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М Д С
друштво Србије

МУЗИКОЛОШКО
ДРУШТВО
СРБИЈЕ

МАТИЦА СРПСКА



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THE YUGOSLAV IDEA IN ART SONG IN THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY SOUTH SLAV TERRITORIES

ABSTRACT: This paper explores the Yugoslav idea in the newly emerging art song tradition in the South Slav territories in the first decades of the twentieth century. It focuses on collaboration between composers Petar Konjović and Miloje Milojević and sopranos Maja Strozzi-Pečić and Ivanka Milojević, respectively. The sopranos had a formative role in creation of the composers' opus. They actively engaged in the selection of 'folk' material for the composers' collections, broadening the region covered to include the whole territory of the Yugoslav state. They modelled the composers' original songs through practice. Most significantly, they established the new form of concertising where they sounded and embodied the new repertoire. Looking into this body of music as performance gives new perspective to the question whether artists' efforts resulted in creating the 'Yugoslav music'. Analysis limited to music as writing shows that the two composers did not develop or define any specific style or compositional procedures that would follow their Yugoslav rhetoric. However, regardless of the lack of defined "Yugoslav style", the concert programmes explored here, particularly in the 1920s, often presented this repertoire as "Yugoslav songs", with slight regional variations. Furthermore, the concert reviews point to the reception of this repertoire as Yugoslav music. Drawing on Dahlhaus' premise that the idea of nationalism as an aesthetic factor lies in composers' intention and the way it is received by audiences I argue that, because of Ivanka Milojević and Strozzi-Pečić, the performances of this body of repertoire at this particular time should be regarded as Yugoslav music. The two sopranos legitimised art song as 'national' high art in their performances, with key aspects in this process being the high-style vocal technique, language and gender.

KEY WORDS: Art song, Yugoslav idea, performativity, voice, language, gender.

Introduction

This paper explores the Yugoslav idea in the flourishing art song tradition in the South Slav region in the decades preceding and following the formation of the Yugoslav state in 1918. While the new nation state was formed, the question of national identity remained open, with the art song emerging as a suitable genre to promote 'national' ideas in music and create a new Yugoslav cultural identity. The two prominent composers of the genre at that time were Petar Konjović (1883–1970) and Miloje Milojević (1884–1946). They were also the most active critics and essayists

of this period, preoccupied with the idea of national in music which they described at different times as Serbian, Slav, Yugoslav and Balkan. Yet analyses of composers' musical styles show that they did not develop or define any specific 'Yugoslav style' that would follow their pro-Yugoslav rhetoric, instead only expanding the territory they covered in their engagement with 'folk' (VASIĆ 2004, 2007; MILIN 2004: 36–37; SAMSON 2013: 338; TOMAŠEVIĆ 2015).

The two composers collaborated closely with two sopranos, Maja Strozzi-Pečić (1882–1962) and Ivanka Milojević (1881–1975), who premiered most of their works and were acknowledged by their contemporaries as 'champions of national song'. Regardless of the lack of defined 'Yugoslav style' in the two composers' vocal output, the two sopranos' concert programmes often presented this repertory as 'Yugoslav songs'. Furthermore, the concert reviews point to the reception of this repertory as Yugoslav music. Drawing on Dahlhaus' premise that the idea of nationalism as an aesthetic factor lies in composers' intention and the way it is received by audiences (1989: 86–87), this paper explores the two sopranos' concert activity, identifying their performances as performative acts crucial for legitimizing this repertory as both high and 'national' art.¹

The two sopranos established the art song concert tradition which marked a clear departure from the then-standard tradition in the region of potpourri concerts which featured a large number of performers and mixed programmes. In addition, they adopted a particular programming formula. They performed the European song repertory – mostly German and French – in original languages, together with songs by local composers, both folk song arrangements and original songs without vernacular traces, bringing them all under one roof of the same high-art project. The folk song arrangements from the whole region of the Yugoslav state and original works by Serbian, Croat and Slovene composers were also performed in the original languages. By doing so the two sopranos harmonised on the stage the three closely related languages – Serbian, Croat and Slovene – into what was one officially recognised language in Yugoslavia at that time, and through the power of their voices mediated the existing cultures into a newly forming Yugoslav one.²

Elaborating the character of Yugoslav narrative presented by the two sopranos in concert is beyond the scope of this paper as it requires a detailed analysis of concert programmes against the significantly changing historical background of the

¹ Performativity is the capacity of speech and communication not simply to communicate but rather to act or consummate an action, or to construct and perform an identity (AUSTIN 1975: 5).

