

**Creating Art Song in the South Slav Territories
(1900-1930s): Femininity, Nation
and Performance**

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PhD Thesis

The thesis includes a video recording of a full evening lecture-recital entitled 'Performing the "National" Art Song Today – Songs by Miloje Milojević and Petar Konjović' (November 22nd, 2017, Deptford Town Hall, Verica Grmuša, soprano, Mina Miletić, piano)

Declaration

This unpublished thesis is copyright of the author. The thesis is written as a result of my own research work and includes nothing that is written in collaboration with other third party. Where contributions of others are involved, every effort is made to indicate this clearly with reference to the literature, interviews or other sources. The thesis is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy and I further state that no substantial part of my dissertation has been already submitted to another qualification or previously published.

Signed: _____ Date: _____

Verica Grmuša

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This thesis is dedicated to my family - my husband, my children and my parents.
Thank you!

Abstract

In this thesis I explore a double life of art song as a work of art and a symbol of newly emerging Yugoslav identity in the South Slav territories during the first three decades of the twentieth century. I examine this repertory as performance, through activities of two leading sopranos, Maja Strozzi-Pečić (1882-1962) and Ivanka Milojević (1881-1975). They collaborated with composers Petar Konjović (1883-1970) and Miloje Milojević (1884-1946), respectively, to create the repertory and establish its concert tradition. Aiding this was Bela Pečić (1873-1938), Strozzi-Pečić's husband-accompanist.

By analysing the repertory's creation in the context of nation-building in Yugoslavia I identify the two sopranos as 'patriots' - bearers of national identity. I argue they legitimized this body of work as 'national' high art in performance. Key performative factors in this process were gender, high vocal technique and language, and in the case of Strozzi-Pečić the star factor. As ideal female types, they harmonized and synthesized different traditions, ethnicities, religions and languages through the power of their voices.

The two sopranos' contrasting vocal practices: that of an opera star and an exclusively chamber singer, engendered two distinctive bodies of repertories. They shaped the composers' vocal lines and influenced their choice of topics and traditional musical elements, resulting in Konjović's penchant for *sevdalinka* tradition and Milojević's focus on mother-figure characters. I adopt the form of lecture recital as part of original practice tradition to retell the story of the repertory's creation as a story of two women as authors. Rather than recreating their vocal practices, I draw on the power they had as creators to give a new reading of this repertory. I restore the unifying vision that infused this music and highlight its message for today's audiences: the empowerment of a performer through national song for post-national aspirations.

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Archival acronyms:

- MM FC: Miloje Milojević's Family Collection (Belgrade)
- CMIA MSPC: Croatian Music Institute Archives (Zagreb), Maja Strozzi-Pečić Collection
- STMA MSPC: Samobor Town Museum Archives (Samobor), Maja Strozzi-Pečić Collection

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CHAPTER 1

The Art Song as 'National Repertory'

Introduction

This thesis explores the newly emerging art song tradition in the South Slav territories in the decades preceding and following the formation of the Yugoslav state in 1918.¹ It focuses on the contributions of two sopranos: Maja Strozzi-Pečić (1882-1962) and Ivanka Milojević (1881-1975). They collaborated with two composers, Petar Konjović (1883-1970) and Miloje Milojević (1884-1946) respectively, and together these four artists created a repertory and established its concert tradition.² Aiding their project was Bela Pečić (1873-1939), husband of Strozzi-Pečić. As a keen amateur pianist, he functioned as a quasi-manager of his wife, urging her to perform art-song recitals and accompanying her in concerts. The success of the two sopranos' concertising spurred the growth of the repertory, with the quality and scope of Konjović's and Milojević's song opus resulting from their collaborations with the two trained professional singers. Konjović dedicated

¹ As a genre, art song, work of music composed for voice accompanied by piano, or other instrument or group of instruments, has been composed in different traditions. The most prominent one is the German art song known as *Lied* (pl. *Lieder*), with Schubert's song *Gretchen am Spinnrade* (composed in 1814) taken as the 'birth' of the genre. The other prominent tradition is the French art song called *Mélodie*. *Lied* and art song are in English often used interchangeably, despite certain specifics of the genre pertaining to each individual tradition. For the repertory by Konjović and Milojević I use the term art song. In literature reviewed I use the terms art song and *Lied* as they are used in the works cited. Due to *Lied*'s prominence and extent, it is the most abundant tradition in literature on art song.

² Unless specified otherwise, I use 'the two sopranos' to refer to Ivanka Milojević and Maja Strozzi-Pečić, and 'the two composers' for Petar Konjović and Miloje Milojević.

his entire opus to Strozzi-Pečić, and Milojević dedicated most of his works to his wife, Ivanka Milojević.

Crucially, high art was being created at the same time as the new nation state, meaning that the newly-created art song acted as a double cultural signifier: as a work of art and a symbol of national identity. Both composers are recognized in scholarship for their contribution to music in Yugoslavia and art song tradition in particular, as elaborated later in this chapter. Although the composers' extensive collaboration with two sopranos is mentioned in biographical accounts,³ it has not been a subject of scholarly studies.⁴ I

³ The most detailed accounts of both sopranos are by Konjović. See: Petar Konjović, "Maja de Strozzi," in *Ličnosti* [Personages] (Zagreb: Čelap i Popovac, 1920). For most detailed account of Ivanka Milojević see: Petar Konjović, *Miloje Milojević, kompozitor i muzički pisac* [Miloje Milojević, composer and writer on music] (Belgrade: Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 1954). In scholarly literature, Ivanka Milojević gets a brief mention only in studies of concert life in Belgrade. See: Roksanda Pejović, *Koncertni život u Beogradu (1919-1941)* [Concert life in Belgrade (1919-1941)] (Belgrade: Univerzitet umetnosti, 2004). Slobodan Turlakov, *Letopis muzičkog života u Beogradu 1840-1941* [Chronicle of music life in Belgrade 1840-1941] (Belgrade: Theatre Museum of Serbia, 1994). For passing mention of Strozzi-Pečić see: Nadežda Mosusova, "Lirika Petra Konjovića," [The Lyric of Petar Konjović] *Zvuk* 75-76 (1967): 1-10; idem., "Jubilej opere Koštana Petra Konjovića. Osamdeset godina od trostruke jugoslovenske premijere," [Jubilee of Opera Koštana by Petar Konjović – 80 years of Yugoslav premiere] *Muzički talas* 39 (2010): 16-26. Ivana Vuksanović, "'Lirika' Petra Konjovića," ["The Lyric" of Petar Konjović] *Medjimurje* 13-14 (1988): 138-143.

⁴ The paucity of scholarly work on performers is not specific to the former Yugoslav region though. This has, until several decades ago, been a trend in musicology in general, with scholarly attention focused on composers and works. More recently the performance studies have flourished, with burgeoning literature on the topic now available. For recent seminal account see: Nicholas Cook, *Beyond the Score: Music as Performance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013). In terms of vocal performance, the focus is on opera. For the relevant literature see the section on stardom in this chapter. For more recent study on performance issue in *Lied* see: Jennifer Ronyak, ed., "Studying the Lied: Hermeneutic Traditions and the Challenge of Performance," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 67/2 (2014): 543-582. Literature on music in the Yugoslav region in the first half of the twentieth century still follows this pattern and neglects performers. New studies focus either on traditional music, popular music or more recent (female) performers. See: Iva Nenić, "(Un)disciplining gender, rewriting the epic: female gusle players," in *Musical Practices in the Balkans: Ethnomusicological Perspectives*. Proceedings of the International conference held in Belgrade 23-25 November 2011, eds. Dejan Despić, Jelena Jovanović, Danka Lajić-Mihajlović, 251-264 (Belgrade: Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Institute of Musicology SASA, 2012); Marija Dumnić, "Istorijski aspekti i savremene prakse izvodjenja starogradske muzike u Beogradu." [Historical Aspects and Contemporary Performance Practices of "Old Urban Music" (starogradska muzika) in Belgrade] (PhD Diss., University of Belgrade, 2016); Stefan Cvetković, "Ivo

argue that the two sopranos were essential in creation of this repertory and its reception as both ‘national’ and high art, and focus on a crucial, but overlooked means of articulating nation in the cultural sphere: art music performance.⁵ I depart from scholars of nationalism by accounting for nation-building through performance,⁶ and one which is reciprocal, involving audiences and singers alike. Within this dynamic, the performers emerge as formative agents for a number of reasons apart from the forced interaction between artists and audience due to the absence of technology in the region at that time.

Pogorelić u beogradskoj i zagrebačkoj štampi 1977-2012: skica za jedno istraživanje," [Ivo Pogorelić in Belgrade and Zagreb Press 1977-2012: a sketch for a study] in *Tradicija kao inspiracija* [Tradition as Inspiration], eds. Sonja Marinković and Sanja Dodik, 458-472 (Proceedings of the International conference *Vlado Milošević, etnomuzikolog, kompozitor i pedagog* [Vlado Milošević, ethnomusicologist, composer and a pedagogue] held in Banja Luka 5 - 7 April 2013 (Banja Luka: Academy of Arts, Academy of Sciences and Arts of Republika Srpska, Musicological Society of Republika Srpska, 2013); Ana Petrov, "A Window towards the West: Yugoslav Concert Tours in the Soviet Union," in *Serbian Music: Yugoslav Contexts*, eds. Melita Milin and Jim Samson, 127-142 (Belgrade: Institute of Musicology, SASA, 2014); Jim Samson, *Music in the Balkans* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

⁵ Andrew Wachtel mentions no musicians in his overview of cultural Yugoslavism in both pre and post 1945 Yugoslavia. See: Andrew Wachtel, "Ivan Meštrović, Ivo Andrić and the Synthetic Yugoslav Culture of the Interwar Period," in *Yugoslavism: Histories of a Failed Idea, 1918-1992*, ed. Dejan Djokić, 238-251 (London: C Hurst and Publishers Ltd, 2003); idem., *Making a Nation, Breaking a Nation: Literature and Cultural Politics in Yugoslavia* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998). Trgovčević focuses on Serbian intellectuals who used linguistics, ethnography, history and literature to promote the cultural bonds, filling the gap in literature in English on the topic. Although she writes about writers, poets, critics, painters and sculptors, her analysis does not include any musicians, who were collaborating closely with other artists and intellectuals. Ljubinka Trgovčević, "South Slav Intellectuals and the Creation of Yugoslavia," in *Yugoslavism*, ed. Dejan Djokić, 222-237.

⁶ Musicologists who tackle the performance aspect in this context deal with choral societies. See: Biljana Milanović, "Disciplining the nation: Music in Serbia until 1914," in *Serbian Music: Yugoslav Contexts*, eds. Melita Milin and Jim Samson, 47-72; Biljana Milanović, ed., *Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac (1956-1914). The Belgrade Choral Society Foreign Concert tours* (Belgrade: Institute of Musicology Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts and Serbian Musicological Society, 2014); Srdjan Atanasovski, "Performing nation on the move: Travels of the Srpsko pjevačko društvo Balkan [Serbian Academic Choral Society Balkan] from Zagreb, 1904-1914," *TheMA 2* (2013): 61-79.

The two sopranos' performances were performative acts,⁷ and on the level of the act of narration it is the individual aspects of the narrator which are crucial for the reception of the narrative presented.

The activity of the artists studied in this thesis was part of broader intellectual action in the region. The South Slav regions followed what Miroslav Hroch defines as the three stages in the process of national integration among small European nations. Following the initial phase in which the 'awakened' intellectuals start studying their language, culture and history to find evidence of the national distinctiveness, is the period of patriotic agitation, when these ideas are propagated by 'patriots' (carriers of national ideology).⁸ Hroch defines this period as the most important phase in the formation of small nations,⁹ which is a phase relevant to my thesis.¹⁰ Despite the applicability of Hroch's model, it is the ethno-symbolist approach which focuses on the importance of symbols, myths, values and traditions in the formation and persistence of the modern nation states, that helps us understand how the period of patriotic agitation unfolded in

⁷ 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. See: John L. Austin, *How To Do Things With Words* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962),5.

⁸ The last of the three phases is the rise of mass national movements. See: Miroslav Hroch, tr. Ben Fowkes, *Social preconditions of national revival in Europe. A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups among the Smaller European Nations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 22-3.

⁹ Ibid, 23.

¹⁰ Some scholars see the phase B as the last phase in the case of Yugoslavia. For more see: Dennison Rusinow, "The Yugoslav Idea before Yugoslavia," in *Yugoslavism*, ed. Dejan Djokić, 13. Also, Mark Biondich sees phase C in the Croat case happening after the creation of Yugoslavia, during the 1920s (and maybe '30s). For more see: Mark Biondich, *Stjepan Radić, the Croat Peasant Party, and the Politics of Mass Mobilization, 1904-1928* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008).

Yugoslavia through music.¹¹ According to Anthony Smith, a “returning intelligentsia”, composers included, led the quest in the Balkans and Eastern Europe for “authenticating” the nation.¹² Smith lists three main responses adopted by intellectuals educated abroad: the familiar neo-traditionalist path, a messianic assimilationist path and a broadly reformist path.

In the reformist path, intellectuals attempted to combine the inherited ‘native’ traditions with those of Western Europe, effectively seeking to ‘modernise’ their home culture. Konjović and Milojević were among the group of South Slav intellectuals who adopted this path, emphasizing vernacular and popular outputs, “albeit carefully pruned and reinterpreted”.¹³ However, Milojević’s and Konjović’s choice of art song as a means of claiming the ownership of the new indigenous high-art tradition was not specific to the South Slav territories. They followed on the Western European countries, particularly German lands, where song had since the late eighteenth century been thought of as an “emblem of unity”.¹⁴ Vocal music, due to its poetic component and link with the

¹¹ The term ethno-symbolist approach was coined by Daniele Conversi in “Reassessing current theories of nationalism: Nationalism as boundary maintenance and creation,” *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 1/1 (1995): 75. Its main proponents are Anthony Smith, John Armstrong and John Hutchinson.

¹² Anthony Smith, *Ethnosymbolism: A Cultural Approach* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009), 55-6. Smith distinguishes two routes of nation formation – lateral and vertical mobilisation. Vernacular mobilisation happens in smaller, subject ethnic populations. Smith cites the Balkans and Eastern Europe as such areas, “[where] these communities constituted a ‘frozen mosaic’ occupying distinct niches in far-flung polities, such as the millets in the Ottoman Empire. In these cases, it is not state elites, but a ‘returning intelligentsia’ that exercises leadership in the quest for national community and autonomy. Smith, although accounting for composers, omits performers.

¹³ *Ibid*, 56.

¹⁴ Philip V. Bohlman, *Focus: Music, Nationalism, and the Making of New Europe* (New York and London: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, 2011), 18.

vernacular tradition, was the favoured genre of the ‘national schools’ which in the second half of the nineteenth century began to develop across East-Central Europe.¹⁵

Art song was thus a suitable outlet for all the artists explored, not just because of its association with vernacular tradition and popular music, but also because of its gendered history.¹⁶ In the German and French traditions taken up by these artists, women had since its inception led its production – as hostesses, composers and amateur performers. This legacy, joined with folk myths crucial to South Slav nation-building, empowered the two sopranos, giving them a public voice traditionally denied to women in an enduring patriarchal environment.¹⁷ Ivanka Milojević and Strozzi-Pečić were acknowledged by audiences and colleagues as professionals and equal agents alongside the two composers in their joint project of creating the ‘national’ art song. As prominent

¹⁵ While these ‘national schools’ intended to forge distinctive national musical styles, in reality these belonged to traditions of Western European high culture. For more see: Jim Samson, “Nations and Nationalism,” in *Cambridge History of 19th Century Music*, ed. Jim Samson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 571.

