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ARTICLES AND TREATISES

FROM UTOPIA TO DYSTOPIA: THE CREATION OF YUGOSLAVIA IN 1918

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SUMMARY: The creation of Yugoslavia was not a development that could be predicted, let alone treated as a politically viable project, before the outbreak of the Great War. It was the result of unique circumstances and geopolitical shifts created by the war itself. After it came into being, its advocates tended to reinterpret the past to make the new state look like the natural result of profound long-term forces. This view assumed that the alleged ethnolinguistic-racial kinship provided the foundation for the South Slavs' cultural and political compatibilities. This was a myth, long outdated even at the time it was applied. Far from confirming such claims, the unification was rushed following the Croats' realization that they needed the common state to protect their *distinct* national interests. On the other hand, the birth of Yugoslavia resulted in the Serbs' "national demobilization," which ideally served the projects of national integration of others. The scene was thus set for the futile interwar quest for stability, for the horrors of Axis occupation, for Tito's long dictatorship, and for the final bloody disintegration. Yugoslavia was an imagined community *par excellence*, based on faulty intellectual constructs. It was flawed *ab initio*, doomed in any shape or form.

KEY WORDS: Yugoslavia, Serbs, Croats, ethnicity, kinship, identity, race, myth

INTRODUCTION

The Yugoslav experiment was founded on the ideas of the Enlightenment and mixed with the legacy of the romantic era, with its tripartite division of European nations. It was based on an ethnolinguistic-racial myth of blood kinship as the foundation of the South Slavs' presumed cultural and political compatibilities. That myth was absurdly anachronistic and obsolete already by the time it was applied¹.

¹ Jovan Cvijić (1865–1927), Serbia's prominent geographer, was a particularly active promoter of a quasi-scientific anthropogeographic theory which asserted a common Dinaric racial identity of most "Yugoslavs."

Subsequently the Yugoslav idea, and the political edifice based upon it, had always been subjected to many incompatible interpretations of its initial content and of the key players' hidden motives and agendas.

The creation of Yugoslavia was not a phenomenon which was (or could be) reliably foreshadowed by the previous development of the various Yugoslav peoples. As a contemporary British historian of the period points out, even those South Slav intellectuals who were enthusiastic about the notion of Yugoslav unity before the war nevertheless considered that any political unification would be the result of a long and gradual evolutionary process taking decades if not longer [Evans 2008: 222]. It was brought about by the unique circumstances and opportunities created by the Great War.

That war was not the result of unintended blunders in various courts, foreign offices, and chancelleries, as claimed by revisionist historians². In reality the Kaiserreich military and political elite welcomed the prospect of war resulting from the *attentat* in Sarajevo³. Berlin stage-managed the July crisis in 1914 to expand the borders drawn by Bismarck and to affirm hegemony in an extended *Mitteleuropa*, with France and Russia degraded and Great Britain excluded from Continental affairs. To that end, just one week after Sarajevo, Germany encouraged Austria-Hungary to go to war against Serbia.

For Austria-Hungary, crushing Serbia – while Vienna's back was guarded from Berlin – was considered an existential necessity and a way to reassert the Monarchy's great power status, in the absence of reforms which were not going to take place while the old Emperor Francis Joseph was still alive. The state's constitutional and ethnic complexity was reflected in the map of provinces which included the majority-South Slavic Carniola (4) and Dalmatia (5) in the Austrian lands, Croatia-Slavonia (17) in Hungary, and jointly administered Bosnia-Herzegovina (18), each with a distinct set of institutions and ethno-religious composition.

The German elite, on the other hand, wanted a “preventive” war against Russia and France, based on the Schlieffen Plan. Effectively, “[t]he international conflict in the summer of 1914 consisted of two wars, not one. Both were started deliberately” [Fromkin 2005]. The Second Reich thus discarded Bismarck's prudent cautions about the danger of entanglement in the Southeast⁴. The Iron Chancellor had warned that, “if there is ever another war in Europe, it will come out of some damned silly thing in the Balkans.” This was an area which, in his words, was “not worth the bones of a single Pomeranian grenadier.” His successors, to their peril, disregarded that advice on both counts.

One of the consequences of the war was the unification of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, proclaimed exactly three weeks after Armistice. This event came six decades too late to be successful. Had it happened during the era of Italy's

² E.g. Christopher Clark's *The Sleepwalkers*, an audacious whitewash of the Central Powers.

³ That much has been established by Germany's foremost historian of the 20th century, Fritz Fischer, in his authoritative 1961 study *Griff nach der Weltmacht* (published in English as *Germany's Aims in the First World War*), and by the work of his successors, notably the late Imanuel Geiss and John C. G. Röhl.

⁴ See e.g. [Trifkovic 2015].



unification it might have stood a chance. This was precluded after the Powers rushed to defeat Russia in 1854–1856 and later to obstruct her march to the Straits. By 1918, the process of separate cultural and political development and the formation of distinct South Slav national identities had gone too far to be recalled. Their fusion, based on the myth of ethnic kinship which was supposedly only masked by religious and political diversity, would not happen because some local intellectuals with scientific aspirations wanted it to happen, or because a few British scholars thought they grasped the “South Slav” destiny better than the putative “Yugoslavs” themselves.

Interwar attempts by King Alexander I and his far less convincing successors to enforce the fiction of national and state unity had the unintended consequence of providing an impetus to various non-Serb nationalist projects. The royalist regime provided the institutional framework for the process of national integration and political mobilization of the Croat nation. Other post-Serb and *ipso facto* Serbophobic ideological nation-building projects also gained traction, notably in Montenegro, Bosnia, and Macedonia. Such processes would have been less likely, if not outright unimaginable, before unification. The scene was thus set, in December 1918, for the tragedies of 1941–1945 and 1991–1995.

EARLY YUGOSLAV IDEA

In just over a century between the Congress of Vienna and the Versailles Conference, several European nations made a bid to break free from imperial rule – or (as in the case of Italy) to reassemble the fragments of putative nationhood that had been snatched up by foreign powers, or (as in the case of Germany)

to bring into being an idea of political unity that had matured well before the victory at Sedan 1870. The “South Slavs” – an imperfect designation for the Slavic speakers of what was to become Yugoslavia – were not the obvious candidates for the execution of a comparable project. The Yugoslav idea was imagined, by its early Croat adherents, as a modern rendering of an early XIX century concept, constructed entirely on the basis of Europe’s tripartite ethno-linguistic division devised by the romantic mindset of 1848. It later developed from that imperfect basis into a racial-ethnic myth.

Already by the time of that revolutionary watershed, however, both Serbs and Croats were fully developed as distinct nations [Hammel 1993]. The notion that Balkan peasantries were uniformly *pre-national* before their “awakening” around 1848, or that bourgeois nationalism kicked into action to the beat of the *Marseillaise* to astonish an unsuspecting Europe, is simply incorrect. It is not a primordialist heresy to claim that some identities are far older than the continuous evidence for them. In the Balkans, nationality – a name, its memory, and loyalty to a myth – is plainly older than 1789, let alone 1848. They cannot be conjured *ex nihilo*. However, used or abused by later generations, the foundations of Serb and Croat identity rested on real bonds of shared memory and on experiences rooted in late-medieval and early modern times.

Like their Roman Catholic neighbors, Orthodox *Grenzlers* who guarded the Habsburg Military Frontier had an extensive, religiously supported oral history [Rothenberg 1966]. They possessed a firm grasp of their family origins by the time the modern nation-state system was codified in 1648 in Westphalia. They were *Serbs* long before they emerged from the “Vlach” chrysalis. By denying this reality, some Croatian authors have tried to have it both ways: to apply the “modernist” theory of nations-as-recent-constructs to the western Serbs, while reserving the “primordialist” standard for the Croats. Yet the claim that an ethnically undifferentiated Orthodox mélange – formerly Croat or else Vlach in origin – was “Serbianized” under the influence of the Serbian Orthodox Church unintentionally gives credence to the assertion that religious conversion created both Serbs and Croats. Eric Hobsbawm saw “Roman Catholicism (and its by-product, the Latin script) and Orthodoxy (with its by-product, the Cyrillic script)” as the most obvious means of dividing Croats from Serbs, “with whom they share a single language of culture” [Hobsbawm 1990: 70]. This claim, however dubious, has been often treated as axiomatic by Western authors. In reality, the notion of “ancient hatreds” among the South Slavic peoples is “but a rhetorical screen obscuring the modernity of conflict based on contested notions of state, nation, national identity and sovereignty” [Bakić-Hayden 1995: 918].

With the rise of Jacobin nationalism in Hungary, the idea of a unitary Hungarian state from the Carpathians to the Adriatic – inhabited by people whose designations and claimed identities might differ, but all of whom belonged to a Hungarian political nation – became the *leit-motif* in Hungarian politics. In Croatia, reaction to Hungarian integralism fostered the rise of the *Illyrian* idea. This was a quaint misnomer coined in the contemporary fashion of giving classical names to modern peoples or lands (e.g. Napoleon’s “Illyrian provinces,” 1809–1813), for the idea of South Slav unity based on common origins and language.

The notion that Croats belonged to the wider Slavic family of nations was not new, as evidenced by the past interchangeable use of *Slovin* and *slovenski* for “Croat” and “Croatian.” The novelty of the Illyrian Movement was the notion, by that time well established in the German-speaking *Mitteleuropa*, that language and ancestry define nationhood. Since most Europeans derived that ancestry from one of the three “families” – the Germanic, Romanic, or Slavic – the Croats needed to find their rightful place there, and plan their future accordingly.

Appealing to a narrow segment of Croatia’s educated elite, Illyrism was born out of the perception that the development of a Croat identity needed a broader context in order to assert itself and to withstand the onslaught of stronger, more dynamic and better established nationalisms, Hungarian to the north, Italian to the west. The question of language topped the agenda. The upholders of the Illyrian idea decided to adopt, in the 1830’s, the *štokavian* (*štokavski*) dialect, codified on the basis of the pioneering work of Serbia’s language reformer Vuk Stefanović Karadžić. Two purely Croat dialects, *kajkavian* (*kajkavski*), spoken in Zagreb and the neighboring Zagorje region, and *čakavian* (*čakavski*), mainly along the Adriatic coast, were gradually reduced to colloquial regional use. The Illyrian project engendered the notion of linguistic and cultural unity of South Slavs with proto-Yugoslav political overtones, as manifested by the work of Croatian language reformer Ljudevit Gaj (1809–1872). He hoped that linguistic and cultural cement would eventually foster greater political unity as well.

Roman Catholic Bishop of Djakovo in Slavonia, Josip Juraj Strossmayer, the leading mid-century champion of the Illyrian idea, did not go that far. When he declared in 1849 that he hoped to bring together all “Yugoslavs,” he had in mind cultural and linguistic, rather than political unity. He assumed that Zagreb would dominate any future process of South Slav integration *inside* the Habsburg monarchy. Somewhat optimistically, in view of the Serbs’ well advanced process of national and cultural integration, Strossmayer even imagined that the Croats could be acting as “the Tuscan element” in that process [Seton Watson 1913]. Getting Croatia-Slavonia and Dalmatia into a single constitutional entity, however, was to be a key step in his attempt to reconcile cultural Illyrianism and political Croatianism. That goal proved unattainable after the 1867 *Ausgleich*. Even at the time of its articulation, the Strossmayerist political-cultural paradigm was both constitutionally impossible and inherently unattractive to the Serbs.

Strossmayer’s political views, rooted in the tradition of State Rights, and his belief in the linguistic and therefore cultural unity of Serbs and Croats, were expressed through the People’s Party (*Narodna stranka*). After the Austrian-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1878, the political side of the equation – weak to start with – was no longer tenable. The title over Bosnia was the circle that could not be squared by Strossmayer – the upholder of Croatia’s “historic rights” with Strossmayer – the promoter of “Yugoslav unity.” In the end, politically and culturally, the Bishop of Djakovo was a Croat first and foremost [Krešić 2002].

In the young mid-XIX century Serbian state, not yet fully sovereign but certainly *de facto* independent, a few members of the emerging intelligentsia started thinking in terms of wider integrative designs. A prominent politician, Ilija Garašanin (1812–1874), thus wrote a brief document known as the *Draft Outline* (*Načertanije*). Written in 1844 but made public only 62 years later, it proposed the liberation and unification of Serbs and other “Slavs” with Serbia in the territories of today’s Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, Vojvodina, and possibly other lands. The recent debate whether this was a “Greater Serbian” or a proto-Yugoslav blueprint is somewhat false, however: Garašanin did not mention any Croats in his memo, or even the term “Yugoslav,” which had been suggested to him by the Polish émigrés who had written the initial draft in the first place. This is unsurprising: Serbia was in the early process of its own liberation and consolidation, and thinking of future expansion in any other than strictly *Serb* terms would have been neither politically justified nor intellectually coherent.

CROAT NATIONALIST BACKLASH

Unlike the Croat “Illyrians” the Serbs did not *need* a wider framework to contemplate the future. Admittedly there are indications that Prince Michael Obrenović contemplated supporting a general uprising and subsequent alliance of the Balkan peoples, leading to some form of federation. His vague design included Greeks and Romanians, however, so there was nothing even remotely “Yugoslav” about the scheme. In any event it never advanced beyond preliminary planning, as Michael was assassinated in 1868. For the ensuing four decades there was not even a hint of “Yugoslavism” in Serbia’s mainstream discourse, in her grand strategic design, or in her foreign and security policy planning and conduct.

Across the border in Austria-Hungary, far from engendering a long-term cultural amalgamation with the Serbs – as “the Tuscan element” or otherwise – the Illyrians provided the Croats with the linguistic base for *their own* national integration. It enabled the Croat nationalist intelligentsia, in the fullness of time, to claim the heritage of distinctly non-Croat traditions (including self-avowedly Serbian-speaking Dubrovnik writers), and accordingly to stake bold territorial and ethnic claims based on the spread of the “Croatian” language⁵. On this basis the idea of the “political” Croatian people, a carbon copy of the detested Hungarian claim, gained prominence and became democratized. Whereas in feudal times only the gentry, often tenuously “Croat” by blood, made up the “political” people, after 1848 all inhabitants of Triune Croatia (i.e. Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia), irrespective of their socioeconomic status or self-perceived national identity, were supposed to constitute the Croatian “political nation.” Modernization demanded cultural uniformity and political homogenization. The Serbs in Croatia could be given civic rights, but no right to national individuality.

⁵ On the Dubrovnik (Ragusan) tradition, language and identity see [Voinovitch 1920].

After the Compromise (*Ausgleich*) of 1867, which created a de facto confederalized Austria-Hungary, Magyars were free to deal with the multiethnic, multilingual plurality of non-Hungarian subjects of the Crown of St. Stephen as they deemed fit. The ensuing Croato-Hungarian “Agreement” (*Nagodba*, 1868), concluded in the year of Prince Michael’s early death, recognized Croatia as a political unit with its legislative *Sabor*, but of course as an integral part of the Kingdom of Hungary. Its Article 59 asserted that “the Kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia are made up of one single political nation”. Thus it could be argued that, legally, *there were no Serbs in Croatia*: they were but a part of the Croat political nation. Accordingly, in subsequent official statistics, the Serbs were not identified by their national name but only according to their religious confession (“Non-Uniate Greco-Easterners”).

This development provided the key pillar of a virulently radical form of Croatian nationalist ideology, articulated by publicist and political activist Ante Starčević (1823–1896). His *Party of Rights* demanded sovereign statehood for Croatia and its territorial expansion to the Drina River. It adamantly rejected Yugoslavism or any other form of “Slavism,” but imagined Croatia as a western civilizational and racial bulwark against a threatening, barbarian east. Its defining trait was its “tribal irrationality,” Croatism defined through an extreme antagonism – crudely racist, determinist, ultimately exterminationist – towards the Serbs [Dvorniković 1939: 894].

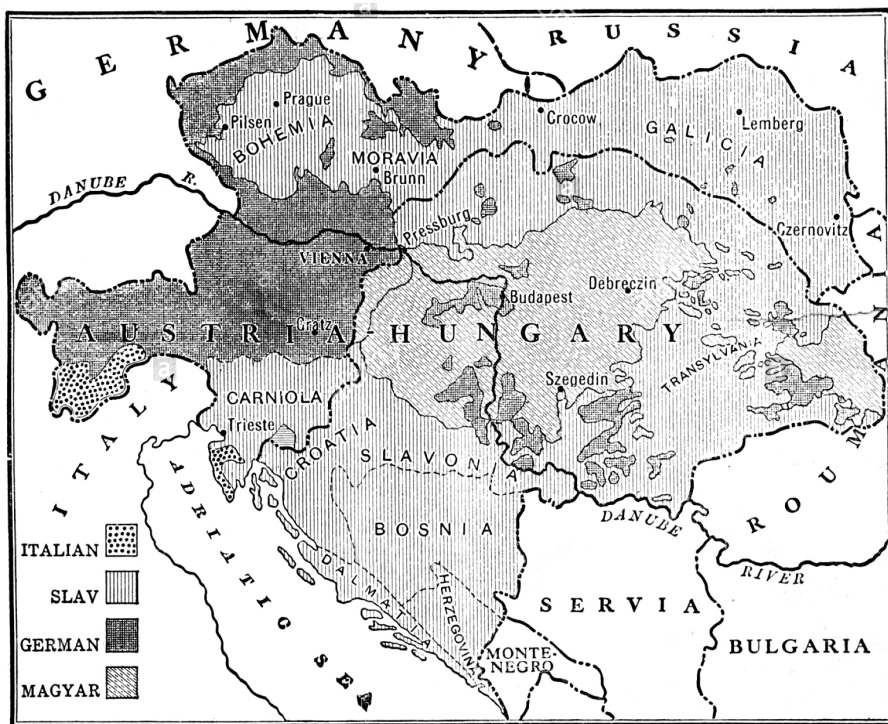
Starčević’s rise coincided with first demilitarization and then abolition (1881) of the Military Border, which after the occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary in 1878 no longer served any military purpose. Its abolition presented the Serbs with the task of articulating their political and cultural interests as a distinct group. They were not interested in Yugoslavism in any shape or form, but in obtaining national recognition, religious equality and educational autonomy. By the time the Military Border was abolished, they accounted for over a quarter of the population of today’s Croatia and constituted a simple majority in one-third of its territory. Even outside the old Borderlands, in the late-XIX century the Serbs were making inroads into the professions and commerce, competing with the emerging Croat bourgeoisie. Their presence and status had been a lasting irritant to the Croatian-Hungarian feudal nobility and clergy in the preceding centuries; it now became an equally acute thorn in the side of Croat nationalists who denied that those people were *Serbs* in the first place.

Starčević’s immediate heirs preferred to adopt the assimilationist position that “in Croatia, whatever religion one wants to be, whatever name one calls himself, everyone is born a Croat... regardless of calling himself a member of another nation” [Pavlinović 1882]. The foremost Croat *fin-de-siècle* nationalist historian held that “the true national name” for all people between Istria and Bulgaria was *Croat*, while *Serb* was to him but a “tribal name”: every Serb is a Croat, Klačić wrote, but a Croat is not a Serb [Klačić 1893: 25]. Frano Supilo, a leading *Pravaš* who later became a proponent of Yugoslav unity, argued in the 1890’s that admittedly there *are* Serbs, but not in Croatia-Slavonia and Dalmatia: “those who call themselves Serbs, are not Serbs but Orthodox Croats”

[*Crvena Hrvatska* 1895]. Starčević's legacy ensured that at the end of the XIX century the Serbs in Croatia-Slavonia wanted to assert their identity, and not to have it submerged in the Croat "political nation" or in "Yugoslavism," which was perceived as Croatism under a new name⁶.

One of Starčević's successors distilled his vehement anti-Serbism into the determining feature of "Croatness" itself. This was the leader of the Pure Party of Rights (*Čista stranka prava*, ČSP), Josip Frank, who had split from the Rightists shortly after Starčević's death [Krlježa 1958: 387]. He tied his brand of chauvinism to the mast of Habsburg loyalism and clericalism. His party instigated periodic anti-Serb riots (1895, 1899, and notably 1902). To Frank and his followers, the Serbs (including those in Serbia) were "a rabble of Cincars, Gypsies, Albanians and Vlachs" of allegedly Semitic origin. An unbridgeable gap separated them from Croats.

There were many such ethno-political schisms in the Austrian-Hungarian Empire on the eve of Sarajevo. In the preceding decade the Monarchy was in a state of latent crisis. An empire founded on the medieval notion of dynastic loyalty fitted uneasily into the XX century reality of competing nationalisms. Until the end of the first decade of the new century, however, the notion of South Slav unity was not a major challenge to its cohesiveness. In its mosaic of nationalities (see map), Hungarian ambitions to achieve independence in all but name and Czech autonomist demands presented a more significant challenge.



⁶ See e.g. [Miller 1997].

All significant reforms of the Monarchy were opposed, albeit for different reasons, by the Hungarian land-owning nobility in the east and by the German nationalists in the west. Vienna tried to overcome domestic tensions, among other means, through expansion in the Balkans, primarily by occupying Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1878 and annexing it three decades later. With the annexation and the “Tariff War” (1906–1911), however, it turned Serbia from a client state of the Habsburgs – as it notably was in the 1880’s under King Milan Obrenović – into an enemy under the rival Karadjordjević dynasty, restored to the throne after the coup and regicide of May 1903. The Monarchy’s attempts to subjugate Serbia proved not just ineffective but counter-productive, by enhancing its links with Paris and St. Petersburg⁷.

Across the border, in the early 1900’s it appeared that Croatia’s political elite was able to devise a workable *modus vivendi* with the Serbs. The “New Course” politics resulted in the 1905 *Declarations* of Rijeka and Zadar, with Dalmatia’s Croat and Serb deputies finding common ground. This paved the way to the *Croat-Serb Coalition*, the party which dominated the Croat lands’ political scene from 1906 until 1918. The new consensus of the bourgeois intelligentsia did not reflect the sentiment of the common people, however. Croatia’s politics under the Habsburgs was limited to a narrow, property-qualified social base. It excluded the vast majority of Croatia’s population, its peasantry. In 1914, the traditions and aspirations of the South Slav communities – merely *similar* in appearance and language – were based on different sets of core values, historical experiences, and political aspirations.

THE WAR

Serbia’s considerable national dynamism before 1914 was almost exclusively directed at liberating *Serbs*, as many Serbs as possible, from foreign rule. Inspired by this objective, Serbia made major gains at the Congress of Berlin in 1878 and spectacular ones in the two Balkan wars (1912–1913). Those wars saw the doubling of the Kingdom’s territory in the Old and Southern Serbia (today’s Kosovo-Metohija and northern Macedonia).

In the fall of 1912 and for the most of 1913, the powers-that-be in Vienna observed with consternation the triumph of Serbian arms against Turkey first, then Bulgaria. They were horrified not just by the huge increase of the pesky neighbor’s territory, but also by the effect of Serbia’s victories on the Monarchy’s own South Slavs. Its military leaders – most notably the Chief of General Staff, General Conrad von Hötzendorf – repeatedly advised a preventive war as a means of neutralizing the perceived threat on the southern border. Sarajevo provided a golden opportunity: with its blank check from Berlin, the Monarchy presented Serbia with its ultimatum. Austria-Hungary *willed* a Balkan war, and Germany *wanted* a European war.

Austria’s geopolitical objective was to dislodge Russia from the Balkans and secure complete regional hegemony for the Monarchy. For the Germans

⁷ For a comprehensive account of Austro-Hungarian policy in the Balkans and relations with Serbia before and during the July crisis, see: [Zametica 2017].

this would have the welcome consequence of removing an obstacle on the Berlin-Bagdad route. No less important motive was to exploit the expected victory over Serbia as a means of reasserting Austria-Hungary's status as a great power – both at home and abroad, but *especially* at home.

As a means of neutralizing the emerging pro-Yugoslav sentiment which was present among a narrow segment of Croatia's intelligentsia – as exemplified by the 1912 Youth Association *Preporod* (*Rebirth*) – the war fever seemed to work well. The popular Viennese jingle of August 1914, *Serbien muss sterbien*, suggested that ugly local Frankist bile had been approved in the *Mitteleuropa*. The atmosphere of pogrom was fuelled by the Croat nationalist press, with mobs in Zagreb howling “Hang the Serb on a willow tree” (*Srbe na vrbe*) [Ribar 1965: 133]. The Serbophobic zeal soon abated, however: Austria-Hungary suffered a series of humiliating military defeats, and was forced to halt all operations against Serbia in late December 1914.

At that very moment, the program of Yugoslav political integration was abruptly embraced by the political elite of Serbia and declared as a war aim. This was an unexpected development. Not a single major political party in pre-war Serbia mentioned the creation of Yugoslavia in its program. No such notion was present in the popular discourse before the Balkan wars, except as a misnomer for the Greater Serbian project to which the overwhelming majority of common people subscribed. The very term “Yugoslavia” was as unknown to the Serbian peasant in the early 1900's as the term “Italy” had been unknown to his Sicilian or Calabrian counterpart in the 1850's. Even when the term “Piedmont” was used (notably in the case of a newspaper), it implied the notion of *pan-Serb*, rather than South Slav unification.

In the heady days of Serbia's early victories over the Habsburg armies, however, Jovan Cvijić and a few other “Yugoslav” enthusiasts exerted significant influence on the formulation of the government's war aims. In the fall of 1914 Cvijić composed the first geographic maps of the desired South Slav state, published in his brochure *Jedinstvo Jugoslovena* (*Unity of Yugoslavs*). It argued that the unification of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, or “Yugoslavs,” was geographically, economically and ethnically justified. Pro-Yugoslav lobbying also included the claim, soon discredited in practice, that the embrace of Yugoslavism by the government of Serbia would prompt Croats and other South Slavs in Austrian uniform to give up the fight and even join the ranks of the Serbian army.

For reasons yet to be fully adduced the Serbian prime minister, Nikola Pašić, was won over to the project. His support was essential to its acceptance as a formal policy document. It was presented to the National Assembly for approval in the form of the government's formal war aims declaration. On December 7, after a perfunctory debate, the *Skupština* adopted it with a significant majority. The country's war aims, from that moment on, called for the “liberation and unification of our unfree brothers Serbs, Croats and Slovenes”⁸.

⁸ The declaration was adopted in the city of Niš, in southeastern Serbia, where the government and the assembly were temporarily located (*Niška deklaracija*).



The adoption of such a radical program at an early stage of the war was an ill-considered act of bravado. It created potential difficulties for the Serbs and their Allies even before Italy's claims came into play in April 1915, when the Treaty of London was signed (see map). The Declaration additionally created problems by reducing the Allies' prospects of a separate peace with Austria-Hungary, which they always regarded as a possibility and which became a distinct opportunity after the death of the old Emperor in the fall of 1916.

Pašić responded to early allied criticism by claiming that South Slav unity would bring peace and stability to the Balkans by creating "one national state, geographically sufficiently large, ethnically compact, politically strong, economically independent, and in harmony with European culture and progress." Implicit in his claim was the hint that the new state would also provide a geopolitical bulwark against any future German *Drang* to the Adriatic.

Pašić's estimate was flawed in asserting an imaginary ethnic homogeneity ("national state... ethnically compact"), as well as wildly optimistic ("politically strong" etc). He nevertheless tried to win over the Allies for the South Slav project. To that end, in early 1915 a "Yugoslav Committee" came into being, composed of Croat, Serb and Slovene émigrés from Austria-Hungary in Western Europe. Their main purpose was to lobby the Allies for the creation of "Yugoslavia" as a state allegedly based on racial kinship, and the theme of its alleged geopolitical usefulness in Southeastern Europe was stressed with particular emphasis.

After its defeats in Serbia the Monarchy shifted its attention to the Russian front. After the Allied landings at Gallipoli in April 1915, however, Germany could no longer ignore Serbia, and duly proceeded to open the Danubian link to Turkey. In October German Field Marshal August von Mackensen led the attack from the north, while Bulgaria joined the war and cut off Serbia's southern flank. The campaign inevitably crushed Serbia, but it did not destroy the Serbian army. Though cut in half, it marched heroically across Albania to the coast. Recovered and 150,000 strong, it re-entered fighting on the Salonika Front and played a key role in the breakthrough in September 1918.

On the other side of the trenches, for the remaining three years of the war Austria-Hungary deployed its South Slav conscripts mainly on the Italian front. Many of them fought with gusto, not out of any great loyalty to the House of Habsburg but primarily in order to prevent Italy from gaining the borders promised by Entente powers in the London Treaty.

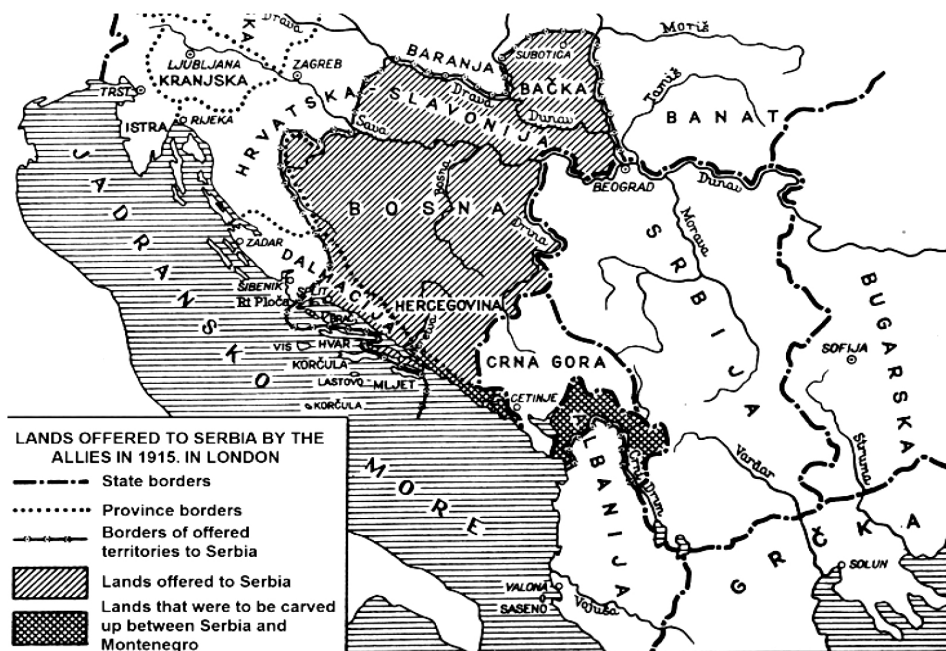
UNIFICATION

As the war entered its decisive stage in early 1918, the future of the Monarchy was rapidly becoming uncertain. Until that time the Allies were prepared to see Serbia expand, after the war, into Habsburg lands with large Serb populations, such as Bosnia-Herzegovina and Vojvodina. Until the final months they did not envisage the creation of a Yugoslav state, or even a thorough dismemberment of Austria-Hungary. President Woodrow Wilson's *Fourteen Points* provided for "autonomous development" for the Monarchy's nationalities, rather than their full sovereignty outside its framework [Lederer 1963]. Wilson's was a revolutionary doctrine that could not be contained, however. It accelerated competing aspirations among the smaller nations of Central Europe and the Balkans that hastened the collapse of transnational empires, and gave rise to ethnic conflicts and territorial disputes that still remain unresolved.

Millions of Serbs in the devastated, occupied Serbia, and hundreds of thousands in the Serbian Army overseas or in captivity, had no idea what their leaders were planning; and they were not going to be asked. Further millions of South Slavs in Austria-Hungary did not know that a "Yugoslav Committee" existed in the first place, let alone that it presumed to negotiate settlements of far-reaching significance on their behalf. And yet the Corfu Declaration of 1917, agreed between the government of Serbia and the Yugoslav Committee, heralded the creation of a "constitutional, democratic, and parliamentary monarchy headed by the house of Karadjordjević," to be called the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. Under its terms Serbia was not to have a privileged status or veto power in the new state, comparable to Prussia's in Germany after 1871: both Serbia and Montenegro were to cease their existence as sovereign states. This outcome was a major success for the Croats on the Committee [Dragnich 1992: 25].

The decision of the Serbs to reject the Treaty of London, sign the Corfu Declaration, and present it to the Allies as their official program – even though by all accounts the equivalent of a "greater Serbia" was readily available all

along (see map) – was an act of political shortsightedness of which the Serbs were to prove the main victims.



Britain and France would have preferred the “small” solution, which would consist of a greatly enlarged Serbia united with Vojvodina, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the Adriatic coast at least up to the Narenta River (or some point further north). They certainly did not force and could not force any “Yugoslavia” on the unwilling Serbs. A Greater Serbia was compatible with the Treaty of London, *prima facie* ethnically uncomplicated, clean. This outcome would have left Croatia with a mere “four counties” of its heartland around Zagreb.

The politicians in Zagreb understood the danger. The May 1917 Declaration (*Majska deklaracija*) of South Slav deputies in the Diet in Vienna heralded a new trend. They demanded the union of the provinces where Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs lived as a majority in a single state. The formal qualifier that this should be effected “under the scepter of the House of Habsburg” was of course obligatory under the circumstances, but it was no longer seriously meant. The new wave in Croatia’s political class was driven primarily by the fear of Italy’s ambitions – confirmed by the Bolshevik publication of the Tsarist government’s secret treaties, and well publicized by the press in all South Slav lands – if the collapse of Austria-Hungary caught Croatia alone and friendless. Far from confirming any lofty claims of the adherence to Yugoslav unity, the unification eventually was rushed on the insistence from Zagreb. The rush was based on

the Croats' well-founded fear of the future. They understood that they needed the aegis of a common state, *and* the presence of the Serbian Army on the Adriatic coast, to protect their own, distinct national interests.

As the Monarchy crumbled in the autumn of 1918, the ruling Croat-Serb Coalition in Zagreb was the driving force behind the founding of the National Council of Croats, Slovenes and Serbs. This was not a constitutional but an *ad hoc* body. It proclaimed the "joint people's sovereign State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs" in the South Slav lands of the Monarchy as the first step toward their eventual union with Serbia and Montenegro.

The vote in the Sabor to sever all links of Croatia with Hungary and Austria on October 29, 1918, came amidst a mix of panic and euphoria [Krizman 1958]. When external military-political developments presented the unification as an immediate prospect, the decision-makers in Croatia could claim but a limited mandate for the steps they were taking. Yet at the time of confusion and fear in the fall of 1918, however, Croatia's political leaders could see no alternative to an urgent acceptance of the union on the basis of the Corfu Declaration. In addition to the problem of Italian aspirations, "Yugoslavia became the only way to prevent Serbia from taking its pick of former South Slav lands. To this extent, Yugoslavia was a Croatian political choice, however painful, which cannot be explained at all without... Croatia's Serbian Question."⁹

In the Zagreb *Sabor* one significant dissenting voice was that of Stjepan Radić, the Croatian People's Peasant Party leader who was soon to become the most prominent Croat politician. He warned the 28 delegates, as they were departing for Belgrade, that they had no mandate for what they were about to do: "You are roaming like geese in the fog!" Radić's quip about *guske u magli* became famous, but at the time he was isolated and rebuked by other Council members. Their main concern was to get the Serbian army in, to keep the Italians out, and to keep the Reds (real or imagined) down.

The delegates left for Belgrade and presented Regent Alexander Karadjordjević with the National Council's decision in favor of unconditional union. On December 1, 1918 the Regent formally accepted the offer of the National Council and proclaimed the establishment of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. Yugoslavia was born¹⁰.

CONCLUSION

From the moment of its creation on the ruins of the Habsburg Empire until its first collapse in the April War in 1941 and its final bloody disintegration in the 1990's, Yugoslavia was chronically beset by national problems. Those problems were dealt with in different ways and with different intentions, starting with triune centralism and ending with Tito's chaotic proto-confederalism of the 1970's. Structural deficiencies of each Yugoslavia, both as a state and

⁹ Michael Stenton: "Yugoslavia was a country desired by the few, not the many." [Trifkovic 2010]

¹⁰ Essential and comprehensive reading on the subject: Group of authors, *Историја једне уједиње: 100 година од стварања Југославије*. (Two vols.) Belgrade: Catena Mundi, 2018. [*History of a Utopia* 2018].

as a polity, were fundamentally insoluble. At all times during Yugoslavia's existence they precluded the development of a functional political system. The founding myth of "racial," ethno-linguistic kinship could not and did not provide the base even for a barely functional political edifice, let alone a prosperously harmonious one. This was the root cause of Yugoslavia's neurotic politics in peacetime, her speedy collapse in 1941, her susceptibility to a cynical Communist dictator who effectively doomed her at the tail-end of his long misrule, and her descent to the final, violent disintegration which unfolded in the summer of 1991.

The problem of inter-ethnic relations, burdened by an ambiguous legacy of earlier centuries, was greatly aggravated by the creation of the Yugoslav state. The issue of Serb-Croat relations was at the core of the Yugoslav problem. Those relations, already made delicate by the legacy of the Military Border, were poisoned by the creation of a common state. Those relations would have remained ambivalent but tractable had the two nations not been pushed under the same roof. It is unlikely that they could have been any *worse* than they have been over the past century.

Let us reiterate: the Yugoslav imbroglio did not start with the Great War and its aftermath, with the circumstances surrounding the creation of the new state, or with the Kingdom's failed quest for a viable political system. The acute anxieties of early-modern Croatian nationalists about the Serbs, as well as the possibilities of co-operation between those two nations that had become distinct from each other many decades before 1918, cannot be understood if the complex record of the preceding centuries is overlooked¹¹.

In the years after unification, Balkanized French-style parliamentary democracy and unitary state model, which was well known to Serbia prior to 1914, did not provide an adequate venue to Croat politicians groomed under the Habsburgs. A federal model, with implied recognition of ethno-historical individualities, could have been a better solution, although it is far from certain whether it would have made the edifice viable in the long run. At least it would have clarified the core bone of contention between Serbs and Croats, which had always been not just cultural but territorial, *primarily* territorial.

To most Serbs outside Serbia the creation of the Yugoslav state was greeted as an act of deliverance pure and simple. Many Croats, especially the middle classes and intelligentsia, had accepted the new state out of necessity and pragmatically perceived national interest, rather than conviction. Far greater number – the peasantry – were more inclined to complete the process of Croatian national integration before even considering the wider project. Both groups would have preferred a sovereign state of their own, just as most Serbs – had they been asked – would have preferred an expanded, strong and secure Serbia. In the heady days of the war's end, however, the Serbian political establishment failed to grasp this fact. By opting for the centralist concept it made an early strategic error which cost the Serbs dearly.

By the time delegates convened at Versailles in January 1919 the Habsburg Empire had been defunct for over two months, while its southern provinces

¹¹ For a more detailed treatment of the subject see [Trifkovic 2010].

had declared their unification with Serbia and Montenegro in a single unitary state seven weeks earlier. It finished drawing most of the new European borders six months later.



Yet for the new Yugoslav state the challenges of nation building – of defining and defending recognized borders, of establishing a single currency, of regulating economic, educational and judicial systems, and above all of solving issues of multi-ethnicity – were immense. They were temporarily concealed behind the fiction of one nation with three names, which increasing numbers of Croats and others saw as a misnomer for Serbian hegemony. The political class in Belgrade lacked tact and imagination, as reflected in the manner the Vidovdan Constitution was enacted. A budding new generation of Serbian leaders, more enlightened and better equipped to deal with such challenges and complexities, was decimated on the battlefields of the Great War.

The legacy of different cultural, political and religious traditions was greatly underestimated among Serbia's political elite¹². That legacy could not

¹² For an eloquent summary of the challenges, see [Bataković 1994].

be overcome by a centralist constitution, by unitarist slogans, and (later) by King Alexander's personal regime. Belgrade was inclined, almost by default, to view the new state as a continuation of the ethnically and culturally homogeneous pre-1914 Serbia. It advocated centralism on the flawed premise of national, "Yugoslav" unity. The Croats, in turn, knew historical rights and legal agreements, contracts, *Pacta Conventa*, *Ausgleichen* and *Nagodbas*... devices based on a long tradition of seeking greater self-rule in opposition to various foreign centralizing forces.

The Croat advocates of Yugoslav integralism were revealed, after 1918, to be devoid of a meaningful popular base, except to some extent in Dalmatia which was threatened by Italian irredentism¹³. To common people of different origins, the slogans of Yugoslav national unity did not make much sense. Most Serbs accepted them half-heartedly and parroted them dutifully; many Slovenes and Bosnian Muslims did likewise, but with even less conviction; the majority Croats did not do so at all.

In preceding decades, west of the Drina River and western Syrmia, ordinary Serbs and Croats had lived side by side or in mixed communities, often uncomfortably but in peace. After 1848 *at the latest* they did not consider themselves one and the same people. Assimilationist claims by Ante Starčević and his *pravaši* heirs of different hues only served to deepen the gap: they forced the western Serbs to accelerate their own integration, and to articulate and assert their distinct political goals.

In the same vein, after December 1918 centralism enhanced and accelerated integration on the Croat side. It rapidly bred opposition not only to the government in Belgrade but to the very idea of the new state. The Serbs were told by their leaders that the creation of Yugoslavia was the fulfilment of everyone's aspirations. The result was a Serb "national demobilization," leaving it up to the unifying state itself to take care of everyone's supposedly bundled quasi-post-national interests. The integralist paradigm demanded flexibility on all sides, but only the Serbs fell for the anachronistic narrative of their leaders before March 1941. After that time, and for the ensuing five decades, they effectively ceased to matter as a political subject.

To the Serb nation, the cost of Yugoslavia has been incalculable and the damage irreparable.

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THE GREAT ECONOMIC CRISIS IN INTERWAR YUGOSLAVIA: STATE INTERVENTION

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SUMMARY: The subject of this text is the Great Depression (which began with the crash of the New York Stock Exchange in 1929), which also hit the Kingdom of Yugoslavia during the 1930s. The author applies an interdisciplinary approach, with an accent on reviewing the basic inputs at the start of the crisis. Special attention is devoted to socio-economic development, state economic policy and tectonic shifts in the basic structures of history, which were especially visible during the time of the New Economic Policy of the government of Milan Stojadinović (1935–1939). Light is shed on structural changes in the upper layers of history, which took place in the shifts and positioning of society in relation to private and state property in the capitalist socio-economic system of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

While considering the important question of the relationship between the general, the specific and the individual in history, the text examines the economic and historical phenomena through which the history of Yugoslavia is reflected in the general currents of world history, specifically the Great Depression of 1929–1933. The general features of the crisis of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia's capitalist economy were manifested through hyper-production, unemployment, and the financial, agricultural and industrial crisis, but also in dealing with the global problem of the relationship between labor and capital. Also having a general aspect were the economic policy measures that were undertaken to deal with the crisis and its consequences, which were articulated in the form of state intervention in the economy, whose harbingers appeared during King Aleksandar's so-called 6th of January Dictatorship, with the promulgation of the Regulation on Public Works of November 22, 1933. The interventionist measures would continue under the rule of Prince Paul and the government of Bogoljub Jevtić, and gain full speed during the government of Milan Stojadinović, when state interventionism in Yugoslavia took on the general elements of the state interventionism of Roosevelt's New Deal in the United States. The specific onset and duration of the crisis in the Yugoslav historical space are viewed in light of the Yugoslav space's specific historical circumstances, namely the tardy development of capitalism and the industrial revolution, as well as the ending of feudalism. In Yugoslavia, the crisis began earlier, with the agricultural crisis

of 1927, and ended later, in 1935, with the beginning of the realization of Milan Stojadinović's New Economic Policy.

The greatest attention is devoted to public works as "the most efficient means of ending the economic depression," which was proposed by the League of Nations as the most necessary measure for dealing with the Great Depression, primarily in the agrarian countries of eastern and southeastern Europe. In addition, a public works program was also placed on the agenda of the London Economic Conference in 1933. The program of the League of Nations primarily concerned Yugoslavia, Romania, Bulgaria, Poland, Latvia and Hungary, as these were the states that were the hardest hit. Since the programs chosen were primarily those that had international importance, the text deals with a road and railroad network that was significant for international transportation (e.g. the international roadway Hungarian border – Horgoš – Subotica – Novi Sad – Belgrade – Niš – Bulgarian border). Regulations were passed for carrying out hydro-technical works, and the reclamation and draining of rivers, while businessmen and experts sought to push the electrification of the country to the top of the public works agenda.

As the broader scope of public works undertaken in Yugoslavia also encompassed works done in the domain of industry and mining, the text also deals with the state's policy regarding iron ore, copper, aluminum, zinc and lead, and provides, in the process, historical data on the mines located in Bor, Zenica, Trepča and other places subject to state interventionism.

A large portion of the text is devoted to the creation of a state economic system through the formation of a system of state economic enterprises, of which the most important were the large industrial conglomerate, Jugočelik AD, the country's largest wood industry company, Šipad, the state-owned mines run by the Directorate of State Industrial Enterprises seated in Sarajevo, and the five state military-technical institutes.

In its final part, the text deals with a dilemma of strategic importance to the state's development: should Yugoslavia have developed its industry or its agriculture? As for conclusions of importance for crisis resolution in general, the imperative of *action* stands out as a particularly pertinent historical lesson.

The text is based on extensive and complex archival research, as well as the study and analysis of relevant literature and print media.

KEY WORDS: Great Depression, Yugoslavia, New Economic Policy, Milan Stojadinović

During the first half of the 20th century, in the midst of the development of a capitalist economy, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia began to experience economic crises, testimony of which can be found in various historical documents from the economic, social, political and cultural fields. Traces of crisis tsunamis can also be found in artefacts articulating what today's historiography refers to as the "history of everyday life," such as, for example, articles in newspaper crime sections from that period reporting on suicides of capitalists whose companies had failed. The Kingdom's print media from the time of the Great Depression of 1929–1934 also reported on similar phenomena during the time of the crash of the New York Stock Exchange of 1929. A feeling of total ruin and hopelessness of human existence in such conditions raised major questions regarding continued human survival under such a form of capitalism. This question confronted not just individuals, but entire social groups, intellectuals,

the economy as a whole and, most seriously, the most powerful social institution of all – the state.

Yugoslav theorists of the time not only saw the crisis as a key economic phenomenon, but also tried to precisely determine the time of its appearance, articulate its character and offer solutions for overcoming it. Thus, Nikola Vučo (1902–1993) identified the agrarian crisis of 1926, but nevertheless devoted most of his attention to the Great Depression of 1929. At the time, he was working on his doctoral dissertation at the Sorbonne in the field of economic cycles and economic crises, under the mentorship of Professor Albert Adam Aftalion, a prominent French economist of Bulgarian-Jewish extraction (Russe/Rusćuk, 1875 – Paris, 1956), who studied monetary issues and economic trends, and whose most famous work was *Les crises périodiques de surproduction* (1913). Vučo earned his doctorate with the thesis “The Agrarian Bank of Yugoslavia and its Role in the Current Economic Crisis,” which he published the following year in Paris, under the title *La Banque agricole de Yougoslavie*, par Nicolas Voutcho, Rousseau et Cie, Paris 1932. After World War II, he would go on to study state intervention in the economy as a phenomenon that arose during the crisis as an anti-crisis instrument. He held the view that the state had participated in economic development from the beginnings of history, and elaborated on this in two of his books: *The Economic History of the World* (Економска историја светја, Belgrade 1962) and *State Intervention in the Economy: Historical Development* (Државна интервенција у привреди. Историјски развој, Belgrade 1975).

Another prominent Yugoslav economist, Mijo Mirković, published a book during the Great Depression, *Industrial Policy* (Индустријска политика, Geca Kon, Belgrade 1936), on the basis of his lectures at the College of Law in Subotica and his research at Cambridge University. In the foreword to the book, he wrote that the continuing developmental direction of Yugoslavia’s national economy showed that the only possible economic solution for the country lay in industrialization on the basis of the development of state enterprises.

The Great Depression of 1929–1935 stimulated widespread interest in the study of its causes, characteristics and instruments of overcoming it. Among the numerous views regarding that phenomenon were those to the effect that crises are a normal feature of economic life and the cyclical character of the development of the capitalist economy in the world. At present, we are faced with a global economic crisis, which has also hit Serbia during a specific time of its transition, i.e., its forced reversion from a socialist economy to a system of primary capital accumulation, or capitalism. It is important for us to contribute to the study of this phenomenon by drawing on the results of earlier theorists and researchers of the Great Depression, as well as on our own original research, so that we may contribute to the finding of a solution to the crisis in which we are presently mired. In the process, just as with the crisis of 1929, it is important to distinguish between the general and the particular features of this phenomenon in our own historical geographic space.

Those that championed the project of changing the socio-economic structures of society and saw the solution to the crisis in the introduction of a socialist

socio-economic order based on social and state ownership and the rejection of private property (which is dominant in liberal capitalism), based their conclusions on their faith in the power of a socialist-type state. In their view, being founded on social and state property, such a state has the power to intervene in the structures of society and in processes of economic development through its social policy and administrative power, as well as instruments of political power and force. Thus, by controlling economic cycles, such a state could avoid the crises and upheavals that they cause. This experiment was carried out during the 20th century in the socialist countries of Europe and Asia. In today's Asia, it still represents a model of sustainable development (e.g. in China), as it did in the five-year plans carried out in socialist Yugoslavia after World War II.