² While the then-official view that Serbo-Croat-Slovene was a single language is challenged today, the early twentieth-century context was different. The three closely related spoken South-Slav languages and their dialects, that also often crossed supposedly clear ethno-religious lines, offered a unifying premise for the advocates of the Yugoslav idea at that time.

1910s and 1920s.³ Furthermore, such analysis calls for situating the findings into the wider scholarly debate whether the individual national identities were fixed prior to the foundation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in 1918.⁴ Here, I focus on these performances at the level of the act of narration and identify the two sopranos' gender, language and high art vocal technique as crucial factors for reception of this repertory, hoping to encourage further research into music as performance rather than work.⁵

Historical Context

When the Yugoslav state was formed in 1918, the issue of Yugoslav identity remained open. In addition to the three recognized national identities prior to World War One – Serbian, Croat and Slovene – there was also a complex web of languages, religions and ethnicities in the region that needed to be reconciled. Closely related spoken South-Slav languages and dialects also often crossed supposedly clear ethno-religious lines. Apart from its myriad languages and dialects, the Yugoslav state had to accommodate three religions: Orthodox Christian Serbs, Montenegrins and Macedonians; Catholic Croats and Slovenes, and a significant Muslim Slav population in Bosnia, which was given the status of a constituent Yugoslav nation in 1968. The Albanian group living in present-day territories of Kosovo and Macedonia included adherents to all three religions. In addition to this mosaic of ethnicities and religions, the country had a significant Jewish population, which was never given constituent status, and a number of other ethnic minorities (the most numerous ones being Hungarians and Romas).

While this posed significant political issues, early twentieth-century South Slav intellectuals were in general less interested than the politicians in a domination of one centre over another (DJOKIĆ, 5). These intellectuals typically understood Yugoslavia as a “mostly cultural union of kindred, but separate nations” (TRGOVČEVIĆ 2003: 223), often trying to “synthesise” the elements of the existing ‘tribal’ cultures into a new Yugoslav culture (WACHTEL: 239). It is in this context that I situate the activity of the artists studied. They were the “returning intelligentsia”, adopting what Anthony Smith defines as reformist path, attempting to combine the inherited ‘native’ traditions with those of Western Europe and seeking to ‘modernise’ their home culture (2009: 55–56). The two composers drew on symbols from the vernacular

³ For the detailed analysis of concert programmes see: GRMUŠA 2018: 220–227.

⁴ For scholars who argue that national identities were fixed prior to 1918 see: BANAC 1988; SUPPAN 2003. For more on overlapping of the national ideas in the Balkans at that time see: DJOKIĆ 2007; TROCH 2010.

⁵ Musicologists in the region who tackle the performance aspect in this context deal with choral societies (MILANOVIĆ 2014; ATANASOVSKI 2013).

tradition but relied on Western compositional procedures. Nevertheless, within the art song project, the most formative artists were Strozzi-Pečić and Milojević's wife Ivanka. Their high vocal technique was the medium through which the vernacular was combined into the Western tradition.

The Two Sopranos: Establishing the Concert Tradition

Art song in the region flourished in part through the general trend of professionalization of performers and performance. However, the individual agency of these two artistic couples – and particularly the two sopranos – in this process cannot be overstated. While there were other musical couples who were active at that time, they did not make the impact that the Milojevićs or Konjović-Strozzi-Pečić did.⁶ What distinguished the two sopranos' activity and made their performances impactful was their consistent and systematic concert activity, resulting in the creation of a new form of performance tradition. The extent of the two sopranos' concert activity and the attention given to the 'national' repertory – both the folk-song arrangements and the newly-composed art song – was unmatched at the time, providing the repetitive aspect crucial to performativity. This new form possessed another defining characteristic of performatives as identified by Austin: it was a conventional procedure, having a certain conventional effect (1975: 14–15). In other words, they created a recognizable ritual where the performative actions could take place – both at the level of the story narrated and the act of narration itself.

The two sopranos created this tradition in less than favourable conditions – given the lack of concert halls and a professional network. However, the absence of artists' agents – that is impresarios or venue owners – particularly in Belgrade, gave the artists a certain advantage. Whereas public recitals in France and Germany at this time were typically organised by impresarios or venue owners, in Belgrade the complete organisation was left to performers, allowing them to choose the repertory and format of performance. (MILOJKOVIĆ-DJURIĆ 1984: 16). In Zagreb, although the concert life was more active, performing artists mainly came from abroad, often from Austria and Germany. In Konjović's words, the blame was down to the impresarios – “people standing between audiences and artists” and “collecting money” – for not including “Yugoslav artists” in “our music life” (1920a: 200). The reason behind Konjović's complaints was probably the fact that foreign musicians did not perform music by the local composers, something both he himself and Milojević saw as crucial in building a distinctive native music tradition.

