between “the many” (*hoi poloi*) and “the few” (*hoi oligoi*) started when the pro-Corinthian partisans of the oligarchic government killed the leader of the people's party, who was the Athenian proxenos, along with many other members of the senate. The conspirators justified their deed by their intention to keep Corcyra from falling into Athenian slavery [PW II: 126–131]. At first, their party had some success in the battles, but the situation then turned in favour of the people, which won a provisional victory. The efforts of the exiled members of the nobility to overthrow the people from power went on until their final destruction, which Thucydides describes later [PW II: 292–297].

The victory of the *dêmos* was of great significance for the further course of the war because it ensured the alliance with Corcyra for the Athenian expedition to Sicily. However, what is important for us in the present context is the nature of political events which Thucydides described. The opposing sides in Corcyra were fighting each other by all means and to total extermination. Not only citizens took part in the battles which were fought in the city streets. The oligarch party hired barbarian mercenaries from Illyria, while the majority of the slaves joined the people. Even women participated in the battles by throwing tiles from roofs. Their backs against the wall, the oligarchs didn't refrain from setting fire to buildings, which threatened to burn down the whole city. Even the Athenians, allies of the people's party, failed in an attempt to

stop the hostilities between the two opposing parties. From time to time, there seemed to be readiness to reach a mutual compromise in order to save the city, but with each turn of events, such as the departure of the enemy or the approach of the allied fleet, the procession of crimes and atrocities would resume its course. The difference between the private and the public ceased to exist. Creditors were ruthlessly slain on grounds of personal interest by those who owed them money with the excuse that they had planned to overthrow the democracy. Neither divine nor human laws applied any more, and anomy prevailed in the city. Sanctuaries were desecrated: murders were committed in temples or in front of them, since the right of suppliants was no longer respected. Party affiliation mattered more than loyalty to closest family members, so that fathers killed their own sons [PW II: 140–141].

As Thucydides suggests, in the state of lawlessness and anarchy of civil war, men who adhere to moral norms most often lose their life, and the issue of justice in relations between individuals is completely set aside. In a similar way, the question of justice had been rejected as irrelevant by the Athenians at Melos: according to their standpoint, justice could be discussed only among equals, and not in cases when there exists an important difference in power between the two sides [PW III: 158–159]. However, in the internal war which was fought in Corcyra, justice was brought into question in an even more fundamental way. Whenever *stasis* broke out, all agreements, promises and even solemn oaths would lose their binding power. Since they were given under the pressure of unfavorable circumstances, no one abided to them longer than their current interest required. Eventually, all trust among people disappeared: if it existed at all, it did not stem from respect for the law but from complicity in its transgression. All alliances were temporary and there was no permanent loyalty [PW II: 144–145].

Thucydides ended this account with his own observations [PW II: 142–151]. They seem to express his point of view more clearly than any other passage of the work. However, they contain no trace of an intention of putting all the blame for committed atrocities on one of the conflicting sides, or even an attempt at comparing their magnitude. Besides, any discussion regarding the morality or justice of either of the two parties is excluded from Thucydides' own considerations. In this regard, his impartiality as a historian is irreproachable, but was it the only reason of his abstaining from moral judgment?

Hobbes wanted to go further: he was able to draw some fundamental conclusions from Thucydides. Civil war, just like the "state of nature", precludes justice. According to Hobbes, speaking about justice presupposes the existence of law, which is nothing but the command of the sovereign power, whose most important task consists precisely in putting an end to the state of nature, or civil war. This is what Hobbes' imperative theory of law is about: "Before there was any government, *just* and *unjust* had no being, their nature only being relative to some command: and every action in its own nature is indifferent; that it becomes *just* or *unjust*, proceeds from the right of the magistrate" [EW II: 151].

One more thing is important. Thucydides' concluding remarks suggest that one of the main effects of civil war is corruption and, more precisely, the

inversion of the established social standards, values and norms. The transformations are the most striking in the domain of language as the most fundamental social convention. Habitual meanings of moral terms are inverted: “reckless audacity” is now considered as “courageous loyalty to party”, and impulsiveness as courage. At the same time, prudence is defamed as cowardice, and moderation as weakness. Shrewdness and deception are particularly appreciated as proof of cleverness and dexterity. On the contrary, simplicity (*to euêthes*), which Thucydides considered as an essential ingredient of virtue, is ridiculed. Party interest and private profit are veiled under noble names and slogans, such as “political equality for the masses under the law” on the side of the people’s party, or “temperate aristocracy” on the side of aristocrats [PW II: 144–149].

These passages offer several early examples of paradiastole, a figure of speech by means of which “similar things are distinguished from each other”, as Quintilian would later define it [Skinner 1996: 150]. Ever since its origins in antiquity, the use of paradiastole has been of special interest in the world of human affairs, i.e. in politics and morality. That figure of speech represents a powerful rhetorical device of redescription of moral terms, and thus of revaluation of moral facts. We find it at work in Thucydides. To the extent that “reckless audacity” truly has something in common with “courageous loyalty”, actions or characters which are usually described by the first term may be brought under the latter one and thereby justified, or *vice versa*, according to the interest of the speaker in each case [Skinner 1996: 161].

Hobbes took Thucydides’ examples seriously. He probably had them in mind when he wrote in *Leviathan* that “force” and “fraud” are two “cardinal virtues” in war [Hobbes 1968: 188]. The essay on Thucydides in which Hobbes relates the circumstances of his life already hints at the inversion of meanings which occurred in the civil war in Corcyra. However, Hobbes considers this inversion to be characteristic of democracy: according to him, Thucydides decided to withdraw from public life because the people of his time had such a high opinion of their own power, that only those who encouraged them to “the most dangerous and hopeless enterprises” were held in esteem as statesmen, while “he that gave them temperate and discreet advice, was thought a coward, or not to understand, or else to malign their power” [EW VIII: xvi; Skinner 1996: 282].

Corruption of language is more than just another symptom of overall moral deterioration – it is also one of its main instruments. That is the reason why Hobbes saw great danger in the alteration of the meanings of words by demagogues and rhetoricians. His insistence on the principle that ambiguity should be avoided by giving precise definitions of terms, which we encounter in his later systematic works, is not only explained by his scientific mentality, but has political grounds too. For Hobbes, linguistic ambiguities are a source of disputes and even of armed conflict: “Metaphors, and senselesse and ambiguous words, are like *ignes fatui*; and reasoning upon them, is wandering amongst innumerable absurdities; and their end, contention, and sedition, or contempt” [Hobbes 1968: 116–117].

In order to eliminate this danger, it is necessary to determine the meanings of words. In all cases where disagreement in respect of their definition or

use can endanger peace, the decision which settles the issue belongs to public authority [EW II: 268–269]. It is particularly urgent to fix the meaning of words in the domain of politics and morals, in which they are fluid and value-loaded at the same time, as in the case of names of virtues and vices. As Hobbes believed, the sense of moral terms cannot be reduced to their objective content or the nature of things to which they refer, but depends on the viewpoint of the speaker, which is precisely the reason why these terms often provoke discord between people. The examples which Hobbes cites are typical cases of *paradiastole*. They are almost literally taken from Thucydides: “one man calleth *wisdom*, what another calleth *feare*; and one *cruelty*, what another *justice*; one *prodigality*, what another *magnanimity*; and one *gravity*, what another *stupidity*” [Hobbes 1968: 109]. The task of defining the “real” meaning belongs to the sovereign power: as his imperative theory of law, Hobbes’ moral emotivism [cf. EW IV: 109] is closely related to his political doctrine of sovereignty.

WHAT DOES *STASIS* REVEAL TO US?

As the main causes of the unfortunate events in Corcyra, Thucydides singled out two human passions – greed (*pleonexia*) and ambition (*philotimia*), which stem from excessive party zeal (*prothymon*) [PW II: 146–147]. In civil strife, these devastating passions know no limits, so that the conflict becomes emulation in wickedness which casts away all scruples and brings to nothing all moral and religious norms. This gives rise to the question: is civil war anything else but a limit situation in which human nature openly manifests itself, whereas it remains hidden in time of public peace and tranquillity?

The arguments in favour of this view are substantial. The civil war in Corcyra undeniably has a privileged place in the composition of *The Peloponnesian War*, which Thucydides composed as a “possession for all time”. He intended his work to be read by those who “wish to have a clear view both of the events which have happened and of those which will some day, in all human probability (*kata to anthrôpinon*), happen again in the same or a similar way” [PW I: 40–41]. He uses almost identical terms in his account of the events in Corcyra: the horrors which happened there “happen and always will happen while human nature (*physis anthrôpôn*) is the same” [PW II: 142–143].

These words might lead us to think that Thucydides considered man as brutal and unjust by nature. However, the continuation of the same sentence proves that this conclusion would be wrong: human nature⁶ is “severer or milder”, according to the circumstances, which are particularly unfavorable in wartime. War is a “violent teacher” (*biaios didaskalos*), which in most people arouses passions that correspond to its own character, but in times of peace, states, as well as individuals, have “higher morals” [PW II: 142–143].

Thucydides’ statements about human nature are frequently explained by the influence of rhetoricians and sophists of his time: according to tradition, Thucydides was a disciple of Antiphon, Gorgias and Prodicus [Romilly 2002: 150,

⁶ We follow Hobbes’ translation here [EW VIII: 348].

152–154]. The antithesis between nature (*physis*) and law (*nomos*), which we encounter in the speech of the Athenian embassy at Melos, was widely exploited by the sophists. However, this antithesis does not exactly correspond to what Thucydides says about human nature in the chapters on *stasis* in Corcyra. The difference between men such as they are during civil war and men in happier, peaceful times does not coincide with the opposition of nature and law. Thucydides rather seems to suggest that human nature itself shows itself as deeply ambiguous, capable of different interpretations, according to the circumstances.

This means that it would be wrong to believe that people are bad or brutal by nature and that civil war only reveals this fact. The statement that Thucydides understood human nature as a “source and place of regression at the same time” [Loraux 1995: 322] seems exaggerated and all too Christian as well. According to Thucydides, human nature is not evil, but rather essentially unstable, precarious and dependent on circumstances, which also suggests that the circumstances in which men live should be made as good as possible.

Nevertheless, it is indisputable that Thucydides defined his standpoint in opposition to idealized representations of man in poetry and mythology [PW I: 38–41]. If this attitude did not stem from sophistic teachings, how can we explain it? In fact, it has its roots in the conceptions of Ionian physicists, who were also adversaries of mythology. As Jaeger observed, “Thucydides won his great intellectual victory by transferring that scientific attitude from timeless nature to the political struggle of his own age, darkened and confused with passions and party-interests” [Jaeger 1973: 388].

Hobbes’ approach to politics was also inspired by a new science of nature. That could explain his candid descriptions of the nature of man. Carl Schmitt had Hobbes in mind, among others, when he wrote that “all genuine political theories presuppose man to be evil” and spoke of their anthropological pessimism [Schmitt 1996: 61]. And then there is religion. Hobbes used to defend himself from accusations for his uncomplimentary concept of human nature by hiding behind the authority of the Holy Bible and its central notion of man as a fallen and corrupt being [EW II: xv–xvi]. In the light of his reputation as the atheistic “Beast of Malmesbury”, this tactic must have seemed a mere provocation to his contemporaries. So instead of Hobbes’ pessimism, it may be more appropriate to speak of his anthropological realism, just as in the case of Thucydides.

Interestingly enough, Hobbes tried to defend Thucydides from the accusation of atheism. In his record of Thucydides’ life and work, Hobbes mentioned that he was, as well as Socrates, a disciple of the philosopher Anaxagoras, the last of the Ionian physicists, whose opinions, “being of a strain above the apprehension of the vulgar, procured him the estimation of an atheist”, which finally cost him his life. The same reputation led to the death of Socrates, and cast a shadow on Thucydides’ name too, although he was not an atheist [EW VIII: xv]. But couldn’t it be that three of them were atheists – Anaxagoras, Thucydides and Hobbes?

There is no simple answer to this question. However, it is clear that Hobbes, like Thucydides, but differently from Socrates, founded his conception of

man on a science which regards nature as indifferent to human goals. For Hobbes, this science was the Galilean mechanics, according to which he modeled his *Civil Science* as a study having for its object the movement of the large political “body”. Certainly, the nature of 17th century physics is not identical to that of the Ionian physicists. Nonetheless, both sciences had a similar, sobering effect on the conception of human nature and the place of man in the world.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- EW = Hobbes, Thomas. *The English Works of Thomas Hobbes*, ed. by W. Molesworth:
 EW I = *Elements of Philosophy*, London: Bohn 1839.
 EW II = *Philosophical Elements of a true Citizen*, London: Bohn 1841.
 EW IV = *Triplos*, in *Three Discourses*, et al. London: Bohn 1840.
 EW VIII–IX = *The History of the Grecian War by Thucydides*, translated by Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury, Vols. I–II, London: Bohn 1843.
 PW I–IV = Thucydides. *History of the Peloponnesian War* I–IV, London: Heinemann, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1956–1959.

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PRODUCTION OF SERBIAN SALON MUSIC IN THE 19TH CENTURY IN THE CONTEXT OF THE BIRTH OF MUSIC PUBLISHING*

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SUMMARY: Until mid-19th century in Serbia only some musical pieces were published by foreign publishers. The first collections of Serbian folk songs and dances were published in mid-19th century in Vienna by Alojz Kalauz and then by Kornelije Stanković. The widow of the Vienna music publisher Heinrich Friedrich Müller printed salon dances for the piano, while the piano compositions of Kornelije Stanković were published with renowned Vienna publishers Pietro Mechetti and Gustav Albrecht. Until the 1870s composers mainly published their own works, either through self-financing or with the help of patrons. The appearance of “publishing bookshops” brought about a change in the placing of books on the market. Brothers Kamenko and Pavle Jovanović from Pančevo, as well as brothers Đorđe and Kirilo Popović from Novi Sad and Mita Stajić, who developed his business in Belgrade, greatly contributed to the development of Serbian bookshops and publishing, as well as to the printing of music sheets. The Serbian publishers’ issuance of music sheets publicized salon music prominently, which was a consequence of increased demand for note editions intended for home performances. Salon music was published in various forms: single editions, albums, or as musical additions to journals. The influence of the Paris salon style arrived among the Serbs via Vienna and it included the visual aspect of music sheets. With some editions, special care was taken that the front page was visually attractive. Besides the front page, buyers were strongly influenced by the title of the composition, which was often in French. Foreign lithographers (e.g. J. Eberle from Vienna and Engelmann and Mühlberg from Leipzig) were mostly hired for reproducing and printing front pages of musical editions.

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KEY WORDS: salon music, publishers of music sheets, Jovanović brothers' bookshop – Pančevo, Popović brothers' bookshop – Novi Sad, Mita Stajić's bookshop – Belgrade, forms of editions of salon music, technical equipment of music editions, lithography, music market.

BEGININGS OF MUSIC PUBLISHING IN SERBIA

While there was a genuine flourishing taking place in music publishing in developed European countries during the 19th century, by the middle of the century very few pieces of Serbian music were published by foreign publishers¹. The appearance of the first printed musical editions marked the beginning of newer Serbian music. *Narodna srbska pjesnarica* (*Songs of the Serbian People*) by Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, printed in Vienna in 1815, included six Serbian folk songs which were arranged for “voice (as the people sang them) and piano” by Polish musician Franciszek Mirecki (1791–1862), who was at the time studying in Vienna [Petrović 2004:11]². The bookshop of Josif Milovuk published in Pest in 1830 “отечествена песма Боџь да живи цара Франца (Patriotisches Volkslied) уз клави́р” (“*God save Emperor Franz* with piano accompaniment”)³, and, as an addition to *Srpski narodni list* (*Serbian National Press*), the song “Пѣсма Высокород. Г. К. Совѣйнику Савви Текели ѿриликомъ ѿоржесѣва Майице Сербске” was published on 14th January 1839⁴. Aleksandar Morfidis Nisis published in 1841 a waltz for piano entitled *Поздрав србским дјевама* „дело прво“ [*Salute to Serbian maidens* “piece one”]⁵. The waltz was dedicated to Miss Sofija Sekulić, and it was available for purchase in the bookshop of P. I. Stojanović in Novi Sad for a price of one silver forint⁶.

The South-Slavic and the Pan-Slavic circle in Vienna had an “immediate influence on the development of the musical culture among Serbs in Austro-Hungary, but also in the Principality of Serbia, and later in the Kingdom of Serbia” [Petrović 2004:11]. The first collections of Serbian folk songs and dances were published in mid-19th century in Vienna by Alois Kalauz, and later by Kornelije Stanković. The widow of the Vienna music publisher Heinrich Friedrich Müller printed Kalauz's salon dances for piano: *Belgrader Kath-*

¹ Serbian music publishing in the 19th century has so far not been the focus of musicological research. Due to the enormity and the complexity of the subject matter, this paper analyzes only the editions of salon music based on the inventory of music sheets published by Vladimir Đorđević, as well as on the available catalogues and lists of music sheets of publishers from Novi Sad and Belgrade.

² See also: [Đurić Klajn 1956: 13–23]; [Peričić 1987: 51–64].

³ Vladimir R. Đorđević cites this piece on the basis of the bibliographies of D. Đermekov, Đ. Rajković and S. Novaković [Đorđević 1968: 58, 60, 75].

⁴ The lyrics of the song along with sheet music were published as a re-print in: [Petrović 1988: 223–226].

⁵ In the book *Srpska klavirska muzika u doba romantizma*, Dragana Jeremić-Molnar asserts that Nisis's waltz *Salute to Serbian maidens* is the first known Serbian piano composition [Jeremić 2006].

⁶ Nisis's composition was also available in Haslinger and son's bookshop in Vienna, in G. Vozarović's bookshop in Belgrade, in R. Hartmann's bookshop in Leipzig, in K. Gaibel's bookshop in Pest, in Kronbergerl's bookshop in Prague, in Pretner's bookshop in Karlovci Gornji, in Supan and son's bookshop in Zagreb, in J. Weichsel's bookshop in Timișoara. For more details see: [Kokanović 2008: 107–108].

arinien – *Quadrille and Bissenia. Fantasie – Polka*⁷. This same publishing house, which Franz Vessely in the meantime bought from Müller's widow, also published two of Kalauz's collections of Serbian folk songs: *Srbski napjevi I, II* [*Serbian melodies I, II*] (1850, 1852). Kalauz's variation on the song *Što se bore misli moje* [*So restlessly, why do I dwell*] was published in Leipzig under number 66 in a popular edition of piano music of the publishing house Bosworth's Goldener Melodienschatz.

Kornelije Stanković published ten volumes of harmonized folk songs and dances in Vienna, as well as three volumes of traditional, ecclesiastical singing music sheets [Petrović 2004:12]. Stanković's piano compositions were published within a 10-year period (1853–1863) by renowned Viennese publishers (Pietro Mechetti véuve, Gustav Albrecht). Pietro Mechetti⁸, for instance, also published salon compositions written by Johann Strauss the Younger.

It is evident that at the beginning of the 1870s, Serbian bookshops and publishing “on this side of the Sava and the Danube” were only just beginning to be developed. Before that time, writers and composers mostly self-published their works either by paying in advance, or by securing a donor. The buyers came into the possession of books either by “paying a subscription, or, more rarely, via the authors, obtaining relevant information from adverts in daily newspapers and magazines” [Bunjak 1997]. In his account of the circumstances in Serbian publishing during the 1850s and 1860s, Stojan Novaković points out the following:

Generally taking into account publishing in the European sense, it was impossible to make a discerned choice. Those books were still published through patronage and subscriptions. They were still not “fortunate” enough to embark on their journey in search of their readership: they had to find readers before they were published. [Novaković 1900: 51–52]

The same was also evidently true of musical publications, which were far fewer in number than the literary ones. Kalauz's march for piano entitled *Usklik Srba* (*A cry of the Serbs*) was self-published, available for purchase directly from the author or in the bookshop of Velimir Valozić in Belgrade. In most cases, both Kalauz and Stanković dedicated their works to patrons who made the printing possible. Some of Kalauz's salon compositions for piano were dedicated to the members of Serbian royal dynasties: Prince Miloš Obrenović (march *Usklik Srba* [*A cry of the Serbs*]), and princesses Kleopatra (*Što se bore misli moje* [*So restlessly, why do I dwell*], *Srpski napjevi I, II* [*Serbian melodies I, II*]) and Poleksija Karađorđević (song *Сиятелне Господичне Полексіе*).

⁷ H. F. Müller was a co-founder of the Viennese Art Association, as well as chairman of the board of Viennese art merchants. It was on his initiative that chromolithography was first introduced in Austria. His widow sold the company in 1858 to Franz Vessely and Friedrich Büsing. Later on, Vessely sold it to Vinzenz Kratochwill. In 1889 the company was merged with German publishing house *Bosworth & Co* [Weinmann 1989: 856].

⁸ Pietro Mechetti (1777–1850) founded a music publishing company in 1810 in partnership with his uncle. He published the works of L. van Beethoven, F. Liszt, J. Lanner, J. Strauss. Upon his passing, his widow Theresa ran the company [Antonicek 1974: 179].

The compositions of Kornelije Stanković which were published in Vienna were dedicated to prince Mihailo M. Obrenović (*Ustaj, ustaj Srbine*, op. 3 [*Rise, Serb, rise*]), princess Julija Mihailović Obrenović, née countess Hunyadi (*Sećas li se onog sata*, op. 4 [*Do you remember the hour*]), Mrs Helena Ridički of Skribešće (*Slovenski kadril* [*Slavic quadrille*]), Mr Stefan M. Georgijević (*Sremsko kolo*, op. 7 [*Round dance from Srem*]), whereas his collections of *Srbske narodne pesme* [*Serbian folk songs*] were dedicated to lord Danilo I, the Prince of Montenegro (1858), lord Mihailo Obrenović III, the Prince of Serbia (1862), and V. P. Balabin, Russian imperial emissary in Vienna (1863).

Dedications and forewords along with newspapers often revealed the patrons who financed the publications of musical editions. In the newspaper *Srbski dnevnik*, for instance, on June 29th, 1853, it was reported that the “famous Serbian song: ‘*Rise, Serb, rise*’ with a variation for fortepiano” was published in Vienna. The author of the article notes that “the song was published by Mr Kornelije Stanković and dedicated to His Grace Prince Mihailo, who financed the publication” [Kokanović 2004: 21]

During the 1870s, with the appearance of the first “publishing bookshops”, there is a change in the manner in which the books were placed on the market – “a new factor emerges that no longer relies on payments made in advance, but publishes books for which there is no doubt that they will spread among the people through simple purchase” [Novaković 1900: 9]. A significant contribution to the development of Serbian bookshops and publishing, as well as to printing music sheets, was given by brothers Kamenko and Pavle Jovanović from Pančevo, and by Mita Stajić from Belgrade⁹.

Kamenko Jovanović started the first Serbian printing shop with Jovan Pavlović in Pančevo in 1871. He took it over with his brother Pavle in 1872, when they also started a publishing bookshop. In a short seven-year period after its establishment, Jovanović brothers’ bookshop celebrated an important event – the printing of the 100th book, which was also marked by the publication of a catalogue. Kamenko and Pavle Jovanović played an active role in the musical life of Pančevo. Kamenko was secretary and an honorary member of the Pančevo singing society, whereas Pavle was a choir singer for many years and, from 1897, president of the Pančevo singing society “Gusle”¹⁰.

It is important to note that only a year after they established their printing bookshop the brothers also started publishing musical editions. In 1873, they

⁹ The focus of this paper are the above-mentioned publishing bookshops in Pančevo, Novi Sad and Belgrade, since the largest number of music sheets were published with them. Apart from these bookshops, music sheets were also published in other bookshops in Novi Sad (A. Pajević, Đ. Ivković, S. F. Ognjanović, I. Fuks), in Sombor (M. Karakašević), in Belgrade (N. Đorđević, S. Jovanović, T. Jovanović, M. Marković, E. Ajhštet, M. Ivanišević, D. Dimitrijević, P. Čurčić, B. Veselinović, S. B. Cvijanović). The bookshops are listed based on the data from the book *Ogledi srpske muzičke bibliografije do 1914*, by Vladimir R. Đorđević.

¹⁰ Kamenko J. Jovanović (1845–1916) and his brother Pavle (1847–1914) joined the United Youth of Serbia in 1866, dedicating their work to national causes. In 1880, they started “The Jovanović Brothers National Library” which published over 350 titles, with two and a half million copies overall. As a loyal follower of Svetozar Miletić, Kamenko was subjected to police persecution. Compared to his brother, Pavle was less active in political life. The brothers left all their belongings to charity, with special emphasis on the educational mission. See: [Tomandl 1938: 94, 153–157, 269–272].

published variations for piano on *Pesma Miletiću* [*Song to Miletić*] by Josif Cee, along with marches, international salon dances and variations for piano, as well as songs for voice and piano mostly by Serbian and Czech composers. Military bandmaster Dragutin Čížek published his marches with the brothers Jovanović, while his songs for voice and piano written to the lyrics of romantic poet Đura Jakšić were published by Anton Hočevar. Robert Tollinger showcased these compositions in the magazine *Gudalo*, noting down how tastefully the editions of Jovanović brothers' bookshop were equipped. Tollinger's piano miniatures for children *Mladost – radost* [*Youth – joy*] and *Slike i prilike iz dečijeg života* [*Images from the lives of children*] which are among the first pedagogical-instructive compositions in Serbian piano literature, first saw the light of day in the bookshop of the hardworking brothers Jovanović.

The educational mission of the brothers Jovanović and the awareness of the necessity of printing instructive musical literature is also noticeable in their publishing of the compositions of their fellow citizen Mita Topalović – choir leader of the Serbian church singing society from Pančevo and music and singing teacher at the Higher school for girls: *Liturgija za dva glasa* [*Liturgy for two voices*] (first edition in 1884, second in 1892), *Liturgija Svetog Jovana Zlatoustog* [*Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*] composed by Kornelije Stanković and harmonized for four voices by Mita Topalović (1881) and *Pesme u dva glasa za učenike narodnih škola* [*Songs for two voices for pupils of national schools*] (1879).

Another significant contribution to Serbian musical publishing was made by the brothers Đorđe and Kirilo Popović from Novi Sad¹¹. The Popović brothers' bookshop was established in Novi Sad in 1874, and in a short eight-year period it was expanded into a printing shop. For more than thirty years, the brothers Popović published calendars, magazines and books, most of which were intended for children and wider reading audiences. The bookshop also sold church books and educational tools for elementary schools, as well as music sheets. Apart from this, their bookshop acted as “an unofficial administrative office of the Serbian National Theatre – it collected subscriptions for the seasons during which the Serbian National Theatre was in Novi Sad, donations and it also distributed Hadžić's paper *Pozorište*”. The Popović brothers' bookshop embraced the operating principles of their more experienced colleagues from Pančevo, limiting itself, however, to less ambitious serial projects (*Biblioteka za ženski svet* [*Library for women*], *Biblioteka za mali svet* [*Library for children*], *Biblioteka pozorišnih dela* [*Library of theatrical works*]). They also published numerous separate, independent publications [Jonović 1991].

During the 1870s, the Popović brothers' bookshop published salon compositions for piano by pianist and composer Jovan Paču. These were adaptations of popular folk and town songs and dances, as well as *budnicas*, which were popular, patriotic songs intended for awakening national feelings. The bookshop also published piano and voice and piano compositions written by Hugo

¹¹ The brothers Popović came from a rich family of merchants. Their aunt was the famous philanthropist Marija Trandafil. Their bookshop was “in its time the biggest, not only among local Serbs, but elsewhere where Serbs can be found”. It was located at 16 Zmaj Jovina Street. See: [Kojić 2007: 2].

Doubek, bandmaster in the Novi Sad Theatre. In early 20th century, the Popović brothers' publishing bookshop also offered albums with folk songs and dances for piano, voice and piano and violin and piano¹².

Mita Stajić's court bookshop was established in 1896 in Belgrade. It was the first modern bookshop in Serbia¹³. Mita Stajić graduated from junior high in Novi Sad, and since 1877 he was employed in the Popović brothers' bookshop. Mita Stajić's uncle was Luka Jocić, renowned bookshop keeper from Novi Sad¹⁴. Eager to improve in the bookshop business, he travelled to Leipzig in 1844, where he worked in the publishing and commission company Köhler, while earning a degree from a trading academy. Mita Stajić's bookshop was awarded the Silver medal at an exhibition in Paris in 1900 [Jonović 2005: 113–114].

Stajić published “over a hundred books and music sheets, with the number of copies of individual publications ranging from 2000 to 5000” [Jonović 2005: 113–114]. In his rich inventory of music sheets, the most prevalent are popular collections of folk and town songs and dances (for instance, *Album 100 srpskih narodnih najnovijih igara, za glasovir* [*Album of 100 newest Serbian folk dances for piano*]; *Album 138 srpskih narodnih pesama, za glasovir* [*Album of 138 Serbian folk songs for piano*]), but also collections of piano miniatures (Jovan Urban: *Zbirka kompozicija za klavir* [*A collection of piano compositions*]). It was with this publishing bookshop that the collections for voice and piano by Isidor Bajić were published (*Srpske narodne pesme i narodne pesme iz Mokranjčevih rukoveti* [*Serbian folk songs and the folk songs from Mokranjac's Garlands*]; *Pesme ljubavi* [*The songs of love*]). Among individual editions, the standard “salon repertoire” for piano is also present (marches, international dances, fantasies), mainly by Czech composers (Josif Brodil, Karlo Mertl, František Pokorný, Josef Svoboda). Mita Stajić's bookshop also published piano compositions by Petar Krstić: *Osu se nebo zvezdama* [*The sky broke out in stars*] and *Sa srpskog sela* [*From the Serbian countryside*]¹⁵.

SALON MUSIC: FORMS OF PUBLICATIONS AND TECHNICAL EQUIPMENT

19th century Paris was not only a “capital of virtuosos”, but also the “main marketplace” for European publishers of music sheets who travelled there in order to be able to present modern salon compositions on their home markets. Their offer was supplemented by “local products, which were influenced by their Parisian role models” [Ballstaedt & Widmeier 1989]. “The Parisian fashion” arrived among the Serbs indirectly, via Vienna. The influence of the

¹² For more details see: [Kokanović Marković 2011: 42–43].

¹³ It was first located at no. 5, Knez Mihailova Street and later, from 1908, at no. 8 in the same street.

¹⁴ Sofija, the daughter of L. Jocić, graduated piano and solo singing at the Conservatory in Prague. She performed concerts in Novi Sad, Sremska Mitrovica, Pančevo, Subotica. Apart from solo concerts, she often played accompaniment on piano. Among her more notable performances are those with Yvonne de Tréville, French coloratura singer in 1906 in Novi Sad, and with Nicole Corfesco, Romanian tenor in 1907 [Kokanović 2009: 748].

¹⁵ See: [Kokanović Marković 2011: 44–45].

Paris salon style was evident in other areas as well, as it also “swept” the overall design of musical publications.

Salon music was published on the music market in various forms: single editions, albums, or as musical additions to journals. With certain editions, special care was given to the attractiveness of the front cover, which was often printed in colour, or the title was lithographically embellished and coloured by hand. Different fonts were used, often with interesting ornaments.