¹⁶ *Lied*’s historical association with femininity has been well documented in scholarship. For comprehensive accounts see: Marcia Citron, ‘Women and the Lied, 1775-1850’, in *Women Making Music: The Western Art tradition, 1150-1950*, eds. Jane Bowers and Judith Tick, 224-228 (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987). Aisling Kenny and Susan Wollenberg. eds., *Women and the Nineteenth-Century Lied*, (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2015). While performers get a mention in these seminal accounts, the focus is on women composers. The women musicians who attracted scholarly attention in the region are predominately composers. See Melita Milin, “The Music of Ljubica Marić: The National and the Universal in Harmony,” in *Serbian and Greek Art Music. A Patch to Western Music History*, ed. Katy Romanou, 67-80 (Bristol Chicago: Intellect, 2009); Koraljka Kos, *Dora Pejačević* (Zagreb: Muzikološki zavod Muzičke akademije, 1982); Ivana Medić, “Ljudmila Frajt – ‘Druga’ srpska kompozitorka” [Ljudmila Frajt - The ‘Other’ Serbian Composer], *Sveske* 77 (2005): 208-214.

¹⁷ When I talk about the singers’ ‘voice’ I distinguish between the voice as an instrument and the voice as a metaphor in the feminist discourse expressing autonomy, authority and agency traditionally denied to women. See: Leslie Dunn and Nancy Jones, eds., *Embodied voices: Representing Female Vocality in Western Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 1.

female public figures,¹⁸ as I argue in this thesis, they did not just create the new ‘national’ high art in performance, but also the alternative models of femininity on the stage.¹⁹

The concept of a performer as a creator of the meaning in performance,²⁰ crucial in my thesis, was one of Konjović’s tenets. He identified a performer as a third creator in the genre of art song – the one who has to eliminate the voices of both the composer and the poet in the process. While this is the power usually reserved in literature for opera singers, Konjović’s definition differs from the discourse on opera. According to Konjović, in the genre of art song the performer also has to eliminate the voice itself, leaving only the “pure work”.²¹ Still, Konjović acknowledged that it is ultimately in the

¹⁸ The scholarship in gender studies in the region for this period is paltry. For the most extensive account see: Neda Božinović, *Žensko pitanje u Srbiji u 19. i 20. veku* (Belgrade: Feministička izdavačka kuća 94, 1996). More recent studies by Ljubinka Trgovčević deal with women’s access to education and work: Ljubinka Trgovčević, “The Professional Emancipation of Women in 19th-Century Serbia,” *Serbian Studies, Journal of the North American Society for Serbian Studies* 25/1 (2011): 7-20; idem., “High School, University of Belgrade and Modernization of Serbia (1863–1914),” in *The Role of Education and Universities in Modernization Processes in Central and South-Eastern European Countries in the 19th and 20th Century*, eds. Peter Vodopivec and Aleš Gabrič, 38-41 (Ljubljana: Institut za novejšo zgodovino, Avstrijski znanstveni institut; Vienna: Zentrum für Soziale Innovation, 2011); idem., *Planirana elita: O studentima iz Srbije na evropskim univerzitetima u 19. veku* (Belgrade: Istorijski institut, Službeni glasnik, 2003). Celia Hawkesworth charts the contribution of women’s voices in the development of literary culture in the region: Celia Hawkesworth, *Voices in the Shadows: Women and Verbal Art in Serbia and Bosnia* (CEU Press: Budapest, New York, 2000).

¹⁹ Judith Butler dealt extensively with the performative aspect of gender, starting with her seminal work *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (London: Routledge, 1990). She argues that the gender is constructed through one’s own repetitive performances of gender, and the performativity of gender a stylized repetition of acts, an imitation or miming of the dominant convention of gender. She described performativity as “that reiterative power of discourse to produce the phenomena that it regulates and constrains.” See: Judith Butler, *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of “Sex”* (New York: Routledge, 1993), XII. Her work on social construction of gender spurred a vast body of literature beyond the scope of this thesis.

²⁰ Nicholas Cook debates extensively redefining the object in musicological studies from music as writing to music as performance. He suggests that the scores should be treated as theatrical scripts, rather than literary texts, and the performers acknowledged as the ones creating the meaning in performance. See: Cook, *Beyond the Score*, 1.

²¹ Petar Konjović, “Iz muzikalnog Zagreba,” [From Musical Zagreb] in *Ličnosti* [Personages] (Zagreb: Čelap i Popovac, 1920), 170-1. The quote and its relevance will be elaborated in more detail throughout

power of the performer to model the audiences' reception.²² That is, all three 'authors' are equal, but it is the performer who realizes their ideas. He articulated this view after Strozzi-Pečić premiered his songs in Zagreb in 1917 – giving a performance for which she was hailed as the repertory's "third poet".²³ It is this empowerment and its impact on the score that I have found through my own creative practice. The concept of a third poet is central to my performance, and one which I have redefined in my rehearsal processes, offering the new reading of the script that this repertory provides. I explored the original performances to ask if I can draw on this knowledge for my own interpretation, and whether it would help audiences to understand this music. Drawing on this repertory's original concert format, I have created a lecture-recital for my performance. Rather than explicating nation-building ideas, this format allows me to illuminate for audiences the story of this repertory's creation as a tale of two women authors. Instead of recreating the two sopranos' vocal practice, I draw on their high-art vocal technique and perfect diction as locutionary acts that, in addition to their gender, shaped the reception of this repertory as both high and 'national' art.²⁴ Doing so does not contradict the composers' intentions: Milojević himself voiced a 'post-national' view, stating that the artistic nationalism is not

the thesis, as well as its parallels in operatic literature, above all Carolyn Abbate's work. See: Carolyn Abbate, "Opera; or, the Envoicing of Women," in *Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in Music Scholarship*, ed. Ruth Solie, 225-258 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993).

²² Konjović, "Maja de Strozzi", 104.

²³ *Obzor*, 6.3.1917. The review is discussed in more detail in Chapter four.

²⁴ Austin defines a tripartite scheme for the characterisation of speech-acts. He distinguishes the locutionary act performed – the production of a particular set of words; the illocutionary act – the act that the saying of these words amounts to and perlocutionary act, or the act that is achieved or results from the performance. See: Austin, *How To Do Things With Words*, 101.

the only worthy expression, and that it is both “artist’s duty and freedom to express himself in other ways”, using “international practices to express his soul”.²⁵

Study Focus

This thesis is focused on the decades preceding and following the formation of the Yugoslav state in 1918. This was the period when the Yugoslav idea was at its peak,²⁶ and when the bulk of the artists’ activities took place. However, to illuminate the artists’ activity and the relation to the Yugoslav context, this thesis explores the composers’ early songs and the sopranos’ training and careers in and outside the art song of Milojević and Konjović.

While modern Serbian scholarship refers to this body of repertory as the Serbian Art Song,²⁷ this thesis looks at these artists’ collaboration as a means to define the then-dominant Yugoslav idea, which is briefly explained below. The two composers themselves referred to this repertory using a range of names and deictics other than ‘Serbian’: *Yugoslav, Slavonic, national, ours*.²⁸ They regularly referred to this repertory

²⁵ Dragotin Cvetko, *Fragment glazbene moderne: iz pisem Slavku Ostercu* (Ljubljana: Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, 1988), 246.

²⁶ The complexity of the Yugoslav idea and different scholarly interpretation of its evolution will be surveyed both in the ensuing section and in throughout the thesis.

²⁷ Ana Stefanović, ed., *Anthology of Serbian Art Song in 5 volumes* (Belgrade: Composers Association of Serbia, 2008). Ana Stefanović, “Solo pesma – pregled” [Solo song - review] in *Istorija srpske muzike* [History of Serbian Music], ed. Mirjana Veselinović Hofman, 357-404 (Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, 2007).

²⁸ 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’. Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism* (London: Sage, 1995), 93-94.

as the ‘national song’, but as this thesis will highlight, never clearly defined what ‘national’ stood for, not only in terms of which ethnicity they were referring to. This was the common practice among other composers at that time, as well as among the general public – audiences and critics. 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. The crucial role of the native languages and of the two sopranos who ‘voiced’ them all on the concert stage will be explored in the following chapters.

As this thesis shows, pursuing one identity (individual national or Yugoslav) did not necessarily exclude the other, adding to the scholarly debate whether the individual national identities were fixed prior to the foundation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in 1918.²⁹ These collaborations between artists of different ethnic and social backgrounds, unfolding in different cultural centres of Yugoslavia, provide excellent case studies for comparative analysis of a complex interplay of Yugoslav and particular national identities at that time. Acknowledging the complexity of nationalism and Yugoslav history, the following section provides a context for the creation of the art song

²⁹ For scholars who argue that national identities were fixed prior to 1918 see: Ivo Banac, *The National Question in Yugoslavia. Origins, History, Politics* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1988); Arnold Suppan, “Yugoslavism versus Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian Nationalism,” in *Yugoslavia and Its Historians. Understanding the Balkan Wars of the 1990s*, eds. Norman M. Naimark and Holly Case, 116-139 (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003). For more on overlapping of the national ideas in the Balkans at that time see: Dejan Djokić, *Elusive compromise. A History of Interwar Yugoslavia* (London: Hurst & Co, 2007); Pieter Troch, “Yugoslavism between the World Wars: Indecisive Nation-Building,” *Nationalities Papers* 38 (2010): 227-244.

repertory in the region, explaining the relationship of these artists' work to what modern scholars call nation-building.³⁰

The Historical Background: The Yugoslav Idea

The creation of Milojević's and Konjović's art song repertory was reflecting the context of the creation of the first Yugoslav state in 1918. The 'Yugoslav idea' – the idea of unity of South Slavs based on their supposed common ethnic origin and language – however, originated almost a century earlier in Habsburg Croatia with the Illyrian movement led by Ljudevit Gaj (1809-1872).³¹ The Illyrian movement started in the areas of Adriatic coast, resurfacing in 1830s in Zagreb as a cultural strategy and turning political in 1841. The name was derived from the 'Illyrian', the name of the original inhabitants of the Balkans, revived by the French administration which established the Illyrian provinces from 1809 to 1813. It allowed a neutral label for the movement, rather than the more politically sensitive 'Serbian', 'Croatian' or 'Slovene' used by respective national movements. However, it was not until the early twentieth century that it started to take hold in Serbia and Slovenia as well.³² In all the future constituent parts of Yugoslavia

³⁰ Anthony Smith, "State-Making and Nation-Building," in *States in History*, ed. John Hall (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986), 228–263.

³¹ For more on the Illyrian movement see: E.M. Despalatović, *Ljudevit Gaj and the Illyrian Movement*, (London: Moulton and Co.,1975).

³² The turning point in the Habsburg South Slav politics was the establishment and subsequent political success of the Croat-Serb Coalition in 1905-1906. Two Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913 resulted in territorial expansion for Serbia and Montenegro, which acquired the present-day Macedonia, Kosovo and Sandžak – the latter territory still divided between Serbia and Montenegro – at the expense of the Ottoman Empire and Bulgaria. The Ottoman Empire lost the bulk of its territory in the Balkans, which was to be divided between Serbia, Montenegro, Greece and Bulgaria and Romania. In the Second Balkan War of 1913 Bulgaria lost parts of the territories gained in 1912 to three former allies and previously

there were proponents of both the ‘particular’ national and the broader Yugoslav idea.³³ Even those sharing the Yugoslav idea did not agree on the way of achieving Yugoslav unity. Rusinow identifies the emergence of two main strands of Yugoslavism at the time of the formation of the Yugoslav state: ‘integral’ (unitarist-centralist) Yugoslavism, that sought to merge differences between the three Yugoslav ‘tribes’ (Serbs, Croats and Slovenes) – recognized as created by the legacy of the past, i.e. foreign imperial rule – into a unified nation, and anti-centralist Yugoslavism which sought a federal solution where various historical provinces would have a limited degree of self-rule.³⁴ The situation was complex and fraught: unitarism did not necessarily map onto centralism.³⁵ Despite its heterogeneity, Yugoslavism was a “viable” idea, not “artificial” nor any less “natural” than the other national ideas at the time.³⁶ The defeats of the Ottoman Empire in 1912 and the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire at the end of World War One eventually made possible the formation of the first Yugoslav state in 1918. The Yugoslav state was created by Yugoslavs and not by the Great Powers, as Mitrović points out in his

neutral Romania and the Ottoman Empire. For a concise overview on the Balkan Wars see: John Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History: Twice There was a Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 91-100. For more on the Croat-Serb coalition, see: *ibid.*, 71-100.

³³ For an overview of the political climate prior to World War One, explaining reasons why each side opted for the Yugoslav idea over the particular national one see: Kosta St. Pavlowitch, “The first World War and the Unification of Yugoslavia,” in *Yugoslavism*, ed. Dejan Djokić, 57-70.

³⁴ See: Dennison Rusinow, “The Yugoslav Idea before Yugoslavia,” in *Yugoslavism*, ed. Dejan Djokić, 11. For a detailed analysis see: Dejan Djokić, *Elusive compromise. A History of Interwar Yugoslavia* (London: Hurst & Co, 2007).

³⁵ For a more detailed analysis see: Djokić, *Elusive Compromise*.

³⁶ Rusinow, “The Yugoslav Idea before Yugoslavia”, 11.

study dealing with the Paris Peace conference during which the Yugoslav state was recognised.³⁷

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. The official language of the interwar Yugoslavia was Serbo-Croat-Slovene, even though Slovene was clearly distinct from the languages spoken in Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Montenegro. Macedonian was not recognised, but was considered a 'southern Serbian' dialect – and thus Slavophone Macedonians were also considered the speakers of the Serbo-Croat-Slovene language.³⁸ There were distinct dialects of Slovene and Serbo-Croat; the latter did not even correspond to ethnic boundaries, making the linguistic groupings even more complex.³⁹ Montenegrins and Macedonians were not recognized as separate national identities until after World War Two.⁴⁰

³⁷ For more on the Yugoslav delegation at the Paris Peace Conference see: Andrej Mitrović, "The Yugoslav Question, the First World War and the Peace Conference, 1914-1920," in *Yugoslavism*, ed. Dejan Djokić, 42-56; Dejan Djokić, *Nikola Pašić and Ante Trumbić. The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes* (London: Haus, 2010).

³⁸ Slovenes had no nation state legacy and preserving the language was a paramount issue in keeping their identity under the Habsburg rule. The first Slovenian national programme "United Slovenia" (in 1848) called for unification of all Slovene lands and use of Slovene language. Political parties at the end of the nineteenth century were mainly advocating South Slav unity under Habsburg aegis. In the twentieth century even the supporters of the Yugoslav idea emphasized the cultural and linguistic differences between the three tribes. For more on developing the Yugoslav idea in Slovenia see: Mitja Velikonja, "Slovenia's Yugoslav Century," in *Yugoslavism*, ed. Dejan Djokić, 84-99.

³⁹ For more on "Who were the Yugoslavs" see: Djokić, *Nikola Pašić and Ante Trumbić*, 3-12.