⁶ The two couples that should be mentioned are Serbian composer Stanislav Binički (1872–1942) and his wife Miroslava Binički (born Frieda Blanke in Munich, 1876–1956), concert singer and singing teacher, and Serbian composer Stevan Hristić (1885–1958) and his wife Ksenija Rogovska (1896–1961), Russian opera singer who settled in Belgrade after the Russian Revolution.

Concerts in both Zagreb and Belgrade at that time, which, as the biggest music centres were representative of the rest of the territory, typically consisted of potpourri programmes: art songs, operatic arias, ballads, popular songs and transcriptions of popular operatic numbers. Strozzi-Pečić's programmes of early concerts in Zagreb and in Ljubljana, before she engaged with art song (Figures 1 and 2), illustrate this.⁷ Her 1899 Zagreb performance included a choral piece, two transcriptions of operatic numbers for the *tamburitza* ensemble – a plucked string instrument played with a plectrum increasingly popular in the late-nineteenth century 'folk' repertory – and virtuosic solos for cello and piano by then well-known German composer Moritz Moszkowski (1854–1925). This is also the only time Strozzi-Pečić performed a song accompanied by piano and *gusle* – a traditional bowed single-stringed instrument generally associated with the performance of epic ballads. At a concert performed in 1901 in Ljubljana, Strozzi-Pečić sang arias from *La Traviata* (Verdi) and *Dinorah* (Meyerbeer), and songs by Ivan Zajc (1832–1914) who, as the director of the Croatian Institute of Music and the Croatian opera, and a prolific composer, dominated nineteenth-century Zagreb's musical life. She sang alongside a male vocal octet that performed repertory in Slovene by Anton Nedved (1829–1896) and three virtuosic piano solos. Such programming resembled mid- and late-nineteenth century concerts in Vienna, where art song, often settings of translated poetry, were combined with opera arias, 'folk' and drawing room ballads to create a concert (TUNBRIDGE 2014: 556).

This practice of mixed concerts continued even two decades after these two concerts as Konjović's articles in *Hrvatska njiva* from 1918 show. He found, for instance, in the visiting mezzo-soprano Elena Gerhardt's concert in 1918 relief from a 'multitude of performances we are inundated with from all sides this season'. He praised her for offering 'a stylized', that is consistently-themed concert (1920a: 170).

The two sopranos established this 'stylized' or consistently-themed concert as their own practice. They brought home the recital tradition of the cities they studied in, Munich and Vienna, where the *Lied* concert tradition was at its peak (PARSONS 2004: 3). They took up the aspirations represented in the recitals they were exposed to, eschewing transcriptions, operatic numbers and popular songs, and embracing instead the art song in standardized 'native' languages (Serbian, Croat and Slovene). Significantly, however, this output attested not just to the composer's originality, but to a collective identity that the composer and singer collaboratively brought to full expression.

Konjović singled out Strozzi-Pečić's unique efforts in raising the standards of concertising, praising her concert in 1916 featuring songs by French, German, Russian and Slovak composers:

⁷ Programmes held in Croatian Music Institute Archives (Zagreb), Maja Strozzi-Pečić Collection (CMIA MSPC)

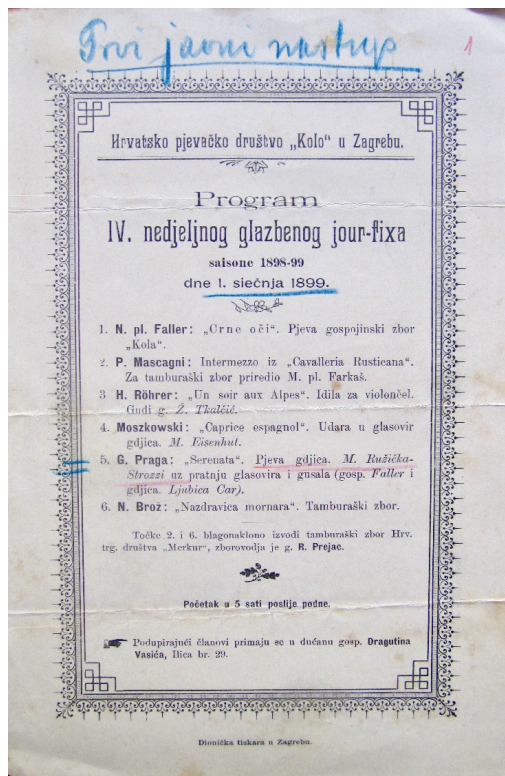


Figure 1

Programme of Strozzi-Pečić's first public performance, Zagreb 1899 (CMIA MSPC)



Figure 2

Programme of Strozzi-Pečić's concert in Ljubljana 1901 (CMIA MSPC)

This concert is particularly important for her personal as well as for our artistic progress. It was the first time that a local artist presented a highly stylised programme showcasing the lyrical pinnacle in international music (1920b: 115).