The buyers were strongly affected by the title of the composition, which was often in French, and by the appropriate front cover picture. In keeping with the general trends, Viennese editions of Kalauz’s individual salon compositions bore either German or French titles, or both, whereas the collections of *Serbian melodies* also included a foreword by the editor in Serbian, German and French. Some of the numerous compositions with titles in French included, for instance, the piano compositions of Kornelije Stanković, Aleksandar Morfidis Nisis, Slavka Atanasijević and many others. In late 19th century, Serbian bookshop keepers and publishers mainly printed the titles of compositions in the Serbian language, although bilingual titles (Serbian and French) could still be found.

For a composition to be “suitable” for a salon, its title only had to include a label indicating that it was a Caprice, Nocturne, Rêverie, Etude, Morceau, Pièce de salon or Varié pour le piano. These pieces often did not have any elements of the authentic Parisian virtuosic style, or they had very few of them; however, they were available to music enthusiasts. In the 1850s virtuosic piano variations for piano by Kornelije Stanković were labelled Varié pour le piano. Slava Atanasijević composed a polka *Reflets du printemps* – Polka Caprice pour piano. It is indicative that even during the 1900s Isidor Bajić labelled his piano miniatures as *Valse mignonne*, *Spomenak* – *petit mazurka*, *Na izvoru* – *étude mignonne*.

In certain cases, the titles of compositions indicated that one can expect “agreeable” or “salon” pieces. For the sake of comparison, the publishing house Schott published compositions entitled *Le Pianiste au Salon* (around 1835–1843) or *Fleurs de Salon*. There are similar labels among Serbian compositions: Julijana Dimitrijević, *U časovima samoće* (*In einsamen Stunden*), salonski komad za glasovir [*In lonely hours*, salon composition for piano]; Miloš Brož, *Kosovka devojka*, salonska mazurka [*The Kosovo maiden*, salon mazurka]. Even though the phrase “salon music” had a pejorative tone in the 1840s, this labelling of average musical “merchandise” was, from the perspective of musical publishers, a “golden path” that led to the audiences that purchased these compositions.

In most cases, a picture was in the centre of attention on the front cover of a composition. At the time it was noted that “a salon piece without a picture has 75% fewer buyers” [Ballstaedt & Widmeier 1989]. Depending on the genre and the title of the composition, the front covers included idyllic images of nature, miniature portraits of the girls who composed the pieces, or the names of those to whom the pieces were dedicated, different floral ornaments. Front covers of marches, for instance, included images of kings or distinguished

soldiers to whom the composition was dedicated, and often group pictures of certain military companies¹⁶.

Lithographers from abroad were hired in order to reproduce and print the front covers of musical editions¹⁷. Lithography was very popular, which was another consequence of the French influence. The front covers of Serbian publishers' music sheets often included information on the lithography. The covers of compositions published with the brothers Jovanović from Pančevo were lithographed in Vienna by J. Eberle, or in Leipzig by Englemann and Mühlberg, whereas the editions of the Popović brothers from Novi Sad were mostly lithographed by J. Eberle in Vienna. The publications of Mita Stajić were lithographed in Vienna by J. Eberle and in Leipzig, by Englemann and Mühlberg, as well as by F. M. Geidel.

The title of the salon composition, much like the image on the front cover, could be contrary to the content of music. The goal was to attract the audience. Miloš Brož, for instance, published a salon mazurka for piano entitled *The Kosovo Maiden* with Ernest Eichstaedt in Belgrade. The front cover included a reproduction of a famous Ferdo Kikerec's painting¹⁸. With the title and front cover, this composition was undoubtedly attractive to the buyers. However, the musical piece does not convey the same atmosphere of tragedy as implied by its cover. On the contrary, this is a common, cheerful salon mazurka¹⁹.

In the first half of the 19th century, the production of albums of salon music in central Europe was not highly developed. The reason for this was not just the level in the development of the printing technology, but also the fact that these publications were considered a luxury. At the time, it was not common to purchase music sheets. Music enthusiasts in Germany, for instance, could purchase music editions in agencies that published music sheets, which was much cheaper, and they often copied the compositions that they liked by hand.

Among Serbs during the first half of the 19th century, it is possible to find copies of salon compositions copied by hand or printed individual editions "bound" together in an album. This "binding" of albums from individual compositions was also widely used in the second half of the 19th century²⁰. The daughter of Konstantin Popović, Novi Sad town treasurer, presented Johann Strauss the Younger during his visit to Novi Sad in 1847 with a notebook containing hand-made copies of Serbian folk songs, likely made by Josif Šlezinger²¹, whereas the salon compositions for piano by Aleksandar Morfidis Nisis from Novi Sad were

¹⁶ See the Appendices in this paper.

¹⁷ Newspapers and magazines in the 19th century often used illustrations from abroad. It was also normal to hire foreign engravers and workshops for certain tasks. Lithography was, in most cases, used in order to reproduce and print visual materials, as well as when the images consisted of a combination of a picture and words, as was the case with the covers of musical editions. The classic printing process was used for regular literary materials.

¹⁸ See Appendix 3.

¹⁹ Numerous, independently "bound" albums are kept in the libraries of Matica srpska and the Academy of Arts in Novi Sad, in the SASA Institute of Musicology, the National Library of Serbia and the library of the Faculty of Music in Belgrade.

²⁰ See: [Kokanović Marković 2012: 145–154].

²¹ Vladimir Haklik notes that he found another report on Strauss's visit to Novi Sad in the Archive for Slavic Philology in Vienna. For more details see: [Haklik 1991: 15–28].

preserved owing to the handmade copies in Marija Panaotović's music notebook²². It is also possible to find albums with methodically copied salon compositions as late as the 1890s. An interesting example includes an album of popular salon compositions adapted for violin, compiled by the pupils of Lazar Sekulić's Grand Serbian Orthodox high school in Novi Sad, which contains a myriad of salon dances, folk songs and dances, as well as melodies from popular operas and operettas²³. Alois Kalauz's and Kornelije Stanković's collection of Serbian national songs and dances published with Viennese publishers in the 1850s and 1860s represented role models both to the composers and to the local publishers of music sheets.

The form of album which truly flourished during the 1870s in the European market²⁴ could also be found among Serbian publishers by the beginning of the 20th century. Among these, the most favourite were albums of folk songs and/or dances, which often included up to 200 folk dances for piano, or for violin and piano. Publishers aimed at including within a single album a larger number of popular works by different composers (*Album pesama iz koncerta Žarka Savića* [*Album of songs from Žarko Savić's concert*]²⁵), or of different genres (*Deset srpskih narodnih pesama za violinu uz laku glasovirsku pratnju* [*Ten Serbian folk songs for violin with light piano accompaniment*]²⁶; *Zbirka 10 srpskih potpurija za glasovir* [*A collection of 10 Serbian potpourris for piano*]²⁷); it was also common to publish albums with compositions by a single composer, such as *Zbirka kompozicija za klavir Jovana Urbana* [*A collection of piano compositions by Jovan Urban*] (published by Mita Stajić) or *Album kompozicija za glasovir Isidora Bajića* [*Album of piano compositions by Isidor Bajić*] (published by Srpska čitaonica in Novi Sad). An album represents a typical form in which salon music was published even after this period. Unlike individual editions, which included an illustrated front cover, albums were much more becoming²⁸.

Alongside the technical developments brought about by the new age, salon music was also integrated into market orientated business practices²⁹. Arrangements of a single composition for different instruments started to appear in the music market. Moreover, publishing houses published at the same time albums with up to 100 folk dances and editions which contained several most popular dances from the same albums. This was particularly popular with Jovan Frajt's publishing house during the first decades of the 20th century.

²² Marija Panaotović's music notebook is kept in the library of Matica srpska in Novi Sad: BMS MR I 8.

²³ The album is kept in the library of Matica srpska in Novi Sad: *Note za violinu Lazara Sekulića*, BMS MR III 3.

²⁴ Publishing house Peters published fifteen volumes of albums with salon music in 1871/1872 (*Salon-Album. Sammlung beliebter Salonstücke für Piano-solo*); publishing house Litolf published seven volumes in 1873 (*Salon-Perlen. Auserlesene Klavierstücke*) [Ballstaedt & Widmeier 1989: 109].

²⁵ Published by Mita Stajić's bookshop, Belgrade.

²⁶ Published by the Serbian bookshop and the Popović brothers' bookshop in Novi Sad, 1903.

²⁷ Published by Mita Stajić's bookshop, Belgrade. *Stich der Musikaliendruckerei v. Jos. Eberle & Co. Wien, VII.*

²⁸ See Appendix 4.

²⁹ For more on advertising practices of new musical editions (publishers' catalogues, advertisements in newspapers and in music publications) see: [Kokanović Marković 2011: 57–65].

Musical additions were also published in journals. One of the early examples includes the aforementioned *Song to Sava Tekelija*, published as an addition to *Srpski narodni list* in 1839. Many literary journals occasionally printed musical additions, including the journals *Stražilovo*, *Neven*, *Danica*, *Golub* and *Javor*. R. Tollinger wrote about the importance of this manner of enriching the “local” musical literature, noting the “attempts” made by journals *Stražilovo* and *Neven*:

Publications of musical compositions were until recently considered a rarity in these parts. Several weeks, months and even a whole year would go by without a single musical piece being brought out into the world. Which is why it is highly commendable that *Neven*, *Stražilovo* and even the company “Gusle” are hard at work attempting to bring life with their periodical publications to the desert which is our musical publishing.” [Gudalo 1886: 116]

Jovan Paču and Josif Cee published some of their salon compositions in journals *Srbadija* and *Srpska Zora* from Vienna. Paču also published two Serbian round dances for piano in the said journal [*Srbadija* 1875], whereas Josif Cee published songs for voice and piano in *Srpska Zora* [*Srpska Zora* 1878; 1879a and 1879b; 1887]. In January 1886 musical journal *Gudalo*, founded by Robert Tollinger, was first published in Velika Kikinda. During the one-year period in which the journal existed, ten issues were published, each containing a composition by Tollinger. The first issue included an article entitled “The approach”, in which the editors emphasized the importance of publishing musical compositions: “In the final direction, we are indebted to our singing society “Gusle”. They took it upon themselves to publish musical pieces; they brought to our offices a number of their editions, which is why we will be able to give away one copy of these Serbian compositions along with a copy of our journal.” [Gudalo 1886a: 3]. Besides choral compositions, *Gudalo* also published works typical for salon music literature: compositions for piano for two or four hands, solo songs (or duets) with the accompaniment of a single instrument (piano or violin) or more instruments (violin, harmonium, piano), as well as a composition for violin, harmonium and piano.

The first volume of note editions by domestic composers, entitled “Srp-ska muzička biblioteka” (“Serbian musical library”) was established by Isidor Bajić in Novi Sad in 1902. The first number was published in March 1902, with every subsequent number drawing much attention from the newspapers and journals from Novi Sad. The first number included Bajić’s compositions along with the works of foreign composers. Even though originally this note edition was supposed to be published on a monthly basis, only three numbers were published during the first year. The reason for this was financial in nature, which was covered in journal *Brankovo kolo*. The author of the article pointed out that the future of the “Serbian musical library” depended on the subscribers, noting that the response from singing companies, as well as from “players and musicians” was meagre: “Among us there are so many families with a piano or a violin; we have so many singing companies and willing people that this

library could be sustained splendidly” [Brankovo kolo 1902: 10]. Bajić started the edition again in 1903, only publishing works by Serbian composers. A total of fourteen numbers were published, with the last one printed in July 1914 [Šutanovac 1998].

Apart from typical salon pieces and arrangements of folk and town songs and dances, along with the works of our prominent composers (P. Krstić, M. Milojević, M. Paunović), the edition “Serbian musical library” also published a standard repertoire of foreign classical and romantic compositions which were commonly found in the albums of salon music printed throughout Europe:

F. Šubert, *Cvetak lep na hridi*, pesma za sopran ili tenor uz pratnju glasovira (God. II, br. 5); [F. Schubert, *Beautiful Flower at the Cliff*, for soprano and tenor with piano];

R. Šuman, *Sanje* (God. II, br. 6 i 7) [R. Schumann, *Dreaming*];

B. Smetana, *Polka* iz opere *Prodana nevesta* za glasovir (God. II, br. 8 i 9) [B. Smetana, *Polka* from the opera *The Bartered Bride* for piano];

F. Mendelson, *Pesma bez reči* za glasovir (God. II, br. 10 i 11) [F. Mendelssohn, *Song without Words* for piano];

Š. Guno, *Barkarola*, za jedan glas uz pratnju glasovira (God. II, br. 10 i 11) [C. Gounod, *Barcarolla*, for solo voice with piano accompaniment];

R. Štraus, *Uljuljanka* iz *Simphonia domestica* za glasovir (God. I, br. 1) [R. Strauss, *Lullaby* from *Simphonia domestica* for piano];

B. Smetana, *Pesma* iz opere *Prodana nevesta* za glasovir (God. I, br. 1) [B. Smetana, *Song* from the opera *The Bartered Bride*];

B. Smetana, *Uljuljanka* iz opere *Poljubac* za glasovir (God. I, br. 4) [B. Smetana, *Lullaby* from the opera *The Kiss* for piano];

V. A. Mocart, *Rondo alla Turca* za glasovir (God. I, br. 5) [W. A. Mozart, *Rondo alla Turca* for piano]. [Đorđević 1969: 66]³⁰

* * *

It is evident that salon music occupied an important place in the offer of publishers of music sheets, which was a consequence of an increasing demand for note editions intended for playing music at home. By orientating themselves in accordance to the audience's tastes, publishers were guaranteed financial success. Negative reactions of musical writers to this “flood” of salon compositions in the music market were noticeable throughout Europe, including Serbia. It is highly indicative that the inventory of published music sheets, catalogued by Vladimir R. Đorđević in *Ogled srpske muzičke bibliografije do 1914*, includes 652 published pieces, 279 of which were for piano. Choral compositions were very popular, followed by songs for voice and piano, which often represented simple arrangements of folk or town songs, whereas chamber music was very rare. Most often it included compositions for violin and piano, more rarely for mixed instrumental ensembles.

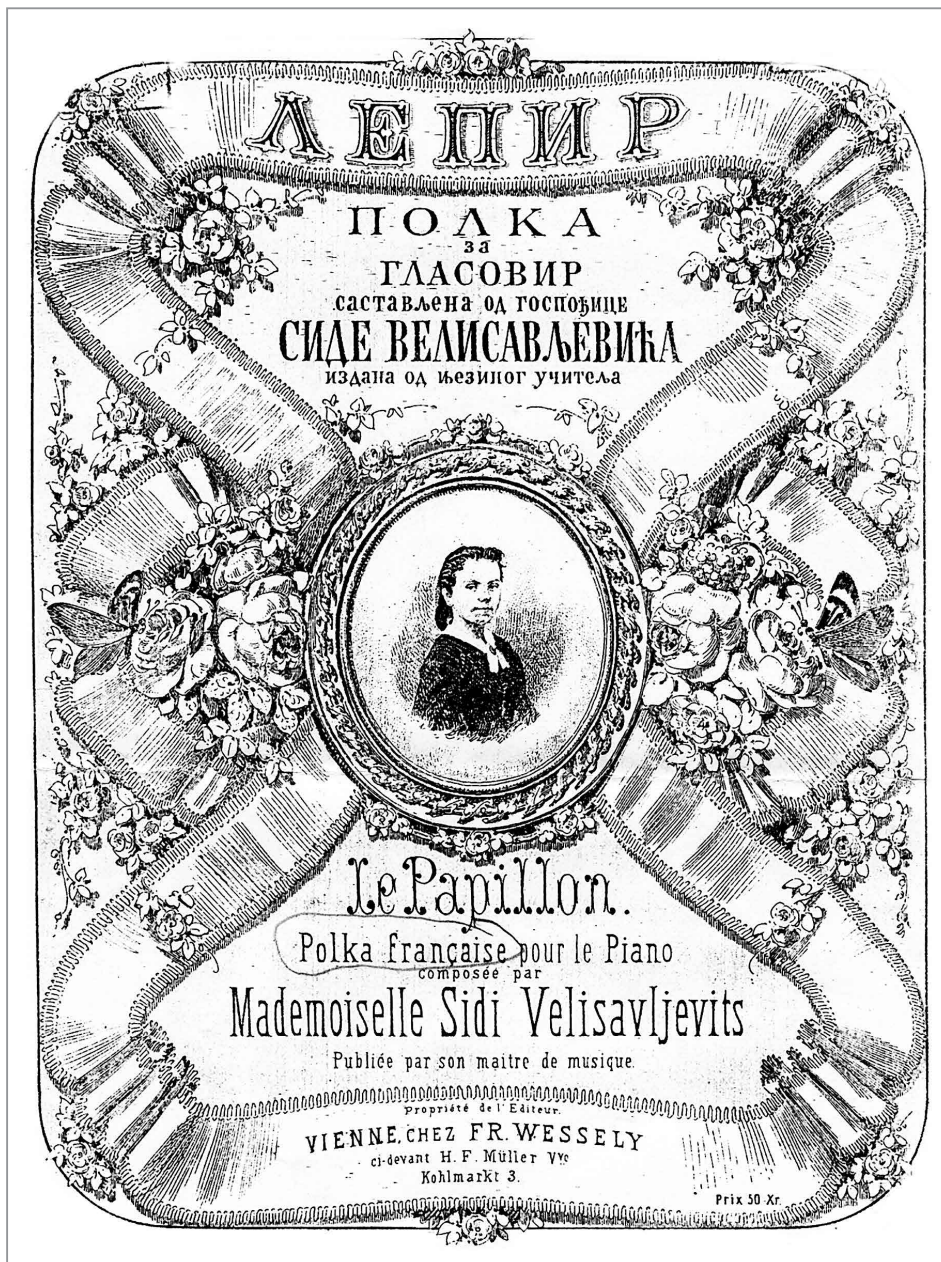
³⁰ For more details see: [Kokanović Marković 2011: 47–48].

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Appendix 1: Front cover of the polka *Leptir* (Butterfly) by Julija Sida Velisavljević



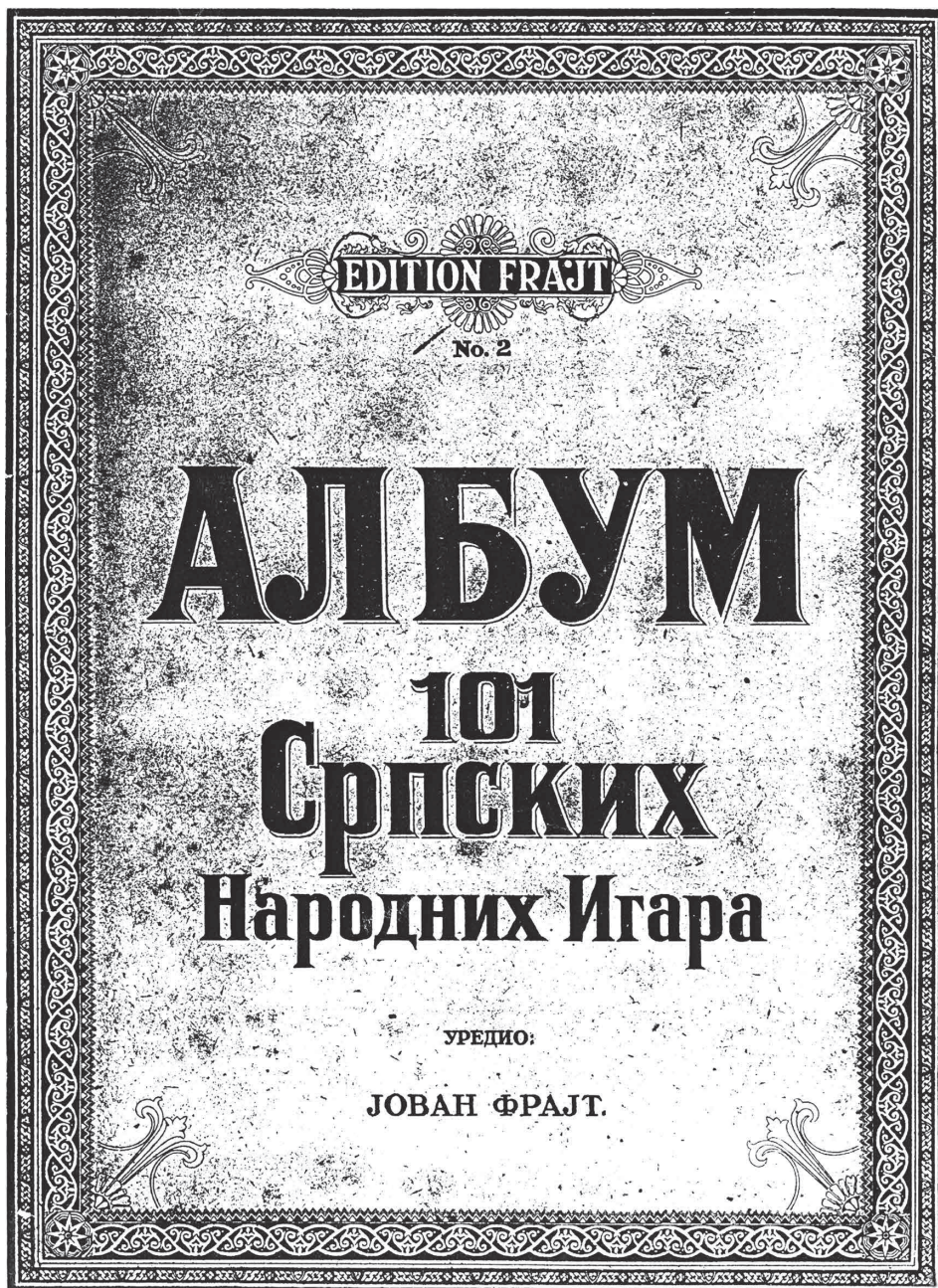
Appendix 2: Front cover of the march *Milan* by Dragutin Čížek



Appendix 3: Front cover of the salon mazurka *Kosovka devojka*
[The Kosovo maiden] by Miloš Brož



Appendix 4: Front cover of *Album 101 srpskih narodnih igara*
[Album of 101 Serbian folk dances]



FOREIGN MUSIC IN BELGRADE BETWEEN THE TWO WORLD WARS: RECEPTION IN THE *HERALD OF THE STANKOVIĆ MUSIC SOCIETY / MUSIC HERALD*, 1928–1941

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SUMMARY: The longest lasting music journal in Belgrade between the two wars, the *Herald of the Stanković Music Society*¹ (1928–1934, 1938–1941; renamed *Music Herald* in 1931), was devoted to European and partly to non-European music. This paper gives an overview and analysis of its essays on foreign musical art. The journal was distinguished by debates on opera and musical drama, presentations of music cultures, such as Albanian, modern Jewish, English and American, which Serbian and Yugoslav audiences were not familiar with at the time, writing on the connections between music and literature and, finally, on questions of musical aesthetics. Traces of nineteenth century musicography can be recognized in the propensity of certain authors for the bibliographical genre, although its use was also tied to the journal's goals of broader popularization.*

KEYWORDS: *Herald of the Stanković Music Society / Music Herald*, Milenko Živković, Rikard Švarc, Erih Samlaić, Yuri Arbatsky, Danilo Danić.

The importance of music journals is twofold; they are at the same time “witnesses” and “participants”. As they are themselves part of the music culture of a particular community at a particular time, they are invaluable sources for the history of music. The characteristics and transformation of musicographic types can be followed through these journals. In addition, they provide abundant data regarding the history of musical life, and insight into the dynamics of the reception of musical phenomena and values, not only those

¹ *Herald of the Stanković Music Society / Music Herald* → Гласник Музичког друштва „Станковић” / Музички гласник

* This study is the result of work on the project (№ 177004) *Identities of Serbian Music: from Local to Global Framework: Traditions, Changes, Challenge*. The project is carried out by The SASA Institute of Musicology in Belgrade, and is financed by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Government of Serbia.

which were perceived as a model and foundation, but also those which the music community resisted.

From 1883, when the first Serbian musical journal, *Herald of the Kornelije Church Music Society* (*Glasnik Crkvene pevačke družine „Kornelije”*), was founded, to the beginning of the Second World War, 11 music journals were published in Serbia. This was a considerable number, especially having in mind the generally modest musical and educational circumstances. The *Herald of the Stanković Music Society* holds a special place among these journals. Founded in March 1928, it was published until the end of 1934 (under the name *Musical Herald* as of 1931). After a four-year break it was reestablished in 1938, and was published until February 1941. The outbreak of the Second World War definitively closed this musical journal. The *Herald* is by far the longest-published journal of this kind among the, otherwise short-lived, Serbian music journals. Over a period of more than 10 years, it published over seven hundred articles – studies, reviews, reports, news, notes, necrologies.

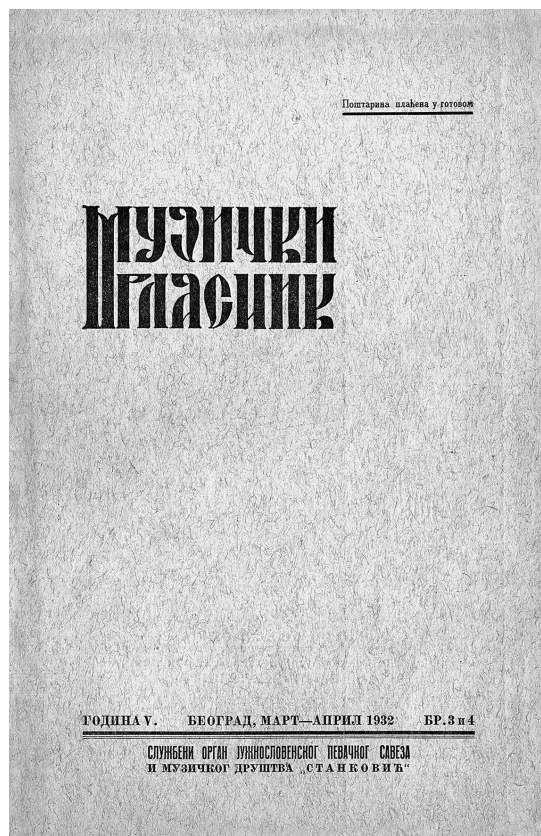


Image 1. The journal *Musical Herald* was published from 1928 to 1930 under the name *Herald of the Stanković Music Society*. The name *Musical Herald* was used from 1931 to 1934 and 1938 to 1941.

The *Herald of the Stanković Music Society* was, at first, truly the herald of the Society. It was started in order to connect and inform all the sections and members of the Society. Although there were some articles which exceeded these ambitions with their quality (reviews, essays), the overall character of the journal was primarily that of an internal informative medium. However, as of October 1929, the transformation of the *Herald of the Society* into a proper musical journal was evident. From then on, essays (of great variety) became predominant in the journal, the domestic music scene was closely followed, and, as of November 1929, the *Herald* became the official newsletter of the South Slavic Singing Association, whose work will be elaborated on in a separate section of this paper.

After a four-year pause, the publishing of the *Musical Herald* continued in 1938. In that second period, the *Herald* showed an ideological bias towards Marxism, and emphasis was put on music historiography, ethnomusicology and contemporary music. It has already been noticed [Vasić 2011: 144–145] that the second series of the *Herald* could be seen as a continuation of the discontinued magazine *Sound (Zvuk)* [1932–1936]. Namely, the editorial staff of both journals was composed of the same individuals; therefore, the ideological orientation was the same, while the journal structure and their thematic orientations were similar.

The first editor of the *Herald* was retired lieutenant colonel Milan P. Bogdanović, a member of the Stanković Society. From 1931 to 1934, he was replaced by an editorial board which included: Milan P. Bogdanović, Petar Bingulac, Rikard Švarc, Mihailo Vukdragović, Vaclav Vedral, Branko M. Dragutinović and Milan Bajšanski. Finally, in January 1938, a new editorial board was formed which consisted of Stana Đurić Klajn, Vaclav Vedral and Milenko Živković. The *Herald* gathered prominent musicians, artists and scientists as its contributing authors, such as Kosta Manojlović, Branko Dragutinović, Milka Đaja, Antun Dobronić, Božidar Širola, Dragutin Čolić, Viktor Novak, Zinaida Grickat, Erih Smalaić, Momčilo Nastasijević, Lujo Davičo, Meri Žeželj, Predrag Milošević, Petar Konjović, Jovan Bandur, Josip Slavenski, Mihovil Tomandl, Yuri Arbatsky and others.

The variety and quantity of the *Herald's* musicographic work suggests the need for a monographic study on this journal. Until now, only one article on this journal has been published, with a focus on the stance it took regarding the music of the avant-garde [Vasić 2011]. Here we shall look into the *Herald's* essays on western European and non-European music.

OPERA OR MUSICAL DRAMA

The *Herald of the Stanković Musical Society / Musical Herald* contributed immensely to the presentation of western European music to Serbian reading audiences. Essays, articles aiming to popularize, music analyses and reviews, notes and necrologies were the musicographic means through which this journal presented information on European musical art. This paper will focus on The *Herald's* essays dealing with the subject of western European music until the end of the nineteenth century.

Several thematic categories of the essays can be differentiated: essays of thematic problems; essays on composers and their works; biographical and autobiographical essays; overviews of the musical art and culture of certain peoples and countries; philosophy of music and music aesthetics essays; essays on bordering topics; articles dedicated to the popularization of music. One cannot always easily draw a clear line between the essays of thematic problems and popularization essays. Nevertheless, this line can be established, at least in certain cases, based on the degree of aspiration and critical impressionability of the authors and texts.

The *Herald* published four essays of thematic problems on topics concerning western music. Rikard Švarc compared three masters of piano: Franz Liszt, Frédéric-François Chopin and Alexander Nikolayevich Scriabin. In this excellent essay, the author analyzed the style features and composition, discussed the virtuosity and pointed to the importance of the piano works of these composers for the history of music. Written in a specialist language, intended for connoisseurs, this essay also contained acceptable evaluations. Rikard Švarc gave a negative assessment of Niccolò Paganini as a composer, but was much more favorable towards Liszt's music. The assessment of Liszt was done through a comparison with Paganini, to the benefit of the former; thus, today's expert reader would not have any objections to such an evaluation².

The *Herald* also publishes Švarc's historical overview of the development of the symphony from the time of Beethoven, with a chronological presentation of the works by the most important composers in this music genre – the Italians, the French and the Germans [D'Indy 1932a]. In the second series of the *Music Herald*, a young pianist and composer, Predrag Milošević, was given the opportunity to write about music for two pianos and about the form of variations. Milošević gave a brief historical review of the history and development of the piano as an instrument (predecessors, construction etc.), and then focused more on his topic and explained that the literature for two pianos came about as the result of the wish to expand the expressive abilities of the piano as an instrument [Milošević 1983].

Among the few *Herald* essays of thematic problems the one by Branko Dragutinović on Italian opera deserves special attention [Dragutinović 1930]. This text opened the debate in the *Musical Herald* on the justification of opera as a musical genre. This topic was recurrent in the *Herald* and was discussed from different aesthetic positions.