What did the Great Depression in Yugoslavia during the 1930s reveal? First, that it was general in character and that it appeared as an echo of the global Great Depression that began in 1929, with the crash of the New York Stock Exchange. It also showed that its manifestations and phenomena were more general in character, rather than unique and particular. The crisis generally manifested itself in disruptions in capitalist countries' stock markets and finances, falls in production in all economic sectors, with agriculture and industry being hit the hardest along with domestic and foreign trade, causing high unemployment and mass poverty, especially among the peasantry and the industrial proletariat, but also among bank owners, industrialists and the merchant and middle classes. Practically, no social segment's existence and private property was left unscathed by the crisis. Only speculators and corruptionists became wealthier. Widespread unemployment caused social unrest and new social movements. European social democracy and the communist movement gained in strength, along with the European right, which took on the form of fascism. Most of these phenomena could also be found in Yugoslavia.

As he studied the decline in the prices of agricultural products, Vučo noticed that the first manifestations of crisis appeared earlier, in 1926 and 1927, before becoming even more pronounced in 1929 and reaching catastrophic proportions in 1930 and 1931, when the prices of agricultural products plummeted. This phenomenon lasted until 1933, and partially into 1934. In Yugoslavia, the crisis first started in the field of agriculture, before gradually spreading to industry, commerce, banking, the trades and, finally, the entire economy. The effects were quite visible. The catastrophic decline in the price of agricultural products put the peasantry into a very difficult position, drastically cutting its purchasing power, due to the large difference between prices for agricultural and industrial products, resulting in so-called price scissors, which appear not only during crisis periods, but also during cyclical upturns in the economies of capitalist countries.

When we look at the origins and source of the Great Depression of 1929 from a historiographical angle, the relationship between the general and the particular in that economic-historical phenomenon is clear. What was general was that the crisis in Yugoslavia was marked by the general features of the global crisis, and that it was identically manifested through hyper-production, unemployment, and financial, agricultural and industrial crisis, as well as the

global problem of the relationship between labor and capital. The particular had to do with the actual beginning and duration of the crisis. The Great Depression of 1929 started in Yugoslavia in 1927, as an agricultural crisis, and ended later, in 1935, with the promulgation of *state intervention measures*. The different timing of the crisis in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was a result of specificities in the development of its capitalist economy, manifested in, among other things, a lag in the industrial revolution in many of the territories that would become a part of the Yugoslav state integration, as well as in the unfinished agrarian reform, as a result of which feudalism persisted in some regions even up to the end of World War II and the socialist revolution. However, these phenomena have been insufficiently researched and neglected in contemporary history syntheses. In general, it can be said that even the results of economic-historical research on the topic have been neglected in the cognitive process of forming a historical consciousness and a cultural framework in the deep structures of history. The general aspect was evidenced in the economic policy measures initiated by the Jevtić government and implemented by the Milan Stojadinović government (1935–1939) to counter the crisis. Milan Stojadinović's "New Economic Policy" took many of its elements and basic interventionist measures from Roosevelt's New Deal. We consider it especially important to analyze the basic features of *state intervention in the Yugoslav economy during the 1930s*, due to their general importance for understanding the mechanisms and sources of economic crises in capitalism, as it has become evident that crises are a cyclical axiom of its nature. In Serbia, we are currently facing a new great economic crisis eight decades after the end of the Great Depression of 1929. It is noticeable that both the crises occurred after periods dominated by the ideology of economic liberalism. However, European countries in transition should be taken out of consideration when studying the consequences of capitalist economic trends, as they did not belong to that economic-historical structure and that economic world and life before the latest great economic crisis. Before the fall of the Berlin Wall, they belonged to the socialist socio-economic system, which was characterized by a different economic life and order, dominated by social and state property, as opposed to monopolies over the means of production that characterize the capitalist world. A comparative study of two great global economic crises, of 1929 and 2009, opens up the serious and difficult question of property, one of the great ethical enigmas of all civilizations in history, if viewed from a humanistic perspective. It is necessary to revisit the question of ownership over the means of production, i.e., the question of social and private ownership, and of all the transformations within society stemming from people's relationship vis-à-vis this phenomenon. From the time of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) to the beginning of the 21st century, Europe and the rest of the world have been thinking about how much truth there is to his thought that all evil started from the time when the first man enclosed a piece of ground and proclaimed, "This is mine!"

Economic crises have shown that, on the individual level, people are powerless when faced with the phenomenon of major capitalist crises, and that they can only turn to the state, with all the accompanying risks that it may turn

into a totalitarian entity. When talking about state intervention in the economy it is, however, important to have in mind the necessity of theoretically defining the concept, while heeding Vučo's warning of the need to differentiate interventionist measures from measures by which the state influences the economy as a whole or in part. At the same time, when talking about interventionist measures, Vučo excludes measures that are a regular and normal part of the state's general functioning as the administrator of social life (taxes, customs, etc.), measures that are used for financing the state's administrative costs and that are difficult to separate from measures of state intervention, especially when they are combined with various state socio-political measures.

There is a school of thought according to which the 18th and 19th centuries were the time of the doctrine of economic liberalism, while the 20th century was a century of state intervention. Between the two world wars, state ownership and the state economic sector increased in scope, and state planning was widespread, along with various forms of state intervention in the form of labor-related legislation.

The Great Depression was the main topic at the Second Congress of Economists of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, held in 1930. Leon Pretner presented a paper in which he listed three elements that justify and necessitate state intervention in the economy: 1. fiscal reasons, 2. social reasons, and 3. national reasons. According to Pretner, when the state appears in the role of industrialist or merchant, it generates a certain income for itself, which allows it to avoid raising the general tax level. In addition, compared to private enterprises, the state as the owner of the means of production manages industrial enterprises more successfully. Private enterprises are more profit-driven than state enterprises; consequently, worker exploitation is maximally reduced in the latter. State enterprises can be an instrument of not only economic and social policy, but of national policy as well. Totalitarian states are characterized by the notion that the state should be subordinated to the general national policy, which the state serves only as a means. As private capital is non-national and inspired exclusively by profit, it is necessary that the state take over the management of the economy. According to Josif Korać, who also addressed this question at the congress, the state in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia sought industrialization for two reasons: first, to solve the problem of the surplus agrarian population and, second, to direct industry towards serving military goals, i.e., the defense of national independence.

The century of economic intervention, a direct result of the Great Depression of 1929, brought to the surface of history the general phenomenon of *the state as an economic factor*. Essentially, there is no difference in the structural sense between what took place in Yugoslavia during Stojadinović's New Economic Policy and what took place in the U.S. during Roosevelt's New Deal, except for the fact that the New Deal started earlier, and that the historical circumstances and, thus, the consequences of the same measures in Yugoslavia had their own particularities, in addition to having started later.

At the time of its inauguration, the New Economic Policy of the government of Milan Stojadinović (1935–1939) appeared as an economic factor in the

upper layers of history. For the state, solving the problem of unemployment was the key to overcoming the effects of the Great Depression. Under the pressure of high worker unemployment, the pauperization and proletarianization of the peasantry and the increasing conflict between labor and capital, the Regulation on the Execution of Public Works was brought during the time of King Aleksandar Karadjordjević's "Sixth of January" dictatorship, on November 22, 1933. It was replaced by the Regulation of the Uzunović government, exactly one year later. After the King Aleksandar's assassination (October 9, 1934, Marseilles) and the institution of the Regency headed by Prince Pavle, the new government of Bogoljub Jevtić (1935) presented its economic program, hailed by Jevtić as a "new age" and "new concepts" in the economic sense. The central part of this program was the Regulation on the Financing of Large Public Works, published on February 4, 1935, when another regulation, on the Protection of Farmers, was brought. Milan Stojadinović, who was the Minister of Finance in the Jevtić government, managed to secure the necessary funds for carrying out public works in Yugoslavia, through the issuance of mid-term bonds through several large domestic and foreign banks, under favorable terms. The success of this project was insured by a domestic corporation comprising four privileged state institutions: the National Bank, the Postal Savings Bank, the State Mortgage Bank and the Agrarian bank. The large public works were supposed to revive the national economy and reduce unemployment, through the construction of modern international roadways and new roads connecting the central parts of the country with the Adriatic coast. They were also to include the construction of new railways that would augment the existing rail network and extend it to previously unconnected regions. The organization of public works was seen as the best way to reduce unemployment and economically lift certain regions. The Regulation on Public Works of 1933 was seen as an economic novelty in Yugoslavia, but also as a social regulation.

The majority of Yugoslav businessmen thought that public works were "the most efficient means of ending the economic depression." They brought investment into industrial works, provided employment for a large number of workers and strengthened the state's economic life. The construction of roads was also a state and national need in terms of providing quality road and rail connections between the Kingdom and neighboring states. Domestically, road construction was especially important for the development of automobile transportation. For the purposes of strengthening international connections and traffic, the decision was made to begin the construction of the Yugoslav portion of the international roadway Hungarian border – Horgoš – Subotica – Novi Sad – Belgrade – Niš – Bulgarian border, connecting Yugoslavia with Hungary and Bulgaria. (It is important to note, for the sake of evaluating our historical situation, that, eighty years later, at the beginning of the 21st century, this public work still awaits completion.) Through the building of the road connecting Belgrade and Pančevo, by way of the Pančevo Bridge (the largest bridge in Central Europe at the time), Yugoslavia would also become connected with Romania. Of special importance was the building of the highway Belgrade – Zagreb – Ljubljana, which, in addition to its practical importance, also symbolized a connection

between the “past, present and future.” More than a billion dinars were required just for the building of this highway, which was, as a result, only partially built at the time. The Jevtić government regulation also called for the performance of hydro-technical works, i.e., river melioration and draining, e.g. in the Morava basin. Unfortunately, none of that has been carried out to the present day. The Minister of Construction in the Jevtić government, Dr. Mirko Kožul, who was responsible for the public works program, emphasized their long-term benefits for the national economy, workers from the countryside and factories, as well as for the biggest and most powerful industrial organizations.

Businessmen and experts alike lobbied for the electrification of the country as one of the biggest public works. At the end of the 1920s, Yugoslavia decided to join other European countries and carry out an electrification program. The “Sixth of January” regime sought to adopt the Law on the Project of Electrification, whose basic goal was the nationalization of electric power plants that supply large consumer regions. The law was original, not modeled after any of the existing European electrification systems. Through it, Yugoslavia was supposed to embark on an experiment of nationalizing the electric industry such as was not undertaken even by countries much more abundant in capital, such as Germany, Austria, England and Czechoslovakia, whose electrification systems were typical for Europe of that time. However, the Law on Electrification was delayed and the going was difficult, even though electrification was an economic problem of the first order, as the state’s economic progress and modernization depended on its resolution. The conditions were favorable, as Yugoslavia was blessed with all the known sources of energy and had great possibilities in the domain of electrification due to its extensive water power and huge coal reserves. Only France and Italy were richer in water power on the European continent.

In the absence of a law, electrification continued to be carried out without either a system or a plan, leaving the issue of planned energy management unresolved. What was certain was that, without cheap energy, there would be no serious industrialization, and that electrification could solve the energy problem, which was in the interest of any state that strove for a modern economy. Nevertheless, such a law was not adopted even during the Milan Stojadinović government, although much had been accomplished in the area of electrification. Thus, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was the only European state of the time that did not have a law on electrification. At the same time, however, a number of new electric power stations were built or expanded, for example in Peć, Sombor, Pljevlja, Gostivar, Skoplje, Bosanska Kostajnica, Valjevo, etc. Also, the following power transmission lines were erected: Banja Koviljača – Zvornik, Bajina Bašta – Kaludjerske Bare, Kruševac – Obilićevo, Senjski Rudnik – Čuprija, Subotica – Senta, Zenica – Kakanj, Konjic – Makale, Umka – Obrenovac, Dugo Selo – Bjelovar, etc.

The state undertook decisive electrification measures only when the budget for 1938–1939 provided for the foundation of a separate electrification fund within the Ministry of Construction, whose revenues would fund the systematic electrification of the country. The state excise paid by electrical energy

consumers was to be one of the main funding sources for the electrification fund. However, no pioneering electrification works were finished in the country even in 1938, with only cities, towns and villages in the vicinity of larger towns having been electrified. In addition, the production of electrical energy was uneconomical, as it relied mostly on local electric power stations with a very low rate of use. Except for the Dravska Banovina province, which was 63.9% electrified, the state of affairs was quite poor in the rest of the country, with Primorska Banovina (6.5%) and Savska Banovina (11.1% in the northwest and 3.7% elsewhere) leading the way. In some of the provinces, electrification was just getting started.

The League of Nations recommended public works as the most needed measure during the Great Depression, especially in the agrarian states of eastern and southeastern Europe. The League placed a public works program on the agenda of the London Economic Conference in 1933, intended primarily for Yugoslavia, Romania, Bulgaria, Poland, Latvia and Hungary, as these were the countries where the hardship was the greatest. Programs of international significance were primarily selected. In Yugoslavia, these were the road and rail networks, which were important for international transport. The Yugoslav delegate at the London Conference, I. Mohorič, emphasized the great importance of laying international telephone cables across Yugoslavia and the Balkans to the Orient, and their significance for the future development of trading routes with the Near East. At that time, international cables ended at the northern Yugoslav border, and could not be laid further due to the Great Depression.

An internal loan was raised in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in the amount of 4 billion dinars, of which 1.5 billion was earmarked for the construction of new railways. Private companies participated in only a part of the construction, while the majority was performed by the state. In July 1936, a Regulation on the routing and construction of new railways was brought. The central project under this regulation was the building of a rail artery connecting the Ibar River Valley with the Zapadna Morava Valley, and then both of these to railways in the southern and eastern parts of the country, by way of Karlovac – Glina – Doboj – Valjevo – Belgrade, and Raška – Bioče – Podgorica, etc. The Stojadinović government undertook this large project in order to kickstart the economy and connect certain portions of the interior with the Adriatic Sea, as well as to improve international transit transport.

In the broader sense, public works undertaken in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia also included mining and industrial projects. Stojadinović publicly stated that the Royal Government's view was that it was time to end the economic policy of "exporting our raw materials only to subsequently import finished products made from those same raw materials and pay for them with foreign currency!" A major accomplishment towards that end was the building of the steel mill in Zenica. The completion of the "Heavy Cargo Rail" ("Gruba pruga") for the rolling mill in 1937, built by the German Krupp company and judged to be the latest word in metallurgical technology, where the first Yugoslav rail was manufactured, was considered important for the formation of a national industry. When the project was finished, Zenica could manufacture all sorts

of profiles, from wire and sheet metal to the largest train rails and traverses for bridges and large construction projects, the finest sorts of steel and iron products. The architect and builder of the new rolling mill and “Heavy Cargo Rail,” the director of the Iron Industry DD company in Zenica, engineer Uroš Lazović, stated: “The beginning of the operation of the Heavy Rail means the liberation of our country and the entire Balkans from the heavy yoke of slavery to foreign steel and iron.” For his part, Stojadinović stated that a new economic policy was proclaimed in 1936 in Zenica, an industrial center rich in coal and iron ore, that the first act of that new policy was the last word in technological achievement, and that similar factories, together with new roads and railways, were sprouting all over the country, signifying economic development such as Yugoslavia had never before seen.

This was followed by state intervention in the processing of other ores: copper, aluminum, lead, chromium, etc. The second most important industrial state intervention project of the Stojadinović government was the construction of an electric refinery in the Bor mine (1936–1938). Stojadinović personally opened the Electrolytic Refining Plant (Elektroliza) in Bor, having succeeded in convincing the French capital interests that owned the Bor copper mine, to stop exporting raw ore and to process it in Bor instead. The Bor copper mine was one of the leading such mines in the world, and was especially important for Europe’s industrially advanced countries, which used it in great quantities. Copper ore was quite rare on the continent: for every ton of copper produced in Europe, 4–5 tons were imported from other continents, especially from America. Copper ore was especially important as a raw material for the electrical power industry and for electrification, as well as for the chemical and agricultural industries. Copper production was also quite important for the development of the metal industry, which was the most developed within the manufacturing and mining industries of industrially developed countries.

About 50,000 tons of smelted red copper, containing about 2,000 kg of gold and about 6,000 kg of silver, was being produced per year from the copper ore extracted from Bor. Before the construction of the Electrolytic Refining Plant in Bor, however, Yugoslavia had to import every kilogram of copper that it needed, as it needed one more production process in order to be able to use its own copper. The copper ore in Bor had a high percentage of copper compared to American copper mines. Before the construction of the Electrolytic Refining Plant in Bor, the French had exported the ore without any control and processed it in Paris. The French Bor Mines Society (Francusko društvo Borskih rudnika), with its capital and center in Mirabaud Bank in Paris, would report only incomplete data regarding the copper ore to the Yugoslav administration, leaving out the data on precious metals, among which gold was especially important for the state. Ore export was being conducted freely, in closed rail wagons, which were never inspected. Yugoslavia was, thus, especially damaged, as gold and silver were being exported abroad along with the raw copper. At the same time, the National Bank of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was paying dearly for gold from abroad, which it purchased in order to maintain the value of the dinar. Up to 1935, over 16 tons of gold and 32 tons of silver had been exported

totally freely from the Bor mine by the French Bor Mines Society. This state of affairs changed only in 1935, after the adoption of the Regulation on the Supervision of the Production and Use of Precious Metals, on August 4th, 1934, by which the National Bank of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, in the name of the state, gained the right of purchase of the entire production and use of precious metals. All mining and other companies in the country that produced precious metals as their main or secondary product, or whose products contained a precious metal, regardless of whether it was extracted in the country or outside of it, were obliged to offer their entire production for sale to the National Bank, at the current global price on the London Exchange. The law also applied to the ore from Bor.

As a share of the total value of Yugoslav exports, copper came in second, trailing only wood. Between 1921–1939, the share of copper in the total value of Yugoslav exports was the following: 1.68% in 1921, 3.33% in 1922, 7.34% in 1930, 8.43% in 1935, 8.38% in 1936, 7.83% in 1937, 8.04% in 1938, 8% in 1939.

Total investment for the building of the Electrolytic Refining Plant equaled 35 million dinars. Its capacity was 12,000 tons of electrolytic copper per year. In 1938–1940, the Plant produced the following amounts of electrolytic copper: 3,243 tons in 1938, 12,463 tons in 1939, and 11,476 tons in 1940. This data should certainly be taken into account when evaluating the role of Bor in the economic history of Europe during the Second Industrial Revolution, i.e., the introduction of the use of electrical energy as a power source – electrification – based on the use of copper. In addition, it should be emphasized that the opening of the Electrolytic Refining Plant in Bor also resolved complex electrotechnical and electrochemical problems in the modernization of copper metallurgy.

The New Economic Policy also devoted special attention to aluminum, through the building of the Aluminum Plant in Lozovac, near Šibenik, which aided the aviation industry, specifically the Ikarus and Zmaj aviation companies in Zemun. In the area of lead and zinc production, the Trepča mines near Kosovska Mitrovica led the way. Founded in 1927, Trepča Mines Limited was one of the largest and most modern mining companies in Yugoslavia. However, it was also owned by foreign, English capital, seated in London. The mine opening ceremony was attended by King Aleksandar and Prince Pavle. Production peaked in 1939–1940, when 698,760 tons of ore were produced, containing 60,352 tons of lead, 25,686 tons of zinc, 85,603 tons of silver, 1,407 tons of copper, 115,460 tons of lignite, and 84,964 tons of pyrite. In June 1939, the Stojadinović government decreed the construction of the lead and zinc smelting plant, which marked the beginning of a “new economic policy” in the exploitation of these two metals as well. Previously, only lead and zinc concentrates, which were subsequently exported, were produced in Trepča. In exchange for agreeing to build the smelting plant, Trepča Mines Limited received a number of benefits from the Yugoslav government. On the other hand, for the purposes of building the smelting plant, the company increased its capital to 2 million pounds sterling. Also, two stock companies were founded as branches of the main company: Lead Smelter AD Zvečan (Topionica olova AD Zvečan), and Smelter AD Šabac

(Topionica AD Šabac). The first furnace of the smelter in Zvečan began working in 1939 and, by 1940, it was producing 1,000–1,800 tons of lead per month.

During the second half of the 1930s, Yugoslavia was under pressure from Germany, which, in accordance with Hitler's program of world conquest and a redistribution of colonies, sought from it the non-ferrous metals necessary for the development of its military industry. Even though the Stojadinović government's policy of domestic metal processing, reinforced by the building of the Electrolytic Refining Plant in Bor, was in the function of its proclaimed policy of economic and political independence, from the time of the Rhineland crisis in March 1936, this same government had opened the door to the country's economic and political dependence on Germany. Ironically, this included Bor as well. Since Yugoslavia had the non-ferrous metals that Germany lacked as a raw material, especially copper and zinc, the country became a very important factor in Germany's balance of trade. From 1935, Germany had begun using arms exports as a means of securing important strategic raw materials and important political goals. This coincided with Yugoslavia's ambition to arm itself and strengthen its defense capabilities due to the deterioration of the general situation in Europe and the world following Italy's aggression against Ethiopia. Despite its official political orientation towards France and membership in the Little Entente, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia continued to broaden its economic and political relations with Germany, leading to the growth of Yugoslav orders in Germany. At the end of 1938, Germany approved a big credit to Yugoslavia for the purchase of military planes, artillery and other equipment in the amount of 200 million marks. The Stojadinović government fell in February 1939, and the new government led by Dragiša Cvetković signed a secret protocol with Germany in the same year, according to which Yugoslavia had to pay for 50% of the arms it imported from Germany with strategic raw materials, and to grant Germany an oil exploitation concession in the country. Germany even demanded the entire production of the Bor mines. Under pressure, the Cvetković government was compelled to request both Trepča Mines Limited and the French Bor Mines Society to turn over their entire production to the Yugoslav state for an unspecified time, so that it could, through the export of metals, secure the import of goods that were important for the state, especially arms. The government announced the formation of a Commissariat for Ores and Metals. By an August 1940 agreement, the Yugoslav government allowed Germany to confiscate almost the entire production of Trepča. However, the English managed to preserve formal ownership of the mine during the entire course of World War II, differently from the French, who were forced to sell Bor to the Germans.

In addition to its industrial and economic measures, the Yugoslav state also created an entire *system of state-owned enterprises* and, with them, a *system of state capitalism*, by which, through special organs and organizations, the state participated in the economic life of the state. From 1929, through provincial and chamber organizations, the state gained a firm grip over the vertical and horizontal organization of private industry in the country. Concretely, it

did this by way of chambers of industry, associations of industrialists and the Central Office of Industrial Corporations (Centrala industrijskih korporacija).

Traditionally, in almost all capitalist countries, the state owned a significant portion of the land, mines, forests, military facilities (weapons factories), railways, postal-telegraph-telephone services, printing presses, currency printing presses, mints, factories. It was also the largest buyer, being the source of large orders and employment for many industries, some of which were wholly dependent on its purchases, such as the military industry. The large buyers, with annual budgets of up to a billion dinars, were the military, the transportation sector, the monopolies, the postal service and the construction industry. As it had the most outlets, the state was also the leading merchant in the country. It regulated the turnover and organized both domestic and external trade, not only indirectly, but also directly, when it came to the country's most important products: agricultural, forestry, lumber, mining and industrial products. The state was also the largest capital accumulator in the country. Through its state and privileged money institutions – the National Bank, the State Mortgage Bank, the Postal Savings Bank and the Privileged Agrarian Bank – the Kingdom of Yugoslavia accumulated billions of dinars. As the largest source of financing, the state, through its money institutions, had the biggest crediting capacity, up to 8 billion dinars' worth.

The most important organs of the Yugoslav state economy were Prizad, the Bureau for the Control of Livestock Export and Šipad. As the largest employer within a state-capitalist economy, the state used the "people's money" to pay the large, 400,000 strong army of its employees: officials and functionaries, officers and NCO's, workers and craftsmen. It is hard to estimate the number of people that directly depended on the state. The railways alone, also owned by the state, as one of the largest state-capitalist companies in the country, had about 70,000 permanent employees in their ranks, and represented the largest investment capital, with revenues of about two billion dinars, the same as was produced by the Monopoly Administration. During its first decade of existence as the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, the state enjoyed high revenues from the state mining concerns – over 4 billion dinars. Except for Mostar, the Yugoslav state treasury inherited most of the state mines from the Austro-Hungarian treasury. The largest number of state mines – ten – was located in today's Bosnia and Herzegovina. Bosnia also hosted the Ljubija state iron mine, the steel mill with mine, smelter and foundry in Vareš, and electrical power plants in Kreka and Zenica. Slovenia hosted two state coal mines with an electrical power plant in Velenje, while Croatia, Slavonia and Serbia had one coal mine apiece. The state mines were operated by the Directorate of State Industrial Enterprises, seated in Sarajevo. It managed 14 coal mines, two iron mines, one manganese and one chromium mine, one smelter and foundry and one saltworks. The total value of these companies was estimated to be three billion dinars.

As part of a program of "general revival of the national economy" and ending the crisis, the Stojadinović government undertook certain measures in all state mining companies, before all by increasing its orders, which led to

increased production in the state coal and iron ore mines and, consequently, to a rise in employment in them. Thus, there were also social consequences. During the budget year 1934–1935, there were a total of 10,354 workers employed in all state mining and smelting companies, while in 1936–1937, the number rose to 11,216.

A large state-controlled industrial combine, the Yugoslav Steel Stock Company (Jugočelik AD), was formed in 1938, encompassing the Zenica Steel Mill, the Iron Ore Mine and Metallurgical Institute in Vareš, the Iron Ore Mine in Ljubija and the coal mines in Breza and Zenica. The regulation on the establishment of Jugočelik AD assigned 600 million dinars in initial capital to the company, divided into 120,000 shares worth 5,000 dinars apiece. The shares had to be issued in two parts, with the first issuance, worth 500 million dinars, being immediate, and the second, in the amount of 100 million dinars, being issued in 1945. The State Mortgage Bank was authorized to underwrite priority shares of the company in the amount of 200 million dinars. Minister of Forestry and Mines, Milan Vrbanić, stated at the company's founding assembly that its founding would allow the Yugoslav iron industry to become totally independent, and that "our mining treasures, even our own fuel, would be used, which will end the need for importing them from abroad. In the first place, we will produce products that we had to import from abroad in large quantities up to now." Not everyone agreed with the minister, and some thought that the creation of this concern was dictated more by political and military than by economic reasons. The fact of the matter was that Yugoslav production was limited, due to the European cartels that were still in force. In Zenica, the fifth Siemens-Martin furnace was built in 1940, with a production capacity of 50 tons. In 1941, the *Führer* of the Croatian Nazi-puppet state, Dr. Ante Pavelić, personally signed a legal act by which Jugočelik AD was transformed into the Croatian Mines and Smelting Stock Company (Hrvatski rudnici i talionice). As early as 1929, when the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was administratively divided into provinces ("banovinas"), tensions appeared between the provinces and certain state-owned properties that the *banovinas* wanted to take over. According to the Law on Provincial Administration of November 7, 1929, the *banovinas* were recognized as legal entities, with a right to own property.

In order to fully understand the economic crisis in Yugoslavia it is very important to also examine its manifestation in the wood industry and its effects on Šipad, the largest forestry industry company in the country, a state company with special privileges, as it served the state as an instrument of foreign trade policy, for which reason it was in conflict with the private wood industry. Šipad had five industrial plants: four sawmills and one cellulose factory. The largest sawmill was in Zavidovići, in the area of the former wood processing firm "Krivaja" (established in 1884). The others were located in Drvar, Dobrljin and Ustiprača. Šipad had a 50% share in the capital of the Cellulose Factory Drvar AD. Due to problems in this factory, the Ministry of Forestry and Mines had to undertake measures for the financial recovery of Šipad, purchasing its shares for 9.5 million dinars. As a result, when Šipad reopened in 1937, it once again had 600 employees. In addition, Šipad also merged with the Durmitor AD

company in the same year, as the state wanted to form a powerful and large wood processing conglomerate.

Due to the numerous affairs tied to Šipad, involving high state officials, prominent economic publications began to publish opinions to the effect that the etatization of state companies was contrary to economic principles founded on the principle of private property, and that it was only a necessary evil that should be limited to areas where private initiative might come into conflict with the general interest. The wood industry was the first branch of industry in which a command economy was introduced. The state intervened in this area even before Stojadinović's New Economic Policy, in order to alleviate the crisis in the industry and in the timber trade that came about in 1935, as a result of the economic sanctions imposed by the League of Nations against the Kingdom of Italy. That was done through the Regulation on Regulating Forestry Production and Recovery Measures for the Wood Industry, adopted on February 28, 1936. This was followed by a number of other regulations, including the Regulation on the Organization of the Ministry of Forestry and Mines, intended to separate economic activity from oversight in state forests, since the state had been concomitantly appearing in the forestry industry in the role of government, businessman and merchant in its own forests. Šipad's archives hold an important document, marked "not for public use," received from the Central Office of Industrial Corporations of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1939, under the title "Etatization in Yugoslavia." The text was supposed to be delivered to all members of the Central Office. It said that the Central Office was studying the question of statism in Yugoslavia, "since the state is broadening its scope to economic activities where there are already private enterprises that can satisfy the entire domestic consumption. Thus, the Ministry of Construction is thinking about founding a state cement factory, even though the existing private factories can satisfy the entire domestic demand with only a third of their capacities." The Central Office informed Šipad that it had sent it compiled data on existing state companies, which reveal "that the state has become the largest industrialist in our country. The state, i.e., state companies, produces: coal, iron ore, all kinds of rolled iron, cold drawn wire and other iron products, electrical energy, lumber, cellulose, tobacco, salt, sugar, dairy products, dried meats, aircraft and aircraft motors, military clothing and footwear, saddles and other military equipment, all kinds of explosives, geographical maps, impregnated railroad ties, performs printing tasks, etc. The Central Office also fed Šipad with special data on provincial and communal companies, revealing that the *banovinas* and communes participated in the economy mainly through electric power stations, waterworks, gasworks and slaughterhouses, while numerous "self-management bodies" were founding and running ice factories, streetcar factories and services, bus factories, rug factories, foundries and workshops.

When it came to the state's position vis-à-vis the all-important military industry, it can be said that, all the way up to 1937, that industry had developed haphazardly, and that state investment in it was modest. The backbone of the country's entire war-fighting potential were the five state military-technical

institutes and several smaller military companies and factories under private ownership. The state owned the most prominent institution, the Military-Technical Institute in Kragujevac, which, from 1936 to just before World War II, incorporated the remaining military-technical institutes: Čačak, Obilićevo (Kruševac), Kamnik, Sarajevo and Zagreb. This military industry material base was insufficient and, consequently, most armaments were purchased abroad, from France, Belgium, Germany, Italy, Czechoslovakia, the US and other countries – but, after 1935, mostly from Germany. Yugoslavia entered the war with only 10 days' worth of ammunition reserves, insufficiently armed, and with an economy unprepared for wartime production. Long before the start of the Great Depression and the first harbingers of world conflict, there were voices within the Kingdom's military circles that advocated the strengthening of the "war economy," i.e., the military doctrine of "general state mobilization" (General Milan Nedić, along with the chief of the Ministry of Trade and Industry, Milivoje Savić). A "war economy" meant the taking of control of all the country's economic resources and adopting them to wartime conditions and needs. According to General Nedić, "general state mobilization" meant that, in case of war, the state had to mobilize not only its military forces but also its material power. Military mobilization was just one aspect of a general state mobilization. Evidence that the concept of "general state mobilization" was being implemented in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia at the end of the 1930s can be found in the lists of personnel and industrial machinery that were made in factories, which we found in the archives of the Ministry of Trade and Industry of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, in the Archive of Yugoslavia and the collections of the Military-Historical Institute in Belgrade. The state had total control over the so-called war industry in the narrower sense, concentrated in various state factories and military-technical institutes. The war industry in the narrower sense comprised industries that manufactured products with direct military use: production of weapons, ammunition, gunpowder, military clothing and footwear, aircraft motors and transport vehicles. The development of the military industry in Yugoslavia was primarily linked with the development of the artillery. Shellfire played an important role in Yugoslav military doctrine formulated in the "general military service," published in 1937. From 1935, private industry came under state control as well. According to the agreement made in that year, the following aircraft companies acceded to the division of labor set out by the Air Force: Ikarus AD in Zemun, Zmaj AD in Zemun, and Živojin Rogožarski AD in Belgrade. In 1937, the Industry of Aircraft Motors (*Industrija avionskih motora*) in Rakovica was completely nationalized. The building of industrial roads was also placed under state control, as a state program vital for the "land defense industry." The Milan Stojadinović Fund contains a paper outlining a program for the construction of industrial roads, one of the most important of which was the road from Bajina Bašta to Višegrad, due to the building of large hydro-power stations on the Drina River near Bajina Bašta. In 1940, the routes of all the new roads or those under repair had to be submitted to the military authorities.

A special, 25–40% tax, was instituted in July, 1939, for the purposes of financing the National Defense Fund, which was founded within the Ministry of Army and Navy through the Law on Financing for 1939–1940. Numerous special regulations were also passed, amending previous legislation on direct taxes, sales taxes, lump-sum taxes and excises. However, these measures were met with opposition from the country's chambers of commerce and industry. Ignoring the specter of war that was hanging over Europe, the Sarajevo Chamber of Commerce and Industry claimed that the reforms were introduced “without cause for such measures.” On the other hand, aware of the danger of war, other economic actors and a portion of the state administration advocated the formation of a unitary economic and commercial space in the country. Both agreed on the need for a command economy, with the participation of both business and the state.

However, the looming danger of world war also deepened one of the key strategic dilemmas within the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, regarding the state's and society's view of industrialization, which was a question that had been fully opened with the onset of the Great Depression. The strategic dilemma regarding whether to choose agricultural or industrial development was one of the particularities of the historic articulation of the economic crisis in Yugoslavia. In the period between 1934 and 1935, prominent voices claimed that the importance of industry for the country's economic and cultural development was insufficiently understood in Yugoslavia, and that this lack of understanding was even greater regarding its importance for the country's defense. By 1939, however, sentiment in favor of the country's industrial mobilization became stronger, specifically on the part of the state administration and the most prominent members of the military-technical and industrial elite. This great strategic dilemma that appeared among both economic theorists and state administration and business circles would remain continue to exist, wavering between the two options during the entire 20th century existence of the Yugoslav state. It came about as a result of a reexamination of the depths of the historical structures in the Yugoslav historical space, structures that experienced a seismic shift during the Great Depression of 1929, and whose shifting has not stopped to this day.

At the same time, having in mind the public works launched by the leading state actors, it is necessary to conclude that they saw *action* as the best way of overcoming the Great Depression. ...

SERBIAN WRITTEN WORD IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR: STRUGGLING FOR NATIONAL AND STATEHOOD SURVIVAL

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SUMMARY: Books and periodicals published during the First World War are expressive witnesses of the heroism and suffering of our people, of patriotism and vitality, of the victims and of superhuman efforts in the fight for freedom. Publications dedicated to the small Serbian nation, whose heroism was admired not only by friends but also by foes, were published in the Serbian language, as well as in major world languages across Europe, North and South America and Africa. The data on books and periodicals published on Corfu, in Thessaloniki and Bizerte have been collected, written materials bibliographically described and systematized, and will soon be published in a book under the title *Публикације објављене током Првог светског рата на Крфу, у Солуну и Бизерти: библиографија* (Publications Published During World War I on Corfu, in Thessaloniki and Bizerte: A Bibliography). In this article the author of the bibliography presents the results of the research that resulted in a detailed list of over 300 monographs and 16 periodicals. In addition to the bibliographic corpus, the book contains an extensive preface, introductory bibliographic notes and indexes, which provide comprehensive insight into our government, military, political, cultural and educational activities in the Great War.¹

KEY WORDS: book production, printing, publishing, the First World War, Corfu, Thessaloniki, Bizerte

In these days of the great holiday, it is opportune to speak about giving as a beautiful and noble custom that has lasted for centuries among our people, for the doing of good unto one's neighbor best reflects the spirit and essence of "Svetosavlje" (Serbia's Orthodox tradition in accordance with the legacy of St. Sava, founder of the Serbian Orthodox Church – trans. note). That is why I will begin this presentation by giving acknowledgment and gratitude to the benefactors who, with their unselfish gift, contributed to the preservation and development of Serbian spirituality, embodied in an invaluable written heritage.

¹ Lecture held on January 28, 2016 at the Faculty of Law, University of Belgrade, within the framework of the St. Sava Days.

For, libraries and their users, benefactors who have enriched, and continue to enrich them with books, periodicals and, often, with entire personal libraries – are of great importance.

The most important donor in the long history of the Library of the Law Faculty in Belgrade is Milenko R. Vesnić, whose gift is a truly invaluable treasure, made up of a number of rare editions. This collection donated in 1920 includes carefully collected legal works in the field of public law, especially from public international law, but also other important works that marked the time in which Vesnić lived. A collection of books published during the First World War is often invaluable, often with the authors' dedications in which they express their respect and recognition to Vesnić, a significant statesman, President of the Ministerial Council, distinguished legal expert and one of the most prominent in the pleiad of famous professors of the Belgrade School of Law. His books, of which many are stored only in this library, usually have his *ex libris*, which contains the motto: "Everything for face and face for nothing."

The other gift that I will mention was not given to this library, but also represents a noble and selfless patriotic act. Two and a half decades ago, as a consultant for the reconstitution of the National Library of Serbia book fund, I was assigned the task of locating publications published on Corfu, in Thessaloniki and in Bizerte during the First World War, and intended for the Serbian Corfu House, which was being founded at that time. After a long period of searching, I finally succeeded, thanks to the *Catalog of War Issues 1914–1918* [*Каталог ратних издања 1914–1918*], published by the „Dositej Obradović” book store, antique and bookbinding shop from Belgrade (photo-print edition from 1940). I contacted the then owners of the antique shop and the authors of the Catalogue. These were the sons of the former owner, Dragoslav M. Petković, who was himself a participant in the Great War, after which he set out on a search for wartime editions with great devotion and collected a valuable collection. His sons decided to donate their father's collection unselfishly to the Serbian House.

When the celebration of the 100th anniversary of the Great War began, inspired by these noble donations, I decided to give a modest contribution to the remembrance of this heroic era of Serbian history. The first task was to create the *Bibliography of Books and Periodicals Published During the War on Corfu and in Thessaloniki and Bizerta*, the other to find the publications published during that period in the library of the Law Faculty and arrange their exhibition. But, as I was myself surprised by the number of these publications and their cultural and historical value, I expanded my original idea and decided to make their bibliographic inventory, which would speak more about the publications themselves and their authors and be a valuable and very informative addition to the collection that would, after the exhibition, be preserved as a separate entity.²

The biggest exile in the history of our people was the withdrawal through Albania during the First World War. Nearly all of Serbia – the army, numerous

² At this time, the *Bibliography of Monographic and Serial Publications Published During the First World War on Corfu and in Thessaloniki and Bizerta* is ready for printing, so I want to familiarize the readers with what they can learn from it.

civilians, the king, the government, the National Assembly, the Supreme Command of the Serbian Army, the treasury, the relics of holy rulers, the *Miroslav Gospel* – went into exile. After arrival to foreign soil, throughout Europe, North and South America and Africa, the development of Serbian spirituality, which had been interrupted by the war, continued. The most lively publishing and printing work of Serbian exiles was conducted in three cultural centers: Corfu, Thessaloniki and Bizerta. Testimony to the varied and rich publishing and printing activity could be found in over 300 different books that could be thematically classified into publications for enlightenment and education, such as primers, readers, dictionaries, language textbooks, and official publications such as laws, codes, rules, rulebooks, instructions, books on diseases, their prophylaxis and treatment, various military publications, as well as fiction and historical and scientific studies by domestic and foreign authors – writers and intellectuals. Several journals and newspapers were also published, some of which had merely continued their life in exile. For military purposes, 78 publications of cartographic material were published, of which 67 were published in two places –Thessaloniki/Corfu, while 11 maps were published in Thessaloniki. A large number of calendars was also published. Interestingly, the publication of several book collections was also launched during the war: “Борба против заразе” [Fight against Infection] in Kragujevac, “Савремена питања” [Contemporary issues] in Niš, “За наше храбре војнике” [For our brave soldiers] in Kragujevac and its “Ново коло” [New Round] in Thessaloniki and Corfu, “Инвалидска библиотека” [Invalid Library] on Corfu, the “Ратна колекција” [War Collection] of the owner and editor Danilo Jovanović, “Слободна библиотека” [Free Library] owned by Petrović and Sokolović, “Мала библиотека” [Little Library] published by journalist Nikola Brkić, “Библиотека Српског гласника” [Library of the *Serbian Herald*] a collection entitled “Друштво за заштиту деце” [Society for the Protection of Children], in which only one book was published, and “Библиотека Напред” [Napred Library] printed in Bizerte.

The town of Corfu, on the eponymous island, was the unofficial capital of the Kingdom of Serbia during the Serbian suffering odyssey in the Great War. From January 19, 1916, to November 19, 1918, the Serbian Parliament convened at the Town Theater, while the hotel “White Venice” was the seat of the Serbian Government. Elementary schools and lower gymnasiums were opened for Serbian children, theater performances were performed, each division had its own theater section, and there was a film section attached to the Supreme Command. The State Printing House of the Kingdom of Serbia, also known as the Serbian-Royal State Printing House, as well as its Editorial Office, were seated in Corfu from January 19, 1916, to February 1919, which enabled the sealing of Serbian books and periodicals.

The *Зора* calendar, published in Corfu in 1917, contains a precious text by Gvozden M. Klajić: “Establishment of the Serbian State Printing House in Corfu,” which reports that the State Printing Office, a great cultural and educational institution that had operated in Serbia for more than 85 years, was not saved, and that its creation and organization had to begin anew. With the

establishment of the most important offices and institutions of the Serbian state in Corfu, the State Printing House was also renewed. Through the Royal Embassy in Paris, everything that was needed for its establishment was purchased in France. As a former official of the State Printing House, Klajić became its factor (manager). The printing house was first located in tents and military barracks, and then moved to several leased buildings, equipped with the necessary typographic machines, racks, letters, and printing ink. Part of the equipment, mostly old, arrived by ship to Corfu on March 26, 1916, while new machines from France and Italy were purchased later. The state-owned printing house was the first institution that began to turn a profit for the state.

Eighty-four monographic publications were printed on Corfu, all in the State Printing House, except for one in the M. B. Land Printing House and one in the Anagennissis Printing House, with the occasional support of the Aspiotis Brothers Printing House. More than half of the books (46) were so-called official publications: the Constitution, laws, codes, rules, rulebooks, regulations, reports, as well as three books of the *National Assembly's Stenographic Notes*. There were only a few literary works: *Смртѣ Смаил-аѣ Ченѣића* [Death of Smail-aga Čengi] by Ivan Mažuranić, *У царствѣ вечнѣоѣ мира* [In the Empire of Eternal Peace] by Jovo from Kosovo (the pseudonym of John V. Magovčević), *Срѣске народне ѣесме* [Serbian folk songs], *Из рајних дана: (1912–1917)* [From the War Days: (1912–1917)] by Ivo Čipiko, *Косовски божѣури* [Kosovo Peonies] by Dragoljub J. Filipović (Attachment 5), *Ode to the Serbian People* by Gabriele D'Annunzio, *О Горском вијенѣу* [About the Mountain Wreath] by Dragutin Kostić. Separately, in Serbian and French, the book of texts *О Македонији и Македонѣима* [About Macedonia and Macedonians] was published, containing articles by Hermann Wendel, Dimitar Hristov Rizov and Svetozar Tomić (Attachment 4), while young historian Dr. Vasilije Marković published the study *Јесу ли средњеѣковни Срѣи смајѣрали Македонију Буѣарском?* [Did the Medieval Serbs Consider Macedonia to be Bulgarian?] Among the published manuals were *Енѣлески без муке* [English without Pain] by Louis Khan, a member of the Thessaloniki section of the Serbian Relief Fund, and O. Kuzmanović, and *Речник срѣско–ѣрчкоѣ језика: са срѣским словима, Буквар за основне ѣколе у Краѣевини Срѣији* [Serbian-Greek Dictionary: with Serbian Letters, Primer for Elementary Schools in the Kingdom of Serbia], which was compiled by the author of many primers, Stevo Čuturilo. Two important war crime testimonies were given by Rudolphe Archibald Reiss: *Austro-Bulgarian-German Violations of the Laws and Rules of War: Letters from a Practitioner-Criminalist from the Serbian Macedonian Front*, and *Responses to Austro-Hungarian Accusations against the Serbs*, and the booklet *За наѣе заробѣенике* [For Our Prisoners], a printed lecture by Živko Topalović, one of our prisoners of war. The lecture itself, as reported by *Срѣске новине* [Serbian News], drew a lot of tears. A greeting and blessing to the suffering flock of the Serbian Church was sent by Dimitrije, Archbishop of Belgrade and Metropolitan of Serbia, by way of his *Christmas Epistle of 1916*. Serbia's important diplomatic activity was the subject of the booklet *Пѣѣ Њеѣовоѣ Височанствѣа наследника ѣресѣола Александра* [The Path of His

Majesty Prince Regent Alexander], published in 1916. The Ministry of National Economy published *Обзнана* [Proclamation], in both Serbian and French, and *Снабдевање и љивредна обнова Србије љосле ратѝа* [Supply and the Economic Reconstruction of Serbia After the War], by Dr. Velizar S. Janković. The Ministry of Education published *Прељлед рада у 1916. и 1917. љодини* [Work Review for 1916 and 1917] and *Наѝ учѝтељѝки љрољрам* [Our Teaching Program]. Only one military publication was printed, *Оѝис љуѝке модела 1907.–1915. љоо* [Description of the Rifle Model 1907–1915], while two brochures dealt with disability issues. Significant for the creation of the future state was the *Прољрам за уједињење Србије и Црне Горе* [Program for the Unification of Serbia and Montenegro], which was published by B. Brdjanin (the pseudonym of Janko Spasojević), who also wrote the afterword. Testimony of the difficult conditions in which correspondence took place was provided by *Рељисѝар нељредаѝѝх караѝа и љисама са недовољном адресом из 1916. и 1917. љоо* [Register of Undelivered Cards and Letters with Insufficient Addresses from 1916 and 1917]. The 80 pages of *Зора за љросѝу 1917. љодину* [Zora Calendar for the Common Year 1917], published by Jov. Mijalović, a merchant from Belgrade, also included the aforementioned Klajić article and texts by Nikolaj Velimirović, Ćedomil M. Todorović, and several poetry and prose pieces, with half of the profits being reserved for the Serbian Red Cross society. The following year saw the publication of *Домовина : илустѝровани календар за љодину 1918 која је љросѝа* [Homeland: an Illustrated Calendar for the Year 1918 Which Is Common]. It was published in 14,000 copies, and edited by Jeremija Źivanović, head of the Preparatory Department of the Ministry of Education. The idea for its publication originated with the then Metropolitan of the Kingdom of Serbia. For the purposes of being a “true handbook for soldiers and civilians” numerous literary works were published in it, but also various notices, counsel, instructions and discussions on many issues of general, national and state interest. It contained a number of photographs, while sealing and binding assistance was provided by the Aspiotis Brothers Greek printing house.

Six periodicals were published in Corfu, including: *Срѝске новине* [Serbian News] and their supplement *Забавник : додаѝак Срѝских новина*, *Прељлед сѝране ѝѝѝамѝе* [Foreign Press Review], *Информатѝивна диѝломатѝска служба* [Informative Diplomatic Service], *Војни љрељлед сѝране ѝѝѝамѝе* [Military Foreign Press Review], and *Извеѝѝаји са војѝѝѝа* [Reports from the Field].

The most significant were *Срѝске новине*, whose first number in exile was issued on April 7, 1916. They were printed in the State Printing House of the Kingdom of Serbia, published three times a week, with a circulation ranging from 2,000 to 6,300 copies, publishing information about the activities of the king, the prince regent and the government, declarations, decrees and orders, war reports from the fronts, classical newspapers news, as well as literary contributions. The editors were Slavoljub Panić (from number 1/1916), Dimitrije Stevanović (from number 101/1917) and Petar M. Grebenac (from number 7/1919).

Српске новине were filled with literary contributions, songs, stories, travelogues. The song “Кандила пал’те” [Light the Sanctuary Lamps] was published on the cover page; “Краљевић Марко” [Prince Marko], “Каица Радоња” [Kaica Radonja], “Косовка девојка” [Kosovo Maiden] and “Петар Мркоњић” [Petar Mrkonjić] by Dragoljub Filipović; “Химна српских бораца” [Hymn of the Serbian Fighters] by Dragutin Ilić Jej, “Петровданска визија” [St. Peter’s Day Vision], “Краљеви, Сејачи” [Kings, Sowers], “Без домовине” [Without a Homeland] by Milutin Bojić, “Ave Serbia” and “Бугари” [Bulgarians] by Jovan Dučić, “Viva la France!” by Major Brana, i.e., Branislav Cvetković, as well as testimonies about the sufferings of the Serbian people and the war crimes committed against them by Archibald Reiss. Other domestic authors were also represented: Vladimir Čerina, Todor Manojlović, Svetislav Stefanović, Stanislav Vinaver, Vladislav Petković Dis, Miloš N. Djorić, Dragutin Dj. Okanović, Jovan Jovanović Zmaj, Božidar Purić, etc. There were also numerous contributions from foreign authors such as Gabriele D’Annunzio, Edmond Rostand, Virgil Roselle, Jean Rispén, Claude Askew, Alexey Tolstoy and others. Frequent obituaries reported sad news of the killing or death of many important figures (Nikola Antula, Vojvoda Vuk, Milutin Bojić and others). Attention was paid to the disability issue as well. On August 25, 1916, *Српске новине* published the news on the translation of Archibald Reiss’ book *Austro-Hungarian Atrocities* into English and its publication in London. News about newly published books and articles of domestic and foreign authors were published in the “Literature” and “Bibliography” sections. Numerous supplements were also published, separately printed and distributed. Among them were the *Stenographic notes of the National Assembly*; *Announcements of the Intelligence Bureau of the Serbian Red Cross Society*; *List of Members of the Serbian Army who Died of Wounds, Sickness, Exhaustion* and many others. Over a hundred supplements were published during the years of the publication of *Српске новине* in Corfu, under the titles “small,” “big,” “literary,” “holiday,” “Christmas,” “Easter”, etc.