Strozzi-Pečić's achievements here stand for the collective – “our artistic progress”. As crucial to this progress, Konjović particularly singled out the fact that she sang all the songs in original languages. He defined the concert tour Strozzi-Pečić took with this programme accompanied by her husband as “a major endeavour in artistic education of our audiences” (IBID: 116).

Ivanka Milojević's educational role extended beyond the concert stage. She was one of the first singing teachers in the Serbian Music School in Belgrade – the first conservatoire in Serbia that in 1937 was superseded by the Belgrade Music Academy. Her concert programmes resembled those of Strozzi-Pečić's – she performed a vast body of art song – German, French, Czech – in original languages. She was praised as someone who:

...systematically cultivated the tradition of chamber vocal style which enriched our musical life with a valuable genre: art song for voice and piano (KONJOVIĆ 1954: 47).

Jointly, Ivanka Milojević and Strozzi-Pečić turned the foundational idea behind Liszt's recital – a commercial medium showcasing virtuosity – into something else: an educational evening which played a crucial part in the process of 'forging the nation', one that Smith explains as the interplay of elite proposals and majority responses, which may accept, reject or reshape those projects (2009: 31).

The Art Song Project and Yugoslav Idea

The task of creating a 'national' high art was advocated by a generation of South Slav composers at the beginning of the 20th century. Milojević and Konjović, among the leaders of this quest, embraced the art song as the suitable genre to achieve that. They regularly referred to this repertory as the 'national song', but never clearly defined what it stood for, not only in terms of which ethnicity they were referring to. The two composers referred to this repertory using a range of names and deictics: *Serbian*, *Yugoslav*, *Slavonic*, *national*, *ours* – a common practice highlighting the fluidity of the identity issues in the region at this period.⁸ In addition, different categories of songs were hailed as 'national': folk song arrangements from across the South Slav territories; art songs inspired by vernacular tradition; as well as art songs with no references to the vernacular tradition but composed in one of the languages spoken in the region. What was uniting this heterogenous repertory into a universally accepted 'national song' by audiences and critics across the South Slav region? Legitimising this repertory as a 'new national art song canon' was a double-sided process, happening simultaneously with what Bohlman defines as "anointing the folk music as a canon" – elevating the status of the folk music (2011: XXIV). A closer look at concert programmes shows that three aspects of the sopranos' performance were crucial in facilitating this process: high art vocal technique, language and the performing artist's sex.

The Gender

The two sopranos and their composers changed the character of the, mainly choral, works by the previous generation of South Slav composers who relied on 'folk'. In a manner similar to mid-nineteenth-century German composers, late 19th-century

⁸ Billig explores the use of pronouns, a type of deixis – words and phrases that cannot be fully understood without additional contextual information. He examines the use of words like 'our' and 'us' and claims that the secret of everyday nationalism lies in tiny words such as 'we', 'this' and 'here' (1995: 93–94).

South Slav composers' choral works and local Singspiel that relied on 'folk' spoke for a "masculinized memory, masculinized humiliation and masculinized hope" (ENLOE 1989: 44), making male heroes their subjects. Philip Bohlman recognizes this gendered facet of 'roots' in nineteenth-century Germany. There, the orality of traditional ballads had forged a repertory that supposedly was the product of a larger collective memory; such song "not uncommonly... symbolized "brotherhood" and "mankind"" (2011: 18).

Aiming to create a new art form, Ivanka Milojević and Strozzi-Pečić and 'their' composers did the opposite. To mythologize the nation, female figures were clearly, for these artists, the most powerful and most efficient carriers of meaning. A parallel can be drawn with the South Slav folk music tradition, where women are predominantly singers, and men are instrumentalists.⁹ Although the two sopranos moved from the traditional domestic setting of female music-making to the concert platform, their choice of a professional singing career may have been socially acceptable as it reflected the deeply rooted gender roles in folk music. This was particularly aided by the role played by both sopranos' husbands, who acted as their exclusive accompanists.

We find a clear example of this in the concert organized in February 1914 in Budapest by the student organization *Srpskohrvatska akademska omladina* [Serbo-Croat Academic Youth] (Figure 3).¹⁰ This concert was pivotal: it was the first time Strozzi-Pečić sang Milojević's songs and the first time Konjović heard her perform repertory other than opera. It was also the only instance, after her early concerts, that Strozzi-Pečić performed in a potpourri programme, featuring choral works, piano pieces, art song and transcriptions. Despite this format, the concert programme was clearly 'national', and, in her career, signaled her transition into the project that she would pursue in her art song recital.