Branko Dragutinović presented the basic and general characteristics of Italian opera. Although the former music history student of Miloje Milojević at the department of Comparative Literature and Literary Theory at the Belgrade University did not mention his teacher's name, Milojević's attitudes could be easily detected. His favorite attitudes and arguments were merely repeated

² "While Paganini was a virtuoso of a single talent and somewhat of a charlatan, who aimed to blind the masses and act upon them by using means which were not always worthy of an artist, Liszt's creative talent preserved the young artist from technical eccentricities and the bluffing of unlearned audiences. If we compare Paganini with Liszt, we will have to conclude that Liszt's art is more noble and more valuable..." comp. [Švarc 1932: 20]

here³. Dragutinović spoke of the ill influence of seventeenth century Venetian opera, and particularly of the bad influence of the colorist-virtuoso style of Neapolitan opera on the dramatic component of the form. The student, just as his teacher, blamed melody as being the element of superficiality in music. He did not overlook the ethno-psychological considerations of which his professor was so fond, having adopted them from Hyppolite Taine. Dragutinović wrote about the southern temper and natural inclination of Italians towards melody and, thus (?), towards superficiality and externality. The *Herald* musicographer's conclusion that in Italy, the influence of musical drama on opera had always come from abroad (e.g. Richard Wagner's influence on Giuseppe Verdi), and not from national Italian tradition is still valid today. However, it is also true that Dragutinović's reasoning did not find *a single* Italian opera that was valuable on its own, regardless of the principles it was built on. Although in his short essay he did answer the topic given in the title, it is not clear whether the rigorous argumentation of this belief also involves a rejection of the entire operatic opus built on foundations other than those of musical drama. Another question which remains open is whether the author really knew baroque operas – from sheet music and live performances. The Belgrade Opera repertoire certainly could not provide opportunity for such knowledge. It seems that the accepted theoretical principles of Wagner's reformation played a crucial role in the author's negative attitude towards operas, which our music writers might have known only from musicological literature. It is reasonable to assume that this literature, even though it could have been available in our music writers' private libraries, was probably not extremely extensive.

The *Musical Herald* published six essays on western European composers and their works and one of them expressed a negative opinion on opera.

Namely, two years after his essay on Italian opera, Branko Dragutinović reconfirmed himself as a disciple of Miloje Milojević. The year 1930 was the seventieth anniversary of the creation of the opera *Faustus* by Charles-François Gounod, so Dragutinović came forth with an essay on the French composer and his most famous work [Dragutinović 1932]. This was a bio-bibliographic essay which presented the most relevant facts about the life and work of the composer. A smaller part of the essay was dedicated to the opera *Faustus*, its libretto and its means of expression. Although Dragutinović did not use superlatives, his essay was affirmative, it accepted and understood Gounod's music and pointed to the importance of this author in the history of French music. However, this very positive attitude was somewhat in disagreement with Dragutinović's initial considerations. Namely, when talking about the French opera prior to Gounod – about the situation which was brought about by Daniel Auber and Giacomo Meyerbeer – the *Herald*'s music writer did not miss the opportunity to not only point out all the bad sides of so-called big opera, but also to express his reserve towards any opera: "Music is no longer sincere and lived, if opera music can be sincere and lived at all." [Dragutinović 1932: 71].

³ More on Miloje Milojević's positions can be found in articles by Vasić [Vasić 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008]

The *Herald's* authors, even when writing articles other than essays on composers and their works, mostly agreed with Dragutinović and moved away from opera and opera literature⁴.



Image 2. Composer Milenko Živković (1901–1964), member of the editorial board of the *Musical Herald* (1938–1941).

Nevertheless, within the corpus of essays on composers, a strong voice supporting (Italian) opera of the nineteenth century could be heard. It was the voice of Milenko Živković, one of the *Herald's* editors in the second series of the journal. Živković marked the 120th anniversary of Giuseppe Verdi's birth with a long text, published in two consecutive issues of the *Music Herald* [Živković 1933]. This was a long piece of writing, which presented the composer's biography, an overview of all his important works, and which colorfully narrated the history of successes and failures of certain of Verdi's works. Apart

⁴ Petar Bingulac on one occasion decidedly says, "...an audience is not cultivated with Puccini and Verdi." [comp. Bingulac 1930: 30]. Stana Ribnikar takes the same position when describing the music of Vincenzo Bellini and Gaetano Donizetti as lilting, incompact and sentimental [comp. Ribnikar 1932: 69].

from being informative, this essay was also axiologically important for Serbian readers of that time. Once again, one can notice that there was a polemic with unnamed opponents in the *Herald*. The opponent could have been Miloje Milojević, the most influential Serbian musicographer between the two world wars, famous for his war against opera and its form. However, as has been previously mentioned, there were some authors in the *Herald* who were on Milojević's side. Milenko Živković did not name any names, but he energetically refuted the attitudes of all the authors that could be recognized as the opposing side in this energetic apology of Verdi. A leftist when it came to political and ideological orientation, Živković wrote, "What Giuseppe Verdi, that peasant from Le Roncole ... has in common with us today is that the directness and genuineness of his expression is free of any artism and decadent sophistication (what is its purpose anyway?!)" [Živković 1933: 249]. But that was not all. Milenko Živković did not agree with the aesthetic liquidation of the opera form or, more precisely, he disagreed with the ignoring of the artistic results of the history of opera in the name of an alleged supremacy of musical drama. We shall provide a somewhat longer quotation, in order to show how eloquently and with how many real arguments Milenko Živković defeated all his unnamed opponents:

"Verdi's art has to be accepted or rejected completely. If we reject it, then we reject an entire historical fact, an important musical form which was created and developed following its own rules with a lot of success; we reject the opera as it is, in its purest form. Here we do not need to mention Gluck and Mozart who are representatives of completely different genres... No one can deny the sincerity of Verdi's music... This sincerity, which lies deep in his special way of expression, is the real reason why his operas shook the masses to the core and why they produced a deep ethical process within them. And which goal would be above this goal in art?! [Živković 1933: 301]

It should be added that the *Herald's* discussion on opera / musical drama was probably related to the repertoire policy of the National Theatre. However, none of the *Herald's* essays spoke about the Theatre and its policy overtly⁵.

The *Herald* also presented some other Western European composers such as Eugen d'Albert, Claude Debussy, Richard Strauss and Christoph Willibald von Gluck. Branko Dragutinović correctly defined D'Albert's style as a synthesis of Italian verismo and Wagner's style of musical drama. [Dragutinović 1932a: 83]. In his essay on Debussy he did provide information on his life, but half of the text was dedicated to the characteristics of his music. The continuation of the nineteenth century tradition in Serbian musicography between the two wars was confirmed by the fact that Dragutinović wrote about Debussy's physical appearance [Dragutinović 1933].

The *Herald* marked the seventieth anniversary of Richard Strauss with an essay by Antun Dobronić. However, the conventional occasion was not an

⁵ Future bibliographic research of the Serbian press in the interwar period will make it possible to do a study on the fluctuation of our music critics' opinions on opera / musical drama. The author of this paper discusses the position of The *Serbian Literary Herald* (1901–1914, 1920–1941) on this question in his master's thesis. [Vasić 2004]. The *Serbian Literary Herald* (*Srpski književni glasnik*) gathered numerous musical writers, and Miloje Milojević was the leader.

invitation for a panegyric. Dobronić severely criticized Strauss's music as lacking content and being heterogenic in terms of style, and in his conclusion he quoted an opinion according to which this composer was nothing but a rhetorician, or an orator who expresses himself through tones [Dobronić 1934]. Branka Jovanović addressed music lovers in her article on Gluck [Jovanović 1939]. The article was informative – biography, Gluck's physical appearance and character, his private life, and also his music work. The musicological apparatus was not used when speaking about Gluck's reform of the opera, and generally this piece of writing lacked expert terminology. Branka Jovanović and the *Musical Herald* correctly believed that it would be easier to keep the attention of the less informed readers if the composer was presented from the psychological and biographical perspective. Thus, we can read, "Gluck loved his wife, who accompanied him on all his travels, dearly. He had no children but adopted his niece, whom he loved as his own daughter... He was too sincere for the French salons, as he openly stated his opinion, which bewildered the French who criticized him for that..." [Jovanović 1939: 142].

The *Musical Herald* confirmed its predilection towards biography by publishing texts which were examples of the pure biographical genre. Vaclav Vedral wrote about Mozart's life on three occasions. In one short text he wrote about Mozart's bitter destiny in "proud Vienna" and on his happy moments in Prague [1931]. On another occasion, he wrote about the women in Mozart's life [Vedral 1931a]. Finally, in his last piece on the subject, he revealed numerous facts that were important for understanding the youth of the *Magic Flute*'s composer [Vedral 1941]⁶.

The *Herald* also published a short autobiography of Vincent d'Indy, which this composer wrote a few days before his death. Plastic in their simplicity, d'Indy's notes revealed the years of the composer's formation and learning, the relationship with his teacher Césaire Franck, his admiration for Wagner, his work with Liszt and many other interesting particularities from his youth [D'Indy 1932b]⁷.

ON UNKNOWN MUSIC CULTURES

Of particular value and importance are the several essays dedicated to the peoples and countries whose musical art and culture was virtually completely unknown to Serbian and Yugoslav audiences.

Two years after *Music* did so, the *Herald* also directed its attention towards English music⁸. Kosta Manojlović, an Oxford University graduate, gave an extensive overview of the history of English music from the earliest times to the contemporary period, with a special focus on English folk music [Manojlović

⁶ In the note accompanying this article, Vedral stated that the source was a feuilleton on Mozart published in 1931 in the Prague *Politika*.

⁷ This article was translated and published in *Revija muzike*, Belgrade, March 1940, № 3, p. 8.

⁸ *Music (Muzika)* dedicated one issue (February 1929, № 2) to English music. Three essays were published: *Contemporary English Music* by Edward Joseph Dent; *Henry Persle* by Miloje Milojević; *Music Life in the Elizabethan Time* by Charles Dyke. These provided the first detailed information in Serbia on English music.

1931]. Erih Samlaić wrote two essays on Jewish music – folk music, but also on the main figures in Jewish art music in the nineteenth and twentieth century [Samlaić 1933; 1933a]. A special feature was an essay on music in Albania which was published in the *Herald*. Russian ethnomusicologist Yuri Arbatsky presented the current situation in music in Albania, including the names of the most prominent performers, and observations on the relationship of the state towards music, as well as the relationship of the musicians towards national folk music. The facts which Arbatsky mentioned were striking: there was only one singing society in Albania, and the rich tradition of folk singing was not being recorded and was, thus, being neglected. The state, wrote Arbatsky, did not foster any collection of folk melodies [Arbatsky 1939]⁹.

For Serbian and Yugoslav readers, an essay by Rikard Švarc on music in the USA must have been especially fascinating. The music culture of this country was completely out of the purview of Serbian and Yugoslav musicians and audiences. Švarc pointed to the essential aspects of American music: that prior to the First World War music in America was “an imported product,” that at the time it was present in everyday life – there was not a single American household without a gramophone, a radio or an electrical piano. Švarc wrote about the changes which occurred around 1915 in regards to the national style of composition. All the relevant phenomena – jazz, opera, operetta, education, patronship, sound films, and ballet – were mentioned or analyzed by Rikard Švarc. Švarc’s observation that “from the perspective of the state, music in America is the private matter of each individual” [Švarc 1930: 111] was of particular importance for a comparison with the situation in Serbia and Yugoslavia, which was characterized by a tendency to put the care of music and musical education under the control of the state.

LITERATURE AND AESTHETICS

Essays on bordering topics as well as those dedicated to the aesthetics of music contributed to the variety of the *Herald*’s essays on western European music.

Stana Ribnikar wrote an informative and inspired essay on Johann Wolfgang von Goethe’s relationship to music and musicians [Ribnikar 1932]. It should be added that the connection between music and literature was an attractive topic for the *Musical Herald*, and for Serbian musicography between the two wars in general. Thus, Erih Samlaić reviewed a book of selected letters by the most famous German musicians, edited by the musicologist Alfred Einstein [Samlaić 1939]. Among the editors of the “Forum” edition were Thomas Mann, René Schickele, Franz Werfel and Stefan Zweig. The reader could get acquainted with the letters of Johann Sebastian Bach, Georg Friedrich Händel, K. W. Gluck, Franz Joseph Haydn, W. A. Mozart, L. V. Beethoven, Carl Maria von Weber, Franz Schubert, Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Robert Schumann,

⁹ Arbatsky started his work in ethnomusicology in Yugoslavia, where he lived from 1933 until 1942. He earned his PhD with the thesis *Playing the Davul in the Central Balkans* [Kovačević 1984: 19–20].

R. Wagner and Johannes Brahms. The review, which dealt with the letters and their authors, was written in a vivid style and contained some curious details such as the fact that K. M. Weber had written an unfinished novel! [Samlaić 1939].

Danilo Danić, a philosophy writer, published two essays in the discipline which has remained the least developed in our philosophy – in the aesthetics of music¹⁰. The underlying reason for his short overview of the development of the aesthetics of music in Germany in the nineteenth century was the question which still remains relevant: can music express feelings? Danilo Danić claimed that there is no answer to this, and added, “Once the cause of the aesthetic pleasure becomes known, the means by which a certain musical effect is achieved will also be established” [Danic 1934: 141]. With this answer Danilo Danić actually directed the reader towards experimental, empirical psychology. Another important essay by the same author was the one on Eduard Hanslick, the founder of the aesthetics of music, written on the 30th anniversary of Hanslick’s death [Danic1934a]. Hanslick’s biography and bibliography were presented, with Danić’s critical reflection on Hanslick’s negative attitude towards program music being of especial importance. The Serbian philosopher discerningly reminded his readers that “in all program music one can look for and find only music, regardless of its program...” [Danic 1934a: 172].

Danić humorously wrote about Hanslick as a music critic:

“Bad opinion was expressed almost impersonally, in a likeable way and impeccably in terms of style. Unpleasant things are said politely, hopes and ambitions are crushed with a noble gesture. It can be said that criticism has never before or since terrorized so skillfully and gallantly.” [Danic 1934a: 170–171].

Humor was not only a characteristic of the *Music Herald*’s associates. The members of the editorial staff themselves had an inclination towards materials that could similarly arouse interest among the readers and entertain them. For instance, in 1928, in the section “Music news” the *Herald* wrote about Giacomo Puccini’s opera *Turandot*: “For several months there has been... a story about a strange plagiarism. Apparently the opera ‘Turandot’ by Puccini is nothing but a simple theft of an opera of the same name, composed thirty years ago by the sisters Frieda and Goldina Rubinson...” The *Berliner Zeitung am Mittag* refuted this by providing a medical certificate which proved that the Rubinson sisters suffered from persecution mania, of which their father was not spared either” [Anonymous 1928].

Finally, we should add that *The Music Herald* published less ambitious texts which aimed at simply communicating specialist information to those who needed it but who did not have substantial knowledge or experience in music. For example, Milan Bajšanski wrote a short popular essay on the orchestra and its instruments. It was a short historical overview of the development of the orchestra from Andrea Gabrieli to R. Wagner and the modern

¹⁰ Serbian historiographers have not studied the work of Danilo Danić. His name does not appear in the most extensive overview of Serbian philosophy [Žunjić 2009]. Not even Serbian musicology has mentioned his name [Pejović 1999].

times. [Bajšanski 1930]. The popularization approach made this article accessible to students and amateurs.

* * *

When it comes to foreign music The *Music Herald of the Stanković Music society* has indebted Serbian music culture primarily by providing writings on, for that time, “faraway” music cultures, as well as texts on the aesthetics of music. Also worthy of attention were contributions which point to the connections between music and literature – the field of comparative aesthetics and musicology, which has received minimal attention in our country to this day. All the essays worked to familiarize local audiences with foreign music by presenting them with clear facts. As both a bearer and a conduit of information, The *Herald* also provided a critical and polemical approach regarding some composers and music-related questions.

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THE EXPANSION OF POPULAR MUSIC IN INTERWAR YUGOSLAVIA: THE EXAMPLES OF PUBLISHING HOUSES OF JOVAN FRAJT AND SERGIJE STRAHOV*

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SUMMARY: This paper will look at the editions of print music by Jovan Frajt and Sergije Strahov which were published in the period from 1921 to 1944 in Belgrade. An examination of the preserved parts of Frajt's and Strahov's collections, and additional analysis of data from the daily press and periodicals, as well as memoirs and archive holdings allow a partial reconstruction of the field of popular music in Yugoslavia, including identification of prominent authors, text writers and performers of popular songs from that period, as well as genres and cultural influences (USA, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Italy, France, USSR, etc.). A comparison of trends in this field in the region of Yugoslavia with trends in other countries provides the basis for making assumptions regarding the characteristics of local production of popular music. The aim is to shed light on the circumstances in which autochthonous Yugoslav popular music production was created and to consider the importance of this aspect for the research of Yugoslav society and culture of that period.

KEY WORDS: popular music, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (SCS) / Yugoslavia, Jovan Frajt, Sergije Strahov, Russian immigrants, schlagers, music for dance.

INTRODUCTION

The "entertainment industry", or more precisely the production of various kinds of commercial art rapidly bloomed after the First World War ended, first in the developed capitalist countries and later in less economically developed areas, where its importance gradually grew during the 1920s and 1930s. Such

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an expansion was influenced by a mutual permeation of various socio-historical and socio-economic processes which dated further back in the past, encompassing the last decades of the nineteenth century. What was of particular importance, in addition to technological inventions, which enabled recording and reproduction of audiovisual signals and wireless transmission of sound, was the emancipation of marginalized groups, especially women, which was a consequence of their active participation in the economy, army and culture during the war, due to the need for human resources, and, later, of the decimated military-capable male population after the war¹. The change in perception of the function and content of leisure activities in everyday life of different classes that occurred after the war should not be neglected either [Zimring 2013].

In spite of the economic and demographic devastations of the entire eastern part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes due to the war, and the unstable political situation in the newly formed state during the entire period of its existence, a rapid establishment of the “entertainment sphere” could be noticed in urban areas in the form of a renewal of the commercial arts market, as well as the spread and diversification of spaces for social entertainment². It seems that the desire of the citizens of Yugoslavia to overcome the war traumas and misfortunes caused by material and human losses added to the increased interest in content and activities intended for entertainment, which were a kind of a psychological compensation and at the same time an escape and distraction from the grim past and present. The increasing need for sociability, for everyday life filled with humor, serenity and optimism, coincides with the significant internationalization of American and German popular culture and their mass consumption. European markets, including the Kingdom of SCS, were “flooded” with commercial products from the USA and Germany. The availability of American and German movies and discography, as well as products from Great Britain, Austria, Hungary and Italy in Yugoslavia on the one hand, and the importance the population gave to new forms of social entertainment, on the other, created fertile grounds for an expansion of popular culture and music in the region. Although this field existed solely because of the cultural “colonization” of economically more developed countries at that

¹ More details on the bloom of popular culture after the First World War in: [Rearick 1997]; [Stanley 2008].

² A simple glance at the daily newspapers in the Kingdom of SCS from the first few years after the First World War ended clearly indicates the need for normalization of everyday life and the need to forget the terrifying events of the recent war. This process was reflected in the widening of offers in the sphere of entertainment, in the form of new cinemas and dance schools, or the organization of parties, matinees and dancing nights by numerous associations, institutions and individuals. The daily paper *Politika* regularly announced such events from mid 1920, and in 1921 the first advertisements for modern dance schools appeared (One-Step, Two-Step, Boston-Waltz and Foxtrot). A report by Tax department of the city of Belgrade, which was published in daily newspapers, testifies to inclination of the Yugoslav citizens towards commercial arts and new forms of entertainment. According to the report, in 1922, in addition to massively visiting cinemas, the citizens of Belgrade regularly visited variety show bars and cabaret shows, less frequently theatres. The testimony of Dimitrije M. Knežev, which was published in his memoirs [Knežev 1987], should be added to this, as well as testimonies of many who actively participated in cultural life in the interwar period, whose memories were published in a two-volume book *Belgrade in Memories (Beograd u sećanjima)*, 1919–1929, 1930–1941 [1980, 1983].

moment, still with time and as a result of joint efforts of a group of individuals and institutions in Belgrade and Zagreb, conditions were created for the birth of autochthonous Yugoslav commercial/popular music. This process can be noticed in the early 1930s, with the appearance of the first composers and text writers of schlagers and music for dance in Yugoslavia, as well as popular singers and performers of this kind of music.

As a confirmation of the thesis that there existed an autochthonous Yugoslav popular music in the interwar period and, at the same time, as a source of data for the reconstruction of the music production field in this area, we will use the print music editions of Jovan Frajt and Sergije Strahov, which have not been duly explored in previous research. Since Frajt's and Strahov's publishing houses, apart from the publishers *Albini* and *Akord* from Zagreb, were the most influential in Yugoslavia when it comes to music, and since music publishing, as well as radio and discography production were the backbone of the Yugoslav entertainment industry, we believe that insight into the preserved collections, while relying on the available published and unpublished materials, memoir literature and historical research conducted so far, is an inevitable and important step in the process of studying not only popular music in Yugoslavia between the two wars but also Yugoslav culture and society of that time.

STUDY OF POPULAR MUSIC IN YUGOSLAVIA IN THE INTERWAR PERIOD: A REVIEW OF THE KEY ISSUES

In spite of the quantity of resources in the form of daily newspapers and periodicals which were published between the two wars in Yugoslavia³, the memoir literature⁴, as well as the unpublished materials stored in the Archive of Yugoslavia⁵, Historical Archive of Belgrade, the SASA Institute of Musicology and other institutions which provide a mine of information on tendencies on the market of commercial art products in this region and on urban areas and social practices developed under the influence of "the entertainment industry", research of popular music and culture did not attract much attention of local researchers. Although in their works certain historians do provide

³ The newspaper that deserved a special attention in the context of research of popular music in the Kingdom of SCS/ Yugoslavia is the *Yugoslav Musician* (*Jugoslavenski muzičar*), which was published in Zagreb from 1923 to 1941. In 1927, it became the voice of the Association of Musicians in the Kingdom of SCS and was renamed as the *Musician* (*Muzičar*) in 1928. In addition to regular reports on music publications which were published in Yugoslavia, the newspaper published advertisements for musicians and their employers and also published articles on musical life in Yugoslavia written by music experts and professionals. These are invaluable data that could hardly be found in other newspapers from this period. Unfortunately, in Serbia there are only a few issues which are available in the National Library of Serbia.

⁴ In addition to memoir publications which are mentioned in footnote no. 2, we also took into account the memoirs of Vojislav Bubiša Simić *A Sentimental Journey* (*Sentimentalno putovanje*, Beograd 2011).

⁵ For more details about the sources in the Archive of Yugoslavia which are very important for studying popular music, see: Vesić 2014: 336. Apart from the files of the Ministry of Education of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, the files of the Ministry of Internal affairs of KY are also interesting, since this ministry issued certificates and permissions to, hotel, restaurant and bar owners, entertainers and musicians, among others [see in: Petrović 2009].

observations on the phenomenon of “Europeanization” and “Americanization” of Yugoslav culture between the two wars, quoting a plethora of resources as support for the data⁶, they cannot compensate for the lack of more encompassing, more detailed and more systematic studies in this field. A major obstacle in the process of studying popular culture in the Kingdom of SCS/Yugoslavia is above all the complexity of the phenomenon itself, which requires the application of various types of specialized knowledge and interdisciplinarity in theoretical and methodological foundations⁷.

Namely, popular culture transcends the borders of phenomena such as film, music, radio and theatre production with their genre subdivisions and interconnections, aesthetic characteristics and demands and ideological frameworks; medialization and internationalization of culture; mass consumption; artists-superstars; public/social dancing as a special form of social integration; reconsideration of gender roles and social norms connected with public display of the male and female body, etc. To this should be added the complex interconnection between politics and commercial art throughout the entire period (and later) at the international level and in Yugoslavia, which requires the development of a specific theoretical basis and methodological procedures, as well as an intensive application of a comparative approach to data analysis. This kind of approach can be conducted only in the case when there is a rich corpus of research of the mentioned phenomena at the level of individual national cultures. If such a corpus does not exist, it significantly limits the ways of examining the popular culture in a certain region as well as the scope and contribution of such research.

The common problem in the study of popular music in the Kingdom of SCS/Yugoslavia is the lack of basic research on radio and discography production in the region, as well as research on distribution and consumption of sound movies. Given the fact that these are the most important segments in this field, a lack of precise and systematized data which could, at least, indirectly point to certain trends and processes within it, certainly makes the process of reconstruction more difficult, affecting indirectly the results of music publishing research.

⁶ We have in mind the work of Predrag J. Marković (*Belgrade and Europe. European Influences on the Process of Modernization of Belgrade (Beograd i Evropa. Evropski uticaji na proces modernizacije Beograda*, Savremena administracija, 1992) and the work of Radina Vučetić (“With the Trumpet through the Iron Curtain – the Penetration of Jazz into Socialist Yugoslavia” (Trubom kroz gvozdeni zavesu – prodor džeza u socijalističku Jugoslaviju, *Muzikologija*, 13/2012/:53–78) where the phenomenon of the influence of American culture in Yugoslavia after the Second World War is analyzed, but there is a short review of the interwar period as well.

⁷ Rare examples of publications which deal with the problem of Yugoslav popular music in the interwar period mostly belong to the genre of publicistic and not scientific works, which certainly does not diminish their importance for the collection and systematization of the materials on this phenomenon. One should single out the work by Mihailo Blam [Blam 2011] which follows the development of jazz in Serbia from 1927 to 1944 relying on various materials (photos, recordings, correspondence, print media etc.) and *An Antology of Popular Serbian Songs (Antologija popularne srpske pesme)* (collection I, *The Time of Schlager Music (Vreme šlagera)*, Belgrade 2012) which, in addition to schlager music by certain Yugoslav authors from the interwar period, the period of occupation and the socialist period, contains a foreword by Svetolik Jakovljević, conceived as a general overview of the development of the genre in the first and second Yugoslavia. Finally, a work by Kristina Lučić [Lučić 2004], which follows the expansion of popular music in Zagreb between the two wars should also be mentioned.

Namely, having no clear idea about the role of Radio Zagreb, Ljubljana and Belgrade in the “entertainment industry” in Yugoslavia and just partial answers to some questions, such as which popular music genres and performers were played on their programs, what was the concept of the music program, what were the ideological and aesthetic premises that the editorial policies were based on, and what were the listeners’ reactions – limits to a certain extent the interpretation of the data received from the analysis of the preserved editions of Jovan Frajt and Sergije Strahov, and impedes the process of further generalization and synthesis. Without this information, it is impossible to evaluate more precisely or contextualize more thoroughly the given data. The absence of systematic overviews of the available sound editions and sound movies in the Kingdom of SCS/Yugoslavia in the period between the two world wars contributes to that as well.

Nevertheless, one should not ignore certain initiatives and activities that were started during the previous decade, which considerably expanded the materials for research of popular music in Yugoslavia. We refer to the project of digitization of the records from the first part of the twentieth century, initiated by the National Library of Serbia in 2007 in order to form the National Sound Archive (NSA), which would contain digital copies of all the available sound editions from private and state collections from all of Serbia⁸. To our knowledge, so far only the editions available in the library holdings have been digitized. Based on the National Library electronic catalogue, it can be noticed that the majority are the records (over 240) released by the only Yugoslav discographic house at the time – *Edison Bel Penkala / Elektroton* from Zagreb (1926–1947), as well as the records released by the German houses *Odeon* (about 250), *Polydor* (180) and *Telefunken* (83), British *His Master’s Voice* (277), American *Columbia* (over 320) and *RSA* (5). It is important to emphasize that among the digitized materials, apart from the recorded performances of folk music from the area of Serbia and Yugoslavia by famous interpreters from the interwar period and the period before the First World War, recordings of Yugoslav singers performing schlager music (both foreign and domestic) can also be found. The recordings in question are of extreme value, as they are the only sound trace from that period, since the audio archive of Radio Belgrade and Sender Belgrad radio were destroyed.

ANALYSIS OF THE PRESERVED COLLECTION OF FRAJT’S AND STRAHOV’S MUSIC EDITIONS

Setting up a publishing house specialized in print music was certainly an exceptional achievement in the period between the two wars in the Kingdom of SCS/Yugoslavia, bearing in mind the fact that the local distributors offered music editions of the most famous European publishers through catalogues or in direct sale. These were actually trading houses which in addition to offering print music also sold instruments and music equipment, as well as gramophone records. They had music publications of Czech, German and English publishing

⁸ For more details, see: “National Sound Archive planned”, 8. 8. 2007, http://www.b92.net/kultura/knjige/vesti.php?nav_id=258570.

houses. For example, the music company *Harmony* (*Harmonija*) was an exclusive distributor of the German *Schott's Söhne* from Mainz, while *Sveslovenska knjižara J. M. Stefanovića i druga* offered a wide range of foreign editions in its catalogue. Apart from that, the sheet music of certain publishers could be ordered through intermediaries, from other companies or directly, so on the Yugoslav market one could find printed music published by English publisher *J. & W. Chester Ltd*, then *Edition Hudebni Matice* (editions of Czech composers and writers) and *Mojmir Urbánek* (a publisher from Prague).

Although the local trading houses made the latest music editions by prestigious houses available, it was noticeable that a considerable part of music publications published after the end of the First World War in the segment of commercial music production was still out of the reach of Yugoslav consumers. It seems that exactly this fact is very important when talking about the foundation of specialized music publishing houses in Yugoslavia, such as those of Jovan Frajt, Segije Strahov, and Kosta M. Bojković, along with *Albini*, *Akord*, *Herkiza*, *Jugomelodija* and others. Namely, when analyzing the preserved collections and printed catalogues of these houses, it can be clearly seen that the music pieces which were classified as “light” or “entertaining” music as opposed to “serious”, that is art music, were also included.

Jovan Frajt was among the first to notice a certain imbalance on the Yugoslav market when it came to printed music, as there was not a proper offer of the music genres and works other than those of art music. This is certainly not surprising taking into consideration his long experience as a salon orchestra leader in the *Moscow Hotel* in Belgrade (*Moskva hotel*), which provided him with a certain insight into music preferences of not only the local bourgeois class, but others as well. As a result of being well informed about the needs of the local music audience and having good connections with musicians and music experts, Frajt was able to precisely define the niche and the scope of his future trade venture of starting a publishing house.

This venture started in 1921, and it was unique not just in Yugoslavia but in the Balkans as well. Actually, until the end of the twenties and beginning of the thirties, when other publishing houses of similar profile appeared in Zagreb, Belgrade and Ljubljana, Frajt's editions of printed music were the only domestic publications aiming at fans of different types of music, especially music other than art music. Apart from printed music, Frajt published music textbooks, music notebooks and sheet music, procured foreign music literature and sold music instruments and spare parts for instruments (concert pianos and upright pianos, accordions, string and brass instruments).

Since the preserved Frajt's editions can be found in private collections which are not available to a wider public, as well as in various libraries and archives, and since the printed catalogues of the publications are only partially available, it is difficult to establish the exact volume of printed music published during the two decades of the existence of Frajt's publishing house (1921–1941). Being aware of the fact that Frajt numerically marked all of his editions, and that in one of the catalogues there is an ordinal number 937, we can assume that the total number of publications was higher than that number.

Some of the editions can be found in the collection of the National Library of Serbia in Belgrade (about 350), in the Matica Srpska Library in Novi Sad (about 600) and in the Archive of the SASA Institute of Musicology in Belgrade (about 250). Apart from that, a considerable number of preserved editions can be found in the private collection of Frajt's heirs.