⁴⁰ For more on the 'Macedonian question' and the dispute over territorial, ethnic and linguistic matters between Greece, Bulgaria and Serbia, who all claimed stakes on Macedonia see: Hugh Poulton,

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 1968.⁴¹ The Albanian group living in present-day territories of Kosovo and Macedonia, although predominantly Muslim, included adherents to all three religions.⁴² 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).⁴³

Early twentieth-century South Slav intellectuals were in general less interested than the politicians in a domination of one centre over another.⁴⁴ These intellectuals

“Macedonians and Albanians as Yugoslavs,” in *Yugoslavism*, ed. Dejan Djokić, 115-126, and Andrew Rossos, “The Macedonian Question and Instability in the Balkans,” in *Yugoslavia and Its Historians. Understanding the Balkan Wars of the 1990s*, eds. Norman M. Naimark and Holly Case, 140-159 (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003).

⁴¹ This was confirmed at the federal level as late as 1974, when a new Yugoslav Constitution, replacing the previous one of 1963, was adopted. See Xavier Bougarel, “Bosnian Muslims and the Yugoslav Idea,” in *Yugoslavism*, ed. Dejan Djokić, 100-114. The author gives an overview of different fractions during the interwar years, defining allegiance to the central power and frequent shifting between Serb and Croat political parties as central to the Bosnian Muslim strategies during this period.

⁴² ‘Southern Serbia’ was an unofficial name for the territory of present-day Macedonia; sometimes ‘Old Serbia’ was used to unofficially refer to present-day Kosovo and Sandžak (and perhaps even Macedonia) – because these territories formed part, at one point at least, of a medieval (i.e. ‘old’) Serbian state. For more on Albanians and the Yugoslav idea see: Hugh Poulton, “Macedonians and Albanians as Yugoslavs”, in *Yugoslavism*, ed. Djokić, 115-126.

⁴³ For a recent account of music of the Sephardic diaspora in Sarajevo see: Samson, *Music in the Balkans*, 13-34.

⁴⁴ Dejan Djokić, “Introduction: Yugoslavism: Histories, Myths, Concepts”, in *Yugoslavism*, ed. Dejan Djokić, 5. It has to be pointed out that there cannot be a clear-cut distinction between intellectuals and politicians in the region at that time. For instance, Milan Grol (1876-1952), apart from being one of the leading members of the Independent Radical Party prior to 1918 and then of the Democratic Party and

typically understood Yugoslavia as a “mostly cultural union of kindred, but separate nations”.⁴⁵ There was no consensus on the model for the creation of the Yugoslav cultural identity either. Wachtel describes three models for a common Yugoslav culture in interwar Yugoslavia, identifying a new culture combining the elements of the existing ‘tribal’ cultures as the dominant cultural paradigm of the synthetic Yugoslav culture.⁴⁶ Ljubodrag Dimić described the thinking behind a dream of a Yugoslav culture that would be able to synthesize all that is best in Serbian, Croatian and Slovene culture as romantic, utopian and insufficiently pragmatic.⁴⁷

It is in this context that I situate the activity of the artists studied. The artists’ activity lessened or completely ceased in the 1930s, therefore not allowing for a detailed analysis of the development of their Yugoslav idea after 1929. It was the year King Aleksandar dissolved parliament and installed a Royal Dictatorship with the ultimate goal to preserve Yugoslav national unity and a large number of laws sanctioned “integral Yugoslavism” as the official state ideology.⁴⁸ By the end of the interwar period, the

eventually its president, was also a theatre critic and director of the Belgrade National Theatre in the 1920s.

⁴⁵ Ljubinka Trgovčević, “South Slav Intellectuals and the Creation of Yugoslavia,” in *Yugoslavism*, ed. Dejan Djokić, 223.

⁴⁶ The other two models would be based either on an existing culture (most likely Serbian) or new culture not based on existing tribal cultures. See: Andrew Wachtel, “Ivan Meštrović, Ivo Andrić and the Synthetic Yugoslav Culture of the Interwar Period,” in *Yugoslavism*, ed. Dejan Djokić, 239.

⁴⁷ Ljubodrag Dimić, *Kulturna politika Kraljevine Jugoslavije, 1918-1941*, [Cultural Politics in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia: 1918-1941] (Belgrade: Stubovi kulture, 1996-97), vol 3, 411.

⁴⁸ For a concise overview of events leading to the 1929 dictatorship see: Lampe, *Yugoslavia. Twice there was a country*, 158-162. For an account on the Yugoslav idea in this period see: Dejan Djokić, “(Dis)Integrating Yugoslavia: King Aleksander and Interwar Yugoslavism,” in *Yugoslavism*, ed. Dejan Djokić, 136-156. For the most extensive account of cultural politics of this period see: Ljubodrag Dimić, *Kulturna politika u Kraljevini Jugoslaviji: 1918-1941*. For the subsequent policies in music life and education see: Biljana Milanović, “Muzička kultura u opšteobrazovnom školstvu srpske i jugoslovenske države do Drugog svetskog rata: Spori procesi uključivanja u sferu kulturno-prosvetne politike” [Music

majority of the elite in Yugoslavia became disillusioned with the type of Yugoslavism propagated by the state, though not actually abandoning Yugoslavia as a concept and as the best framework for the South Slavs.⁴⁹

The Art Song Project: “The Envoicing of Women”⁵⁰

Art Song: The New Art Form

Going back to the two sopranos, they both returned from their studies abroad in 1911,⁵¹ encountering the under-developed recital tradition in both Belgrade and Zagreb. Belgrade had no proper concert halls and no concert agencies. The late foundation of musical institutions in Serbia, particularly conservatoires,⁵² also meant that well into the twentieth

classes in the general education of the Serbian and Yugoslav state before the Second World War: Process of inclusion in the sphere of cultural politics], *Zbornik Matice srpske za scenske umetnosti i muziku* 48 (2013) 65. For an extensive account on education see: Pieter Troch, *Nationalism and Yugoslavia: Education, Yugoslavism and the Balkans before World War II* (London: I. B. Tauris Ltd, 2015).

⁴⁹ See: Marko Bulatović, “Struggling with Yugoslavism: Dilemmas of Interwar Serb Political Thought,” in *Ideologies and National Identities, The Case of Twentieth Century Southeastern Europe*, eds. John Lampe and Mark Mazower, 254-276 (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2004).

⁵⁰ I draw on Carolyn Abbate’s work which explores opera as a genre empowering woman – “envoicing” them, rather than seeing it as a revenge tragedy as suggested by Catherine Clement. Both are elaborated in more detail later in the chapter. See: Carolyn Abbate, “Opera; or, the Envoicing of Women,” in *Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in Music Scholarship*, ed. Ruth Solie, 225-258. Catherine Clement, *Opera, or the Undoing of Women* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998).

⁵¹ Strozzi-Pečić studied in Vienna, and Ivanka Milojević in Munich. Konjović studied in Prague, and Miloje Milojević studied in Munich and Prague. More details on their education will be given later in the thesis.

⁵² The first music school in Serbia was founded in Belgrade in 1899, and the Belgrade Music Academy in 1937.

century, performers were either gifted amateur artists or foreigners, mainly Czech. That changed with the great wave of immigration of Russian theatre artists, following the revolutionary events in Russia in 1917.⁵³ The most popular native-language musical theatre form was *komad s pevanjem* (literally ‘play with singing’), a type of Singspiel, or “patriotic theatre with music”.⁵⁴ The songs from this tradition were widely performed outside theatre as well, both in popular promenade concerts and in the *kafana* – a type of local bistro and popular gathering place.⁵⁵

The tradition of domestic music-making, which had been crucial for the development of the *Lied* tradition in the nineteenth-century Germany, was also still modest, particularly in Belgrade. *Posela* – house gatherings, literary and musical soirées – where middle class women were active participants were increasingly popular towards the end of the nineteenth century.⁵⁶ However, the performance at these assemblies featured songs by the previous generation of local composers, appropriate for amateur performers.⁵⁷ While the concert scene in Croatia in the early 1910s was more developed

⁵³ For more on contribution of foreign musicians see: Biljana Milanović, “Serbian Musical Theatre from the Mid-19th Century until World War II”; Roksanda Pejović, *Srpsko muzičko izvodjaštvo romantičarskog doba* [Music Life in Serbia in the Romantic Period] (Belgrade: Univerzitet umetnosti, 1991); idem., *Koncertni život u Beogradu (1919-1941)*; idem., “Češki muzičari u srpskom muzičkom životu (1844-1918)” [Czech musicians in Serbia (1844-1918)] *Novi Zvuk* 8 (1996):51-58 and 7 (1997):65-74; Katarina Tomašević, “The Contribution of Czech Musicians to the Serbian Music in the 19th century,” *Muzikološki zbornik* 42/1 (2006): 127-137; Melita Milin, “The Russian Musical Emigration in Yugoslavia after 1917,” *Muzikologija* 3 (2003): 65-80.

⁵⁴ Samson, *Music in the Balkans*, 230. Most prolific composers were Josif Šlezinger (1794-1870) and Davorin Jenko (1835-1914). For more information see: Biljana Milanović, “Serbian Musical Theatre from the Mid-19th Century until World War II”.

⁵⁵ For more on the cultural life of this period in the *kafana* see: Dubravka Stojanović: *Kaldrma i asfalt* [Sett and Asphalt] (Belgrade: Udruženje za društvenu istoriju, 2008).

⁵⁶ Neda Božinović, *Žensko pitanje u Srbiji u 19. i 20. veku*, 31-3.

⁵⁷ Srdjan Atanasovski provides a new angle to the study of the domestic music and music-making in the early 20th century Serbia by examining the custom-made music albums, giving better insight into what was actually the repertory performed in domestic music making. The albums explored by Atanasovski

due to inherited Austro-Hungarian institutions, with considerable concert activity organized by *Hrvatski glazbeni zavod* [Croatian Music Institute],⁵⁸ thematised recitals were still not standard practice and visiting musicians dominated the concert scene.⁵⁹ The two sopranos were the first to introduce the recital tradition, eschewing the previous practice of ‘potpourri’ concerts which featured a mixture of popular songs and orchestral arrangements. They both sang the European song repertory, mainly German and French, in original languages. Alongside this, they performed Konjović’s and Milojević’s songs, as well as those of other composers’, in Serbian, Croat and Slovene – the practice they would continue later in their careers.

feature some of Konjović’s folk song arrangements. His later collections were not featured, nor were any of Milojević’s works, with these albums focusing instead on songs by the previous generation of composers – Kornelije Stanković, Davorin Jenko, Stanislav Binički. Srdjan Atanasovski, “Floating Images of Yugoslavism on the Pages of Family Music Albums,” in *Serbian Music: Yugoslav Contexts*, eds. Melita Milin and Jim Samson, 165-186.

⁵⁸ For more on institutions segregated along national lines in Zagreb and Ljubljana see: Jim Samson, “Nations and Nationalism”, 580 and 596. Although the two sopranos did not perform exclusively in Belgrade or Zagreb, the two cities were the centres of their activity. As main musical centres in Yugoslavia they also account for the bulk of the scholarly literature in the field. While there were music scenes in other towns as well, particularly in coastal parts of present-day Croatia, the findings can be taken to be fairly representative of the Yugoslav territories covered in this thesis.

⁵⁹ For an account on the concerts given in Zagreb before 1918 see: Miklusić-Ćeran, *Glazbeni život Zagreba u XIX stoljeću u svjetlu koncertnih programa sačuvanih u arhivu Hrvatskoga glazbenog zavoda* [Music life in Zagreb based on concert programmes in Croatian Music Institute Archives] (Zagreb: Hrvatsko muzikološko društvo, 2001); Nada Bezić, “Koncertni programi i plakati u zbirci arhivske gradje Hrvatskoga glazbenog zavoda u Zagrebu 1852-1918” [Concert Programmes and Posters from the Archive Collection of the Croatian Music Institute in Zagreb 1852-1918] *Vjesnik bibliotekara Hrvatske* 3-4/48 (2005): 272-299. Konjović’s accounts of the music scene in Zagreb will be explored in detail later in the thesis.

Sopranos *Versus* Composers

Although all four artists were recognized by their contemporaries, only the composers commanded scholarly attention. Musicologists have investigated Konjović's and Milojević's large song opus, both folk song arrangements and original songs, as contributions to a "national style in music".⁶⁰ Konjović and Milojević are recognized as advocates of the Yugoslav idea, with Konjović's folk-song collection *Moja zemlja* [My Country] accepted as a "musical manifesto of Yugoslavism".⁶¹ Milojević was an "eminently known Yugoslav", held responsible for the pro-Yugoslav rhetoric of the *Srpski književni glasnik* (Serbian Literary Magazine) through his role as the magazine's regular music reviewer.⁶² They are both identified as "modernisers" of the music

⁶⁰ For more on Milojević's and Konjović's writings about 'national style' in music and their Yugoslav rhetoric see: Aleksandar Vasić, "Serbian Music Criticism and Writing Between the World Wars (1918-1941)," and "Serbian Music Criticism and Music Writing in the 19th century (1825-1918)," in *Aspects of Greek and Serbian music*, ed. Katy Romanou, 93-106 and 25-37 (Athens: M. Nicolaidis and Company Co Music House, 2007); idem., "Srpska muzička kritika i esejistika XIX i prve polovine XX veka kao predmet muzikoloških istraživanja," [Serbian music criticism and essay writing during the 19th and the first half of the 20th century as a subject of musicological research] *Muzikologija* 6 (2006): 317-342. The studies on composers' musical styles show, however, that they did not develop or define any specific style that would follow their Yugoslav rhetoric. See: Aleksandar Vasić, "Problem "nacionalnog stila" u napisima Miloja Milojevića," [The Problem of the "National Style" in the writings of Miloje Milojević] *Muzikologija* 7 (2007): 231-244; Melita Milin, "The National Idea in Serbian Music of the 20th Century" in *Nationale Musik im 20. Jahrhundert*, eds. Helmut Loos and Stefan Keym, 31-45 (Leipzig: Gudrun Schröder Verlag, 2004). Both the composers' writings and the relevant literature pertinent to my study will be referred to in more detail throughout the thesis. Most of the scholarship is by Serbian authors, as even before the disintegration of Yugoslavia musicologists rarely explored the music from republics other than their own. See: Melita Milin, "Writing National Histories in a Multinational State," in *Serbian Music: Yugoslav Contexts*, eds. Melita Milin and Jim Samson, 41.

⁶¹ Katarina Tomašević, "Imagining the Homeland: The Shifting Borders of Petar Konjović's Yugoslavism," in *Serbian Music: Yugoslav Contexts*, eds. Melita Milin and Jim Samson, 89. The five-volume collection *Moja zemlja* contains one hundred songs covering the whole territory of Yugoslavia.

⁶² Aleksandar Vasić, "Muzikografija Srpskog književnog glasnika i ideologija jugoslovenstva," [Music in Serbian Literary Magazine and Yugoslav Ideology] *Musicology* 4 (2004): 59. Milojević published two collections of folk song arrangements, the first comprising of eight songs covering the Yugoslav territory, and second seven songs from the present-day territory of southern Serbia, Kosovo and Macedonia. Both composers' collections will be explored in detail later in the thesis.

tradition,⁶³ whose outputs have been studied largely through uncritical chronological histories and music analyses.⁶⁴ Konjović established a dramatized *Lied* of the late romantic type in Serbia,⁶⁵ with impressionist impulses in some of his songs.⁶⁶ Milojević made the first step towards the modernist transformation of the genre. After his early Romantic *Lied* opus, his orientation turned to impressionist art song, with some expressionist elements in his late songs.⁶⁷

As already stated, this thesis shifts the focus onto the formative impact of the two sopranos for whom this repertory was composed. A wider body of recent scholarship on singers explores the iconic performers who “speak” for whole communities but focuses

⁶³ For the recent extensive analysis of European frameworks of the Serbian music, including works by Konjović and Milojević, and the ensuing relations old-new, traditional-modern, national-cosmopolitan, see: Katarina Tomašević, *Na raskršću istoka i zapada: o dijalogu tradicionalnog i modernog u srpskoj muzici: 1918-1941* [At the crossroads of the East and the West: on the dialogue between the traditional and the modern in Serbian music : 1918-1941] (Belgrade: Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 2009).