Numbers 1 and 5 are choral compositions *Junački poklič* [Hero's call, by Josif Marinković] and *Hrvatskoj* [To Croatia, by Viktor Novak], performed by men's choir. Number 7 is a selection of works by Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac, transcribed for the tamburitza ensemble. Number 3 is the poem *Svetli grobovi* [Illuminated graves] by Jovan Jovanović Zmaj (1883–1904), a Habsburg Serbian poet, physician by profession, known for his patriotic and children's poetry, recited by a medical student. All of these concert numbers are patriotic works, based on epic poetry, performed by men.

⁹ While recent studies point to a number of female players throughout the history, the existence of this division cannot be disputed (NENIĆ 2012).

¹⁰ This is the explicit reference to the Serbo-Croat unity which, starting from the 1890s, gained currency among intellectuals, further gaining political momentum with the formation of Cro-at-Serb Coalition in 1905. The 1910 Habsburg population census listed Serbo-Croats as a single ethnic/linguistic group.

КОНЦЕРТ СРПСКОХРВАТСКЕ АКАД. ОМЛА-
 ДИНЕ У БУДИМПЕШТИ, 15. (28.) ФЕБР. 1914.
 KONCERT HRVATSKOSRPSKE AKADEMSKE
 OMLADINE U BUDIMPEŠTI, 28. VELJAČE 1914.
 A BUDAPESTI SZERBHORVÁT EGYETEMI
 IFJÚSÁG HANGVERSENYE 1914. FEBRUÁR 28.

ПРОГРАМ—PROGRAM—MŰSOR.

- (1) **J. Маринковић:** Јуначки поклич.
 Мушки збор. Пева акад. пев. друштво
 Вишњић
J. Marinković: Hősi szózat. Férfikar.
 Énekli Višnjić.
- (2) **I. pl. Zajc:** Domovini i ljub.
 Hazámnak és szerelmemnek.
 Lastavicam
 A fecskékhez
M. Милојевић: Јесења елегѝја. (Речи
 В. Ј. Илића)
M. Milojević: Őszi elegia
 Јаран Пјева Гдја Мaja де Strozzi,
 прати ју на клавиру М. Милојевић
 Јаран Énekli Maja marquise de
 Strozzi, zongorán kíséri M. Milojević
- (3) **Змај Ј. Јовановић:** Светли гро-
 бови. Декламује Љуб. Савковић
 stud. med.
Zmaj J. Jovanović: A fénylő sírok.
 Szavalja Ljub. Savković, stud. med.
- (4) **П. К. Божински:** Легенда.
P. K. Božinski: Legenda.
M. Милојевић: Миниатуре: а) Се-
 ђање, б) Вилинско коло, в) Post-
 ludium. На гласовиру изводи Ѓиѝца
 Рајна Димитријевић
M. Milojević: Les Miniatures: a) Sou-
 venir, b) Danse des fées, c) Post-
 lude. Zongorán előadja Rajna Di-
 mitrijević úrleány.
- (5) **V. Novak:** Hrvatskoj. Muški zbor.
 Пјева Вишњић.
 A horvátok hazájához. Férfikar.
 Énekli Višnjić.
- (6) **J. Strauss:** Proljetni zvuci. Koncertni
 valcer. Пјева Гдја Мaja де Strozzi
 Tavaszi dallamok. Valse de concert.
 Énekli Maja marquise de Strozzi
- (7) Српски народни напеви из Мокрањ-
 чевих руковети. Свира тамбурашки
 збор Вишњића
 Szerb népdalok Mokranjac gyűjtemé-
 nyéből. Előadja a Višnjić tamburica
 zenekara.

Гласовир бесплатно даје фирма Chmel J.
 és fia.
 A zongorát Chmel J. és fia bocsájta rend-
 kezésünkre.
 Budapest, IV., Deák Ferencz-utca 6. szám.

„Српска штампарија“ Јов. Крњић у Будимпешти.

Figure 3
 Concert programme, Budapest, 1914 (CMIA MSPC)

In contrast, Strozzi-Pečić performed two of Milojević's songs – *Jesenja elegija* [Autumnal Elegy], set to the poem by the Serbian poet Vojislav Ilić (1860–1894) and *Japan* [Japan], set to the Serbian translation of the poem by the Japanese poet Otomo Yakamochi (718–785). Although not containing 'folk' elements they were performed in Serbian, alongside the song to a patriotic text in Croatian *Domovini i ljubi* [To the homeland and the loved one] by Ivan Zajc. The poem further corroborates the gendered facet of the newly projected image with its parallel between the love for homeland and for the girl: "Domovino, domovino, raju žića moga, a ti draga, cvijeće raja toga" [Homeland, homeland, you are my paradise, and you, my sweetheart, are its flowers].