A comparative analysis of the editions catalogued in the abovementioned libraries and archives and preserved printed catalogues that the musicologist Hristina Medić made available to us, allows the reconstruction of about 80% of the editions published by Frajt's house. One part of the editions was dedicated to art music, including opera arias and piano music composed by famous Italian, French, German, Russian and Czech authors of the Romantic era. Important solo songs, choirs and piano music written by Serbian and Yugoslav authors from the second half of the nineteenth century and the first few decades of the twentieth century should be added as well. Apart from that, a considerable part of Frajt's collection included remakes of traditional *kolo* folk dances, mostly intended for piano performance, as well as remakes of folk songs written for piano and voice. Most of these were composed by Frajt himself, while a smaller number was written by Yugoslav authors such as Ivan Dominis, Stevan Frajt and Vaclav Verdal.

A special place among Frajt's editions belongs to works which do not belong to art music but to the category of salon and commercial art. We would like to mention that these categories were not strictly defined between the two wars and that their limits depended on the circumstances in which music production and consumption were developing in local environments, and on classifications which were established by music experts, intellectuals, and media and discography industry experts. In addition, arias and numbers from operettas by Emmerich Kálman, Franz Lehár, Ralph Benatzky, Edmund Eysler and others should be mentioned, as well as piano pieces which had the form of stylized dances (March, Waltz, Boston-Waltz, Tango etc.) by Austrian, Czech, Hungarian, French, German, and Russian composers of salon music and operettas⁹, and, finally – schlager music.

Judging by their numbers, Schlager music by local and foreign composers was an important segment of Frajt's collection. A large number of schlagers had their origin in operettas or came from the rich production of German, American, Austrian, Hungarian and Bulgarian popular music of the time¹⁰,

⁹ Also represented were works by Alfons Czibulka, Gustav Lange, Emmerich Kálman, František Kmoch, Paul Lincke, Jacques Offenbach, Auguste Durand, Friedrich Baumfelder, Leon Jessel, Florian Hermann, Robert Planquette, Hermann Riedel, Ludwig Siede, Robert Vollstedt, Émile Waldteufel and others. It is important to emphasize that a many of these works belonged to the so-called music for dance, as a separate, more modern version of salon music, based on popular dance rhythms (One-Step, Two-Step, Foxtrot, Boston, etc.).

¹⁰ Among foreign authors a special place was reserved for German authors: Fred Markusch (4), Robert Stolz (2 pieces of schlager music and one instrumental foxtrot), Richard Fall (3), Will Meisel (2), Paul Lincke (2) and Hugo Hirsch (2), followed by Austrian authors Ralph Benatzky (6), Bruno Granichstaedten (3) and Hermann Leopoldi (2), Czech authors Jára Beneš (5) and Karel Hašler (2), American authors José Padilla (4) and Walter Donaldson (2), Italian authors Ernesto de Curtis (2) and Gaetano Lama (2), Bulgarian author Josif Cankov (Йосиф Цанков; 4) and Hungarian author Mihály Eisemann (2).

while a smaller part was the work of Yugoslav authors, among whom Frajt¹¹ himself stood out in terms of quantity. The language of all the foreign schlager music was transformed by providing them with a Serbo-Croatian version of lyrics, a kind of a “poetic rendition or adaptation”. It is interesting that, apart from Jovan Frajt and Slavko Paitoni, Sergije Strahov, a Russian immigrant who was among other things a prominent member of the Belgrade Association of Russian Writers and Journalists and certainly one of the most influential personalities, played a crucial role in the sphere of Yugoslav commercial music. Strahov transformed the lyrics of foreign schlager music into the Serbo-Croatian language and wrote original texts for schlager music and cooperated with the most prominent Yugoslav authors of that period. Jovan Frajt was one of them and it seems that Strahov had excellent cooperation with him, seeing as he was frequently hired as a text writer.

An analysis of schlager music by Yugoslav authors from Frajt’s collection reveals several important features. First of all, it can be noticed that among the individuals who contributed to the genre, only a small number did not come from the circles of professional musicians or musicians with some level of music education. Such a conclusion was reached after a detailed review of the list of members of one of the most important Yugoslav musical professional associations from the period between the two wars which through its three sections, in Ljubljana, Zagreb and Belgrade, gathered music authors from all parts of Yugoslavia¹². This was the Association of Yugoslav Music Authors which was active from the late 1920s until the beginning of the Second World War. Based on the available data it was established that, apart from just a few, the majority of schlager authors from Frajt’s collection were members of this association. Apart from Jovan Frajt, the other registered members included Lav Veselovski (Kragujevac), Miša Arandelović (Belgrade), Ratko Lazić (Belgrade), Alfred Pordes (Belgrade), Ivan Dominis (Banja Luka), Jovan Urban, Đula Vitkai (Debeljača), Viljem Vagner (Pančevo) and Josif Rajhenić Raha. Among those who were not members of the Association, Mirko Marković, Mile Milutinović and Mile Mihajlović should be mentioned.

In addition, we can conclude that the schlager music by Yugoslav authors, as regards music features and lyrics content, was shaped in accordance with contemporary global tendencies in the field of popular music production (particularly in Europe). Namely, while relying on rhythms of popular dances from that period – slowfox, foxtrot, tango etc. which defined the music character of schlager music, the authors also sought to achieve a wide variety of textual and musical solutions. This resulted in the creation of different types of schlagers, in which various types of atmosphere predominated (Illustration 1, 2, 3). For example, there were humoristic schlagers, as well as those of a sensual, satirical or elegiac character. Such a differentiation was certainly not specific to Yugoslav production but was, rather, a widespread phenomenon.

¹¹ The list of Yugoslav authors and their works is in the appendix (See Appendix 1).

¹² The list is a part of the legacy of Petar Krstić which is kept in the Archives of the SASA Institute of Musicology in Belgrade.



BILA JEDNOM...
TANGO JOVAN FRAJT

BILA JEDNOM...
TANGO JOVAN FRAJT

Image 1. The cover and the first page of the song *Bila jednom* (*Once there was*) composed by Jovan Frajt (Jovan Frajt's *Edition Populaire* no. 783).
Arhive of the Institute of Musicology SASA, sign. JF XVIII/3.



Image 2. The cover of the song *Kad plače violina* (*When violin weeps*) for piano and voice composed by Nikola Butaš, with lyrics written by Sergije Strahov (Jovan Frajt's edition no. 795). Arhive of the SASA Institute of Musicology, sign. JF XXIII/4.

PLAVI HAVAJU
MY BLUE HAWAII
Slow-fox
Moderato (no too fast) Muzika i reči: Sl. i R. Lazić

Ha - vaj - ski kra - ju sun - ča - nog sha
Ju - žni kad ve - tar uz ša - pat blag
U ču - nu sno - va sva - ku ču noć

za to - bom več - no čez - nu - ću ja...
tvoj rod - ni na - pev pe - vu - ši drag...
tvom pla - vom kra - ju po - no - va doć...

Su - za u sr - cu mo - me si ti...
u sr - cu dav - ni ja - ve se sni...
Na pu - stom ža - lu, dok mo - re spi

Da! će - mo se i - kad o - pet sre - sti mi?
Ru - žo Juž - nog mo - ra, gde si sa - da ti?
sre - ću pro - šlih da - na na - ci će mo ml...

Refrain
Pla - ti Ha - va - ju, Čez - nji - vi

kra - ju gde cva - te sni...
Kraj tvo - ga ža - la uz - di - še
ma - la Le - l - la - ny... Tu zve - zda
sva - ka šap - će iz zra - ka: Div - no je
lju - bi - ti u trop - skoj no - ci toj...
Pla - vi Ha - va - ju... Tira - si moj...

NOTO-LITO
L. FUKS-ZEMUN
TEL. 37-276

Image 3. The song *Plavi Havaju* (*My blue Hawaii*) composed by Ratko Lazić and S. Lazić (Jovan Frajt's edition no. 826). Arhive of the Institute of Musicology SASA, sign. JF XXIII/5.

It is evident that, in all of his editions, Frajt promoted schlager authors from different parts of Yugoslavia, not focusing only on a single region or regional center, as was common in the context of artistic music production. This speaks not only of the relevance of his collection for the study of popular music in the entire country but of its role in setting the foundations for the creation of Yugoslav popular music production.

Although Strahov appears as a translator of schlager texts published by Frajt, and as a text writer in the second half of the 1930s, his name had been familiar to the fans of “light” music in Belgrade and Yugoslavia much before this period. According to archive data, Strahov became the leader and member of an operetta group which performed in the restaurant *Russian Crown* (*Ruska Kruna*) in Belgrade, comprising eighteen professional Russian and Belgrade singers and artists. Although it is not known how long the troupe was active nor what was on their repertoire, it can be assumed that the connection with the world of predominantly commercially oriented music, as well as with Belgrade urban culture and its particularities, was an important experience for Strahov, especially when it came to his later work in the field of music publishing and production. The “experiment” with operetta performances put Strahov in contact with numerous musicians, including Olga Jančevacka, with whom he continued to cooperate in the next decade.

While Jovan Frajt’s biography can be reconstructed from multiple sources, this is not the case with Strahov, as records of his diverse activities in interwar Belgrade are scant. Still, it is known that he started his own publishing house in 1935 and that it worked until the end of the Second World War. This can be confirmed from different records, including the preserved music scores published by his company. Like Frajt, Strahov numbered his editions, and one of the ordinal numbers which appeared on the preserved printed music was 402. This number enables us to give a rough estimate of the volume of this collection, which was for more than a decade published in *Edicija Strahov*, *Muzičke novosti Strahov* etc.

One part of this collection (about 200 music editions) has been indexed and is available to the public in the collections of the National Library of Serbia and the Matica Srpska Library in Novi Sad. It is assumed that one part of the editions by Sergije Strahov, just like Frajt’s editions, is held in private collections and that is why it is difficult to establish the exact number of the preserved printed music editions. Although only about a half of the entire collection of this publisher is available, some features and particularities of the collection can be established upon closer inspection of the materials.

First of all, the largest segment of the preserved editions (about 160) comprises independent editions of Strahov’s publishing house, whereas the rest of the collection (about 40) consists of cooperations with mostly German publishers which started in the period of occupation (1941–1944). Unlike Frajt’s collection, which had a variety of genres, Strahov’s repertoire of published works is more balanced and is based on two types of works: Russian romances and schlager music by domestic and foreign authors. The rest are remakes of Russian and Yugoslav folk songs and dances. As for schlager music by foreign

authors, there are considerably more works from German, Russian, Italian and Hungarian films, than in Frajt's collection. This is particularly typical for the period after 1941, when schlager music from German films was frequently published. In addition, a large number of compositions by German authors is present, and to a lesser extent by Italian, Russian and Hungarian authors¹³.

Yugoslav authors and performers, who comprise almost a quarter of the preserved collection (about 40 creations), have an important place in Strahov's publications. Apart from individually printed pieces of schlager music, there are also special publications, some based on parts of the repertoire of popular singers of folk and schlager music of the time – Edo Ljubić, Raša Radenković, Uroš Seferović and Fulgencije Vucemilović, while others are compilations of domestic and foreign works (*18 najpopularnijih domaćih i inostranih šlagera i pesama*,¹⁴ 1940). In comparison to Frajt's collection, one can notice that there are more Yugoslav authors¹⁵ who are more diverse in terms of regional provenance. Apart from Strahov himself, another twenty-two names of authors appear, some of whom have been found on the members' list of the Association of Yugoslav Music Authors, which confirms that they were probably residents of Yugoslavia (Gábor Jancsuskó from Novi Sad; Sergije Franck from Belgrade; Peter Hochstrasser from Vršac; Fric Biró). Among them, there are those whose schlager music was also published in Frajt's collection (Alfred Pordes, Miša Arandelović and Ratko Lazić), as well as a number of younger authors who appeared during the German occupation (Darko Kraljić, Borivoje Simić, Mladen Guteša, Saša Andrejević, Slobodan Bižić, Mija Krnjevac Todorović, Aleksandar Đukić).

Schlager music composed by Yugoslav authors in Strahov's collection was mostly based on rhythms of tango and foxtrot (slow and quick) and varies according to musical and textual content. Namely, in addition to humorous ones, there are those of sentimental and melancholic character. Interesting examples are Strahov's works in which one can notice the influence of the Russian romance tradition, especially in the melody. This is testified by the instructions and descriptions which he used in certain schlager music – romance and tango, "song and tango with use of an old Russian romance" etc.

AUTOCHTHONOUS YUGOSLAV POPULAR MUSIC BEFORE 1945: DEFINING THE SCOPE AND PROBLEM FRAMEWORK

An examination of Frajt's and Strahov's music editions reveals some important phenomena related to the foundation of Yugoslav popular music. Firstly, a certain form of "decentralization" is noticeable not only in the process of creation but also in the distribution and performance of this type of music, since musicians from various parts of Yugoslavia took part in it, not only in-

¹³ There are a number of schlagers by German authors Hans Otto Bergman, Peter Kreuder, Walter Grimm, Michael Jary, Theo Mackeben, Peter Igelhoff, Franz Grothe, Werner Bochmann, Italian authors Gorni Kramer, Eldo di Lazzaro, and Russian author Isak Dunaevski (Исаак Дунаевский).

¹⁴ *Eighteen most popular domestic and international songs and schlager music.*

¹⁵ See the list of authors in Appendix 2.

dividuals form key regional centers but also those from smaller towns and villages. Belgrade and Zagreb certainly played a crucial role in the context of expansion of popular music, corresponding with the market share they directly covered and their needs for commercial music products, but this obviously did not impede efforts for achieving more comprehensive regional links and the creation of a wider network of individuals and groups from different Yugoslav provinces (*banovinas*). Regarding that, it is interesting to note the fact that in these parts ethnicity was not an obstacle for authors who inclined towards the creation of popular music, as testified by the continual cooperation among the Serbian, Russian, Croatian, German, Austrian, Hungarian, Bosnian and Jewish authors and performers living in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. The cosmopolitan spirit, which was prevalent in the sphere of Yugoslav commercial music production, was also present in the sphere of distribution (publishing), which included the latest music from Bulgaria, Hungary, Austria, Germany, Italy, France, Great Britain and the USA.

Based on the data from both collections, one can perceive several distinct, coherent groups in the field of Yugoslav popular music of that period. One group consisted of the Russian immigrants gathered around Sergije Strahov, while the other group consisted of the musicians gathered around Radio Belgrade. Namely, while his publishing house was active, Strahov formed a circle of associates from Russian immigration circles who were involved in the process of music creation in various ways. He relied on composers Lav Veselovski, Sergije Frank (Belgrade) and Vladimir Plotnikov (Novi Sad), on arranger Jurij Azbukin (Belgrade), as well as on translators and songwriters Nataša Strahov and Olga Frank. Apart from them, he also cooperated closely with two famous interpreters of Russian romances – Olga Jančevecka and Jurij Morfesi, publishing songs from their repertoire. Another important connection was the one Strahov made with a group of performers from Radio Belgrade – Edo Ljubić, Uroš Seferović, Raša Radenković and Fulgencije Vucemilović, who had already achieved some renown among Belgrade and Yugoslav audiences when the print editions carrying their names appeared. Ljubić had regularly performed as a folk music singer in radio shows since 1934, just as Seferović (from 1936), Radenković (1938) and Vucemilović (1939) did. Still, from 1938, Seferović and Radenković started appearing in programs in which schlager music was performed and in which Vlaho Paljetak, a musician from Zagreb, was occasionally a guest.

The fact that these singers equally cultivated repertoires of folk and schlager music, which can also be noticed in Strahov's printed editions inspired by their successful interpretations, is interesting when analyzing the popular music practices in Yugoslavia, especially if one adds the predilection of the Russian authors for both romance and schlager music (Strahov and Frank, for example). Namely, the impression is that in the performers' practices of that time the approach to divisions between distinct genres was flexible, i.e. that the boundaries between schlager music, folk songs and, probably, songs by salon and operetta authors meandered. In connection to that, it can be assumed that, as far as performing and consumption were concerned, the definition of

popular music in Yugoslavia in the interwar period was not strict, except in its distinction from art music. This boundary was fixed as a result of the continuing and active work of Yugoslav music experts and cultural elite who insisted on clearly differentiating between artistic and non-artistic (commercial) works.

The meandering of the dividing line between popular music in a stricter sense (schlager music and music for dance) and other “commercial” music genres (operetta, salon music, folk music/urban folk/, military music) were less perceptible in distribution (publishing and radio programs), where there was a tendency to separate them more clearly. For instance, the programs of Radio Belgrade had titles such as “music for dance” and “seasonal schlager music” to label the music numbers based on popular dance rhythms. This type of music was not mixed with other genres, so folk, art, military and salon music were broadcasted in special programs and at a certain time. Apart from that, in one of the preserved copies of Frajt’s catalogues, in which the names of Yugoslav authors and their published compositions, were given in alphabetical order, the following notice was printed: “music for dance (schlager music) is not included in the list”. Since the list contains works from the field of art and salon music, it is clear that the publishers separated popular music from other commercial types of music products.

Finally, we can conclude that the process of formation of autochthonous Yugoslav popular music before 1945 was in its infancy, and that it would have advanced more intensively had the film industry been more developed in Yugoslavia. Certainly, one should bear in mind the dissolution of Yugoslavia, and the influence of the war as a serious obstacle in that process. However, on the other hand, the efforts of the German invaders to place popular music in the center of everyday life in city centers should not be neglected. Although still developing, Yugoslav music at the time, together with other segments of popular culture in Yugoslavia, can serve as a starting point for shedding light on important social cultural and political processes. Here we especially have in mind the problem of the repressive nature of the Yugoslav state in the period between the two wars, which certain historians have found intriguing in the last decade [Dobrivojević 2006; Simić 2007; Petrović 2009]. Although we generally agree with their claims regarding the existence of increased social control and institutional de-autonomization in the interwar period, we still believe that not enough attention has been given to various ways of opposition to the political elite and its “national pedagogy”, which we believe was clearly manifested in the sphere of popular culture. The subversive aspect of the Yugoslavs’ mass enjoyment of the new forms of entertainment after the First World War deserves to be further explored, along with other significant aspects of the phenomenon of popular music and culture between the two wars.

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Appendix 1. The list of authors of schlagers and music for dance from Frajt's collection

- Miša Arandelović, Razbiću sve čaše, no. 850
 – Hoćete li da vas volim?, no. 851
 Nikola Butaš, Kad plače violina, song-tango, no. 795.
 Lav Veselovski, Deux roses, song-tango, no. 658
 – Tango Berceuse, song-tango, no. 664
 – Kad ja ne kažem 'da', song-tango, no. 665
 – Kupite đevreke, song-foxtrot, no. 670
 – Divlje orhideje, song-slowfox, no. 679
 – Madona noći, tango-blues song, no. 682
 Ivan Dominis, Šankure, foxtrot, no. 180
 – Zauvek s Bogom, tango for piano solo, no. 573
 – Tugovanka, tango for piano solo, no. 630
 – Milada, tango for piano solo, no. 636
 Ratko Lazić, Beligolub, no. 810
 – Razbilo se srce moje, no. 810
 – (in cooperation with S. Lazić) Plavi Havaju, song-slowfox, no. 826
 – Odnela je srce moja draga, no. 836
 – Da je život tužna pesma odavno sam znao, no. 836
 – Good night lady, song-slowfox, no. 837
 Mirko Marković, Verasita, song-tango, no. 809
 – Песма мора цпуа, song-slowfox, no. 815
 – Kad se spusti plava noć, song-swingfox, no. 825
 Josif Rajhenić Raha, Lagana kao pero, song and tango, no. 746
 Jovan Urban, Mis Jugoslavija 1931, song-tango, no.719
 Jovan Frajt, O, Mona Vana, song-tango, no.708
 – Da li si zaista moja, song-slowfox, no. 715
 – Drž' desno, song-foxtrot, no.718a
 – Ti draga ne pitaj, song-tango, no.723
 – Rumba, no. 727
 – Zar moram biti Kazanova, song-foxtrot, no.728
 – Bato, bato ti si moje zlato, song-foxtrot, no.737
 – Iz lepih sretnih dana, white roses waltz, no. 739
 – Devojče, ja sam lud od sreće, song-foxtrot, no.752
 – Bila jednom, song-tango, no.783
 – Oh, ljubav, song-foxtrot, no.792
 – Ja čujem smeh i pesmu, song-tango, no.793

Appendix 2. The list of Yugoslav authors of schlagers and music for dance in Strahov's collection

- Saša Andrejević, Mnogo nežnih reči, song-foxtrot, 194?
- Miša Arandelović, Ulicama kružim, song-waltz, 1939, no. 208
- Slobodan D. Bižić, Čeznja, song-tango, 1943, no. 348
- Fric Biro, Marita, song-tango, 1938, no. 158
- Tri palme, ?
- Obrad Gluščević, I tako malo pomalo, song-waltz, 1938, no. 134
- Mladen Guteša, Sneg, song-foxtrot, 1944, no. 385
- Aleksandar Đukić, Ja bih hteo, al' mi ne da mama, 1943?, no. 379
- Gabor Jančuško, Jedne majske noći, ?, no. 107
- Anton Jurić, Pruži mi raj Marleno, song-tango, ?, no. 255
- Darko Kraljić, Zašto si pospan Čo?, song-foxtrot, 1943?, no. 344
- Dve kišne noći u septembru, 1944, no. 366
- Tri male sestre, song-foxtrot, 1944, no. 376
- Mija Krnjevac Todorović, Samo tvoje plave oči, song-tango, 1944, no. 386
- Ratko Lazić, Dve popularne pesme, 1938?, no. 157
- Edo Ljubić, Sanjaj Marelo, song-tango, 1937, no. 111a
- Živko Milojković, Kraj plavog mora, song-tango, ?, no. 175
- Eugen Peštalić, U sedmom nebu, song-tango, 1935.
- Alfred Pordes, Svaku noć madam, song-tango, 1940, no. 233
- Uroš Seferović, Ne plači Danijela, song-tango, ?, no. 166
- Borivoje Simić, Plavi san, song-slowfox, no., 1944, no. 388
- K. Stanisavljević, Ja na harmonici, ti na gitari, song-tango, 1939, no. 188
- Sergije Strahov, Ta idite u peršun, song-foxtrot, 1934.
- Dve, tri suze, svršetak romana, romance – tango, 1935, no. 33
- Sunce, more i ti, tango-serenade, 1935, no. 50
- Još pet minuta, song-tango, 1938?, no. 135
- U našem malom gradu, 1940, no. 225
- Harmonika, 1940, no. 225
- Umiram za te, 1940, no. 225
- Ti si Ruskinja, song-tango, ?
- Pod južnim suncem, song-foxtrot, ?, no. 359
- Šta ćeš, takav je život, song-tango, 1940?
- Ni jedna, ni druga, ni treća, song-foxtrot, 1944?, no. 402
- U životu sve je drukčije, song-tango, 1944, no. 367
- Sergije Frank, Ja sav tvoj, Belgrade song and tango, ?
- Peter Hohštaser, Zar nije samo san, song-tango, ?, no. 143.
- Ja dayno slutim da srce voli, song-tango, 1939?, no. 182
- Maks Švarcmanov, Svako žensko srce dira. Mala bleđa ruža, 1934.
- Novi Sad, song-foxtrot, ?

VAJATS IN THE VILLAGES ON THE SOUTHERN SLOPES OF MOUNT POVLEN

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SUMMARY: Vajats (singular: Serbian *vajat* /pronounced as *vayat*/; plural: *vajati* (English *vayats*) are objects located in the croft of a rural household. They are rectangular, single-room buildings with a corner entrance and without windows. They were used either to house newly-wed couples, or as storage for keeping dairy products, or as temporary mountain houses. With respect to their structure there are two large groups of vajats: 1) vajats in which the infill and the frame are identical, and 2) vajats with an infill and with a load-bearing frame. The latter group can further be divided into vajats with the following infills: either of horizontal planks, or of vertical wooden strips, or of a combination of horizontal planks and vertical wooden strips. Considering the foundations that support them there are three types: a) vajats placed on stone footings, b) vajats placed on strip foundations, and c) vajats with a basement. This paper gives account of the materials collected during a personal research conducted from 1996 to 2000.

KEY WORDS: vajats, rural buildings, carpentry connections, vernacular architecture, Mount Povlen.

INTRODUCTION

Vajats, or “buildings”, as they are called in the majority of villages on the southern slopes of Mount Povlen, had a significant role in the life of the rural household in the 19th and the 20th century. Vajats are single-room objects, rectangular in shape, with a corner entrance and without windows. They are built from wood, using several constructive solutions. They are covered with shingles, stone slabs or ceramic roof tiles. Nowadays, they no longer have their specific role, and with the loss of their function the need for their maintenance is also being lost, which is why they are disappearing. This paper presents materials on vajats collected in the aforementioned area, which were recorded during research conducted between 1996 and 2000.

The territory that is analysed in this paper encompasses the villages on the southern slopes of Mount Povlen. In terms of the administrative areas, it

mentioned contexts, it was only the function that was changed, while the constructive solutions remained identical. With respect to the constructive solution of the body of the building, it is possible to distinguish several typical groups of vajats which are based on the applied primary and secondary constructive systems:

1. vajats made from thick planks connected at corners with halving joints (“na čert”),
2. vajats with a frame and infill of thick, horizontal planks (“na u nizu”),
3. vajats with a frame and infill of thick, horizontal planks and vertical wooden strips (“na u nizu i na šašovce”), and
4. vajats with a frame and infill of vertical wooden strips (“na šašovce”).

With respect to the foundations that support them there are three types:

1. Vajats placed on stone footings,
2. Vajats placed on strip foundations,
3. Vajats with a basement (“na čelicu”).

Nowadays, vajats have lost their purpose as a “building” that houses newly-wed couples, they no longer serve as dairy storage because brick buildings are used instead, and there is a gradual decline in their use in mountain areas.

VAJATS FROM HORIZONTAL PLANKS CONNECTED WITH HALVING JOINTS (“NA ČERT”)

The dimensions of the building were the primary reason for the choice of this constructive solution. This type of vajat has small dimensions (up to 2,5 x 3,0 m). The length of the sides of the building that is thus defined allows the builders to locate wooden elements of a satisfactory quality and, above all, satisfactory length in the immediate vicinity of the construction site. With an increase in the length of the building's sides there is a decrease in the amount of available materials. Another important feature of this manner of construction is the inability of using joints between planks. Along the length of the walls it is virtually impossible to join two planks and, at the same time, to preserve the constructive qualities of the building elements.

The construction of buildings using thick planks connected with halving joints is probably the simplest manner of building vajats. It involves constructing the lower zone that is supported by the foundation. The lower zone is made from planks of a rectangular cross-section that are connected with halving joints at the building's corners. The central part of the building, which is also constructed from planks and connected with halving joints, is placed on the lower zone.

The entrance is usually at the corner of the basis. In order to maintain the stability of the building, posts are placed on each side of the door opening, serving as door jambs. At the same time, a groove is chiselled into the posts, so that horizontal planks can be slid into them using tenon and mortise joints (the planks are connected on the corners of the building with halving joints). Dowels connect the planks and the lower part of the building, whereas an additional connection is achieved with posts on each side of the door. The building

is completed by adding the upper zone which is identical to the lower one and consists of planks connected at corners with halving joints. The upper zone at the same time functions as a support for the roof. This type of a building rarely has any openings for daylight, with the door opening performing this additional function. If further openings are placed, they have to be small in dimension so that they do not jeopardize the stability of the planks. Doors are constructed from vertically placed planks, connected on the inside with horizontal battens.

There are not many metal parts on the building. Apart from the hinges on the doors (which may also be made of wood), there are no aspects of the constructive solution which would necessitate the use of metal. For instance, those spots in the building that would otherwise require metal nails can successfully be secured with dowels made from hard wood. This indicates that the construction is not pretentious and that it is fully directed towards its environment.

Variations in the basic design are rare. They primarily include minimal changes in the way the head jamb is shaped (by making the shape of a shallow arch with its rise being limited by the height of the available material). (*Images 2–8*)



Image 2. A vajat made from thick planks which are connected with halving joints



Image 3. A vajat made from thick planks which are connected with halving joints



Image 4. A vajat made from thick planks which are connected with halving joints



Image 5. A vajat made from thick planks which are connected with halving joints



Image 6. A vajat made from thick planks which are connected with halving joints



Image 7. A vajat made from thick, horizontal planks which are connected with halving joints

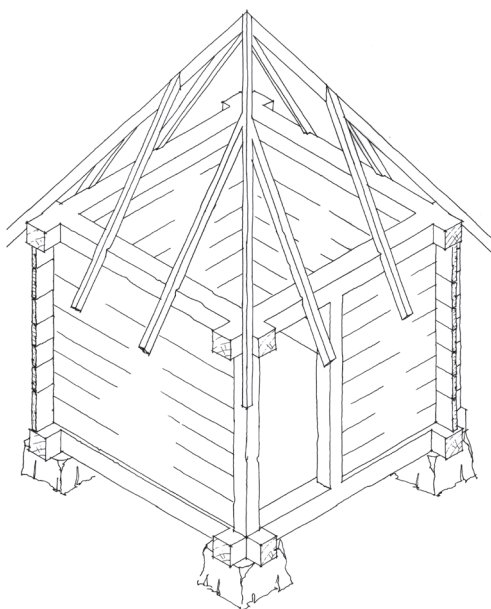


Image 8. Spatial assembly of a vajat made from thick, horizontal planks which are connected with halving joints

VAJATS WITH HORIZONTAL PLANKS AND TENON AND MORTISE JOINTS

Vajats with a frame made from wooden beams filled in with thick planks which are connected with the frame through tenon and mortise joints represent a numerous group. This constructive solution is less demanding in terms of the length and the width of the building materials (which, near the end of the 19th century, when most of the forests had been cut down, were increasingly scarce). Empty spaces that are created between vertical posts and that are filled in with planks can be formed with respect to the available building materials. This results in a significant amount of control over the building process. Another important feature of this solution is that it allows for the materials to be joined onto each other, which increases the dimensions of the building. The length and the width are no longer limited by the dimensions of the available materials and can be increased with respect to the additional demands of a rural household.

The constructive solution involves a beam frame with a rectangular cross-section. The frame consists of a lower and an upper horizontal zone, together with vertical posts placed in corners, and, if necessary, in the range between the corners of the building. The dimensions of the beams in the lower and upper zones are larger than the dimensions of the posts. First, the lower zone is built in the shape of a rectangle, with its beams connected with halving joints. Vertical posts are then placed on the constructed frame and connected to it using a stub mortise joint. It is necessary to install posts at the corners of the building, whereas, depending on the length of the building and the materials available for the infill, they are also placed at appropriate positions between the corners. The frame is completed by adding an upper zone, which is identical to the lower one in terms of its shape and joints. Cross-sections of the beams may be smaller compared to the lower zone. The upper zone also serves as a support for the roof.

The infill of empty spaces thus created consists of horizontally placed thick planks which slide on their left and right sides into grooves formed in the vertical elements of the frame. The planks need not be of identical width, with the width of the groove often smaller than the width of the plank, so that the planks are chiselled down to the appropriate dimensions when they are being slid into grooves. A dowel is inserted at the mid-length of the plank, joining two planks one above the other. If planks are longer, several dowels may be placed.

Horizontal bracing is achieved by several means. One is by placing a belt at mid-height of the posts which is connected to the posts using a stub mortise joint. Another way of bracing is to place a diagonal brace which is welded on the outer side of the frame at a 45° angle. If the planks and beams in the frame are wider than usual, then the brace is often not installed (Images 9–16).