⁶⁴ Rare studies that ventured out of the field of music analysis are by Ana Stefanović who applied hermeneutic approach. See: Ana Stefanović, “Poezija Jovana Dučića u vokalnoj lirici Stevana Hristića i Miloja Milojevića,” [The Poetry of Jovan Dučić in Stevan Hristić’s and Miloje Milojević’s vocal lyrics] in *Jovanu Dučiću. Zbornik radova povodom pedesetogodišnjice smrti*, ed. Predrag Palavestra, 147-154 (Belgrade: Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 1996). For more on the hermeneutic approach and its legacies in studies of the *Lied* see: Jennifer Ronyak, “Introduction,” in “Studying the Lied: Hermeneutic Traditions and Challenges of performance,” ed. Jennifer Ronyak, 543-548.

⁶⁵ Stefanović, *Anthology*, XI.

⁶⁶ Stefanović, *Anthology*, XI. Nadežda Mosusova, “Lirika Petra Konjovića,” [The Lyric of Petar Konjović] *Zvuk* 75-76 (1967): 2; Zija Kučukalić, “Samospevi Petra Konjovića,” [Songs of Petar Konjović] *Musicological Annual* 10 (1974): 24; Melita Milin, “Etape modernizma u srpskoj muzici,” [The stages of Modernism in Serbian music] *Muzikologija* 6(2006): 97-8.

⁶⁷ Koraljka Kos, “Pjesničko glazbene slike Miloja Milojevića,” [Miloje Milojević’s song opus] in *Miloje Milojević, kompozitor i muzikolog* [Miloje Milojević, composer and musicologist], Proceedings of the Scientific Conference held in Belgrade 12-13 December 1984, ed. Vojislav Simić (Belgrade: Composers Association of Serbia, 1986), 86; Stefanović, *Anthology*, XII. Milin, “Etape modernizma u srpskoj muzici”, 97.

on genres other than art song.⁶⁸ While adding the genre of art song to the discourse, I also bring to it the question of stardom, in vocal music usually associated with opera. I look into issues of entitlement, charisma, virtuosity and notoriety to show how Strozzi-Pečić's valuation as a star in the art music marketplace enhanced this repertory's growth and success with audiences. I compare these findings with the contrasting image of Ivanka Milojević to show how the non-star performer advanced the repertory.

The role of the two sopranos in creation of this repertory went beyond the concert stage – they were also collaborators in the compositional process. Exploring this facet of their collaboration with composers adds art song to the body of scholarship on gender, voice and transference of authority of a musical work from composer to singer which is mainly focused on opera and its leading ladies.⁶⁹ I draw on the opera studies to show how the two sopranos' contrasting practices shaped the two composers' vocal idiom. Milojević's restrained chamber vocal lines require great diction, refined mode of delivery with nuanced attention to dynamics and articulation markings, all trademarks of Ivanka

⁶⁸ Jane A. Bernstein, ed., *Women's Voices Across Musical Worlds* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2003), 4. They focus, however, on other, non-European genres. For accounts of popular music and identity issues in this edited volume see: Virginia Danielson, "Voices of the People: Umm Khultum", 147-165; Jane Bernstein, "Thanks for my Weapons in Battle – My Voice and the Desire to Use It": Women and Protest Music in the Americas", 166-186.

⁶⁹ See: Carolyn Abbate, *In Search of Opera* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001). Hilary Poriss, *Changing the score: Arias, Prima Donnas, and the Authority of performance. AMS Studies in Music.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009). Heather Hadlock, *Mad Loves: Women and Music in Offenbach's Les Contes d'Hoffmann* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000). Mary Ann Smart, "The Silencing of Lucia," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 4 (1992): 119-141; idem., "The Lost Voice of Rosina Stolz," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 6 (1994): 31-50; idem., "Verdi sings Erminia Frezzolini," *Women and Music* 1 (1997): 33-45; Berta Joncus, "Handel at Drury Lane: Ballad Opera and the Production of Kitty Clive," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 131 (2006): 179-226. For a rare account of stardom on the concert stage see: Sophie Fuller, "'The Finest Voice of the Century': Clara Butt and Other Concert-Hall and Drawing-Room Singers of Fin-de-siecle Britain," in *The Arts of Prima Donna in the Long Nineteenth Century*, eds. Rachel Cowgill and Hilary Poriss, 308-327 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012). This recent work is exceptional as it explores the British contralto Dame Clara Butt and claims to stardom at stages other than opera: concert, music festival, society salon and drawing room soirée.

Milojević's vocal practice. In contrast, Konjović's expansive lines, featuring melismatic passages and held top notes in *forte* dynamics, resemble the operatic idiom which Strozzi-Pečić excelled at.⁷⁰

Sopranos as 'Patriots'

I identify the two sopranos as 'patriots', who Hroch defines as the bearers of national agitation, placing artists in the second stratum comprising those professional groups who are outside of the wage-labour relationship and do not directly share in political power or engage in economic enterprises.⁷¹ Like other scholars, Hroch does not consider the impact of gender within any of the social groups he identifies. As McClintock points out, while "the invented nature of nationalism has found wide theoretical currency, explorations of the gendering of the national imagery have been conspicuously paltry".⁷² She further argues that, as a gendered discourse, nationalism cannot be understood

⁷⁰ For further examples of how the composer's style can be influenced by the singer's vocal practice, see: John Rice, "Mozart and His Singers: The Case of Maria Marchetti Fantozzi, the First Vitellia," *Opera Quarterly* 11 (1995): 31–52; Ian Woodfield, "Mozart's compositional methods: writing for his singers," in *Cambridge Companion to Mozart*, ed. Simon Keefe, 35-47 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Patricia Lewy Gidwitz, "Mozart's Fiordiligi: Adriana Ferrarese del Bene," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 8/3 (1996): 119-214; Berta Joncus, 2010. "'Ich bin eine Engländerin, zur Freyheit geboren': Blonde and the Enlightened Female in Mozart's Entführung aus dem Serail," *The Opera Quarterly* 26/4 (2010): 552-558.

⁷¹ Hroch, 16.

⁷² Anne McClintock offers a fourfold strategy of feminist theory of nationalism: investigating the gendered formations of sanctioned male theories, bringing into historical visibility women's active cultural and political participation in national formations, bringing nationalist institutions into critical relation with other social structures and institutions, and paying scrupulous attention to the structures of racial, ethnic and class power that continue to bedevil the privileged forms of feminism. See: Anne McClintock, "No Longer in a Future Heaven": Nationalism, Gender, and Race," in *Becoming National: A Reader*, eds. Geoff Eley and Ronald Grigor Suny (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 260.

without a theory of gender power that makes visible women's active participation in national formations.⁷³

Smith's work, although accounting for music, omits to consider the impact of performers, regardless of gender, in 'authenticating' culture.⁷⁴ As the careers of the two sopranos show, their presence overshadowed that of the composers who wrote for them. Like Konjović and Miloje Milojević, Ivanka Milojević and Strozzi-Pečić were returning intelligentsia. In a context of limited musical literacy, almost non-existent music publishing, and scarce mechanical reproduction, audiences came to this music almost exclusively through the sopranos' live performances. Smith identifies the reciprocal influence of elites and non-elites by which the highly abstract concept becomes the concrete "body" of the nation, a visible and palpable creation to be apprehended by the senses, and central to aesthetic politics in which artists of all kinds are encouraged not just to imagine, but to fashion the nation. This is precisely what happened through the new kind of art song recitals, which, through the two sopranos, took root.⁷⁵ To Smith's visible and palpable creations, I thus add the aural one of vocal performance.

⁷³ Ibid, 261.

⁷⁴ Although Smith refers to music later in his text, citing dramatists, composers and visual artists as ones who have helped to endow the nation with a distinctive character and shape, he omits the performers. Smith, *Ethnosymbolism: A Cultural Approach*, 33.

⁷⁵ Ibid, 32.

Sopranos and the 'National' Repertory – 'The Voice'

Correcting the 'classical'⁷⁶ nationalism studies which are receptive to specific historical circumstances in Eastern Europe with the feminist critique allows us to recognize the gendered character of nationalist projects.⁷⁷ Nevertheless, identifying the two women as 'patriots' does not fully elaborate their significance in the process of 'forging a nation' as defined by Smith. Why were two female and not male vocalists, the 'champions of national repertory' who presented this elite project to the majority? Why was it voice and not some other instrument in the first place? As wives and mothers, they could embody on the stage the traditional characters and the idealized values they personified. However, evidence shows that the importance of their gender goes beyond the concept of "male gaze".⁷⁸

I draw thus on the opera scholarship that asks, "What happens when we watch and hear a female performer?" Abbate describes the phenomenon as aural version of staring, though she points to the crucial difference between these sensory realms. Visually, the character singing is the passive object of the gaze, but aurally, she is

⁷⁶ For the argument of the new stage in theoretical debate on nationalism since the end of the 1980s labeled as 'post-classical' period see: G. Day and A. Thompson, *Theorizing Nationalism* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

⁷⁷ Due to, already identified, underrepresented issue of gender in ex-Yugoslav scholarship, my thesis thus partly adds to the second wave feminist research which took hold in 1980s and dealt with discovery, recuperation and dissemination: identifying the who, what, when and where. However, by generation as well as by multidisciplinary nature of research I belong to the third-wave approach which explores "how" questions in more detail, elaborating the two contrasting images of female role-models. For more information on different waves in feminist studies see: Marcia J. Citron, "Feminist Waves and Classical Music: Pedagogy, Performance, Research," *Women and Music* 8 (2004): 47-60.

⁷⁸ For more on concept of "male gaze", the way in which the visual arts and literature present women as objects of male pleasure see: Laura Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," *Screen* 16/3 (1975): 14-35.

resonant, “drowning everything in range”, thus making the listener the passive object “battered by the voice”. She identifies the singer as the one who “more than any other musical performer, enters into that Jacobin uprising inherent in the phenomenology of live performance and stands before us having wrestled the composing voice from the librettist and composer”.⁷⁹

In the art song, the two sopranos as the ‘third poets’ were equal with, rather than eliminating, the other two authors. Such distribution of power, however, was in service of foregrounding the poetic aspect of the genre, rather than diminishing the power of the sopranos’ voices. Hence, in a region with a complex historical – ethnic, linguistic and religious – context, I argue that understanding the female voice as a source of power and pleasure is crucial for understanding the sopranos’ role in ‘forging the nation’ through music. I situate this power within Hutchinson’s concept of national identities as zones of conflict where, topographically or imaginatively, they come to be constituted among a collective by centuries-old recollections of strife.⁸⁰ In South Slav territories the art song genre emerged as an ‘elite project’ that could be heard to harmonise, literally, the differences between ethnic, religious, political, economic and social backgrounds. Composers collected and arranged folk songs, selectively incorporating this music into their original works. The two sopranos were the ones, to quote Smith, who “pruned and reinterpreted the vernacular culture” on the stage.⁸¹

⁷⁹ Abbate, “Opera; or, the Envoicing of Women,” 254. For her more recent work on performed music see: Carolyn Abbate, “Music—Drastic or Gnostic?” *Critical Inquiry* 30/3 (2004): 505-536.

⁸⁰ John Hutchinson, *Nations as Zones of Conflict* (London: Sage, 2005), 4.

⁸¹ Smith, *Ethnosymbolism: A Cultural Approach*, 55-6.

Yugoslav Identity on Concert Stage: Two Sopranos as Metaphors of Yugoslavism

The concert programmes of both sopranos featured the ‘Yugoslav idea’ by presenting the vernacular tradition or lyrical poetry from the entire territory of the state, shifting slightly the balance of the language and music tradition favoured according to the place of performance. The ‘ethno-space’, as defined by Smith, was envisioned by the two composers, but it was the two sopranos on the concert stage who filled this space with body and voice.⁸² While sharing the territorisation of the ‘ethno-space’ project, the symbols chosen by composers to ‘historicise’ this ethno-space were distinctly different and determined by the vocal qualities and technique of each soprano. Ivanka Milojević excelled at lullabies, not just Miloje Milojević’s, while Strozzi-Pečić inspired Konjović to re-invent the *sevdalinka* tradition, one that Ivanka Milojević completely eschewed. Even when representing in song the same geographic region, the sopranos and composers adhered to these song types; once identified with each soprano’s public image, ‘their’ song type reinforced itself. The two composers’ sounded versions of Yugoslavism – illustrated in the two songs below – were thus a direct result of their collaboration with the two sopranos. Understanding this provides a missing link connecting Milojević’s

⁸² Anthony Smith defines territorialisation as the most important process in forming the nation. He cites the process of self-definition through the creation of symbolic boundaries, with created spaces inhabited by communities whose experiences and sense of distinctive identity are in part molded over the generations by the features of their historic homeland, creating an ‘ethno-space’ in which a people and its homeland become increasingly symbiotic. In a further development, historical memories of personages, battles, assemblies and the like are closely linked to the intimate landscapes with the community becoming ‘naturalised’. In turn, the landscapes become conversely ‘historicised’ and bear the imprint of the community’s peculiar historical development. Through these processes, the territorialisation of memories and attachments creates the idea of a homeland tied to a particular people and, conversely, of a people inseparable from a specific ethno-space. See Smith, *Ethnosymbolism: A Cultural Approach*, 49-50.

‘Western’ and Konjović’s ‘Eastern’ orientation,⁸³ elaborated extensively by musicologists in modern scholarship, with Yugoslav discourse.⁸⁴

Miloje Milojević’s vision of ‘the West’ in ‘national’ art music in Yugoslavia can be summarized with *Molitva Majke Jugovića* [The Prayer of the Jugović Mother], typical of his song opus. In this highly-stylised appropriation of the Kosovo myth, one of the most important myths in Serbia and Yugoslavia,⁸⁵ he resolved the myriad conflicts arising between different ethnicities, religions and languages and the emerging Yugoslav idea. He reconciled rural and urban, national and cosmopolitan, epic tradition and lyrical poetry to create a new high art repertory, all through an idealized mother figure – sounded

⁸³ Konjović identified two orientations in Slavonic music; the “Western” group of Slavic composers, represented by Chopin, Tchaikovsky, Smetana, Dvořak, Skryabin, Szymanowski, Stravinsky, Prokofiev; and the “Eastern” one, represented by Mussorgsky, Borodin and Janáček – Konjović’s major influences. Characteristics of the Western group are the abandonment of primitivism, the quest for complexity and development of form, the development of “universal” i.e. European or global music coloured with individual national sensitivity. The Eastern group, on the other hand, searches for primitive roots, simplicity, deconstructing the form into its basic elements, eschewing grandeur and, most importantly, emphasizing the music’s collective national spirit. Konjović saw himself belonging to the Eastern group, and Milojević to the Western one. See: Petar Konjović, “Dve orijentacije u slavenskoj muzici,” [Two orientations in Slavic music] in *Knjiga o muzici srpskoj i slavenskoj* [The Book about Serbian and Slavic Music], 117-126 (Novi Sad: Matica srpska, 1947).