On the first day of January of 1917, the only edition of the literary supplement of *Српске новине* was printed. After three months, it became an independent magazine called *Забавник*. Although the magazine had its own imprint and, thanks to the quality of its material, managed to forge its own identity, from its first number to the very last, above the name *Забавник* always stood the headline, “Додатак Српских новина” [Supplement of *Српске новине*].

One of the initiators of the new newspaper, the editor-in-chief of *Српске новине* and this supplement, literary critic Branko Lazarević, explained to the readers in the introductory text that the name of the paper was given as a memorial and an expression of respect for *Забавник*, the literary supplement of Davidović’s and Frušić’s *Новине сербске*, launched in Vienna in 1813. The Corfu *Забавник* was published every fifteenth of the month, initially on 16, and later on 32 pages. Eighteen numbers were published, eight during the first year and ten during the next. In May 1918, when Branko Lazarević went off to the front, the editor-in-chief became Professor Pavle Stevanović. Also among its founders was the poet Dragoljub J. Filipović.

The magazine published poetry, prose, essays from history, science, literature, art, anthropology, dealt with political, social and economic topics and issues. It also had contributions from associates from London, Geneva, Lausanne, Grenoble, Nice, Rome, Thessaloniki, as well as from the front, often signed as “Бојиште” [Battlefield] or “Положај” [Position]. From April 2, 1917, to October 15 of the following year, which was the lifespan of the Corfu *Забавник*, over forty poets published their verses on its pages. Only a few of them were foreign authors, such as Tagore and Giacomo Leopardi, while our young or well-known poets were far more represented: Jovan Dučić, Vladislav Petković Dis, Milutin Bojić, Svetislav Stefanović, Stevan Bešević, Sibe Miličić, Vinaver, Todor Manojlović, Josip Kosor, Vladimir Čerina, Dragoljub J. Filipović, Svetozar Milenković, Bora J. Prodanović, Andra Franičević, Dragoljub J. Ilić-Jeجو, Rastko Petrović, Velibor Gligorić. The reading audience was also introduced to the first verses of nineteen-year-old Rastko Petrović, who described the Albanian golgotha in his famous, posthumously published novel, *Дан шестии* [The Sixth Day]. In the eighth issue of *Забавник*, all the way from Paris, Augustin-Tin Ujević published his *Свакидашња јадиковка* [Daily Lament]. Stories were also published by Ivo Ćipiko, Nikola Daničić, Zarija Popović, Jeremija Živanović (under the pseudonym “S. Nedić”), Nikola Trajković. Plays were written by Todor Manojlović, Svetislav Stefanović, Miloš N. Djorić, and literary, scientific and political articles by Tihomir Djordjević, Veselin Čajkanović, Niko Županić, Vojislav Janjić, Ćeda Djurdjević, Nikola Stojanović, Miloje Vasić, Pavle Stevanović, Miodrag Ibrovac, Branko Lazarević and many others. *Забавник* also published reviews of new publications, lists of newly published books and periodicals, as well as reviews of the works of our authors published in foreign journals.

The magazine bid pious farewells to the famous figures that had died during the war, including two great Serbian poets, Dis and Bojić. In a touching obituary published in the 2nd issue, of June 15, 1917, Branko Lazarević wrote that Dis passed away during a beautiful dawn, on May 16, when the ship “Italy” was torpedoed in the blue Adriatic. A sad fate did not bypass the twenty-five year-old Milutin Bojić, either. His obituary was posted on November 15, 1917, and Dragoljub J. Filipović wrote: “He who died, was one who was able, could and knew how to make these days immortal and pass them over to future times, for the sake of memory and remembrance. He died young and enthusiastic, like a dream of great days.”

Sixty years later, Dragiša Vitošević also testified about the importance of *Забавник*, writing that in those exile years and places the magazine was a unique yearbook of our literary and artistic life, but also something more – in the midst of the chaos of war and slaughter, it was a rare monument of humanity and spirit that contributed to their victory.

There were thousands of Serb refugees in Thessaloniki, so at the end of 1915 a Serbian refugee camp was formed in the city, under the administration of the Ministry of the Interior. The Camp, which existed until the end of 1919, was headed by a commissioner. Corfu was the headquarters of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, while its Police, Sanitary and Food Departments were located

in Thessaloniki, in order to provide minimum living and residential conditions for refugees. Although many of them were employed in the city, since about 80,000 exiles had stayed in Thessaloniki over a four year period, it was very difficult to take care of everyone and provide everyone with the necessary help. As children and young people were the most vulnerable, a Serbian elementary school with pre-school was opened in Thessaloniki on April 6, 1916, while the Serbian Gymnasium operated during 1917 and 1918. *Српска школска мајница* [Serbian School Matrix] was founded on December 17, 1917, on the initiative of the delegate of the Ministry of Education in Thessaloniki, Henrik Liller, and its formation was aided by teachers of Serbian schools, pupils' parents and friends of Serbian children. Its task was to facilitate the education and life of our young people, as a result of which at the beginning of 1918 a boarding school with 300 students was established. At the end of 1917, the opening of Serbian primary schools began to intensify and, according to *Српске новине*, by March 1918, there were 27 such schools in Greece, for 2,000 children. Some of the newly established ones were located in Thessaloniki and its suburbs. For pupil-soldiers, a matriculation course was organized, which they could attend during 1917 and 1918. Some students were educated at the French lycée in Thessaloniki. Although the most important representatives of the Serbian intelligentsia did not live in the city, cultural life was rich and diverse, because it was important to ease the daily lives of the many soldiers and civilians who were there. Numerous performances were organized at the Serbian theater "Toša Jovanović," while the King's Guard Orchestra, led by Stanislav Binički, often held concerts. Painting exhibitions were opened every three months, and the exhibitors were Serbian, as well as French and English soldiers. Sports clubs were also organized, and even football matches were held. Not far from the city, the Salonica Front, the most important military base in Southeast Europe, was established. The transfer of the Serbian army from Corfu to the Salonica Front began on April 12 and ended on May 21, 1916. Transport was carried out mainly by French ships. Fortunately, none were sunk. A total of 6,025 officers and 120,490 soldiers and non-commissioned officers were transferred to Thessaloniki. The Serbian army in Chalkidiki was also joined by those who had recovered in Bizerte, as a result of which on May 30, 1916, it numbered 144,000 soldiers and, by July, 152,000.

Because of all this, it is not surprising that Thessaloniki hosted the richest publishing industry, as well as the largest number of printing houses. These were the Printing Workshop of the Ministry of Military and the Printing House of the Topographic Department of the Supreme Command, into which were integrated private printers transferred from Serbia. The Belgrade printing house "Mlada Srbija" [Young Serbia] of Vladimir Anđelković, later called "Velika Srbija" [Great Serbia] worked independently in Thessaloniki. Publications were also sealed in the printing houses "Аквароне," "Ангире," "Македонија," "Фос," in the "Ратни дневник" printing house of Dimitrije Anastasijević-Velešnac, and the printing house of A. Beros. According to our research, 183 monographic publications were published in the above printing houses.

Over 40 books were literary works, as well as direct war testimonies and memoirs. Serbian literature was represented by the following works: *Буњевка* [Bunjevac Woman] by Bogoboj Atanacković, *Песме бола и поноса* [Songs of Pain and Pride] by Milutin Bojić, *Адамско колено* [Adam's Progeny] by Janko M. Veselinović, the novella *Пир младости* [Tempest of Youth] by Radoslav M. Vesnić, while Milovan Dj. Glišić's *Прва бразда* [First Furrow] and Janko M. Veselinović's *Мали певач* [Little Singer] were published as a single book. Glišić's *Шетња после смрти* [Walk After Death], Stanojlo Dimitrijević's *Српска звезда: приче и приповејке за народ* [Serbian Star: Stories and Tales for the People] belong to the same thematic circle, along with Arsenije J. Zdravković's *Словенска душа* [Slavic Soul] and *Моравка девојка и Свети Ђорђе* [Maiden from the Morava and St. George], by Peter Perunović, a popular gusle player whose pseudonym was Perun. There was also *Изгнаник; Свете жртве* [The Exile; Sacred Victims] by Dragoljub P. Ilić, *Крф 1916: Сећање на Отаџбину* [Corfu 1916: Remembrance of the Fatherland] by Dimitrije M. Jevtović-Polimac, and, by the same author, *На рекама македонским: 1916–1917*. [On the Rivers of Macedonia: 1916–1917] and *Срби и Бугари: наше битке из прошлости Срба и Бугара: историјски сјев у пет поема* [Serbs and Bulgarians: Our battles from the Serbo-Bulgarian Past: a Historical Poem in Five Songs], *Србијански венац* [Serbian Wreath] by Milosav Jelić, *Ми на Крфу: сличице за бављења Срба на острву Крфу* [We on Corfu: Pictures from the Serbs' Stay on the Island of Corfu] by Danilo Jovanović, *Видосава Бранковићева* [Vidosava Branković], a short story by Jovan Jovanović-Zmaj, two books by Vuk St. Karadžić: *Народне приповејке* [Folk Tales] and *Шаливе народне приче* [Humorous Folk Stories], *Косово или Бој на Косову 1389. године у народним песмама* [Kosovo or the Battle of Kosovo of 1389 in Folk Songs], with a foreword by Nikola L. Brkić, as well as a book published under the pseudonym Kamički, *За спомен Мишарске победе и Слава Кара-Ђорђу* [For the Memory of the Victory on Mišar and Glory to Karadjordje] (Kamički was the pseudonym of Ilija Dj. Katanić), *На бунару* [On the Well] by Laza Lazarević, *Под њујим кровом* [Under Another's Roof] by Milivoje Ž. Lazić and, again in one book, *У добри час хајдуци!* [At a Good Hour Brigands!] by Laza K. Lazarević and *Добричина* (Good Fellow) by Janko M. Veselinović. Finally, there were *Бол и нада једне српске душе* [The Pain and the Hope of a Serbian Soul], by Vidak Otović, *Ченџић-аџа* [Čengić-aga] by Milenko Paunović, *Са Голгоџе пред Васкрс: српске рајне песме из европског и светског рата* [From Golgotha Before Easter: Serbian War Songs from the European and the World War] and *Српске рајне песме из Европског рата* [Serbian War Songs from the European War] by Vlada A. Popović, *Тешко ли је робљу робовање!* [How Hard Is Slavery for the Slaves!], verses signed by the pseudonym of Old Vujadin (pseudonym of Jaša M. Prodanović), *Званична исправка* [Official Correction] by Svetolik P. Ranković, *У борби за слободу* [In the Fight for Freedom] by Damnjan V. Rašić. Two books by Ivo Ćipiko were also published: *На помену* [At Hand] and *Пути кући* [The Road Home], along with the booklet *Осветимо Србију: слике из војничког живота у 1 чину с певањем* [Let Us Revenge Serbia: Pictures of Military Life in One Act with Singing] written by regular soldier and subsequent famous

actor Sima Stanojević-Šućur. Ivan Mažuranić's poem, *The Death of Smail Aga: a representative Serbian poem*, was translated into English. The historical study *Срби и Буџари у прошлости и садашњости* [Serbs and Bulgarians in the Past and Present], was published twice, once signed with the pseudonym Ovčepoljski, the other under the real name of the author, Stevan Simić. Foreign fiction was represented by Pierre Loti's novel *Aziyadé*, translated from the French by Djordje Hadži-Serafimović (two editions), as well as by the works *New Letters of Women* by Marcel Prévost, *Cyrano de Bergerac: a Heroic Comedy in Five Acts in Verses* by Edmond Rostand, *Couple la porte de corne ou par la porte d'ivoire* by Anatole France and the novel *Majesty* by Henri Lavedan. There were also the memoirs: *Са српског фронта: из мојих бележака* [From the Serbian Front: From My Notes] by Djordje Lazarević, as well as two editions of the same work by Karl Marx Lichnowsky, under different titles: *Prince Lichnowsky's Memoirs* with commentary by Albert Thomas, translated from the French by Nikola P. Petrović and *My Mission to London: (1912–1914)*, signed by the author under the name Prince Lichnowsky, with a preface by Archibald Reiss. As direct war testimonies of foreigners, two books by Marcel Dunan were published: *L'invasion de la Serbie et la retraite d'Albanie: (octobre 1915 – janvier 1916)* and *Le Martyre Serbe*, along with those of Ricciotto Canudo, *Notre Retraite de Serbie: the feuillets d'un officier des Zouaves*, published by the author under the pseudonym Oudanc capitaine, and *The Serbian drama: October 1915 – March 1916*, by Camille Auguste Anatole Ferri-Pisani (Attachment 3) and *An English Woman in the Serbian Army* by the British nurse Flora Sandes.

Rudolphe Archibald Reiss' testimonies of war crimes were also published in Thessaloniki: *Зверства Буџара и Аустро-Немаца: буџарска зверства у току рата и Сјрадање жрада Битоља* [War Crimes of the Bulgarians and Austro-Germans : Bulgarian Atrocities During the War and the Suffering of the City of Bitolj], while testimony about the fate of our prisoners was provided by the brochures *Наци у Аустро-Угарској: извештај Министарству унутрашњих дела о постојању са заробљеним српским официрима, војницима и жраћанима* [Our People in Austria-Hungary: Report to the Ministry of Internal Affairs on the Treatment of Imprisoned Serb Officers, Soldiers and Citizens, and *Наци у ројсству: из званичних докумената Министарства унутрашњих дела* [Our People in Captivity: From Official Documents of the Ministry of Internal Affairs].

The most numerous (over 60 books and brochures) were the various military publications that were supposed to contribute to the success of the war operations, especially those on the Salonica Front. Many carried the label "confidential," or the warning "do not carry to the front lines," "for officers only," and the like. These were mainly brochures such as notes on the artillery, assault squads, firing from the field gun, instructions for indirect firing with a machine gun, the use of flame throwers and defense against them, for the fortification of field positions. Some of the publications were translations of enemy and allied documents, such as the *Lesson from the Battle of the Somme*, *Lesson from the Battle of the River Ern*, *Lesson on the End of the Battle of Verdun*

by Paul von Hindenburg, *A Brief Overview of the Lessons Learned from the 2nd English Division in Operations at Cambrai, from November 30 to December 6, 1917*, as well as reviews of the Armed Forces of Bulgaria from June 1916, Austria-Hungary from February 1917, and Germany from March 1917. Lieutenant Caillet wrote *The New Infantry Officer in War: What He Should Know*, and important information was also provided by the *Brief Overview of the Operations of the Serbian Army on the Salonica Front: As of December 15, 1916; Order on the Regulation of Certain Issues of Nutrition and Personnel Supply; Principles of Conducting Trench Warfare; Deployment of Officers: Status on June 12, 1918; Wartime Ranking List of Active Officers and Military Officials: 1917–1918: (as of January 1, 1918); Important Roads in Eastern and Western Macedonia, New Areas of the Kingdom of Serbia and Albania: Overview and Description of the Road Network*. One should also mention *International Maritime Law* by Nikola Verona and three books published under the title *Secret Revolutionary Organization: Report from a Hearing at the Military Court for Officers in Thessaloniki: According to the Notes Kept at the Hearing Itself*. The need for a breakthrough of the Salonica Front is discussed in the brochure of M. Živanović, *What Is To Be Done?* and we should also point out the *Temporary Instructions for Military Medical Service; Instructions for Training Yugoslav Volunteers from America, Regulation on Military Censorship During the War; Regulation on the Awarding of Military Rewards During the War*, as well as the *Regulation on the Prisoners' Command*.

A number of books were devoted to the medical treatment of wounded soldiers and civilians and the treatment of epidemics of severe and fatal diseases: *Conclusions from the Inter-Allied Surgical Conference on the Study of War Wounds; The Fight Against Malaria; Macedonian Malaria: On Malaria on the Salonica Front; New War Surgery: Scurvy – Dysentery; Instructions on Disinfection*. Gas gangrene was the topic of the writing of surgeon General A.G. Willoughby, while Dr. Riolan wrote on the importance and consequences of venereal diseases, Dr. Aleksa M. Savić on influenza and doctor V.I. Simpson on prophylaxis against flies.

More than 20 of the books published in Thessaloniki were official publications, such as: *Military Criminal Code* and *Criminal (Penal) Code*, along with laws on military administration, state accounting, procurement for military requirements, the pension fund for widows and children of deceased officials, help for victims of war, the conduct of military tribunals in criminal cases, fees, etc. There were also rulebooks, such as the *Rulebook on the Liquidation of Salaries of Our Captured Military Personnel*, and the *Rulebook on Seeking Loans During the War*. Childcare was covered with the *Rules of the Serbian School Matrix in Thessaloniki* and the *Rules of the Association of the "White Cross" Associations*, while the Society for the Protection of Children adopted a Statute and submitted a report of the Main Board of the Society for the period 1917–1918.

A number of publications published in Thessaloniki were textbooks and handbooks intended for pupils and adult literacy, as well as textbooks and foreign language dictionaries that allowed communication with members of

other armies and the Greek hosts: *Yugoslavia: A Reader for Adults*, by Radoslav J. Mitić (author dismissed after an obituary published in *Забавник*), three Serbian readers by Ljubica Kačević and Vasilija Kačandonović – *Peony*, *Rose* and *Flowers*, Žika Tomić's *Little Serbian-French-English Dictionary*, *Little Serbian-French-English-Greek Dictionary*, *Serbian-Greek Conversation*, *The First Step to the French Language*, while George W. Monk and Djordje Petrović, teacher and translator at the 38th General Hospital published the booklet *Serbian simplified*, intended for the British serving in the Serbian army. Petrović also published the *English-Serbian Dictionary* and *English Language Teacher* and, in cooperation with Djordje Serafimović (who sometimes added the title Hadži – denoting someone who has made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem – to his surname), *Serbian-French, Italian and English Conversations*, while Serafimović himself published a *Serbian-French Dictionary*, which enjoyed two editions.

Also interesting are the book *The English Word to Serbia: Statements by the English President of the Ministry Lloyd-George and English Statesmen about Serbia, During a Lunch in Honor of the Serbian Prime Minister Mr. Pašić*, a publication signed with the initials Lj.M., *Yugoslav Day in Marseille: A Large Volunteer Event*, as well *Economic Organization of Serbia After the War* by Milutin K. Mesarović, *Homilies of Abbot Metodije (Života S. Milovanović)*, *Military Priest of the Town Command in Thessaloniki, Given in 1916*, the music manuscript *Divine Liturgy in the Verses of Father Chrysostom for Male Choir: Opus 17* of Miloje Milojević, and *In the Fatherland or the Austrian and Bulgarian Administration in Serbia*, produced on the basis of acts of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

The book *I Accuse by a German: Excerpts*, translated by Nikola P. Petrović, should have appeared in Thessaloniki in 1917, but has not been located so far. Information on the publication of the book was provided by Uroš Džonić in his war publication bibliographies, it was also published in *Српске новине*, and mentioned in Flora Sandes' book *An English Woman in the Serbian Army*, which was published as the 3rd booklet of the *War Collection*. On the first pages of the book, writing about the collection itself, its owner and editor Danilo Jovanović informed interested readers that the book *I accuse (J'accuse)*, written by a German, was delivered to the printer. The book appeared in 1915, the real name of the author was Richard Grelling, and it was published in French, English, German, Russian, Spanish, Swedish, Italian, Dutch, in several editions, while it was banned in Germany. The Ministry of Internal Affairs, dissatisfied with the content of the book *We on Corfu*, prohibited the book, ordering for all copies of the book to be collected and destroyed, despite Danilo Jovanović's status as reserve lieutenant and archivist from Skoplje. It is possible that this event is related to the fate of the Serbian translation of the book *I accuse*.

A number of calendars were published in Thessaloniki: *The Pocket Orthodox Calendar Velika Srbija for the Common Year 1917*, edited by Aleksa Jovanović, *Pocket Calendar Serbia 1918*; *Pocket Calendar Budućnost for the Common Year 1918*; *Pocket Calendar "Yugoslavia" for the Common Year 1919*; *Serbian Calendar for the Leap Year 1916*; *Serbian and French Calendar for*

the Leap Year 1916 = Calendrier serbo-français: franco-serbe; Little Military Calendar for the Common Year 1917, Which Has 365 Days; Military Calendar for the Common Year 1918, Which Has 365 Days.

Eight periodicals were published in Thessaloniki: *Српски џласник* [Serbian Herald] which, from number 25/1916, had the parallel title *L'Echo Serbe*; *Рајни дневник : званични извештаји Рајноџ Пресбироа* [War Diary: Official Reports of the War Press Bureau; *Велика Србија* [Great Serbia]; *La Revue Franco-Macedonienne*; *Службени војни лист* [Official Military Gazette]; *Правда; Народ* [People] and *Српски технички лист* [Serbian Technical Gazette]. It is also interesting to note that two manuscript publications were published in Thessaloniki in 1916: *Антиена: лист за збиљу и за шалу за интригу и похвалу* [Antena: A Publication for Reality and Jest, for Intrigue and for Praise], came out from February to May 1916, edited by a person signed as Dr. Andrejević “Kuvar” (the Cook); and *Rovovac: a Trench Declivity 150 m from the Bulgarians*, a manuscript by Stanislav Krakov published over a span of four issues.

During the First World War the city of Bizerte in Tunisia hosted a base of the Serbian army and the Serbian War Invalids Camp. The first group of sick, wounded and recovering soldiers arrived in January of 1916. The exiled Serbs were generously received in friendly Bizerte; they were not only treated there but gained literacy at the school for illiterates, trained for future life at the school for blind and deaf-mute invalids, as well as in craft schools, where they also received practical training. In addition to the organization of activities that were devoted to treatment, recovery, military training, retraining, social and cultural life, useful books were also published, along with the *Напред = En Avant* daily and its supplement, *Из старих ризница* [From Old Treasures]. The printing was carried out at the local printing houses, most often at the Saint-Paul Printing Office, until August 1, 1917, when the Serbian Invalid Printing House was established. A large-format printing press was purchased for it, with Cyrillic and Latin letters, and suitable premises were secured, with two workshops – for soft binding and binding and photozinkography. As a result, the Serbs were able to publish useful books and other publications in their own printing house. After the war, the printing house was shipped from Bizerte to Dubrovnik by ship. Credit for the establishment of the printing house goes to a Frenchman, reserve captain and engineer Albert Aufort, who had already previously obtained a Cyrillic press for the Saint-Paul printing house. Aufort and members of his family were well-known friends of our people and organized work on providing first aid to Serb refugees and Serbs in general. In addition to Aufort, assistance in the establishment of the printing house was also provided by the Serbian Relief Fund and its North Africa representative, Maurice Wilson. The fund was established in London in September 1914, with the task of helping the Serbian people in war troubles, i.e., to alleviate the humanitarian crisis. The Fund operated until 1921. Its honorary secretary was Robert William Seton-Watson, while his wife May was the leading organizer of all activities. The Fund sent medical assistance, as well as teams of doctors and caregivers, assisted refugees and prisoners of war, and arranged for the

education of many young people who wound up in the United Kingdom. The Serbs from Bizerte expressed the greatest gratitude to Admiral Guépratte, as well as to Albert Aufort, Maurice Wilson, the Serbian Relief Fund, the Governor of Bizerte, and the doctors Sammiege and Brunnet.

The director of the printing house was Milovan Ristić, but the person most deserving for the entire cultural and educational activity of the Serbs in Bizerte and the work of the Serbian Printing House was the well-known scientist and intellectual, Veselin Čajkanović. In his *Report on the Printing House of Serbian Invalids* (Notice on L'Imprimerie des Mutilés Serbes de Bizerte Bizerte, L'Imprimerie des Mutilés Serbes, 1918), published in French in 1918, Čajkanović provided much valuable information about its origin, goals and work. He wrote that the printing house was founded in order to train a number of invalids as type-setters, type-machinists, book binders and photoengravers. In accordance with the plan made by the founder of the printing house, the works were distributed free of charge or, more rarely, sold below cost, while the proceeds went to the benefit of war orphans, invalids, the blind and the deaf. The printing house of the Serbian invalids issued 79 publications, some of them, such as documents, publications and similar documents, for the needs of the Ministry of Defense and the Serbian Disabled Camp.

Fewer books were published in Bizerte than in Corfu and Thessaloniki, a total of 45. All publications that were official state publications were published in 1918 at the Serbian Invalid Printing House: *Law on the Support of Disabled War Veterans and Families of Those Killed in Battle or from Wounding and of Missing Soldiers*; *Instructions for Rescuing Passengers on Seagoing Ships Made by Order of the Commander of Reserve Troops and Non-Commissioned Officer Schools*; *Rules for Military Hospitals with Amendments*; *Infantry Exercising Rules*; *Rules of Service: Part I: with Amendments*; as well as the aforementioned *Work Report on the Printing House*.

The collection of books called “Библиотека Напред” [Napred Library] was a true cultural feat of the Serbs in Bizerte. Due to the great efforts and dedication of its editor, Veselin Čajkanović, a total of 25 books were published within it. Čajkanović himself was represented by two editions of the *Serbian Reader for Beginners* that were printed in a total of 2,000 copies and distributed free of charge to invalids who attended the Invalid School for Illiterates (Attachment 2), while, in collaboration with Albert Aufort, publishing the *Extract from French Grammar and French Conversations*. The book was printed in 12,000 copies, of which 10,000 were distributed free of charge to soldiers and Serb refugees in North Africa, France, Corsica, England, Corfu and Thessaloniki, and 2,000 sold at a price of 2 French francs. The profit was intended for Serbian and French war orphans. Their *French-Serbian Dictionary* was printed in 7,000 copies, of which 5,000 were distributed free of charge to soldiers and Serb refugees, 1,000 donated to French troops, and the remaining 1,000 sold at a price of 2.5 French francs, with the profit going to war veterans – Serbian and French. Čajkanović and Aufort also compiled the *Abridged French-Serbian Agricultural Dictionary*, as well as the small manual *At the Hospital: French-Serbian Conversations*, in whose making several French physicians also took part.

The books published in the “Napred Library” can be thematically divided into the aforementioned dictionaries and grammar books authored by Čajkanović and Aufort, and readers and textbooks, which include the *Serbian Reader for Beginners*, which had two editions, *History of the Serbian People: For the 4th Grade of Elementary Schools* by Ćedomilj M. Todorović, *French History: a Brief Overview* by Louis Eugen Rogier and Paul Despique, translated and amended by Milovan Ristić. The second thematic circle included folk songs, stories and other folk wisdoms. The first book that was printed in the Serbian Invalid Printing House was *Женидба Максима Црнојевића* [Marriage of Maksim Crnojević], set, printed and bound by student-invalids, under the instruction and control of their teachers. The third group comprised literary works: *Меџлинка : приповејка у стиховима по народном предању испод Беласице* [Meglinka: a Tale in Verses According to Folk Tradition from Under Mt. Belasica] signed with the pseudonym “Majski” (the real name of the author was Milan J. Majzner), *Одабране децејне јесме Јована Јовановића* [Selected Children’s Songs by Jovan Jovanović] and the Latin-scripted anthology *Родољубље: низ одабраних јесама* [Patriotism: A Series of Selected Songs], which presented songs by Djura Jakšić, Jovan Jovanović Zmaj, Vojislav Ilić, Aleksa Šantić, Svetozar Ćorović, Ljuba Nenadović, Petar Preradović, Dragomir Brzak, Milorad J. Mitrović etc., as well as *Titus Maccius Plautus’ Aulularia and Menaechmi*. Two booklets by Tihomir R. Djordjević treated political and historical themes: *Југословенско јединство: чланци др. Тих. Р. Ђорђевића* [Yugoslav Unity: Articles by Dr. Tih. R. Djordjević] and *Око Македоније* [About Macedonia]. Albert Aufort dealt with the issue of disabled veterans of war in his useful publication *Шта ћемо после рата?: савети српским инвалидима* [What Will We Do After the War?: Tips for Serbian Invalids], as did Veljko Ramadanović in the publication *О слепима и њиховој настави* [About the Blind and Their Instruction], which also contained a translation of the eponymous article from the French by Pierre Ville. As homage to all the soldiers and invalids, on the occasion of the 500th number of *Напред*, the testimonial *Српство у Африци* [Serbdom in Africa] was published, including, according to the editor Veselin Čajkanović, “a few original works that were published in this periodical.”

Among the books that were not published in the *Напред* collection were five books of poetry by Nedeljko Gizdavić: *The Days of Struggle; Beautiful Place; In hoc signo vinces; The Symbol of Victory; Quo vadis Kaiser? or the Tragedy of the European War* and the drama *Rebirth of Serbia*. Also interesting were: *Songs: Serbs from the Sunk Galley* by Svetozar Smiljanić, *By the Extinguished Hearths: Part I* by Lieutenant Radosav Mijušković, *Our Mother: Allegory in One Act* by Živojin Pavlović-Žikišon, *On Lika and the Likans* by Miloš Dj. Škaric, *About Dubrovnik: (several articles)*, a collection of texts by Gjono Gjoro Palmotić, Ćedomilj Mijatović, Djuradj Branković, Apollon Nikolayevich Maykov and Vuk Primorac (the pseudonym of Filip Vuković). The booklet *About Macedonia* by Tihomir R. Djordjević, in response to Dimitar Rizov, the Bulgarian ambassador in Berlin, concerning an article on Macedonia’s nationality, had two editions. Just like Milorad B. Nedić’s *Kosovo Nights*:

Fragments, it was published both within the “Napred Library” and elsewhere. The *Napred Pocket Calendar for the Common Year 1917* was published by the Command of Reserve Troops and Schools for Non-Commissioned Officers.

Haūpeð was launched in Bizerte by Colonel Djordje Djordjević, the first commander of the Serbian troops in Africa. The paper was published daily, starting from February 28, 1916, to December 16, 1918, when the last, eight hundred and seventy-second number was published. Until number seventy-two, or May 10, 1916, it was hand-written, then hektographed, then printed. It was also distributed in Corfu, Ajaccio, Nice, Marseilles, Paris, Rome, Naples, and a small number of copies made their way to Serbia as well.

The first booklet of its weekly cultural supplement, *From Old Treasuries*, was published on May 21, 1917. The supplement was intended for our army and refugees, printed in Cyrillic script in the Saint-Paul printing house, and all the articles were in Serbian. It was published weekly, although there were sometimes longer intervals between issues: thus, it was published every week up to issue number 12, then periodically semi-weekly, while the biggest pause came between the 23rd issue printed on November 27, 1917, and the last, 24th issue, published on March 25, 1918. Booklet no. 18 has yet to be found. Most likely it was not published. This is supported by the fact that the supplement had a continuous pagination, and the pagination of the last page of booklet 17 was sequentially succeeded by the first paginated page of booklet 19. Most of the booklets were published on 16 pages, several on eight, all the booklets were softbound, but the first 12 were subsequently bound into one book. The price ranged from 5 to 25 centimes. Čajkanović’s editorial work was not at all easy because he lacked the literature from which articles could be drawn. In a letter to Tihomir R. Djordjević, he complained that he had only a few school readers available, along with Vuk Karadžić’s *Collection of Proverbs* and *Dictionary*. That is why his friends from across Europe sent him books and copies of texts, among whom the most steadfast was Tihomir R. Djordjević, who lived in London. Nedeljko Gizdavić, professor and writer, also wrote about the supplement in his post-war book *Serbian Afrikidiad*. As already stated, he published several books in Bizerte, was the head of the typesetting plant in the Lasoise prisoners’ camp, and then a professor at a non-commissioned officers’ school.

The largest number of articles, in accordance with the editor’s interests, was ethnographic and folklore related, and most were the fruits of folk creativity. From the category of folk traditions, beliefs and customs, the following could be found on the pages of the *Old Treasuries*: *Destiny*; *Digging money*; *St. George’s Holiday*; *Lake of Saint Sava*. Serbian folk poetry was represented by the poems: *Margita the Maiden and Voyvoda Rajko*; *Bekri-Mujo*; *Woe Be to the Sister without Brother and Brother without Sister*; *Death of Mother Jugović*; *Brothers and Sisters*; *Beginning of the Revolt Against the Dahijas*; *Banović Strahinja*; *Bolani Dojčin*; *The Building of Skadar*; *Marriage of Milić the Standard-Bearer*; *Marriage of Dušan*; *God Does Not Stay Indebted to Anyone*; *Sekula Turned into a Snake*; *Death of Ivo of Senj*; *Hasanaginica*; *The Battle of Mišar*; *ЇByūa Božaiūoža Гавана*; *Old Man Novak and Deli-Radivoje*; *The Bondage of Janković Stojan*; *Predrag and Nenad*; *Καλοῦερ Πεπο u виūа*

Јело; *Death of Voyvoda Kaica*; *Marko Kraljević and Musa Kesedžija*. The following folk tales were also published: *Justice and Guilt*; *He Who Wants Less Is Given More*; *Cinderella*; *The Devil and His Apprentice*; *The Bear, the Pig and the Fox*; *The Goat's Ears of the Emperor Trojan*; *Golden-Fleeced Ram*; *Saint Sava and the Devil*; *A Man and His Horse* and the tale *Destiny*. The booklets also contained puzzles, anecdotes and numerous proverbs, mostly Serbian folk proverbs, but also Latin ones.

The editor of the "Treasury" also made the effort to publish materials by our famous writers. Eighteen poems were published, of which seven by Jovan Jovanović Zmaj: *Day after Day – Life Is Gone*; *Three Brigands*; *Mother to Her Son at the Cradle*; *Gypsy Praising His Horse*; *Fairy*; *Which Is Better?*; and *The Serbian Mother*, and three by Vojislav Ilić: *On the Banks of the Vardar*; *Rastko*; *Winter*. One poem apiece of the following authors was also published: Branko Radičević's *The Sun at its Setting*, *Oh Macedonia!* by the presently lesser known poet and translator Vladimir M. Jovanović, Ivan Mažuranić's *Tempest*, Stanko Vraz's *Brigand and the Vizier*, Ivan Gundulić's *Human Life*, Ljubomir P. Nenadović's *Another's Feathers*, Milan M. Rakić's *Simonida*, and the unsigned poem *Under Mt. Medvednik*. The most frequently published prose author was Vuk Karadžić. In addition to the proverbs taken from his *Collection*, there were also 15 items, mostly taken from his *Dictionary*, including: *Dark Province*; *Злоџук*; *Serbian Hospitality*; *Villages in Serbia*; *School* (historical text about schools in Serbia); *Feudal Landlord*; *Дивљан*. Twelve prose texts by Milan Dj. Milićević were published, including those about the leader of the First Serbian Uprising: *Karadjordje on Tičar*; *Karadjordje (something from his biography)*; *Karadjordje and the Signing of Acts*; *Karadjordje at Paraćin*, as well as about other famous Serb figures and heroes: *Despot Stefan the Tall*; *From the Life of Hadži-Djera*, *Abbot of Moravac Monastery*; *Čučuk-Stana*; *The First Battle: From the Life of Milutin Petrović Hera*, *Brother of Hajduk Veljko*. There were also the interpretations of folk traditions and beliefs: *Whoever Celebrates His Patron Saint Is Helped By Him*; *Curse*; *Illness*, as well as the interesting text *The Influence of Shape*, on the impact of the beauty of Studenica Monastery on visitors. There were three contributions by Stevan Sremac: *Stjepan Tomašević*; *Nikola Skobaljić* and *Parting*, two by Vuk Vršević: *They Were Preparing the Spit for the Rabbit* and *Dog Wants to Make a House, Until He Doesn't*, as well as two passages from the *Life and Customs of Montenegrins* by V. Milorad/ G. Medaković published in 1860: *Unity*, about the unity of the people, the home, and the tribe and *A Montenegrin from 1860*. One contribution each was from Josif Pančić – *Reason in Animals*, Mijat Stojanović – *Old Woman and the Hornbeam*, Joakim Vujić – *Characteristics of the Serbian People*, and there was a historical text by Čedomilj Mijatović entitled *Uskoks*, and Ljubomir Kovačević and Ljubomir Jovanović's *Life of the Ancient South Slavs*. The following were published under the joint title *Fables*: *The Lion and the Donkey*; *The Mosquito and the Ox*; *The Bear and the Monkey* and *Mice and Sleigh Bells* by Dositej Obradović. There are also the texts by Vladimir Karić – *Žiča and Studenica*, Mita Petrović about the coastal wind "Bura," Simo Matavulj's extensive geographical and historical text *Boka Kotorska*, Stjepan

Mitrov Ljubiša's *If It Needed Our Unity, the Rain Would Never Fall*. Čajkanović translated two of Plautus' comedies, *Menaechmi* and *Three-Dollar Day*, which were wholly published in the *Old Treasuries*, in successive parts: *Menaechmi* in booklets 9, 10 and 11, and *Three-Dollar Day* in booklets 13, 14, 15 and 16. The Comedies were, as we have already mentioned, also published as one of the books in the "Napred Library." Thanks to Čajkanović's translation efforts, several interesting short texts were also published: two by Cicero: *On God* and *Anecdotes about Dionysius the Elder*; Phaedro's *Pompey the Great and Soldier*, Rabelais' *Judgment of a Fool*, Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's *Honesty*. More interesting and instructive items were composed by Čajkanović himself and published unsigned, such as the historical text *Belgrade of Past Times*; *Alphabet*; *A Convenient Answer*, as well as an anecdote about Alexander the Great and Anaximenes of Lampsacus, *Examples of a Strong Memory*, along with *Two Gravestone Inscriptions (On the grave of the poet Pacuvius and Lep Claudian)*, and *Ships Among the Ancient Peoples*; *God Is Concerned About Everybody and Everything*, as well as *Kresin's Sorcery*, about Gaius Furius Kresin, a freedman whose success in agriculture was credited to sorcery rather than industry. All in all, the supplement from the *Old Treasuries* made for interesting and educative reading that beautified the difficult war days of our soldiers and refugees, not only in Bizerte, but also in other places where the *Treasuries* arrived.

Finally, we must give due recognition to all our cultural workers in exile, thanks to whom the publishing and printing activity during the Great War was fertile, diverse and adapted to the needs of the state, the people and the army. Today, we mentioned only those who achieved this cultural and patriotic feat on Corfu, in Thessaloniki and in Bizerte.

ANNEXES

ИНВАЛИДСКА БИБЛИОТЕКА



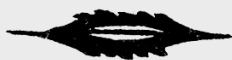
РАЗГОВОРИ СА ИНВАЛИДИМА.

К Р Ф
Државна Штампарија
Краљевине Србије
1917.

Annex 1. The cover page of *Conversations with Invalids* (“Invalid Library”)

23 БИБЛИОТЕКА «НАПРЕД» 23

СРПСКА ЧИТАНКА
ЗА ПОЧЕТНИКЕ



БИЗЕРТА
ШТАМПАРИЈА СРПСКИХ ИНВАЛИДА — 111
1918

Annex 2. Cover page of *Serbian Readers for Beginners* ("Napred" Library)

БИБЛИОТЕКА „СРПСКОГ ГЛАСНИКА“

Фери Пизани
ратни дописник

СРПСКА ДРАМА

Октобар 1915—Март 1916.

превео с француског
Никола П. Петровић

Издавач **Чеда Мирковић**

СОЛУН 1917.

Штампарија „Млада Србија“ Влад. М. Анђелковића

Annex 3. Cover page of *Serbian Drama* by Feri Pizani translated by Č. Mirković (Library “Srpski glasnik”)

О МАКЕДОНИЈИ И МАКЕДОНЦИМА

ЧЛАНЦИ

ВЕНДЛ — РИЗОВ — ТОМИЋ

СРЕДИЛИ И ИЗДАЛИ

Ј. Т. МАРКОВИЋ

Начелник

Министарства Иностранних Дела

СВЕТ. ТОМИЋ

Инспектор

Министарства Просвете и Црк. Послова

К Р Ф

Штампано у Државној Штампарији Краљевине Србије

1918.

Д. Ј. ФИЛИПОВИЋ

КОСОВСКИ БОЖУРИ

COUNT SAVA VLADISLAVIĆ'S EURASIAN HORIZONS

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SUMMARY: The paper deals with the diplomatic, political, trade and cultural activity of the well-known, Dubrovnik-born Herzegovinian, count Sava Vladislavić. It provides a short review of his trading activities in Venice, Spain and France, and then in greater detail sheds light on his business and his political-intelligence work in Constantinople at the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century for the state interests of Tsarist Russia. Gifted and educated, tactful, with good knowledge of Western and Eastern languages, Vladislavić gained excellent insight into the circumstances of the Ottoman Empire. From 1705 to 1738 he lived mostly in Russia, becoming one of the most accomplished Russian diplomats and one of the richest persons in Tsarist Russia. During his stay in Venice in 1716–1722, he engaged in various activities (trading, negotiations with Pope Clement XI about a concordat), of which the most significant was his collecting of statues, busts and other works of art for the decoration of the newly-founded Russian capital, Saint Petersburg. The peak of his diplomatic state activity was his diplomatic mission in China in 1725–1728.

KEY WORDS: Sava Vladislavić, Dubrovnik, Serbs, Venice, Spain, France, Constantinople, Russia, Ottoman Empire, Peter the Great, China, trade, diplomacy, culture

In the history of the Serbian people there are a number of very important personalities whose role has disappeared not only from the historical consciousness of the Serbian people, but also as a topic of scientific historiography. One such personage is Sava Vladislavić (1669–1738), or Count Sava Lukich Vladislavich-Raguzinsky, as he was known in Russia. Among the Serbs in general there is an ongoing process of an evident narrowing of consciousness regarding the extent of their activity, partly due to their own negligence and short-sightedness, partly due to the will of more developed and influential cultural and political centers that have always and on every occasion wholeheartedly supported such processes. As much as it is necessary to be aware of the contribution of foreigners to Serbian culture, it is no less important to highlight the contribution of Serbs to the knowledge and skills, history and

culture of other nations and states. In Serbian culture, it was Jovan Dučić who delved more deeply into the life and work of Vladislavić. His study, *A Serb diplomat at the Court of Peter the Great and Catherine I. Count Sava Vladislavić*, was published for the first time in Pittsburgh (USA) in 1942. More recently, Dušan Sindik has devoted several of his works to Sava Vladislavić. Interest in this significant personality of the Serbian people, the majority of whose activities was related to Russia in the first decades of the 18th century, was also stimulated in our midst by the recent publication of Sava Vladislavić's work, *Secret Information on the Power and State of the Chinese State* [Belgrade 2011], translated and edited by Vladimir Davidović. On July 11, 2011, a monument to Sava Vladislavić was uncovered in the city of Shlisselburg, at the head of the Neva River near St. Petersburg, close to the monument to Russian emperor Peter the Great (this writer had the honor of giving a short speech about Vladislavić on that occasion). In all likelihood, they first met here in July 1703 [Лешиловская 2006: 270–271]. The memorial bust of Vladislavić was made by sculptor Djordje Lazić Djapša from Sremski Karlovci (Serbia). The monument was first erected in Sremski Karlovci in 2009, then in Gacko (Herzegovina) in 2010, and then in Shlisselburg.

All historical sources indicate that Sava Vladislavić was a powerful and lavishly gifted historical figure, a man of great energy and ambitions, on a broad international plane – from Western Europe, through the Ottoman Empire and Russia to faraway China. Although there is no agreement in the literature and sources about where he was born, it is predominantly considered that he was born in Dubrovnik, since his father had previously moved to the Republic of Ragusa (Dubrovnik) from Jasenik near Gacko. Some authors believe that he, too, was born in Jasenik, while others mention Foča as the place of his birth. In domestic literature, there is no consensus on the time and place of his birth, although Jasenik is mainly mentioned. Russian authors who possess rich material about Vladislavić agree that he was born in 1669 in Dubrovnik, which is why he was also known as “Raguzinsky” in Russia. N. I. Pavlenko, referring to the Archive of the Foreign Policy of Russia, writes: “Relying on the testimony of Sava Lukich himself, it is possible to establish the exact date – he was born on 16 January 1669.” [Павленко 1994: 332]. The old Dubrovnik trade environment greatly influenced the future of Sava Vladislavić. In fact, it could be said that he spent his whole life engaged in trade and diplomacy. His personality was a happy union of successful merchant and gifted diplomat: he became one of Russia's richest people in the first decades of the 18th century and one of the most prominent Russian diplomats of that time. For the Russian court, first of all Emperor Peter the Great, as well as his successors, he performed many secret and public missions throughout the world, from the end of the 17th century until his death in 1738. He began as a young trader in Venice, France and Spain, and then opened a trading house in Constantinople under the protection of the French king. According to Russian sources, his father, Luka, possessed several villages in the Dubrovnik Republic and two trading houses – one in Dubrovnik and one in Venice [Павленко 1994: 332]. It is assumed that he obtained a, for that time, solid education at the Jesuit school in Dubrovnik. After

his trading activities in Venice, France and Spain and the experience that he gained there, Vladislavić arrived to the Turkish capital where he opened a trading house and enjoyed nine years of French protection. Thanks to this, but also undoubtedly to his resourcefulness and talents, Vladislavić established a wide circle of social ties in the mighty Ottoman capital all the way to the Sultan's court, which he subsequently knew how to put to use in his activities for the benefit of Russian state interests. At that time, Vladislavić supplied Russian deputies at the Porte with precious information about the intentions of the Sultan's court, news from court circles related to Russian–Turkish relations, the state of Turkey's land and military-maritime potential, as well as the anti-Russian activities of the French and English deputies in Constantinople. Using a wide circle of connections, Vladislavić carefully and thoroughly studied the inner life of the Porte and its foreign policy, which was an extremely valuable source of information for Russian diplomats in Constantinople who, according to Russian historian N. I. Pavlenko, gained the conviction that Vladislavić was a loyal friend to Russia, “ready to risk his life for the sake of its interests” [Павленко 1994: 333].

The first Russian diplomat who established close relations with Vladislavić was Emilian Ivanovich Ukraintsev, whom Peter sent as an experienced diplomat to Constantinople in 1699. Ukraintsev's initial caution towards Vladislavić was soon overcome by the latter's very valuable services: he supplied the Russian diplomat with a Black Sea navigation map and information concerning the state of affairs at the Porte, sent his people to Moscow with Ukraintsev's reports in hand, helped Russian traders sell their goods in Constantinople, and carried out many daily tasks. He also did things such as organizing a secret meeting between the Russian mission's translator and a diplomat of Venice, having previously dressed the former into his own clothing so that, as he later wrote, “the Turks would not recognize him.” For Tsarist Russia, due to the upcoming conflict with Sweden as a very dangerous northern neighbor and opponent in the struggle for an exit to the Baltic Sea, it was very important to avoid a simultaneous war on two fronts, i.e., a war against Turkey on top of the one against Sweden. This very complex international situation and intense activity in Constantinople, in addition to the troubles with the Swedes, Poles and Tatars, gave Sava's mission of providing information on the situation at the Sultan's court far-reaching strategic significance. In November 1702, already a skilled and experienced merchant, Vladislavić arrived to Azov from Constantinople, on a Turkish ship with a Greek crew. It was the first commercial voyage to Azov, to which Peter had assigned an important role in the development of maritime trade. Leaving his ship to winter near Taganrog, Vladislavić went to Moscow, at that time still the Russian capital, for the first in the spring of 1703, and then on to the newly founded Saint Petersburg. Being familiar in detail with Vladislavić's accomplishments for the Russian state, in July 1703 Peter the First granted him a charter by which he was entitled to freely trade in Russia over the next ten years, open trading houses and shops in Azov and other places, and import his goods through Azov. In 1714, the charter was renewed for another ten years, with a right to free trade inside and outside of Russia. Vladislavić had

good relations with Ukraintsev's successor, Dmitry Mikhailovich Golitsyn, and especially with the latter's successor, Peter Andreyevich Tolstoy, who arrived in Constantinople in November 1701. Golitsyn failed to conclude a trade agreement with the Ottomans, one that would have allowed Russian merchant ships to use the Black Sea. The instructions Tolstoy received before leaving for Constantinople were composed by Peter himself: he wanted to know the state of the Ottoman army and fleet, whether they were training the cavalry and infantry in the old way or were using the services of European officers, and how serious the Turks were in their intention to fill the Kerch Strait, which would forever cut off the Russian exit to the Black Sea [Павленко 1994: 334].