Image 9. A vajat with a frame and an infill of horizontal planks



Image 10. A vajat with a frame and an infill of horizontal planks



Image 11. A vajat with a frame and an infill of horizontal planks



Image 12. A vajat with a frame and an infill of horizontal planks



Image 13. A vajat with a frame and an infill of horizontal planks



Image 14. A vajat with a frame and an infill of horizontal planks



Image 15. A vajat with a frame and an infill of horizontal planks

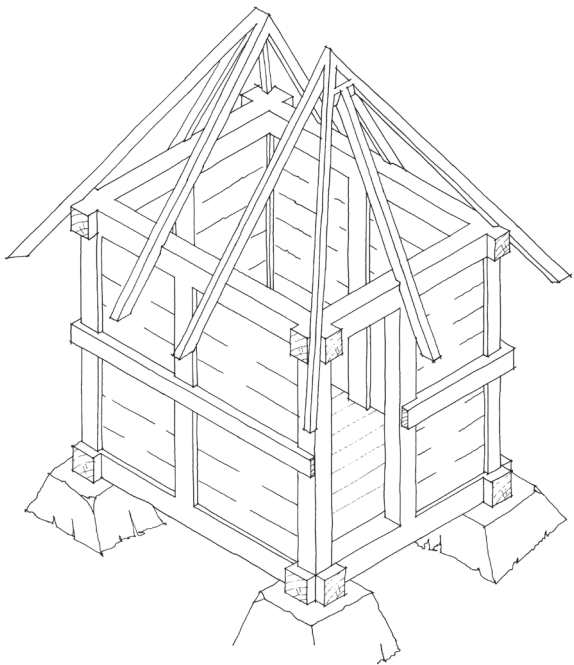


Image 16. Spatial assembly of a vajat with a frame and an infill of horizontal planks

LOG VAJATS WITH HORIZONTAL PLANKS AND VERTICAL WOODEN STRIPS

Vajats with a frame and infill from horizontally placed thick planks and vertically placed wooden strips are rarely found in the analysed area. The only example that has been documented is situated in the village of Varda, the hamlet of Borovac. It is difficult to assume exactly how this constructive solution found its way to this region, other than the fact that the family who owned this building also had land properties in Mačva. Since previous studies noted that this solution was used in the lower parts of the Drina river, it is assumed that this was the way in which the solution reached the aforementioned area [Findrik 1999]. The construction entails erecting a frame made from beams with a rectangular cross-section. The empty spaces that are created after the frame is built are filled using a combination of thick planks and wooden strips. First, a lower zone is constructed from beams connected at corners with halving joints. Following this, vertical posts are placed on the corners of the building, with additional posts on either side of the door which function as door jambs. Finally, an upper zone, identical to the lower one, is placed on the frame thus formed. The frame is braced by placing diagonal braces on the lower zone and on the corner posts very near to the upper zone. Before building the upper zone, horizontal planks are placed. They are put into the grooves made in the left-side and right-side posts. The planks are chiselled down at their ends so that they can be slid into the grooves which are slightly narrower than the planks. Normally, two or three planks are placed one above the other. An additional groove is made on the top plank of the lower zone and on the bottom plank of the upper zone, making sure that the respective grooves are parallel and vertical. Wooden strips are then placed into the grooves, in the direction from right to left. After the upper zone is placed, it is filled in with wooden strips, with grooves on both ends. Posts are doubled next to the door. Doors are constructed from vertical planks, connected with a horizontal batten. Because of the opposite direction in which the infill is made and the way wooden strips are treated, a secondary shadow is created on the façade. This is a simple and unintentional decorative element (*Images 17–18*).



Image 17. A vajat with a frame and an infill of horizontal planks and vertical wooden strips

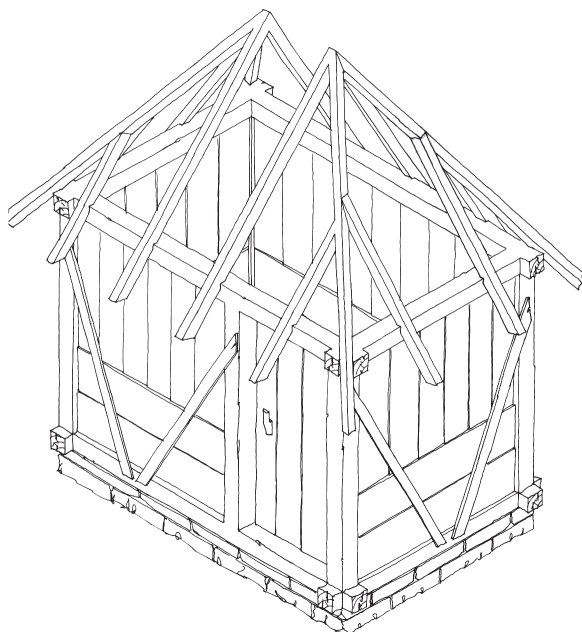


Image 18. Spatial assembly of a vajat with a frame and an infill of horizontal planks and vertical wooden strips

LOG VAJATSWITH INFILL OF VERTICAL WOODEN STRIPS

Vajats with a frame filled in with wooden strips have been documented only in the village of Golečevo. A similar constructive solution can be found on Mount Zlatibor, in the village of Željine and on a granary in the village of Brezna near Gornji Milanovac [Findrik 1999]. The constructive solution is based on the construction of a frame which is filled in with wooden strips. First, the lower zone is constructed using beams with a rectangular cross-section, after which the upper zone is made so that it is identical to the lower one. Between the two zones, posts are placed, which are connected to the zones by means of stub mortise joints. Horizontal beams are placed at mid-height of the posts. Grooves are made on the upper side of the beams in the lower zone and the lower side of the beams in the upper zone. Great care is made that the grooves are at the same height, so that the infill is straight, rather than angled. In some vajats, there are also grooves on the vertical side posts. After the frame is constructed, wooden strips are put into the empty spaces in the frame, starting from lower parts and progressing towards upper ones. This solution does not necessitate the use of long building materials – rather, it is the builders who have to be more skilled compared to the builders of vajats with infill of vertical planks, whereas the materials that are used for infill can be easily replaced when they wear out (*Images 19–20*).



Image 19. A vajat with a frame and an infill of vertical wooden strips

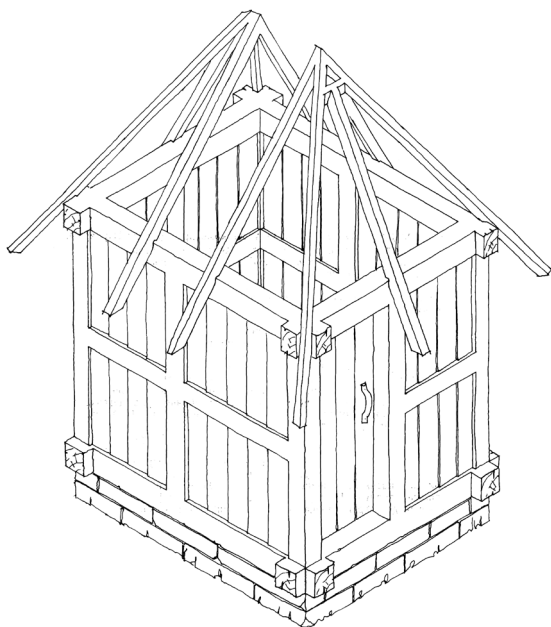


Image 20. Spatial assembly of a vajat with a frame and an infill of vertical wooden strips

VAJATS WITH A BASEMENT (“NA ČELICI”)

Vajats with a basement represent buildings that include previously described constructive solutions, but which are not placed on corner stone footings, but contain a room below the building. The largest number of the documented examples has a frame with infill of horizontal planks. The base of the building can be made from wood or stone. A wooden base can be found in the top-most villages below Little Povlen mountain (1346 m a.s.l.). The construction consists of wooden posts placed in the corners of the object, which carry the main load of the building above it. The length between corner posts is intermittently filled with vertical poles in line with the poles in the wall above. The space between the poles is filled in with horizontally placed planks connected with the frame through tenon and mortise joints. The construction of the floor above is placed on horizontal beams which are fastened by means of grooves with the parallel horizontal beams of the lower zone of the vajat. Load bearing in the zone of the basement is carried out by means of hewn stone footings, or very rarely by strip foundations.

The basement is built from dressed stone bonded with limestone mortar. Since the stone is minimally treated, a larger amount of mortar is necessary, which affects the final image of the façade. The wall is built into the side of a shallow foundation pit. There is most often only a single opening in the basement walls – the one for the door. It is placed in the middle of the wall, almost

always on the shortest side of the building. This is where precipitation least deposits the soil against the building, and the height is the greatest. The head jamb can be constructed by either of two means: 1. by placing a wooden beam which is inserted into the mass of the wall by up to 50 cm, and several beams are placed alongside the entire width of the wall; 2. by constructing the head jamb in the shape of an arch, because of which the use of wood can be avoided.

Vajats over a basement were built in the period when there was a stabilization of political and economic factors in the country, and where the features of the building site allowed it. They did not take up the entire width of the building's base, but only a part of it, like cellars in residential objects. The space that was thus built was used for storing different products made by rural households, such as *slivovitz* (plum brandy) or vegetable products, because of the consistent humidity and temperature (*Images 21–24*).



Image 21. A vajat with a frame and an infill of horizontal planks standing on a dressed stone basement



Image 22. A vajat with a frame and an infill of horizontal planks standing on a dressed stone basement

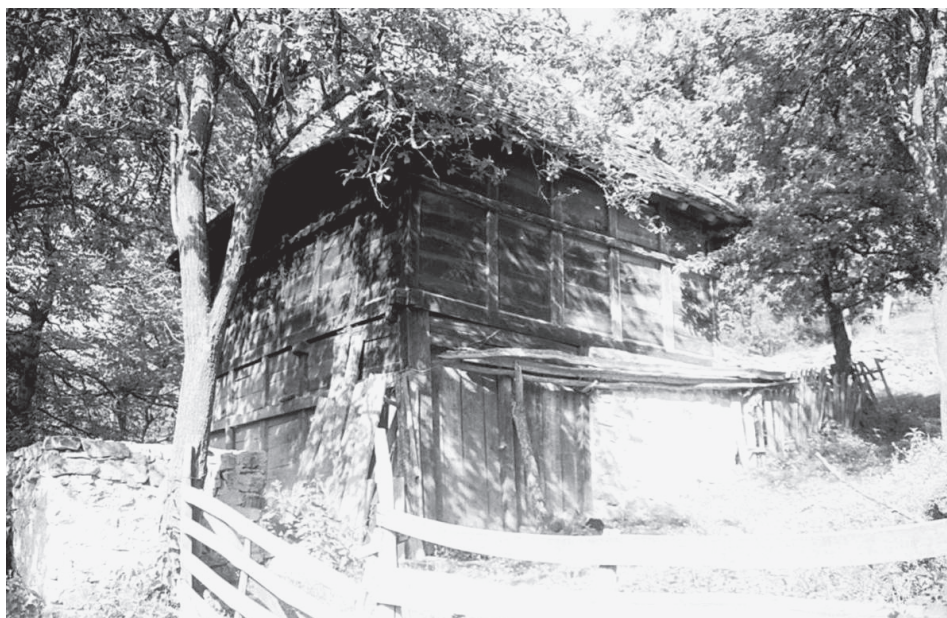


Image 23. A vajat with a frame and an infill of horizontal planks standing on a wooden basement

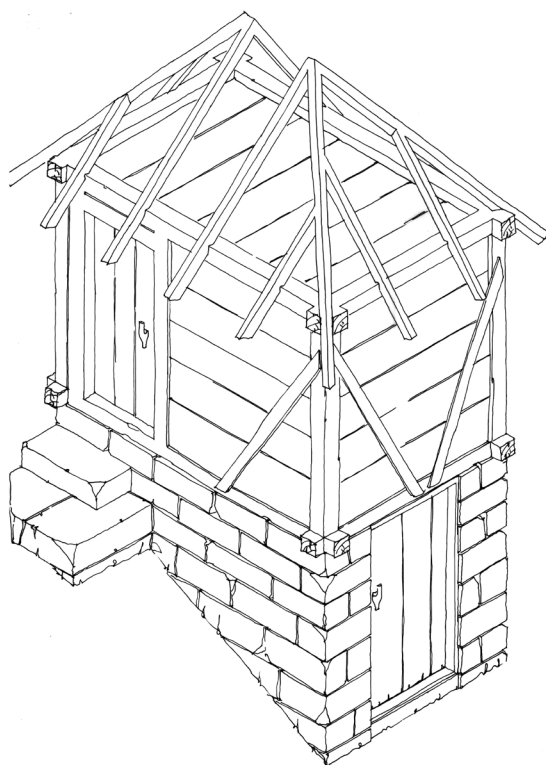


Image 24. Spatial assembly of a vajat with a frame and an infill of horizontal planks standing on a dressed stone basement

CONCLUSIONS

During the 19th and the 20th centuries, vajats were used as ancillary objects in the croft of a rural household. They had several functions within the household: they housed newly-wed couples, they were used as buildings for storing milk and dairy products, as tool sheds, or as temporary mountain lodgings. Their function is consistent throughout the territory of western Serbia. Vajats can be classified with respect to the way they were built and with respect to the foundations that support them. Based on their respective methods of construction, there are two main groups: vajats built only from planks and vajats constructed with a frame and an infill. The second group (vajats with a frame and an infill) can further be divided based on their infill into: vajats with horizontal planks, vajats with horizontal planks and vertical wooden strips and vajats with vertical wooden strips. With respect to the foundations, there are three groups: vajats placed on stone footings, vajats placed on strip foundations and vajats with a basement.

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SOURCES OF IMAGES

- Image 1.* Military Geographic Institute
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THE SEPHARDIC JEWISH COMMUNITY OF NIŠ

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SUMMARY: In 1492, the Sephardic population was expelled from Spain, which spurred a great migration and caused them to seek refuge in other countries. One of these places of refuge was the city of Niš. Having arrived in the city on the Nišava River, a new phase of life for the Sephardim began in the 17th century. They slowly built their society, taking good care of their culture, language, customs, traditions, religion, in a word, of their ethnic identity. In this regard, the objective of this paper is to shed light on the existence and importance of a small community of Sephardic Jews in the city of Niš and its vital existence from Turkish times until the beginning of World War II. This community was very active in the city, and it spawned great merchants, bankers, craftsmen, and individuals who participated in wars and thus helped the local Serbian population. This community also invested in the education of youth and the creation of Jewish societies, whose role was to help all members of the community. The desire for survival and creation was unshakeable, but the inhumane events of 1941, when a large number of Jews were killed, stopped the Sephardic community in its intents and dealt a severe blow to this nation.

KEY WORDS: Sephardic Jews, Niš, Sephardic community, ethnic identity.

INTRODUCTION

The Sephardic population was forced to find a new sanctuary after the expulsion from Spain and Portugal in the 15th century, where it would build new social communities, in order to endure and continue to survive. As a result of numerous migrations, this people waged a constant struggle to preserve its ethnic identity. Often finding itself unwelcome in society, they worked hard to form their own societies, communities, religious sites, improve their youths' education, and protect their language, culture and tradition. The Sephardic Jews were very persistent in their will to survive. Although isolated from their home and origin, they managed to survive and cope with all of life's adversities. However, the unplanned exile and the unpleasant feeling that they were not welcome among other nations caused certain distress, especially when faced with the injustice often inflicted on them by the local population.

The period of adaptation to new places and people was quite extended, as their migrations spread across different countries. Among other places, these Spanish Jews sought and found refuge in some cities in Serbia, including Niš. When the Sephardic Jews came to the city on the Nišava River during the Turkish reign, they established a common Jewish community with *Ashkenazic Jews* or simply *Ashkenazim*, which would function and develop until the beginning of the Second World War, in order to preserve their culture and tradition.

Having a very strong desire to survive and build their home in a foreign land, the Sephardic Jews of Niš, to the extent that it was possible, succeed in preserving their tradition and contributing to the development of the Jewish community. The aim of this paper is to shed light on the existence and functioning of the Sephardic community in Niš, with emphasis on their exile and subsequent arrival to Niš and the organization of their society, the description of their everyday life after liberation from the Turks, the cultural-educational aspect of their community. In addition, and the cruel and inhumane situation in which they found themselves during the Second World War.

THE EXPULSION OF THE SEPHARDIC JEWS

According to documents, the first traces of Jewish presence on the territory of the Iberian Peninsula go back to the 3rd century AD. A significant Jewish community lived on the territory of today's Spain and Portugal, which was called Sefarad. Thus the origin of the name of the branch of today's Sephardic Jews (*los sefarditas*), who, among other things, had their own language, *el Ladino*, a variant of Old Castilian. Although they formed a significant part of the population of the peninsula, little can be found about so-called Jewish Spain in the literature, as compared to the well-known Christian or Moorish Spain, as this country was known among historians. What is certainly known is that they lived on the territory of Spain until the end of the 15th century – in Toledo, Cordoba, Seville, Palma de Mallorca and Girona [Soldatić & Donić 2011: 80].

Many social circumstances, like the Inquisition, had an impact on the Spanish Jews' life, and conditions in that country were unfavorable in the 15th century, even though close friendship with the Jews brought economic benefits to the kings of that period. The expulsion process began with the arrival of Isabella of Castile, who was under the strong influence of the Catholic Church, to the throne. Her husband, Fernando of Aragón (Fernando II de Aragón and V de Castilla), preoccupied with the liberation of Granada, temporarily suspended the decision to expel the Sephardic Jews. However, after the fall of Granada, the Catholic kings passed a decree on the definitive expulsion of the Jews, along with a strict prohibition on taking money and precious metals out of the country [Soldatić & Donić 2011: 84]. In 1492, the expulsion of the Jews who refused to convert into Catholicism began. About 100,000 of them left the country at that time and set out to establish Sephardic communities on other territories [Baho Alvares & Hil Pećaroman 2003: 103].

From that time on, through the years, the life and fate of Sephardic Jews changed considerably. After the expulsion, the Sephardic population began to

settle throughout the Mediterranean region – southern France, the countries of North Africa, Italy, the Ottoman Empire and the Netherlands. Larger numbers of Sephardic Jews moved towards the East and, thanks to Sultan Bayezid II, who ruled as Sultan of the Ottoman Empire from 1481 to 1512, settled in Constantinople, Thessaloniki and the cities of Asia Minor [Vučina Simović & Filipović 2009: 41].

The settlement of the Sephardic population continued in other parts as well. During the reign of Suleiman I, also known as Suleiman the Magnificent (1520–1566), they arrived in the Balkans, first in Macedonia and later in Bulgaria, Serbia, Romania and Bosnia [Vidaković Petrov 2001: 10–14; Nežirović 1992: 17–20; Asan 1995: 118–120 retrieved from Vučina Simović and Filipović 2009: 41]. A large number of Spanish Jews settled in Sarajevo, Belgrade, Bitola, Skopje, while a smaller number settled in several other towns in Southern Serbia [Stanojević 1926: 131], including the city of Niš.

THE ARRIVAL OF SEPHARDIC JEWS IN NIŠ

Since its foundation, thanks to its geographical location, Niš has been an important military base and a major intersection, connecting the West and the East.

According to Hebrew sources, the first written document about Jews in Niš dates back to 1651, and the second from 1671, referring to a case of the murder of a Jewish poll tax collector who worked in some of the villages around Niš. However, a stronger and more visible Jewish presence in Niš and the vicinity began to be felt after 1695, when larger numbers of Sephardic Jews who were expelled from Spain and Portugal began to arrive and settle [Ćurbabić 2011: 55–56].

The community of Jews in Niš was unified, with Sephardic Jews outnumbering the Ashkenazim, i.e., the German Jews. “The Sephardim differed from the Ashkenazim in having preserved Babylonian rather than Palestinian Jewish ritual traditions, and the use of their traditional Judeo-Spanish language (*Ladino*)” [Encyclopedia Britannica 2005: 73]. After the arrival of the Sephardic Jews to Niš, the lives of Jewish population became intertwined, reflecting the power and the progressive spirit of creating communities in order to better and more quickly adapt to the new place of residence, while preserving tradition, culture, language – in a word, identity, which “depends on individual, regional and other circumstances or factors in which individuals grow up and form a social identity” [Filipović 2009: 21]. Being highly motivated to preserve their ethnic identity, the Jews started to build and organize their social community in the city on the Nišava River.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE SEPHARDIC POPULATION

The local Jewish municipality built its first synagogue in 1695, on the left bank of the Nišava River, near the bridge that connected the fortress to the city [NI 2011: 212]. The task of the municipality was to take care of the religious needs of its members, as well as to improve the institution itself. Every Jewish person who lived on the territory the religious municipality had to be its member.

According to its statute, the municipality was governed by the Presidency, the Council and the Committee [VIAN 1996: 455].

The synagogue was a public institution, and represented the main meeting place for the local Jews, among which the largest number were Sephardic Jews. It also represented both the economic and the organizational power of the Jews in Niš, and helped them accelerate the development of the Jewish quarter and the Jewish community in the city, which, in turn, contributed to the strengthening of the community's spiritual life [Ozimić 2001: 14–15].

The first half of the 17th century saw the establishment of the Jewish *mahala* (quarter), the so-called Čivut quarter, in the urban part of the city on the left bank of the Nišava River, in the space bounded by the fortress bridge, today's King Milan Square, David's Street and the Nišava River. The part of Čivut quarter that was closer to the Nišava River was known as Tabakhana or Tabahana, indicating the presence of leather processing workshops [NI 2011: 212]. The Jewish quarter consisted of the Jewish Home, the synagogue, the rabbi's house, the Yeshiva or Jewish school, a ritual bathhouse and many low-rise houses [GS 2016].

The Jewish Home at that time included common rooms on the ground floor and on the first floor. It was built in the first half of the 18th century with the support of Osman-pasha, in the area of today's Balkan Street [NI 2011: 212].

Despite the taxes imposed by the Turkish authorities on the Sephardic Jews, their strong desire to build another synagogue for their religious needs bore fruit.

This new synagogue was erected in 1800, with the support of the Raba's Court in Niš, headed by: Šimon Mordechai, Rahamim Hajim, Rafael Baruch, Chaim Nissim, Šlomo Jakov and Jehuda Moše Eli. The building of the new synagogue in the Čivut quarter during the service of Rabbi Rahamim Naftali Gedalia, marked the beginning of elementary religious education for all the Jews, while the traditional system of teaching or *cheder*¹ was led by Nassim Eli and Ezrael Alkalaj [Ozimić 2001: 15–16].

At the end of the 19th century, there were two synagogues in Niš: the large synagogue El Kal Grande and the small synagogue El Kal Chiko on David's Street [GS 2016].

A great fire broke out and spread to the building of the Jewish quarter on August 15, 1879, and also burned down some houses and shops in the western part of Taš-ćuprija Mala² and At-pazar³, today's Square of King Milan. [NI 2011: 212]. In addition to these buildings, the synagogue inside the quarter was burned down as well [GS 2016].

¹ Cheder is a traditional elementary school teaching the basics of Judaism and the Hebrew language. Its name comes from the Hebrew word *cheder* (room), because classes were held in the room of the teacher and his family. Teaching in the cheder lasted all day, from early in the morning to eight or nine o'clock in the evening. Boys studied the Hebrew alphabet for three months. After learning to read Hebrew, they would immediately begin studying the Torah, Mishna and Talmud. More advanced and ambitious students who finished the cheder would continue their studies in the yeshiva, where they acquired basic knowledge of the Talmud and rabbinic literature [Danon 1996: 218].

² The name was given after the name of a small stone bridge (translator's note).

³ The horse market in Niš (translator's note).

The Jewish quarter was eventually restored, while the old and burnt synagogue was replaced with the new one on the David's Street in 1925 [NI 2011: 212]. According to the book *Regulation Line of the City of Niš* (1921–1924), found in the Historical Archive of Niš, the Serbian-Jewish municipality had begun “building a synagogue situated at David's Street 2 on April 15th, 1924,” and finished it by the spring of 1925. Although archival data on the synagogue's architect are missing, based on notes and interviews with older architects it was concluded that the architect was Milan Kapetanović, together with Victor Azriel. These two had also built the Synagogue in Belgrade in 1908. Thanks to its architectural and historical value, the synagogue has been under the protection of the state since 1986 [Andrejević 2001: 133].

The synagogue in Niš was in use until the Second World War, after which it was not used at all for many years. Renovation began in 2001, and it was officially reopened in 2009. Nowadays, it is also a place where numerous exhibitions, concerts and other cultural events are held [Nikolić 2012: 171].

In spite of the fact that the life of Sephardic Jews changed rapidly after their expulsion from Spain, they always strove, at almost every moment, to build new communities in the places where they settled. Coming to the Balkans, they found a place in the south of Serbia, in Niš, where new Jewish institutions were created to take care of the people, their culture and tradition, as well as the education of the Jewish youth. Although a smaller number of Sephardic Jews lived in Niš than in Belgrade, data, documents, records and population censuses indicate that their presence in the city was noticeable. Consequently, the local population was not indifferent to them, expressing both positive and negative views, but that did not discourage the Sephardic Jews from continuing to build their lives and actively participate in the daily life of the city of Niš.

THE LIFE OF SEPHARDIC JEWS AFTER LIBERATION FROM THE TURKS

According to the *Yearbook of Niš* (*Godišnjak grada Niša* – GGN) for 1938, after Serbia's liberation from the Turks, Niš had a population of 12,817 inhabitants, of which 900 were Jews, or 7.02% of the population. The Sephardic Jews in Niš became more active: “From that time, the Jews who lived in Niš began discussing the problems and the ethics of their religion with greater élan, and several of them began to distinguish themselves. For a time, Niš became quite significant for the Jews, as testified by the fact that the brilliant Moses Maimonides⁴ himself visited the city after the Constantinople Conference” [GGN 1938: 16–17].

After liberation from the Turks, the Sephardic Jews of Niš expected that life under Serbian rule would be much easier. However, the laws that restricted the Jews remained in force: their properties were seized, the Jewish community was required to pay 1.600 *cekin* (approx. 6000 rubles), merchants were held for ransom. In addition, the authorities' decision to change the market day to

⁴ Moses Maimonides (1138–1204) holds a special position in Jewish history. Apart from being a very successful rabbi and community leader, he was also known a prominent medieval philosopher and doctor [Gesundheit & Hadad 2005: 547].

Saturday made attendance at the synagogue impossible. The Jews of Niš were also compelled to close their shops on Sundays and during Serbian holidays, which compounded their material losses [Alliance Israélite Universelle, Lebl 2000; retrieved from Ćurbabić 2011: 56–57].

The life of this population was also not made easy because they were often objects of ridicule because of *shohet*⁵. They were not able to go to the slaughter house or abattoir and prepare meat in the traditional way. There were also cases of desecration of their graves, which, however, was not adequately dealt with by the authorities, indicating a lack of proper support at that moment [Alliance Israélite Universelle, Lebl 2000; retrieved from Ćurbabić 2011: 56–57]. The authorities' decision to demolish certain monuments at the Jewish cemetery in Niš in order to widen the city streets was also met with considerable dissatisfaction on the part of the Jewish community [Ozimić 2001: 26].

Relations between the Sephardic Jews and the rest of the population of Niš began to deteriorate. However, after the fire of August 15, 1879, which consumed almost the entire Jewish quarter, the city's bourgeoisie organized numerous balls and dance parties in order to raise money for the Jewish ecclesiastical school and municipality [Ozimić 2001: 26].

THE PROFESSIONAL DOMAIN

The Sephardic Jews of Niš were "active in all areas of economic life, and especially distinguished themselves in the grain and leather trade and as bankers" [Ćurbabić 2011: 60]. Having invested their money carefully, the members of the Sephardic community started to open shops in Niš. Trade in Niš flourished when the railway between Belgrade and Niš was constructed in 1884, and the competition for customers increased. Accordingly, Jewish traders were among the first to advertise their services in newspapers. "The Spanish Jews were never afraid of the long journey from Niš, Sofia and Plovdiv, and were much more active than the Turks in offering and touting their goods" [Kanić 2007: 212].

Apart from the aforementioned sources of income, the Sephardic Jews invested capital in printing (the first electric printing press in Niš was owned by Đorđe J. Munc and M. Karić) and the construction of the Jewish Savings Bank in 1884. In the same year, they founded the Cooperative Society of Jewish Youth, which was expanded in 1889, and renamed as the Serbian-Jewish Trade Cooperative Society. Besides advertising their goods in newspapers, the Sephardic Jews drew closer to their customers by starting to participate in social gatherings, events and humanitarian campaigns, which also served to overcome prejudices that existed about them among the population of Niš [Ozimić 2001: 37–41].

One such example was the benefaction of the Serbian-Jewish Trade Cooperative Society to help establish the volunteer legion "Sindelić." As recorded,

⁵ *Shohet* (Hebrew) is "a religious and certified person by a rabbi or Jewish court of law to slaughter animals for food in the manner prescribed by Jewish law. He also examines animals and decides whether *kosher meat* is suitable for being eaten" [Verber 1988b: 340; retrieved from Vučina Simović & Filipović 2009: 84].

it was “the first among the economic institutions in Niš to donate, contributing 500 dinars to the National Defense Committee” [Sindelić, 1909: 2].

The Sephardic Jews of Niš also engaged in other, diverse businesses and trades, as cobblers, tanners, shoemakers, day laborers, blacksmiths, coppersmiths, tobacconists, greengrocers, dairymen, grain tradesmen, butchers [Daniti 1939: 9].

Nevertheless, trade was the domain in which they were the most dominant and successful, with the Nisim, Alkalaj, Ruso, Nahmijas, and Mandil families becoming especially prominent and respected [Čurbabić 2011: 60].

RELIGIOUS LIFE

Since their arrival in Niš, the Sephardic Jews aspired to maintain their religious life, holidays and traditional customs, which were very important for preserving their identity and, thus, slowing down ethnic assimilation and integration into the Serbian population. Accordingly, “the pious Sephardic Jews spent a lot of time in the yeshivas, reading spiritual books and listening to sermons” [Daniti 1939: 9]. Religious rituals and other aspects of the Sephardic Jews’ life were usually carried out according to the provisions of a religious-social character that were the product of many generations of Jewish scholars [Urbah 1927: 71; retrieved from Vučina Simović & Filipović 2009: 77].

Accustomed to a lifelong struggle and daily confrontations with brutal reality, the Sephardic population nevertheless managed to overcome all obstacles and preserve its ethnic identity and cultural traditions. The young generations were, thus, brought up in the traditional spirit, respecting their holidays and customs. Among Jewish holidays, the most important were Passover⁶ (Easter), Rosh Hashanah⁷ (Jewish New Year), Yom Kippur⁸ (the Jewish Day of Atonement) and Shavu’ot [NI 2011: 212].

Testimony to the extent to which Jewish holidays were respected were the numerous instances of pupils and soldiers being freed from their duties. The Fund of the Jewish Ecclesiastical School and its Municipality of Niš (1996), held in the Historical Archives of Niš, contains documents such as 1) an Appeal (March 24, 1910) from the administration of the Jewish Municipality sent to the commander of the 16th infantry regiment requesting a leave of absence for

⁶ “According to the lunar calendar, *Passover* always starts on 14th *Nisan* (the end of March or beginning of April). It is an ancient and magnificent feast, and it reminds the Jews of their flight, when they left Egypt in a hurry and did not have time to wait for their bread to rise. That is why this holiday is called *Passover*, i.e. the feast of bread without yeast. The celebration dates back to the time of Moses, and commands the following: On the fourteenth day of the first month in the evening, you will eat bread without yeast until the 21st day of the same month in the evening. There must not be yeast in your house for seven days” [Davičo 2000: 21].