⁸⁴ For recent scholarly analysis of Konjović’s and Milojević’s works in “Eastern-Western coordinates” see: Biljana Milanović, “The Balkans as a cultural symbol in the Serbian music of the first half of the twentieth century”, *Muzikologija* 8 (2008): 17-26; Katarina Tomašević, *Na raskršću istoka i zapada: o dijalogu tradicionalnog i modernog u srpskoj muzici: 1918-1941*. For the most recent account on this topic in the context of Balkan music see: Ivana Medić and Katarina Tomašević, eds., *Beyond the East-West divide: Balkan Music and its Poles of Attraction* (Belgrade: Institute of Musicology and Department of Fine Arts, SASA, 2015).

⁸⁵ For the origins of the Kosovo myth, its relationship to the emergence of Serbian nationalism and the Yugoslav idea, and its reception in the West see: Dejan Djokić, “Whose Myth? Which Nation? The Serbian Kosovo Myth Revisited,” in *Uses and Abuses of the Middle Ages: 19th -21st Century*, eds. Janos M. Bak et al., 215-233 (Munich: Fink, 2009). The importance of the Kosovo myth and its female character *Majka Jugovića* in Milojević’s opus will be elaborated in detail later in the thesis.

and embodied by his wife Ivanka Milojević. His *Molitva* calls for a parallel with the work of Ivan Meštrović, the sculptor, who also relied on the Kosovo myth.⁸⁶

Konjović's preoccupation with *sevdalinka* songs – associated with the Ottoman Other⁸⁷ – which culminated with *Sabah* in 1916, calls for a parallel with the work of Ivo Andrić, the writer, whom Wachtel credits for “opening for consideration the question of how the Muslim heritage can be incorporated into the Yugoslav synthesis”.⁸⁸ Identifying the performers' contributions to these two distinctive strands of song – the national mother and the national siren, as well as the complex spectrum of performative acts of femininity taking place – corroborates Brubaker's view warning against reification of groups or factors in national identity formation.⁸⁹ While not entirely ‘denationalising’ the repertory, this allows us to remove it from the exclusively nationalist discourse and present it as both ‘female’ and ‘national’ project.

⁸⁶ Andrew Wachtel, “Ivan Meštrović, Ivo Andrić and the Synthetic Yugoslav Culture of the Interwar Period”, in *Yugoslavism*, ed. Dejan Djokić, 238-251.

⁸⁷ *Sevdalinks* feature the “the main signifier of the Eastern Other in Serbian (and Balkan) music”, the interval of the augmented second. For more on the representation of the Ottoman “Eastern Other” see: Melita Milin, “Images of Eastern Other in Serbian art music,” in *Beyond the East-West divide: Balkan Music and its Poles of Attraction*, eds. Ivana Medić and Katarina Tomašević (Belgrade: Institute of Musicology and Department of Fine Arts, SASA, 2015), 88.

⁸⁸ Wachtel, “Ivan Meštrović, Ivo Andrić and the Synthetic Yugoslav Culture of the Interwar Period”, 244. Wachtel credits Andrić for his short story *Djerzelez u hanu* [Djerzelez at the Inn], published in 1918. Ivo Andrić was a founding member of The Group of Artists with Milojević, confirming the interconnectedness of the intellectuals at that time.

⁸⁹ Brubaker critiques ‘groupism’ altogether, referring to it as ‘tendency to treat ethnic groups, nations and races as substantial entities to which interests and agency can be attributed’, citing Serbs and Croats as one of examples spoken of as if they were unitary collective actors with common purposes. For more see: Roger Brubaker, “Ethnicity without groups,” *Archives Europeennes de Sociologie* 43/2 (2002):164.

The Performer's View

Practice itself led me to distinguish between the music of the two sopranos, and this finding became the basis of my research. Through learning and performing these songs, I registered, bodily, that the art song output of each composer required a different voice. Having identified what was characteristic, I researched the contexts of each composer's art song *oeuvre*. I discovered that these two sopranos owned this repertory: it is not just that the composers wrote exclusively for them, but that the two sopranos co-authored it through practice.

Having identified the historical contexts of the background story of the repertory's creation changed my performance and programming strategy. Rather than rendering audible the old voices in the manner of the Historically Informed Practice movement,⁹⁰ I recovered messages buried in this repertory that are still relevant for the modern-day audiences – the positive values that infused this repertory and its role in empowering the performer. This repertory highlights the public benefits of valuing traditional female roles of mother and teacher and allows them, without punishment, to become much more – public leaders and serious taste-brokers. I adapted the original form of presentation, the lecture-recital, to present four voices present in this repertory: those of two composers and two sopranos, drawing thus on the Practice Research.⁹¹ I distinguish the voices by

⁹⁰ For the critique of HIP as a 'modernist paradigm' see: Richard Taruskin, "The Early Music Debate: Ancients, Moderns and Postmoderns," *Journal of Musicology* 10/1 (1992): 113–130; idem., "The Modern Sound of Early Music," in *Text and Act: Essays on Music and Performance*, 164-172 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

⁹¹ For a concise overview on performance in recent scholarly discourse, and difference between Practice-led Research, Research-led Practice and Research as Practice see: Nicholas Cook, "Performing Research: Some Institutional Perspectives," in *Artistic Practice as research in Music: Theory, Criticism, Practice*, ed. Mine Doğantan-Dack, 11-32 (London: Routledge, 2015). Kathryn Whitney, "Following Performance across the Research Frontier," in *Artistic Practice as research in Music: Theory, Criticism, Practice*, 107-125.

charting the chronology of the repertory's creation and performance history, and analysing both the musical features and the texts and languages used – relying on primary material and my own performance. However, identifying these voices is just the starting point. Resuming the role of the third poet, I offer a new reading of this musical script, creating my own maternal song cycle.

I chart the preparation process leading to my final recital. By combining the historical findings with my own auto-ethnographic account as a performer I close the circle, finishing the research with a performance.⁹² Presenting this repertory now as an expression of the performer's agency gives an opportunity to rethink both the discourse on nationalism and its link with music, two “uneasy bedfellows” as identified by Bohlman,⁹³ while reconsidering the art song and its performance tradition.

The Thesis Structure

Having laid out the key questions and methodology used in Chapter One, Chapter Two moves on to explore the characteristics of art song that facilitated this repertory's double life as work of art and the symbol of ‘national’ identity: its link with ‘folk’ tradition and ‘salon’ music and its association with femininity. It elaborates Strozzi-Pečić's and Ivanka Milojević's collaboration with two composers, Petar Konjović and Miloje Milojević, respectively, crediting the two sopranos for the repertory's growth. It identifies Strozzi-

⁹² For recent performers' auto-ethnographic accounts on their changing practices see: Mine Dođantan-Dack, “The Art of Research in Live Music Performance,” *Music Performance Research* 5 (2012): 34-48; idem., “The Role of the Musical Instrument in Performance as Research: The Piano as a Research Tool,” in *Artistic Practice as research in Music: Theory, Criticism, Practice*, ed. Mine Dođantan-Dack, 169-202.

⁹³ Bohlman, 11.

Pečić and Ivanka Milojević as pioneers of a concert tradition in Zagreb and Belgrade. It identifies performance as a crucial factor both in realizing on stage the Yugoslav idea and legitimizing the musicians' aspirations to join the European music scene through art song. The female voice and high art vocal style were key factors in this process. The chapter charts the sopranos' concert activity and various factors that influenced it, corroborating the critique of 'reification' of any particular factor in the national identity formation. It ultimately points to the limitations of this analysis which necessitates further exploration of sopranos' vocal profiles and their collaboration with composers.

Chapters Three and Four explore further the activity of the two artistic couples, placing the focus on the two sopranos. Chapter Three explores the Milojevićs artistic partnership, starting with their joint studies in the Serbian Music School and the Music Academy in Munich. Ivanka Milojević's career being exclusive to the concert stage, and her chamber style concerts favouring the form of lecture recitals led by her husband, engendered her perceived image of song bird. This chapter, however, reconciles this seemingly subordinate role with evidence of her active agency in establishing the concert tradition and creating and promoting the national repertory. Ivanka Milojević's mode of delivery shaped Milojević's vocal lines and encouraged him to compose art song for her featuring mother-figures and lullabies. Milojević's vision of Yugoslav music 'in the West' is crystallized in *Molitva Majke Jugovića Zvezdi Danici*. In this work, Kosovo myth is combined with the lyrical poetry by a Croatian author, its female character embodied and sounded in the refined performance of Ivanka Milojević.

Chapter Four identifies Strozzi-Pečić as a star and charts her transition into the genre of art song. It reviews Strozzi-Pečić's artistic partnership with her husband Bela Pečić, and identifies her shift to the genre of art song as part of her star production and a tool in self-representation. It explores the role of her star factor in Petar Konjović's opus,

starting with their initial collaboration in 1916. It examines further Strozzi-Pečić's collaboration with Konjović, focusing on his *sevdalinka* songs. I argue it was through Strozzi-Pečić's performance, her operatic vocal style and public image that Konjović resolved the stereotype of negative Oriental image he struggled with in his rhetoric. It was in the *sevdalinka* subgenre that he gave his vision of 'synthetic' Yugoslav identity, embodied by Strozzi-Pečić in the song *Sabah*. Archival evidence shows it was her performance that was crucial for the success of Konjović's opus, both as high art and as a symbol of new national identity.

Chapter Five unfolds my journey through this repertory during my research. It starts with two songs as metaphors of Yugoslavism and the impact they had on my performance and programming strategy. I highlight the songs' gendered character, but also the contrasting vocal lines which illustrate Milojević 'chamber' and Konjović's 'operatic' song opus. I trace both threads in the repertory to identify the four voices present in this repertory, presenting it as a female project rather than an exclusively nationalistic one. I adopt the form of lecture recital – one aspect of the original performance practice – to provide the background story of the role of performers in its creation and dissemination. Rather than ventriloquizing original performances I use this context as a starting tool for my interpretation choices.

CHAPTER 2

‘National’ Song and Yugoslavism

Introduction

The artists explored in this thesis all embraced art song as a preferred genre at some point in their careers. However, it was the two sopranos who legitimised it as ‘national’ high art in their performances. Key aspects in this process were the high-style vocal technique, language and gender. The two sopranos established the new form of concertising where they sounded and embodied the new repertory. They both regularly collapsed three diverse strains of song in one performance: arranged folk song, song in native language without folk influences and the Western art song— mainly German and French. Their influence, however, extended beyond the concert platform as 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.

Problems identified by Dahlhaus that beset the “folksong craze of the eighteenth and nineteenth century” in Germany were belatedly raised among composers in the South Slav territories.⁹⁴ How was the folk tradition supposed to be selected and modified? Would repertory in a native language but without folk connections still be the ‘national’ repertory? In dealing with these questions, as noted in the previous chapter, Konjović and Milojević adopted what Smith identifies as the reformist path - an attempt by intellectuals

⁹⁴ Carl Dahlhaus, “The Natural World and the ‘Folklife’ Tone,” in *Realism in Nineteenth Century Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 111.

“who sought entry into the modern West” to “balance the native community with alien modernity”.⁹⁵ The two composers drew on symbols from the vernacular 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.

What Bohlman defines as “anointing the folk music as a canon” was thus accomplished on the concert stage.⁹⁶ The two sopranos brought home the recital tradition they encountered in their studies in Vienna, where Strozzi-Pečić studied from 1899 to 1901, and Munich, where Ivanka Milojević studied from 1907 to 1910. This was a clear departure from the then-standard tradition in the region of potpourri concerts which featured a large number of performers and mixed programmes. Ivanka Milojević and Strozzi-Pečić returned the recital to Lisztean ideals of ‘poetic recitation’ – crucial for promoting the ‘national’ song.⁹⁷ This project took on two forms: recital and serious chamber concert. Ivanka Milojević took on both forms, while Strozzi-Pečić focused on recitals.

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

⁹⁵ Anthony Smith, *Ethnosymbolism: A Cultural Approach* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009), 55.

⁹⁶ Philip V. Bohlman, *Focus: Music, Nationalism, and the Making of New Europe* (New York and London: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, 2011), XXIV.

⁹⁷ For more on Franz Liszt see: Kenneth Hamilton, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Liszt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005). For more on the recital tradition he established see: Alan Walker, *Franz Liszt: The Virtuoso Years, 1811–1847* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1987).

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.⁹⁸ They changed the mainly masculine topics of the works by the previous generation of composers, choosing instead female characters as carriers of meaning to mythologise the nation.

Both forms of concertising drew on the salon culture with their intimate settings and song repertory performed. The two sopranos were accompanied by their husbands, safeguarding the bourgeois feminine values while promoting the noble national cause. However, these were public events, as elaborated in more detail later on, constructing a new model of femininity – one where a woman's role was not decorative but accepted as an equal partner in the communal project.

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. However, the full weight of their contribution as 'patriots', defined by Hroch as carriers

⁹⁸ 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. The complex linguistic map of the ex-Yugoslav territory is illustrated with recent declarations of the separate Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian/Montenegrin languages, which all originated from the language known as Serbo-Croat until 1991.

of national ideology, goes beyond this.⁹⁹ Rather than passively transmitting songs and programmes handed to them, the two sopranos were agents who chose the repertory they performed, and furthermore, co-created it. This chapter analyses their agency as organizers and artists.

The New Generation

Why Art Song?

Art song benefitted both the project of creating the new ‘national’ art and the artists involved – the sopranos and the composers. It drew together existing traditions: domestic music-making and traditional song, as well as the widely popular choral tradition and local Singpiel – “*komad sa pevanjem*”. The genre’s historical association with the culture of the female salon, prominent particularly in Germany and France into the late nineteenth century where women were hosts, performers and even composers, provided a respectable outlet for bourgeois women’s activity.¹⁰⁰ This made ‘art song as national high art’ a suitable project for sopranos to bring forward.

Both sopranos had to confront the prejudices associated with being a soprano, either as ‘siren’ of the opera or ‘song bird’ of the salon. These figures belonged to the

⁹⁹ Miroslav Hroch, tr. Ben Fowkes, *Social preconditions of national revival in Europe. A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups among the Smaller European Nations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 22-3.

¹⁰⁰ For more on how the issue of class affected women musicians see: Nancy Reich, “Women as Musicians: A Question of Class,” in *Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in Music Scholarship*, ed. Ruth Solie, 125-148 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993). For more on Women and *Lied* see: Aisling Kenny and Susan Wollenberg, eds., *Women and the Nineteenth-Century Lied* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2015).

nineteenth century, during which they emerged not just in concerts and opera houses but in journals, letters and biographical material. The siren, “symbolising the powers of voice, music, knowledge, sex and pleasure”, was associated with prima donnas, tainted through the commercialized world of opera.¹⁰¹ Curtailing the power of the siren’s voice in the nineteenth century through domestic music-making was seen as an important part of building the new bourgeois society, with the domesticated song bird symbolizing the “much-vaunted moral qualities” lacking in the siren.¹⁰² By contrast, Ivanka Milojević and Strozzi-Pečić fostered a new, distinctive public role for women, in which private female duties – mother, teacher – garnered value. These new roles were dressed in music whose integrity and sophistication, removed from the commercialised world of opera, was further guaranteed by what was perceived as a noble national cause.