Setting off in the autumn of 1702 for Russia, Vladislavić provided Tolstoy with valuable information about the state of the Ottoman Empire, greatly important to Peter the Great for forming a policy towards Turkey. Upon his return to Constantinople by land through Kiev, Vladislavić established even closer relations with the Russian diplomat Tolstoy. On the basis of information obtained from Vladislavić, Tolstoy sent a detailed description of the state of Turkish shipbuilding in 1703. Sava Vladislavić had, as already mentioned, a wide circle of social ties in the Turkish capital, including those with persons that were well acquainted with the situation at the Sultan's court. Thanks to him, Tolstoy established contact with the secretary of the French embassy in 1704. Vladislavić also connected him with the Dubrovnik consul in Constantinople, Luka Barka, who had very good information about the secret life of the Sultan's court. Barka became a "secret agent of Russia" [Лешиловская 2006: 271]. Barka's information had exceptional significance, first of in terms of the views of the Sultan's court regarding Russia. Only when he was sure that he would avert war with Turkey did Peter the Great set out to wage war against Sweden, the final outcome of which was the catastrophic defeat of Swedish King Charles XII at the battle of Poltava in 1709, which buried Swedish ambitions to be a European power and play an important role in European affairs. After Barka's death in 1709, his work was carried on by the new Dubrovnik consul, Luka Barka the Younger (who was known in secret Russian reports under the pseudonym of Makary Stepanov).

Before he left Constantinople for good at the end of 1704, as any further stay there would have put him in jeopardy, Vladislavić performed a number of important tasks for the needs of the Russian state. For Peter the Great it was very important that Vladislavić secure materials and craftsmen for Russian shipbuilding in the Turkish capital. Namely, the trade route from Russia to the Balkans and the Turkish capital went by mainland via Walachia and Moldova. The end of the 17th century was a time of major geopolitical changes in Central and Southeastern Europe and the beginning of the struggle of the European powers for domination over this region. During his so-called Grand Embassy to Western Europe in 1697–1698, Emperor Peter the First proclaimed the securing of an exit to the Black Sea as a strategic goal of Russia's foreign policy. Vladislavić managed to obtain plans for the construction of Turkish ships but failed to secure craftsmen for their construction, for the builders, mostly Turks or Armenians, did not want to go to Moscow. Instead of master craftsman Augustine, whom

he had been ordered to bring to Russia, Vladislavić found Frenchman Anthony Bartolomeo.

Sava's role related to the origins of the famous poet Alexander Sergeyevich Pushkin is also interesting. Namely, in 1704 he brought two boys to Moscow, Arabs bought in Constantinople, one of whom, named, according to sources, Ibrahim Petrov, became the great-grandfather of the famous poet [Лешиловская 2006: 274]. In some sources, Pushkin's ancestor is called Avram Hannibal, or Avram (or Abram) Petrov, after Emperor Peter – Abram Petrovich Hannibal, 1696–1781 [Русско–китайские отношения 2006: 466]. Abram Hannibal was the founder of the Hannibal family.

From the beginning of 1705 until the end of his life, Russia became Sava Vladislavić's second homeland, although he did go off on missions lasting several years each, first to Venice and, later, to China. He developed his trading business throughout the vast country – in Nezhin and Vologda, Kazan and St. Petersburg, Moscow and Kiev, with Nezhin being the main center of his trading business in the period of 1705–1711. In addition to his commercial business, under the protection of the Russian emperor, Vladislavić increasingly began to assume an advisory role in important Russian state issues, primarily in foreign policy. His working energy and diplomatic skills, knowledge of European and Eastern languages, excellent knowledge of the situation in the Balkans and, especially, in the Ottoman capital secured for him increasingly close and influential access to the court of Peter the First. In 1708, the emperor gifted him a palace in Moscow, on Pokrovka, which previously belonged to the boyar V. F. Narishkin and had been damaged by fire. His role in the decisive battle of Poltava is not well known, but the fact is that during that year, he met the tsar twice. According to Jovan Dučić, he was “the chief of the commissariat (supply) of the entire operational Russian army” [Dučić 1969: 131]. He must have played a certain role, as in February 1710, the tsar granted him properties in Ukraine, in the Chernigov province, confiscated from two followers of Ivan Stepanovych Mazepa, making him into a feudal landlord, and also providing him with the title of court counselor, which enabled him to play an official role in the diplomatic service of Russia. As a court adviser on issues of the Orthodox East, Vladislavić played an active role in Russia's Prut Campaign against Turkey in 1711. It is thought that Vladislavić was the author of a document known as the *Project of the Plan for the War of 1711*. Dučić published the draft of this war plan in his book on Vladislavić [Dučić 1969: 163–164]. The plan envisioned preemptive attacks on Kuban and Crimea that would tie up the Ottoman forces in Anatolia and prevent the Crimean Tatars from striking at the back of the Russian army, whose main direction of action was to be toward Yassy and Walachia, that is, the Danube. At the same time, Peter the First's call to Slavic and Balkan Christians in general to support Russia in the war against Turkey was also supposed to play an important role. With his entire life's work, Vladislavić greatly strengthened and expanded the historical foundations of the centuries-long cooperation between the Serbian and the Russian peoples and between Russia and the Balkan Christians as a whole. He informed the Russian court, above all of Peter the First, regarding Serbian lands,

Serbian historical tradition and the Serbs' liberation aspirations. As an initiator of the idea of liberating the Balkan Christians through the joint actions of the Russian army and insurrectionist forces on the ground, he had a noticeable influence on the formation of Russia's Balkan policy in the early 18th century.

At the time of the Prut Campaign in 1711, Sava Vladislavić served as diplomatic adviser for Balkan questions at the headquarters of the commander of the Russian army, General Field Marshal Boris Petrovich Sheremetev. He organized the delivery of Peter the First's charter to the Serbs and other Balkan Christians and sent Colonel Mikhail Miloradovich with the task of moving the Serbs to rise against the Turks. Aware of that at the time of the Russian–Turkish peace talks after the unsuccessful war effort, the Turks demanded Vladislavić's extradition to Turkey. Even after the unsuccessful Prut Campaign, Vladislavić remained an adviser to the Russian court for Balkan issues, in addition to performing other delicate foreign policy missions under the emperor's orders, primarily in the domain of foreign policy towards Sweden and Turkey. Thus, for example, in 1712, Vladislavić held two long talks with the English ambassador to the Russian court, Charles Whitworth, regarding Russian–English relations and the international situation in Europe, while also exploring the possibility of an alliance between Russia and England against Sweden [Лешиловская 2006: 284].

The period of Sava Vladislavić's stay in Venice, between 1716 and 1722, was fruitful on many fronts, both because of the mission he performed on behalf of the Russian emperor and his private life. It is interesting that Vladislavić represented himself as "Count of Illyria" by lineage from his father, grandfather and great-grandfather, which reminds a bit of the tradition of typical 18th century adventurers. There are no testimonies to confirm these claims. On the other hand, in 1711, the Dubrovnik Senate issued him a diploma conferring on him the status of count, which was later confirmed by Peter the First [Лешиловская 2006: 284]. This title was also subsequently confirmed by the Venetian Senate on March 28, 1722, and by an edict of Empress Catherine the First, on February 24, 1725. Obviously, Vladislavić very persistently and skillfully developed not only his trading business but also advanced his career by constructing the Vladislavić family tree. In May 1716, Vladislavić left Russia and, during a meeting with Peter the First in Pyrmont (Germany), was granted permission to go to Italy. On June 13 of that year, he also received a special emperor's charter which confirmed, among other things, that "our court adviser and Illyrian Count Sava Vladislavich is going to Italy and other European cities for the purpose of some of our affairs" [Андросов 2004: 90]. Already during the next year, in 1717, Vladislavić was a part of the entourage of Peter the First during his visit to Paris. According to a French diplomat, he "meddles in all affairs," in the capacity of one of the main figures of the imperial court. Writing about this visit, Jovan Dučić says that the Russian ruler visited Sorbonne, where a discussion was held about the relations between Russia and the Vatican, and the possibilities for the reconciliation of the great Orthodox ruler with the Pope. The issue of "reconciliation and unification of the Christian churches" was also raised. Dučić thinks that the emperor's invitation to Vladislavić to come to

Paris was motivated, among other things, by his wish for Vladislavić's presence "at discussions such as the one at the Sorbonne." As proof that the Russian emperor appreciated the qualities of the famous Herzegovinian, Dučić points out the fact that after the talks at the Sorbonne, Vladislavić was given the task of "negotiating with Clement XI on the reconciliation of Russia with the Holy See and the conclusion of a Concordat on the Final Regulation of the Catholic Church in Russia" [Dučić 1969: 254]. The death of Pope Clement in 1721 interrupted the Concordat talks. During his stay in Venice, Vladislavić visited his native Dubrovnik in 1717 and tried to initiate the building of an Orthodox church there but, despite the support of Peter the First, did not succeed. During his stay in Venice, he was in fact unofficially performing the duty of the imperial charge d'affaires in the Republic of Saint Mark. He continued to engage in trade at each opportunity and purchased a ship in 1719 for the purposes of establishing a commercial line between St. Petersburg and Venice.

Peter the First found in Sava Vladislavić an excellent assistant in the construction and decoration of the new Russian capital of St. Petersburg. In addition to his aforementioned trading activities in Italian lands (one of his main partners was the English consul in Russia, Charles Goodfellow), on the emperor's orders Vladislavić purchased marble statues from Venice, paintings and other works and objects of art for the new Russian capital. Russian art historian S. O. Androsof published a large work in Russian and Italian, *Peter the Great and Italian sculptures*, in which the entire second chapter was dedicated to Sava's work on collecting artwork in Venice. In one place Androsof writes that Sava was born "in a prominent family of the Counts Vladislavić, who lost their wealth under Turkish rule" [Андросов 2004: 88]. Some Italian sources point to the emperor's brief visit to Venice in 1698 as something that certainly broadened Sava's cultural outlook. The arrival of Peter Ivanovich Beklemishev as a commercial agent, followed by that of Sava Vladislavić, opened the door to a broad purchase of sculptures and other art works in Venice for the needs of the new Russian capital. Although this activity was secondary in relation to the multitude of other tasks that Sava Vladislavić was undertaking, it nevertheless left a nice and visible trace in the history of the former Russian imperial capital. To him belongs the credit for a large number of marble statues and busts that decorate today's St. Petersburg and the gardens of its suburban residences. Especially prominent among them is the famous antique statue of Venus, which came to be known as Venus Tauride after the Tauride Palace in which it was located. It was found in the vicinity of Rome and after a long dispute was transferred to Russia in 1721 (today it is located in the Hermitage Museum). Vladislavić also had a wide circle of friends and associates in Venice, including Venetian merchant Domenico Gottoni, the Serb Antonije Vojnović, and the Russian consul in Venice Demetrius Botsis. In addition, Vladislavić had an old acquaintance with Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni, who was of Venetian extraction. Vladislavić married for the second time while he was there, to the thirty years-or-so younger Virginia Trevisan, daughter of senator Camillo Trevisan of a famous patrician family that had given Venice many doges. Available sources indicate that Vladislavić was married for the first time during his stay

in Constantinople, to a woman who was either Serbian or Greek, and that he had a son with her, Luka, who subsequently moved to Russia (he died in Moscow in 1737). Almost nothing is known about his first wife, except that he was expecting her arrival in Russia in 1714, for the purposes of which he had bought clothing for her. She, however, did not come. It is believed that the Ottoman authorities retained her as a hostage [Павленко 1994: 347]. Sava's quite elderly mother, Sima, also arrived together with him and his beautiful young wife to the Russian capital in 1722. Sava and Virginia Trevisan had three daughters – Ana, Katarina and Teodora, who all died in the first years of their lives. According to Russian sources, during his stay in China, in addition to the death of two of his daughters, his mother also died, as a nun, having taken the name of Theophania. It is believed that his wife Virginia returned to Venice with their daughter Teodora before his return to St. Petersburg, and that she became engaged to the patrician Zacharias Cannalo eight months after Sava's death. Jovan Dučić, however, writes that little Teodora died in Russia in 1730.

Sava Vladislavić was also a skillful man of letters. He translated Mavro Orbini's work, *The Realm of the Slavs*, from Italian to Russian and published it in 1722. The work attracted great interest from Emperor Peter the Great. Vladislavić also devoted to the tsar a handwritten translation of the Italian work *Counsel of Supreme Wisdom* or the *Collection of Solomon's Thoughts* [Лешиловская 2006: 285].

Among the multitude of Sava Vladislavić's political and diplomatic missions was that to China between 1725 and 1728, in the capacity of "Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary." He departed from St. Petersburg in December 1725 and returned in December 1728. The aim of the mission was to regulate trade relations with China and border issues between the two empires that remained unresolved after the Treaty of Nerchinsk of 1689. In 1727, Vladislavić concluded the Treaty of Bura and in 1728 the Treaty of Kyakhta with China, which established the Russo–Chinese border in the Mongolian region, mutual trade relations and the principle of eternal peace. He stayed in Peking for six months, from October 21, 1726, to April 23, 1727. In addition to audiences with the Chinese emperor, Vladislavić had a total of 34 conferences with Chinese ministers (Chabina, Tegut and Tulishen), at which 20 different peace treaty projects proposed by both parties were discussed. The Treaty of Kyakhta played an important role in the relations between Russia and China, and practically until the middle of the 19th century, until 1851, it was the legal basis for the international relations between the two states. Sava founded a settlement on the Kyakhta River, which he named Troitskosavsk, where he built a church dedicated to St. Sava of Serbia (it was destroyed by fire some time in the 19th century). A new church was erected on its foundations, but subsequently fell victim to the revolutionary turmoil [Владиславић 2011: 12–13]. During his stay in Peking, a permanent Russian spiritual mission in the Chinese capital, headed by Antony (Platkovsky), was established. For his success in this extraordinary diplomatic mission, Sava Vladislavić was promoted to the rank of secret adviser and received a castle in St. Petersburg, in Dvortsovaya Naberezhnaya along the Neva River. In 1730, Sava submitted an extensive report

under the title *Secret Information on the Power and Condition of the Chinese State* to the Russian Empress Anna Ivanovna. The work is a synthesis of his information, knowledge and impressions of China, and was first published (not in its entirety, it is thought), in the magazine *Русский вестник* (Russian Herald) for 1842, in two parts. The work contains much important data on the genealogy of the Chinese Empire, the strength of its most important cities and their population, the capital of Peking, the Chinese Emperor's Palace, the state of the fortresses in Chinese cities, the land forces and the navy, the power of the Mongols and others Chinese subjects living along the border of Russia. Also valuable were data on the status and types of roads that could be taken from Russia from China, about Chinese commerce and ways of trading, about Chinese diplomacy and relations with other countries, about the Chinese people, their marriage, burials, the Dalai Lama and the spiritual life of the Chinese in general. The title of the twenty-second chapter sufficiently speaks of the conclusions that Sava reached during his stay in China: *The view that without a valid reason one should not start a war with the Chinese Empire and its subjects without warning and without the greatest possible preparations* [Владиславић 2011: 283]. The Russian Academy of Sciences (Institute of Far Eastern Studies) and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia, together with the Federal Office of the Archives of the Russian Federation, published two large volumes of archival material on Russo–Chinese relations between 1725 and 1728, edited and redacted by Academician V. S. Myasnikova, mostly devoted to the activities of Sava Vladislavić.

Sava Vladislavić's great diplomatic mission in China represented the culmination of his diplomatic and state activity and the embodiment of diplomatic skill, tact, patience and perseverance in the conduct of negotiations with a great empire whose mentality, civilization and political culture were little known in Europe and Russia. During negotiations in Peking, in which the issue of demarcation was certainly the most delicate, Vladislavić proposed the reaching of an agreement on "other issues" – trade, correspondence, the spiritual mission and other similar questions, leaving aside the issue of demarcation for the time. The Chinese, however, did not accept such a proposal, insisting that it was first necessary to complete a major task such as the issue of settling the border, before switching to other, "smaller tasks" [Русско–китайские отношения 2006: 434]. Vladislavić had predicted that during the negotiations, the Chinese would "cut off" correspondence with the Russian court. For the duration of the mission in Beijing, neither the envoy nor the members of the mission could receive or send any letters. Another form of pressure against the Russian side on the part of the Chinese government was the retention of Russian commercial caravans on their way to Peking. Thus, for example, the caravan of S. M. Tretyakov, which arrived to the Chinese border in the summer of 1724, had to wait for three years before being allowed to proceed to Peking, only after the conclusion of the Treaty of Bura on August 20, 1727. Among others, Sava Vladislavić had the ability to skillfully maintain relationships with personalities of different profiles and to make good use of their services. During the negotiations in Peking, he was aided greatly by Lorenz Lange, a Swede in Russian

service, Abbot Ivan Krušala, a translator in his mission, and Domenico Parennin (Parenni), a French Jesuit missionary in Peking, who was also an adviser to the Chinese emperor. Lorenz Lange was a trade agent and diplomat, later the administrator of East Siberia, in the Russian service from 1712. During 1715–1737, he traveled to Peking many times with Russian trade caravans and had the position of secretary in Sava Vladislavić's mission. Lange enjoyed the great confidence of both Peter the First and Sava Vladislavić, was in friendly relations with the Jesuit Parennin and other missionaries in Peking, and enjoyed the respect of the Chinese authorities as well. The biography of Abbot Ivan Krušala, translator for the Latin language in Vladislavić's mission, was even more unusual. He was the son of Turkish functionary Hasan Vursarić, and during the Venetian–Turkish war, in 1687, he arrived with other children to the city of Perast (today's Montenegro), where he was adopted by Captain Matija Krušala. After conversion to the new faith, instead of the name Hasan, he received the name of Ivan. He studied in Rome at the College of the Neophytes and then at the Roman Catholic Theological Faculty of the University of Padua. In 1708 or 1709 he became a Roman Catholic priest in Perast, subsequently blossoming into a poet, tireless traveler and diplomat. In Serbian culture, he became famous for his epic poem *Пераски љуџи бој* /*The Fierce Battle of Perast*/, on the battle against the Turks near Perast in 1654. Krušala was originally from a Serbian family that converted to Islam and was adopted by another Serb, a Catholic from the Bay of Kotor. The fact that he was one of the pioneers of Serbian epic heroic poetry and that he was very well versed in it, influenced Sava Vladislavić to invite him into the Russian service. There is a belief that Krušala was the creator of some Serbian folk songs about Peter the First and Sava Vladislavić [Русско–китайские отношения 2006: 444]. Vladislavić met Krušala in Venice in August 1717, where he was teaching 27 Russian sailors Italian. Vladislavić invited him into the Russian service and already on September 19, 1717, Krušala reported to the court of Peter the First in Gdansk. By October he was already in St. Petersburg, where he was admitted to the Collegium of Foreign Affairs as a translator for Latin and Italian. In Peking, in addition to translating work, upon orders from Vladislavić he maintained contact with Jesuit missionaries. The map of his travel from Russia to China is now kept in the museum in Perast, where he died on December 28, 1735. French Jesuit missionary in Peking, Domenico Parennin (Pareni), was among those with whom Krušala maintained ties. Parennin arrived to Peking in 1698, became an adviser to the Chinese emperor, and a translator during the reception of missions from Russia and Portugal. He translated from Russian and Manchu into Latin correspondence between Russia and China, and maintained friendly relations with Lorenz Lange and Vladislavić, to whom he extended secret support during the negotiations in Peking. He was a corresponding member of the Paris Academy of Sciences. These selected details from Vladislavić's circle illustrate his broad outlook and exceptional abilities in establishing and fostering social connections.

Count Sava Vladislavić obviously did not have much time for private and family life. After returning from China, he lived a lonely life, sold a large portion

of his property before his death, and bequeathed the rest to his nephew, Mojsije Vladislavić. He died on June 17, 1738, at a Polish estate near St. Petersburg, and was buried in the Church of the Annunciation of Alexander Nevsky Monastery in St. Petersburg, sharing his crypt with his mother Sima (nun Theophania) and daughter Katarina. This is also the resting place of the last Serbian patriarch (before the abolition of the Patriarchate of Peć on the part of the Turks), Vasilije Jovanović Brkić, Metropolitan of Montenegro Vasilije Petrović and General Mikhail Miloradovich. Although he was a successful man in the great world, Count Sava Vladislavić did not forget his people. He gathered and supported the Serbs in Constantinople, in Russia and in Venice, employing them whenever he could in the Russian service, especially the Serbs from coastal towns that were adept at sea and naval affairs. He was responsible for the arrival of Maxim Suvorov to Sremski Karlovci in 1725 and the establishment of the school in 1726, as well as the arrival of Emmanuel Kozachinsky. Vladislavić gifted many Serbian churches and monasteries in Herzegovina, the Bay of Kotor and other Serbian lands with valuable books and church objects. His great trading, diplomatic, cultural and writing activity remains a major topic for Russian research, which has studied him in much greater detail, and especially for Serbian historical sciences.

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ANNEXES



Annex 1. Count Sava Vladislavić monument in Sremski Karlovci, Serbia
(photo by: Đorđe Lazić Čapša)



Annex 2. Count Sava Vladislavić monument, bronze, height 107 cm (2008)
Author: an academic sculptor Đorđe Lazić Čapša

WISDOM IN A CONTEXT: PROVERBS AND PHILOSOPHY

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SUMMARY: Folk wisdom contains a worldview and a life orientation. The meaning of proverbs is relational in character (being realized in situational relations, in a living context). Proverbs refer not so much to moral views as to moral practice, not to ethical theories and ethics of belief, but ethics of concrete responsibility, involving concrete situational ethics. Proverbs put issues relating to human morality in a socially important order and as such represent an instrument of moral orientation and unforced social regulation. Metaphorology is offered as an interpretation model for paremiology. The metaphor demands our cooperation, that is, the realization of the reference. Instead of what is not (or cannot be) named, the metaphor offers something else – an image, symbol, sign, which is then semantically realized in a meaningful participation in which reasonable possibilities are offered and room is left for personal interpretation, understanding and stance-taking. For proverbs, the manner in which their meaning is realized is also very important and very typical. A proverb only realizes its meaning through contextualisation. The true meaning of a proverb is realized in existential situations. A proverb does not prove but demonstrates, as it carries experiential evidence.

KEY WORDS: proverbs, wisdom, philosophy, ethics, metaphor, concept

1.

In addition to the usual reasons for the thematization of folk wisdom, either from the many motives of science or from the ubiquitous spirit of tradition, there are special reasons for this topic in our time. The crisis of identity as a characteristic of our time encourages the need to see constants in the folk tradition as a defense against fragmentation, construction and manipulation in the field of consciousness of contemporary man and society. Also, today it is necessary to redefine enlightenment-oriented and positivistically understood “rational” knowledge; namely, *epistemic status* should be recognized not only through statements of science (i.e., scientific rationality), but also through expressions of religious experience, artistic experience and, indeed, expressions

of the experience of the “national spirit” (Volksgeist) or “national genius.” Folk wisdom (folk songs, stories, proverbs and riddles) certainly contain a worldview and a life orientation. As to whether implied or demanded philosophical thought is derived and explained in folk wisdom – that is a claim that is more easily challenged than justified.

Vuk Karadžić (1787–1864) announced the publication of his compilation of Serbian folk proverbs with the sentence: “Not only do folk proverbs contain too much wisdom and knowledge for human life in this world, they also show folk rationality and character, and many also challenge folk customs.”¹ Vuk’s dedication of this book to Petar II Petrović Njegoš (1813–1851), in gratitude for his help in its creation, has a deeper meaning: Njegoš is an example of a (folk) gnomological poet, and Vuk’s above-mentioned sentence could apply to quite a few of his verses [Suvajdžić 2014: 543–552; Kordić 2014: 211–227]. Njegoš, moreover, increased the philosophical potential of such gnomonic statements. In his announcement of the second edition of proverbs, Vuk pointed out that the proverbs contained “folk philosophy”: “In this book, readers will find an example of our pure folk language, folk philosophy or science, and the knowledge of life in this world and, from many of the proverbs and stories added on to them, they will also come to know the different customs of our people.” [Karadžić SD IX 1965: 357]. Vuk could find support for this view in the book of proverbs put together by Jovan Muškatirović (1743–1809), in which the reader is told: “There is no honor, wisdom or divine or human science that proverbs and sayings would not greatly benefit, just as they provide us with short, clever advice regarding what to do and what to guard against; on top of all that, they amuse the human race and dissipate the fogs of worry. And thus do they deserve to be referred to as condensed divine-human pieces of wisdom; and the more of them a man knows, the more capable he is in active life... The best passages of the love of knowledge, or philosophy have not been systematized to this day, and so the best of it can be found distilled in proverbs, sayings, fables or stories.” [Muškatirović 2011: 15].

When Miloš Milovanović (1850–1924) published his *Philosophy among the Serbs* (1904), he used the occasion to point out that “our folk philosophy is in no way lacking in relation to what is truly philosophical in the professional, practical philosophy in the West”, just as “there is no scientific or philosophical truth in the modern philosophical world, which, in principle, could not be found in our own folk philosophy” [Milovanović 2003: 18, 23, 83, 96]. This gallant overattribution of philosophicalness to folk wisdom was subsequently (1970) noticeably mitigated by Andrija Stojković (1924–2007), who wrote that the Serbian people maintained its individuality during the Middle Ages because it had its own *thought*, “although it did not reach the level and character of

¹ Announcements Concerning Serbian Folk Proverbs (1833), in: [Karadžić SD IX 1965: 355]. – Vuk published two editions: *Serbian Folk Proverbs and Various Others, Such as Words that Have Become Customary*. Published by Vuk Stef. Karadžić, doctor of philosophy and member of various learned societies. In Cetinje. In the National Press. 1836. *Serbian Folk Proverbs and Various Others, Such as Words that Have Become Customary*. Published by Vuk Stef. Karadžić. In Vienna, by the printing press of the Armenian Monastery in 1849.

school philosophy and left us a legacy of a lack of capacity for pure theory and an orientation towards practical life philosophy” [Stojković 1970: 101].

Between Milovanović and Stojković, Ksenija Atanasijević (1894–1981) devoted special attention to the philosophical content of folk wisdom, publishing about ten articles from 1936 to 1940, in which she showed that, in addition to its indisputable artistic (and literary) values, folk wisdom is also characterized by a theoretical and practical understanding of the world and of life, in an attempt to correct shortcomings in the evaluation of folk wisdom due to a lack of philosophical approach: “The inadequate study of folk wisdom, relative to the wisdom hidden in it, seems strange... Certainly, the only cause of this lies in the lack of philosophical thinking and culture among the researchers.” [Atanasijević 2006a: 107]. In her work “Theoretical Philosophizing in Our Folk Wisdom” (1936) Ksenija Atanasijević presented the basic positions of the folk view of the world and life: there is nothing new, all that is human is relative and transient, faith in God and God’s judgment, suspicion of human justice and virtue, belief in destiny. She concluded: The “theoretical conceptions” of our folk wisdom “constitute an organically imposing whole, which testifies to the primal metaphysical instinct of our man” [Atanasijević 2006a: 107]. In her work “The Practical Philosophy of Our Folk Wisdom” (1937), Ksenija Atanasijević found in folk wisdom aesthetic views and retrospection, and especially moral views, teachings and norms [Atanasijević 2006a: 131] that “have a deep root in the metaphysical perceptions” of our people [Atanasijević 2006b: 148]. In general, folk wisdom contains a rich thinking experience, “it is thoroughly soaked in an empirically hardened life’s wisdom” [Atanasijević 2006b: 107]. It is not a “product of idle composition of dry logical concepts”, but was created “from the deep need of a people that had undergone countless trials” [Atanasijević 2006a: 131], “from an immediate need for a single solid orientation” [Atanasijević 2006b: 116]. The moral orientation given to us by the life experience of Serbian folk wisdom is the orientation around the Kosovo Vidovdan [Atanasijević 2006c: 149], it derives from the cult of Vidovdan as the supreme value [Atanasijević 2006c: 151]. Ksenija Atanasijević formulated these attitudes in a historical context, which was the result of the rise of Serbia crowned by the Balkan Wars of 1912–1913, and the Pyrrhic victory in the Great War of 1914–1918, in the context of the nationally and politically complex state creation of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, when it was necessary for national unity to acquire a conceptual content that was as concrete, sublime and rooted in history as possible. There existed a still vivid memory of the Young Bosnians who were inspired by the cult of Kosovo and the ethos of Vidovdan, who saw themselves in their self-sacrificial feat as the avengers of Kosovo². All this had already found expression, for example, in young Miloš Djurić’s (1892–1967) exalted essay, *The Ethics of Vidovdan*, from 1914 [Đurić 1914].

Ksenija Atanasijević concluded that most proverbs in Vuk’s collection “have philosophical or ethical content” [Atanasijević 2006d: 152]. We know, however, that proverbs oppose universalization and abstraction, and, especially

² For more on this, see: [Šijaković 2015].

– that they do not offer a consistent view of the world and life, nor a theory (not even an implicit one), although we can theorize about them (as we can about everything else). Proverbs have no literal meaning, nor do the words used in them have literal and finalized meaning, they are not used as defined terms. The meaning of proverbs is usually only in the process of being realized. As a result, the problem of obvious inconsistency of meaning or even mutual exclusiveness between proverbs about the same thing does not actually exist. This is because we are talking about different levels and contexts in which meaning is realized. It is better to say that the meaning of proverbs has a *relational* character (meaning is realized in situational relations, in a living context), than to say that proverbs have a *relative*, i.e., not a strict meaning. When it comes to the relativity of moral attitudes in proverbs, it is important to understand that proverbs refer not so much to moral perceptions as to moral practice, and especially not to ethical theories and some sort of ethics of conviction, but to the ethics of concrete responsibility. Proverbs do not require an automatism in the validity of moral norms and recommendations, but rather imply a concrete situational ethic. One should not seek some sort of general theory of morality or normative ethics in proverbs. But understood even as an implicit moralism, proverbs bring things of human morality into a socially important order and thus represent an instrument of moral orientation and non-forced regulation of society.

In principle, folk wisdom can implicitly or explicitly contain philosophical thought – it is not illegitimate to claim that, at least because of the fact that philosophy is characterized by a great diversity of reflective and expressive forms (ranging from poetic expression to symbolic logic). Philosophy gives orientation in the world of life, which is not necessarily tied to any specific discourse or argumentation (compare, for example, Pascal, Kierkegaard, Nietzsche). The earliest literary forms of philosophy are closely related to linguistic skill that is not eminently philosophical: hymnicity is inherent, for example, to Anaxagoras, Parmenides wrote verses of edifying poems, Heraclitus conceived the gnomic aphorism and riddle, Plato opted for philosophizing in the form of literary dialogue. Philosophy is not necessarily communicated in concepts or in tracts; as a literary genre for the communication of philosophy, Epicurus, Seneca and Voltaire used the epistle, i.e., the letter, Augustine and Descartes used autobiography, Anselm prayer (for the early Christian ascetic fathers, asceticism was a philosophy), Lichtenberg, Nietzsche and Wittgenstein used the aphorism, while Montaigne chose the essay and Bayle the dictionary³. On the other hand, it is legitimate from the level of a developed philosophical

³ On the various literary forms of representation of philosophy, see the proceedings: Gottfried Gabriel, Christiane Schildknecht, Hg., *Literarische Formen der Philosophie*, Stuttgart: Metzler 1990; Herbert Grabes, ed., *Literature and Philosophy*, Yearbook of Research in English and American Literature, vol. 13, Tübingen: Narr 1997; Reinhard Schulz, Hg., *Philosophie in literarischen und ästhetischen Gestalten*, Oldenburg: BIS-Verlag 2005; Catrin Misselhorn, Schamma Schahadat, Irina Wutsdorff, Hg., *Erkenntnis und Darstellung: Formen der Philosophie und der Literatur*, Paderborn: mentis 2011; *Argument und literarische Form in antiker Philosophie*, Akten des 3. Kongresses der Gesellschaft für antike Philosophie 2010, hg. v. Michael Erler und Jan Erik Hesler unter Mitarbeit von Benedikt Blumenfelder, Berlin/Boston: de Gruyter 2013.

culture to interpret folk wisdom in a way relevant to philosophical thinking. But the fruitfulness of such an interpretation depends largely on the extent to which the culture in which such an interpretation occurs is philosophically relevant.

2.

It is said that proverbs are “the most essential expression of the national spirit” [Pantić 1965: 573]. Proverbs preserve the ancient phraseological inventory of the language, and thus provocatively pose the problem of the relation between language and reality. The language of proverbs points to an ontological plan: phraseology and metaphors in proverbs point to the ancient layers of language and thought, to the religious and magical function of language, to the identity of words and things [Šijaković 2012: 22–29]. From the point of view of linguistic formulation, proverbs give a special and expressive lingual picture of the world and of life [Pejanović 2014]. Authentic proverbs “represent sublimated folk experience molded into a concise and graphic metaphor” [Pantić 1965: 573]. Because of this, the metaphor is offered as a way of revealing the picture of the world contained in proverbs, both in principle as a phenomenon and as a concrete cognitive resource in a given proverb. Therefore, metaphorology can be offered as an interpretive model for paremiology.

Today, cognitive linguistics recognizes the metaphor not only as linguistic expression, a stylistic means, but also as a (unconscious and spontaneous) cognitive mechanism that allows one (usually abstract) notion to be understood with the help of another (usually concrete) notion. It is from there that the term “conceptual metaphor” derives its meaning⁴. Cognitive metaphor is a way of perceiving reality that lies in the basic ability of language to denote objects of the most diverse kind and thus transmit information about them [Popović 2008]. The existence of a firm alliance and meaningful exchange and interweaving between metaphor and concept has long been known in the practice of philosophical thinking. Plato’s metaphors and metaphysics of light (Sun and Good) are the best and most influential example. The concept and the metaphor stand in a productive relationship of mutual complementarity. Leaving this complex problem of the relation between metaphor and the notion aside, I shall turn to some insights of philosophical metaphorology⁵.

⁴ On that, before all see: George Lakoff, Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press 1980; G. Lakoff, M. Johnson, *Philosophy in the Flesh: The Embodied Mind and Its Challenge to Western Thought*, New York: Basic Books 1999; from the latter book, chapters 3, 4 and 5 (pp. 16–73) were translated into Serbian in the proceedings *Jezik i saznanje: Hresťotomaiija iz kožniiivne linđvisiijike /Language and Cognition: A Chrestomathy from Cognitive Linguistics/*, edited by Katarina Rasulić and Duška Klikovac, Belgrade: Faculty of Philology 2014, 241–272; Утеловљени ум /Embodied Mind/, 273–305; О појмовној метафори /On the conceptual metaphor/. Comp. also: Duška Klikovac, *Metafore u mišljenju i jeziku /Metaphors in Thought and Language/*, Belgrade: XX century, Čigoja 2004; D. Klikovac, Шта је то метафора?, *Књижевност и језик /What is a Metaphor?, Literature and Language/* LV 1–2 (2008) 57–76.

⁵ In the following, I rely on some formulations about the nature of metaphors from my article “Истина и метафора: Превођење метафорике у метафизику као кључ за тумачење

The metaphor has no naming function but an epistemic-semantic proviso that is open to conceptual translation. The metaphor requires our cooperation, namely the *implementation of the reference*. The metaphor puts something else in the place of what is not (or cannot be) named – an image, a symbol, a sign, which is then semantically realized in a comprehensible complicity in which we are offered possibilities of meaning, and where space is left for the personal experiential-cognitive stance. And for proverbs themselves, it is also very important how their meaning is realized. Although the proverb does not demand but recommends and counsels, it contains a *request for validity*. To what extent is this request justified and how? Namely: *how is the meaning of the proverb realized?* In the proverb, the basic or literal meaning is *expanded*, so the proverb has a *transferred meaning* (μετα-φορά)⁶. The individual case and the concrete experience in the proverb are generalized, but not to the extent of abstraction (in which the specific experience disappears), because the proverb realizes its meaning only through contextualization. The true meaning of the proverb is realized in existential situations, just as counsel, both when we seek it and when we receive it, is evaluated and realized according to the need of a concrete existential situation. (This explains the practical inapplicability and uselessness of various advisory and wisdom-disseminating handbooks.) As a condensation of experience, the proverb is understood from experience. The metaphors contained in proverbs are not only a testimony of their origin, a trace that leads to a source, but an epistemic-semantic potential that leads to the realization of the meaning of the proverb that is concretized each time.

The proverb is a “claim not a statement,” “a judgment about a particular situation, not a description of it” [Milošević 1985: 585; Milošević Djordjević 2000]. Proverbs are apodictic, and since they are claims, are subject to verification regarding whether they are true or false. Proverbs are true (as if they were tautologies), but how? Not in their literalness, but in the meaning that is being realized. The literary form of the proverb corresponds to this. While argumentation is an evidential process, a sequence of views and conclusions that is expressed in an appropriate literary form, for example, dialogue or discussion, *the proverb does not prove – rather, it shows* (which we also have in Heraclitus), because it contains an experiential record. That is why the proverb is characterized by a desubjectivization of the author⁷, not for the sake of achieving an impression of objectivity but of obviousness. Hence, the primal source of the proverb is supposedly located “in the depths of the people’s soul,” which is a description that already appeared with Aristotle and was subsequently embraced by Rousseau and Herder [Jolles 1968].

Његошевог мишљења“, *Његошев зборник Мајнице српске* 2 /“Truth and metaphor: the translation of metaphors into metaphysics as the key to interpreting Njegoš’s thought,” *Matica Srpska Proceedings on Njegoš 2/* (2014) 321–332 = *Историја српске филозофије: Прилози истраживању /History of Serbian Philosophy: Contributions to the Research/*, Ed. I. Deretić, v. III, Belgrade: Evro-Djuni 2014, 295–309.

⁶ Which is something that Aristotle himself pointed out (*Rhet.* III 11. 14. 1413a17): καὶ αἱ παροιμίαι μεταφοραὶ ἀπ’ εἶδους ἐπ’ εἶδος εἰσὶν.

⁷ Vuk describes it with the words “what he said,” “has a word,” “what the old ones say,” “what the old women say” (*Српске народне њословице /Serbian Folk Proverbs/*, Belgrade 1965, 17).

Within metaphors are deposited the facts of a culture that are able to activate the contexts of knowledge and representation necessary for the actual realization of that culture. These contexts are not static, forever given, but are dynamic, and the metaphors within them function as modes of action and understanding, as a form of behavior and knowledge. The proverb can be defined as a “concise, heritable formulation of experience, a pithily expressed observation accepted in tradition” as “an inventively formulated conclusion from life experience, accepted in tradition” [Milošević 1985: 584]. In addition, the stylistic reasons of this sublimation and brachyology are secondary: “The precipitation of experience is accompanied by its condensation and crystallization in forms suitable for transfer.” [Jovanović I 2006]. Statements that convey practical life wisdom should indeed be brachyological; thus, wisdom is both the content of proverbial expression and the linguistic skill necessary to give these statements an adequate form.

Proverbs document our ability to build on the basis of experience the categories by which we orient ourselves in reality. Hence, the “image of reality” can be derived from proverbs as a result of the conceptualization of the experience of reality, whereby the meaning of this conceptualization is always realized in concrete terms. The proverb is a formula for the realization of meaning. Realizing the meaning of proverbs is the task of everyone who existentially experiences them. Although it is realized in a concrete situation, the meaning of the proverb refers to something abstract. In proverbs, the abstract and the more distant from experience is represented with the aid of what is concrete and nearer to experience, which is at the same time the character of the metaphor, just as metaphoricality is a frequent feature of proverbs.

To orientate himself in the world of life, man creates images of the world, i.e., metaphors, in the form of irreducible thought forms, which cannot be reduced to a concept. They have a non-conceptual own meaning, and this field of the non-conceptual expands the field of the conceptual [Blumenberg 2013]. In these metaphors (such as light, path, circle), man’s tendencies and expectations, longings and disappointments, actions and sufferings are reflected. Proverbs also often describe those situations and conditions that cannot be conceptually defined, which resist conceptual thinking. Metaphors make the inexpressible expressible, unlike proverbs, which often have a story that is told behind them. But proverbs are mostly distanced from their narrative background, even when a story is needed to explain why an experience is formulated in such a way that it results in a proverb. Both metaphors and proverbs point to what transcends conceptuality and provability, thus extending the field of meaning. Proverbs can stimulate us to establish meaningful connections between seemingly unconnected things, so that even absurdity and paradox receive “logical” resolutions within them.

3.

The clarity with which the proverb tells a truth, regardless of stylistic uniqueness, is in contrast with the impossibility of defining proverbs singularly,

in terms of capacity for truthfulness, in terms of stylistic formulation, in terms of the situation in which their meaning is realized, and even in terms of their fall into oblivion and resurfacing in memory.

It is difficult to gather proverbs, Vuk explains, “because a man needs to wait until somebody says it,” “one must watch and wait until one is spoken in conversation”⁸. Proverbs are unnecessary – except when they are necessary! The need for a proverb is a living situational need. In such a case, the proverb can become a cognitive and emotional resolution of this need, an exit from necessity. Because of such situations we need friendship. Proverbs are like friends: we do not choose them but, rather, life situations provide them to us; they are not ideal, but at least in some situations and to some extent we can rely on them; absolute sacrifice and devotion should not be demanded or expected from friends, just as no proverb should be accepted with absolute validity. From our own comfortable position we often overlook the fact that we ourselves need to provide friends and proverbs with the motive and strength of their validity.

Proverbs convey “practical life wisdom,” they contain wisdom gained through life experience. Often this life experience is relevant to the community, and not the matter of an individual’s insight. Thus, proverbs can be considered as a corrective of individual and a regulator of social behavior, as a guide in accordance with the purposes of the community. Withal, basic wisdom is the answer to the question of how to live, what is the right life. Then we turn to proverbs when the life of the individual and the community is in the midst of a crisis, namely, the proverb has something to tell us. And that is the situation in which the meaning of the proverb is realized, otherwise we would experience it as entertainment, in the way that we perceive riddles. In a certain way, the proverb is related to the riddle as myth is to the fairy tale: a proverb can use the form of a riddle, just as myth can have fairytale elements. However, myth is essentially viewed as a sacred and absolutely true story, while the fairy tale is perceived as a fun fantasy, just as the proverb has the non-compulsory power of truthful validity, while the riddle is ingenuity that entertains us. (Of course, the myth and the fairy tale and the riddle have a deep meaning and a wide range of meanings, but that is not the topic here.) Admittedly, the truth given by the proverb can sometimes be trivial, but strikingly and interestingly formulated, just as it can also be life-important, but still unobtrusive and non-binding.

But can proverbs really teach us anything? Or: Does the counsel/order “be smart” have an effect? Why do we ignore the wisdom and counsel of proverbs? It is as if proverbs need some sort of stamp of approval, for example, on the part of philosophy, that they are cognitively fruitful and vitally important. It would be good, but it is not so, if proverbs were performance statements, whose pronouncement is an action⁹. Unfortunately, proverbs are often regarded as “hindsight,” describing a situation after the fact. Even then they are useful as

⁸ For the first quote, see *Вукова ђређушка /Vuk's Correspondence/*, b. I, Belgrade 1907, 146 (Letter to Kopitar from April 1815), and for the second, *Српске народне ђословице /Serbian National proverbs/*, Belgrade 1965, 18 (Preface to the edition from 1836).

⁹ Then we could interpret the proverbs from the standpoint of the speech acts theory (speech acts), in the Austin sense: [Austin 1962/1994].

a linguistic and meaningful resolution of what has happened and its mental depositing. We can continue with the questions. Can *magistra vitae*, history, teach us anything? What about philosophy? To what end, after all, human reason after Auschwitz and Jasenovac? The question of the legitimacy of human intelligence has become a constant test question. The modern optimism of the enlightenment mind and scientific rationality have led us to this epistemological pessimism. We were hoping to find out everything, but we forgot what we should do. We see that a lot of things have been learned, but we do not see what all is acceptable. It would be good if we could seriously face one proverb, saying, aphorism, authored by Heraclitus (fr. 40): “lot of knowledge does not bring wisdom” (πολυμαθίη νόον οὐ διδάσκει). Today’s man possesses an infinite amount of information. Today’s education functionalizes human knowledge for the purpose of profit. If all the proverbs could teach us only one thing, that wisdom had once existed in addition to greatness of knowledge and informedness, and if proverbs could motivate us to devote a bit of attention to wisdom, it would be quite enough from them for starters, and quite enough for me to end this exposition.

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FROM (NEO)CLASSICAL TO POSTMODERN GEOPOLITICAL POSTULATES

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SUMMARY: The establishment of a unipolar order threatened geopolitics with a “final destruction”. Globalists thought that economic factors would have a crucial role in world affairs and that geopolitical rivalries would be replaced by geo-economic ones. However, reality confuted such predictions. The reaffirmation of geopolitics was already practically demonstrated in the case of the disintegration of Yugoslavia; soon it became clear that the process of world recomposition has a geopolitical basis. However, it is not possible to respond to postmodern challenges with (neo)classical geopolitics. It is therefore necessary for the traditional postulates of geopolitics to be placed in a new context and to view it in accordance with changed relations and expected trends. This means that modern geopolitics needs to encompass an expanded field of study, become more dispersed, use new methods, change its status of a scientific discipline and become a true science, with a more pronounced applicative value. Such geopolitics faces the following task: firstly, to rebut geonihilistic approaches and then to devote itself to a revaluation of earlier laws, instruments and conceptual postulates. Epochal and fundamental global changes require that attention must be paid to several key phenomena: to a new hierarchy of geopolitical actors, among which the influence of the United States is weakening, and China’s power is growing; to a recovered Russia and the Islamic factor; to the change of the former “axiom” of thalassocratic-tellurocratic antagonism, caused by the increasingly obvious shaping of an integral geopolitical identity and power; to the non-functionality of the traditional, Eurasian, and the establishment of a new, global Heartland–Rimland model; to the essence of the changes to the world order, which is gaining qualities of multipolarism in neobipolarism.

KEY WORDS: reaffirmation of geopolitics, hierarchical shift of world powers, integral geopolitical power, global Heartland–Rimland model, multipolar neobipolarism

GEOPOLITICS BETWEEN NEGATION AND TRIVIALIZATION

The practice of geopolitics has always existed, without interruption, from the dawn of history. However, in the scientific sense and under that name, it

has been established and affirmed for just over a century. Its development has been turbulent, full of peaks and valleys, confirmation and denial, glorification and doubt. The traditional sciences did not welcome it with open arms. The terminological-categorical, cognitive-methodological, theoretical-conceptual, systemic-structural and innovative-strategic articulation of the “geographization of the political” was seen as an ephemeral, but nevertheless dangerous deviation, to be dealt with harshly. And this “evil fate” has followed geopolitics to the present, dealing it blows and impeding its formal social and scientific-educational positioning – without, however, succeeding in stopping its *raison d’être*, rise and branching out into (sub)disciplines. Geopolitics did indeed arise in the wings of geography, an old, proven, fundamental and national science, but it owes its name to a professor of law, its place in international relations was secured by political scientists, its geostrategic usefulness was underlined by military theorists and practitioners, and it has been, is, and shall be more or less successfully practiced by historians, philosophers, economists, sociologists, theologians, etc. At first glance paradoxically, circles within these disciplines have also been the source of the strongest denigrations and pejorative qualifications of geopolitics. However, its vigorous trans-disciplinary nature – before all geographic-political and possibilistic – helped geopolitics to survive even its German geo-deterministic deviations, which led to the Nazi vulgar geographistic ideologization and disgrace. Having, thus, been marginalized, anathematized and brought to the brink of extinction, geopolitics had to recover and return from exile painstakingly, step-by-step, in the period after World War II, striving to catch step with the undoubtedly practical geopolitical nature of bipolarism.

Although the Cold War has been traditionally framed as primarily a confrontation between a democratic-capitalist and an authoritarian-collectivist system, we were, in fact, dealing with a “natural antagonism” between two geocivilizational, geopolitical, geostrategic and geoeconomic antipodes. Confirmation of the ephemerality of the ideological dimension of the competition between the two superpowers – the USA as an embodiment of “sea power” and the USSR as the personification of “land power” (including their vassals-allies gathered around the same “principles”) – lies in the fact that there was no “end of history” following the fall of the Berlin Wall. The West did not fail to “cash in” on the temporary weakness, extendedness and (Kutuzovian?) retreat of its eastern rival (Russia) – through territorial expansion, capture of key positions, encirclement and containment of its adversary, and did not hide its intention to maximally weaken, fragment and destroy it. At the same time, while synergistically intensifying its hybrid warfare and, especially, using media-(pseudo) scientific-cyber instruments of “soft power” in order to anesthetize the still undefeated “barbarians” on the other side of the limes, the West launched the thesis that geopolitics would inevitably cede its primacy to geoeconomics. It was yet another, sly, typical postmodern blow against geopolitics.

However, instead of becoming a victim of the process of globalization and the ideology of globalism, geopolitics enjoyed an increasingly visible renaissance as the transitional unipolar era progressed. Its scientific, educa-

tional and applicational impulse was especially strong in countries and regions where geopolitical thinking and action are a matter of survival, i.e., those targeted by the dominant, American-led West as “disobedient,” “outlaw,” “dangerous viruses,” “axes of evil,” “threats to its interests,” etc. The reanimation of geopolitics was, logically, strongest in post-Soviet Russia, and that was, in fact, a precondition of its recovery and return to superpower status and the center of anti-Atlantistic, Eurasian connectivity. Nevertheless, the first region where the unipolar reshaping of the world and the globalist power of the Cold War victor were tested was the Balkans, the synonym for geopolitics, with the exemplary victim being the Yugoslav state and its Serbian pivot.