Strozzi-Pečić's Strauss song-waltz (the sixth number) stands out as the only song in a foreign tongue, confirming her 'pedigree' in classical music. Notably, the only other soloist in the programme was the pianist Rajna Dimitrijević, one of the first women piano teachers at the Serbian Music School in Belgrade – another image of a powerful woman. She performed Konjović's and Milojević's piano pieces – apart from the folk-song arrangements the genre associated the most with the salon culture in the region.

High Art Vocal Technique and Language

While the two composers synthesised traditions of various ethnic groups in their written and compositional output, the two sopranos could literally harmonise them by concertising. They toured extensively, Strozzi-Pečić mostly in Croatia, Ivanka Milojević in Serbia, although both visited other Yugoslav regions and toured abroad. In the era of pre-technological means of mechanical reproduction this was a crucial way for this repertory to reach the audiences. The sopranos' public work was particularly important in promoting the Yugoslav idea. As Srdjan Atanasovski's analysis shows, based on collections for domestic music making compiled prior to World War One, despite the co-existence of the sectarian (individual national) and Yugoslav idea, "everyday Yugoslavism" was more a matter of public display than of everyday private practice" (2014: 181). In other words, the intended Yugoslav appeal of Milojević's and Konjović's songs to the middle class and the wider patronage exerted through the art song in all three languages – considered as one official Serbian-Croat-Slovene language at the time – depended on public performances.

The two sopranos 'flagged' the repertory performed in their programmes – either directly – titling a piece as a 'Yugoslav song', or by programming songs by three groups of composers: Serbian, Croat and Slovene.¹¹ Both sopranos started this practice

¹¹ Michael Billig defines "flagging" as process of unambiguous and material marking of certain objects, using simple and seemingly banal techniques of citing the nation's name, flag, emblems (1995: 93).

after the unification of South Slavs.¹² They performed folk song arrangements from the entire post-1918 Yugoslav territory alongside art songs in native languages by Serbian, Croat and Slovene composers, namely Konjović and Milojević, and foreign art song repertory in original languages. The arranged folk song in a native language, as Ivanka Milojević's recording shows, was performed in a classical way,¹³ and transformed into a national musical heritage equal in sophistication to that of Germany or France. Songs in the native language without traditional influences, but composed by the same composers and performed side by side with the 'folk', were by proxy given the status of nation's newly minted classical music tradition, illustrated here with recital programme for the event organized by *Grupa umetnika* [Group of Artists]¹⁴, held in Miloje Milojević Family Collection (MM FC) in Belgrade (Figure 4). Ivanka Milojević opened her programme with folk song arrangements by Milojević and Serbian composer Kosta Manojlović (1890–1949). Rather than explicitly 'flagging the nation' by printing the term "Yugoslav" in the programme notes, the music did so implicitly, by binding together, melodically, different Yugoslav regions. The items in number 4 are French songs. While Fauré's songs were often performed in Belgrade at that time, she performed also songs by Déodat de Séverac (1872–1921), introducing this unfamiliar composer to local audiences. The last items were Milojević's original songs with no 'folk' connections – *Pismo* and *Japan* in Serbian.

Milojević's letter to the Slovenian composer Slavko Osterc shows that Ivanka was the one to insist on 'Yugoslav' repertory in their concert programmes:

Ivanka was, and still is, the most devoted advocate (together with me) of our composers (in our country and abroad), and she sang with the same fervor works by composers from Ljubljana, as well as from Zagreb and Belgrade. It was not always to her benefit, because not everything that our Yugoslav composers compose is great. Regardless of that, she always insisted that our music tradition needs to be supported. Doesn't she deserve the highest recognition then! (CVETKO 1988: 247).

Strozzi-Pečić also followed this practice. Her concert in Zürich Tonhalle of 19th January 1919, titled "The Slav Concert – Works by Yugoslav, Czech-Slovak and

¹² For difference in the extent of Yugoslav labelling in their concert programmes see: GRMUŠA 2018: 59–80.

¹³ The only available recording of this repertory shows that Ivanka Milojević's vocal technique corresponds to the then current high-art vocal practice: *Makedonska uspravanka: Dve ljubavne pesme*, by Miloje Milojević, Pathé Records, 19-?. [sic.] National Library of Serbia, Sound Recordings Collection, Belgrade. Catalogue number D II 9786/St. For the analysis see: GRMUŠA 2018: 84–90.