Apart from deploying, for public education, what had been a decorative art, the four artists could fit art song into the conditions that confronted them. Without the infrastructure of opera houses and concert halls, and without conservatoires training artists and future audiences, they could not turn to a ‘national’ opera as a tool for nation-building, as for instance in Italy, France and Germany.¹⁰³ Although Konjović composed

¹⁰¹ Susan Rutherford, *The Prima Donna and Opera, 1815-1930* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 36.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 47.

¹⁰³ For the general introduction on national opera in Europe see: Jim Samson, “Nations and Nationalism,” in *Cambridge History of 19th Century Music*, ed. Jim Samson, 568-600 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Philipp Ther, “The Genre of National Opera in a European Comparative Perspective,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the New Cultural History of Music*, ed. Jane F. Fulcher, 182-208 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Marina Frolova-Walker, “The Language of National Style” in *The Oxford Handbook of Opera*, ed. Helen M. Greenwald, 156-176 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

five operas, he did so at a later stage in his career.¹⁰⁴ He returned to opera in the late 1920s when, according to his own admission, his “compositional style matured”,¹⁰⁵ by which time there were also significant changes in the music scene in both Belgrade and Zagreb.¹⁰⁶ For his part, Milojević never composed opera.¹⁰⁷

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

¹⁰⁴ His first opera, *Ženidba Miloša Obilića/Vilin veo* [The Marriage of Miloš Obilić/The fairy’s veil], dates from 1903, but it was only in 1917 that a revised version was premiered in Zagreb. This work drew inspiration from the Kosovo myth, mentioned in previous chapter as the most significant in both Serbian and Yugoslav history, and one that artists in this thesis and in general regularly drew on. Konjović was among Austro-Hungarian Serbs who spent World War One in Zagreb. He was exempted from conscription, probably due to tuberculosis.

The operas that followed were *Knez od Zete* [The Prince of Zeta] in 1929, *Koštana* in 1931, *Seljaci* [Peasants] in 1951 and *Otađbina* [Fatherland] in 1960. For more on his operas see: Mirjana Veselinović, “Konjović i Janaček – odnos između stila i metoda,” [Konjović and Janaček – the Relationship between Style and Method] Proceedings of the International Conference held in Belgrade 25-27 October 1983, ed. Dimitrije Stefanović, 117-138 (Belgrade: Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 1989); Mirka Pavlović, “Tematika prve opere Petra Konjovića u istoriji srpske opere,” [Subject Matter of the first Opera by Petar Konjović in the History of Serbian Opera], *ibid*, 57-64; Marija Bergamo, “Neke stilске osobnosti “Kneza od Zete” Petra Konjovića,” [On stylistic characteristics of “Prince of Zeta” by Petar Konjović], *ibid*, 65-72.

¹⁰⁵ Nadežda Mosusova, “Prepiska između Petra Konjovića i Tihomira Ostojića,” [Correspondence between Petar Konjović and Tihomir Ostojić] *Zbornik Matice srpske za književnost i umetnost* 19/1: 154.

¹⁰⁶ Due to the inherited institutions in Zagreb mentioned in the previous chapter, opera was established as a genre much earlier than in Serbia.

¹⁰⁷ There are contradicting records about Milojević’s attempt at the opera genre. Ana Stefanović mentions the sketch for opera *Ajša*. See: Ana Stefanović, “Solo pesma – pregled,” [Solo Song – Review] in *Istorija srpske muzike* [History of Serbian Music], ed. Mirjana Veselinović Hofman (Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike, 2007), 369. However, according to composer Vlastimir Trajković, Milojević’s grandson and person in charge of the Milojević family collection, there are no records of this opera apart from one letter to Milojević from the librettist who was proposing collaboration.

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.¹⁰⁸ 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. This new form possessed a defining characteristic of performatives as identified by Austin: it was a conventional procedure, having a certain conventional effect;¹⁰⁹ 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.

As stressed before, 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.¹¹⁰ 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

¹⁰⁸ 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, Russian opera singer who settled in Belgrade after the Russian Revolution.

¹⁰⁹ For more on Austin's defining characteristics of performatives see: John L. Austin, *How To Do Things With Words* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975), 14-15.

¹¹⁰ Jelena Milojković-Djurić, *Tradition and Avant-Garde: The Arts in Serbian Culture between the two World Wars* (New York: Columbia University Press, East European Monographs, Boulder, 1984), 16.

audiences and artists” and “collecting money” – for not including “Yugoslav artists” in “our music life”.¹¹¹ 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.

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.¹¹² Strozzi-Pečić’s programmes of early concerts in Zagreb and in Ljubljana, before she engaged with art song (Figures 1 and 2) illustrate this. 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 *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.¹¹³

¹¹¹ Petar Konjović, “Iz muzikalnog Zagreba,” [From Musical Zagreb] in *Ličnosti* [Personages] (Zagreb: Čelap i Popovac, 1920), 200. In the same review, despite higher professional standards of performance due to inherited Austro-Hungarian institutions, Konjović points to the urgent need to establish a proper orchestra, capable of performing larger works. *Ibid*, 205.

¹¹² Coastal parts of Croatia which were under Italian rule also had an established tradition of music making.

¹¹³ Ivan Zajc further encouraged the professional standards in Croatian musical life. However, his own musical idiom was conservative and derivative. For more on Zajc’s operas see: Samson, “Nations and

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.¹¹⁴

Nationalism”, 596. For more on Zajc and Croatian opera see: Dragotin Cvetko, *Južni Slovenci u istoriji evropske muzike* [South Slavs in the History of European Music] (Belgrade: Nolit, 1981). W. Everett: “Opera and National Identity in the nineteenth-century Croatian and Czech lands,” *International review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 35/1 (2004): 63-69.

¹¹⁴ Laura Tunbridge, “Reading Lieder Recordings,” in “Studying the Lied: Hermeneutic Tradition and the Challenge of Performance,” ed. Jennifer Ronyak, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 67/2 (2014): 556.

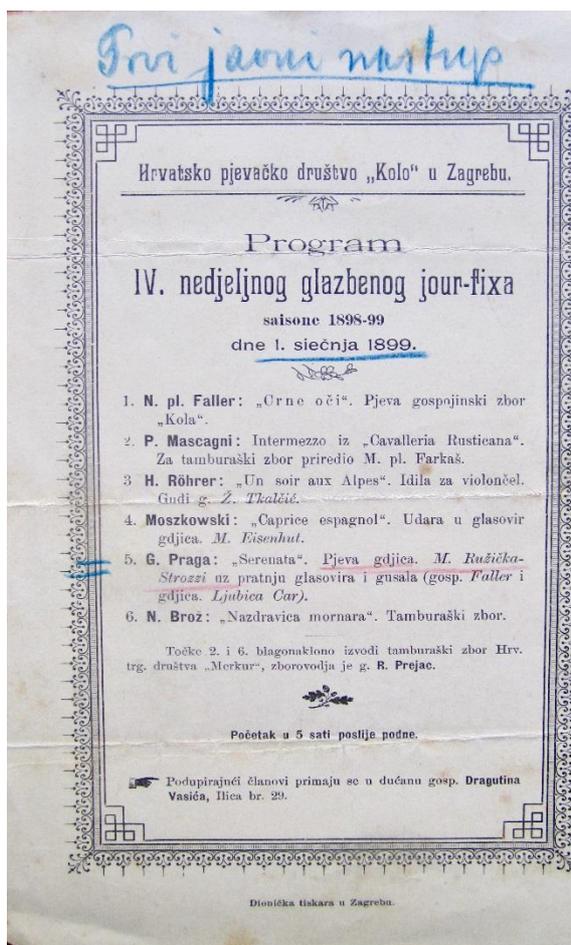


Figure 1 Programme of Strozzi-Pečić's first public performance, Zagreb 1899 (CMIA MSPC)



Figure 2 Programme of Strozzi-Pečić's concert in Ljubljana, 1901 (CMIA MSPC)

This 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.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁵ Konjović, "Iz muzikalnog Zagreba", 170. Elena Gerhardt (1883-1961) was a German mezzo-soprano and Strozzi-Pečić's contemporary, famous for her *Lieder* performance. This review was initially published as one of Konjović's regular contributions while he acted as music critic in weekly magazine *Hrvatska*

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.¹¹⁶ 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:

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.¹¹⁷

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

njiva. For more on his critic activity in Croatia see: Dubravka Franković, “Petar Konjović – muzički kritičar “Hrvatske njive”,” [Petar Konjović – Music Critic of “Hrvatska njiva”], in *Život i delo Petra Konjovića*, ed. Dimitrije Stefanović, 139-152.

¹¹⁶ James Parsons, “Introduction: Why the Lied?” In *The Cambridge Companion to the Lied* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 3.

¹¹⁷ Petar Konjović, “Maja de Strozzi,” in *Ličnosti* [Personages], 115.

programme accompanied by her husband as “a major endeavour in artistic education of our audiences”.¹¹⁸

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 1939 was superseded by the Belgrade Music Academy.¹¹⁹ 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.¹²⁰

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.¹²¹

¹¹⁸ Ibid, 116. Konjović lists towns they visited: Novi Sad, Zemun, Ruma, Mitrovica, Vinkovci, Vukovar, Osijek, Banja Luka, Prijedor, Karlovac, Rijeka, Varaždin and Ljubljana.

¹¹⁹ Belgrade Music Academy (nowadays Faculty of Music) was founded in 1937.

¹²⁰ Petar Konjović, *Miloje Milojević, kompozitor i muzički pisac* [Miloje Milojević, composer and writer on music] (Belgrade: Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 1954), 47.

¹²¹ Smith, *Ethnosymbolism*, 31.



Figure 3 Undated photograph of young Ivanka Milojević (MM FC)



Figure 4 Undated photograph of young Strozzi-Pečić (CMIA MSPC)

Yugoslav Idea and Art Song Project

Sopranos, Folk Tradition and Art Song: Creating The 'National' Elite Project

Konjović and Milojević, being the most active critics and essayists of this period,¹²² were preoccupied with the idea of national in music which they described at different times as

¹²² There is a large body of works on Milojević's and Konjović's writings. I will focus individually only on those dealing with the 'national' and, particularly, Yugoslav idea. See: Aleksandar Vasić, "Serbian Music

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'.¹²³

What was it about their music that was perceived to be 'Yugoslav'? Reviewers recognized it as such, including Ernst Isler (1879-1944), critic of the *Neue Züricher Zeitung* who described the recital Strozzi-Pečić gave in Zurich in 1919 as proof that Yugoslav music existed, and could be compared in value to Russian and Czech traditions.¹²⁴ A closer look at reception shows that it was the two sopranos who facilitated the process of 'anointing the canon'. Two aspects of performance were crucial: language, explored in the next section, and the performing artist's sex.

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 South Slav composers' choral works and local *Singspiel* that relied on 'folk' spoke for a

Criticism and Writing Between the World Wars (1918-1941)," and "Serbian Music Criticism and Music Writing in the 19th century (1825-1918)," in *Aspects of Greek and Serbian music*, ed. Katy Romanou, 93-106 and 25-37 (Athens: M. Nicolaidis and Company Co Music House, 2007); Aleksandar Vasić, "Srpska muzička kritika i esejistika xix i prve polovine xx veka kao predmet muzikoloških istraživanja," [Serbian music criticism and essay writing during the 19th and the first half of the 20th century as a subject of musicological research] *Muzikologija* 6 (2006): 317-342; Katarina Tomašević, *Na raskršću istoka i zapada: o dijalogu tradicionalnog i modernog u srpskoj muzici: 1918-1941* [At the crossroads of the East and the West: on the dialogue between the traditional and the modern in Serbian music: 1918-1941] (Belgrade: Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 2009).

¹²³ Melita Milin, "The National Idea in Serbian Music", in *Nationale Musik im 20. Jahrhundert*, eds. Helmut Loos and Stefan Keym (Leipzig: Gudrun Schröder Verlag, 2004), 36-7. Jim Samson agrees with scholars from the Yugoslav territories, concluding that it often seems futile in music of this period to try to pin down the subject matter and style as Yugoslav, as opposed to Serbian, Croatian or Slovenian. Samson, *Music in the Balkans*, 338.

¹²⁴ The quote is from Strozzi-Pečić's personally annotated interview notes, held in CMIA MSPC.

“masculinized memory, masculinized humiliation and masculinized hope”,¹²⁵ 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””.¹²⁶

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.¹²⁷ While recent studies point to a number of female players throughout the history, the existence of this division cannot be disputed.¹²⁸ 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.

¹²⁵ Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 44.

¹²⁶ Bohlman, *Focus: Music, Nationalism, and the Making of New Europe*, 18.

¹²⁷ For a recent study on South Slav folk singing tradition, see: Marija Dumnić, “The Coexistence of Older and Newer Two-Part Folk Singing in the Village of Prekonoga (Southeastern Serbia) as an Example of Bimusicality,” *Muzikologija* 18 (2015): 133-146.

¹²⁸ For a recent study on female instrumentalists see: Iva Nenić, “(Un)disciplining gender, rewriting the epic: female gusle players,” in *Musical Practices in the Balkans: Ethnomusicological Perspectives*, Proceedings of the International conference held in Belgrade November 23-25, 2011, eds. Dejan Despić, Jelena Jovanović, Danka Lajić-Mihajlović, 251-264 (Belgrade: Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Institute of Musicology SASA, 2012).

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 5).¹²⁹ 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.

¹²⁹ 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 Croat-Serb Coalition in 1905. The 1910 Habsburg population census listed Serbo-Croats as a single ethnic/linguistic group.

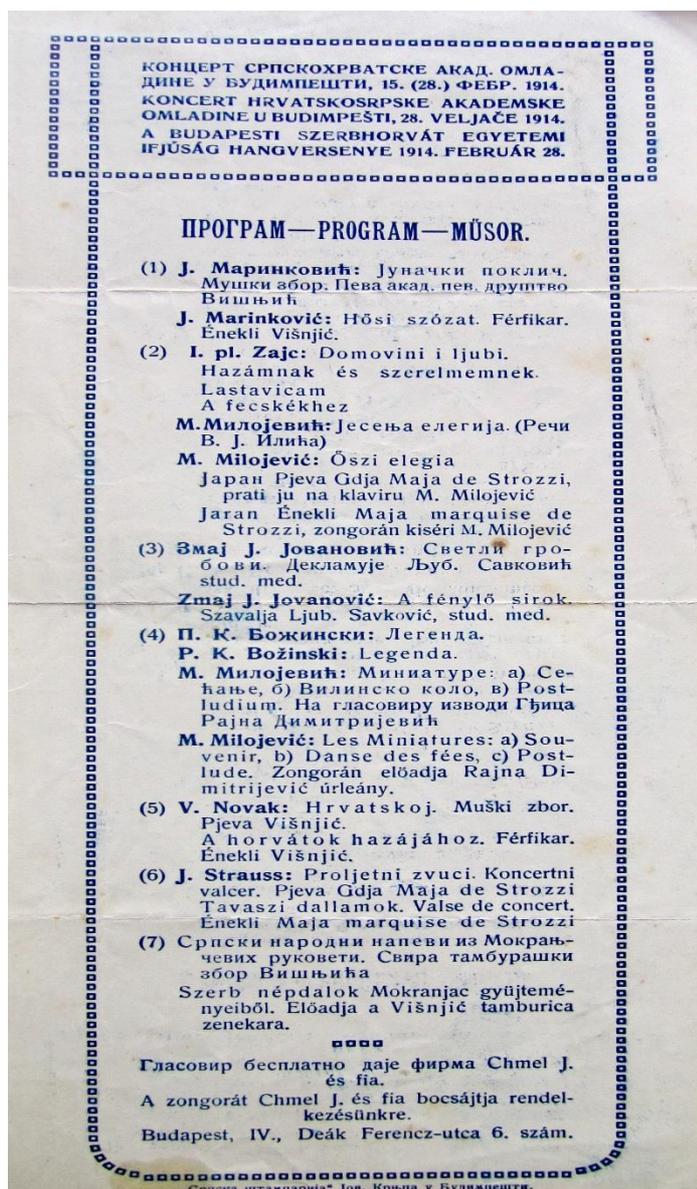


Figure 5 Concert programme, Budapest, 1914 (CMIA MSPC)

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.