Among the (post)Yugoslav actors, the Croats were the geopolitical avant-garde, although the Albanians’ talent for practical geopolitics also proved to be highly effective. On the other hand, even though “there is no larger people than ours between Vienna and Constantinople” [Cvijić 1987: 66], long-term neglect of geopolitics led the Serbs and the Serbian lands to huge losses and the very brink of survival at the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century. The Serbs’ tardy, cautious and partial embrace of geopolitics during the 1990s was reactive and more a result of instinct for self-preservation than a thought-out scientific-national strategy. Rapidly, the “pendulum” of the Serbs’ relationship with geopolitics swung toward uncritical acceptance, promotion and glorification. Moreover, a multitude of quasi-geopoliticians and geopolitical “analysts,” who, “untaught, have already become teachers of others” [Velimirović 1999: 7] took geopolitics to its opposite extreme – inflation, es-tradization, banalization and trivialization. As much as this was an echo of similar deviations in other parts of the world, it also represented a state of utilitarian, politicized alternation between geo-determinism and geo-nihilism in essentially understanding the place and significance of space in geopolitics.

THE UNSUSTAINABILITY OF GEO-NIHILISM

Physical-geographical determinism (geo-determinism) is the golden thread that extends from proto-geopolitical insights to neoclassical and post-modern geopolitics. Excepting the deviations of the German school, which reached its culmination during the time of Haushofer and Nazism, the science of geography and geopolitics has usually resisted the attempts of geo-determinism to dominate the theoretical discourse. Moreover, such an approach was “pacified” by the French geographic possibilism (geo-possibilism) of P. Vidal de La Blache and his followers, which not only contributed to the affirmation of social geography, but also subsequently helped geopolitics to avoid the pitfalls of ordinary ideological-expansionist doctrine. Even when geopolitics was (seemingly) marginalized after World War II, the role and value of space grew, even though its understanding was less and less deterministic. The Cold War had a recognizable territorial projection – from the global to the regional level. Both the blocs sought spatial expansion. In that sense, the Warsaw Pact was much less aggressive, additionally incorporating only the GDR in 1956. On the other side, after its formation in 1949, during the time of bipolarism, NATO

had three cycles of expansion, and three more in the post-bipolar period, in striving to extend the process. With two transoceanic “bridgeheads” west and east of Eurasia, through “pactomania” and the instrumentalization of the non-aligned, the US managed to establish spatial control of Mackinder’s World Island.

Even though McLuhan, while announcing that the information revolution would transform the planet into a “global village,” promoted the idea of the “end of geography” at the height of the Cold War, space has remained at the center of attention in the postmodern era as well. However, the spatial essence of the world’s transformation has been negated in a loudly propagandistic manner. Even when trying to understand intensive processes of a geopolitical character that are, by their nature, spatialized, more emphasis was placed on other dimensions – resource-related, energy-related, communicational, economic-financial, social, demographical, cultural-civilizational, etc. The cleansing of geopolitics of the curse of geo-determinism threatened to move it away from the “right measure” of the geographical – geo-possibilism. At the same time, deviant geo-economism gained steam, as it absolutized the economic aspects of “everything in existence,” including spatial organization from local communes to the planetary level, unjustifiably marginalizing the more moderate and more practical scientific discipline of economic geography. Another anti-spatial view – techno-determinism – also joined the “dead heat” with geo-economism. Special emphasis was placed on the role of information systems and global networks – from radio and television and the Internet, to the endless cryptomethods of electronically shaping the collective consciousness – on the basis of which it was suggested that spatial distances had been rendered meaningless, that space had been “condensed” and overcome by speed, i.e., that “space had been annulled with the help of time” [Harvi 1994: 80], and that the ageographicalness and, consequently, ageopoliticalness (post-geopoliticalness) of the world was inevitable.

The reality was, however, different: “It is paradoxical that the increasing theoretical relativization of the role of territory is accompanied by an increasing struggle – and even wars – for territory” [Ocić 2003: 22]. With the advance of the postmodern era and the relativization of America’s unipolar hegemony, the role of space in global affairs began to be explicitly propagated. While space had never ceased to be important but was, rather, transformed and viewed “creatively,” the reaffirmation of its multi-dimensional and quantitative-qualitative characteristics was nevertheless rapid. At the same time, its physical and social structure from a complex and, especially, geopolitical standpoint was continually being (re)valued. Geo-virtualization, which came to the forefront with the software-hardware revolution, and “exploded” with the development of the Internet, became an antipode to the globalist “mission” of rendering the role of space meaningless – and became a basis for scientifically-based geopolitical modeling, forecasting and scenario-exploration (and, of course, for manipulation). Geomatics made a key contribution to this more practical aspect of geopolitics, especially through the use of the tools and techniques of the Global Information System (GIS), the Global Positioning System (GPS) and Digital

Cartography (DC). In the context of global geopolitical relations, the coup de grâce to the denigration of space was administered through the formation of a transitional multipolar order as a paroxysm of the process of counter-globalization, through the territorial shaping of neoimperial “geostrategic spheres,” “geopolitical regions,” “pan-regions,” “great spaces,” etc. It seems as though the priority task of postmodern geopolitics has been completed in a satisfactory way – the geo-nihilistic view has been shown to be unsustainable and has been rejected, but not in favor of some vague, reactive anti-geo-nihilism or, even less so, a revival of neo-geodeterminism. Moreover, new perspectives on geopolitical principles are increasingly acquiring geosophic contours, securing the place of geopolitics in the ranks of true, contemporary and firmly theoretically based sciences.

NECESSITY OF REASSESSING (NEO)CLASSICAL GEOPOLITICAL CLICHÉS

Postmodern geopolitics: “back to the future”

The return of space to the focus of geopolitical thought and action has not brought a return to traditional geopolitics. Especially in the West, neoclassical geopolitics made its “last stand,” attempting to solve the problems facing the transformed world with the help of earlier models and the addition of new variables to existing constants. Naturally, that did not yield valid results. Only a postmodern, or even an ultra-postmodern geopolitical approach could follow the Virilio-esque dynamics of recent geopolitical processes and, even more so, atypical geopolitical megatrends. In the first place, it would need to encompass a new, expanded and deepened understanding of geopolitics – from its cognition, definition, scientific validity, subject and task of study, to its positioning in the system of sciences, (sub)disciplinary branching, methodological modernization and usefulness in various areas of practice. Such an approach does not mean alignment with the, for a time, highly current critical geopolitics, nor with the revolutionary zeal of geopolitical revisionism. Even less so does it mean that present and future geopolitics should become a superior, elitist superscience that pretends to explain the majority of quite diverse and complex global, regional and local social processes.

Contemporary geopolitics should start with its own redefinition, because it is not sufficient to merely see it archaically, as an approach or method of studying the influence of geographic factors on political phenomena. Firstly, its geographicalness is not limited to physical-geographical factors (distribution of natural resources, reliefs, climate, hydrography, the living world), i.e., in viewing space as a natural arena (environment) for the occurrence of political phenomena and processes. It encompasses the entire geographical system, which also includes causally linked socio-geographical factors (the spatial aspects of population, settlements, economy, culture), and its complete and complex role in political phenomena and processes, from the standpoint of concrete, variable goals and interests. The constant valuation of the physical-geographical predispositions and dynamics of socio-geographical factors liberates

geopolitics from its earlier, geo-deterministically dictated stasis. At the same time, the introduction of variable and multidimensional goals and interests into the definition of geopolitics does not relieve it of the obligation of scientific objectivity, as it assumes a dispassionate and multifaceted approach in their analysis. Goals and interests that are in the domain of postmodern geopolitics are no longer solely or predominantly territorial, but also economic-financial, ideological, military-security related, religious-civilizational, etc., while its actors are no longer just states, but supranational, subnational and non-state actors, which are taking on an increasingly important role.

A more comprehensive and fundamental approach to geopolitics also needs to encompass the multiplication of instruments of its activity in practice. In addition to political pressures, forced territorial changes, “saber rattling,” direct military aggressions and occupational methods, there are now economic sanctions, the imposition of debt bondage, “wars” over gas and oil pipelines, abuse of international institutions, so-called color revolutions, cyber manipulations, propagandistic dichotomies into privileged “our” (“good”) and condemned “their” (“bad”) sides, etc. Consequently, the methods of geopolitical research should be amended and modernized. Along with traditional basic, universally scientific and special methods, postmodern geopolitics requires a more pronounced application of the method of regionalization, the geo-informational method, a comprehensive systemic approach, and the establishment of a specific geopolitical method, which “encompasses all those paths and ways in which multidimensional theoretical and practical causal intertwinings of the geographical and the political can be objectively considered and studied, within the bounds of concrete territorial wholes and in the context of particular points on a chronological scale” [Stepić 2016b: 48]. It will be difficult to categorize such a geopolitics under geography, political science and/or another “established” science. It has already shed the “tight skin” of a scientific discipline or subdiscipline and has become a separate, although admittedly contact and permeable – science. Research tasks imposed by increasingly intensive global changes are piling up before it.

Toward a new hierarchy of geopolitical actors

With the passage of the 21st century, a key question is still topical: are states still, and will they continue to be the main actors of geopolitical processes? Post-Cold War unipolar globalism, which looked like a panopticon in which the “inmates” knew that they were under constant control, dictated a future in which only one state – the USA – would grow stronger. Other states, even the largest, the most populated, the most developed, with a long state and imperial history, were slated for weakening, desovereignization, submission to direct American will and so-called international institutions under American control, and some even for territorial shrinking, disintegration or even disappearance from the political-geographic map of the world. In effect, the USA would have the capacity of a true state and the sole, genuine, all-powerful geopolitical creator, while geopolitical actor status would be transferred from

states onto two levels: the supracountry, i.e., various political, economic, civilizational and other integrations formed under American influence and for the sake of America's own interests (such as, for example, the EU), and the subcountry, i.e., smaller and powerless political-territorial entities (provinces, regions, administrative units, separatist territories, etc.), which often owed their very creation to the US. The degradation of the traditional state as the actor of international relations would lead to the creation of an American-type, universal, so-called world state.

However, the postmodern era has brought about a renaissance of the state and a reaffirmation of its internal and external role. The attempt to "suspend" the three key elements of the state is an increasingly obvious failure: 1) state territories have not been turned into untitled space – instead, the value of integrity and sovereignty is being restored, 2) not only have peoples and nations retained their identities, they are actually strengthening them and not allowing themselves to be turned into a mindless, consumerist mass population, 3) the number of states in which a true, more-or-less effective government is being restored in place of corrupt-blackmailed political nomenklaturas alienated from their countrymen and rendered into puppets loyal to external power centers. Thus, states, which globalists and Americanized unipolarism sought to turn into "hamlets," "regions," "quarters," and even "ghost towns" within the "bounds of the global village", are returning to the global geopolitical scene. Geopolitical science is tasked with forecasting, studying and even shaping the look of these postmodern states, the ways in which they will participate in increasingly dynamic international relations, what instruments they will use, whether their numbers will rise substantially, and which of the world's regions will undergo the greatest changes in political-territorial structure and borders... A special challenge will be presented by the phenomenon of state-like creations (de facto states, quasi-states, statoids, artificial states, provisional states, unfinished states, etc.), whose proliferation will not be the exclusive speciality of the US and the West but of other great powers as well. Also, the question of the meaning, territorial range and ambitions of new (trans)continental integrations led by powerful states (excluding the US and the West as a whole) has barely been put forth. And the key answer expected from geopolitics will pertain to the "power inventory," mutual relations and hierarchy of the leading states of the future.

The bipolar "balance (of fear)," such as it was, and the classical thalassocratic-tellurocratic antagonism between two superpowers was succeeded by a unipolar disbalance, and the pronounced hegemony of the US. Drunk with their triumph, the US and its European "most important... geopolitical bridgehead on the Eurasian continent" [Bžežinski 2001: 57] refused to face the declinist reality in time and realize that they are witnessing the "swansong" of their world domination. They tried everything in order to maximally extend the 20th century, which was coming to an end with the Russian economic and other collapses at the end of 1998, and the brutal aggression against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1999. But it was then that a watershed, with far-reaching, global consequences occurred: the personal change at the top in Russia marked

the beginning of its recovery, while the Serbian “impudence” in opposing the sole global power at the height of its might, along with its European vassals who proclaimed themselves as the “international community,” showed that resistance, even if paid dearly, is nevertheless possible. Soon, and especially with the onset of the economic-financial crisis, the acceleration of the Spenglerian “decline of the West” could no longer be hidden. In the second decade of the 21st century, announced by China’s overtaking of Japan as the world’s second economic power and continued with China’s rapid military strengthening, geostrategic offensive in the Western Pacific and promotion of the Eurasian “Silk (geopolitical) Conception”, it became clear that the US had gained a new, powerful and self-confident competitor. At the same time, there was a continuation of Russia’s (self)affirmation as a power with a renewed Gumilyovian “passion,” and the strength and ambition demonstrated in the Syrian war theater, where the US and its exponents were driven into a dead end.

Despite its crisis of (super)power, the US has, for now, managed to retain its leading position in the global hierarchy, as a state whose military, economic, financial, propaganda, intelligence and other domination is still pronounced, although not unquestionable. Consequently, the order led by the US is no longer absolute unipolarism; rather, it has transformed into relative unipolarism. China and Russia are on the second level, joined by India – as states that are resistant to American diktat not only as “united barbarians” but individually as well. As the difference between the US and them continues to shrink, the world will be approaching multipolarism, whose spatial concretization might take on various forms – from 3–4 meridionally extended pan-regions or zones, to relatively numerous “blocs” based on geo-civilizational and geopolitical principles. However, even as the question of “whether” the US will be dethroned is being asked less and less often than “when” that will happen, it may turn out that the multipolar phase will be of very short duration, and that the global geopolitical order will return to relative unipolarism, but with China on top.

There is another key question facing geopolitics: will the epochal event of the dethroning of the US happen as a “soft landing” process? Or are the new arms race, proxy wars and the military advance toward the borders of the Russian archrival announcing that a (nevertheless imperial) conflict of global proportions is inevitable? Is it possible for the US to “contain” a dynamic China by “opening it a vent” limited to hegemony in the Far East, with the One Belt, One Road (OBOR) retaining only the benign corridor-related geoeconomic dimension of building a Eurasian network and connecting Africa? Or is OBOR an operationalization of integral geopolitical power and the traditional Chinese (nevertheless imperial) idea of the “middle kingdom,” which has global aspirations in the postmodern sense? Will Russian neo-Eurasianism limit itself to geopolitical vectors (“axes of friendship” [Dugin 2009: 113]) by which Moscow establishes alliances in order to eliminate the US from Eurasia? Or will a future Russia-Eurasia become a (nevertheless imperial) “great space,” a core for the integration of Eurasia and one of the multipolar world centers? [Kratkoe izloženie jevroazijstva-2.jpg]. Is that process “chaotic in an organized way,” and the world system only seemingly asynchronous, i.e., are we dealing with

a patient and geopolitically articulated process of a concurrent realization of the third and fourth phase of global reconfiguration, in accordance with the Russian neo-Eurasian geopolitical concept? Does that not mean that, in the end, Washington's (nevertheless imperial) sphere of interest will be reduced to the pan-American zone, where Latin American instability and conflictual energy will inevitably spill over into the US, whose society will not only become increasingly racially polarized but also lose its previous prosperity? Is the American exponent, the (nevertheless imperial) EU superstate, exiting the global scene, even as the Islamic factor is stepping onto it? Are we not witnessing the obvious collapse of the globalist, Americanized "World State" project, and the appearance of the phenomenon of a (nevertheless imperial) "Islamic State," also universalistically conceived?

Will thalassocratic-tellurocratic antagonism survive
in the "global village"?

The West's US-led victory in the Cold War and the establishment of globalist unipolarism were supposed to serve as proof of the superiority of the thalassocratic over the tellurocratic identity, concept and power. It seemed as though the forces of multidimensional "endism" would envelop the primal dualism of "sea power" and "land power," i.e., that the defeat and the breakup of the Soviet Union and the subsequent decline of Russia – the embodiments of continentalism – would also extinguish the entire tellurocratic worldview. Moreover, the American and European propaganda, cultural, religious, scientific and other "machinery" sought to impose a picture of an idealized, progressive, modern West (Western civilization) and its logical, comprehensive triumph over the allegedly backward, unadjustable, barbaric East (Orthodox civilization). Consequently, the entire world was to be civilizationally Westernized (Americanized) and geopolitically thalassocraticized (Atlanticized). The course of the last decade of the 20th century testified that everything was moving toward the expected goal in the "global village," and that even Russia was on an irreversible (pro)Western course. Only the Serbs and Serbian lands, positioned in the Balkans, that "rift of the worlds" [Miletić 1994: 85] and "precise seismograph of the slightest changes in all global orders of power" [Matić 1994: 8], and existentially imperiled by the globalist "tsunami" – resisted. The first and the only ones at that time! Admittedly, the Serbian resistance had regional dimensions and was not articulated in a national-strategic but, rather, in more of an instinctual way, but it nevertheless achieved the effect of a "foot in the door" – "buying" Russia fifteen years of time for consolidation, and demonstrating with its own example what Russia could expect from the undoubtedly geopolitically motivated Atlantistic *Drang nach Osten*.

When at the beginning of the 21st century Russia began to resist American hegemony more and more efficiently and to advocate a reshaping of the world order on the basis of a multipolar neo-Eurasian geopolitical conception, it became clear that thalassocratic-tellurocratic antagonism was making a comeback. Some called it the "New Cold War." The neoclassical geopolitical postulates,

the conceptual-categorical apparatus, the applicative instruments and goals were unmistakably reminiscent of traditional geopolitical models. The US, including its Euro-Atlantic political-economic-military exponents, the EU and NATO, adhered to the reliable, expansionist, winning thalassocratic paradigm, reverting to the stigmatization of Russia as a symbol of tellurocratic “otherness,” “differentness,” “opposition,” etc. This was in the function of the “need for an enemy” and of “inducing danger,” thanks to which not only would the “geopolitical tempo” on the global level be maintained but one’s own subjects would be kept in a state of collective tension, fear, discipline, mobilization and assent to the abuse of power. Russian tellurocratic neo-Eurasian geopolitics was proclaimed as a threat, even though it wasn’t the US that was encircled but Russia; it was the US that covered Russia with networks of NGO agents and not the other way around; it was not Russia that instrumentalized Canada and Mexico against the US and carried out anti-American “color revolutions” but, rather, it was the US that did that in Russia’s “new near abroad”; it was obvious that it was NATO that had threateningly expanded to Russia’s borders, and not the CSTO expanding to America’s borders; no conflict broke out in the Canadian provinces of Quebec and New Brunswick as the “White House antechamber” but, rather, in Ukraine’s Donetsk and Lugansk regions, only several hundred miles from the Kremlin, etc. This “geopolitical inversion” [Stepić 2015] explains why, in spite of its obvious revival, Russia continues to struggle in the net of imposed and implicitly unfavorable thalassocratic-tellurocratic antagonism.

The way out of this trap laid down by Western geopolitical thought and carried out – in the past, present and future – by its state and non-state actors depends on Russia’s success in changing that paradigm. Even though its geopolitical identity is undoubtedly continentalistic, Russia is not a priori the West’s main adversary (solely) for that reason, but because it is the largest state, with the richest natural resources, it is militarily powerful, it is the religious-civilizational center of Orthodoxy, it possesses an imperial spirit, the capacity of being the Eurasian unifying nucleus, and open ambitions of playing the role of a key global actor. If it did not possess these quantitative and qualitative characteristics, i.e., if Russian “hard” and “soft” factors were negligible, its geopolitical self-awareness based solely on “land power” would not be such a bogeyman for the West and would not invite such unrestrained, almost pathological Russophobia. Consequently, in the postmodern era, maritime-continentalistic dualism will persist as the basis of geopolitical identity. However, a strict division between thalassocratic and tellurocratic power will be less and less sustainable. New conditions, in which polycentric competition is gaining truly global proportions, shall dictate a correction in the “first” [Dugin 2004: 139] and “second law of geopolitics” [Dugin 2004: 143], i.e., it shall compel the several leading great powers to build integral geopolitical power, while their (still unquestionable) expansionist instinct and formation of strategic blocs shall be based on less conventional and consistent principles.

China is already openly demonstrating the predispositions and ambitions to become the first power in history to have achieved integral power [Zarić 2013: 200]. The US almost reached the same goal in the post-Cold War era of

absolute unipolarism, and will nevertheless strive to continue being competitive while transforming in response to the demands of multipolarism, as it develops the maritime, land, air, cosmic and other dimensions of power. For now, Russia is visibly lagging in that regard, but the tempo of the renewal and development of its, in the first place, maritime, air and media capacities is astounding, in some aspects even surpassing those of China and the US. Internal problems will hamper India and the EU in joining the “big troika,” but a larger step forward into other geopolitical spheres is to be expected from the Islamic world, which is already becoming a postmodern global tellurocratic pole.

Global geopolitical transition:
from the (neo)classical to a postmodern Heartland-Rimland model

The thalassocratic powers, first Great Britain and then the US, had a totally clear perception, prerequisites and vision of their global domination. They knew that gaining control over sea lanes and key points (straits, isthmuses, canals, strategically important islands, peninsulas and bays) was sufficient for them to gain prevalence on the World Ocean, but not for rule over the non-Western landmass. As well, it was clear to them that global hegemony was not possible without control over Eurasia, but also that the direct conquest of that entire mega-continent (37% of the world’s landmass and 70% of the world’s population), and especially its isolated interior, was – unachievable. Thus, using their maritime, commercial and imperial mind, they conceived and then, by way of colonialist violence and expansionism, carried out a plan to control the Eurasian rimland, at the same time encircling its heartland located inside Russia’s borders or the Russian sphere of interest. Thus did the imposed thalassocratic-tellurocratic antagonism give birth to the Rimland-Heartland model, by which the West secured a long-term “check” on Eurasia, while keeping Russia in a geopolitically inhibited state. Caught in a trap of defensiveness, extensiveness and arrhythmia, Russia did not manage to defeat the Rimland “anaconda,” and is still fruitlessly attempting to do it in the post-bipolar period. It cannot expect victory, or even fair competition, in a geopolitical “game” whose “rules” were established by its adversary, but needs to impose its own “rules” in order to play the geopolitical “game.”

Is the (neo)classical Rimland–Heartland paradigm sustainable in post-modern conditions, or does the new multipolar reality, including the changed and revaluated physical-geographical conditions, require reappraisal? It is understood that the US and the West are striving to retain their winning geopolitical combination and to simply adjust it to the new-old goal – to at least establish “global leadership” if they cannot retain “global dominance” [Brzezinski 2004]. However, that *de facto* binary model has become an anachronism. It was already in opposition to the unipolar order of the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century, and it is even more so in a polycentric system in which the Eurasian powers are gaining strength. The globalization of geopolitics has made it so that it is no longer enough for the US to act on the basis of Mackinder’s syllogism in order to rule the world, i.e., to apply Spykman’s

counter-syllogism and Kennanist “containment” in the neoclassical form of a “chain” of an Eastern, Southern and Western “great space” encircling the Middle “great space” (Russia) on Brzezinski’s Eurasian “grand chessboard”. If we take into account just one new postmodern fact – that China, not Russia, is America’s new and greatest challenger – the question of how to apply the traditional conceptual Heartland/Rimland postulates vis-à-vis China becomes difficult to answer.

During the time of the EU’s and NATO’s unipolar transgression toward the European east and America’s infiltration of the post-Soviet Central Asian republics, the classical Heartland was palpably reduced and its geopolitical function brought into question. On the other hand, it looked as though the Rimland would become ever broader, more compact and stronger. However, with the passage of the 21st century, it is becoming increasingly clear that the classical Rimland is also going “to the ash heap of (geopolitical) history”:

1) In its European sector, the highly important American trans-Atlantic “bridgehead” on the west of Eurasia, the financial-economic crisis, the Muslim immigration wave and the disintegrational “beginning of the unraveling of the sweater” (Brexit) indicate that the destructive virus is incurable.

2) On the eastern side, North Korea is making the American “dock” on the Korean Peninsula increasingly insecure, a strengthened China is pushing the US out of the West Pacific coastal seas and is becoming the Far Eastern hegemon, Russia is strengthening its energy, economic and military presence and fortifying Duginian “axes of friendship” with China and Japan, while Japan and the Philippines are seeking to change their positions of American exponents and are turning toward Eurasian partners.

3) The Rimland’s entropy is the most turbulent along a long southern arc: after the unsuccessful mid-July 2016 coup, Turkey, the Eastern Mediterranean “anchor of Atlanticism”, broke ranks with Washington and turned to Moscow; in the Middle Eastern “Great Fissure,” which the thalassocratic powers geopolitically designed as a fracture in the World Island, Syria is an indicative litmus of the deterioration of America’s regional dominance; Iran has been undermining the credibility of the US as a global power for some time; Afghanistan is a prime example of a stupid American mission; Pakistan is turning to China; India is so far resolute in refusing to become instrumentalized in an anti-Russian or anti-Chinese way and continues to be a consistent proponent and center of multipolarism; the Muslim island country of Indonesia, very important for the thalassocratically based American global hegemony due to its position as mediator between the Pacific and the Indian Oceans, is reorienting itself toward the Eurasian powers, etc.

If the (neo)classical Heartland–Rimland model (that was) intended for Eurasia is losing its geopolitical functionality, does that mean that an analogous concept is not possible in a changed world? As the arena of geopolitical dynamics has expanded from Eurasia to Afro-Eurasia (Old World, World Island) and beyond, to the global plane, the key question is whether a “new geographical center of history” can be identified, and where the “postmodern pivot area” is located? Undoubtedly, such a spatial whole exists: “On the geopolitical horizon,

before our eyes, a new global central geopolitical region is appearing – the area of the Islamic world.” [Stepić 2016a: 27]. Its predispositions to become just that, from its position, size and large population, to its emigrational expansiveness, collective “fervor,” martial fanaticism and ambitious geopolitical “mission,” indicate a heartlandesque capacity of even greater proportions than that of the Eurasian (Russian) factor of a hundred or so years ago. This Islamic Heartland would not encompass the entire Islamic space (for example, it would not include the most populous, but peripherally positioned Islamic state of Indonesia), but would form a geopolitical whole expanding “from Cape Verde to Kashmir, from the southern coast of the Mediterranean to the Lake Plateau, and from the northern regions of Kazakhstan to the Horn of Africa. Its surface area equals almost 30 million km², thus surpassing Mackinder’s ‘pivot area’ (23 million km²). The number of Muslims within it is fast approaching one billion, which is five times the total population of the ‘original’ in 1904 (about 180 million)” [Stepić 2017: 67]. The “rest of the world” will form a Global Rimland around the huge Islamic Heartland. Despite its general heterogeneity and the conflicting interests of the quarreling great powers, its loose cohesion will be sustained by the “least common denominator” of interests – the real or necessary (induced) so-called Islamic threat.

THE NEW(EST) WORLD ORDER: MULTIPOLAR NEOBIPOLARISM

A change in the paradigms of classical and neoclassical geopolitics is inevitable. It is already happening and is accelerating. It is causally linked with the dynamics of multidimensional global transformations. The postmodern era is characterized by a change in the ranking of powers in the global hierarchy, the reformulation of some key geopolitical postulates, the appearance of new, unconventional instruments for the realization of geopolitical goals, the forming of an integral geopolitical identity and power in place of the traditional thal-assocratic-tellurocratic dichotomy, the reconceptualization of the Heartland–Rimland model due to the expansion of geopolitical dynamics from the Eurasian to a global context, a process of a changing of orders and the projection of that change to the macro, meso and micro regional spatial level. These changes have a fundamental and epochal character, and their effects are immense. Although the world has never been non-geopolitical, it is now entering a phase of extreme (re)geopoliticization. Geopolitical thinking is no longer the exclusive domain of theoretical-conceptual creators and practical executors of the reshaping of the world system; it now includes the ordinary “little man,” who is being “bombarded” through the media with external manifestations of an apparent transitional anarchy, from which his private life is no longer protected.

Unipolar globalism’s exit from the historical-geopolitical scene and the deconstruction of Pax Americana are only seemingly at an advanced stage. The demonopolization of the US is still a speck on the horizon when it comes to the financial-economic sphere, while its voice in international political organizations is still by far the loudest, the most important institutions are procedurally and

on the personnel level firmly pro-American, the decision-making process has been firmly “cemented” and aligned to the American value system and interests all the way back from the absolute victory in World War II, and the mechanisms of coercion are still mostly in the hands of Washington, which, like a “wounded lion,” is using them less and less scrupulously. All these arguments of prevalence are still making America’s hegemonic “comeback” possible, although not probable. The other pretending great powers are slow to change the long-established model and its functioning, which has been brought to perfection, even if it’s clear that they are beginning to apply the more effective method of “going around instead of jumping over”. At first glance paradoxically, the deposition of the US has advanced the furthest on the geopolitical level. Relative unipolarism as a (transitional) phase is coming to an end, and the “foundation stones” for a new world structure are being laid down.

The new(est) global order will be formed as a multipolar neobipolarism and its establishment will take place in a number of phases, with two of them, which are partially overlapping, being already apparent:

In the first phase, one neobipolar side will still be taken up for a time by the still quite influential US, which will continue to draw its power from the thalassocratic “formula” for as long as possible. This will obligate it to retain its main transatlantic (EU) and transpacific (Japan) vassals, and as many dispersedly distributed old and new strongholds as possible – the Brzezinskian “geo-strategic actors” and “geopolitical centers” (Turkey, Australia, South Korea, Saudi Arabia, Israel, possibly Indonesia, some African, Latin American and certain European countries). The other neobipolar side will be organized around an anti-American basis. It will comprise China, Russia and India, which will strive to supplement their continentalistic code with the maritime code. They will be joined by several lower ranked powers – in the first place Iran. Within the greater part of Eurasia, they will form a multipolar system and their primary goal will be to eliminate American domination from the Eurasian landmass and the surrounding oceanic bodies of water, along with expanding their global influence and striving to tear Japan and the EU (preferably all of it, and before all – Germany) from the “claws” of the US. At the same time, China, Russia and India will develop delicate and true multipolar mutual relations, which will often take on the characteristics of “geopolitical *préférence*”, in which two players “squeeze” the third. The US will try to weaken the opposing Eurasian bloc by instrumentalizing potential balance factors, while a new geopolitical actor – the Islamic one – will play an increasingly active and unavoidable role.

In the second phase, the Islamic world will grow in strength, becoming increasingly self-confident and influential. “The rest of the world” will no longer be able to merely depict it as a “global bogeyman” and ring alarm bells regarding its populational-spatial expansionism, religious-civilizational fanaticism and terrorist-military aggression. Instead, it will have to accept it in a rational way – as a global geopolitical pole with great “specific weight” and a new, and perhaps the only (admittedly induced) carrier-inheritor of “true tellurocracy.” On the other neobipolar side, the prerogatives of leadership will be taken over by China, which, however, will not (yet) be able to achieve the

characteristics that would secure global hegemony and a unipolar Pax Sinica. Along with a strong Russia, India, possible the entire and geopolitically emancipated EU (or, directly, Germany) and some regionally important countries, it will build parallel complementary and competitive relations, which will take shape as a Pax Eurasiatica. The gravitational field of such a huge and powerful bloc will also include Australia, sub-equatorial Africa, and most of the waters and archipelagos of the Pacific, Indian and Arctic oceans. We must not forget Antarctica, which may become the object of a very sharp conflict. Although it will no longer wield decisive influence outside the longitudinally extended pan-American region, the US will, together with the great Eurasian powers China, Russia and India, build integral geopolitical power and, jointly with them, form a complex polycentric subsystem. Will anti-Islamism be a linking factor sufficiently strong to keep such numerous, different, powerful and adversarial powers together? And for how long?

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DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS IN THE DISTRICT OF SMEDEREVO: 1846–1866

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SUMMARY: Summary data in the statistical examination of births and deaths in the district of Smederevo in the period from 1846–1866, collected by the Serbian Orthodox Church and submitted to government institutions, reveal a typical model of a late pre-transition phase, or a very early demographic transition. Calculated birth and death rates are very high, with repeated significant oscillations. The “Malthusian scissors” seem to appear between 1854 and 1859, and after 1862. The overall population growth of nearly 50% between 1846 and 1866 seems to be mostly the result of natural growth. Still, comparing the total number of births and deaths with overall population growth, an estimated 9% of the district’s total population in 1866 appears not to have been originally born there.

KEY WORDS: birth rates, death rates, demography, immigration, Smederevo district, Principality of Serbia, 19th century

Analyses of demographic data either reveal new, or confirm or deny old theses about certain processes that a society undergoes. Serbia of the 19th century was considered to be an underdeveloped country, not only in terms of institution building, economy or infrastructure, but also by the degree of demographic models of development. The rates of birth and mortality of the population reveal the state of society – whether it is stable or sensitive to external influences. In the case of Serbia, a specific problem was also the issue of the role of immigration in the total increase of the population. During the first few decades after gaining autonomous status within the Ottoman Empire, an unidentified number of people of mostly Serbian origin moved to Serbia. That this phenomenon was massive is not controversial, but its scope has remained largely uncertain. Serbia of the 19th century was a country with a very high natural increase, and it remains unclear to what extent the total population growth was influenced by immigration, and to what extent by the reproductive activity of the domicile population. This problem was especially poorly studied in regard to the 1840s and 1850s, when immigration waves started to weaken [Jagodić 2004: 27–32].

One possible approach to solving this problem is to compare natural growth with the absolute increase in the number of inhabitants. Data on the number of births (baptized) and deceased in districts for the period 1862–1873 were published in 1874 and have often been used for analyses [*Statistical Yearbook of Serbia VIII*: 43–117]. The data for the previous years were never published in an integral manner, but were certainly used in the 19th century for some research by Serbian statisticians. Vladimir Jakšić certainly possessed data for the period 1837–1851, having published them in recalculated form, and in integral form for the period 1852–1854 [Jakšić 1853: 259–260; Jakšić 1854: 307, 314; Jakšić 1855: 307, 313].

Serbia started systematically collecting data on vital population statistics well before the establishment of an independent statistical authority. Since 1836, the continuous keeping of registries has been prescribed by law [Vuletić 2012: 3]. In 1839, priests were ordered to report children that were not vaccinated, which was interpreted by the Ministry of Internal Affairs twenty years later as an obligation to submit the lists of baptized children to district chiefs [Rules for Vaccination Against Pox: 72; AS, MPs–P 1861 / III–445]. From the beginning of the 1840s, the Metropolitanate of Belgrade sought summary lists of baptized, dead and married persons from its dioceses, in order to forward them in concise form to the superior Ministry of Education, which further distributed them to other administrative bodies as needed. The Ministry of Education also requested these lists due to the obligation to submit an annual work report to the State Council. From other bodies, data were mainly requested by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of Finance, but the State Council also showed great interest in the problem of population growth [AS, DS: 1852/1, p. 1; 1852/2, s. 1; 1852/376, p. 1; MPs–P: 1845 / III–58; 1848 / V–399; 1852 / III–144]. The obligation of collecting and storing summary records from registers at the level of consistories was established by law in 1847 [The Constitution of the Spiritual Authorities of the Principality of Serbia, 1849: 107–108, 113]. In 1862, Diocesan Consistories were ordered by law to submit similar lists to the Ministry of Education on an annual basis [Law on Church Authorities of the Orthodox Faith 1863: 22]. These lists, of course, only referred to the Orthodox population¹. Turkish Muslims were not subject to population censuses in Serbia. The Roma, mostly Orthodox and, in a minority portion, Muslim, were entirely listed only in 1846 and 1866, while in 1854, 1859 and 1863 only those with permanent residence were listed [Vuletić 2012: 7]. The number of Roman Catholics, Protestants, and Jews was significant only in Belgrade, and possibly in several more major urban centers. In Smederevo district there were almost none [*Statistical Yearbook of Serbia VIII*: 43]. In 1844, the city of Smederevo had 3,265 Orthodox and 750 Turkish Muslims, while in all of Serbia there were only 1,368 Jews and about 900 foreigners [Gavrilović 1994: 151, 153]. According to the census of 1866, there were only 64 “infidels” in the entire Smederevo district [*Statistical Yearbook of Serbia III*: 100].

¹ The lists sent by the Metropolitanate of Belgrade referred only to the Orthodox population. In the data for the period from 1862, all other Christians, as well as Jews, were included in the data, which, however, could only be a minimal number in the Smederevo district. Consequently, this fact does not affect the results in this article [*Serbian Statistical Yearbook VIII*: 43].

With the help of the aforementioned lists, which are stored in the Archives of Serbia, as well as published data, we are able to reconstruct vital statistics for the Smederevo district for the period from 1846 to 1866, that is, for the period between two quite reliable population censuses that are necessary for demographic analysis. It should also be noted that it is not possible to determine the extent to which these lists are truly reliable. The keeping of registries was a relative novelty, and it is difficult to estimate whether priests were sufficiently up-to-date and conscientious about this issue, especially in the earlier period. It was even assumed that data were not published until 1862, because they were not considered reliable enough [Natural Growth 1957: 1]. However,

Table 1. Number of born (baptized) and deceased persons by gender in Smederevo district 1846–1866.

Year	Born (N)			Deceased (M)			Natural increase (J)
	sex		total	sex		total	
	male	female		male	female		
1846	717	686	1.403	457	402	859	544
1847	712	644	1.356	415	368	783	573
1848	966	873	1.839	524	434	958	881
1849	830	767	1.597	791	690	1.481	116
1850	913	826	1.739	532	551	1.083	656
1851	947	821	1.768	531	428	959	809
1852	1.022	904	1.926	642	581	1.223	703
1853 ²	770	929	1.540	822	693	1.644	−104
1854	976	932	1.908	666	524	1.190	718
1855	1.029	1.011	2.040	677	564	1.241	799
1856	1.094	1.011	2.105	630	499	1.129	976
1857	1.159	1101	2.260	772	603	1.375	885
1858	1.373	1.254	2.627	778	622	1.400	1.227
1859	1.284	1.207	2.491	706	590	1.296	1.195
1860	1.105	1.115	2.220	913	843	1.756	464
1861	1.188	1.136	2.324	1.183	944	2.127	197
1862	1.319	1.180	2.499	1.315	1.289	2.604	−105
1863	1.296	1.336	2.632	1.260	1.101	2.361	271
1864	1.564	1.426	2.990	1.015	803	1.818	1.172
1865	1.462	1.505	2.967	806	669	1.475	1.492
1866	1.505	1.440	2.945	848	756	1.604	1.341
Total	23.231	22.104	45.335	16.283	13.954	30.237	15.098

Source: [AS, MB, 1847/421; MPs–P 1848/V–399, 1855/III–71, 1856/V–36, 1857/IV–30, 1858/VI–54, 1860/IV–605, 1862/I–180, 1862/III–547; DS, 1852/1, p. 3, 1852/2, p. 3, 1852/3, p. 3, 1852/376, p. 3, 1853/409, p. 3, 1854/262, p. 3, *Statistical Yearbook of Serbia VIII*: 92–93].

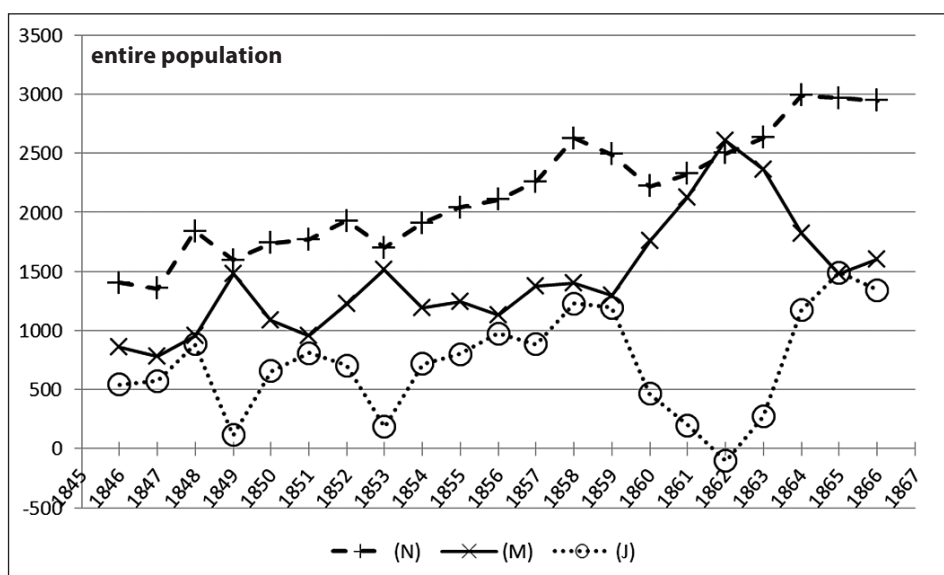
² Vladimir Jakšić gives for this year 957 male and 892 female newborns. Whether there was some kind of revision of the list, or amendments on the basis of which Jakšić published these numbers, is not clear. His data, however, indicate a decrease in birthrate in the county [Jakšić 1854: 307, 314].

since they are the only existing data on vital statistics for that period, we will try to use them to analyze trends and for a general assessment of the immigration framework. One of the reasons why the 1846–1866 period is suitable for research lies in the fact that, between the two censuses, there were no administrative changes in the jurisdiction of the Smederevo district, so all the data refer to the same territory [*Administrative–Territorial ...* 1955: 14–17]. As can be seen from Table 1, in two years a negative, and in the remaining years a positive natural increase was recorded, which, however, was not at all uniform.

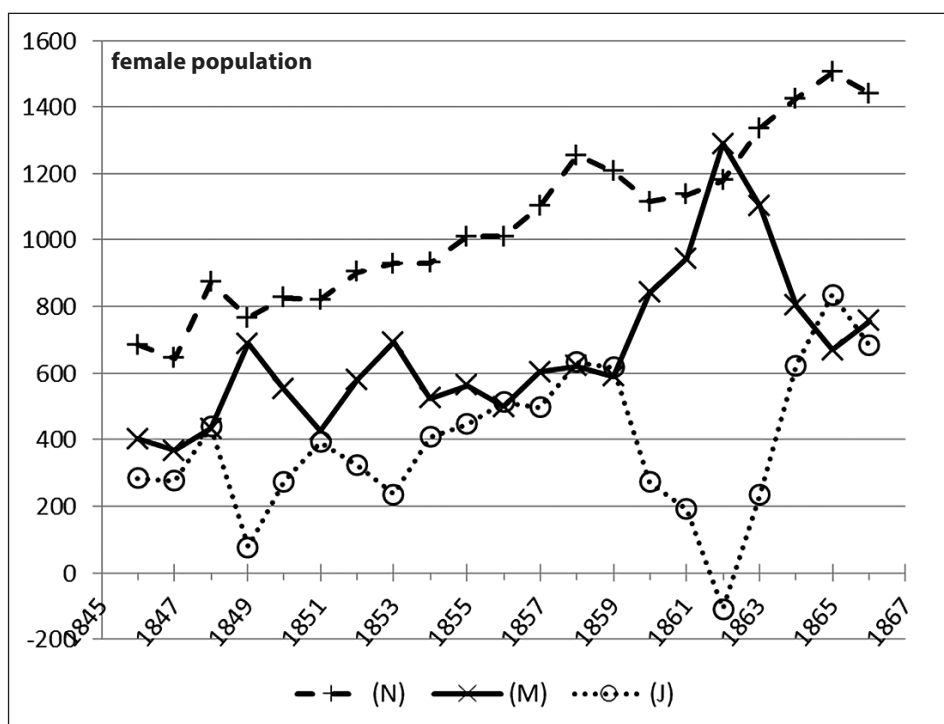
The data show an interesting structure according to sex, based on which it is evident that the mortality for men was much higher than for women (with the exception of 1862). Out of the total positive balance of 15,098 people for the entire period (natural increase), female persons represented a majority of 54% (8,150). The proportion between the sexes almost did not change at all, although it was supposed to become more balanced. According to the census of 1846, there were 21,111 men and 20,137 women in the district (0.95 women per one man), and in 1866 30,934 males and 29,143 females (0.94 women per one man) [Gavrilović 1851: 188–189; *Statistical Yearbook of Serbia III*: 100]. This data suggests that a larger number of men migrated into the district. In the years when population censuses were conducted (1846, 1850, 1854, 1859, 1863, 1866)³, birth rates were extremely high and showed a tendency of growth. At the same time, significantly lower rates of mortality showed occasional oscillations. In the period 1854–1859, as well as after 1862, there was an “opening of scissors” that is, an increase in the difference between birth and mortality rate, which is characteristic of a late pre–transitional or a very early stage of demographic transition. The 1859–1864 period also deserves attention, when, for unclear reasons⁴, the mortality rate was extremely high.

³ Of these, only the 1863 census was not considered entirely reliable, although more in the domain of property than population statistics [*Statistical Yearbook of Serbia I*: 86–87; Vuletić 2012: 11–13].

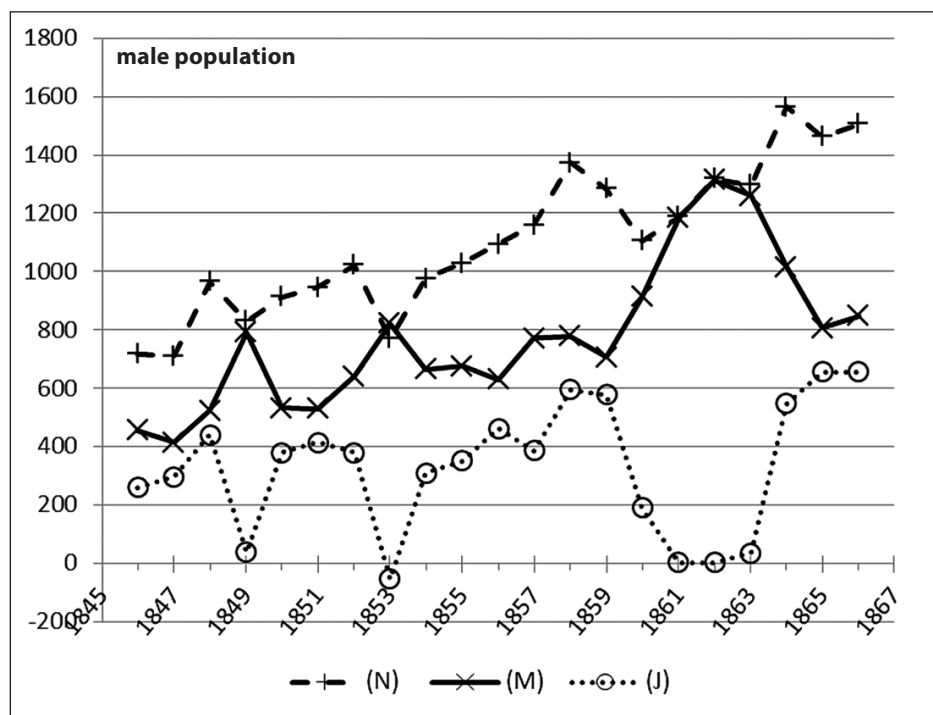
⁴ During this period, there was a significant drop in livestock production, concomitantly with the reduction of cultivated areas per capita in the whole of Serbia. It is also indicative that, in the period of 1862–1864, the export of cereals and fruits was very weak (despite high demand in neighboring Banat due to drought), while fresh fruit imports were increased, indicating shortcomings in the domestic market. It is possible that economic factors also contributed to the increase in mortality rate [Jagodić 2004: 53; Miljković Katić 2014: 110, 126–128, 157, 202, 236].



Graph 1. Natural growth of the entire population 1846–1866.



Graph 2. Natural growth of female population 1846–1866.



Graph 3. Natural growth of the male population 1846–1866.

Table 2. Approximate rates of birth and mortality in Smederevo district 1846, 1850, 1854, 1859, 1863 and 1866.

Year	Population (P)		Birth rate (n) in ‰			Mortality rate (m) in ‰		
	Total		Sex		Total	Sex		Total
			male	female		male	female	
1846 ⁵	41.248		17,38	16,63	34,01	11,08	9,75	20,83
1850	42.732		21,37	19,33	40,70	12,45	12,89	25,34
1854	47.221		20,67	19,74	40,41	14,10	11,10	25,20
1859	52.904		24,27	22,81	47,09	13,34	11,15	24,50
1863	52.681		24,60	25,36	49,96	23,92	20,90	44,82
1866	60.077		25,05	23,97	49,02	14,12	12,58	26,70

Source: Data on population: [*Statistical Yearbook of Serbia I*: 88; *Statistical Yearbook of Serbia II*: 13; *Statistical Yearbook of Serbia III*: 100; Gavrilović 1851: 186–190; Gavrilović 1852: 228–229; Gavrilović 1857: 224–225]. The rates of birth and mortality calculated on the basis of the data in Table 1 and the formulas: $(n = N \div P * 1000)$; $(m = M \div P * 1000)$.⁵

⁵ Data according to Gavrilović. In the Statistical Yearbook of Serbia, data on a total of 40,573 inhabitants of the district subsequently appeared as well, but without specifying the gender structure.