¹⁴ Ivanka and Miloje Milojević were among founding members of *Grupa umetnika* [Group of Artists], whose loosely defined credo was strengthening ties between artists and promoting the newly emerging national art, rather than particular political and national ideologies. They gathered in 1919 and held a series of musico-literary evenings, mostly in Belgrade.



Figure 4

Programme, Group of Artists' Concert in Novi Sad, 1920 (MM FC)

Russian authors”, is an example of the direct flagging of this repertory, but also of its reception in Europe (Figure 5).

Strozzi-Pečić performed a mix of folk song arrangements and original songs by Slovene, Croat and Serbian composers (Anton Lajovic, Josip Pavčić, Ante Dobronić and Petar Konjović). She labelled their individual ethnicities and put them together under the ‘Yugoslav’ title. According to Ernst Isler, (1879–1944), critic of the *Neue Züricher Zeitung* this concert was proof that *Yugoslav* music [my italics] existed before the Yugoslav state itself and could be compared in value to Russian and

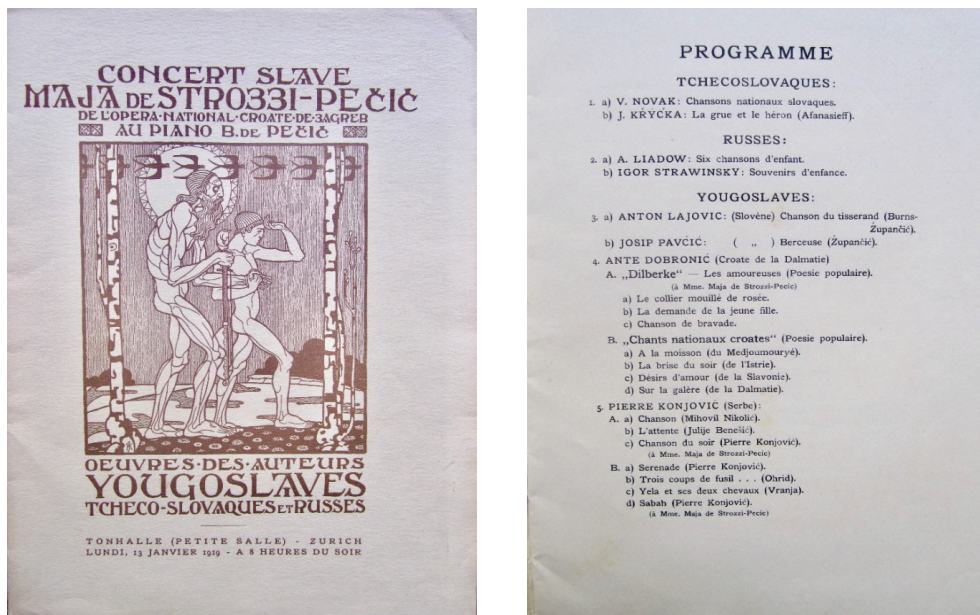


Figure 5.

Programme, Strozzi-Pečić's Concert Slave in Zürich in 1919 (CMIA MSPC).

Czech traditions,¹⁵ corroborating both the need to expand our analysis to music as performance and the performative role these two sopranos had.

Of particular interest is Strozzi-Pečić's inscription inside the programme (Figure 6):

"To my Manjica as a memento when our [sic.] song was heard for the first time outside of our dear country. Maja, Bela, Zürich 19/1/19"

Strozzi-Pečić underlined *our*, mirroring the use of deixis by the two composers, but also indicating the extent to which she identified with the Yugoslav repertory performed.

Conclusions

This paper explores the newly emerging art song tradition in the South Slav territories at the beginning of the 20th century. It focuses on the work of Petar Konjović and Miloje Milojević, two of the most prominent song composers of their generation and prominent advocates of the idea of 'national music'. They interchangeably described the 'national' as Serbian, Yugoslav and Slavonic, using it to denote a wide range of

¹⁵ The quote is from Strozzi-Pečić's personally annotated interview notes, held in CMIA MSPC.