⁷ “Rosh Hashanah is the name for the Jewish New Year, which is celebrated on the first and second day of the seventh month of Tishrei” [Danon 1996: 20].

⁸ *Yom Kippur* is the Jewish Day of Atonement, forgiveness and repentance to reconcile ourselves with the Creator for the mistakes we made in the previous year. It is celebrated on the tenth day of Tishrei, and took place in the temple where they prayed and entered the season of Lent. On that day, every believer bears in mind the laws of Torah, mercy, and exalted feeling of communion with people. Yom Kippur is the culmination and the end of the ten-day period of repentance that begins on Rosh Hashanah [Danon 1996: 26].

the soldiers of the Faith of Moses for Passover (JOP-51); 2) an Application (May 25, 1910) also sent to the commander of the 16th regiment to release soldiers from their obligation to serve during Shavu'ot (JOP-73); 3) an Application for a leave of absence for soldiers during Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur (JOP-136); and 4) a Permission (September 17, 1910) for absence from school of Jewish pupils during those same holidays (JOP-140).

PARTICIPATION OF THE JEWS OF NIŠ IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR

However, the new era brought about new historical events. The danger of war could be felt. The Sephardic Jews who stayed in Niš cast their lot with the Serbian population. Respecting the state in which they lived, the Sephardic Jews served in the army and actively participated in the fighting until the end of the First World War.

During the First World War, when the Bulgarians invaded Niš, they demanded a list of members of the community from the president of the Jewish municipality. A list containing 125 military-capable people of various professions was provided. Most of the Sephardic Jews and Ashkenazim were interned in Bulgaria, some of whom formed families there. Among other things, testimony of this is provided in a letter sent the Jews of Niš to the Bulgarian prefect of the Moravian Military Inspection Area, asking for their release and return from captivity. However, an answer never came [Čurbabić 2011: 60–61]. The families of the interned Jews faced great hardship and barely survived on the aid provided to them by Niš's Jewish Community, as evidenced by a document of the Jewish ecclesiastical school and municipality of Niš [1996: JOP-716]: "There are very poor families among them, living in pitiable conditions, and the municipality is compelled to support them."

Undoubtedly, Serbian people received significant assistance and support from Jewish soldiers during the war. Also, the attitude of this people towards the rulers of Serbia was full of respect, as testified by transcripts of birthday cards sent to King Peter I and Crown Prince Alexander Karađorđević. Among these was the card written by Isak I. Berahe, who had become the president of the municipality on December 4, 1910. It said: "The Birthday of Your Royal Highness is a joyful day for the Jewish ecclesiastical school and municipality of Niš which, in Your Royal Highness, sees assurance of a happy future for Serbia and for us, the followers of the Faith of Moses. We are faithful subjects of His Majesty the King. The merciful God granted the Noble Crown Prince of Serbia recovery after Serbia's great tribulation, and gave us the opportunity to hail our beloved Crown Prince even more joyously on such a significant and happy day for Serbia, the birth of Your Highness" [Ozimić 2001: 56–57].

By participating in the war, the Jews of Niš contributed their fair share to the local population. In honor of their heroism, a monument to Jewish soldiers who fell in the First World War was erected in 1929, near Niška Banja, carrying the names of eighteen Jews from Niš: Moša Avramović, Rafael Avramović, Mordehaj

Bora Alkalaj, Josif Bonvenisti, Binja Danaiti, Mika P. Gedalja, Rahamahirim Sason Kapon, Jakov Mario Karić, Ašer M. Levi, Avram Rahamim Mandič, Josif B. Meir, Danilo Mevorah, Geršon Mevorah, Zdravko I. Nisim, Avram Pelosof, Nisim Pelosof, Benjamin Rafael and Moša S. Ruso [Ćurbabić 2011: 61].

THE SEPHARDIC COMMUNITY AFTER THE WAR

After the war, only 537 Jews remained in Niš. The main reason for this lay in the fact that the Sephardim sought better quality of upbringing and education for their youth, and were leaving the city for other places. Another problem had to do with the difficulties they faced in marrying off their young women, as the nearest Jewish community, in Prokuplje, did not adequately preserve its tradition. This was mainly due to their small population in Prokuplje, as a result of which they soon assimilated into the Serbian population, which did not suit the patriarchally raised Sephardic Jews of Niš [Ozimić 2001: 60]. “The larger Jewish families from Niš emigrated to Belgrade or to the southern cities with a Jewish community, because there were not enough men in Niš eligible for marriage, but also because the bigger cities were offering more opportunities for living and working” [Ćurbabić 2011: 61–62].

The Jews that remained in Niš developed much better relations with the local population than in past times. After the First World War, the atmosphere in the city was peaceful, the social intercourse was more intense, while national and religious divisions were not pronounced. The Sephardic youth of that period became more open to the local rules, such as working on Saturdays, the girls started to dress in the European way, and the first instances of Sephardic women “running off with” Serbian men were recorded. Moreover, more and more Jews began to use the Serbian language in their homes, as a result of which the *Ladino* language was gradually disappearing [Ozimić 2001: 61–67]. “The Jewish-Spanish language as a language of group communication was increasingly withdrawing in favor of Serbian, especially among the younger generations. The loss of oral tradition was even more intense among the young generations. Having been schooled in the official language of the country, it was easier for them to move away from traditional Sephardic culture and language. On the other hand, up to the Second World War, the older generations managed to preserve the Jewish-Spanish language as well as their oral tradition [Vučina Simović & Filipović 2009: 159].

The everyday life of Sephardic Jews in Niš was not easy after liberation from Turkish rule but, through gradual adaptation, it became more bearable. Their active participation in the public sphere, especially in trade and the military, as well as cooperation with the local population, allowed the population of Niš to gradually accept them, which was especially evident after the First World War, when the atmosphere was peaceful, and neighborly relations normalized. Such a climate favored the preservation of social identity and religion, which stimulated the Jewish community to continue establishing various social communities in order to prevent its rapid assimilation into the Serbian majority.

CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL ASPECTS OF THE SEPHARDIC JEWS' LIFE

After several years spent on forming social organizations and organizing communal life, the Sephardim and Ashkenazim of Niš began to engage themselves in the educational and cultural domain.

Jewish Education

Since 1878, the Jewish population of the city on the Nišava River had engaged paid preschool teachers to teach the basics to pre-school children, at the "A la Mestra" nursery school, headed by an older woman named Buka. Documents also mention Avraham Eli and Yehoshua Tuva, teachers employed at the Talmud Torah School [Ozimić 2001: 29]. After 1878, a private Jewish primary school began operating in the two-storey building of the Jewish ecclesial municipality, according to an internal plan and program, under the charge of Jakov Mevarah, Menahari Levi and David Eli. Jakov Mevarah taught 44 pupils of the first grade; Menahari Levi 34 pupils of the second grade, while David Eli taught 20 students of the third grade [Ozimić 2001: 29].

One hundred and seventeen pupils were enrolled in this four-grade Jewish school private school in 1885. Classes were conducted in the Hebrew language. A report from 1888 provides us with insight into its work. The pupils learned the alphabet and syllabic reading in the first grade. The primer that was used in class was composed of prayers, and was printed in Vienna. In the second grade, pupils studied Theophilus, encompassing morning and evening prayers. In the third grade, they were taught arithmetic, the Book of Psalms and the Bible, while in the fourth grade the main subjects were the Bible and the Talmud⁹ [Milovanović 1975: 172].

The school curriculum included reading and writing in the Hebrew and Serbian languages, arithmetic, French, and the singing of religious songs in Hebrew and Serbian. Dimitrije Petković and Mihailo Ristić were the Serbian language teachers [NI 2011: 212].

However, although the school had adequate conditions for work, it was not adequately regulated, and the quality of teaching was at a lower level. For these reasons, in the school year 1895/96, the education authorities of Niš wrote to the Ministry of Education in order to resolve the status of Jewish school. It was necessary to decide whether the school would remain private or should be turned into a public school. On January 12, 1896, the Ministry of Education decided to abolish the school and all the pupils were transferred to other schools in the city [Milovanović 1975: 173].

It was believed at the time that the conditions in Serbian schools were better. The pupils who were moved to Serbian schools were exempted from attendance on Saturdays, Sundays and during Jewish holidays [NI 2011: 212].

⁹ The Talmud refers to Hebrew teaching, instruction, and scholarship. It represents the common name for the Mishnah and the Gemara. The Mishnah is the first major written redaction and codex of the Jewish oral tradition laws where the written laws of the Bible are completed and explained, while Gemara is a detailed comment on the Mishnah [Danon 1996: 160].

Jewish teachers continued to conduct religious education in a building located in the city center, and they were paid by the Jewish community of Niš. The Jews of Niš were not satisfied with the newly arisen situation and the adopted solution. They complained about the intolerance of the local school board and asked for the reopening of the Jewish school in a separate building [Milovanović 1975: 173].

When the Gymnasium (high school) of Niš was founded, the Sephardic students were allowed to continue their education along with Serbian children, on the condition that they previously finished primary school. This is testified by the many lists of students of Jewish origin which can be found in the JOP Fund (JOP-338) of the Historical Archive in Niš.

There is no evidence regarding how the youth reacted to this situation, but it is a fact that the integration of the young Jews of Niš into Serbia's school system began during that period, and that this most probably led to their faster adaptation, and their adoption of new cultural models and the language of the predominant Serbian social community.

It may be concluded that the education and schools of that time represented an example of a predominant language education policy. As in other minority communities, the majority – in this case Serbian – language was gradually being adopted. “The moment when members of a particular language community no longer perceive their language to be useful, i.e., when the majority language becomes, educationally, economically and politically, a value-based resource for survival and improvement of socioeconomic status, and for acquiring prestige within the broader community, the process of language change has inexorably started, while the minority language is retained at the level of the sentimental value of an ethnic language” [Vučina Simović & Filipović 2009: 166].

Social Organizations

In order to strengthen the social community and contribute to its quality, the Sephardic Jews founded various societies engaged in Zionism¹⁰, singing, sports, and Jewish women's issues of that time in Niš. In that context, at the very beginning of the 20th century, the following associations were founded: the Zionist association *Zion*, the Serbian-Jewish singing society “David,” the “Zion” sports society, and the “Deborah” and WIZO (Women's International Zionist Organization) women's societies.

Doctor Borivoje Beraha was the long-time president of the “Zion” association. It is known that this association held several local and provincial conferences until 1936. There were high school and collegiate Zionist societies whose main goal was to gather Jewish youth around the idea of Zionism, the most prominent among them being “Max Nordau,” “Joseph Trumpeldor,” “Hashahar,” “Ze'ev Jabotinsky” and “Hashomer Hatzair” [Ozimić 2001: 33].

¹⁰ Jewish youth in Yugoslavia accepted Zionist ideas. Many Zionist societies were founded, such as “Ivriya,” “Hashomer hatzair,” WIZO (Women's International Zionist Organization), “Kadim,” etc. [Viličić et al. 2014: 15].

When it comes to the entertainment and cultural aspect of the life of the Sephardic Jews of Niš, it is necessary to mention the “David” singing society, which was a favorite among the population. This society performed at weddings and other national celebrations, held concerts, and appeared at the Synagogue on Saturdays and holidays. It was reportedly founded around 1909. Bora Alkalaj and David Alkalaj were distinguished presidents of this society. The society was not active between 1918 and 1922, and it is thought that it was definitely shut down at the beginning of the Second World War [Ozimić 2001: 33–34].

In addition to cultural, educational and entertainment activities, and despite the large numbers of them that left Niš, the Sephardim also successfully took part in sports events.

The Jewish religious municipality, under the leadership of Dr. Borivoje Beraha, formed the “Zion” sports club. According to some records, the founding year was 1929, while others claim that it was 1932. Although the exact year of establishment is unknown, it is important to emphasize that the sports club had great success despite the poor interest of Jewish youth for this kind of activity. In 1937, it qualified for the second group, in company with many of Niš’s well known clubs: “Čegar,” “Gajret,” “Graficar,” “Jedinstvo,” “NSK,” “Concordia” and “Jadran.” The club ceased its work at the beginning of the Second World War in Yugoslavia, in 1941 [Ozimić 2001: 35].

In addition to the aforementioned activities and organizations, the Sephardic society in Niš, also made it possible for the female population to come to prominence in the public sphere of their social group. Unlike the men, for a long time the women in the Jewish community could not be active and adequately contribute to society. Bearing in mind that men played the main role in politics, the economy and the wielding of social power, the women’s role was mainly reduced to home and household, and maintenance of the Jewish family. On the other hand, the isolation of the Sephardic society enabled it to better preserve its roots, religion and traditional customs [Vučina Simović & Filipović 2009: 262].

However, this situation began to change over time: “Jewish women’s societies, mostly charity and philanthropic organizations, began to be founded.” The first Jewish women’s society was founded in Belgrade in 1874. Its main tasks were to promote the education of poor girls and to help the poor elderly and disabled persons [Stanojević 1926: 131].

There was a well-known women’s society called “Deborah” in Niš, which was led by Rebecca Mandil in 1936. The society was a charity organization, like the other Jewish women’s societies. Their task was to help the poor, women who have just given birth to a child and others who needed help. Due to the fact that the members of the society were not institutionally oriented, they resisted for a long time the possibility of becoming a part of the WIZO Zionist society. Finally, when it was explained to “Deborah’s” members that they could retain membership in their society while also being members of WIZO, the misunderstanding was cleared up. The president of WIZO was Rachael Bella Beraha, the wife of Dr. Borivoje Beraha, the president of the Jewish municipality of Niš [Ozimić 2001: 36]. The Sephardic community of Niš also maintained

ties with the community in Belgrade, not just for the purposes of preserving tradition and culture, but also to help those members that sought to improve their skills in certain spheres.

The humanitarian society “Potpora” from Belgrade also provided support for their members from Niš. According to data from the Church Jewish Community Fund [CJCF 1996: JOP 217] of the Historical Archive of Niš, the society sent an invitation for membership to the Jewish municipality in Niš on July 24, 1911, pointing to the importance of the society and of increasing its membership numbers. It was further underlined that “‘Potpora’ has existed in Belgrade for 12 years, with a very humanitarian goal, which can be achieved to the fullest if our compatriots from the rest of Serbia also joined.” Also mentioned was the fact that the society had previously helped many Jewish citizens, doctors, engineers, pharmacists and craftsmen, as well as a large number of boarding school students who sought to improve their skills in the sciences and various crafts, Gymnasium and trade school students, as well as children who were not able to continue their education, by providing them with the opportunity to learn a craft. The invitation concluded by pointing out the need for the society to increase its membership with the help of all Jewish municipalities on the territory of Serbia in order to help all members of the community, especially young people. It was reiterated that “the charity was founded in 1897, with the task of supporting Jewish youth, their education, and the honing of its stipendees’ skills in sciences and crafts. After the First World War, the society expanded its activities to help and bring up Jewish war orphans” [Šlang 2006].

In striving to provide a better living environment for their community, with numerous activities, the Sephardic Jews also left their mark in the art of the city of Niš. Moša Šoamović was a prominent artist of Sephardic origin, whose role in the city’s culture during the first half of the 20th century was very important not just in art, but in education as well.

As a long-time high school professor, Šoamović is remembered as an industrious pedagogue and methodologist, who also played a prominent role in the social life of his school [Drča 1985: 91]. During this period, Niš had a lively and developed fine arts scene, and the appearance of Šoamović and his role as an artist and fine art pedagogue that spanned 30 years, left a significant mark on the city’s history [Makarić 2014: 24].

THE SEPHARDIC COMMUNITY DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR

Until the beginning of the Second World War, the Sephardic population was able to strengthen its community, and to improve its educational and cultural position. By establishing social organizations and schools and gradually moving to Serbian education, the community enabled its members to advance their knowledge and skills and make maximum progress under the given circumstances. However, the historical events of 1941 put an end to all of that.

In 1939, or two years before the beginning of the Second World War in Yugoslavia, Dragiša Cvetković, then Prime Minister and Minister of Internal

Affairs, tried to warn the Jewish community, led by rabbi Avram Daniti, Moša Beraha and the president of the Jewish municipality, Dr Borivoje Beraha, about the difficult times on the horizon and advised them to leave Niš and, with his aid, start heading to Turkey. However, the members of the Jewish community of Niš did not heed his warning, viewing it as a political trick. Two years later, this lack of trust would turn out very costly for them [Ozimić 2001: 82].

In 1941, when the German troops entered Niš, there were five hundred and sixty-two Jews living in the city, or 1% of the total population [Milentijević 1978]. The Nazi plan to exterminate the Jewish population began to be carried out promptly. Almost all Jewish rights were abolished, while their property mercilessly destroyed and plundered [Ćurbabić 2011: 56–57].

The Sephardim of Niš were arrested and taken to the Red Cross concentration camp. “After the breakout from the Red Cross concentration camp in 1942, when approximately one hundred detainees escaped, while a part of the Jewish population was killed and the remainder taken to the ‘Fairground’ concentration camp, the Holocaust exterminated practically all the Sephardic Jews of Niš” [Viličić et al. 2014: 27–28].

CLOSING REMARKS

After years of migrations, beginning with 1492, the Sephardic Jews decided to find a place in the cities of the Balkan states as well. Having found a refuge in Niš at the end of the 17th century, a minority managed to create a base for a decent life, with opportunities and conditions for preserving their traditional customs and religious life as the core of their existence. As they built their synagogues and the Jewish mahala (quarter), the Sephardim developed an active life in Niš, where they subsequently gained prominence as able merchants, bankers and craftsmen, but also as participants of wars.

While investing in the education of their youth, the Sephardic Jews also ambitiously created societies, mostly of Zionist character, organized around singing, sports and the issues of Jewish women of that time in Niš. They sought to help the younger generations, by way of organized humanitarian societies that donated money to the poor, but also to those members who wanted to continue their education abroad.

Respecting their religion, sacred books and religious rituals, the Sephardic Jews tried to honor all holidays, and regularly sought leave from the army and school authorities. Although they tried to maintain their ethnic identity, assimilation into the Serbian population became more intensified as the Jewish youth entered the Serbian educational system, which gradually contributed to the gradual loss of their *Ladino* language, which was preserved only within families.

After Serbia’s liberation from the Turks, life in the city did not immediately become easier, but after the First World War things began to improve, as local people more fully accepted the Jews, which was reflected in improved interpersonal relations.

However, the achieved balance in the atmosphere between the Jewish and the Serbian population in Niš came to an end with the start of the Second World

War. Many Sephardic and Ashkenazi lives were extinguished in the concentration camps, along with everything that had been created in the previous years. Large numbers of Jews from Niš were executed after four months in Bubanj.

Today's Jewish community in the city on the Nišava River is still active, but its numbers are much lower than before the Second World War, when the Sephardic population's efforts to preserve its tradition, culture, ethnic identity and create a wealthy social community in which they could all actively participate had reached their culmination.

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SREMSKA MITROVICA AND ŠABAC 1900–2011: HISTORICAL DEMOGRAPHIC DETERMINATION OF FERTILITY BY THE MARRIAGE FRAMEWORK

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SUMMARY: Regional cultural, historical and social differences strongly influenced the history of private life in the 20th century in the towns of Sremska Mitrovica and Šabac, mainly within the marriage and reproduction framework. The fertility decline below the level needed for simple population reproduction was a reflection of, among other things, the decline of marriage and an increased number of divorces, where marriage lost its primary function, childbearing, and the family became nuclear. The age of women entering marriage is of high importance because it indirectly indicates the use of the fertile period and capacity. Attention is drawn to the changing patterns in recent years, with marriage increasingly losing the role of the human reproduction framework and focus turned to the individual achievements of partners within the community. The usage of the demographic method, methodology of Princeton indices and statistical analysis of the significance of marriage variables and fertility, has led to conclusions that confirm the general trends in these two towns, emphasizing their historic and demographic conditionality¹.

KEYWORDS: fertility, marriage, Sremska Mitrovica, Šabac.

INTRODUCTION

The historical development of settlements in Srem and the neighbouring Mačva region has been shaped by the people that settled them as well as the

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various cultures and religions that have existed there from antiquity to the present. The River Sava, as an axis of both permeation and separation, has “nurtured” two towns, or it could be said two harbors, fortresses and border points, in its basin and valley – Sremska Mitrovica and Šabac. The two settlements, historically-demographically connected and conditioned, are today two important municipal and regional centers, the backbone of the development of the space that surrounds them. From the aspect of demography, the changes that had the strongest impact, by way of the Turkish and the Austrian momentum and the specificity of these settlements, are especially important. One of the basic questions in this research is whether the (majority) ethnically homogeneous population experienced a transformation of demographic trends under the influence of different historical, (geo)political and economic factors, and generally accepted social norms.

The limiting factors affecting the level of reproductive norms and their achievement are numerous and varied. Marriage as a social institution is an important topic when considering the low fertility rate of the population, since the majority of biological reproduction is achieved through marriage itself. As a social phenomenon, marriage affects fertility structurally, on the level of reproductive norms. Historically speaking, one of the first functions of marriage was the control of sexuality, that is, the institution of marriage imposed itself as a socially acceptable framework for the procreation and extension of the human race. At the same time, marriage played an important role as a means of social integration.

In agrarian (or agricultural) societies, marriage and family were also the basic economic unit, so the economic function of marriage was expressed as well. Marriage had a prominent place in all religious and ideological systems, because it was believed that, by establishing control over marriage, control over society as a whole could be established as well. Therefore, in every historical epoch, the control of marriage was performed by either church or state, i.e., the strongest social power [Vuletić 2008].

THE FAMILY COMMUNITY OF A NATION WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF DIFFERENT STATES

The framework is geographically the same, but its political boundaries have been extremely unstable and variable, and all changes in them have been accompanied by changes in the system and form of government, including the interference of the state and its institutions in the field of privacy. The family structure of the Serbian people in the new century has not been uniform. Individual families and family cooperatives existed side by side in all communities. Individual private life took place in a real space, understood in the complexity of its phenomena and factors. For a resident of Šabac, the real foreign world started on the other side of the Sava River until 1914, and its influences on everyday life were multifarious (cuisine, way of living, fashion, entertainment, hygienic habits, dynamics of life and many other things). The Ottoman authorities did not interfere in the structure of the family, leaving it to the institution of the church.

The traditional form of family cooperative was maintained in the areas of the Habsburg Military Frontier² as it was established in the 16th and 17th century and its survival and functioning were encouraged by the state. Military authorities periodically prescribed the ratios necessary to ensure the stability of the cooperative societies, since they allowed for a better organization of the population's nutrition and military service. Thus, a family cooperative could comprise five or six married couples. The family cooperative could be divided only in the case of an excessive number of members or disagreement between couples within it. The family cooperative was managed by a chieftain, usually an older family member, while the woman who was the best at cooking was chosen as the housewife [Popović, Timotijević & Ristović 2011].

At the end of the 18th century, family cooperatives in the monarchy fell into crisis, in parallel with the strengthening of some of their members' private ownership over livestock, apparatus used for distillation of *rakija* (fruit brandy) and other household property. Although the state authorities tried to hinder this process, individualism, discord and dissolution of cooperative societies were gaining in strength. This trend also affected Serbia in the last decades of the 19th century, for similar, economic reasons, with the lag being a result of the difference between the two states in terms of structure or government, economic functioning and occupational structure.

This kind of trend could also be recognized in Sremska Mitrovica and Šabac. These settlements had a different status and their religious structure was different. The population was predominantly Orthodox in Šabac, while there was a significant Roman Catholic population in Sremska Mitrovica, so that even the Orthodox population was, in some ways, conditioned by the canons of the Roman Catholic Church. The differences were observed in the values of the fertility rate and marriage as, in Šabac, they reflected the spirit of family cooperative life (which was still present at the beginning of the 20th century) and the existence of families with more members, while in Mitrovica the family cooperative had disappeared much earlier, and life had become adapted to that of civil families with fewer children. The Habsburg or Austro-Hungarian monarchy was a complex and composite structure, so it was not possible for the Serbian people to preserve a different lifestyle in isolation, and the occupations were such that they did not require many members of the household (labor force).

In analyzing the records of births and marriages, the frequency of certain professions such as customs officers and day laborers is noted in Mitrovica, while the following are noted in Šabac: *abadžija*³, *kafedžija*⁴, family cooperative officers, merchants, cobblers. In terms of cultural heritage, obvious differences are also evident in the names given to newborn children. In Mitrovica, the most common names at the beginning of the period were: Georgije, Nikola, Jelena, Maria, Sofia, Ekaterina, Patrik, Andrej, Ana, Stefan, Olga. On

² Military Frontier or "Krajina" was formed by the Habsburgs on the territory of Croatia and Slavonia in the 16th century, and was extended to the Banat region in the 17th century.

³ A craftsman (a tailor or weaver) (translator's note).

⁴ A person who runs a small cafe (translator's note).

the other hand, the following names prevailed in Šabac: Ljubica, Zorka, Olga, Milorad, Miloš, Lazar, Milica, Božidar. In addition, children in Mitrovica were quite often baptized with other church (spiritual) names very soon after their birth, which was a rarer phenomenon in Šabac at the beginning of the 20th century. Young girls in Šabac married early, mostly to craftsmen, and soon bore children. Age differences between spouses were smaller in Šabac than in Mitrovica, where the husbands' occupations required longer schooling, as a result of which they married later.

THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK OF RESEARCH

Confirmation of the importance of marital status for the level of fertility can be found in much classical theoretical and empirical demographic research and studies. One of the first studies related to this topic was Malthus's work, *An Essay on the Principle of Population*, which promoted strict moral norms in the pre-marriage period, and condemned "artificial brakes" that were placed on conception and childbearing in marriage. According to the theory of demographic transition, social norms relating to marriage represent the most extensive form of social control of fertility. A system of values based on norms is formed in the individual's consciousness, such as the minimum age for getting married, economic preconditions, attitudes toward remarriage, and so forth [Devedžić 2004].

One of the earliest studies on the correlation between fertility rates and marriage was conducted by Ansley Johnson Coale [Coale 1967], who explained the methods that link changes in marriage and marital fertility, through the prism of dominant patterns in Europe. That gave rise to one of the most important research projects in the field of fertility, carried out by the Office of Population Research (OPR) at Princeton University, under the guidance of Coale himself. Etienne van de Walle [Van de Walle 1972], Paul Demeny [Demeny 1972] and June Sklar [Sklar 1974] did research on regional differences in marriage and thereby greatly contributed to an understanding of the relationships between related demographic variables. Ansley J. Coale and Susan C. Watkins also presented conclusions based on long-term research on fertility in Europe [Coale & Watkins 1986], pointing out that control of marriage is an important mechanism and a common denominator of fertility decline in European provinces.

Namely, in order to enable observation of fertility and marriage dynamics, but in a situation where detailed data were lacking, Coale [Coale 1970] proposed the use of four interrelated indices: index of overall fertility, index of marital fertility, non-marital fertility index and index of married female proportions.

The starting point was the idea that in the conditions of natural fertility or early stage of demographic transition, it is possible to compare the demographic development of individual regions if the population that is the most approximate to the conditions of natural fertility is taken as the standard for comparison (a lack of control of child bearing). The Hutterite population was

chosen, a religious sect settled in North Dakota that prohibited all measures of control of childbearing, which was confirmed by the value of total fertility rate (further TFR) of 12.44 children per one woman in the period from 1921 to 1930 (assuming all women were by the age of 15). The Hutterite maximum of 12.44 children per one woman, emerged at a time when nutrition became safer, and hygienic and medical measures became cheaper and widespread. In such conditions, the frequency of disease and female infertility was reduced, so maximum fertility values were achieved, which was not the case before the 1920s, when the average number of children per woman married in her twentieth year was 9.8 [Đurđev & Arsenović 2014].

In the field of marriage, the greatest contribution has been given by John Hajnal [Hajnal 1965], who systematized all previous findings on the historical demography of marriage and designated the European and non-European regimes, which are divided along the line running approximately from St Petersburg to Trieste. Nikolai Botev [Botev 1990] was among the first to research marriage in the Balkan countries. His work focused on Bulgaria, Greece, Romania and Yugoslavia, emphasizing the influence of the Ottoman Empire under which these states lived during the 19th century. His research was based largely on the work of Eugene Hammel [Hammel 1972; 1975] who analyzed the influence of the family cooperative on marriage and childbearing, because this type of household organization was dominant during the 19th century on the territory under Ottoman rule. The patterns of marriage and reproductive behavior changed in parallel with the transformation of the family cooperative.

Larry Freshnock and Phillips Cutright [Freshnock & Cutright 1979] conducted a survey of women in the United States, aged 20–29 and 30–34. The results showed a significant influence of the environment, education, ethnic and religious structure, as well as the pressure of the labor market on the level of marital and non-marital fertility.

According to Adolph Landry [Landry 1982], the institution of marriage is an essential means for achieving collective control of reproduction in the transitional phase of the demographic regime, i.e., the transition from an agrarian (agricultural) to an industrial society. At that time, reproduction is largely regulated through social supervision of marriage. Furthermore, restrictive measures that reduce universal marriage and, thereby, the fertility rate are also introduced.

Little research has been conducted regarding the links of these variables in the Republic of Serbia. In one of the first papers on this subject, Devedžić [Devedžić 2004] pointed out that the importance of marriage for the level of fertility was reflected in the fact that the highest number of births in Serbia was still being realized in marriage. Namely, it could be said that marriage represented the social framework of reproduction, because a large portion of the human population believed that it represented some kind of permission to engage in procreation. Devedžić [Devedžić 2004] explained the transition of the relationship between marriage and fertility through several historically framed phases. It started from the stage of universal marriage and high fertility, earlier marriage, low level of urbanization and education, i.e., the period

of agrarian (agricultural) society. The way of working demanded a larger workforce, so marriage had both a reproductive and an economic function. The second phase began with the transition from agrarian to industrial society, which was characterized by the social regulation of fertility. The transition of family status from a production to a consumer one changed the socioeconomic significance of family, marriage and descendants. Large families were no longer justified. The third phase occurred at the moment when the control of childbearing was transferred from society to the family and individuals, and consequently the rate of marital fertility was reduced, which is a distinctive characteristic of industrial society. Reduction of marital childbearing was encouraged by economic and psychological factors. The final, fourth phase was aligned with the emergence of the post-industrial society, which was characterized by a cultural shift in marriage, founded on the strengthening of individualism.

In contemporary economic literature, there are certain microeconomic theories of fertility. For example, B. Mijatović [Mijatović 2000] points out that the parenthood decision is based on calculation nowadays, and that the final result is a reduction in birth rates.

The analysis of historical demographic data covers the period from 1900 to 2011, and it is based on birth and marriage certificates, from all samples in both settlements. Using the demographic method, the marriage rate, the rate of divorces, the marrying age of the groom and bride, the general fertility rate and mean age at childbearing are analyzed. Some indicators are shown individually, while the others are indirectly included in statistical analysis (a multiple regression model, a paired t-test, the Boxplot diagram). The importance of marriage for the level of fertility was analyzed by the comparison of marital and non-marital children, as well as by using the methodology of the Princeton indices. Through these methods and the quantitative approach, the point where transition starts, i.e., the decline in the fertility rate begins, is identified.