Natural increase, despite occasional oscillations, was certainly very high. Taking into account known data on the number of inhabitants from 1846⁶ and 1866, it follows that the geometric rate of increase of the entire population of the district (j) was 38.32% during that period. Natural increase for the period 1846–1865 showed a total of approximately 13,500 people, while total population growth was close to 19,000. A difference of about 5,500 people is too high to be a statistical error or a census deficiency. This difference points to the frames of the “mechanical inflow,” that is, the approximate number of immigrants. Based on these data, it follows that about 9% of the population of the Smederevo district in 1866 was not born there. In other words, immigrants accounted for approximately one-quarter of the total population increase. These are, of course, respectable numbers, which testify to the great impact of immigration on the structure of the population, and consequently on social trends in that area.

Table 3. Demographic growth components (inter-census population increase and natural increase) 1846–1866.

Population 1846	Population 1866	Population increase 1846–1866	Born (N) 1846–1865	Deceased (M) 1846–1865	Natural increase (J) 1846–1865
41,248	60,077	18,829	42,231	28,762	13,469

Source: *Table 1; Table 2.*

* * *

The number of inhabitants of the Smederevo district increased by almost 50% in the mentioned period. The main cause should be sought in high natural growth, and partly, in the mechanical influx of population – immigration. Nearly one-tenth of the district’s population in 1866 consisted of immigrants, who made up a quarter of the overall population increase. Unfortunately, the lists used do not contain vital statistics for the regions or municipalities, which would provide insight on the micro level. There remains, too, an open question regarding the impact of immigrants on population increase. The tendency of

The data from the Statistical Yearbook of Serbia is very confusing because it is said that this is the total number of all inhabitants, including Roma, unlike Gavrilović’s data from which they are excluded. For the other districts Gavrilović gives lower numbers than those given by the Statistical Yearbook, but in the case of the Smederevo district he gives a higher number, which is illogical. The data for 1846, which were subsequently published in the Statistical Yearbook of Serbia, show that in Serbia there were 13,377 inhabitants more than according to Gavrilović (including foreigners in 1846). This information is essentially in line with Gavrilović’s assertion that up to 15,000 Roma lived in Serbia at that time and speaks in favor of the credibility of the data from the Statistical Yearbook. Considering Milićević’s data that in the Smederevo district in 1866 there were a total of 2,498 Roma (or 4% of the population), it can be said that their number does not significantly affect the calculations regardless of the number of inhabitants for 1846 that is used. In this case, we have opted for the higher number, as it seems more realistic to us [Gavrilović 1851: 186–190; *Statistical Yearbook of Serbia III*: 104–105; Milićević 1876: 169].

⁶ Taking into account the number of inhabitants for 1846, according to Gavrilović. See footnote 5.

birth rate growth suggests that the “new” residents in the district may have had a larger number of descendants than the native residents. An examination of the registries, as well as of preserved detailed census lists, could provide some answers to this question.

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IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL CONFLICTS ABOUT POPULAR MUSIC IN SERBIA

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SUMMARY: The paper deals with the ideological and political conflicts concerning popular music in Serbia, as a good example of a confused and poorly conceived search for identity. The basic conflict concerns Oriental elements (such as asymmetric rhythmic patterns and melismatic singing) and whether they are legitimate parts of Serbian musical heritage. The paper focuses on three periods of the twentieth century, in which absolutely the same arguments were used, with special attention being paid to contemporary conflicts, arguing that all the conflicting theories currently on the scene are ideologically based. Special attention is devoted to the influence of the market on the development and modernization of popular music in Serbia. In the conclusion, some recommendations are offered regarding achieving a better understanding of cultural identity in Serbia and recognizing popular music as a specific field of interest and research.

KEY WORDS: popular music, turbo-folk, identity, market, Oriental elements, ideology

During its entire history Serbia has been a crossroads where diverse cultures, religions, civilizations, value systems and ideologies have met, intermixed as well as clashed. All of them have left traces on the identity of its peoples. As a result, the identity question of not just the Serbs, but of ethnic minorities and, especially, the state itself, is a very complex one. This complexity has, however, been forcibly ignored and overlooked during Serbia's entire modern history. The Serbian political and cultural elite has viewed its entire modern development from a perspective of liberation from Ottoman, Asiatic elements and a return to its "natural" European, i.e., Christian context. This modernization model, rooted in the European Enlightenment (the source of most modern European ideologies, including liberalism, socialism and nationalism) has been favoured and implemented by all modern Serbian regimes, regardless of their ideological position – liberal, conservative or communist. Even the fairly anti-Western Slavophiles insisted on their own original Christian identity and heritage as representing the "real Europe," which had to be defended equally from

Catholic heretics and “Asiatic hordes”. This common perception or common element of political identity of in every other aspect conflicting groups, continues to dominate disputes about cultural, political and national identity in Serbia even today.

All these controversies are the most clearly evident in the popular music field, especially within discussions about Oriental factors, such as melismas, trills, assymetric rhythmic patterns, that are highly represented in Serbian popular music. On the one hand, the elite has encouraged the acculturation of the major/minor scale and other Central and West European musical models, while at the same time seeking to expel Oriental music traces deeply rooted in everyday popular music practice. On the other hand, ordinary people, regardless of their ethnic or religious identity, have continued to embrace and use the latter music vocabulary for dancing, celebrations, and general enjoyment¹, and build their intercultural and interethnic exchanges on that basis. Thus, even during times of serious conflicts between Christians and Muslims (e.g. during the 1990s), cultural intermixing and exchange within the popular music field did not stop².

This paper will analyze the ideological conflicts regarding the presence of Oriental elements in Serbian popular music practice during the 20th century, through focusing on three historical periods. It will also explore the reasons for the rather desperate state of popular music studies in Serbia today and offer suggestions on improving the situation in the future.

* * *

During the medieval era (12th–15th century), Serbia grew into a solidly developed European feudal state, built on a mixture of Slav heritage and Byzantine Orthodox culture, with a developed economy and spiritual culture, as testified by numerous monasteries and preserved frescoes from that time. Unfortunately, very little is known about the music that was performed in churches, at feudal manors and among the ordinary people of the time. According to historical data from other fields, Byzantine spiritual and secular music contained many Oriental elements, which is, as a rule, ignored in contemporary discussions in Serbia. The fall under Ottoman rule was a catastrophe for Serbian cultural and other development, leaving the Serbs without an elite for several centuries, sentenced to serfdom, and life in remote, rural areas. In addition to Islamization, the Ottomans brought Arabian and Anatolian elements into all spheres of popular culture, including food, clothing, arms and, of course, music. There were parts, especially mountain and other isolated areas, in which the Serbs preserved their original monophonic singing. However, in the rest of the country, already existing Oriental elements were intensified and often vulgarized, aided by the arrival of new musical instruments. After liberation

¹ Which gives a class dimension to the problem.

² Which is paradoxical only at first sight. In the context of bioacoustics as the rootedness of musical practice in the overall dynamics of the social environment – the circumstances of war imposed the same bioacoustic context on both sides, which already shared a common linguistic and cultural heritage. For more on bioacoustics, see: [Tagg].

from the Turks, the new Serbian elite, formed from the leaders of the uprisings (1804–1815), was completely influenced by Ottoman customs as far as popular culture was concerned, as the Turks had been the only elite in the country from which values could be absorbed. For example, Milenko Stojković, one of the leaders of the First Uprising (1804–1813), possessed a harem of 40 women. It was, thus, quite natural that Prince Miloš Obrenović, the first modern ruler of Serbia, had his own Gypsy orchestra, *Mustafa and his Companions*, in accordance with Turkish customs.

However, during the two preceding centuries, numerous Serbs living in the Habsburg monarchy came into contact with modern Central European and Mediterranean musical models, and slowly began to adopt some of their elements. During the 19th century, some of them, together with many Czechs with a classical musical education, migrated to Serbia, and began to gradually transmit their knowledge and form centers from which they could start to disseminate musical literacy. By 1831, the first military orchestra was formed, *The Prince of Serbia Band*, headed by the immigrant Josef Schlesinger, marking the beginning of the spread of the Central European musical model throughout Serbia. At the end of 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, the so-called *varoška pesma* (town song, known today as *starogradska muzika*, or old city music) was created as a form of major/minor key popular music, while between the world wars, under Croatian influence, people in rural areas embraced the so-called *pevanje na bas* (singing to vocal bass accompaniment), which is still present in today's neo-folk music.

It should, thus, be noted that, from the middle of the 19th century, the pagan heritage (which continues to thrive, especially among the Vlach community, in eastern Serbia even today), Oriental-Turkish elements (especially among the Serbian urban population in south Serbia, in Niš and Vranje, and in Kosovo), and western European influences have existed side by side among the Serbs in Serbia. These elements have been in a state of mutual tension in their battle to expand, but also in a state of unconscious intermixing, which has produced very interesting artistic results. Oriental elements have persisted in the south of Serbia and in Kosovo, with Vranje city songs representing an especially valuable treasure for Serbian cultural tradition and identity. Understandably, this type of melody has also survived in the southwest of Serbia, which hosts a large Muslim community. This process of musical pluralization is also perceptible among the Roma, who are evenly distributed throughout Serbia. Beside traditional Oriental brass orchestras that are a part of the heritage, there are also excellent string (tamburitza) orchestras and violin-dominated cafe orchestras in the Serbian north and west, completely founded on the Central European musical model.

However, this genuine pluralism has been a constant target of attacks on the part of the European-oriented elite. From the middle of the 19th century, the Serbian government and rich Serbs began to send their children to study at the great European university centers. Upon return to Serbia, together with Serbs from Vojvodina and foreign immigrants, they propagated elements of European modernization in all spheres, including food, clothing, science,

medicine, art and music. The elimination of Oriental, Asiatic heritage, which was very much alive among the common people, was declared a priority³. As always, the price of modernization was to be paid by the peasantry, so it was no surprise that resistance among this group was great. The great composers Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac and Kornelije Stanković tried to bridge the gap between the elite and the common folk. They began by writing down and collecting folklore songs and, in accordance with the dominant romanticist trend, began to compose spiritual and classic instrumental music based on folklore. These two composers were also reformers of Serbian church singing. However, they also tried to ignore Oriental elements, limiting the scope of folk music to the parts that had been maximally preserved from Turkish influence. Serbian music of that time unfortunately did not have its Bora Stanković, the extraordinary writer who drew on that very same Oriental heritage to produce classics such as the novel *Nečista krv* (*Impure Blood*), or the theater play *Koštana*, which rank among the most beautiful pages ever written in the Serbian language.

A serious discussion about Oriental elements developed during the first twenty or so years of the 20th century, additionally intensified after the establishment of Yugoslavia together with the Croats and Slovenians, thanks to whom Western European influence grew. Interestingly, the arguments and reasons presented at that time returned in almost the same form during the 1990s⁴. However, some musicologists such as Vladimir Djordjević insisted that such an abstract critical perspective is wrong and misleading. In 1923, he spoke about the bipolarity of Serbian folk music where, on one side, there was the music that had been preserved from Turkish influence (original music) and, on the other, there was the music that developed under Turkish influence, which was “more advanced and more colorful, due to successful intermixing” [Golemović 1997: 183].

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Popular music became a focus of attention once again during the 1970s and 1980s. In order to better understand that discussion, it is necessary to understand the specific position that the Yugoslav communist federation enjoyed. After the famous breakup with Stalin in 1948, the Yugoslav communists were forced to open their country substantially to the West, from which they were receiving huge material, financial and even military support. The Yugoslav leader Tito was under constant Western pressure to introduce many elements of liberalization, especially in the economic and cultural fields. The country's overall openness, Western orientation, free passport regime after 1964, fast industrialization and urbanization, rapid improvement of living standards, and

³ Serbian Prime Minister Zoran Đinđić (2001–2003) very eagerly and frequently employed the same discourse.

⁴ Classically educated composers such as Petar Konjović, Kosta Manojlović and M. Milojević insisted that the augmented second (f-gis, fa-sol) is not native and called for a cleansing of folk motifs from Oriental decorations, labelled as non-national. See: [Dvorniković 1939: 395]. Pages 331–431 of Dvorniković's book offer an interesting overview of ethnomusicological views from that time.

rapidly growing *gastarbeiter* diaspora in Western countries created new and better conditions for the development of popular and consumerist culture. Thus, although the communists had completely adopted the discourse about permanent modernization and emancipation from tradition and backwardness, i.e., from Oriental heritage and the existing, mostly rural popular culture and music, it was precisely the elements of liberalization that forced them to behave differently in practice and to tolerate most of what they opposed. On the other hand, in Bulgaria, which, unlike Yugoslavia was a classical closed communist country, all the way up to 1989, the communists enforced the principle that only elitistic, classical music or original folklore, of the non-living, petrified variety, had the right to exist. Really existing music, enjoyed by common people all over Bulgaria, which was under the strong influence of the Turkish minority, Gypsy musicians and Yugoslav neo-folk, had continued its semilegal life at weddings, celebrations and cafes, despite the fact that it was officially forbidden, from time to time prosecuted, banned from the media, and could be neither recorded nor sold. A normal popular music market could not exist, as a result of which Bulgarians illegally smuggled and listened to records and tapes of Yugoslav music performers.

In Yugoslavia, however, such a market was established, with all the usual elements and accompanying phenomena (such as popular magazines, TV shows, advertising, etc.). During the 1970s, when, thanks to improved living standards, millions of Yugoslavs bought cassette and record players, an entire music industry was formed, almost identical to the Western systems of production and presentation of popular music. The communist elite did everything it could⁵ to promote and impose Western pop music (although, unofficially, many of its members enjoyed neo-folk music and organized special concerts for their closed circles). The growing urban population, which was able to travel and follow Western music (from jazz and Italian *canzone*, to the Beatles, disco and hard rock) formed and perceived itself as a part of the West European pop-cultural space, and became a serious consumer market for these products. Although serious care had to be taken to keep this process under control because of the potentially subversive elements connected with rock and roll, generally speaking, this development was perceived as desirable by the regime since the younger generation of communists saw itself as a legitimate part of the European elite. Nevertheless, so-called neo-folk music performers had far more commercial success.

While pop music was addressed to the high and higher middle class, the neo-folk audience was to be found among huge army of peasants, the recently established working class and suburban dwellers. These lower classes found themselves attracted to neo-folk lyrics that spoke of the beauties of the village, valleys, and woods, nostalgia for the ancestral home, lost loves, roadside cafes, cousins working in far-away countries – and maybe even more so to the asymmetric rhythms and other Oriental elements that became predominant from

⁵ Even through linguistics. A dichotomy was devised, by which all popular music was divided into “urban, progressive, modern” music for entertainment (*zabavna muzika*), and “primitive, rural” people’s music (*narodna muzika*) or newly-composed (*novokomponovana*) music.

the mid 1970s on⁶. During the 1980s, two influences expanded within this kind of music: growing Orientalization and technological modernization accompanied with modernization of image and appearance. Thus, the popular female singer Lepa Brena introduced disco rhythms fused with classical neo-folk chords, other singers started to experiment with Mediterranean, especially Greek melodies, and singer Halid Muslimović started to use amplified electric guitar with distortion. It is interesting to note that, even in pop-rock music, the most successful artists were those that incorporated some elements of folklore, such as Goran Bregović's group *Bijelo dugme*. This entire evolution was dictated by demands of the market, which, in accordance with social dynamics, always thirsts for innovation, experiment and expansion of sound.

Thus it is necessary to emphasize that the democratization of popular music practice in Yugoslavia and Serbia was the result of market liberalization. Huge parts of the communist elite were extremely unhappy with this processes, and this sentiment culminated with the notorious Congress of Cultural Action, held in Kragujevac in 1971, when communist leaders condemned all the spheres of popular culture as *schund* and *kitsch*, and in the most radical traditions of classical orthodox Marxism, called for a ban on comics, neo-folk music, etc. Various new campaigns against kitch and schund followed in the succeeding years, but the already functioning liberalization in this field, which was turning huge profits, prevailed.

It is important to be aware of this context in order to shed better light on the discussions about popular music during the 1990s. All the trends that exploded during that decade were already present in the development of so-called neo-folk music during the 1980s: technological innovations, rhythmical acceleration, introduction of disco rhythms followed by adoption of techno patterns, the „borrowing“ of songs from Turkish and Greek artists, and increasingly pronounced melismas and trills. Neo-folk singers, although merely tolerated by the communists, were selling enormous numbers of records and tapes, and the whole music industry revolved around them. On the other hand, rock and pop singers, although usually unprofitable, were endlessly propagated and forced on people via electronic media under state control, as the elite needed Western legitimization⁷.

The study of popular music in Serbia of the 1990s is an extremely demanding job. To all the above-mentioned complexity of identity and social factors we have to add numerous new elements, such as the breakup of Yugoslavia through several bloody wars, the formal democratization of the political system through the introduction of party and media pluralism, disintegration of the previous value system and media dictatorship (there used to be only three or four TV channels in Serbia, while today there are about 400!), the wild, illegal

⁶ Šaban Šaulić, the most prominent singer of this genre, had the biggest selling single in the history of popular music in Yugoslavia, „Let's Grow Old Together“, which sold over a million copies.

⁷ The absurdity of the situation could be seen in the fact that state recording houses were even publishing punk groups, which, however, differently from their British counterparts, were totally harmless, as they were rich kids' toys, and not a genuine movement of unemployed and working class youth.

privatization and criminalization of society, etc. Two processes are of special importance for us here: 1) Due to the wars and all the accompanying problems, as well as the end of the need for Western legitimization, the state withdrew from the role of dictator of cultural policy. As a result, the rock and roll movement lost its previous support and, due to the massive emigration of the young urban population, lost its consumers as well. Musical taste came to be dictated by raw market forces, under conditions of war. Numerous new radio and TV stations opened, and they needed their own mainstream, which had to be created with a low budget⁸ in circumstances of huge poverty. Composers picked up whatever elements they could, from all sides, just to animate the impoverished audience. 2) There was a seemingly paradoxical, parallel process of external closing and internal opening of the country's music scene. In 1992, Yugoslavia was isolated from the world by sanctions introduced by the UN Security Council. As a result, especially the young and intellectual population was prevented from travelling to the West and bringing back new cultural trends. But at the same time, along with the rest of the world, Yugoslavia was exposed to the new technological revolution (expansion of satellite TV, information technology and the Internet), as well as a specific pirate revolution: being cut off from the world the country was also cut off from the enforcement of international copyright laws, as a result of which its citizens could enjoy free or cheap pirated CDs, VHS movies, and software, which especially helped young people to stay in touch with the values and models of Western popular culture.

This additional pluralization of the media space, together with the new social environment, dictated by war circumstances, escapism and the flood of drugs, led to a further democratization of the musical scene, a dynamization of rhythms, but also to the lowering of the quality of the music and lyrics. People were searching for something "wild, strong, fast and new," but were served with vulgarized and overemphasized Oriental rhythms, fused with techno-patterns and increasingly common melismas and trills in singing. Performers' appearances were also becoming more and more vulgar and kitschy, leading to open pornography. However, it should also be noted that, from the beginning of the 1990s, several different genres existed alongside each other: classical neo-folk based on rhythms from central Serbia; a specific genre of military-folk, based on a revival of *chetnik* (traditional Serbian guerilla fighters) songs from the Second World War, with patriotic and nationalistic lyrics and Dinaric folk singing; the mid 1990s saw the culmination of the *Dens* (dance) movement, launched under the influence of European and Croatian techno-pop (bands such as *2 Unlimited*, or the Croatian *ET*); and, finally the most important of them all, techno-folk, which also appeared on the scene in the mid 1990s. Rock, pop and jazz also continued to exist, but being unprofitable and bioacoustically irrelevant, they were relegated to the underground. Only the DJ techno industry exploded, and the Belgrade scene of the 1990s became the leading one in Eastern Europe.

Unfortunately, all this musical colorfulness did not spawn a movement for the serious study of popular music. Popular music has yet to be recognized

⁸ Some of the TV spots made in 1993 (the year of hyper-inflation) cost only 1000 DM!

as a specific field, and in media discussions it is treated as a part of “music” in general, to be judged by the same criteria that are applied to classical, elitist music. Ethnomusicologists and musicians with a classical education usually look down on it, leaving it to completely unprepared and irrelevant persons coming from different fields, such as journalism, art history, theater, and the like. The consequences are twofold. On the one hand, this field is still left to itself and to the vicissitudes of the market, so most of its products are relatively low in value; however, gradually, the audience has also created its own criteria, and recognizes composers and singers with quality and staying power. On the other hand, the above-mentioned analysts and critics have proclaimed this entire field as *turbo-folk*, which is not intended as a name for a musical genre but as an ideological label. Instead of offering more complex and sophisticated analyses, they have declared everything that is not supposedly “urban” rock and roll as *turbo-folk*, which has brought nothing other than abstract ideological battles regarding definitions and value judgments. There are three positions regarding *turbo-folk* that we will briefly present here:

1. The position of traditionalists, cultural conservatives and fighters for „purity“ of national music practice, such as composer Zoran Hristić, neo-folk singer Miroslav Ilić, spiritual singer Dragoslav Aksentijević, etc. They claim that the communists purposely forced Asiatic rhythms on the Serbian spiritual tradition, and that these Oriental elements are alien to the Serbian original identity. This ahistorical position wants to reduce Serbian musical identity to a small portion of central Serbia⁹.

2. The position of the so-called globalists and cosmopolites, basically the pre-Milošević communist elite. It sounds paradoxical, but although ideologically totally opposed to the first group, they also perceive *turbo-folk* as the greatest danger to the general social culture. The difference is that they treat TF as a nationalistic product which Milošević made in order to destroy rock and roll as a pro-Western and subversive musical movement, which should be listened to, according to them, by everyone in Serbia. Thus, they also claim that TF is a state project, but with a different purpose: while the former claim that the regime used TF to intentionally deprive the Serbs of their national identity, the latter insist that TF was created for purposes of nationalistic mobilization. This group includes journalist Petar Luković¹⁰, Dean of the Faculty of Art in Belgrade Milena Dragičević-Šešić, and American sociologist Eric Gordy.

3. Finally, there is the recently established position of the new Trotskyist left gathered around the journal *Prelom* and the Center for History and Theory of Culture in Belgrade. According to their point of view, both the first and the second group of critics and analysts are cultural racists and proto-fascists. They do not accept any national cultures and, thus, consider *turbo-folk* to be a great movement because it is a melange of all sorts of different genres, and represents “globalism in Serbia.” This group is very powerful and actually holds a monopoly over huge parts of cultural politics in Serbia. They present

⁹ Their point of view is identical to that of the Bulgarian conservatives. See Clair Levy’s articles, such as: [Levy 2002: 215–229] and [Levy 2001].

¹⁰ See his article: [Luković].

a banalized version of today's ruling ideology in the West, according to which "globalism," human rights, multiculturalism and homosexual rights go together, so their interpretation of popular music is also based on this. They are also not interested in analyzing genres and complex musical practice, so they too accept TF as a generic label and claim that it is all good because it is progressive. Thus, for example, they consider the music of singer Dragana Mirković to be great because she is gay-friendly(!) [Dimitrijević 2002].

This position nevertheless represents some progress relative to the first two, because it does not condemn Oriental elements and intuitively perceives in popular music practice processes of intercultural communication that are dominant even in Western popular music. Nevertheless, it is doing a very bad service to its own insight (which, by the way, its carriers have "borrowed," without stating the source) by drowning it in a generalized ideological story about "globalism" and the allegedly closed and patriarchal Serbia that has to be de-taboo-ized through the propagation of eroticism, nudity, etc. However, the actual situation is completely different since, in the Serbia of the 1990s, not only all taboos but the entire system of values was destroyed, including basic moral principles. The ruling circles even intentionally tried to incorporate pornography and erotic pleasure-seeking into a general conservative consensus. Thus, the values that they want to "bring down," for all practical purposes, no longer exist.

What is common to all three groups is that they all draw their origins from the classical communist left and, thus, realize neither the importance of popular music as a complex, separate field, nor the role of market liberalization which is key for understanding popular music practice in Serbia.

Thus, we can conclude that the real work on recognizing and establishing the field of popular music as a specific one still awaits us in Serbia. Only then will it be possible to undertake serious analyses of particular aspects of this field, processes that characterize them and, especially, offer recommendations for partial, stimulative state intervention in creating a more quality, but also living, complex and authentic popular music. It also needs to be realized that Oriental elements are a legitimate part of the musical identity of not just Serbia as a multicultural state, but of the Serbs as a nation as well, and that the aim should not be to expunge them but to avoid their vulgarization and overemphasis.

ILLUSTRATIONS

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TOWARDS A BOTTOMLESS PIT:
THE DRAMATURGY OF SILENCE
IN THE STRING QUARTET *PLAY STRINDBERG*
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SUMMARY: This paper deals with some aspects of the materialization of silence in Ivana Stefanović's string quartet *Play Strindberg* (1993). Based on August Strindberg's drama *The Father*, it consists of an autonomous whole with its own narration which I explore as being rooted in silence. Thus, the quartet is analyzed and elucidated from the perspective of *musically articulated* silence whose concrete and particular incentive is pinpointed here in a scene at the end of the second act of Strindberg's drama. That scene is considered and proved to be the core of the musical dramaturgy of the quartet, given the nature of that silence as the silence of latent conflict, anxiety, dark forebodings and expectations, which functions as a means of musical portrayal of the characters and the irrevocable tragedy of events.

KEY WORDS: Ivana Stefanović, musical silence, August Strindberg, string quartet *Play Strindberg*

The challenges of freedom and limitation, which are opened and put in place by the dramatic word and its scenic articulation, are an important feature of Ivana Stefanović's creative relationship towards the dramatic original she uses. As a musician to whom, of all the non-musical artistic media, the word is the closest [Kara-Pešić 1999: 13], this composer strives to penetrate the word's essence, its meaning, its message and emotion, experiencing and treating that word as a referential sphere of the incitements to the articulation of her musical

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alter ego. She shapes her musical content rather *in regard of* the uttered dramatic content than exclusively *for/because of* it; she shapes her thought, her portrayal of fictional characters and situation *in regard of* the contents intimated by the word, and not exclusively *for* them; she expresses her view *in regard of* the dramatically considered life questions, and not necessarily *for the sake of* their unreserved confirmation. Consequently, her theater music is not simply scenic, merely accompanying or descriptive relative to the dramatic flow, its protagonists and their mutual relationships, but is more of her personal variation on them as a given topic for musical consideration intended for the theatrical stage.

This is testified, among other things, by the achieved emancipation of the theater music that Ivana Stefanović composed for August Strindberg's play *The Father*, which exists as a separate composition. This is the string quartet *Play Strindberg*, which, although it rests on Strindberg's dramatic plot, also represents an autonomous, independent whole with its own narration.

As in the majority of Ivana Stefanović's works, its center is occupied by a musically realized and functionalized silence. I would say that it draws its concrete impetus from the scene at the end of the second act of Strindberg's drama, in which, during a bitter argument between the Captain and his wife Laura, the Captain "unable to speak" – as depicted in the drama [Strindberg 1983: 50], takes the blows of Laura's deviant words that he is no longer needed (by her, the family, etc.), having "fulfilled [his] function as an unfortunately unnecessary father and breadwinner" [Strindberg 1983: 50]. Laura dominates her husband as she spins and deviously tightens a web of intrigues around him, forcing his ostracism from family and society, pushing him into destructive doubts and driving him into a state of psychical instability. The diabolicalness with which she does this is, in fact, the authentic nature of her almost genre-receptive appearance, the generator and moderator of disturbed intrafamilial relations. Strindberg views them as an inevitable consequence of the battle of the sexes, whose main causes are the emancipation of women and the viewing of the sexes from a mostly biological perspective.

The moment of that "silence," during which the Captain stares at Laura while she demonstrates the essence of her pathological control over his life and power over his fate, an ostensible silence, a desperate silence, a silence of "timed" explosiveness and aggression, is in fact that *silent moment* of Strindberg's play that is manifoldly dramatically ramified and functionalized in the very musical flow of the Quartet; which is an important source of its musical dramaturgy and which, thus, to a great extent determines the musical physiognomy and defines the meaning of the composition's musical silence. Silence as a latent conflict, as apprehension, foreboding and expectation; silence as a means of depicting the characters and the inexorable tragicalness of the action. In addition, by producing a "softer" – although no less ominous – musical ambiance than Strindberg's dramatic ambiance, it is as though the composer expresses a larger understanding of the problems of the tragedy's protagonists than does the playwright, i.e., greater than what the protagonists, in the playwright's view, should "deserve."

In the musical sense, generally speaking, we are talking about segments of silence that are structured by attributes of slow musical time, through a change of the focus of the musical flow and the differentiation of the sound levels, all of which implies a specific dramatic functionalization of individual musical parameters.

Thus, the first part of the ternary first movement, encompassing the first twenty measures, is the silence articulated by sound, which occupies a key place in the dramaturgy of the musical flow of this movement, as well as, to a great extent, of the piece as a whole. Not only because it represents its initial sound situation, but because it is not only preparatorily “illustrative,” but also semantically symptomatic.

During the course of eighteen measures, that situation flows through the parallel, smooth steps of all the instruments, in whole notes (4/4 time). The content that they perform consists of chords representing segments and derivatives of a complex tertian texture, actually a potential tertian aggregate, characterized by the neutralization of A major and A minor. That aggregate can be interpreted as an internally shifting, rotating tertian thirteenth chord of the type **a c e g h d f**, with occasional alterations **cis**, **fis** and **gis**.

On the harmonic plane, leveled by the very structure of this thirteenth chord, the tones **cis**, **fis** and **gis**, which are perceived during the chord progression as some sort of returning or passing notes, do not contribute to any profiling of the major or minor, but merely represent dissonant “scratches” within the neutralized harmonic level, thus semantically indicating that there is no complete internal balance in the initial levelling of the material, i.e., the harmonic aggregate of that movement, that there is no peace in that calmness after all, i.e., that that quiet ambiance is only superficial and apparent. A part of that indication is the character of the musical time. Here it is treated as a unifying structural parameter, which is processed in the direction of achieving an occasional disturbance of the time flow. Because the disruption of the neutralization of the modes by means of those “scratches” contributes to the illusion of an increased number of impulses in a unit of time and, thus, to an acceleration of musical time itself. Namely, in the course of the above-mentioned eighteen measures of the first part of the first movement, the number of impulses per unit of time is, as I stressed, very small and steady, and is represented content-wise by individual chords as aspects of the harmonic aggregate’s manifestations. In such an acoustic situation, the sporadic appearance of “disturbing” tones brings a certain contrasting quality, a slight increase in the dynamics of the sound flow and, thus, an impression of an increased amount of acoustic information.

Thus, neither major nor minor mode, chords given in open position, in a muted sound of all instruments (*con sordino*), the articulation of *sempre molto legato*, the quiet dynamics (*pp*) and slow tempo (*Lento. Molto tranquillo*), build a surface of musical silence semantically functionalized by the accelerations of its time. Precisely because they are slight, those accelerations give testimony of that silence as an environment of the concealed drama of the events and the misfortune. They reveal a silence of bitter meanings, intimations and forebodings.

I

Lento. Molto tranquillo

Ivana Stefanović
1993

Violino I
Violino II
Viola
Violoncello
Vn. I
Vn. II
V-la
Vc.

con sord.
pp sempre molto legato
con sord.
pp sempre molto legato
con sord.
pp sempre molto legato
con sord.
pp sempre molto legato

mf
mf

Example 1. *Play Strindberg*, the beginning of the first movement.

A musically analogously structured silence also fills the *third part of the first movement* (m. 33–56). The chords that come from the same aggregate as those that represent the contents of the first part of the movement are tied in their progression in the same tempo, the same dynamics and articulation, although no longer in a muted sound, in the same rhythmic distribution (whole notes in 4/4 time). The first three measures of the third part (m. 33, 34, 35) are, moreover, identical to the analogous measures from the first part (m. 1, 2, 3), except that, at the start of the third part, they are immediately preceded by a core of the “sum” of two tonal levels (in A and in A_s), which, respectively, characterize the beginning and the ending musical silence of the work as a whole.

Otherwise, the tonal level of the third part of the first movement is directed toward the potential of minor mode of the sphere in D, also contained in the above-mentioned chord aggregate. This part of the movement occurs in harmonies that are, just as in the first part, perceived as “coloristic units” of silence, but which now endow it with a somewhat different anticipatory meaning than in the first part. Namely, through their open position and calm coloristic glistening, which now have the experience of “witnessing” about the

Tempo primo
Lento. Molto tranquillo

Vn. I *pp* *sempre molto legato*

Vn. II *pp* *sempre molto legato*

V-la *pp* *sempre molto legato*

Vc. *pp* *sempre molto legato*

Example 2. *Play Strindberg*, final chord in m. 32 and m. 33

sudden breakthrough of the conflict primarily between the first and the second violin, and then with a more pronounced participation of the viola – which is the content of the middle part of the movement (m. 20–32) – these harmonies bring into the acoustic space of their otherwise slow musical time as much “air” as is needed in order to broaden that space into an almost ambiently open one. For, by softening in the *decrecendo al niente* sense, they suggest a moving of the line of horizon, both the internal one – psychological, emotional, and the external one – potentially eventful. They suggest movement both into depth and into distance: from the vague internal forebodings and indications from the beginning of the movement, to the expectation of a concrete, external event at the end of the movement.

Tempo primo
Lento. Molto tranquillo

Vn. I *decrecendo al niente*

Vn. II *decrecendo al niente*

V-la *decrecendo al niente*

Vc. *decrecendo al niente*

Example 3. *Play Strindberg*, the last four measures of the first movement

Thus, although achieved by the same means, the musical silence of the outer parts of the first movements of the Quartet is not totally the same in the semantic sense. It is nuanced in a dramatically subtle way precisely through its contrasting *middle section*. Namely, it appears as though the musical contents by which instruments in this section explosively enter a brief, but almost excessive mutual argument, reveal the heated latency of the movement's starting silence. And since the end section of the movement also occurs in silence, we can say that this externalized latency is perceived as a specifically materialized moment of the musical silence established at the very beginning of the Quartet. For, the contents of that argument did not negate the silence but, in fact, returned to it. But the fact that their return to the silence, their disappearance in it, i.e., their turning into it, begins with three measures identical to the very beginning of the movement, metaphorically indicates not only that something was being anticipated but that it was a *conflict* that was being anticipated. That is, it indicates the contents that smoldered in that silence from the silence's first moment but were uncovered only in the middle section. Thus, when they return to silence after the end of that section, they semantically change it for, although once again concealed, once again silent, they nevertheless bring into it the experience of their previous meaning and, thus, indicate the basic direction of the ensuing musical flow, the degree of their aggravation and, with that, expectation of the "events" that are going to occur in the third movement of the Quartet. That is why the "second" silence of this movement differs from its "first" silence.

In dramatic continuity with the silence from the first movement stands the sound silence from the *final section of the second movement* (Coda, m. 65). It is achieved primarily by way of articulation. Namely, along with a nuancing of dynamic values, it achieves a characteristic change of sound, by which, although it is not essential, the focus of our previous sound perception of this movement is changed, toward the hearing of that sound as silence.

Allegretto

65

Vn. I

Vn. II

quasi percussione

mp

V-la

quasi percussione

mp

Vc.

p

Example 4. *Play Strindberg*, the second movement, from measure 65 to the end

We are talking about the situation where the second violin and the viola express the movement's basic material – an ostinato figure that the same instruments express during the movement as a whole: in the function of an eight-measure rondo theme (these are sections *a* of the total form of the movement *a b a b a b¹ b² a Coda*) whose layer is also an ostinato pedal in the cello, and which is enriched with a singable theme with a dance potential in sections *b²*. At the same time, sections *a* flow in the *pizzicato* articulation and *piano* dynamics, and sections *b* in the *arco*³ articulation and the dynamic value of *mezzopiano* with *crescendo* nuances within it and an ending *decrescendo*.

However, that ostinato figure changes in the coda. It is now deprived of pitches and reduced to its rhythmic content, which the instruments (second violin and viola!) perform *quasi percussione*. The cello does not leave the field of pitches, and the rhythmic values of the pedals in its part remain unchanged relative to the first and the fourth appearance of section *a*, and the first and second appearance of section *b*. All that takes place in a *mezzopiano* (second violin and viola) and *piano* (cello) dynamics, ultimately directed toward the lowest threshold of audibility.

The above-mentioned absence of pitches in the coda of this movement is characteristic as a moment of transition from the field of singability to the field of impulse, from the space of tone to the space of rhythm and, in the final instance, from the area of the psychological time of the concrete, almost genre situation of the second movement, into the area of its ontological time. Up to the coda, ontological time passes in parallel, even overlappingly, with the time of the concrete “genre scene.” When it separates from it by leaving the area of tone, i.e., when the “genre episode” dies down, or when, thus, the psychological time of the movement ends its concrete course, its “ontological *cantus firmus*,” characterized by the rhythmic content of the ostinato figure, remains.

On the one hand, with the abandonment of pitches, their “crossing” into impulses that themselves disappear in the ever lower dynamics, this movement's musical flow exits not only from the time of the concrete occurrence but also from its space. On the other hand, however, at the same time the pitches of that ostinato figure are retained in the cello part, creating a parallel impression about a sort of extension of this “genre scene”; the impression of the still unconcluded scene, i.e., of the scene whose dramatic potential – which is tied to the Laura character – is merely transferred into events that will immediately follow, as their key generator and participant.

And so, after the beginning of the *third movement*, the described silence “scene” from the Quartet's second movement is even more clearly perceived as silence. For, being almost expressionistically vehement in all musical parameters, the third movement, which actually stems from the music that Ivana Stefanović composed for the second act of Strindberg's drama, brings a strong

² In section *b¹* (m. 41), the ostinato figure is rhythmically changed in the cello by a double diminution of the quarter note pulsation originating from the first appearance of section *a*, i.e., through the diminution of the eighth notes from its second appearance.

³ Except that the cello continues in *pizzicato*, all the way up to *b¹*, when the articulation changes into *arco*.

contrast relative to the previous movement. In this way, it semantically “subsequently” specifies the ending silence from the previous movement as a latent anticipation of the sharp conflict between the main protagonists; as a silence that is actually, insidiously, a plaything, “negatively” genre-wise. And the fact that it, actually, stands “behind everything” in the Quartet’s dramaturgy, is revealed by its “residue” at the end of the third movement (m. 98–102), embodied by the transformed, shifted ostinato figure from the previous movement. Its trace is recognized in the eighth note motif on tone *c*, which retains the *pizzicato* articulation and low dynamics of the initial form of that figure, but becomes something *other than it*, primarily through metrical changes. We are talking about an unmarked horizontal polymetry within the measure $4/4^4$, during which the figure dissipates, while also deviating its primarily dance modus through the real metrical progression $4/4 - 3/4 - 5/4$.

Allegro molto

Example 5. *Play Strindberg*, m. 98–102

In that way, this figure becomes what it has latently perhaps always been: the cause of the conflict and the “disturbed” participant in it. For the figure comes out of that conflict precisely by way of distant associations to the elements of chord silence in the first movement, associations that appear in the third movement in the form of short *pianissimo* cuts (m. 80, *Molto meno mosso, sostenuto*). In it, segments in a low dynamics, together with *tremolos*, *quasi glissandos*, and the pulsating of tone *a* in the *pizzicato* of the second violin (m. 90–92), build a tranquil sound level upon which – precisely from the repetition of tone *a* – the ostinato “icon” of the second movement, now changed, “distorted,” in fact uncovered, draws its thread and leaves its trace.

The character of the silence in the *fourth movement* of the Quartet is another direct consequence of that trace and that silence. This movement rests on the cello theme which, with its expressiveness and singability, contrasts

⁴ In the original form, the figure is expressed in the measure $6/8!$

itself with its immediate environment, personifying the Captain as the drama's second key protagonist. That environment is mostly represented by low dynamic values and dynamic nuances of sustained tones in the other instruments, with the chords mainly composed of thirds and seconds, and which, in their duration, slight moves or short replicas to the "statement" of the cello (e.g. m. 15–25), "slip" from the initial A minor to the closing A flat major.

In relation to such a sound context, the dominating cello part is perceived in multiple ways: as content that unfolds in parallel to that context, which, thus, emphasizes its own identity; as content that organically belongs to that context – which is indicated with a certain degree of unforced, natural integration of the material in cello and the above-mentioned replicas in the other instruments of the quartet ensemble, but also as an entity that, at the same time, strives to free itself from that context. This is prefigured by the exiting of the theme from the A minor sphere, its repetition, fruitless attempts of retaining its identity within the A flat major as a new tonality (into which there is a descent, or "fall" from A minor!), as well as through the outcome of that situation, which brings the theme's ending disintegration, the destruction of its identity by way of its immersion, "transformation" into the tonic triad of A flat major.

Moderato

meno mosso poco ten. poco ten.

37

Vn. I

Vn. II

V-la

Vc.

decresc.

decresc.

decresc.

decresc.

pp poco a poco allarg. e decresc.

45

Vn. I

Vn. II

V-la

Vc.

poco ten.

al niente

al niente

al niente

al niente

al niente

Example 6. *Play Strindberg*, final movement, from m. 41 to the end

In that way, the overall musical flow of the last movement unfolds through two concomitant, mutually dependent contrasting layers: one, represented by the expressive cello theme, and the other, represented by its heartless surrounding. Thereby, the character of one layer reinforces the character of the other. For, the still base over which the cello melody is played is in many ways perceived as silence precisely because, through its musical attributes of silence, it strengthens the expressiveness of the cello's melody. However, by this, at the same time, it also strengthens its isolation, loneliness, persecution which, again, conversely, intensifies the impression of the silence's existence; of the *persecution as silence*. Both the layers ultimately merge in the A flat major tonic triad, in the lowest dynamics and *decrescendo al niente*.

This forms a circle with the concluding silence of the Quartet's first movement. The conflict can, thus, begin once again. As an "eternal" conflict of the sexes, of motherhood and fatherhood, as a drama of some other family, a drama with the same outcome but perhaps on an even more destructive level, each time in a more precipitous fall, ever closer to the abyss.

Play Strindberg...

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TIME TIIIME TIIIIIME:¹ CONSIDERING THE PROBLEM OF MUSICAL TIME ON THE EXAMPLE OF VLASTIMIR TRAJKOVIĆ'S POETICS AND THOMAS CLIFTON'S AESTHETICS

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SUMMARY: In this paper, approach to the phenomenon of musical time within Vlastimir Trajković's poetics and phenomenological aesthetics of music by Thomas Clifton was comparatively considered, inspired by the composition *Arion. Le nuove musiche per chitarra ed archi* (1979), by Serbian composer Vlastimir Trajković. In it, the author is using some elements of minimalism, making the effect of "retained" time and thus encouraging the listener to question the flow of musical time. On the other hand, the same idea of extending that specific „now“ in the process of listening to music is found in the aesthetical writings of Thomas Clifton. For this theoretician, an implicit feature of time is that it combines all three modes – past, present and future – concomitantly, thus making them intertwined in the process of listening. Repetition has a specific role in this process, and the idea of repeating musical information the way Trajković does seems to underline that specific characteristic of musical time and the process of listening. Starting with the assumption that what Trajković shows through his music is similar to what Clifton states in his aesthetical writings, problem of musical time was analyzed having in mind one poetical and one aesthetical approach, with accent on the significance of chosen stylistic solutions.

KEY WORDS: musical time, *Arion*, Vlastimir Trajković, Thomas Clifton, phenomenology, (post)minimalism

The possibilities of considering one musicological problem (in this case musical time) from three points of view – aesthetic, poetic and stylistic are the

¹ The title refers to the segment of the "author's interpretation of his own ideo-compositional sphere" [Veselinović 1983: 397]. The first version of this paper was produced within the course *Aesthetics, Poetics, Stylistics of Contemporary Music I*, as part of doctoral studies in Musicology at the Faculty of Musical Art in Belgrade, under the mentorship of Professor Mirjana Veselinović-Hofman, PhD. This version is presented as part of the project *Serbian Musical Identities within Local and Global Frameworks: Traditions, Changes, Challenges*. No. 177004, funded by Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.

central question of this paper. The work that inspired interest in this problem was the composition for string orchestra and guitar *Arion. Le nuove musiche per chitarra ed archi* (1979), by Serbian composer Vlastimir Trajković. This is a composer whose poetics are characterized by his interest in musical time², and the use of minimalist elements in the said composition makes it additionally interesting, due to the specific experience of musical time that accompanies minimalism in music. In examining Trajković's poetic method, I will analyze the way in which he approached the problem of time, which I will understand in the context of the aesthetic interpretation of time offered by Thomas Clifton in his study on applied phenomenology. Various phenomenological aspects of music that have been considered in writings of various theorists are concerned with the types and temporal dynamics of music listening [Veselinović-Hofman 2007a: 117], which is also the case with Clifton's study, in which the author, as the title of his study suggests, advocates the application of the theoretical postulates to which he arrived in elaborating the theses of Husserl and Merleau-Ponty [Veselinović-Hofman 2007a: 139].

Vlastimir Trajković's *Arion* is an example of a work that marked the appearance of the avant-garde in the Yugoslav, i.e., Serbian musical environment, in the local sense, due to its introduction of elements of minimalism, conceptualism and processuality, and which can also be viewed as one of the first postmodern compositions here [Veselinović1983: 393; Veselinović-Hofman 20076: 277]³. Namely, as explained by musicologist Mirjana Veselinović-Hofman, the postmodern elements are, before all, evident in the domain of program and meaning, due to the verbal dimension of the score, which is comprised of the verses of the Roman poet Publius Ovidius Naso, indicating a postmodern intertextuality [Veselinović-Hofman 20076: 277]⁴. These verses, together with the "author's interpretation of his own ideo-compositional sphere," in the words of Mirjana Veselinović-Hofman, "almost have the weight of a proclamation of his aesthetic views" [Veselinović-Hofman1983: 397]. On the other hand, if we follow the line of argument regarding the composition's postmodern qualities, we arrive at an interpretation that defines it as an example of post-minimalist postmodernism, as defined by the musicologist Marija Masnikosa [Masnikosa2010: 124]⁵, who views the work as a "synthesis of minimalist repetitiveness, slowed time, indicated postmodern referentiality and a new, 'classicist' orientation." [Masnikosa 2010: 227].

² As testified by the author's composition, his diploma work *Tempora retenta* [Veselinović 1983: 397].

³ Nevertheless, that was not the first minimalist composition here. That priority belongs to Vladan Radovanović's work, *Šest dvoglasnih korala* [*Six Two-Part Chorales*], dated in 1956 [Veselinović-Hofman 2002: 22]. For a time it was thought that there were only four chorales (which was reflected in the composition's original name), before the author discovered two more chorales that also belonged to the entire work.

⁴ Intertextuality can also be recognized in the title, as the syntagma "Le nuove musiche" is the title of the collection of madrigals of Gulio Caccini, from 1602 [Masnikosa 2010: 226].

⁵ The author distinguishes between two different entities of musical postminimalism: postmodern minimalism and postminimalist postmodernism [Masnikosa 2010: 16–21]. While a characteristic of postmodern minimalism is the affirmation of minimalism as a dominant discourse to which others adapt, postminimalist postmodernism represents textual heterogeneity within which minimalistic segments occupy a significant place [Masnikosa 2010: 19].

When speaking about elements of minimalism, it should be noticed that we are not dealing with a work in which all parameters are absolutely reduced⁶, nor is it a matter of demonstrating some of the specific repetitive compositional techniques as being the work's dominant characteristics⁷. Instead, what we have is a reduction of some elements to a degree that was in accordance with Trajković's poetics. In other words, it is not a matter of following the line of radical modernistic minimalism⁸, but of an individual creative process that freely "chooses" the elements of the minimalist musical heritage. The *Arion*'s sound image is drawn by the reduction of the string "base" to the persistence of a fund of eight chords in mutual medial relations that are repeated in their transpositions, along with eight characteristic groups of tones in the guitar segment, and the motive core of the middle portion of the (three-part) composition [Veselinović 1983: 397–399]. Repetitive and nonrepetitive parts alternate in the work, with a constantly present chord in the function of a drone being conspicuous in some of the sections⁹. These compositional-technical features represent a form of exploration of the slowing, „widening“ and stretching of musical time. Since Thomas Clifton's views pertain precisely to the „widening“ of musical time, i.e., the intertwining of the past, present and future in the process of listening, I will explore that segment of his aesthetics, starting with a consideration of his main thesis on music and the music phenomenon.

By music phenomenon Clifton means the relationship between a musical object and the human experience. Thus, in order to understand something as a phenomenon, there has to be an object that is being perceived and does not demand interpretation in only one, "proper" way, as well as a recipient, whose freedom of reception is limited by past experiences and environment (educational, social and cultural) [Clifton 1983: 11]. Consequently, the definition of music from a phenomenological viewpoint would be the following: "Music has been defined as a certain reciprocal relation between a person, his behavior and a sounding object." [Clifton 1983: 10]¹⁰. And the goal of the phenomenological approach is to discover and emphasize the essences that make the musical experience possible [Clifton 1983: 10]¹¹. Clifton identifies four essential backgrounds that are necessary so that a sound object can be experienced as music: time, space, play and feeling and understanding. Since my primary

⁶ That would entail the use of constant drone in the work of La Monte Young, i.e., the reduction of the composition's content to its duration and color [Masnikosa 1998: 37].