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.

Selecting the Folk: Filling Ethno-Space with Sound

The Composers

Konjović and Milojević arranged folk-songs from the whole territory of Yugoslavia, preserving their languages and dialects. This corresponds to the then-

dominant model amongst intellectuals who aimed to synthesise all the best in Serbian, Croatian and Slovene culture into a new Yugoslav one. They drew on the work of the previous generation of composers, notably Habsburg-born Serbian Kornelije Stanković (1831-1865) and Croatian Franjo Kuhač (1834-1911), as well as Serbian Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac (1856-1914), but their arrangements differed significantly in technical prowess and sophistication of the piano accompaniment and in a decisive shift away from a choral, communal identity.¹³⁰ The regions from which Konjović and Milojević drew their traditional melodies mainly correspond to the borders of Yugoslavia after the First World War. They also, however, transmitted songs of Slav ethnic groups outside these borders; for instance, Konjović transcribed ballads sung in Trieste. Konjović also preserved melodies of Istria, which, though not included in the territory of Yugoslavia until after the Second World War, Yugoslavs claimed as their own at the Paris Peace conference of 1919-20, referred to in the previous chapter.

Both composers usually included information on geographic origins of the folk songs in their printed collections. These indications of origin were often very specific. For instance, Konjović, in his collection *Moja zemlja* [My country] indicated the Šopron area in Slovenia, or (in the case of Croatia) Medjimurje, Krajina or the Croatian Coast. In the case of Serbia, both composers referred to specific regions – like Raška, Kosovo and Metohija, and Macedonia – or towns, like Vranje or Niš. Kosovo was considered part of

¹³⁰ Kornelije Stanković published the first folk song arrangements collections in Serbian music (1858-1865). Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac composed fifteen choral suites *Rukoveti* [Garlands]. For more on this aspect of Mokranjac's work see: Biljana Milanović, "Disciplining the nation: Music in Serbia until 1914," in *Serbian Music: Yugoslav Contexts*, eds. Melita Milin and Jim Samson, 47-72 (Belgrade: Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 2015). Franjo Kuhač collected and published a folk-song collection *Južnoslovenske narodne popevke* [South Slav folk songs] (1878-1881), encompassing the whole territory of future Yugoslavia. See Zdravko Blažeković, "Franjo Ksavijer Kuhač and the beginnings of music scholarship in Croatia," in *Music's Intellectual History*, ed. Zdravko Blažeković, 203-234 (New York: RILM, 2009).

Serbia and was referred to by specific entries specifying the location of transmission, such as the town of Prizren, in present-day Kosovo (Konjović) or Šar Mountain (Milojević), on the Kosovo-Macedonia-Albania border. To present-day Macedonia, then part of Serbia, composers referred as southern Serbia, Macedonia, or by specific locations, such as the town of Ohrid. Parts of Vojvodina were also occasionally specifically cited, like Banat or Bačka. Information on ethnic groups were included too if composers felt the geographic entries were not specific enough – Konjović identified folk songs by Arbanasi (archaic term for Albanians) or Ugarski Hrvati [Hungarian Croats]. Such engagement with various ethnic groups and traditions, coupled with Milojević's extensive melographic work in the late 1920s, suggest that the two composers, despite the lack of evidence of collaboration or correspondence, were influenced by the methods of the prominent anthropogeographer Jovan Cvijić (1865-1927), whose magnum opus *La Péninsule Balkanique* (Paris, 1918), based on his Sorbonne lectures, was, and remains, a hugely influential work on the ethnography of the region. Despite drawing on the same regions, the two composers' vocal outputs were distinctively different. What scholars identify as Konjović's 'Dramatised *Lied*' and Milojević's 'vocal-lyrical' opus,¹³¹ are consequence of their collaboration with the two sopranos, elaborated in detail in the following chapters.

¹³¹ Ana Stefanović, ed., *Anthology of Serbian Art Song in 5 volumes* (Belgrade: Composers Association of Serbia, 2008), XI-XII.



Figure 6 Photograph of the teaching staff and students of the Belgrade Music Academy (c1939-1940).

Milojević and Konjović are seated in the front row fourth and fifth from the left respectively. This photograph is a family possession of Mina Miletić, my pianist, whose great-aunt Ratinka Ilin was one of the students, here in the second row seventh from the right. The picture shows a significant number of women, both students and members of staff.

The Sopranos

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. On the level of the speech-act as identified earlier by Austin (p. 17), I identify the sopranos' high art vocal technique and perfect diction as aspects of locutionary act which facilitated performing the nation for the audiences through an elevated art form.

The bulk of the sopranos' performances took part in the 1920s, a decade when the Yugoslav idea was at its peak and promoting it would be considered pro-state. However, as can be seen in the tables of concerts in the thesis appendix, they started concertising before World War One, when, in the case of Strozzi-Pečić and the potentially hostile Habsburg environment, such activity could still have potentially been seen as anti-state. This section deals with the common aspects of the sopranos' performances, focusing on the differences in chapters on each soprano that follow.

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,¹³² despite the co-existence of the sectarian¹³³ and Yugoslav idea, "everyday Yugoslavism' was more a matter of public display than of everyday private practice".¹³⁴ In other words, the

¹³² The albums contained selections of individual sheet music publications and handwritten manuscripts (both transcriptions and amateur compositions), providing much better insight into actual home music making than the sheet music editions marketed for home consumption. The albums explored feature Konjović's folk song arrangements, but none of his or Milojević's original works, with these albums focusing instead on songs by the previous generation of composers. The author finds significant difference between albums made in the Austro-Hungarian Empire (Novi Sad, Pančevo) and in The Kingdom of Serbia (mostly Belgrade), with the former reflecting the multiethnic and multilingual milieu of the Empire. Srdjan Atanasovski, "Floating Images of Yugoslavism on the Pages of Family Music Albums," in *Serbian Music: Yugoslav Contexts*, eds. Melita Milin and Jim Samson (Belgrade: Institute of Musicology SASA, 2014), 169. There are no similar studies on the repertory in domestic music making in Croatia.

¹³³ While Atanasovski uses the term 'national' to denote Serbian, Croatian or Slovene identity, I use 'sectarian' instead, which is more precise as at that time 'national' was often referring to Yugoslav.

¹³⁴ *Ibid*, 181.

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.¹³⁵ Both sopranos started this practice after the unification of South Slavs, but the extent of Yugoslav labelling in their concert programmes differs slightly. Eight out of thirty-one of Strozzi-Pečić's recital programmes follow this practice. Ivanka Milojević covered all three language groups in only four concerts, although she regularly performed songs by either Slovene or Croatian composers alongside the Serbian ones. Strozzi-Pečić performed more songs by Croatian composers, and Ivanka Milojević more songs by Serbian composers (see the tables of concerts in the thesis appendix for details about the repertory performed). That corresponds to their touring patterns, as the concert programmes show they were tailoring their programmes according to where they performed. For instance, Ivanka Milojević's recitals in Slovenia always included more songs by Slovene composers than the recitals in Serbia. Strozzi-Pečić followed the same principle, but took it even further. She specifically commissioned Konjović's *Sabah*, elaborated in detail in the last two chapters, for a concert in Sarajevo in 1916, confirming her engagement with the Yugoslav idea prior to the formation of the Yugoslav state. She particularly requested a song which

¹³⁵ 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: Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism* (London: Sage, 1995), 93.

would feature a stylized muezzin-call-like cadenza for the audience with a large Muslim component, elaborated in detail in Chapter Four.

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,¹³⁶ 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.

While both sopranos' art song concertising had an educational dimension, they cultivated two different formats of performance. Ivanka Milojević favoured chamber music concerts and lecture recitals with her husband as lecturer, while Strozzi-Pečić exclusively performed recitals. These two types of performances ultimately represented performances of two different models of femininity. They are explored in detail in the following two chapters, but I flag up here the different roles of the sopranos' husbands, Miloje Milojević and Bela Pečić, in this process.

¹³⁶ The only available recording of this repertory shows that Ivanka Milojević's vocal technique corresponds to the then current high-art vocal practice. It is elaborated in detail in the next chapter.

Ivanka Milojević and the Chamber Concert

The recital programme for the event organized by *Grupa umetnika* [Group of Artists]¹³⁷ (Figure 7) illustrates the predominantly intimate character of Ivanka Milojević's concertising. Her programme also exemplifies the balance she struck between folk and art songs. She 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.

¹³⁷ Ivanka and Miloje Milojević were founding members of *Grupa umetnika* [Group of Artists] together with many artists from Yugoslavia, including Ivo Andrić (1892-1975). The Group of Artists' loosely defined credo was strengthening ties between artists and promoting the newly emerging national art, rather than particular political and national ideologies. Group of Artists was, as its name suggests, a group of artists who gathered in 1919 and held a series of musico-literary evenings, mostly in Belgrade. It is explored in detail in Chapter 3. Milojević collaborated closely with Bogdan Popović (1863-1944) and Jovan Skerlić (1877-1914) as a music critic for *Srpski književni glasnik* [Serbian Literary Magazine].



Figure 7 Programme, Group of Artists' Concert in Novi Sad, 1920 (MM FC)

The Group of Artists' work will be explored in more detail in the following chapter, but here I point to the group's role as a platform for women's voices. Milojević's husband, although he accompanied her in the Group's events, did not lecture – the standard practice in their recitals in public and school venues that I discuss later – meaning that Ivanka Milojević had the spotlight.¹³⁸ Notably, on this evening Anica Savić (1892-1953),

¹³⁸ Only one of the Group of Artists' concert programmes feature Milojević as a lecturer (18.5.1921)

Serbian writer, classical philologist and a professor at the Belgrade University, read her poems. At other gatherings of this group, female musicians and writers featured in other programmes.

In the mid-1920s the Milojevićs moved to bigger venues and bigger ensembles, continuing however the aim of small-scale concerts and educating attendees. Of particular importance is Collegium Musicum, the first chamber orchestra in Serbia founded by Milojević in 1925, consisting of Belgrade University students and staff. All of its concerts featured lectures by Miloje Milojević, and Ivanka Milojević as a regular performer.

Strozzi-Pečić and the Recital

Apart from the February 1914 Budapest concert explored at the beginning of this chapter, which marked the beginning of her engagement with ‘national’ song, Strozzi-Pečić exclusively performed not in small-scale but in highly public recitals, in the tradition of Liszt. In contrast to Miloje Milojević, Strozzi-Pečić’s husband Bela Pečić never lectured during their recitals: he was her silent support, the accompanist. Unlike Ivanka Milojević, Strozzi-Pečić regularly included opera numbers as encores, showcasing her virtuosity and star status.¹³⁹

During her most active period in 1920s, Strozzi-Pečić extended her recital activity with broadcasts for the newly-opened Radio Zagreb, where she gave eight weekly recitals with her husband during July and August 1926. ‘Live’ performance was, however, crucial

¹³⁹ She sang Norina’s and Lakmé’s arias, and a today less known *Le Perle du Bresil* by Félicien David (1810-1876). It contains elaborate coloratura passages and was popular with sopranos at the time, including Adelina Patti. Concert programme kept in CMIA, Zagreb.

to her art song recitals and their concomitant educational aims, whether on the concert platform or in the radio studio. As Nicholas Cook explains, the term ‘live performance’ as opposed to ‘recorded’ actually arose in the context of radio broadcasts. Radio concerts historically created a sense of community — the term ‘live’ in this context referring to ‘co-temporality’ – denoting an event shared in real-time. Conceptually, this differs from the ‘co-spatiality’ of broadcasts first recorded, then later transmitted.¹⁴⁰

Two of Strozzi-Pečić’s eight radio recitals included songs by Konjović and Milojević, a number of Croatian composers and a Slovene Josip Pavčić (1870-1949).¹⁴¹ Two of the recitals titled “Hundred years of our song” featured only songs by Croatian composers, apart from Konjović who at that time lived in Zagreb.¹⁴² Four remaining programmes included a smaller selection of songs by Konjović and Croatian composers, while mostly consisting of songs by German, Russian, French or Italian composers, and, for her encores, opera arias. While her two radio recitals referred to Croatian composers’ song as ‘our song’, on a number of other occasions she used the word ‘our’ to denote ‘Yugoslav’, both in Yugoslavia and abroad, such as in recitals in Zurich in 1919 and Prague in 1925.

In other words, in both the music she chose, and the way she presented it, she generated a sense of a fluid identity, which was not unusual at that time. As mentioned in

¹⁴⁰ Nicholas Cook identifies the concept of ‘co-spatiality’ as becoming gradually less important for a performance to be considered as ‘live’. See: Nicholas Cook, *Beyond the Score: Music as Performance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 370.

¹⁴¹ Concerts on 13th and 27th August. Concert programme kept in CMIA MSPC, Zagreb.

¹⁴² Concerts on 6th and 20th August, preceded by lectures by the Croatian composer Zlatko Grgošević. Concert programmes kept in CMIA MSPC, Zagreb. She sang songs by Livadić, Lisinski, Zajc, Širola, Hatze, Konjović, Dobronić, Slavenski, Gotovac, Tajčević, Grgošević.

the first chapter, her mother Marija Ružička-Strozzi, who was Czech, identified herself and her half-Italian children as Croats before World War One,¹⁴³ illustrating the complexity of the issue of identity in the region. Voicing different languages and music traditions, Strozzi-Pečić moved between multiple regional identities. This suggests that arguments such as those made by historian Ivo Banac, that national ideologies assumed all but definite contours well before the 1918 unification and could not be significantly changed or altered afterwards, must be questioned.¹⁴⁴

Sopranos as ‘Patriots’

The two sopranos did not just sound folk-song arrangements or native art song; nor did they just collapse three diverse strains of song – folk, native art and Western art song – into one performance. They were both actively included in the process of selection of the material for the folk song collections and chose the repertory they performed.

Strozzi-Pečić led Konjović to broaden regions from which he collected folk song. Konjović started arranging folk-songs during his student days in Prague, publishing the five-song collection *Iz naših krajeva* [From our regions] in 1906.¹⁴⁵ His interest in this

¹⁴³ See: Zlatko Vidačković, "Stoljeće jedne dinastije: U povodu 110. godišnjice rođenja Tita Strozija i 120. godišnjice rođenja Maje Strozzi-Pečić," [Centenary of a Dynasty: Celebrating 110 years since the birth of Tito Strozzi and 120 years since the birth of Maja Strozzi-Pečić] *Vijenac: Novine Matice Hrvatske za književnost, umjetnost i znanost* 10/228 (2002).