RESEARCH RESULTS

At the beginning of the period, the marriage rate was high in both settlements (somewhat higher in Šabac), with a tendency for a continuation of the growth trends from the late 19th century. Serbia had the highest marriage rate in Europe in the 19th century, particularly the Šabac and Valjevo districts. Such trends were, to a great extent, the result and consequence of Prince Miloš's marriage policy, while at that time Sremska Mitrovica was a market town in a border zone with a different religious and ethnic structure, and there was little interference on the part of the state in marital relations, especially within Orthodox families.

In accordance with the high marriage rate, the share of children born in marriage at the beginning of the period was high, as shown in *Figure 1*.

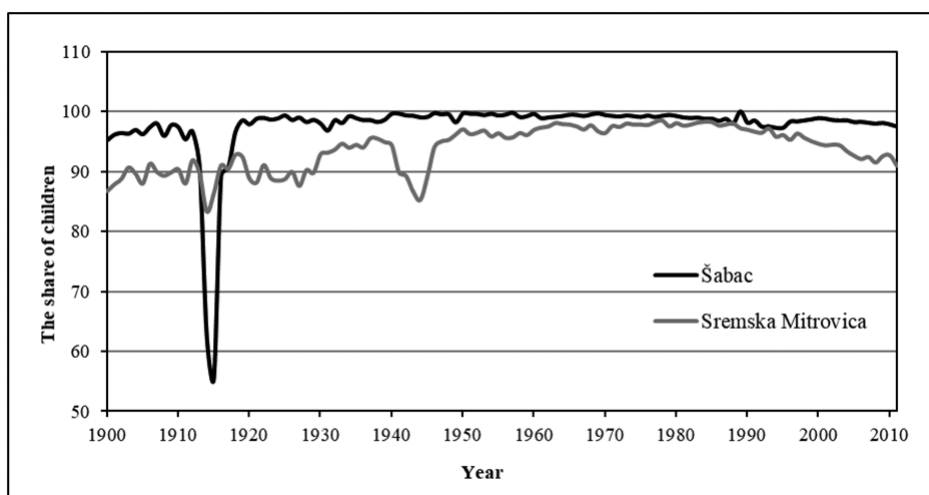


Figure 1. The share of children born in marriage during the period from 1900 to 2011
Source: [Birth records in Sremska Mitrovica and Šabac (1900–2011)]

The difference in the proportions achieved in these two towns confirms that marriage played an important role in reproduction in Sremska Mitrovica and Šabac. Apart from the distortions during the years of the First World War, during the whole period the number of children born in marriage was extremely high in Šabac, even at the end of the period, and the values were very close to a share of 100%. This share was significantly lower in Mitrovica, even in the first half of the period. It fell to as low as 85%, mostly due to the ethnic and religious structure of the town, as a result of which many children were born out of wedlock or were born after the divorce of short-lived marriages, especially during the Second World War. It was not uncommon for women of that time to have only limited freedom to decide about childbearing and to be forced to give birth, regardless of how the relationship between the couples eventually turned out. Planned parenthood and abortions reduced the number of forced marriages, as well as the birth of children out of wedlock. Non-marital births are not exclusively a product of the new age. The difference lies in the fact that they used to be characterized as a moral problem, while now they are a social phenomenon on the rise.

The mid-1990s saw an increase in the share of non-marital unions, quite often between the local population and the population that arrived in the refugee wave during those years (especially in 1995), and the children born in these unions were recorded as born out of wedlock.

The importance of marital status for the level of fertility is not just reflected in the number of marriages and the number of children born in and out of wedlock. Applying the standard model of multiple linear regression, the influence of several variables can be analyzed simultaneously. The model shown in *Table 1* shows that the observed t-values are statistically significant

for those variables in which the probability (p) is less than the stated α (alpha) value (0.05).

In Sremska Mitrovica, the bride's age when entering marriage shows the highest statistical significance for the level of fertility, along with the overall average age of spouses. The rate of divorce does not show statistical significance. However, that does not mean that its impact should be overlooked.

Table 1. The influence of marital variables on the level of fertility in Sremska Mitrovica during the period from 1900 to 2011 (model of multiple regression)

Model	Non-standardized coefficients		Standardized coefficients	t	Sig. (p)
	B	Standard error	Beta		
Constant	2.809	1.044		2.691	0.008
Marriage rate	-0.026	0.026	-0.131	-0.999	0.320
Average age	0.344	0.115	1.460	2.988	0.003
Bride's age	-0.400	0.111	-1.688	-3.591	0.000
Divorce rate	0.047	0.393	0.014	0.121	0.904
Dependent variable: TFR- Sremska Mitrovica Correlation is significant at the level of 0.05 level ($\alpha= 0.05$).					

Source: [Birth and Marriage records in Sremska Mitrovica (1900–2011)]

By the author based on SPSS⁵ 20.0

The marriage rate also did not show a larger statistical significance, which was expected, especially because the marriage rate had been significantly lower during the last few decades. It was confirmed that the most important variable among all marital variables is the bride's age, especially over the mean age at childbearing, which was explained subsequently.

Table 2. The influence of marital variables on the fertility rate in Šabac during the period from 1900 to 2011. (model of multiple regression)

Model	Non-standardized coefficients		Standardized coefficients	t	Sig. (p)
	B	Standard error	Beta		
Constant	0.893	0.855		1.045	0.299
Marriage rate	0.049	0.013	0.343	3.844	0.000
Bride's age	1.073	0.135	3.693	7.946	0.000
Average age	-0.946	0.120	-3.461	-7.896	0.000
Divorce rate	-1.997	0.503	-0.433	-3.970	0.000
Dependent variable: TFR- Šabac Correlation is significant at the level of 0.05 level ($\alpha= 0.05$).					

Source: [Birth and Marriage records in Šabac (1900 – 2011)]

By the author based on SPSS 20.0

⁵ SPSS – Statistical Package for the Social Sciences.

In Šabac, the situation is different, since all variables show significant statistical significance in correlation with dependent variable (TFR). In this settlement, the t-value showed the highest statistical significance for the bride's age, as well as the overall average age of the spouses.

Taking these two settlements as an example, we could draw quite transparent conclusions about the influence of marriage patterns on fertility, i.e., the significance of this factor in relation to some other factors. The more traditional model was confirmed in Šabac, according to which marriage is still an important framework for reproduction, while in Mitrosvica this claim is only partly accurate, because of the influence of other structural components that operate within the contemporary way of life. The fact that marriage was not the most important frame of reproduction in Sremska Mitrosvica and that this kind of connection is weakening, was previously confirmed by a decrease in the number of marital children, an increase in divorce rates and a generally reduced marriage rate.

Table 3. The influence of the bride's average age on mean age at childbearing in Sremska Mitrosvica and Šabac during the period from 1900 to 2011 (method: paired t-test)⁶

Correlation of paired samples				
		N	Correlation	Sig. (p)
Pair 1	mean age at childbearing in Sremska Mitrosvica – bride's age SM	112	0.900	0.000
Pair 2	mean age at childbearing in Šabac – bride's age ŠA	112	0.843	0.000
Level significant at 0, 05 ($\alpha = 0,05$).				

Source: [Birth and marriage records in Sremska Mitrosvica and Šabac (1900–2011)]
By the author based on SPSS 20.0

In testing the statistical significance between the bride's age and mean age at childbearing, t-test analysis showed a large interaction between these variables. The probability level $p < 0,05$ (sig.) for both settlements showed the significance of these variables, and the level of correlation is a bit higher in Sremska Mitrosvica.

The graphical representation of the arithmetic average relation of these variables in both settlements (*Figure 2*) confirmed the mutual influence. The adjusted confidence interval of 95% means that in most cases the arithmetic average relation of these variables was confirmed, but the difference between the arithmetic averages is lower in Sremska Mitrosvica than in Šabac. Accordingly, the difference between bride's age and mean age at childbearing is less in Sremska Mitrosvica than in Šabac. Therefore, the statistical significance of these variables is higher in Mitrosvica than in Šabac. The arithmetic average of the values for both variables is higher in Sremska Mitrosvica compared to Šabac and that is also confirmed by this graph.

⁶ SM is short for Sremska Mitrosvica and ŠA for Šabac

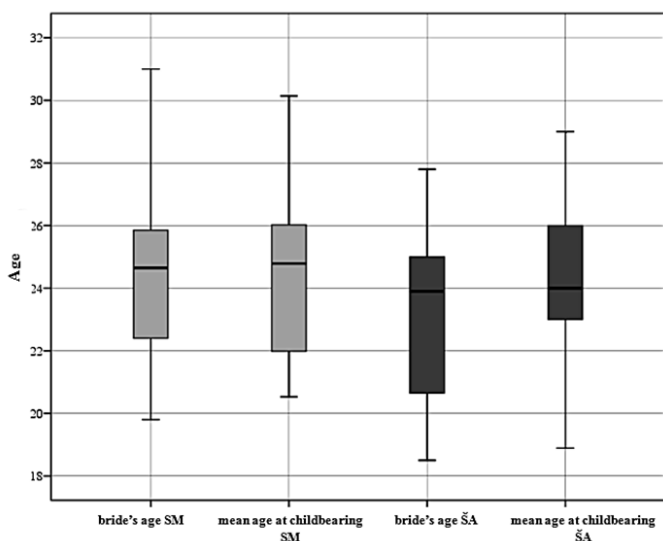


Figure 2. The graphical representation of the arithmetic average relation between bride's age and mean age at childbearing in Sremska Mitrovica and Šabac during the period from 1900 to 2011 (model: t-test, Box plot)

Source: [Birth and marriage records in Sremska Mitrovica and Šabac (1900–2011), by the author based on SPSS 20.0]

THE INDEX OF TOTAL FERTILITY

Total fertility rate (TFR) is the initial indicator when applying the Princeton index methodology. It is important because it takes into account the number of women divided in five-year age groups in the interval within the age span 15–49, and assigns them the values of specific Hutterite rates, and shows what the fertility level would be if women in Sremska Mitrovica and Šabac gave birth according to the reproductive norms of the population taken as a standard. Therefore, more precise data are obtained than in the general case rates.

Figure 3 confirmed a significantly higher level of fertility in Šabac than in Sremska Mitrovica, except in the decade from 1960 to 1970, when the migrant population took part in reproduction and the level of fertility was higher in Mitrovica. In both settlements, the maximum total fertility rate was reached in 1950, when it was 0.36 in Šabac and 0.34 in Mitrovica. In the last two decades, the values have been almost equal, in the interval of 0,10 – 0,12, which represents a reduction of about 70%!

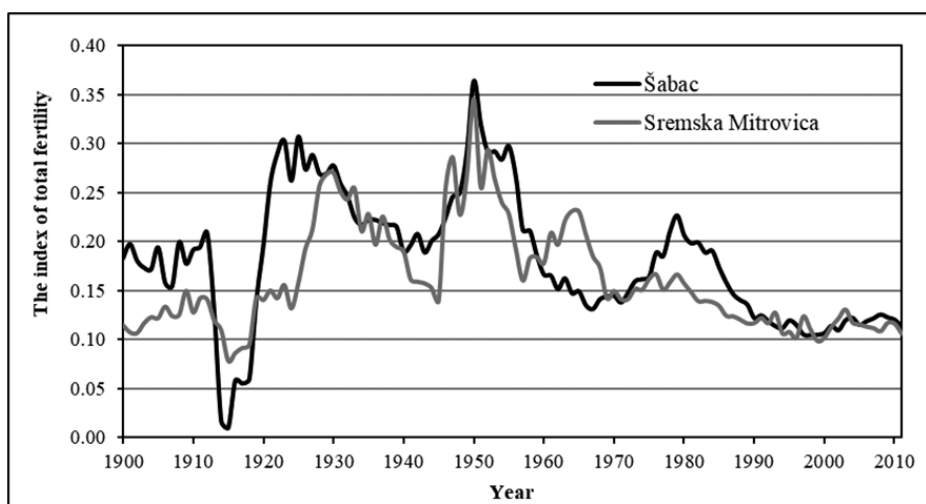


Figure 3. The index of total fertility during the period from 1900 to 2011
Source: [Birth records in Sremska Mitrovica and Šabac (1900–2011); [SORS]⁷

THE INDEX OF MARITAL FERTILITY

This index indicates how close the examined and maximum fertility are, and it is used to determine the moment of decline in fertility. In particular, the start of the decline in fertility is determined by the year when the fertility index fell 10% compared to its maximum recorded level and then continued to decline continuously [Đurđev & Arsenović 2014].

The maximum value of index of marital fertility was recorded in Sremska Mitrovica in 1950, and it equalled 0.64 (*Figure 4*). Thus, a 10% reduction implies an index lower by a value of 0.064, which was reached in 1952, when the index was 0.583. The index value at the end of the period was 0.20, which represents a decrease of 69% in relation to the maximum level.

The highest value of index of marital fertility in Šabac was also recorded in 1950, and it was 0.66. It is necessary for the index values to decrease by 0.066 in order to obtain the year in which the fertility rate has decreased by 10% in relation to the recorded maximum. The index had a value of 0.585 in 1963, which means that that was the moment when fertility began to decline continuously in this settlement. Comparing these two settlements, it can be concluded that fertility in Sremska Mitrovica began to decline 11 years earlier (1952) than in Šabac (1962), and those are precisely the years when higher differences in the marriage rate occurred, which resulted in the fertility postponement transition.

⁷ SORS stands for Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia

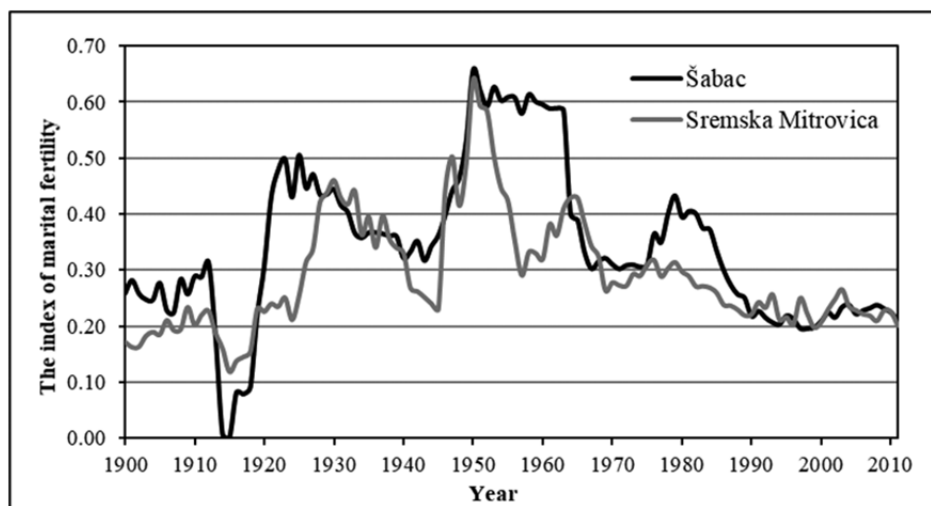


Figure 4. The index of marital fertility during the period from 1900 to 2011
Source: [Birth records in Sremska Mitrovica and Šabac (1900–2011); [SORS]

THE INDEX OF NON-MARITAL FERTILITY

The index of non-marital fertility takes into account the proportion of unmarried women and the total number of children who were born out of wedlock, as adjusted to the Hutterites' rate. Its values are significantly lower, as the share of children born out of wedlock in the observed period was significantly lower than the total number of children born in marriage. However, the differences between the settlements certainly exist. The general trend of this index in both settlements shows a decline in value until the beginning of the 1980s, after which there is a gradual increase. What stands out in *Figure 5* are the significantly higher values in Sremska Mitrovica at the beginning of the period, especially in the years between the two wars.

Such values are not so much a result of the share of unmarried women as they are a result of a somewhat higher number of children born out of wedlock, born in socially unstable conditions in this settlement, with a diverse ethnic and religious structure. The values are much lower in Šabac, because they are a result of the small share of unmarried women as well as the small number of children born out of wedlock. The values converged in the late 1980s, but the visible differences reappeared at the end of the following decade and after 2000, when the index in Sremska Mitrovica rose rapidly, while the increase in Šabac was much more moderate, and the values were much lower.

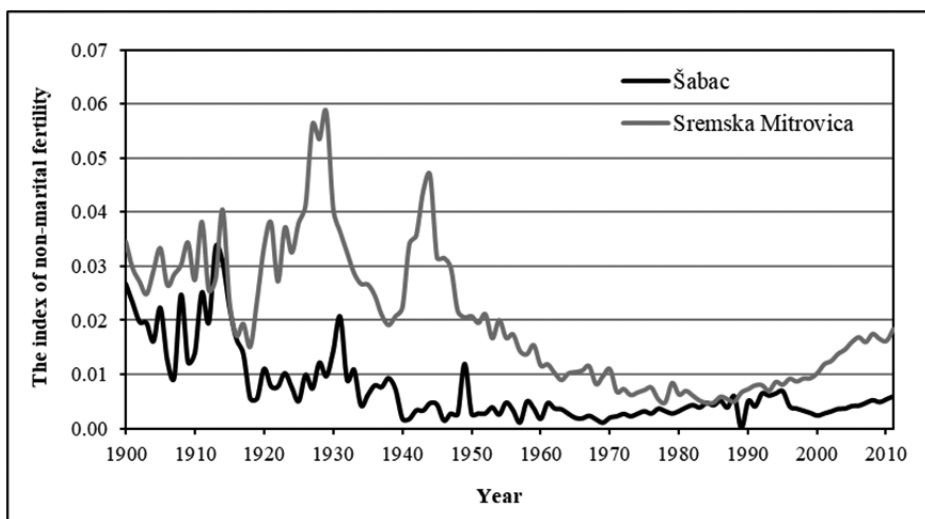


Figure 5. The index of non-marital fertility during the period from 1900 to 2011
Source: [Birth records in Sremska Mitrovica and Šabac (1900–2011); [SORS]

THE PROPORTION INDEX OF MARRIED COUPLES

The proportion index of married women shows the relationship that would exist between the fertility of married women and all women (married and unmarried), if both gave birth to children according to the rates of Hutterites. This index did not have the value of 1 even among the Hutterites, because not all women were married immediately at the beginning of the biological reproductive period. Recent research, especially in earlier periods, shows that the index values have varied from 0.91 (in Korea in 1930) to 0.33 (in Ireland in 1900).

If Hajnal's division of marriage was applied to this index, the threshold limit value would be 0.55, with some exceptions. East of the line Trieste – St. Petersburg values should be higher, according to the non-European or transition model, while west of this line, values should be lower, in accordance with the Western European transition model of marriage.

The highest fertility rate of all European provinces was in Toplica in Serbia in 1900, where one woman gave birth to 8.24 children. This was due to the high level of marital fertility and the highest proportion of married women in Europe, where the proportion index of married women equalled 0.842 [Đurđević & Arsenović 2014].

On the basis of Figure 6, it can be concluded that both settlements in the first half of the observed period belonged to the non-European type of marriage. Since 1970, Sremska Mitrovica can be classified as a transitional type, and since 1990 it has belonged to the Western type of marriage, with an increase in the average age at marriage and a lower marriage rate. The situation is different in Šabac, because this settlement can be classified in a transitional

type after 1953, where it has remained until the end of the observed period, with values of the index proportion of married couples in the interval of 0.50–0.55.

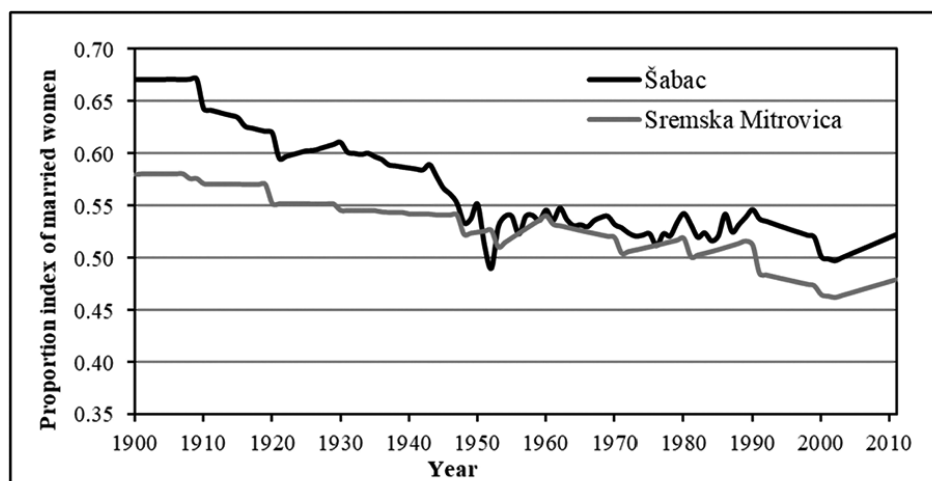


Figure 6. The proportion index of married women in the period from 1900 to 2011
Source: [Birth records in Sremska Mitrovica and Šabac (1900–2011); [SORS]

Thus, the transition of marriage in Sremska Mitrovica had started earlier, was changing quickly and moved from the non-European to the Western type. On the other hand, the transitional type of marriage still persists in Šabac; thus, this settlement still belongs to the transitional type, with a tendency of increasing the index proportions of married women, which means that it may change again into the non-European type. It has been confirmed that the trends of fertility depend on the trends of marriage, which had a positive correlation in Šabac, while the negative aspect of this correlation was shown in Mitrovica, so the differences of such determined reproductive norms are obvious.

CONCLUSION

In contemporary conditions, the reproductive norms of married couples are formed and realized under the influence of economic, social, anthropological, psychological and other factors, in the way in which they refract within the consciousness of married couples and individuals, primarily women in or out of wedlock. The importance of marital status for the level of fertility is determined by the average age at marriage and mean age at childbearing, especially through the correlation between mean age at childbearing and the age of the bride. This relationship had a greater impact in Sremska Mitrovica, because the mean ages are higher regarding both parameters in this settlement, and the trend of growth is more intense. At the same time, it was determined that the correlation is weaker in Šabac, because the transition of these indica-

tors in this settlement has not reached its critical phase yet. For this reason, fertility is higher in Šabac than in Sremska Mitrovica at the end of the period. It is also higher in relation to the Republic of Serbia average, while the mean age value is lower.

Sremska Mitrovica is an example of a settlement in which modern conditions are accepted to a great extent, and have reflected on reproductive norms in a negative way, without individual and social awareness of the importance of the above mentioned norms. Thus, the trend of increase in non-marital unions coincides with the trend of decline in fertility. In such unions, there is an awareness that it is easier to end relationships. In addition, more attention is paid to *testing* common life and reproduction is postponed and deprioritized, which is a completely different situation than that found in marriages, even in modern times. A more traditional and friendlier environment, ethnic and religious homogeneity, development of a high fertility rate within the framework of society and the state, on the one hand, as opposed to a more modern, Western-oriented environment, with a composite ethnic and religious structure, with a low-fertility rate and more closed framework of reproduction and marriage, on the other – are the conditions that have left their mark on the character of demographic trends in these settlements.

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THE BEGINNINGS OF INSTITUTIONAL VOCATIONAL TRAINING AND EDUCATION OF FEMALE CHILDREN IN SERBIA

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SUMMARY: Institutional vocational education of female children in the Principality of Serbia began in 1846, when the Law on “The Establishment of Schools for Girls” was passed, defining the specific mission, organization and content of girls’ schools. Women’s associations, or communities, played the biggest role in the opening of vocational schools for female children. The communities were humanitarian organizations concerned with the protection of women and their right to enlightenment. Their work was mostly tied to the vocational education of female children, the work of the schools, management, financing, charitable and humanitarian activities. Women’s communities also established their own women’s vocational (craft) schools, which were an important factor for the general education of young women, both on the economic and the cultural education plan. The girls who finished vocational schools in the second half of the nineteenth and the early twentieth century gained the ability to successfully practice crafts and, thus, be more progressive, giving a contribution to the formation of a new, modern society.

KEY WORDS: education, women’s communities, women’s craft schools, Serbia, vocational schools, education of girls.

INTRODUCTION

It was gradually realized that the institutional education of female children in the Principality of Serbia, which began in 1846, could not end at the primary school level, but that the general societal development and circumstances of the time required a further step towards establishing higher women’s schools. However, since the expected results were not achieved through a higher primary school degree, it became apparent that there existed a need for the organization of, above all else, practical education for female children, which they would attend after completing their lower primary school education, and

which would have as its goal to prepare them for women's work, as well as to further the knowledge they achieved during their lower primary education.

Women's societies, led by the Belgrade Women's Association, played the most important role in the establishment of vocational schools for female children. The Women's Vocational School (*Ženska radenička škola*) was opened in Belgrade in 1879. With the all-round help of the Belgrade Women's Association, other women's societies appeared and started their own vocational or women's crafts schools in many cities in the Principality of Serbia. Inspired by the Belgrade Association, the women of Aleksinac also started their own society, the Aleksinac Women's Community (*Aleksinačka ženska podružina*), together with the women of Sokobanja and Ražanj, in 1877 [*Domaćica* 1935: 47]. After the liberation of Niš from the Turks in 1878, with the help of the Belgrade Women's Association, the Niš Women's Community was established on January 23, 1879 [Lilić 2003: 14]. The Niš community was also a humanitarian organization, dedicated to the protection of women and their rights to enlightenment. One of the first results of its work was the establishment of the Women's Vocational Craft School (*Ženska radenička zanatska škola*) in Niš in 1883 [Lilić 2003: 16]. The school prepared young girls for embroidery, and the making of undergarments and dresses. The subjects included professional courses and practical work, while only the Serbian language and arithmetic were taught as general educational subjects. Vocational craft schools for women were also established in Požarevac, Kragujevac, Užice, Kruševac and Kraljevo during this period.

THE FIRST SCHOOLS FOR GIRLS

The founding of girls' schools whose general goal was to educate female children in all crafts (sewing, tailoring undergarments and clothes, embroidery and carpet weaving) was not a particular novelty, as data shows that the tradition in these crafts dates to a much earlier period.

The existence of such institutions dates back to the second half of the thirteenth century, and the rule of King Uroš Nemanjić I. The wife of King Uroš, Helen of Anjou, founded one such school at her court in Brnjaci, close to the Crna Reka and Stari Kolašin monasteries, in which underprivileged local girls received vocational education. During the rule of Despot Stefan Lazarević, the imperial nun Eugenia (Princess Milica) started a school at the Ljubostinja monastery, in which fugitive nuns and female war orphans were educated. This school particularly nurtured the production of the finest embroidery for church needs. Still, these were only the beginnings of vocational schools, and for a long time they remained exactly that, beginnings, thanks to Serbia's falling under Turkish rule for several centuries.

The revival of the Serbian state opened the way for the establishment of various vocational schools, including female vocational schools. After Serbia's liberation from Ottoman rule, Dimitrije Davidović was the first to see the need for educating female children. [Prpa-Jovanović 1994: 361–366]. In 1821, Davidović sent a letter to Prince Miloš in which he proposed that, in addition

to male schools, female schools should be opened as well. Unfortunately, his proposal was not accepted.

Finally, on July 3, 1846, the Law on "The Establishment of Schools for Girls" was issued, setting out the mission, organizational structure and curriculum of girls' schools [Čunković 1971: 38]. At the beginning of the operation of these girls' (women's) schools, the insufficient number of female teachers represented a big problem, in spite of the fact that these schools were not numerous. In 1863, the Higher Female School (*Viša ženska škola*) was established in Belgrade. In addition to educating and cultivating its students, it also prepared them for the teaching profession. In 1875, a number of progressive women from Belgrade decided to join together with the goal of institutionalizing the care of underprivileged female children and the education of housewives and mothers, and founded the Belgrade Women's Association. At the initiative of Katarina Milovuk, the governor and president of the Belgrade Women's Association, the first Women's Vocational School in Serbia was opened in Belgrade in October 1879. On December 2nd of the same year, Metropolitan Mihailo (the head of the Serbian Orthodox Church) ceremonially consecrated the school in the presence of the patron of the Belgrade Women's Association, Princess Natalija, whose moral and material support made the opening of this school possible [*Domaćica*, 1923: 1–3].

WOMEN'S CRAFT SCHOOLS BETWEEN THE TWO WORLD WARS

With the proclamation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in 1918, organized vocational education for female children was initially burdened with differences in education length, school rankings, curriculums, balance between general and vocational education offered by different schools, and numerous other issues. This was additionally complicated by the fact that vocational education was overseen by several ministries (Ministry of Education, Ministry of Trade and Industry, Department of Inner Trade and Trade Policy, Department of Industry and Craftsmanship), which did not closely coordinate their efforts to improve this type of education. Attempts to unify vocational education as a whole date back to 1921, when the Conference on Vocational Education was held, on the basis of which the Law for Craft, Women's Craft and Technical High Schools was passed on March 30, 1922. Things were finally put in order in 1926, after which the development of vocational schools was organized in a planned way [Dimić 1997: 169–170].

After World War I, in 1919, the work in women's vocational schools was slowly restored in most women's associations. In addition to the problems left by the war, one of the main problems for these schools was the fact that most had few or no sewing machines, but also that enrollment had fallen considerably [AJ 1919, FIII. r. 180/919]. The Ministry of Trade and Industry tried to improve conditions by donating funds, as a result of which the number of students increased in the school year of 1919/20. However, due to the small number of vocational teachers for girls and lack of stable conditions in most

schools, subjects other than women's vocational training were not taught [AJ, MTI 1920, FIII. r. 224/920]. After World War I and the unification, women's craft schools started appearing in all major towns of the Kingdom. Women's associations greatly contributed to the establishment of these schools, including the already mentioned Belgrade Women's Associations, the Circle of Serbian Sisters (Kolo srpskih sestara), the "Srpkinja" Women's Association and others. Realizing the importance of women's vocational schools, the Ministry of Trade and Industry started to renovate the schools destroyed by war, in addition to founding new ones, with the help of women's associations. The Law on Female Vocational Schools was passed and, as these schools reached a certain level of improvement, they were finally able to receive certain operational guidelines.

During and after the war in Serbia, a large proportion of funding for these schools was provided by the numerous humanitarian organizations that had operated in the country since the mid 1870s. One of the oldest such organizations was the above-mentioned Belgrade Women's Association, which, since its founding on May 15, 1875, had been the forerunner of every women's movement in Serbia, having been engaged in humanitarian, cultural, educational and economic efforts nationwide. The Association aided all humanitarian and charity societies in Serbia, always ready to take in the poor and the unfortunate [Sofronijević 2003: 22].

THE LAW ON WOMEN'S CRAFT SCHOOLS AND ITS APPLICATION

With the passing of the Law on Women's Craft Schools in 1922 [SN 1922], a big step in society was made towards the vocational education of female children. According to this Law, women's craft schools could be public schools (which would be founded in larger cities), semi- public schools (which would be founded as combined institutions of the Ministry of Trade and Industry and women's associations), or private (which would be opened where needed). The schools were further categorized as lower, extended or higher.

Once the Law on Women's Craft Schools was passed, a curriculum for them was also formed, and then approved by a rescript of the Ministry of Trade and Industry applying to lower and extended craft schools (No. 120, November 3, 1922) [IAN, AŽP, k. 1. No. 133: 1, 1922].

The curriculum plan included the curriculum for grades one through three, the goals for each individual course, and the teaching methodology, while the curriculum program determined the contents and schedule of classes. The contents of the curriculum can be seen in *Tables 1* and *2*.