⁷ Such as Philip Glass' additive-repetitive technique or Steve Reich's technique of composition-building through gradual processes [Masnikosa 1998: 49–69].

⁸ On the characteristics of radical musical minimalism, see [Masnikosa 1998: 33–77]. On the relationship between minimalism and postminimalism, see: [Masnikosa 2010: 23–92].

⁹ For a detailed analysis of the composition, see: [Masnikosa 2010: 226–240].

¹⁰ Along those lines, it can be concluded that the meaning of a phenomenon stems from the object, but also demands the presence of a listener. In other words, music is not an empirical object; rather, its meaning is constituted in relation to a subject (it exists "for me" as a subject) [Clifton 1983: 79]. Withal, a single manifestation of a work is referential of an idea that is common to all the possible different manifestations [Clifton 1983: 9].

¹¹ When it comes to experience, it should be said that Clifton sees it in the sense of the German word *Erlebnis*, which refers to the individual experience of an event, as opposed to the term *Erfahrung*, which refers to experience in general [Clifton 1983: 7].

interest in this essay is Clifton's interpretation of time, I will not deal with the other segments¹². Besides, as pointed out by Mirjana Veselinović-Hofman, Clifton's contribution to the phenomenological consideration of time is the most consistent part of his exposition [Veselinović-Hofman 2007a: 139].

In his exposition, Clifton criticizes the view of time as a flux. Namely, he thinks that there is no objective time in the sense of a continuum and the metaphor of "the famous river into which we cannot step twice" [Clifton 1983: 55]. Referring to that metaphor and to Merleau-Ponty, Clifton explains that we are not observers on the banks of that river, and that it is the human experience of certain events that is in flux, and provides meaning to the experienced events [Clifton 1983: 55]. Therefore, time does not exist independently from objects, events and the human consciousness, but represents the "experience of human consciousness in contact with change" [Clifton 1983: 56]. Clifton also holds that time is not undirected and irreversible, emphasizing that there are "rays" of consciousness that link the modi of time and the various relations between them that consciousness is capable of forming [Clifton 1983: 56]. In order to explain this claim, Clifton introduces the concept of the horizon and Husserl's concepts of retention and protention.

The horizon represents the temporal border of the field of presence filled with various contents. Within that field of the horizon, the temporal modi of the past, present and future intermix, and that is what distinguishes this field from the factual present – it is possible precisely thanks to the phenomenological present. Warning that the horizon might be wrongly understood as the equivalent of context, Clifton explains that the key difference between them lies in the fact that context requires another object that is affected by the changes in that context, while the "content of any temporal horizon is determined by the particular object" [Clifton 1983: 58]. In other words, the object is the horizon. In that sense, it can be said, for example, that the boundaries of a melody also represent the boundaries of the horizon, since the melody is not listened to in only one moment, but with a consciousness about what came before and what comes after [Clifton 1983: 58]. Thus is achieved the whole of the heard melody, as opposed to fragments of heard moments, which would be impossible to link into a continuing flow. This linking of temporal modi is achieved thanks to retention and protention. According to Clifton, retention is a "wider, phenomenal now", i.e., primary memory articulated by the present [Clifton 1983: 59]. On the other hand, recollection is secondary memory. While

¹² Instead, I will briefly present the other essential backgrounds here. When it comes to the experience of space, Clifton points to two aspects. One has to do with the phenomenology of the body as the "general instrument of comprehension", which allows the connection of all the senses due to the centralized self which synthesizes various perceptions (not only listening). The second aspect relates to the experience of music in space by way of its texture, thanks to whose almost tactile quality it is possible to feel the quality of the sound line and surface, as well as the movement of the sound mass. As for the element of play, Clifton says that in play as a musical essence, there occurs a "fusion between experiencing self and the experienced music", except that music does not represent play – it is play. When it comes to feeling and understanding, which Clifton claims are different but inseparable, he notes the "constant interplay between the synthetic activity of feeling and the analytic activity of reflection." For more on this, see: [Clifton 1983: 65–77].

recollection is representative, because it represents the memory of a melody we heard and its revival in the consciousness after it has ended, retention is presentative, because it refers to the immediate past, one that “has been (*ist gewesen*), but has not gone by (*ist vergangen*),” [Clifton 1983: 60] i.e., to the melody itself in the consciousness. Such a past is meaningful because it gives color to the present and allows the following of the links within the composition that confirm its identity. Protention in relation to the future is the same as retention in relation to the past. In that sense, there is a difference between the future that we anticipate and which is, thus, built into the present, analogously to retention, and the future that we expect, which is equivalent to memory. Still, Clifton stresses that the important difference between retention and protention is that protention is still largely undetermined. He notes that three viewpoints can be held regarding the future, of which repetition will be specifically discussed¹³. Clifton identifies the specificities pertaining to repetition, emphasizing that, when something is repeated, it is already familiar and, thus, part of our past, but is at the same time being renewed as the future. In that case, the power to anticipate becomes important because, if we just expect something, we reduce the possibility of establishing the link between ourselves and the composition. In the case of repetition, if we get used to constant repetition, “our own being becomes diminished as the composition loses some of its future” [Clifton 1983: 64].

Clifton is writing about repeated performances of already familiar compositions and the performer’s ability to stress the moment of anticipation, even though it is known what follows in the specific musical flux. However, his discourse on repetition can also be placed in the context of minimalist music, i.e., compositions that contain minimalist elements. In that case, the role of repetition is considered in relation to the repetition of musical material in the course of the composition itself. As Marija Masnikosa explains, referencing Dahlhaus and Sabe, listening to minimalist music “demands neither ‘retention’ nor ‘protention,’ while the ‘automatism’ of its occurrence implies a feeling of ‘timelessness’ with the listener. Thus, the minimalist composition becomes an almost infinite extension of a moment, an uninterrupted, monotonic ‘presentation’... [Masnikosa 1998: 25]. Having in mind Clifton’s explanation of the horizon, such an experience of minimalist music might be called into question. Namely, it has already been said that, in Clifton’s interpretation, the horizon and the musical object have been equalized. It is understood that, within the field of presence that a composition produces – and it was not stressed that this refers exclusively to a traditional, closed work of artistic music¹⁴, which may, thus, also be minimalist – the present, the past and the future are intertwined

¹³ The first view refers to the true indeterminacy as a condition of the future, with the note that it is still planned and, in that sense, is never totally unexpected; the second refers to certainty of the future, specifically meaning inevitable events such as death; the third refers to the role of repetition [Clifton 1983: 62–63].

¹⁴ After all, as Carl Dahlhaus pointed out, the listener’s perception experiences even an open work as a closed one, in the sense of a sound entity that has a beginning and an end [Veselinović-Hofman 2007a:114].

within it, but are not present in equal intensity. Therefore, the above-mentioned “present-action” does not have to be understood as a monotonous extension of a moment that evokes a feeling of timelessness. On the contrary, it is as though the extension of a moment through the repetition of musical information emphasizes the implicit characteristic of time – its “composition” out of all three *modi* simultaneously. The repetition of musical material does not necessarily mean that retention and protention are not included in the listening process. In fact, it seems that they must exist if the composition is to be experienced as a whole, while it seems as though the act of repetition lays bare the mechanism of retention and protention, in the sense that it makes them evident. In addition, the automatism of the occurrence of minimalist music is, from a phenomenological standpoint, also questionable. Namely, as was already stressed, the object itself is not sufficient for interpretation, which also requires the experience of listening. In that sense, even if automatization of repetition in the sound object exists, it does not have to be understood as such, because the entirety of the music phenomenon also includes the experience of the listener. The listener’s experience of time is, according to Clifton, a lived-through experience of the occurrence of certain events, which forms a continuing flow. Thus, time is not static, but flows in the way that the subject reacts in relation to the sequence of certain events (i.e., to their repetition!).

Because of this, (post)minimalist musical practices (with all their branchings) represent a challenge for the phenomenological interpretation of the experience of time. Still, it should be said that various compositional poetics are in play within these practices, in which the minimalist method is represented in different proportions and in relation to differing parameters. Trajković’s composition is an example of a work in which elements of minimalism are reflections of the author’s personal poetic conception related to the study of the phenomenon of musical time. However, it should be noted that we are dealing with an author who avoids theoretical interpretations of his work, even though he was inclined to them at one point of his working life, insisting that “his process of composition is not based on any *principles* whatsoever” [Veselinović 1983: 405].

In that sense, when speaking about Trajković’s approach to time, we are not referring to potential theoretical bases of his work on this problem. Rather, any comparison between Clifton’s phenomenological interpretation and Trajković’s poetics leads to one of possible interpretations. According to it, the very way in which Trajković uses the means and elements of minimalist musical language represents a poetical way of problematizing the topic which Clifton approaches as a phenomenologically oriented aesthetician. Nevertheless, in retaining a clear, conditionally speaking traditional macroform and not avoiding associations to already familiar elements of musical language¹⁵,

¹⁵ In the case of Trajković’s composition, the eight chord base is reminiscent of elements of jazz modality, which is, in turn, indicative of the strong influence of Olivier Messiaen and the composer’s French Impressionism, which is characteristic for his work. The simple melodic-rhythmic forms of the composition are of a basically Debussiesque origin [Veselinović 1983: 398–400].

Trajković maintains a sufficiently recognizable “field” for the listener, who is not faced with a radically new sound experience. As Marija Masnikosa points out, the “new perception” that radically minimalist music demands is primarily dependent on the form of the compositions in which traces of inherited functionality in the organization of musical parameters have been removed [Masnikosa 1998: 30]¹⁶. It is in that context that the discourse about the automatization of the listening process took place, about which objections from a phenomenological standpoint have already been presented, before all because phenomenology requires that the listener face the object itself and the rejection of established habits. Still, precisely thanks to the fact that Trajković maintains a recognizable form, his composition represents a balance between elements familiar to the listener and those that represent a sort of challenge for him. Within that framework, by stretching the duration of musical material, repeating certain segments, slowing the flow of time through numerous caesuras and forming repetitive models so that they “already include repetitiveness” [Masnikosa 2010: 236], Trajković seems to emphasize the nature of the experience of time in the listener’s consciousness, reminding of the importance of all time modi and their constant intertwining. That is the level at which the conceptual intervention that Trajković brings to Serbian music in the local avant-garde sense can be recognized, which Mirjana Veselinović-Hofman recognizes precisely due to the composition’s extensive musical time. It can be said the Vlastimir Trajković’s musical language carries listeners to their own experiences and apprehensions of time. From that side, he stimulates the recipient’s need to reexamine his relationship with the sound object, conceived so as to emphasize the relativity of the experience that is occurring at the moment that we are listening to it, and reminding us that it is concomitantly composed of both what immediately preceded it and what will follow it. In this way, Trajković’s compositional poetics, in which instruments of minimalism are in the function of demonstrating the complex phenomenon of musical time, can also be directly linked, in terms of theoretical interpretation, to Clifton’s aesthetic interpretation of the same problem. At the same time, such an interpretation offers the possibility of examining a musicological problem such as musical time from its aesthetic, poetic and stylistic perspective.

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¹⁶ “New Perception” is Philip Glass’s term. Still, authors of a post-minimalist orientation have distanced themselves from these radical trends.

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ELECTROACOUSTIC MUSIC IN VOJVODINA: FROM EXPERIMENT TO ACADEMIC SUBJECT (1960–2000)

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SUMMARY: In this text¹, I will try to provide a general overview of the development of electroacoustic music creation in Vojvodina, autonomous province of Serbia, from the first compositions of Ernő Király at the beginning of the 1960s to the beginning of the new century, when the position of this kind of music in the local context changed, under the influence of a global change in technological paradigm, but also because most of the “protagonists” were no longer active in Serbia. The text follows the development thread, through the poetics of several authors who were active in this area during the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s, such as Slavko Šuklar, Mitar Subotić, Stevan Kovacs Tickmayer, Miroslav Štatkić and others. The process of gathering relevant materials yielded a collection of about 50 artefacts (recordings, scores, complete and incomplete information about works), and this paper represents an attempt at a systematization of the collected data, based on the already-existing historizations of Serbian electroacoustic music, which is a necessary step that precedes the writing of individual case studies dedicated to particular works and composers.

KEY WORDS: electroacoustic music, concrete music, Serbia, Vojvodina, history of music, tape music, sound synthesis

The development of electroacoustic music in Vojvodina as a specific, thus formulated problem has not been in the focus of researchers up to now. At the same time, some of the most important achievements coming from the province have been considered in the context of the development of this type of music in Yugoslavia, i.e., Serbia. Historical overviews by Vladan Radovanović [Radovanović 2010, 125–156; 2001, 16–27] and Vesna Mikić [Mikić 2008, 18–27; 2007, 12–15] include works of artists from Vojvodina in the context of

¹ This paper came about as the result of research conducted after the first year of the realization of the project *Electroacoustic Music in Vojvodina* of Matica Srpska and the Center for the Study of Art of the Academy of Arts in Novi Sad.

a broader look encompassing a long time interval (second half of the 20th century) and quite varied content, so it is understandable that they do not separately deal with the question of music development in the autonomous provinces. With that in mind, it seems quite justified to base an overview of the development of electroacoustic music in Vojvodina precisely on these texts, as they offer a strategy of historization of specific musical artefacts, based on theoretical postulates that take into consideration the particularities of the Yugoslav, i.e., Serbian context. This involves the following of a chronology of relevant events “chosen” on the basis of being exceptional within their milieu, as expressed on the aesthetic and technological level.

This overview will consider works produced by composers of art music, as the work of authors of popular electroacoustic works requires a different methodology and a separate, detailed review. In further text, I will consider as electroacoustic music any work that requires the aid/cooperation of an electronic device for its performance or studio production. Such a view has its basis in Srdjan Hofman’s definition of electronic (electroacoustic) music: 1) music produced in a studio with the help of sound synthesis or acoustic instruments, which is stored on tape or in memory and reproduced over speakers, 2) music produced in the same way, which is reproduced in concert together with instrumental and/or vocal sections, 3) music for electroacoustic instruments or ensembles with electroacoustic instruments that is produced live in concert, and 4) music inspired by semantic elements [Hofman 1995: 9–12]². Hofman’s view also approximates theories of prominent international authors in this field, such as Peter Manning and Thom Holmes [Manning 2004; Holmes 2012], and can, thus, be seen as the most relevant and comprehensive in the local framework, which is the reason why it has been incorporated in the methodology of this work. Since the goal is the produce an overview of the development of a specific thread of our music history, i.e., a mapping of the space on the basis of selected “points” of orientation, the text will not individually deal with composition details (although some sort of analysis certainly did precede the writing of this text), but will strive to set an adequate framework for further, more concrete historizations through case studies that would be performed on the basis of the overview.

Although the approach that I will apply in the text can also be found in the writings of foreign musicologists, it could not be completely implemented in connection with Serbian circumstances, as the technological resources that were available to our authors did not keep pace with global trends³. Tape can be considered as the “central” medium of Vojvodina’s electroacoustic music output, as it was a part of the instrumentarium up to the beginning of the 1990s, when it was replaced by the computer. Sound synthesis techniques were spo-

² Ivana Janković writes that Hofman’s definition of the concept of electroacoustic music in the broadest sense “encompasses all compositions in which the sound material is wholly or partly produced or transformed electronically, or in the performance of which electronic devices are used” [Janković 2002: 97–104].

³ Electroacoustic music is a field in which lack of material investment directly affects the end, audio result, due to the complexity of the necessary devices, which cannot be manufactured without industrial support.

radic, but generally rare due to the lack of serious synthesizers. According to Ivo Malec, the Yugoslav public first encountered concrete music as early as the mid 1950s, and the reception was not very warm [Malec 1958: 307–316]. Still, a significant number of artists would explore the new sound possibilities in the years that followed. Since the only large synthesizer in Yugoslavia at that time, the *Synthi 100*, was located in Belgrade, composers from Vojvodina often used small synthesizers (one of which, hand-made, from the 1980s, unfortunately in disrepair, is stored at the facilities of the *kuda.org* organization in Novi Sad) to synthesize sound. Alternatively, they used unconventional sources whose final product was obtained through manipulations with tape. The first electronic studio in Vojvodina was opened in 1987, within the Academy of Arts, but that was at a time when, due to the availability of digital technology, the studio was becoming less and less interesting for composers, who often had more possibilities at their disposal at home or in private facilities.

With that in mind, I would start this overview of the development of electroacoustic music in Vojvodina by mapping the temporal-spatial framework that I wish to cover. It stretches from the beginnings of manipulations with tape in the studios of Radio Novi Sad during the 1960s, through the branching and the intermixing of various musical scenes (art, alternative, popular, folklore...) during the 1980s, to the last decade of the 20th century and the “establishment” of the place of electroacoustic music in the academic musical canon. The reason for setting a lower boundary for the time interval lies in the change of the technological paradigm from digital to post-digital⁴. That change significantly influenced the metamorphosis of the status of electroacoustic music, which under the circumstances can no longer be studied with the same methodology, having in mind the problematic status of *composition* in global data processing.

PIONEER UNDERTAKINGS

As in other European countries that lacked (adequate) sound synthesizers, the beginnings of electroacoustic music creation in Vojvodina are linked with the institution of the radio. Radio Novi Sad, founded in 1949, had very good predispositions for the development of concrete music. Namely, after World War II, the French RTF radio (Radiodiffusion–Télévision Française) and the British BBC (British Broadcasting Corporation) were places where manipulation with tape as a musical instrument was brought to virtuosity levels⁵. The primary reason for this lay in the availability of modern technology, but also in these institutions’ vast archives that offered huge amounts of material for sampling. These two colonial powers “covered” most of the planet with radio waves, so there was practically no sound from the sonorous landscape of that time that was not stored in their audio libraries.

⁴ Discourses of post-digital Theories Have Been Affirmed in A Significant Number of Foreign Periodicals [Cascone 2000: 12–18; Sterne 2012; Alexenberg 2011].

⁵ Pierre Schaeffer’s groups GRMC and GRM found their place on the French radio, while the famous BBC Radiophonic Workshop under the leadership of Delia Derbyshire did its work under the auspices of British Radio–Television.

From its beginnings, Radio Novi Sad reflected the ethnic diversity of Vojvodina's population. Broadcasting programs in the languages of the province's nations and minorities, the radio gained affirmation as a polycentric institution with a broad specter of program content. With that in mind, it is not surprising that one of the pioneers of electroacoustic music in Vojvodina – Ernő Király⁶ – began his artistic career at Radio Novi Sad. Király was exceptionally tied to the folklore of Vojvodina's Hungarians and the influence of folk music is apparent in all aspects of his complex poetics. Although Király's "official" body of work for tape is not large, it may be supposed that he carried out most of his scientific and composing work in the company of a tape recorder, since the present radio archive contains 148 taped tone recordings signed by him. As Mirjana Veselinović–Hofman points out, "Király shows the greatest trust in the improvisational serenity, abandon and uncertainty of sound," and, improvisation on the basis of graphic scores in his works most often produced "... a predominantly clustered vertical, a specific position of verbal material, murmur and concrete sound, as well as extra-musical media" [Veselinović–Hofman 2000: 120–122]. However, as the possibilities of sound processing in the radio's studios were adapted to everyday work, it is understandable that Király and subsequent authors were not able to orient their works toward subtle modifications of samples that required adequate devices, such as the phonogene and the morphophone⁷. Rather, accent was placed on kaleidoscope collages, often of a narrative flow, which, in the case of manipulations with speech samples, brought this work closer to radiophony.

It is interesting that Király quite ambitiously undertook to explore the new medium, being among the first in Yugoslavia⁸, only to gradually reduce his use of tape in later decades. The reason for this can be found more in the lack of availability of electronic music instruments than in Király's loss of enthusiasm. In fact, one of the constant features of his overall work was his striving in the direction of never-ending discovery of new sound spaces. Guided by his "acoustic curiosity," Király designed and constructed a device "that suited him" – the *zitherphone*, in 1974 (Annex 1). The zitherphone consisted of five variously sized zithers, which produced sound with the aid of 16 electromagnets and tone controls, which, thus modified and amplified, was played through

⁶ Ernő Király was born in Subotica in 1919. After completing musical school (trumpet) and work in the Subotica Opera, he moved to Novi Sad, where he worked as the conductor of the city and theater orchestra until 1953. He came to Radio Novi Sad as a music editor, and also worked as a choral conductor and the director of the Musicological Board of the Vojvodina Museum. He was awarded for his contribution to the development of Yugoslav music (Award of the Liberation of Vojvodina, 1990). From 1995, he was a full member of the Hungarian Academy of Arts in Budapest. He died in 2007.

⁷ A phonogene is a device that allows the reproduction of tape at various speeds without glissando, while the morphophone functions similarly, while also being able to produce the effect of delay with the aid of several magnetic heads over which the same tape passes. Both instruments were constructed for the needs of concrete music production, according to Pierre Schaeffer's idea.

⁸ It seems that Ivo Malec was the first author in Yugoslavia who engaged in concrete music, during the mid 1950s (*Mavena*, 1957), but he also permanently moved to France at that time. Soon after him, Branimir Sakač (*Three Synthetic Poems* – *Три синтетичке ђоеме*, 1959) and Vladan Radovanović (*Inventions* – *Ињенције*, 1961) appeared with their works.

speakers. The instrument could also be played without electrification, but with limited possibilities. Also, two players could play the zitherphone simultaneously, and some of the frets were placed at quarter tones⁹.

Genre-wise, Király's electroacoustic works can be divided into solo compositions (for tape only), works for instruments/ensemble and tape, works for zitherphone (and tape), and musical-stage works and performances. He defined his works *Poem About the Dawn* (*Поема о зору* – 1960) for solo tape and *Sky* (*Небо* – 1962) for tape and reciter, as synthetic music, indicating the constructive principle that was applied in them, which combined non-musical and synthetic sounds, together with the usual sonorous fund of the art music of the time, enhanced by innovative playing techniques (frequent in aleatoric works). In the latter composition, the author manifestly established another constant of his sound exploration – the human voice and its possibilities, both in live performance and on tape.

Király's electroacoustic body of work contains all the popular composing methods of the time, albeit in limited scope – sound synthesis, collaging, sample modification on tape (cutting/splicing, slowing/speeding, overdubbing), as well as a “basic” type of “live electronics” entailing the use of radio receivers (“transistor radios”) as instruments. That was the case with the work *Dots and Lines* (*Тачке и линије* – 1972, annex 2) for instrumental ensemble, while in the related *Sonata per due recitatori e citrafo* (1975) the reciter is required to use the microphone as an instrument (i.e., “prosthesis” or means of preparation) by pressing it firmly against his lips. Another similar work was *Spiral* (1976) for voice, instrumental ensemble, tape recorder and light-show, in which the colors of the light follow changes in types of sound during the composition, as well as *Black White* (*Црно бело* – 1986) for voice, instrumental ensemble and tape recorder, in which the voice is treated akin to a tape recorder – as a source of non-semantic, concrete sonority. As the author puts it, the foundation of the dramaturgy of the work is “the play of tones, like darkness and light, in a sound environment of factory machines, sounds of clusters, etc. previously recorded on tape” [Veselinović-Hofman 2000: 136].

PERIOD OF EXPANSION

At the beginning of the 1980s, Slavko Šuklar also took steps to adopt electronic sound sources¹⁰. He devoted one part of his work for harmonica and

⁹ In addition to this instrument, Király constructed another, the tablophone, which was not electrified.

¹⁰ Slavko Šuklar (1952) studied Composition at the Faculty of Musical Arts, in the class of Petar Ozgijian and Aleksandar Obradović, and received his master's degree in the class of Srdjan Hofman. From 1992, he worked at the Academy of Arts in Novi Sad, before which, along with Miroslav Štatkić, he participated in the establishment of an electronic studio at that institution, in which he did intensive creative work in the first half of the 1990s. In that period, he also founded an ensemble devoted to the live performance of electroacoustic music. At the end of the decade, he moved to Slovenia, where he continued his composing activity. He received the award of the jury at the Opatija Festival in 1990. His most important works are *Concerto doppio*, *Vocalise concertante*, *Concerto per amici* etc. <http://www.dss.si/slavko-suklar-en>

percussion orchestra, *Anadora* (1980), to the synthesizer, which represents one of the earliest examples of live electronics in the history of Serbian music. In the words of the composer:

“I began to use electronics as an expansion of the acoustic medium and made an instrument that I ‘played’ within a symphonic or chamber orchestra, or as an accompanying instrument. I was, thus, both the constructor of the instrument (because I invented the sound that I needed) and the one that ‘played’ it. We then recorded that music (for clarinet and tape – recording tape, for acoustic instrument and recording tape...) In such fine intermixing collages, which are interpolated like some sort of aquarelles, the electronics in no way behave like a foreign body but, rather, as I have already said, they truly behave as an expansion of the acoustic medium” [Petkov 2012].

Along with Miroslav Štatković, Šuklar founded the “last,” i.e., the newest electronic studio in Serbia in 1987, the Electronic Studio of the Academy of Arts (*Електронски студио Академије уметности* – ECAV) in Novi Sad, in which most of the material used in the two composers’ works during the 1990s was produced. From the start, the studio was based on digital systems for sampling and sound processing. In addition, it had a primary educational function and was, before all, devoted to classwork. Šuklar had this to say about those days:

“Those were truly pioneering works. I remember that period as a beautiful time, although everything was already beginning to crumble (I am talking about the former state). With our great enthusiasm and the great understanding of the dean, Nenad Ostojić, together with the University of Novi Sad (by way of the Science Forum), who supported us, we managed to build, that is, obtain truly fine, complete systems in that electronic field. Of course, we never had the money to buy everything at once, but one system at a time and, ultimately, we had extremely good machines. People from Belgrade helped as much as they could, but we mostly sat at those machines by ourselves and got what we could out of them. If they had ‘160 speeds,’ we could perhaps ‘drive in 16.’ Those electronic devices provoked our ideas and took our music in directions that we inevitably had to reach. We also involved some of our excellent musicians in those pioneer works of ours: Laura Levai, Nikola Srdić, Ištvan Varga” [Petkov 2012].

“Live electronics” would remain in Šuklar’s focus in his later works as well, such as the composition for flauta and computer *Flaura 94* (1994) and *Concerto doppio* (1996), which can be viewed as a very early example of the application of digital sound processing (DSP) in concert performance. He did not neglect studio electronics, either, as testified by his works *Sound Landscape* (1990) and *Collage* (1990, first presented at the *Computer Art (Компјутерска уметност)* festival in 1991 in Belgrade, about which more later). By the beginning of the 2000s, this author would move to Slovenia, where he would devote himself primarily to instrumental music.

In the monumental body of work of Rudolf Brucci¹¹, the main promoter of modern music in Vojvodina after World War II, taped sound can be heard

¹¹ Rudolf Brucci (1917–2002) was one of the most significant post–World War II Yugoslav composers and the founder of the Academy of Arts in Novi Sad. His creative works belong to the body of modernistic works, the most famous of which are *Symphonia Lesta* (*Симфонија лестиа*),

on only one work – *Birds* (Птице – 1947, Annex 3). It is a rather short but intriguing composition from the aspect of opening up new aleatoric spaces and playing techniques, in which tape has the role of “background,” i.e., a sort of sound backdrop before which a part of the “performing drama” takes place. Although lacking interest in electroacoustic music himself, Brucci obviously stimulated his students to engage in it and incorporate it in their poetics.

Among them, Mitar Subotić¹² and Stevan Kovacs Tickmayer¹³, each in his own domain, remained consistent in the use of electroacoustic instruments. Subotić received his lessons in analogue synthesis and digital sequencing in the electronic studio of Radio Belgrade Program III, from Paul Pignon, who, along with Vladan Radovanović, organized courses on the practical aspects of electroacoustic music for composers in the second half of the 1970s and the first half of the 1980s. That education provided Subotić with an excellent base for further autonomous research, although he lacked access to more complex technology. Thus, his works from most of the 1980s should be viewed within the context of a battle between creativity and material want. They also contain another important element of Subotić’s poetics – the striving to overcome divisions into “art” and “popular” music by overlapping and intermixing emblematic samples from both the canons. Already in his first published work, entitled *Misfortune* (Зла коб – 1983), the author displayed a somewhat critical attitude towards musical authorities – in this case, the national canon of music history beginning with Kir Stefan the Serb, in whose chant Subotić intervened – which his contemporaries from the Belgrade group *Opus 4* would manifest much more directly. The relaxation of the conflict between popular and art music is even more apparent in the composition *Thanks Mr. Rorschach – Ambiances to the Music of Erik Satie* (Thanx Mr. Rorschach – амбијенџи на музику Ерика Сатјуа, 1987), consisting of a delicate texture of “little” sounds of folklore and non-musical origin, over which parts of a recording of a famous French author’s composition are played. After a visit to IRCAM and a stipend from UNESCO, Subotić moved to Sao Paulo, Brazil, at the end of the decade, where he tragically lost his life in 1999. In Brazil, he had devoted himself entirely to the production of World Music projects, which can be understood as a logical progression, having in mind Subotić’s interest in manipulation with folklore samples on modern technological platforms.

The Third Symphony (Трећа симфонија), the ballet *Katarina Izmailova*, the operas *Prometheus* (Прометјеј) and *Gilgamesh* (Гилгамеш), the cantata *Vojvodina*, etc.

¹² Mitar Subotić – Suba (1961–1999) was a Serbian composer and producer. After studying composition under Brucci, he mostly engaged in popular and theater music during the 1980s, under the pseudonym Rex Ilusivii. He moved to Brazil at the end of the decade, where he was a music producer until his tragic death. His most famous works are the albums *Disillusioned!* (1987), *The Dreambird* (1994), etc.

¹³ Stevan Kovacs Tickmayer (1966) already developed a varied web of activity while studying under Rudolf Brucci, in the roles of composer, performer, organizer and publishing mediator. He went on to further studies in Holland, under Louis Andriessen and Diderick Wagenaar, after which he intensively worked with Marta and György Kurtág. He also served as an editor of the magazine *Új Symposion*. Since 1991, he has lived and worked in France, where he continues to create and perform intensively, occasionally incorporating electronic instruments in his works. For a detailed discography, see: <http://www.tickmayer.com/worklistdisco.html>

Stevan Kovacs Tickmayer was very interested in improvisation and new interpretative strategies that included numerous instruments, among them electronic ones. In addition to performing which, in his case, was inseparable from composing, at the end of the 1980s Tickmayer was also quite active as a musical events organizer and promoter of music of innovative sonority. In his work *Urban Music* (1987), Tickmayer demonstrates his view of the concrete music method, which is close to the methods of Luc Ferrari and his idea of a sound landscape¹⁴. The material that was used in the work was recorded with a Walkman at various locations in Novi Sad. During that period, Tickmayer performed as a member of a group with a changing membership, *Tickmayer Formatio*, which periodically used tape recorders and synthesizers in its sonorous excursions. The composition *Moments to Delight* (1988) was a piece for 10 performers, tape and slide show, which illustrated the music performance postulates around which the group was united – a guided/suggested collective improvisation against a tape recorded background, creating the impression of an audio backdrop, as in the work of Tickmayer's professor, Brucci. A somewhat different approach to tape can be seen in the work for violin, viola, cello and tape manipulations, *Heterophony* (*Heterofonija*, 1989), produced in the studios of Radio Novi Sad, for which the scoresheet has been, unfortunately, lost. At the beginning of the 1990s, Tickmayer also emigrated from Serbia.

In that context, it is also important to mention the activities of the (semi-formal) groups *Ове сезоне ведри тонови* (*This Season's Bright Tones*) and *Circo della primavera*, which were also gathered around ideas of spontaneous collective music performance, and whose legacy includes several recordings containing some electronic sound sources [Vujić 2014]. During the 1980s, the composer Jasmina Mitrušić played synthesizer in the pop music groups *Luna* and *La Strada*, but did not gain prominence as an author of electroacoustic art music.

During this period, the group *Performance in the Snake House* (*Игра у змијарнику*) from Bačka Topola, made up of Siniša Nenadić and Nebojša Raičković, also had a notable presence in Vojvodina. This duo issued an album featuring the use of electroacoustic instruments, recorded as a home production under the title *Sunset Alley* (*Дрворед сумрака*, 1989) [Vujić 2014]. A similar direction was taken by the informal ensemble *Random Group*, whose activity during the mid 1990s was linked with Radio Kovačica. Its founders were painter Pavel Cicka, musician and music editor Stevan Lenhart, sound engineer Željko Benka, and others. Their collective improvisations included tape recordings from the sound archive of the radio, in whose studios they played after the daily program ended.

The *Computer Art* (*Компјутерска уметност*) festival was held in Belgrade in 1991 [Šidanin 1991: 3], featuring, among others, the works of artists from Vojvodina: Vojin Tišma, Slavko Šuklar, Boris Kovač and Miroslav Štatkić.

¹⁴ Ferrari was the author of a number of works based on recorded ambient sounds, such as the cycle *Almost Nothing* (*Гойово ништя*, 1970), the material for which he recorded during a vacation in Yugoslavia.

At the turn of the decade, Vojin Tišma created a series of (mostly) home-produced works with the aid of computer, tape and electric guitar¹⁵, including the compositions *Carousel* (*Карусел*, 1989), *Swamp Sounds* (*Мочварни звуци* – Honorary Mention, *Prix Ars Electronica*, Linz 1989), *Interview* (*Интервју*, 1990) for tape, computer and electric guitar, and *Ash Heap* (*Смејлишће*, 1991) for tape, computer, electric guitar and 2D computer graphics. Each of these works was performed at the festival.

At the end of the 1980s, the works of another former attendee of Pignon's and Radovanović's courses, Miroslav Štatkic¹⁶, came into the spotlight. After a brief "episode" with analogue electroacoustic instruments in the Electronic Studio of Program III, he totally devoted himself to the possibilities of digital technology, which was, although arduously, becoming increasingly accessible to artists. In addition to synthesis and sample manipulations, Štatkic showed a particular interest in the stage performance/spatial projection of his works. He performed his work *India* (*Индија*, 1991), at the festival of computer art, having produced it at the Electronic Studio of the Academy of Arts, where he also produced other works, such as *Lighting* (*Освејљавање*, 1991), *Tree of Life* (*Дрво живота*, 1992), and others.

CONCLUSION

Fifty seven years after the first electroacoustic composition was created in Vojvodina, it can be said that a long, hard road – made more difficult by battle with material problems and resistance of the milieu – has been traveled, from experiment to academic discipline. Today, through several courses, students at the Academy of Arts in Novi Sad become acquainted with the world and local history of electroacoustic music, as well as with modern techniques of digital synthesis and sampling. Such a position of this type of musical expression was preceded by a "quiet" but stubborn development of strategies of integration of global technological and compositional directions into Vojvodina's musical scene, whose output was not at all negligible considering all the above-mentioned difficulties faced by artists. These works cannot be completely integrated into the narrative regarding the Serbian history of electroacoustic music because they cannot be approached with the same methodology and expectations. Namely, even though composition for tape during the 1960s and 1970s was on the same level as in the rest of Yugoslavia, the subsequent advantage that the Belgrade studio enjoyed thanks to the *Synthi 100* synthesizer was insurmountable and ensured its exclusive position in sound synthesis. However, beginning with the mid 1980s, the Electronic Studio of Program III

¹⁵ The author produced his works on an Atari 1040 ST computer with Steinberg Pro 24 software, using the SynthWork program with a Yamaha DX 11 synthesizer, along with additional processing and recording equipment.

¹⁶ Miroslav Štatkic was born in 1951, in Prizren, Serbia. After studying composition under Enriko Josif, he worked as a tutor in the Serbian National Theater until 1979, when he became an assistant at the Academy of Arts in Novi Sad, before becoming a full professor in 1987. His most well-known works are the symphonies *Amos* and *Migrations* (*Сеобе*), the operas *Lenka* and *Teodora*, etc.

became “obsolete,” and artists turned to smaller and more accessible devices, while computers gradually began to play a central role in the composing and performing of electronic music, as well as to also partly democratize access to technology. On the other hand, music from Vojvodina was specific in its devotion to tape and the legacy of concrete music, united with various strategies of instrumental and vocal improvisation, which was not as characteristic for Belgrade artists, who leaned more toward sound synthesis. During the 1990s, the tragic situation in the country “equalized” the statuses of the Belgrade and the Novi Sad studios, so it would be a thankless task to evaluate where the situation was worse in such an isolationist context. By the beginning of the 1990s, Tickmayer and Subotić had emigrated from Serbia, and Slavko Šuklar followed suit in the middle of the decade. The effects of the difficult situation of the 1990s were somewhat alleviated in the following decade, but that did not cause the said artists to return. It can, thus, be said that, due to historical circumstances, a “natural boundary” was established at the beginning of the 2000s, marking the end of the period during which the electroacoustic creative work of pioneers from Vojvodina left a significant trace in the province’s overall cultural legacy of the second half of the 20th century.

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ANNEXES



*ERNE KIRÁLY sa svojim citrafonom
KIRÁLY ERNŐ a citrafonjával
ERNŐ KIRÁLY with his zitherphone*

Annex 1. Ernő Király with his zitherphone

Király Ernő

PONTOK ÉS VONALAK
ТАЧКЕ И ЛИНИЈЕ
STOPS AND LINES

1

Plauto doppio

2

Maracas

I

Batte-
ria
ad lib.

II

III

IV

V

etc.
al Fine

3

Voce
Tutti

din-din, din-din

4

Mirliton

Pettine

5

Radio(transist.)

Radio-
pro-
gramma
ad lib.

6

Campanaccio

7

Plauto pastorale

8

Voce
Tutti

tr-tr- tr-tr

9

Chitarra

10

Piano o chitarra

11

Voce
Solo

he, he-he,

Annex 2. Ernő Király, *Dots and Lines* (Тачке и линије), an example of the notation of a radio receiver ("transistor radio") in the context of improvisation, square № 5.

Handwritten musical score for 'Birds (Птицы)' by Rudolf Brucci, score no. 23, tape recorder section. The score is written on 12 staves. The first two staves are marked with boxes containing '22' and '23' respectively, with arrows pointing down to the first staff. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like 'pp', 'ppp', 'S.P.', 'S.P.i', 'S.P. b', and 'S.P. #'. The word 'MAGNETOFON' is written at the bottom right.

Annex 3. Rudolf Brucci, *Birds (Птицы)*, score no. 23 (tape recorder section)

LEGACY OF DR. BRANKO ILIĆ: AN INVALUABLE FUND OF FOREIGN ART IN SERBIA

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SUMMARY: The Foreign Art Collection, an annex of the City Museum of Novi Sad, was opened to the public on June 7, 1968, in a specialized building in Dunavska Street. It was formed from the art collection of Dr. Branko Ilić, a Novi Sad physician and former mayor, who collected paintings and works of applied art of foreign origin over a period of five decades. It is the second largest collection of its kind in Serbia, possessing exceptional museological and cultural-historical importance. The collection of Italian and Dutch-Flemish Renaissance and Baroque paintings, together with several works of important painters of the French School from the same period, possess exceptional artistic value. The collection of works of applied art contains valuable pieces of furniture, silverware, porcelain, glass, Oriental rugs and objects from the Far East, along with numerous examples of small interior decorations obtained by Dr. Branko Ilić for the salons of his house in Novi Sad.

KEY WORDS: Dr. Branko Ilić, City Museum of Novi Sad, Western European fine and applied art

For the past half century, the Foreign Art Collection – Legacy of Dr. Branko Ilić, has held a special place among Novi Sad's museums and galleries. It was opened to the public as an annex of the City Museum of Novi Sad in June 1968, two years after the signing of the Gift Agreement between Novi Sad physician and art collector Dr. Branko Ilić (1889–1966), the Novi Sad Municipality and the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina¹. The ceremonial

¹ Dr. Branko Ilić was born in Žabalj, in a wealthy rural family. He completed the gymnasium in Novi Sad, and medical studies in Budapest and Berlin. Immediately upon earning his medical degree in 1914, he was mobilized into the Austro-Hungarian Army and sent to the Galician Front as a student-doctor, where he fell into Russian captivity. After the end of World War I, he settled in Novi Sad, where he opened a very successful medical practice. During the third and fourth decade of the 20th century he was socially and politically engaged, serving for a time as mayor of Novi Sad (1936–1938). He spent the Second World War in Novi Sad. After 1945, he continued with his medical practice and his art collection. Between 1948 to 1966, the Novi Sad

opening of the Foreign Art Collection was the most important event in the cultural life of Novi Sad in 1968. Thanks to Dr. Ilić's generous donation, the general public was able to gain access to a valuable art collection previously known to only a few domestic and foreign experts. The new Museum annex, which displayed works of foreign fine and applied art, stood on equal footing with the few similar funds on the territory of Yugoslavia – the Štrosmajer Gallery in Zagreb and the Foreign Art Collection of the National Museum in Belgrade.

The time and the way in which Dr. Ilić began to form his collection have not been wholly ascertained. It is certain that his interest in painting began during his studies in Budapest and Berlin before World War I. As an ambitious and educated young man from an Austro-Hungarian province, he had the opportunity to visit many European museums and directly view works of the old masters. After settling in Novi Sad in 1922, opening a successful medical practice and building a large private home in the city center, he began to purchase works of fine and applied art as an expression of personal affinities and the wish to create a representative bourgeois home interior. The preserved photographs of the Ilić house interior, from the time before it was razed in the last quarter of the 20th century, show that his private rooms were luxuriously appointed with antique furniture, silverware and porcelain, rugs and chandeliers that he personally chose and purchased on the territory of the former Yugoslavia and Central Europe. He frequently traveled, visited museums and auction houses, bought specialized literature and began making his first contacts in artistic circles. Although he was never formally educated in art history, he began to form his own personal art-historical library early, which grew during his lifetime. Its contents, now also stored within the Foreign Art Collection, testify to his interest for certain art periods and artists. With great enthusiasm and sparing no expense, he gradually formed and enriched his collection over the course of five decades.

Although he kept his art collection out of the limelight, its content was known to a small circle of domestic and foreign persons even during his lifetime. When purchasing artwork, he often sought expert opinion and advice, from recognized art historians and fine artists as well as other collectors and art dealers that knew the market well. Before and after World War II, his collection was seen by prominent Yugoslav art historians Veljko Petrović, Milan Kašanin, Lazar Trifunović, Miodrag Kolarić, Grgo Gamulin and Kruno Prijatelj. In 1936, Dr. Ilić also hosted Wilhelm Suida, a renowned expert from Vienna, who came to Novi Sad after having visited the newly formed Prince Paul Museum in Belgrade. Dr. Ilić subsequently maintained an active correspondence with G. Gamulin and W. Suida for years, informing them of newly purchased works and consulting with them regarding certain attributions.

The hardship brought on by World War II and the post-war period did not prevent Dr. Ilić from continuing his collection activity, as a result of which he

authorities inventoried and confiscated his art collection several times, before Dr. Ilić finally decided to gift it to Novi Sad and Vojvodina, on the condition that a separate museum exhibit was formed – the Old Masters Collection (subsequently renamed as the Foreign Art Collection) [Vujaklija 2010: 5–14; Lazić 2016].

managed to purchase many significant works „under the nose“ of the communist authorities. Nevertheless, his industrious collection efforts and personal wealth could not but attract the authorities' attention. As a result, his collection was first inventoried and protected as a cultural good in 1948, and finally confiscated and stored in the Matica Srpska Gallery during the 1950s. The following years saw the beginning of negotiations with representatives of the city of Novi Sad and the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina regarding the forming of a museum legacy, which was finally accomplished in 1966, just before Ilić's death. As provided by the Agreement, the beneficiaries were obliged to secure adequate conditions for displaying the legacy, which was accomplished by the adaptation of a representative Neo-Baroque building in the city center, next to Dunav Park (Dunavska 29). The first permanent exhibition of the Foreign Art Collection was conceived by Dr. Miodrag Kolarić, an art historian and experienced museologist who was fully aware of the artistic and material worth of the gifted works of art. During its first three decades, the exhibit was adapted to the entire space of the building and allowed museum visitors to gain a detailed view of the collection of its works of fine and applied art. Since 1998, it has been adapted to a new building layout, in which, thanks to a division into smaller spaces that are partly reminiscent of the interiors of Ilić's house, visitors can gain instructive knowledge regarding style periods, certain European schools of painting and art workshops.

Although still insufficiently known to the public, the Foreign Art Collection of the City Museum of Novi Sad is, by its content, size, quality, artistic and material value, unique among museum collections in Serbia. Among the 440 gifted works, there are 150 works of fine art (oils, aquarelles, graphics, drawings, sculptures), more than 250 works of applied art (furniture, silverware, porcelain, glass, rugs, chandeliers, Oriental objects) and a group of personal items for everyday use formerly belonging to Dr. Ilić. Therein lies the value of this museum collection, not only as evidence of the donor's taste as a collector, but also as an illustration of his way of life in Novi Sad's mid 20th century bourgeois environment.

The works of fine art collected by Dr. Ilić between the beginning of the third and the middle of the seventh decade of the 20th century represent the Collection's biggest artistic value. As Ilić was not the type of collector who kept detailed records about his purchases, it is not possible to absolutely ascertain when and from whom he bought all the works in the Collection. The most trustworthy guides in that sense, especially when it comes to paintings bought after 1945, are the post-war inventories made by government representatives. Another source of information are oral statements made by his former purchasing agents, as well as Dr. Ilić's newspaper interviews. Research has thus far shown that he bought paintings in foreign auction houses, through intermediaries or directly from sellers who were either antique dealers (e.g. Jovan Novaković) or collectors (e.g. Pavle Beljanski). He also made significant acquisitions through the purchase of family legacies, especially after World War II.

Just a cursory glance at the fine arts portion of the Foreign Art Collection reveals that the focus of the collector's interest were 16th–18th century Western

European paintings. As a result of attending European auctions, connections in the world of art and personal wealth, Ilić was able to purchase significant works by Late Renaissance and Baroque masters of the Italian, Dutch-Flemish and French schools. On the basis of historical-artistic value, variety and quantity, the Italian masters occupy the leading place in the legacy [Vujaklija and Rosa D'Amico 2010: 19–71; Lazić and Janković Knežević 2016]. Among the attributed works, the following especially stand out: Alessandro Varotari Padovanino (*Bashful Venus with Two Cupids*, after Titian), Carletto Caliarì (*The Centurion of Capharnaum Before Christ*), Bartolomeo Schedoni (*The Holy Family with the Infant St. John*), Alessandro Tiarini (*Saint Sebastian*), Giovanni Battista Langetti (*Death of Cato*), Pier Francesco Mola (*Night Landscape with a Fisherman*), Sebastiano Ricci (*Diana with Dogs*), Alessandro Magnasco (*Soldiers among Ruins, Soldiers Resting*), Francesco Albani (*Ascension of Mary Magdalene*), Felice Boselli (*Still Life with Owl*). The collection contains numerous quality works of the Bolognese, Emilian, Tuscan and Venetian schools, whose authorship has not been precisely determined, but has been classified within the scope of work of certain great masters. Thus, for example, a valuable work from this group, a small Crucifixion of Christ, by its artistic and technical characteristics, wholly corresponds to the method of work of the famous 14th century Venetian painter, Paolo Veneziano, while the *The Holy Family with the Infant St. John* can be attributed to the workshop of Bonifacio dei Pitati.

By significance and number, the group of works of the Dutch-Flemish School is right behind that of the Italian painters, who are the most numerous in the Collection [Lazić 2018; Vujaklija and Rosa D'Amico 2010: 73–105; Lazić and Jelikić 2017]. This artistically valuable but, by its characteristics, insufficiently coherent whole, is made up of 34 works produced between the 16th and the 20th century, over a broad geographical area, from the north of Holland, through the German lands, to the Italian cities. The collection contains several exceptional accents, original paintings from the best creative periods of masters such as Pieter Claesz (*Still Life with a Crab*), Frans Francken the Younger (*The Queen of Sheba and King Solomon*), Nicolaes Molenaer (*Winter Landscape*), Pieter Mulier *Tempesta (Stigmatization of St. Francis)*, Justus Sustermans (*Portrait of Vittoria della Rovere*) and Philippe Tidemann (*Death of Cleopatra*) [Vujaklija 1974]. In addition to authentic signatures, their works also possess high artistic quality and a recognizable, unmistakable painting style. Also included are paintings that are, most probably, products of the master's ateliers of Hendrick van Balen (*The Drunkenness of Bacchus, Bacchus Being Carried*), Cornelis de Vos (*Portrait of Elisabeth de Vos*) and Peter Paul Rubens (*Thetis Receiving Armor for Achilles from Hephaestus*). Some of them are closely related to the work of certain authors (Jan van Huysum, Herman van Swanevelt, Rembrandt, Rubens) or artistic circles that were specialized in specific painting genres. Finally, the Foreign Art Collection also contains several direct reproductions, from various periods, of original works of Dutch and Flemish masters (Rubens, Rembrandt, Philips Wouwermans, Melchior d' Hondcoeter).