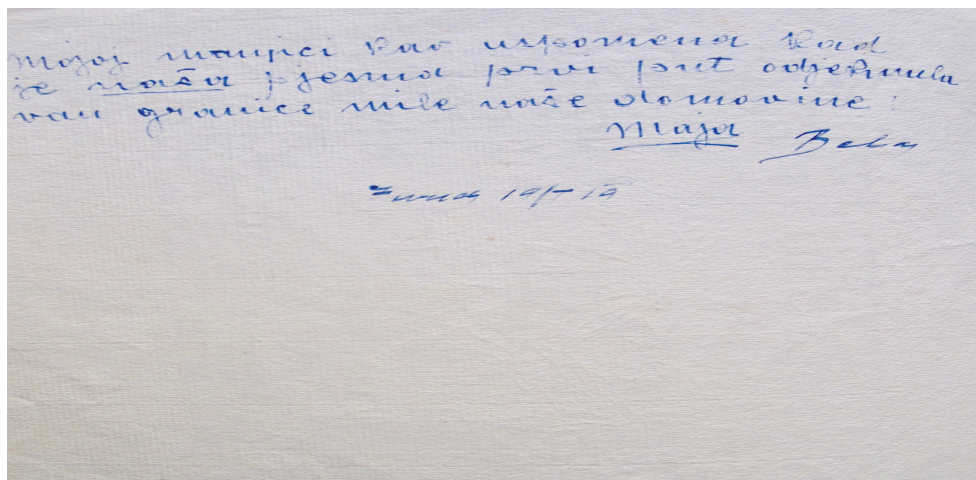


Figure 6

Strozzi-Pečić's inscription inside the 1919 Zürich concert programme (CMIA MSPC)

repertory: both the folk song arrangements and their original works, regardless of whether these songs contained the vernacular references. In the era of modest publishing industry, low musical literacy and no radio or recording industry, the dissemination of this repertory was reliant on the live performance. The reception of such a heterogenous repertory across the South Slav region as a 'national' repertory representing a new Yugoslav musical identity was the result of the systematic concert activity of two sopranos: Maja Strozzi-Pečić and Ivanka Milojević, who premiered most of the two composers' songs. The two sopranos established the concert tradition, eschewing the previous practice of mixed programme concerts. Instead, they presented a combination of European art song, South Slav folk song arrangements and original songs by South Slav composers, often flagging them directly or indirectly as Yugoslav songs. This new form of concert possessed two defining characteristics of performatives as identified by Austin: it was a recognizable ritual, or a conventional procedure with a certain conventional effect, possessing also the repetitive aspect crucial to performativity. A closer look at concert programmes shows that three aspects of the sopranos' performance were crucial in legitimizing this repertory as high national art: high art vocal technique, language and the performing artist's sex. The role of the two sopranos in creation of this repertory goes beyond their role as the premiere performers and warrants extensive analysis of their collaboration with the two composers. This paper, rather, aims to highlight the role of performers in creating the work and securing its reception, hoping to encourage further research into music as performance.

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Верица Грмуша

ЈУГОСЛОВЕНСКА ИДЕЈА У СОЛО ПЕСМИ С ПОЧЕТКА XX ВЕКА НА ЈУЖНОСЛОВЕНСКИМ ПРОСТОРИМА

Резиме

У раду се истражује југословенска идеја у новонастајућој традицији соло песме на јужнословенским просторима у првим деценијама XX века. Пажња је усмерена на међусобну сарадњу композитора Петра Коњовића и Милоја Милојевића и сопрана Маје Строци Печић и Иванке Милојевић. Оне су имале формативну улогу у стварању опуса ових композитора. Активно су се бавиле бирањем „народног” материјала за збирке композитора, проширујући подручја, како би се обухватила цела територија југословенске државе. Обликовале су оригиналне песме композитора кроз праксу. Осим тога, успоставиле су нови облик концертирања у којем су озвучиле и отеловиле нови репертоар. Разматрање овог музичког корпуса из сфере извођаштва даје нову перспективу питању да ли су напори уметника резултирали стварањем „југословенске музике”. Анализа ограничена на музику као запис, показује да ова два композитора нису развила нити дефинисала ниједан специфичан стил или композициони поступак који

би пратили њихову југословенску реторику. Међутим, без обзира на недостатак дефинисаног „југословенског стила“, на програмима концерата који су овде разматрани, нарочито двадесетих година XX века, овај репертоар је често представљан као „југословенске песме“, са малим регионалним варијацијама. Штавише, прикази концерата указују на пријем овог репертоара као југословенске музике. Ослањајући се на Далхаусову претпоставку да идеја национализма као естетског фактора лежи у намери композитора и начину на који је она прихваћена од стране публике, тврдим да, због Иванке Милојевић и Маје Строци Печић, извођења овог корпуса репертоара у датом периоду треба да се сматрају југословенском музиком. Ова два сопрана су у својим извођењима оправдале соло песму као „националну“ високу уметност, при чему су кључни аспекти у том процесу били вокална техника на завидном нивоу, језик и пол.