Image 1. The students of the Women's Craft School in Niš, 1923

Table 1. Contents of the curriculum of a lower craft school

CURRICULUM I. LOWER CRAFT SCHOOLS				
No.	SUBJECTS:	1 st grade	2 nd grade	3 rd grade
1.	Serbian Language and Penmanship	3	3	2
2.	Religious education	2	1	1
3.	Arithmetic	2	2	2
4.	History and Geography	3	2	2
5.	Professional Drawing	3	4	4
6.	Theory and Practical Work	20	22	28
7.	Singing	1	1	1
8.	Gymnastics	3	3	3
	TOTAL:	37	38	43

Table 2. Contents of the curriculum of an extended craft school

CURRICULUM II. EXTENDED VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS			
No.	SUBJECTS:	1 st grade	2 nd grade
1.	Accounting	1	1
2.	Home keeping	1	1
3.	Materials Knowledge	1	1
4.	Hygiene	1	1
5.	Practical Work	33	35
6.	Professional Drawing	2	2
7.	Singing	1	1
8.	Gymnastics	3	3
	TOTAL:	43	45[Same, 9]

By the Law on the subdivision of the Kingdom into administrative areas which was passed on October 3, 1929 [SN 1922], lower women's vocational schools passed to the jurisdictions of the provinces (*banovina*), and they did their work under the superintendence and instructions of the competent minister, based on existing laws. Various types of women's craft schools existed. The crafts which were taught in these schools included tailoring and making of women's clothes, undergarments, women's hats, kilims or kilim rugs, embroidery, knitting, canvases, lace and artificial flowers. The task of these schools was determined by law, and had as its goal the education of female children in various crafts, the improvement of home industry and the preparation of female vocational teachers.

THE NEW LAW ON WOMEN'S CRAFT SCHOOLS OF 1932 AND ITS APPLICATION

In 1932 a new and expanded Law on Women's Vocational Schools was passed and, according to it, this type of school was equivalent to an incomplete secondary school with a lower course exam, and had five grades: two trainee foundation grades, two vocational grades and one workshop – atelier. The duration of a women's vocational school was three years: two years in two vocational grades and one year in the school workshop – atelier. For girls between the ages of twelve and fourteen, two trainee foundation grades could be opened. The *first trainee grade* of a women's craft school could be attended by students who had completed at least 4 grades of elementary school, and who turned twelve in the year of their enrollment. The *second trainee grade* was intended for girls who had finished the first trainee grade, any grade of secondary school, were aged between thirteen and fifteen years old and had passed an additional exam in vocational subjects. The *first vocational grade* of a women's craft school could be enrolled in by students who had finished the second trainee grade, at least two grades of a secondary school (grammar school, 8-grade school or civic school) or six grades of elementary school, and who turned at least fourteen years old and sixteen years old at most during the year in question. In order to conduct practical teaching, each women's vocational school needed to have its own school workshop – atelier, which could also accept orders for the making of clothes [SNKJ 1932: No. 82]. The task of women's craft schools was to give their students the necessary general and vocational qualifications, and equip them for individual work in their trade. Women's craft schools stood under the superintendence of the minister of trade, and the supervision of the provincial governor (*ban*) [SNKJ 1932: No. 82]. Furthermore, the curriculum plan and program were changed as well, as prescribed by the Ministry of Trade and Industry for the school year of 1932/33. During the same year, the Law on Secondary Technical and Men's Craft Schools was passed, and this law was significantly permeated by the ideology of integral Yugoslavianism, as opposed to the Law on Women's Craft Schools and Women's Vocational Teaching Schools, which was free of this ideology. This should be interpreted as the government's attempt to free female youth from ideology,

in order to orient it exclusively in the direction of home and family, repressing any interest in politics, in which women were denied their basic rights [Dimić 1997: 169–170].

THE CURRICULUM PLAN AND PROGRAM FOR WOMEN'S CRAFT SCHOOLS USED FROM SCHOOL YEAR 1932/33

Table 3. Overview of school subjects [Jović 1936: 17]

No.	SUBJECTS	GRADES				
		I Trainee	II Trainee	I Profes-sional	II Profes-sional	Workshop Atelier
1.	Professional practical work	18	20	24	26	40
2.	Pattern Making for Sewing	–	1	2	2	–
3.	Serbo-Croatian language	2	2	2	2	1
4.	Arithmetic, Craft Accounting and Calculation	2	2	2	2	–
5.	Commodities and Home keeping	–	–	1	1	–
6.	History and Geography	2	2	1	1	–
7.	Decorative Drawing	2	2	2	2	1
8.	Religious Education	1	1	1	1	–
9.	Hygiene	–	–	1	1	–
10.	Gymnastics	1	1	1	1	–
11.	Singing	–	–	1	1	–
Total classes per week:		28	31	38	40	42

School funds were set up in each women's vocational school, and it was from these funds that the means to purchase materials for making finished products were provided. These funds were also used to secure help for underprivileged students, means for acquiring machine equipment, teaching aides, books, fashion magazines, etc. The purpose of these outlays was to advance the teaching and hygienic conditions in schools. A board would manage each fund as well as its assets. In semi-state and semi-provincial schools, 40% of the students' income made from crafted items was charged for the use of school sewing machines. Students who paid 1 dinar per month or 10 dinars per year were regular members of the school fund. Donor members of the school fund would pay 25 dinars per year, and these could be: teachers, students' parents, citizens and friends of the school. Fund founders were those who paid 250 dinars at once, while patrons were those who donated 1.000 dinars. The school fund bylaws were prescribed by the Ministry of Trade and Industry and these started to be applied at the beginning of the school year 1934/35 [IAN 1934].

In the society of that time, which battled poverty, political and economic crises, and illiteracy on a daily basis, in which the battle for existence was becoming more difficult each day, it was inevitable that the role of women had

to grow stronger, and that they would find ways to gain independence and contribute to their families and society in general. With the realization that the constraints of tradition could only be lifted with the new knowledge and skills that were, in part, provided by the female associations and female craft schools, came the understanding that these institutions had to be formed anywhere where conditions allowed.

Female craft schools were an important instrument for the general enlightenment of female youth, in both the economic and the cultural-educational sense. Students who completed these schools gained vocational and general knowledge which enabled them to successfully do craft work, dedicate themselves to their families as good, progressive mothers and housewives, and contribute to the forming of a modern Serbian society.

Having in mind the specific purpose of women's vocational schools, at a time when women's position in society was subordinate, the existence of these schools represented an important pedagogical phenomenon. These schools contributed to the development of general education as well as homemade handicrafts and trade, while at the same time they actively contributed to the emancipation and equality of women. Women's communities, with their active involvement in the founding and organization of the work of these female vocational schools, paved the way for the creation of a more favorable ambient for the active inclusion of the female sex in many of society's spheres, which is something that rightly belonged to them.

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TOWARDS NEW PAGES OF THE HISTORY OF SERBIAN MUSIC

(Melita Milin and Jim Samson, *Serbian Music: Yugoslav Contexts*,
SASA Institute of Musicology, Belgrade 2014)



The fundamental idea behind the collective monograph *Serbian Music: Yugoslav Contexts* was to observe Serbian music and music life through a prism of a complex network of meanings that was implicit in the former multi-national state. In that sense, the editors of this volume, Melita Milin and Jim Samson, believed that the most efficient strategy would be to highlight characteristic, individual points of this phenomenon, which was fluid just like the relations (or interpenetrations) of Serbian and Yugoslav identities. The aim was to make music in Serbia “more visible”; but the authors and editors were also concerned with questioning the feelings of belonging tied to the nationalism thematized “by the non-congruence of nation and state during the lifetime of Yugoslavia” (Samson). This collection of papers is the first

of its kind to be published in English. This valuable contribution to the affirmation of Serbian music includes papers by six Serbian and three foreign researchers and is not limited only to music, but also extends to the field of popular music. It focuses on the Yugoslav period and includes research that provides insight into the preceding period as well as the topics that function as its music epilogue.

The article “Serbian Music in Western Historiography” was written by Greek musicologist Katy Romanou. Probably the most interesting postulate of her text is that the “nationalization of musical historiography happened before the nationalization of the Balkans.” The roots of this phenomenon can be traced back to the beginning of the 19th century; it resulted in a disintegration of the general European history of music into national histories that “compete” between themselves by focusing on their own traditions and reducing interest in the achievements of other cultures. This phenomenon is also confirmed in the Yugoslav context in the next article.

Taking as her starting point the *Historical Development of Music Culture in Yugoslavia* (*Historijski razvoj muzičke kulture u Jugoslaviji*, Zagreb 1962), written by Dragotin Cvetko, Josip Andreis and Stana Đurić Klajn, which was the most ambitious work in this field, in her article “Writing National Histories in a Multi-national State” Melita Milin focuses on the impossibility of success of the endeavor of creating a unified history of Yugoslav music (even in the case of the aforementioned book, which is merely a collection of three separate histories – Slovenian, Croatian and Serbian). She supports

this view with the argument that the Yugoslav nations had been deprived of their own states over long periods of time. Therefore, it is not surprising that there was a lack of joint action on the part of music historians, who instead presented their own, fragmented national music histories as continuous and independent narratives. Yugoslavia, therefore, performed the function of an “umbrella” for the Yugoslav nations and music history became the type of material conducive for studying particular national/ethnic self-representations, including their sometimes obsessive claims of belonging to a common European heritage.

Biljana Milanović (“Disciplining the Nation: Music in Serbia Until 1914”) deals with the practices of composers and performers in the context of an ideological and political articulation of the notion of *nation* until the beginning of World War I. This issue is concretized through the multifaceted music activity of Stevan Mokranjac, whose *Rukoveti* [Garlands] is placed in the focus of the research. Although initially conceived as projections of the Serbian nation, *Rukoveti* certainly testify to a movement towards the Yugoslav identity, which is a confirmation of the flexibility and breadth of Mokranjac’s concept as well as of its dynamism, mobility and, finally, of the relativity of the very category of *national*.

Katarina Tomašević’s reconstruction of the political portrait of Petar Konjović in the first half of the 20th century reveals his specific conceptualization of Yugoslavism (“Imagining the Homeland: The Shifting Borders of Petar Konjović’s Yugoslavism”). Tomašević emphasizes that the young Konjović’s drew inspiration from the creative oeuvre of Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac and personal contact with Tihomir Ostojić, followed by his studies in Prague, where he would develop his political views from the progressive ideas of Tomáš Masaryk, as well as his inclinations towards Zagreb as a promising Yugoslav cultural (and administrative) centre... In his (musical) vocabulary this would be reflected in the usage of the term *Yugoslav* as analogous to *our*, i.e. in the stylistic shift towards (Slavic) *modernism*, as Katarina Tomašević defined it. Namely, “in Konjović’s view, Serbs were just one ‘tribe’ within the Yugoslav nation.” In other words, the Yugoslavism of this composer is closest to “integral Yugoslavism” as a supranational idea of joining the family of cultures of European nations, a process whose important segment was precisely (art) music.

The article “The Inter-war Correspondence Between Miloje Milojević and Slavko Osterc” by Jernej Weiss offers insight into the musical ambitions of the two composers as well as their relations with other colleagues. Weiss discusses the functioning of music societies (especially the International Society for Contemporary Music, where both composers were active members) and the musical life in their respective milieus, including the general cultural climate of Slovenia and Serbia of that time.

In Ivan Moody’s article, “Byzantine Discourses in Contemporary Serbian Music” are analyzed on the basis of examples of scores based upon the Byzantine heritage. Although the text covers a wider temporal frame (from a “post-Byzantine manifestation” in the choral repertoire of Kornelije Stanković and Stevan Mokranjac to the present day), Moody focuses on the creative output of the second half of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century, i.e. selected works by Ljubica Marić, Milorad Marinković and Đuro Živković.

In her article “A Window Towards the West: Yugoslav Concert Tours in the Soviet Union,” Ana Petrov takes the reader back to the time when Yugoslavia was the “eastern version of the West” for the countries of the Eastern bloc. The former Yugoslav state earned such a status, among other things, because of its popular music production, and the concert tours in the Soviet Union – starting from the 1960s and lasting until the end of the 1980s, with Đorđe Marjanović and Radmila Karaklajić as the “god” and “goddess” of Yugoslav pop music – were the paradigm of this phenomenon. Ana Petrov problematizes the reception of certain musicians as “Western” by referring to several factors: the history of the relationship between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, the ways of organizing the cultural fields in the two countries, and the specific role that popular music played in the politics of that time.

“Floating Images of Yugoslavism on the Pages of Family Music Albums” is a topic opened by Srđan Atanasovski. After offering a definition of the concept of nationalism (not as a closed position adopted by the subject, but as a process, a political strategy), the author analyzes the ideology of Yugoslavism using the examples of preserved collections of compositions intended for domestic performances – as self-sufficient representatives of cultural models and mechanisms from the time when the Yugoslav identity was established.

In Melita Milin's words, "Music of the Lost Generation: Serbian Émigré Composers" by Ivana Medić is a chronological "postludium" of the seven decades of Yugoslavia's existence. Namely, Ivana Medić notes the disintegration of the Yugoslav music scene which coincides with the disintegration of Yugoslavia. Many artists, among them over forty composers, chose the status of emigrants. Ivana Medić defines their reasons for leaving (escape from war and poverty, political repression, isolation etc.) and differentiates the groups of composers

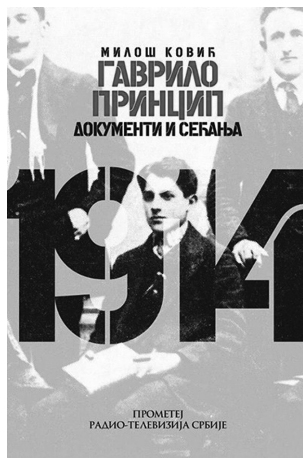
whose emigrant position was temporary from those who decided to live abroad without any intention of returning to their homeland. However, precisely the incorporation of the latter group into the present (domestic) music currents and a reinforcement of the feeling "that they still belong" would be productive for writing the new pages of the history of Serbian music.

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BOOK REVIEW

AGAINST STEREOTYPES AND MISCONCEPTIONS

(Miloš Ković, *Gavrilo Princip. Documents and Memories*,
Novi Sad: Prometej, Beograd: RTS, 2014)¹



On the global level, the name of Gavrilo Princip is a synonym for the beginning of the

First World War. Despite that, his life, his background and the ideas that he followed are unknown outside of narrow professional historiographical circles, and even these are often not immune to the simplified and stereotypical representation of Princip's personality and his role in the Sarajevo assassination. It was for these very reasons that Miloš Ković, the editor of this collection of "documents and memories," tried to answer the question, "Who was Gavrilo Princip?" (pp. 7–39) in the introductory chapter. Although, at first glance, this question may seem to be redundant, it is not. Not only because of the said, widely spread beliefs and stereotypes about Princip and the Young Bosnia Movement to which he belonged, but also because historiography contains many different and often opposing assessments regarding the participants of the Sarajevo assassination. This is of the utmost importance primarily because the persons of Gavrilo Princip and the other participants in the Sarajevo assassination were at the centre of the "war guilt question," which has dominated the studies of the cause of the First World War since its beginning, from the Clause on the exclusive guilt of Imperial Germany defined in the Treaty of Versailles, to the

¹ Miloš Ković, *Gavrilo Princip. Documents and Memories*, Novi Sad: Prometej, Beograd: RTS, 2014 → Милош Ковић, *Гаврило Принцип. Документи и сећања*, Нови Сад: Прометеј, Београд: РТС, 2014.

1960s. While during the inter-war period German and Austrian historiography tried to prove the responsibility of the Serbian government for the beginning of the war by portraying the Sarajevo assassins as mere agents of the “conspiracy” devised in Belgrade, the historiography from the period of socialist Yugoslavia saw Princip and the Young Bosnians as predecessors of the social revolution and the fight for national liberation that was led by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia during the Second World War. Because of the revolutionary works of Luigi Albertini and, later, of German historian Fritz Fischer during the 1960s, historical scholarship has unequivocally proved that the main responsibility for the initiation of the world conflict lay with the highest state and military leaders of the German Reich, headed by Kaiser Wilhelm II. Gradually and with some modifications, that became an almost generally accepted view in the academic historiography of the First World War. In the flood of historiographical literature that followed the centennial of the beginning of the First World War, there were old/new interpretations of the cause of this war that, to a greater or lesser extent, rejected the “Fischer Paradigm” by denying the primary responsibility of the German elites for starting the war. Their supporters returned to the old hypothesis of Lloyd George on the collective “slithering into war” or, on the other hand, shifted the focus from Germany and Austria-Hungary to Serbia and Russia. Some of these revisionist attempts changed the assessment of the role of the Young Bosnians in the Sarajevo assassination – the Sarajevo assassins were “terrorists” who were predecessors of terrorist organizations such as Al-Qaeda by professors from the universities of Cambridge and Oxford, Christopher Clark and Margaret MacMillan.

Having in mind all of these facts that reflect the changes in power relations within the contemporary “historiographical field”, the question posed by Ković in the title of the initial chapter makes complete sense. Trying to give a comprehensive answer to this question, he observes the person of Gavrilo Princip inside the wider social, intellectual and political context in which he and other members of the Young Bosnia movement lived and acted and which finally conditioned his choice to assassinate the emperor, unaware that he was, thus, securing himself a permanent position in world history books. The contextualization of Gavrilo

Princip in the time and space in which he lived is absolutely necessary, not only to avoid the seductive contemporary interpretations which indicate wrong conclusions (like in the case of Margaret MacMillan), but primarily, as Ković emphasizes, to “answer the crucial question, which is – why?” (p. 11). Starting from the idea of tyrannicide in European history, Ković indicates some ideological connections of the Young Bosnians with the German and Italian movements for national unity from the 19th century, with movements such as Young Italy and Young Belgium, and with Russian populism, socialism and anarchism. The generation of the Young Bosnians grew up and formed their political beliefs in the feudal and semi-absolutistic society of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which was a colony of Habsburg imperialism, and the idea of national and social liberation – emancipation from the foreign rule and abolishment of the feudal society, was of crucial importance to them. In order to accomplish this goal, the Young Bosnians chose political violence, thus joining the spirit of the era to which they belonged. Namely, one of the most memorable features of European history of the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century were assassinations as a means of political struggle led in the name of social, political and national liberation. A series of assassinations of European rulers, statesmen and high state officials included the assassinations of government representatives in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina – the assassination attempt on Marijan Varešanin, governor of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Bogdan Žerajić (1910); the assassination attempts on the Croatian Ban Slavko Cuvaj by Luka Jukić and later by Ivan Planinščak (both in 1912); the assassination attempt on Ban Ivan Skerlec by Stjepan Dojčić (1913). The assassination of the Austrian heir to the throne Franz Ferdinand was the last in a line of assassinations which testified to a certain social simmering among the student population in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Having in mind these facts, Ković was undoubtedly right when he said that “the Sarajevo assassination was in fact a consequence of the crisis in two empires, the Ottoman and the Habsburg” (p. 20) and that both Gavrilo Princip and the Young Bosnians originated from European political and cultural traditions (p. 25).

Ković divided the selection of historical testimonies on Gavrilo Princip into four segments.

The first one entitled “Young Bosnia” (pp. 43–138) presents the memories of Vladimir Gaćinović, Borivoje Jevtić and Pero Slijepčević (who were themselves members of the movement) concerning the character and aims of the movement and the conditions in which it acted. “The Political Programme” (pp. 141–155) is the title of the second segment, which comprises programme texts of two leading ideologists of the youth movement – Vladimir Gaćinović, “The Death of a Hero”, and Dimitrije Mitrinović, “The first edition of the general programme for the youth club ‘National Unity’”, which at the same time represent two different views of national unity – Gaćinović’s more narrow Serbian one and Mitrinović’s broader Yugoslav view. The third segment entitled “Obljaj, Tuzla, Sarajevo, Belgrade” (pp. 159–334) presents excerpts from the correspondence of Young Bosnians as well as fragments from historiographical papers by Drago Ljubibratić and Vladimir Dedijer, which shed light on certain sides of Princip’s personality. In addition, this segment also presents the memories of the members of Young Bosnia who personally knew Princip (Cvetko Đ. Popović, Ivan Kranjčević, Dobroslav Jevđević and Ratko Parežanin), which provides a vivid and factographically rich portrayal of his life, origins and character, influences that shaped his beliefs, his attitudes on national and social liberation and the creation of a unified South Slav state. The fourth and longest part, which occupies two thirds of the collection of papers, is entitled “The assassination, the trial and time in prison” (pp. 337–959). It contains the memoir testimonies of Young Bosnians regarding the decision to perform the assassination, on the course of the preparations, on the assassination itself as well as on the trial of the assassins which followed in the autumn of 1914. Then there are the memories of Leo Pfeffer, the main court investigator in the investigation on the Sarajevo assassination, and Rudolf Zistler, one of the defence lawyers of Gavrilo Princip, as well as the other accused in the court procedure, and extensive excerpts

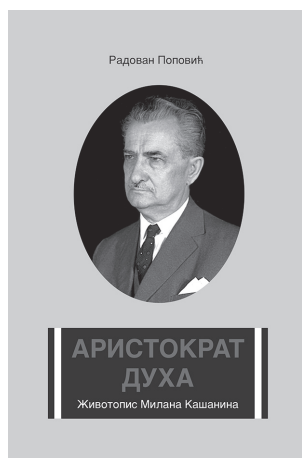
from the shorthand records of the main hearing from the trial of Gavrilo Princip and the other accused. This chapter also contains Princip’s poem and a note he made in prison, as well as a description of the transfer of Princip’s remains from Terezin (Theresienstadt) to Sarajevo after the First World War, written by Stevan Žakula. In addition, there is a bibliography of works on the Sarajevo assassination made by Nikola Đ. Trišić, which was expanded by Branko Čulić in 1964. Finally, the book ends with a subject index and a name and toponym index, which greatly facilitates its use.

If academic historiography is the most organized and most systematic form of social memory, Miloš Ković’s choice of testimonies on Gavrilo Princip and Young Bosnia provides a firm foundation for a rational study and objective evaluation of this revolutionary generation in the history of South Slavs. Ković managed to collect in one book many different historical sources which were published many decades ago in publications that are rare or difficult to find, thus enabling the modern reader to get better acquainted with Princip and the time in which he lived. Having in mind the stereotypical evaluations that can be found in a part of world historiography on the subject of Gavrilo Princip and his movement, we believe that it would be important that the collection of “documents and memories” on Gavrilo Princip also be published in English, so that it may be available to researchers of the First World War, the majority of whom do not speak Serbian. Finally, the book that we have attempted to present was published as the tenth in a series of the first cycle of the edition “Serbia 1914–1918” (Edicija „Srbija 1914–1918”), which is a joint publication effort of the publishing houses “Prometej” from Novi Sad and Radio-Television Serbia (RTS). Without denying the importance of the other books, we believe that the collection of memories on Gavrilo Princip edited by Miloš Ković, besides Oliver Janz’s synthesis *The 14th, The Great War*, is the most significant book in this edition.

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NOBILITY AS A CHOICE

(Radovan Popović, *Aristocrat of the Spirit – A Biography of Milan Kašanin*, Matica srpska, Novi Sad 2016)



Radovan Popović's quiet and unobtrusive perceptions of the Serbian cultural and literary scene, which he noted as a longtime journalist and editor of the *Politika*² newspaper, did not remain on a daily, passing level; instead he developed them in further research, rounded them up and shaped them into numerous literary units. The author of the *Serbian Literary Menagerie* (*Srpski književni zverinjak*) decided a long time ago to transform his knowledge into individual biographies of certain writers. Among others, he wrote and published books about the lives of Ivo Andrić, Isidora Sekulić, Miloš Crnjanski, Jovan Dučić, Veljko Petrović, Meša Selimović and Branko Ćopić.

¹ Radovan Popović, *Aristocrat of the Spirit – A Biography of Milan Kašanin*, Matica srpska, Novi Sad 2016 → Радован Поповић, *Аристократија духа – Животопис Милана Кашанина*, Матица српска, Нови Сад 2016.

² Daily newspaper established in Belgrade in 1904.

The biography of Milan Kašanin, therefore, is definitely not Popović's first biographical work, but of all the people he has chosen to write about so far, this is perhaps his boldest choice. The boldest, because Kašanin's life and work did not garner nearly as much public attention as they deserved in relation to their value. Although he was an important art historian and writer, and, one could also say, a founder of a system of values, the announcement of the news of the death of this important personality on the main Yugoslav State Television daily news broadcast (*Dnevnik*) was accompanied by the wrong photograph – that of his brother, academician and mathematician Radivoj, who was still alive at the time.

Not much has been written about Kašanin, a man overlooked and neglected, insufficiently known and recognized in wider circles. Other than a few texts (mostly by authors who personally knew Kašanin)³, in addition to Ivanka Udovički's work *Milan Kašanin, Literary Critic* (*Književni kritičar Milan Kašanin*), published in 1982, not long after Kašanin's death⁴, a collection of papers published by the National Museum of Serbia (1997) and Kosta Dimitrijević's *Dialogues with Milan Kašanin* (*Razgovori sa Milanom Kašaninom*, 2015), this is perhaps the fourth book which is entirely devoted to this extraordinary personality of Serbian culture. It is therefore not surprising at all that the importance of Popović's

³ Part of these texts on Kašanin's life and work were published in the 8th book of Kašanin's *Selected works* (*Izabrana dela*) in 2004 by Zavod za udžbenike, Belgrade.

⁴ The author of this book also defended her PhD thesis on the topic *Milan Kašanin, Critic and Essay Writer* (*Kritičar i esejist Milan Kašanin*), just like Jana Aleksić recently defended her PhD thesis *Milan Kašanin as a Critic of Modern Serbian Literature* (*Milan Kašanin kao tumač nove srpske književnosti*).

text on Kašanin was recognized by Matica srpska, whose associate Kašanin was, which published it in its edition *Dokument*.

The writer of this valuable biography was obviously well served by his journalistic skills in presenting the facts in this book concisely and clearly. Kašanin himself had written: "The only requirement for good writing is clarity and transparency of thought, as well as accuracy and correctness of expression... when this requirement is met, the literary composition will be well written."

At the same time, while presenting facts documented by many excerpts from Kašanin's voluminous correspondence with other people of note, Popović does not hesitate to reveal his own views. Precisely thanks to that measured personal note, the author has succeeded in transforming dry archive evidence into a lively and dynamic whole. The dynamics of the book are readily apparent just from skimming over the individual titles of the book's more than thirty chapters. "Picking one grain after another" is the chapter which starts the biography and which emphasizes Kašanin's pride in his poor peasant origins. In "With eyes always open," Popović cites letters to Tihomir Ostojić or Vasa Stajić, thus shedding light on what Kašanin read in 1917. "Enchanted by a beautiful Russian woman" is a short chapter with a note on Kašanin's love for his future wife, as well as his enthusiasm for Paris, Rodin, and his restraint towards Bogdan Popović. There is also a paragraph on his brother's soldiering in the Great War. The title "Entirely in the homeland" is an expression from a note on Kašanin by one of his contemporaries, a student of sociology at that time. According to Kašanin's judgment, "Prejudices and sympathies" could be decisive for someone's literary success, and in this chapter we can also read his letter to Miloš Crnjanski, part of his correspondence with Pero Slijepčević, as well as learn that Kašanin defended his PhD thesis in 1928, that he wrote about new books, what his opinion on the culture of the Vojvodina Serbs was, etc. "The book of bitter laughter" is how Kašanin referred to his own novel *Trokošuljnik* in a dedication to a reader. "Literary brigandry" is a chapter on the establishment of the Museum of Prince Pavle in 1936, as well as on Kašanin's analysis of the state of culture life. "Twilight in the queen's salon" reveals how, in the upheaval of the Communists takeover after the Second World War, Kašanin was forcibly retired from his posi-

tion of director of the Museum of Prince Pavle – whose name was promptly changed – and replaced by his long-time friend, Veljko Petrović. "Illuminated by the light of frescoes" is devoted to the exhibitions in the Fresco Gallery in London in 1954, at the Belgrade Fairground in 1958, as well as in Dubrovnik and Zadar, but also to his friendly correspondence with Isidora Sekulić just before she died. As can be seen, the chapter titles themselves serve as ample testimony of how interesting Kašanin's life was, and how interestingly it has been presented by Radovan Popović in this biographical book.

Because of the good selection of segments important for the biography of this complex personality, the author manages to say a lot in a small amount of space. He chronologically lists the data on where, when and why Kašanin was located, whom and what he read at the time, what he wrote about and for which journal, whom he corresponded with, and even what kind of financial situation he was in or the street addresses where he lived. At the same time the author does not forget to include the thoughts and impressions of Kašanin himself, his attitudes towards the politics and events of the time, his evaluations of art and literature.

The book is interlaced with well-chosen citations from Kašanin's writings as well as from others' letters to him. The always valuable citations are even more important in this case because Kašanin had a particularly clear, expressive and, above all, sharp style. In writing as well as in speaking, he thoughtfully used each word, as if he had previously measured it for a long time, and yet uttered or wrote it down with the utmost ease, so that it was almost impossible to doubt the reliability of his statements.

Popović placed his notes on Kašanin's life in a certain historical context, without which the life of any individual would not be sufficiently illuminated. In that sense, the letter of Milan's brother Radivoj is of special value, along with biographical notes on this important Serbian scientist, which tell us something about his path as a scientist and SASA academician.

While covering his career as an art historian and his literary path, this book does not omit important events from Milan Kašanin's family life. Thus, passages concerning his love, marriage, and the birth of his children are interspersed throughout the book. At the same time, this biography also serves as a sketch of the culture scene, the changes caused by social and political

upheavals and the influence of other significant people. Besides being able to learn something about the personalities of people such as Svetislav Marić, Vasa Stajić, Isidora Sekulić, Petar Dobrović or Miloš Crnjanski, we can also find out about the activities of Matica srpska and the Serbian Literary Association, and the work of Narodna prosveta and Geca Kon, publishing houses which are long gone.

Although the *Biography of Milan Kašanin* does not contain the expected list of sources and literature, the author's Notes at the end of the book, together with his acknowledgments of all those who helped him in writing the book, very clearly state the sources for the material for the "story," as the author calls the book in that same note.

Popović's writing is also documented by the photographs provided on the twenty or so pages at the very end of the book. In addition to photos of Milan Kašanin, this gallery of sorts also contains pictures of his family, friends, professors, the buildings of the Gallery of Frescoes and the Museum of Prince Pavle, facsimiles of letters, signatures and dedications, the cover

pages of his books, newspaper excerpts and, finally, the obituary that his family published in *Politika* after Kašanin's death.

The photographs of Milan Kašanin as a gymnasium and university student, or those made in the last years of his life, are only a visual testimony of the impression that clearly pervades the entire book – the refinement of Kašanin's personality and work, which are only further underlined by his peasant origin and material poverty. Thus, *Aristocrat of the Spirit* is an excellent choice for the title of a book about this truly unique figure of Serbian culture.

In this well written book, Radovan Popović has managed to follow Kašanin's life from beginning to end, with many rich testimonies. The publication of this book has given the scholarly and wider public an essential source for all further research, as well as for an even closer reading of Kašanin's works, which, like the life of this giant, provide a basis for the reevaluation of many aspects of the cultural value system of the Communist era in Serbia.

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