The French School is represented by 22 works in the Ilić legacy, of which, however, only several possess significant artistic value [Vujaklija and Rosa

D'Amico 2010: 107–121]. Namely, this group is burdened by average and little-known 19th and 20th century authors, some of whose paintings are open copies. The jewel of the collection is Sebastian Bourdon's large painting, *The Sacrifice of Iphigeneia*, which Dr. Ilić bought in 1954 as a possible work of an Italian Baroque master from the circle of Pietro da Cortona. Once it was learned that a signed sketch of this painting is located in the Musée Fabre in Montpellier, it was attributed to the significant French master [Lazić 2017]. Another 17th century painting is the *Portrait of a Man with a Lace Collar*, thus far attributed to Philippe de Champaigne, while the 18th century is represented by the paintings of Jean Baptiste Greuze (*Infant Virgin with St. Anne*) and a disciple of the style of Joseph Vernet (*Ship in a Harbor*). The rest of the collection consists of lesser known and unknown French authors, as well as copiers of great masters (Albert Goguet Mantelet, Alfred-Louis Andrieux, Eugen Marioton).

Fewer than 20 paintings can be classified as belonging to the German, Spanish, Austrian, Russian or Central European school [Vujaklija and Rosa D'Amico 2010: 123–135]. Among these paintings, produced over a broad geographical area and in different periods, the most interesting are those signed by the masters Joseph Weber (*Still Life*), Johann Baptist Lampi (*Portrait of Catherine II*), Patrizius Kittner (*Portrait of a Lady with an Embroidered Shawl*), Ricardo de Madrazo (*Portrait of a Knight*), Ivan Konstantinovich Aivazovsky (*Tavern at Night*). Another painting of significant artistic value is the *Meeting of Alexander and Roxanne*, which was probably produced in the atelier of the German painter Johann Heinrich Schönfeld. One of the few sculptures in Ilić's legacy – *Amazon on Horse* – produced during the third decade of the 20th century in art deco style by German sculptor Bruno Zach, also belongs to this group.

At least two more groups of works contribute to the overall variety of the Foreign Art Collection – icons and graphics [Vujaklija 2010: 137–149]. Dr. Ilić was not as interested in this type of art as he was in oil paintings, so he probably purchased them as parts of larger acquisitions. Among the seven icons, the most prominent is the *Virgin of Passion*, dating to the end of the 15th or the beginning of the 16th century, according to the prototype of Andrea Rizo. The other icons are from the 18th and the 20th century, originating from Ukraine, Russia and Serbia [Vujaklija 1973]. On the other hand, the small group of seven graphics is very interesting, as it includes the prints of Agostino Caracci (*Aeneas and his family fleeing Troy*, after Federico Barocci), Valentin Lefebvre (*Pastoral Scene*, after Titian), Jan de Vischer (*Genre Scene*, after A. van Ostade), Georg Philip Rugendas (*Genre Scene*), Elizabeth Byrne (*Fruit and Flowers*). Judging by the conservational-restaurational interventions on the graphics, it may be concluded that Dr. Ilić took good care of them.

The final group of works of fine art consists of material from the territories of Serbia and Croatia, quite varied in content, time and place of origin, artistic value and way of acquisition [Vujaklija and Rosa D'Amico 2010: 151–157]. Some of them, such as the works of Aksentije Marodić (*Portrait of Captain Petar Biga*), Toma Rosandić (*Figure of a Girl*) and Antun Augustinčić (*Female Act*), were acquired by Dr. Ilić for his art collection, while the others come from his family's legacy. These are mostly portraits of family members

ordered by Kosta Jorgović at the beginning of the 20th century (*Portrait of Julka Ilić*, *Portrait of Uroš Ilić*) and Frano Menegelo Dinčić in 1956 (*Plaque with Image of Uroš Ilić*).

Whereas in the acquisition of works of fine art Dr. Ilić usually consulted experts, he chose works of applied art mostly in accordance with his own taste, without the need to confirm their value on the art market. His knowledge of art history was sufficient for him to recognize and choose the exceptional works with which he decorated his home. As in the case of paintings, he did not leave written and financial records of his purchases of applied art works, as a result of which the origin of some of the works has been determined on the basis of oral testimony of the donor himself and the circle of people with whom he cooperated.

On the basis of old photographs of the interior of Dr. Ilić's house, it can be seen that the Foreign Art Collection does not include all the pieces of furniture he once possessed. Several of the salons were purchased for the decoration of the Royal Palace complex in Belgrade's Dedinje quarter, while his wife Jovanka, who lived in Belgrade, inherited some of the furniture. The legacy's inventory, thus, numbers 65 pieces, some of which form complete sets, while the others are either individual or unmatched [Vujaklija 1984; Vujaklija and Rosa D'Amico 2010: 161–185]. A smaller portion of this collection consists of 18th century pieces, while the majority consists of neo-antique pieces from the second half of the 19th and the first half of the 20th century. The oldest and artistically the most valuable pieces are the three 18th century Austrian Baroque cupboards bought by Dr. Ilić in Slovenia and Croatia, most probably from the collection of the noble Vranyczany family. Also dating from the 18th century is an inlaid two-piece cupboard, while the Biedermeier sofa, a product of Viennese masters, is from the 19th century. The earliest records of the art inventory show that Dr. Ilić possessed sets of Louis Philippe salon furniture as well as pieces of Boulle furniture from the Napoleon III period even before World War II. The permanent exhibit also displays salons in the Chippendale, Empire and Alt Deutsch styles, along with Louis XV furniture with original Aubusson needlepoint covers.

Among the smaller pieces in the applied art collection, the silverware that, according to research, Dr. Ilić collected on the territory of Yugoslavia and in Central European centers such as Budapest, Vienna and Prague, particularly stands out [Vujaklija and Rosa D'Amico 2010: 217–243]. The material is quite varied but, thanks to standardized marking, the origin of almost all the gifted pieces has been ascertained. Most were produced in Vienna workshops, followed by those from Germany, Russia, Hungary, Portugal, France and England [Vujaklija 1974a; Vujaklija 1978]. Especially interesting are the French Rococo salt cellars in the shape of small coaches with cupids, produced in the Vienna workshops of Jacob Weiss and Joseph Carl Klinkosch [Vujaklija 1976a], a silverware set with Portugese and Far Eastern marks, as well as a valuable little salt cellar from Novi Sad, made and marked by the Armenian Josif Mesrop at the end of the 18th century.

Dr. Ilić had a special affinity for porcelain, which can be seen by the number of porcelain objects in the legacy as well as the large amount of literature

on the subject that he acquired during his collecting days. Old photographs of Ilić's interiors show that the number of porcelain objects was once much higher, but some pieces were subsequently bought for the Royal Palace complex, while others became the ownership of his wife. Over a span of five decades, Ilić managed to collect valuable porcelain objects from workshops in Meissen, Sèvres, Vienna, Volkstedt, Naples, Pécs, Bohemia and Germany, purchasing them mostly in domestic antique shops [Džepina 1978; Vujaklija 2010 and Rosa D'Amico: 251–277]. Differently from the other applied art objects, these had an exclusively decorative purpose, except for the two faience furnaces. In an effort to replicate the way in which Dr. Ilić displayed his porcelain objects in his salon showcases and commodes, the permanent Foreign Art Collection exhibit displays figurines from Meissen and Volkstedt, decorative locket, Vienna vases and cups. Thanks to the different techniques of production and decoration, visitors can learn about porcelain technologies and artistic styles in that field.

The little glass collection consists entirely of decorative pieces, which arrived either as purchases or incidentally, together with other applied art objects. Only several of the most interesting items, in Biedermeier and Rococo style, are from the 19th century, while the others – decorative glasses, vases, lamps and chandeliers, are from the first half of the 20th century [Vujaklija 1992; Vujaklija 2010 and Rosa D'Amico: 279–287]. Since Bohemia was the glassmaking center of Central Europe, it is understandable that most of the purchased items originated from its workshops.

Out of all the clocks possessed by Dr. Ilić, only five ended up as part of the Collection [Vujaklija 1976; Vujaklija and Rosa D'Amico 2010: 245–249]. All come from French workshops that were active between the 18th and the 20th century and are marked by different stylistic characteristics. The biggest impression upon visitors is always left by the large clock with a porcelain vase, made in Sèvres circa 1770 [Vujaklija 1972]. Since almost identical pieces can be found in residential palaces throughout Europe (Moscow, St. Petersburg, Istanbul), it is likely that the clock came from the Sebian royal court and was bought by Dr. Ilić at a Belgrade antique shop. Two clocks from the first half of the 19th century, quite different stylistically, carry the mark of clockmaker Honore dit Pons de Paul. Namely, while the clock with the figures of Apollo and Selene carries the features of pure Empire, the other clock, with two candelabras, is a typical product of the Louis-Philippe period. Another attractive ensemble is the *Fine de siècle* clock on an alabaster pedestal.

It is quite usual for objects originating from Asia Minor and the Far East to make up a part of an art collection. Ilić's legacy contains 16 Oriental rugs and 18 objects from Persia, India, China and Japan [Vujaklija 1979; Vujaklija 2010 and Rosa D'Amico: 187–215]. All of them were bought on the domestic market as goods imported from the East. Thanks to its favorable geographic location, Novi Sad was the trading center of this part of Europe, enabling Dr. Ilić to buy such items in local shops. He also bought Oriental objects from local collectors and „world travelers“ such as, for example, Eugen Malinarić, captain of the Austro-Hungarian war navy and the river flotilla of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes [Petrović 2013: 6–8]. Ilić bought several interesting

bronze objects from his legacy, such as a Chinese censer and a vessel with Buddhist symbols. By its size and quality of craftsmanship, the 19th century Japanese-made two panel folding screen produced for export to the European market particularly stands out.

Having invested substantial financial resources and his social position, Dr. Branko Ilić succeeded in forming a valuable art collection during the course of several decades, unique on the territory of Serbia. This museum collection also has great educational potential, being useful for all who wish to learn about the history of styles, artistic techniques and materials, European artists and manufactures. Its quality is a reflection of the taste, artistic talent and general culture of Dr. Branko Ilić who, despite the numerous administrative and health problems he experienced during the last decades of his life, managed to preserve the collection as a whole and bequeath it as such to his people. In that way, this collector became an important link between the old masters and the audience, between European art and the domestic public.

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ILLUSTRATIONS



Illustration 1. Photograph of Dr. Branko Ilić
(photo: City Museum of Novi Sad)



Illustration 2. Building of the Foreign Art Collection, Dunavska 29, Novi Sad
(photo: City Museum of Novi Sad)



Illustration 3. Detail of the interior of the house of Dr. Branko Ilić, circa 1960
(photo: City Museum of Novi Sad)



Illustration 4. Detail of the interior of the house of Dr. Branko Ilić, circa 1960
(photo: City Museum of Novi Sad)



Illustration 5. Carletto Caliari, *The Centurion of Capharnaum Before Christ*,
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(photo: City Museum of Novi Sad)

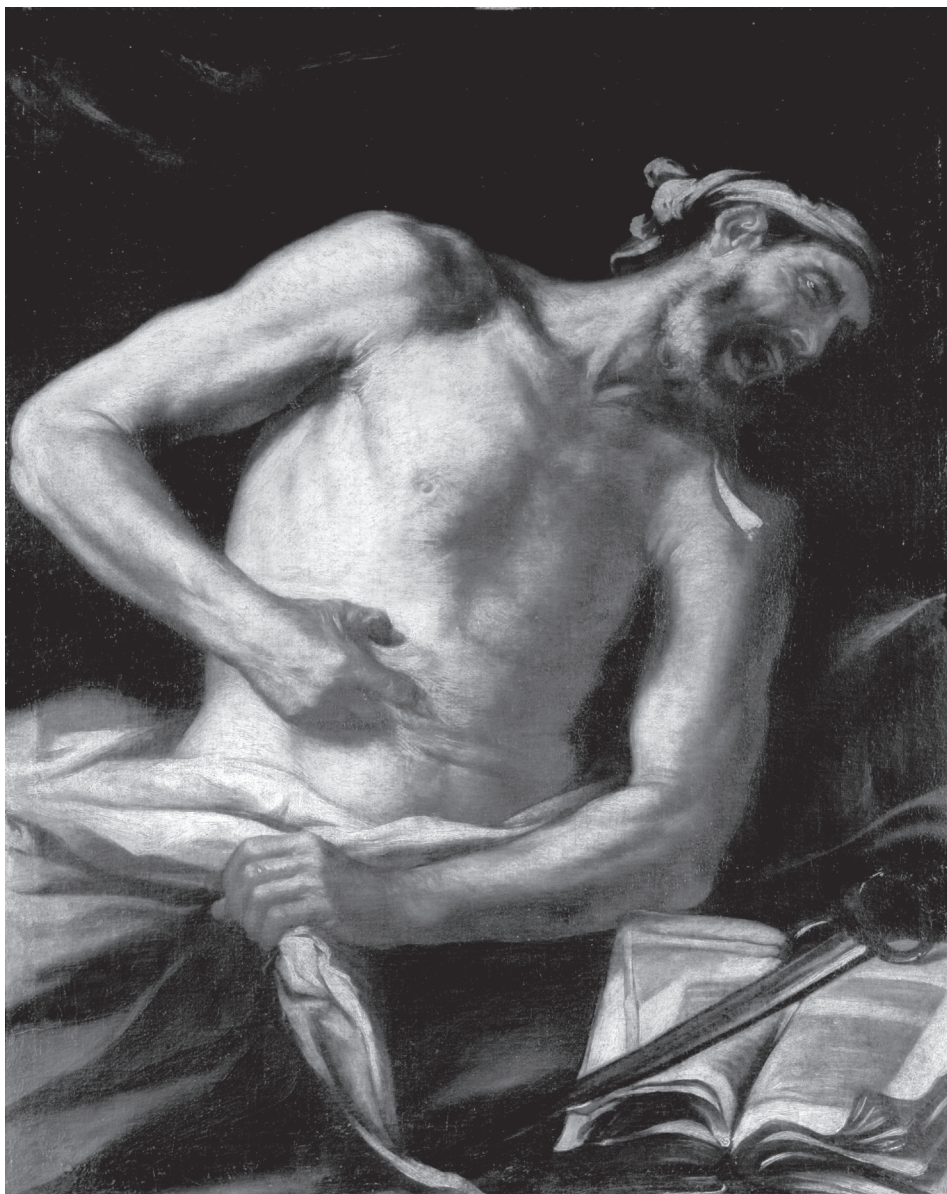


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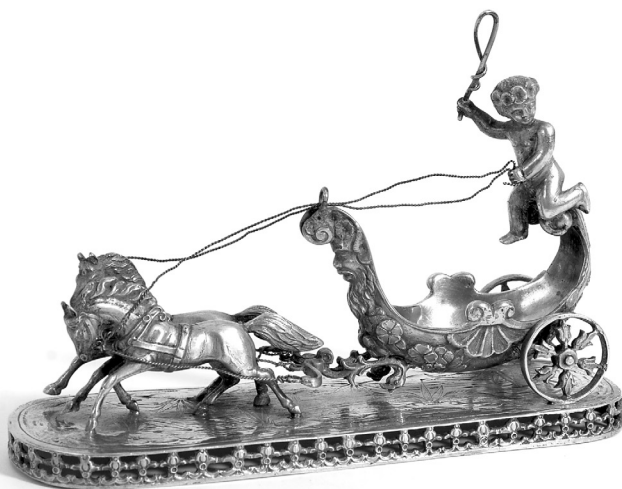


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Illustration 13. Detail from the permanent exhibit of the legacy of Dr. Branko Ilić
(photo: City Museum of Novi Sad)



Illustration 14. Detail from the permanent exhibit of the legacy of Dr. Branko Ilić
(photo: City Museum of Novi Sad)

BOOK REVIEWS

BALKAN MUSIC BEYOND THE EAST-WEST DIVIDE

(Beyond the East-West Divide. Balkan Music and its Poles of Attraction,
Edited by Ivana Medić and Katarina Tomašević, Institute of Musicology SASA,
Department of Fine Arts and Music SASA, Belgrade 2015)



The collective monograph, *Beyond the East-West Divide. Balkan Music and its Poles of Attraction* (Institute of Musicology SASA and Department of Fine Arts and Music SASA), published in English in Belgrade in 2015, offers an innovative view regarding a possible overcoming of the divide between the musical “East” and “West,” taking into full account Serbia’s specific geopolitical position and its relationship vis-à-vis these “power fields” in today’s Europe. In the words of the editors, Ivana Medić and Katarina Tomašević, associates of the Institute of Musicology of SASA, the book came about as a result of the necessity to explore methodological and historical perspectives different from the traditional ones “rooted in the ubiquitous, almost canonic historiographical dichotomy between East and West. Riding the tide of a gradual change of course with respect to the perception of identities of Oriental and Balkan cultures [...] we have sought fresh theoretical and methodological approaches and a comprehensive critical understanding of the

transfer of influences which left a deep imprint on the physiognomy of musical tradition in the Balkans, seen both from synchronic and diachronic perspectives.” (7)

The monograph contains twenty studies written by Serbian and foreign authors, musicologists and ethnomusicologists, affiliated with research centers in Serbia, the United States of America, Portugal, Germany, Cyprus, Greece, Macedonia, Slovenia, Bulgaria and Romania. Despite the large number of articles, the book is not divided into thematic chapters; instead, the studies are arranged in an uninterrupted diachronic, chronological order, which can be understood as an expression of the editors’ goal of not granting a privileged position to any one perspective over the others. Practically all the works are based on case study analyses, i.e., individual examples of facing the dichotomy from the monograph’s title, having in mind that, as Timothy Rice emphasizes in the opening study, “East” and “West” are not just “spaces or positions or directions on a map,” but also “places of lived experience.” (11) Danica Petrović writes about the paths of church music in Southeast Europe over a long time span, from the Middle Ages to the present. Ivan Moody strives to substitute the “East-West” dichotomy with a “North-South” perspective and makes a parallel study of the “projects” of three (South) European composers of the first half of the 20th century, including Josip Slavenski and his specific relationship with the Balkan musical heritage. Jasmina Huber deals with the influences of Ottoman music on the musical tradition of Sephardic Jews from the Balkans. Katy Romanou underlines the influence of the Greek diaspora in the “modernization” or “westernization” of the music in Greece, using the example of the Greek community in Odessa (Ukraine). Melita Milin analyzes the concept of the “Eastern (Islamized) Other” in

the first Serbian operas from the beginning of the 20th century, composed by Stanislav Binički, Isidor Bajić, Milenko Paunović, Ljubomir Bošnjaković and Petar Krstić, as well as in the Stevan Hristić ballet, *The Legend of Ohrid* (*Охридска легенда*), and Josip Slavenski's *Religiophonia / Symphony of the Orient* (*Религиофонија / Симфонија Оријента*). Manolis Seiragakis and Ioannis Tselikas focus on the Greek operetta, as a genre in which the difference of approach between the "East" and the "West" to the same musical form is obvious. The two succeeding studies revisit the "North-South" axis, where Ivana Vesić and Olga Otašević investigate the activities of the Russian émigrés in Belgrade's musical life in the interwar period. Sonja Zdravkova-Djeparoska examines the concept of interculturalism through the example of the pre-World War II influences that spread from north to south, i.e., from Russia, through Serbia, to the territory of the present-day (Northern) Macedonia.

The next two chapters are devoted to ethnochoreology: Gergana Panova-Tekath analyzes questions related to the professional choreographic presentation of Bulgarian folklore, using T. Rice's previously mentioned three-dimensional model of "lived musical experience," along with the independently developed theoretical model of the "semantic star," while Vesna Bajić-Stojiljković studies the influence of the first professional folklore ballet ensemble, founded by Igor Moiseyev in Moscow in 1937, on choreographed folklore dancing in Serbia. Valentina Sandu-Dediu explores Eastern and Western influences that shaped the views and methodology of Romanian musicologists in the post-World War II period, as well as certain authors' individual historiographical efforts, which is a unique feature of music-related writing in that country. Ana Petrov points to the different ways in which singer Đorđe Marjanović, one of the biggest stars of Yugoslav popular music, was perceived in socialist Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, where he

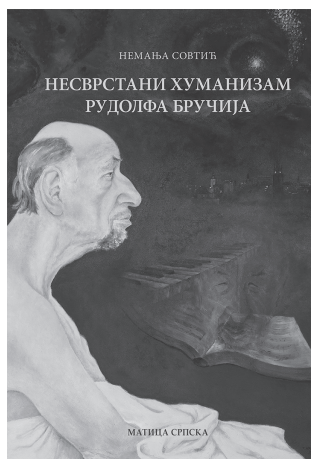
was also quite popular. Moving to contemporary times, Ivana Medić regards the opera *Zora D.* by Isidora Žebeljan, probably the most prominent representative of the "new wave" of Serbian opera composers, as an achievement that stands "between or beyond the East-West divide." (208) Ivana Miladinović-Prica analyzes the concept of the "cultural Other" using the example of Milimir Drašković's compositions, written during the past several decades, which contain post-modernistic features. Cüneyt-Ersin Mihci writes about the "culture of remembrance" using the example of one of the most famous Turkish folklore ballads, whose fame has gone beyond the borders of Turkey. Similarly, Dafni Tragaki examines the Orientalized Greek vocal genre of *Rebetiko* and its possible geographical and cultural transfigurations. The final two works are also devoted to the subject of Balkan musical folklore, which is obviously quite suitable for studying the feedback of the influence of Eastern and Western musical traditions: Iva Nenić examines the rise of the *world music* genre from the 1990s and the beginning of the breakup of SFR Yugoslavia, where each newly formed national state wanted to renew its "forgotten" or "most authentic" musical and cultural heritage, while, on the example of their own performing experience with the non-traditional vocal ensembles "Moba" and "Mokranjac," Jelena Jovanović and Sanja Ranković problematize the reactions of the audience and professional juries to traditional Serbian village singing in the "West" and the "East."

With its 288 total pages, this publication also stands out with its beautiful design and exceptional technical editing, which, together with the high quality of the studies and their multifarious methodological approaches to the core topic, provide a very positive overall impression of this collective monograph, which has the potential to become a referential work for future studies of Balkan music in the modern context.

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SOVTIĆ'S MONOGRAPH ON BRUCCI

(Немања Совтић, *Несврстани хуманизам Рудолфа Бручија: композицијор и друштво самоуправног социјализма*, Матица српска, Нови Сад 2017, 494 стр. / Nemanja Sovtić, *Rudolf Brucci's Non-Aligned Humanism: The Composer and the Society of Self-Managing Socialism*, Matica Srpska, Novi Sad 2017, 494 p.)



The scientific edition of Matica Srpska's Department of Stage Arts and Music has published a book by Nemanja Sovtić, Assistant Professor at the Department of Musicology and Ethnomusicology of the Academy of Arts, University of Novi Sad. It is, in fact, his doctoral dissertation, which he defended at the Department of Musicology of the Faculty of Music in Belgrade, in which the author, in a distinct, musicologically detailed way, reviewed the composing work of Rudolf Brucci in the context of Brucci's overall activity and social position, as one of the most influential personalities of our music world during the time of socialist Yugoslavia, especially in Novi Sad and Vojvodina.

This is a copious, multidimensionally elaborated musicological work, which the author based not only on Brucci's heretofore known, although mostly unprocessed fund of musical compositions and music-related writings, but also on newly found artefacts, newly discovered materials from the life and multifarious activity of this prominent Yugoslav representative of musical

tendencies that marked 20th century European music. Testimony of the wealth of primary and secondary literature used by Sovtić can also be found in the numerous annexes to the study's basic text, such as, in addition to Literature Cited, Rudolf Brucci's full Bibliography, Chronological List of (his) Works, Selected Writings and Interviews (newspapers, periodicals, articles), and Selected Archival Materials. On the basis of detailed research of these sources, Sovtić divided his extensive study into four large parts, divided into numerous chapters and subchapters.

In the first part, "The Still-Not-Author Between Remembrance and Reception," Sovtić explains his choice of topic and methodology of work; in the second part, "The Author as Stylistic Unity," he offers a highly professional, highly musicologically functionalized analysis of Brucci's numerous compositions in all the genres he engaged in. He devotes a separate chapter to each, with the final two being devoted to indicators of the stylistic unity of Brucci's music, which he explains and argues from the standpoint of all individual musical parameters. On the basis of those parameters, having critically reviewed previous periodizations of Brucci's work (B. Djaković and V. Rožić), Sovtić offers his own, emphasizing the importance of noting the "stylistic characteristics" as those "elements of musical language that satisfy the criteria of distinctiveness and frequency, against a background of the sum total of the material moments of the musical flow" [Совтић 2017: 266]. On that foundation, Sovtić performs a stylistic identification of Brucci's works, "checking it against" Brucci's own autopoetics and its aesthetic environment. (I. Foht, P. Stefanović, D. Grlić), which is the content of the third part of the book – "The Author as a Field of Conceptual/Theoretical Coherence." He also "checks it against" Brucci's own "social being," in the final part of the book, entitled "The Author as a Meeting of Events."

In accordance with Foucault's "criterion of the *author* as the meeting point of a certain number of events in a concrete historical moment," Sovtić offers a theoretical framing of his interpretation of Brucci's work, while deconstructing, in the "Brucci case," the "political territorializations" deriving from the practice of Yugoslav self-managing socialism, non-alignment policy and the cultural policies that were conditioned and defined by it. Thus does Sovtić round out his theoretical interpretation of Brucci in the sense of the composer's syntagma of "non-aligned humanism", by synthesizing his analytical and theoretical research with the view that the "artistic processing of the political... of the Yugoslav state in Brucci's creative workshop occurred... in 'production units' for the modernistic stylization of engagement (vocal-instrumental music), the aesthetization of new sound (instrumental music) and inclusion of the time-space of the mythical Third World into the auto-identificational framework of Yugoslav self-managing society (musical-scenic works)" [Совтић 2017: 365].

This monographic study in which, on the example of Brucci's creative identity, Sovtić, in

fact, also analyzes the general phenomenon of politically engaged composer, has been conducted in a professionally autonomous way, i.e., without any influence or trace of the usual, totally simplified and superficial politicized views and clichés that dominate this topic throughout the ex-Yugoslav space. He has also demonstrated methodological efficacy, admirable knowledge of the appropriate scientific fields (e.g. musical-linguistic analytics, stylistics, philosophy, sociology, aesthetics, ideology and politics) and their permeating views, and is convincing in the elaboration of his musicological theses. The study is written in a language of conspicuous literary qualities, which significantly and in an enriching way "mediate" between our purely musical terminology and authorially personal distinctions of musicological expression.

Thus, it can be said that, in all its parts, this book – also exemplary in its technical realization! – appears as one of those musicological achievements that have joined the body of essential literature on corresponding issues and topics.

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Research areas: political theory, European studies, international relations, bioethics and popular culture studies. Has published articles in leading domestic and foreign media, writes columns at the Belgrade daily paper *Politika*, and has written for the magazines *NIN*, *Vreme*, *Nedeljnik*, etc. Served as advisor to the Serbian prime minister, secretary of the State Council for Kosovo and Metohija, and advisor to the leader of a leading political opposition party in Montenegro.

Engages in political and business consulting, has organized numerous domestic and international gatherings (from humanitarian camps to academic conferences).

Major works: *Диктатура, нација, глобализација* (*Dictatorship, Nation, Globalization*), Belgrade 2002; *Капитализам, либерализам, држава* (*Capitalism, Liberalism, State*), Belgrade 2005; *Политичка мисао Џона Стјуарта Мила* (*The Political Thought of John Stuart Mill*), Belgrade 2006; *Конзервативизам и конзервативне странке* (*Conservatism and Conservative Parties*), Belgrade 2007; *Слика, звук и моћ* (*Picture, Sound and Power*), Belgrade 2009, *Тамни коридори моћи* (*Dark Corridors of Power*), Belgrade 2013.

SMILJANA DJUROVIĆ (Sarajevo, 1935) – Scholar and poetess.

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Began work as a history teacher in the “Petar Kočić” primary school, as well as in the Radio Sarajevo Radio-School. Was an external associate of the Institute for the Workers' Movement of Bosnia and Herzegovina and an associate of the *Просветни лист* (*Educational Gazette*). In 1964, was appointed as an assistant for Historical Methodology at the History Department of the Faculty of Philosophy in Sarajevo.

Since 1965, lives in Belgrade, first working in the Department of Historical Sciences of the Institute for Social Sciences and, after 1969, in the Institute of Contemporary History, on the scientific-research project on the economic history of Yugoslavia, specializing in the history of the industry of Serbia and Yugoslavia 1918–1941.

During the 1990s, was editor-in-chief of the *Историја 20. века* (*History of the 20th Century*) periodical, member of the editorial board of the *Прилози за историју социјализма* (*Supplements for the History of Socialism*) periodical, collegium member of the *Нова мисао* (*New Thought*) periodical, etc. Participated in many national and international scientific conferences, as well as at world congresses of economic historians in St. Petersburg and Bern. During final ten years of employment, served as a member of the Presidency of the Technology and Society Association and participated in its “Technology-Culture-Development” annual scientific conferences, alternatively held in Palić and Tivat. In 2008, was elected as the first president of the newly formed Economic History Society. Member of the Association of Writers of Serbia and of the “Zvezdara” literary circle.

Published nine book as only author and five books as co-author.

Major works: *Марксистичка историографска школа Покровског* (*Pokrovsky's Marxist Historiographical School*), Belgrade 1977; *Државна интервенција у индустрију Југославије 1918–1941* (*State Intervention in the Industry of Yugoslavia 1918–1941*), Belgrade 1986; *Са Теслом у Нови век: Нова синџеза историје* (*Into the New Century with Tesla: A New Synthesis of History*), Belgrade 1997.

Poetry collections: *Свињац над Зејом* (*Firefly Over the Zeta*), Belgrade 1991; *Апокалипса над Дунавом* (*Apocalypse Over the Danube*), Belgrade 1994; *Кула Бајовића* (*The Bajović Tower*), Podgorica–Plužine–Belgrade 1995; *Наранџини вртлови* (*Gardens of the Orange*) Belgrade 1997; *Помрачење Сунца* (*Solar Eclipse*), Belgrade 2000; *Под магнолијом* (*Under the Magnolia*), Belgrade 2010; *Пресвлачење ћирикаваца* (*Moult of Waders*) Belgrade 2017.

LJIJANA LAZIĆ (Osijek, 1971) – Art historian, Museum Research Fellow at the City Museum of Novi Sad.

Graduated from the Philosophical Faculty of the University of Belgrade, Department of Art History, in 1995. Employed at the City Museum of Novi Sad since 1995 as curator of the Department of Cultural History. In charge of the Museum's collection of fine and applied arts, as well as the Foreign Art Collection (Legacy of Dr. Branko Ilić). Areas of research work: fine and applied arts in the greater Novi Sad area until 1950; European fine and applied arts from the Renaissance to the 20th century. Author of numerous Museum exhibits and specialized texts from the field of art history. Member of the Museum Society of Serbia, ICOM and CODART, an international network for curators of art from the Low Countries.

Major works: *Папирни театар* (*Paper Theatre*), Novi Sad: Novi Sad City Museum 2004; *Кармен заувек: Меморијал Меланије Бугариновић и кћерке Мирјане Калиновић-Калин* (*Carmen forever: Memorial Melanije Bugarinovic and daughter Mirjana Callahan-Calin*) exhibition catalogue, New York: Novi Sad City Museum 2007; *Сецесија у Новом Саду* (*Art Nouveau in Novi Sad*) Novi Sad: Novi Sad City Museum 2009; *Јерменска црква у Новом Саду – избрисана бајџина* (*The Armenian Church in Novi Sad-deleted heritage*) New York: Novi Sad City Museum 2014; *Доктор Бранко Илић (1889–1966): Живот посвећен уметности* (*Dr. Branko Ilić (1889–1966): a life devoted to art*) exhibition catalogue, New York: Novi Sad City Museum 2016; *Мајстори Севера: дела холандског и фламанског сликарства у Збирци сџране уметности Музеја града Новог Сада*, (*Masters of the North: art of the Dutch and*

Flemish painters of the collection of foreign Art Museum of the Novi Sad City Museum), exhibition catalogue, New York: Novi Sad City Museum 2018.

MARIJA MAGLOV (Belgrade, 1989) – Musicologist, Junior Researcher at the Institute of Musicology of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Belgrade.

Holds an undergraduate degree (2012) from the Academy of Arts, University in Novi Sad (Department of Music), and master's degree (2013) from the Faculty of Music, University of Arts in Belgrade (Department of Musicology). Doctoral candidate in Musicology at the Faculty of Music, University of Arts in Belgrade.

Research areas: studies of music and media, as well as 20th century and contemporary music practices. Has participated in several national and international conferences and round tables and published papers in different journals and thematic monographs, as well as the monograph *The Best of: umetnička muzika u PGP-u* (2016). Recipient of the DAAD Short-term research grant, for the research project carried out at Hochschule für Musik, Theater und Medien, Hannover (2018). Recipient of the scholarships of Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development, Republic of Serbia (2014) and „Foundation for Young Talents – Dositeja“, Ministry of Youth and Sports, Republic of Serbia (2011–2013). Collaborator with the Centre for Popular Music Research, Belgrade and secretary of the AM: *Journal of Art and Media Studies*. Member of the Serbian Musicological Society (since 2018).

MILAN MILOJKOVIĆ (Zaječar, 1986) – Teaching assistant at the Department of Music Arts (programs in Musicology and Ethnomusicology), Academy of Arts, Novi Sad.

Holds undergraduate, magister's and doctoral degrees (Musicology) from the Faculty of Music in Belgrade, with further courses in Vienna. Author of research papers regularly published in domestic and foreign publications such as international magazines *New Sound*, *Musicology*, *Third Programme* (Belgrade) and collections of papers (*Copy, Paste, Mine, Yours* (Vienna), *Musical Romania and the Neighboring cultures* (Iassi), *TheMa* (Vienna), *Academic Spring Readings* (Sofia), *Ustanove, politika in glasba v Sloveniji in Srbiji 1945–1963* (Ljubljana), etc). In 2010, published a study dedicated to the music of Max Reger titled *Sempre con tutta forza*, and in 2013, a study titled *Analiza jezika napisa o muzici (Srbija u Jugoslaviji 1946–1975)* (*Analysis of the language of writings about music (Serbia in Yugoslavia 1946–1975)*). Collaborates as one of the musical editors at the III Program of Radio Belgrade and designs analog and digital musical instruments, and performs in bands “Restrictions“, “Noizac” and “Ex-You”.

SVETLANA V. MIRČOV (Zemun, 1951) – Library consultant at Library of the Law Faculty of the University of Belgrade.

Obtained her M.S. (1989) and PhD (2003) in Library and Information Science at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Sarajevo, Republic of Srpska. Since 1979 until 1987 worked at the National Library “Vuk Karadžić” (Belgrade, Zvezdara) as head of Department for purchase-process and Department for Services for Libraries. During that period was employed as associate at Gifts Department, consultant for reconstitution of the library funds, head of the Collection Building Department, and manager of Memorial Libraries and Legacies. From 2005 until 2015 employed as a manager of Library of the Law Faculty of the University of Belgrade. Former secretary of: Association of Library Workers of Yugoslavia, Library Society of Serbia; former member of Parent Library Community of Serbia and editorial board of *Библиотекар* Journal (*Librarian*). Was a member and president of the jury of the annual Award

“Stojan Novaković”. One of the authors of *Codex for Librarians of Serbia*. Regular participant at the *Meetings of bibliographers* in the memory of Dr. Georgi Mihailović in Indija, has been a member of the Board of *Meetings* and member of Editorial Board of the *Proceedings of the Meetings* since 1997. Current member of Parent Society of Libraries of Legal and Related Libraries of southeast Europe; and a member of the Supervisory Board of the Serbian Academic Library Association.

Research areas: history of National Library of Serbia, history of Serbian libraries and Serbian culture and library science. Has published over seventy scientific and professional papers in the field of librarianship, bibliography and the history of Serbian culture and science.

Major works: *Библиографија Милорада Панића-Сурепа (Bibliography of Milorad Panića-Surepa)* Belgrade 1992; *Енциклопедија цитата (Encyclopedia of quotations)* Belgrade 2006; 2008 (co-author); *Јован Н. Томић: библиотекар и научник (Jovan N. Tomić: librarian and scientist)* Belgrade 2007; *Библиотека – лебеница душе (Library — ležbenica souls)* Belgrade 2012

MILOMIR P. STEPIĆ (Belgrade, 1959) – Senior Research Fellow at the Institute for Political Studies, Belgrade.

Obtained his B.S. (1985), M.S. (1990) and PhD (1997) in Geography from the Faculty of Geography, University of Belgrade, where he also taught until 2008. Member of the Serbian Geographical Society, the Board for Population Studies and the Board for the Study of Kosovo and Metohija of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (SASA), and the editorial boards of the following scholarly periodicals: *Политеија (Politeia)*, *Национални интерес (National Interest)*, *Косовско-метохијски зборник (Journal for Kosovo and Metohija)* and *Зборник Матице српске за друштвене науке (The Matica Srpska Journal of Social Sciences)*. Visiting Professor and Adjunct Professor at the Diplomatic Academy in Belgrade, Advanced Security and Defense Studies of the Military Academy in Belgrade, the Faculty of Economics, Faculty of Geo-economics and the Faculty of Political Sciences in Belgrade and Banja Luka. Areas of specialty are theoretical geopolitics, global geopolitics, demo-geopolitics and the geopolitics of the Balkans and the Serbian lands. One of the initiators of the project “The Ethnic Space of the Serbs” and author of a series of detailed (by settlement) ethnic maps of the ex-Yugoslav space. Has published numerous scientific monographs and works, textbooks, encyclopedia entries and chapters in monographs in the Serbian, Russian, Greek and English languages.

Major works: *Етнички састав становништва Босне и Херцеговине (Ethnic Composition of the Population of Bosnia and Herzegovina 1992/1993; in Serbian and Greek; co-author)*; *Косово и Метохија – политичко-географске и геополитичке перспективе (Kosovo and Metohija – Political-Geographic and Geopolitical Prospects)* 1999; *У вртлогу балканизације (In the Vortex of Balkanization)* 2001; *Српско питање – геополитичко питање (The Serbian Question as a Geopolitical Question)* 2004; *Косово и Метохија – постмодерни геополитички експеримент (Kosovo and Metohija – A Postmodern Geopolitical Experiment)* 2012; *Геополитика неоевроазијства – позиција српских земаља (The Geopolitics of Neo-Eurasianism – Position of the Serbian Lands)* 2013; and *Геополитика – идеје, теорије, концепције (Geopolitics – Ideas, Theories, Conceptions)* 2016 for which he received the prestigious Seal of Time Award for Science and Social Theory.

SLAVENKO TERZIĆ (1949, Pandurica, Pljevlja) – Senior Research Fellow at Historical Institute of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (SANU), Ambassador of Serbia in Russia.

Obtained his M.S. (1976) and PhD (1990) in History at Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade. Employed at Historical Institute of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (SANU) since 1974 where he passed all the scientific titles from the assistant to the senior research fellow. From 1987 until 2002 was director of Institute. Participated with scientific papers in international scientific conferences in Russia, Greece, Bulgaria, Ukraine, Germany, Spain, Sweden, Czech Republic, Austria, Switzerland, and Denmark. Member of two boards of Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts: Board for Serbian History of the 19th century and Board for The Study of Kosovo and Metohija. Current member and secretary of Commission of Historians of the Department of historical sciences SANU, in charge for collaboration with Russian historians. Former member of Editorial board of *Revue d'Europe Centrale* Journal and president of International Scientific Board for organization of annual international scientific conferences within the project *Meeting of Civilizations in the Balkans* (the project supported by UNESCO). Editor of seven published scientific journals from these conferences. From 2001 until 2005 president of Serbian Literary Cooperative (founded in 1892) one of the oldest cultural institutions in the Serbs. Former editor-in-chief of the *Historical Journal*, and all other editions of the Historical Institute of the SANU.

In the organization of the Germans Bishop's Conference in Bonn, with the participation of representatives of the European Conference of Churches in Geneva, participated in the dialogue between Serbian, Croatian and German historians at Freising in Munich (1995) and in Flot near Hanover (1996). Was a Secretary General of the Federation of Historians of SFR Yugoslavia 1982–1986.

Member of international Editorial board of *Историја култур славјанских народова* (Moscow 2003). Ambassador of Serbia in Russia since 2013.

Research areas: political, diplomatic, social and cultural history of Serbs and Southeast Europe in the 19th and 20th centuries.

Major works: *Србија и Грчка (1856–1903). Борба за Балкан (Serbia and Greece (1856–1903). Fight for the Balkans)* Historical Institute SANU; Yugoslav Export and Credit Bank dd 1992; *Прва београдска гимназија 1839–1999 (First Belgrade High School 1839–1999)*, co-author, Belgrade 1999; *Политички живот у Нишу (1868–1876), Историја Ниша 2 (Political life in Niš (1868–1876), History of Niš 2)* Historical Institute SANU, Belgrade; *Русија и Српска револуција (1804–1815) (Russia and the Serbian Revolution (1804–1815))*, in *Европа и Српска револуција (Europe and the Serbian Revolution)* editor Čedomir Popov, Novi Sad 2004; *Сјоменица сјооодичињце ослобођења Сјаре Србије: 1912–2012 (Monument to the centenary of the liberation of Old Serbia: 1912–2012)* Belgrade 2012; *Сјара Србија (XIX–XX): драма једне цивилизације: Рацка. Косово и Мејтохија. Српско-мејтовска област (Old Serbia (XIX–XX): drama of a civilization: Raska. Kosovo and Metohija. Serbian-Tetovo region)* Novi Sad, Belgrade 2012; *Сјарая Сербия (XIX–XX вв.): драма одной европейской цивилизации (Old Serbia (XIX–XX centuries): drama of one European civilization)* Moscow 2015.

SRĐA TRIFKOVIĆ (Belgrade, 1954) – Foreign affairs editor for *Chronicles*.

Received Honors degree in international relations at the University of Sussex (1977) and a BA in political science at the University of Zagreb (1986). Obtained a doctorate in modern history at the University of Southampton in 1990. Worked as a broadcaster for the BBC World Service in London (1980–86) and the Voice of America in Washington DC (1986–87). In 1988–91 was based in Belgrade as the Southeast Europe correspondent for the weekly magazine U.S. News & World Report and a stringer for The Washington Times.

In 1991–92 he was a Visiting Scholar at the Hoover Institution at Stanford, CA, conducting postdoctoral research on a Title VIII grant from the U.S. Department of State. In 1993–93 served as Chief of Staff at the London office of HRH Crown Prince Alexander Karadjordjević. During the Yugoslav wars (1991–95) was interviewed over 500 times by major networks in Europe and America, including BBC, CNN, CBC, Sky News, NBC etc.

Visiting professor at the University of St. Thomas in Houston, TX, and subsequently at Rose Hill College in Aiken, SC (1997–99). Since 1999, Foreign Affairs Editor of *Chronicles: A Magazine of American Culture*, writing weekly online commentaries and a monthly column for the print edition. In addition, starting in 2012, he has been teaching international relations, geopolitics and diplomacy at the University of Banja Luka (Republika Srpska, Bosnia and Herzegovina).

Appeared repeatedly as an expert witness before the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia at The Hague, and testified as a defense witness at the Karadžić trial in 2013. He was an election observer at the Crimean referendum (March 2014), the Donetsk Republic assembly election (November 2014), and the Russian presidential election (March 2018).

Has published entries in *The Oxford Companion to Comparative Politics* (Oxford University Press, 2013), and to *The Oxford Companion to Politics of the World* (Oxford University Press, 2001). and articles in several leading academic journals including *The Historical Journal*, *European History Quarterly*, and *East European Quarterly*.

Major works: *Континуитет хладног рата: Међународни односи почетком XXI века* (*Continuity of the Cold War: International Relations in Early 21st Century*), Belgrade 2017; *Усташа: Балканско срце таме*. (*Ustaša: The Croatian Heart of Darkness*), Belgrade 2016; *Ustaša: Croatian Fascism and European Politics, 1929–1945*, Chicago 2011; *The Krajina Chronicle: A History of the Serbs in Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia*, Chicago 2010; *Defeating Jihad: How the War on Terrorism Can Be Won*, Boston 2006; and *The Sword of the Prophet – Islam: History, Theology, Impact on the World*, Boston 2002 – which has sold over 100,000 copies in the U.S.

BOGOLJUB ŠIJAKOVIĆ (Nikšić, 1955) – professor of philosophy at the Faculty of Orthodox Theology, University of Belgrade.

Former Minister for Religious Affairs in the Federal Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (2000–2002) and in the Government of the Republic of Serbia (2008–2011).

Published over 340 articles, studies, bibliographies and reviews in periodicals and collections of papers in Serbian, German, English, French, Russian, Italian, Slovenian and Bulgarian. Has edited over 40 thematic publications. Was Editor-in-chief of the Journal for Philosophy and Sociology *Luča* (1992–2006) and Founding Editor of the International Journal for Philosophy and Theology *Philotheos* (since 2001), as well as periodicals *Bibliographia serbica theologica* (since 2009) and *Bibliographia serbica philosophica* (since 2011). Manages the project “Serbian Theology in the Twentieth Century” and edits the equivalent collection of papers (20 vols., 2007–2015). Translated in Serbian several dozen of texts (e.g. F. D. E. Schleiermacher, M. Heidegger, H.-G. Gadamer, E. Fink, H. Blumenberg, E. Fromm, W. D. Ross, G. Florovsky) from German, English, Russian and Greek.

Major works: *Mythos, Physis, Psyche: An Essay in Pre-Socratic “Ontology” and “Psychology”* (in Serbian 1991, ²2002; Summary in German); *Zoon politikon: Examples from Personal Legitimacy* (in Serbian 1994); *Amicus Hermes: Aufsätze zur Hermeneutik der griechischen Philosophie* (collection of essays in various languages 1996; in Serbian 1994 as *Hermes’ Wings*); *History, Responsibility, Holiness* (in Serbian

1997); *Bibliographia Praesocratica: A Bibliographical Guide to the Studies of Early Greek Philosophy in its Religious and Scientific Contexts with an Introductory Bibliography on the Historiography of Philosophy* (Paris 2001); *Between God and Man: Essays in Greek and Christian Thought* (Sankt Augustin 2002); *Face to Face with the Other: A Fugue in Essays* (in Serbian 2002); *A Critique of Balkanistic Discourse: Contribution to the Phenomenology of Balkan "Otherness"* (Toronto 2004; in Serbian 2000, ⁵2012; in Italian 2001; in Slovenian 2001; in German 2004; in French 2010; in Russian 2015; in Greek 2017); *Mirroring in Context: On Knowledge and Belief, Tradition and Identity, Church and State* (in Serbian 2009, ²2011); *Myth and Philosophy: The Ontological Potentiality of Myth and the Beginning of Greek Philosophy. Theories of Myth and Greek Mythmaking: A Bibliography* (in Serbian 2012; Summaries in English and German); *On Suffering and Memory: Selected "Anthropological" Essays* (in Serbian 2012); *History : Violence : Theory: Selected "Historiosophical" Essays* (in Serbian 2012); *The Presence of Transcendence: Essays on Facing the Other through Holiness, History and Text* (Los Angeles 2013; in Serbian 2013); *University and Serbian Theology* (Belgrade 2014; in Serbian 2010, 2014); *Great War, Ethics of Vidovdan, Memory* (in Serbian 2015); *Resistance to Oblivion* (in Serbian 2016).

MIRJANA VESELINOVIĆ-HOFMAN (Belgrade, 1948) – Musicologist, full-time professor in the Department of Musicology at the Faculty of Music, and the Department of Interdisciplinary Studies at the University of Arts in Belgrade.

Head of the Department of Musicology between 2006 and 2016 (when retired). Obtained B.A. (1971), M.S. (1974) degree at Faculty of Music Arts in Belgrade, and PhD (1981) degree at Faculty of Philology of the University of Belgrade, attended specialization courses in Germany (Analysis of Contemporary Music, with K. Stockhausen and G. Ligeti). DAAD Alumna.

Cooperated with University of Music and Theatre in Rostock, Erasmus University in Rotterdam, and was affiliated to the Department of Music at the University Pretoria, South Africa, lecturing in the history of European music.

The chair holder of scientific projects at the Department of Musicology of the Faculty of Music / University of Arts in Belgrade between 2001 and 2018, among which were also the Jean Monnet Module /Erasmus+ programme/ "Musical Identities and European Perspective: an Interdisciplinary Approach", 2013–2017), and projects at Matica Srpska (The Aspects of Musical Silence in Serbian Postmodern Music, 2007–2011–2013; Musical Institutions as the Representatives of Musical Life in Serbia, elaborated in the Form of Musical Lexikon, 2013–2016–). Member of the editorial board of the *Matica Srpska Journal of Stage Arts and Music*; editor-in-chief of the *New Sound International Journal of Music*. Collaborator on the *Grove Music Online*.

Research areas: European and Serbian contemporary music, aesthetic and poetic trends in contemporary theoretical thought on music and musicology.

The author, co-author or editor of 20 books and 53 issues of the *New Sound Journal*, the author of around 90 musicological articles printed in Serbia and abroad (for example by Peter Lang Verlag and Springer), and numerous music critiques. Also a member of a large number of selection committees of international musicological conferences and congresses organized by the International Musicological Society and its Regional Association for the Study of Music of the Balkans. One of its two chair persons; the first president of the Serbian Musicological Society (2007–2012); secretary of the Matica Srpska Department of Stage Arts and Music.

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