¹⁴⁴ Ivo Banac, *The National Question in Yugoslavia. Origins, History, Politics* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1988), 406. As already mentioned, there are different views by historians of interwar Yugoslavia, for example: Dejan Djokić, *Elusive compromise. A History of Interwar Yugoslavia* (London: Hurst & Co, 2007). Pieter Troch, "Yugoslavism between the World Wars: Indecisive Nation-Building," *Nationalities Papers* 38 (2010): 227-244.

¹⁴⁵ The first song in this collection, *Pod pendžeri* [Under your window] is Konjović's original work – he wrote both the text and music.

repertory intensified during his time in Croatia, resulting in *Moja zemlja*.¹⁴⁶ Unlike his first collection, *Moja zemlja* includes arrangements of songs from all parts of former Yugoslavia, composed from 1905 to 1925. From five songs he expanded to one hundred songs in *Moja zemlja*. Strozzi-Pečić regularly performed songs from *Moja zemlja* alongside Konjović's original songs, which was certainly an incentive for him to increase their number. Sketches of songs kept in the Croatian Musical Institute Archive [CMIA], indicate that she also guided his process of collecting: he was sending her his musical ideas in initial stages. Typically, he quoted a couple of bars from the long phrases of the vocal line and posted these sketches to her. Although devoid of comments, his 'communication' was almost certainly that of one musician to another. He was asking for her opinion about the folk tunes, and whether they justified being arranged. The chronology of the sketch in Figure 8 attests to this.

¹⁴⁶ Katarina Tomašević uses these two collections to explore Konjović's shifting borders of his imagined homeland. See: Katarina Tomašević, "Imagining the Homeland: The Shifting Borders of Petar Konjović's Yugoslavism," in *Serbian Music: Yugoslav Contexts*, eds. Melita Milin and Jim Samson, 73-94 (Belgrade: Institute of Musicology SASA, 2014).

bela d'ny-ka, lala, zmal si' bela d'ny-ka!

Derogla bela, bogata,
 bogata moji, ubava.

4 Stipa.

motiv čuo od studara Jelana, feb. 13 I, 1924.

Imenja Majin
 orafko, iz prvog daka

Feb. 18/1
 1924

some long tempo

Geo.

Figure 8 Konjović's sketch for song Ženi se Petre Vojdoda [Duke Petar is getting married], second page. (CMIA MSPC)

The composer annotated the score with “Motif heard on 13/1/1924”. Just five days later he added: “To Mrs Maja, almost in a single breath. P. Konjović Zagreb 18/1/1924”. It is clear that the motif was sent to Strozzi- Pečić for ‘approval’ on 18/1/1924, just five days after it was heard.

The Milojevićs’ melographic trips in today’s territory of Kosovo and Macedonia suggest a different kind of input from Ivanka Milojević. Miloje Milojević collected altogether more than 800 melodies and took extensive notes on traditions and instruments.¹⁴⁷ His wife accompanied him during these trips. More importantly, these trips had a second function: they were recital tours. At their joint performances, he lectured, while she sang his folk arrangements. His melographic work has been widely discussed, but the fact that it was also the couple’s joint effort had not. Unlike the modern scholars, Konjović, however, acknowledged in his biography of Milojević the primacy of Ivanka Milojević’s performance in this educational endeavour: “[Milojević’s] lectures had another interpretative version in Mrs Ivanka Milojević’s concert performance”.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁷ Konjović gives an extensive account of his work, as well as the maps of the territory he covered. See: Konjović, *Miloje Milojević*, 208-226.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid*, 222.

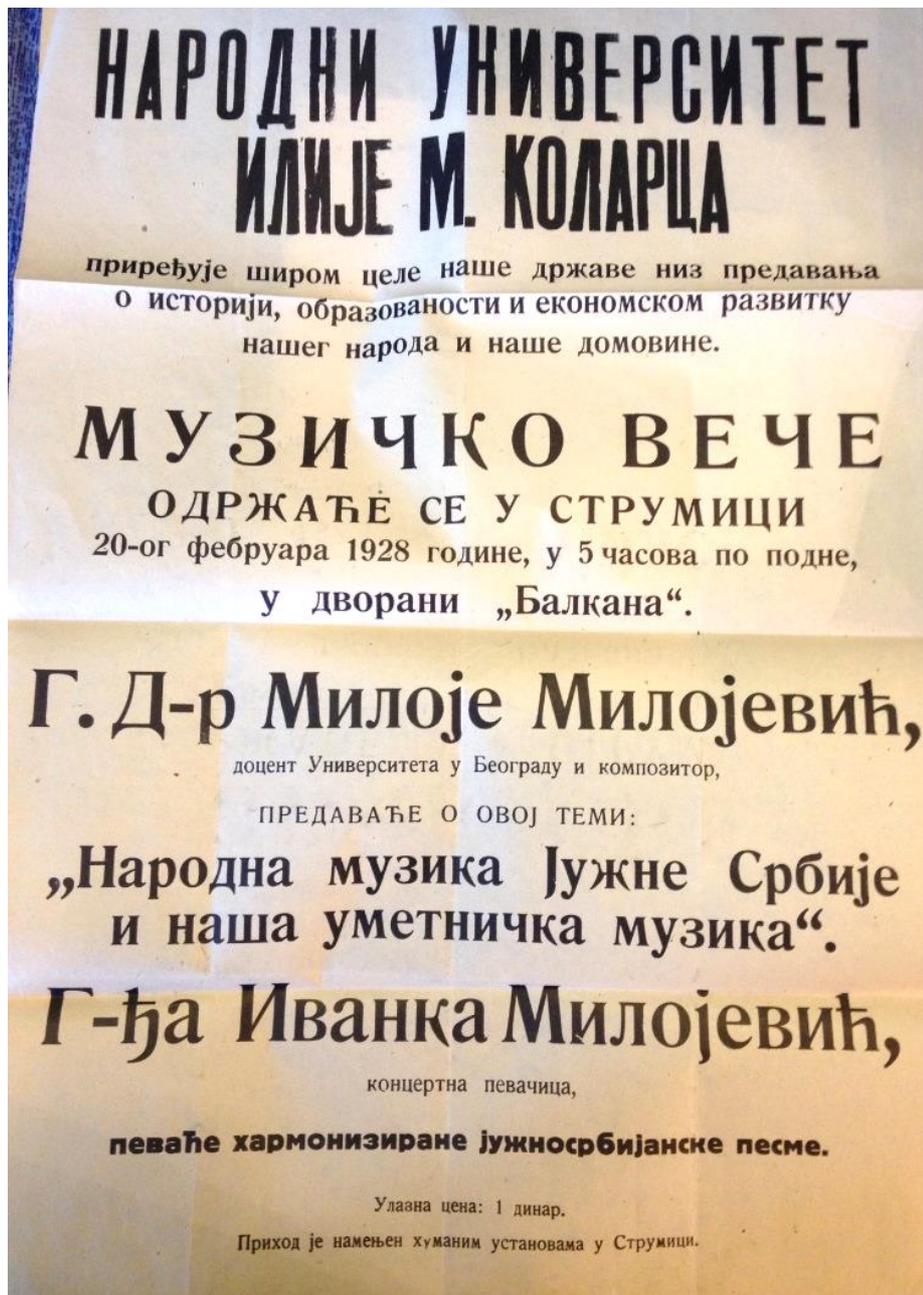


Figure 9 Poster for the Milojevićs' 'musical evening' on February 20th, 1928, Strumica (MM FC)

The poster in Figure 9 is for one of the eight lecture recitals by Milojevićs on their tour of present-day Kosovo and Macedonia in 1928. This was the time when the authorities actively sought to colonise these regions with Serbs and other Slavs, by allocating them the land previously belonging to non-Slav Muslims (i.e. ethnic Albanians and Turks) who fled or were being encouraged and sometimes forced to flee for the new Turkish republic,

which itself needed to re-populate areas previously inhabited by Greeks and Armenians. However, there are no records that this tour was part of that campaign. Miloje Milojević arranged the folk songs while on the road; Ivanka Milojević then performed them in venues converted into concert spaces: local cinemas, council halls, theaters. Apart from bringing to audiences her husband's current fieldwork, and transforming this fieldwork into 'art', she may even have guided his melographic work. As they were on the road together, there was no need for correspondence as found between Strozzi-Pečić and Konjović. Yet her imprint is clear: seven arrangements bear his dedication in the collection *Jugoslovenske narodne melodije* [Yugoslav popular songs] that he published in 1939: "To my wife Ivanka, an unsurpassed performer of these songs".¹⁴⁹ The three songs they recorded for Pathé Records were from this volume;¹⁵⁰ these songs were also the most-performed music in their lecture-recitals.

While we cannot determine Ivanka Milojević's input into her husband's folk song collecting, we do know that she planned their programmes. In a letter to him from Prague in 1934 she asked him to send her these songs for the forthcoming radio performance.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁹ This is the second folk-song collection that Milojević published: Miloje Milojević, Anton Neffat and Jakov Gotovac, *Jugoslovenske narodne melodije* [Yugoslav popular songs] (Belgrade: Collegium Musicum, 1939). Milojević published his first folk song collection in Paris, covering the entire region of Yugoslavia apart from Slovenia. Miloje Milojević, *Melodies populaires serbes* (Paris: Rouart, Lerolle & Cie, 1921).

¹⁵⁰ The titles of the recordings are different to the ones in the collection: *Makedonska uspavanka* [Macedonian Lullaby] is actually *Lulela je Jana* [Yana sang a Lullaby] and *Dve ljubavne pesme* [Two love songs], actually *Pušči me* [Let me go] and *More će prodam* [I will sell].

¹⁵¹ Ivanka Milojević was in Prague accompanying her daughter Gordana during her piano Master studies. It is interesting that she was still willing to perform in 1934, after she officially retired from stage in Belgrade, and without her husband as an accompanist.

Milojević's letter to the Slovenian composer Slavko Osterc shows that she was the one to insist on certain 'Yugoslav' repertory:

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!¹⁵²

Like Ivanka Milojević, Strozzi-Pečić's numerous handwritten plans for concert programmes with various additions and changes indicate she was choosing her repertory as well. That was the case in the before-mentioned Budapest concert in 1914. Milojević sent her the manuscript for five of his songs, now kept at CMIA, so she could choose two for her performance.

Conclusion

Ivanka Milojević and Strozzi-Pečić established the new form of concertising in the South Slav territories, abandoning the then popular potpourri concerts. Strozzi-Pečić exclusively performed recitals, while Ivanka Milojević favoured intimate chamber concerts and lecture recitals. Both forms, however, had a clear educational aim: bringing the newly composed 'national' song to the audiences.

Ivanka Milojević and Strozzi-Pečić were 'patriots'. They chose 'national' songs that they performed alongside the European art song repertory, regularly programming

¹⁵² Dragotin Cvetko, *Fragment glazbene moderne: iz pisem Slavku Ostercu* (Ljubljana: Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, 1988), 247.

the folk-song arrangements alongside the art songs of local composers without traditional links. They sounded the whole territory of Yugoslavia on the stage, embodying the composers' work which aimed to synthesise the existing cultures into a new one. By keeping the original languages and through their advanced vocal technique they 'anointed' the newly-composed repertory as both national and high art. Their concert programmes "flagged the nation" either directly by naming the songs as Yugoslav, or indirectly – by highlighting all the regions or including original songs by composers from all three main regions. Despite the evident Yugoslav idea, Strozzi-Pečić performed mostly songs by Croatian, and Ivanka Milojević mostly songs by Serbian composers, which corresponded with the regions they toured the most. The two sopranos' role was not confined to the concert stage. They shaped the composers' engagement with the 'folk' tradition, changing the masculine character of the 'folk'-inspired works by the previous generation of composers and shifting the focus instead to female figures to mythologise the nation. They also took an active part in the selection of folk material for the composers' collections.

The bulk of the four artists' activity was happening in the 1920s, when there was still no concrete state cultural policy in place, as argued by Ljubodrag Dimić and Andrew Wachtel. This gave space to artists to collaborate on their shared aims: organizing musical life of the three centers (Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana). These efforts were crowned with the First Yugoslav Festival of Modern Music organized by Milojević in 1928 in Belgrade. This was the result of his individual efforts rather than being state endorsed. In fact, in 1929, the year King Aleksandar dissolved parliament, introduced a Royal Dictatorship and "integral Yugoslavism" as the official state ideology was sanctioned by

law,¹⁵³ the Milojevićs – the most active chamber musicians in Belgrade – broadcast only one recital on the newly founded Radio Belgrade.¹⁵⁴ Instead of their elite ‘national’ art song project Radio Belgrade favoured popular and folk songs, broadcasting a series of concerts titled “From the Yugoslav Villages”.¹⁵⁵

Following the artists’ work after the 1930s suggests they did not abandon their Yugoslav idea, although their activities changed.¹⁵⁶ Until they retired, Strozzi-Pečić in 1932, Ivanka Milojević in 1933, they continued to perform the same ‘national’ repertory. Strozzi-Pečić still occasionally performed art song repertory after her retirement from the

¹⁵³ For more on the internal and external circumstances leading to dictatorship – the ongoing political crisis culminating in the Parliament murders in 1928, and retreat of democracy throughout East-Central and Southern Europe – see: Dejan Djokić, *Elusive compromise*.

¹⁵⁴ Some artists kept a close relationship with the court, like the sculptor Ivan Meštrović.

¹⁵⁵ Ivana Vesić, “Muzički program Radio Beograda između dva svetska rata i fenomen nacionalne i kulturne pedagogije” [Musical Programme of Radio Belgrade between Two World Wars and the Phenomenon of National and Cultural Pedagogy] in *Radio i srpska muzika* [Radio and Serbian Music], ed. Ivana Medić, 15-30 (Belgrade: Institute of Musicology SASA, 2015).

¹⁵⁶ Apart from Konjović, other artists studied here were not politically active. Not much has been written about Konjović’s political involvement though, such as that in 1917 he delivered a confidential letter from Svetozar Pribičević, who later founded Democratic Party, to Anton Korošec, Slovene political leader, resulting in a meeting with Milan Obuljen, the founder of the musical publishing enterprise ‘Edition Slave’ in Vienna. There are some indications that he viewed Zagreb not only as the cultural center, but also an administrative one, and one under whose jurisdiction the territories of former Serbian territories in southern Hungary, including Novi Sad, should have come. For more see: Katarina Tomašević, “Imagining the Homeland: The Shifting Borders of Petar Konjović’s Yugoslavism”, 80-3. For more on Konjović’s collaboration with Milan Obuljen and ‘Edition Slave’ see: Nadežda Mosusova, “Slavenski izdavački zavod u Beču (Milan Obuljen i Petar Konjović)” [Slavonic Publishing in Vienna (Milan Obuljen and Petar Konjović)], *Zvuk* 85-86/9 (1968): 261-275; Nada Bezić, “Notna izdanja Edition Slave (Slavenski izdavački zavod), Beč” [Music editions of Edition Slave (Slavic Publishing Company), Vienna], in *Glazba, riječi i slike. Svečani zbornik za Koraljku Kos* [Music, Words and Images. Essays in honour of Koraljka Kos] ed. Vjera Katalinić and Zdravko Blažeković, 127-144 (Zagreb: Hrvatsko muzikološko društvo, 1999).

operatic stage, and at a 1951 concert celebrating her seventieth birthday she sang two songs by Konjović.¹⁵⁷

Composers' rhetoric did not change after the 1930s, but there were changes in their compositional output, relating both to 'folk' and art song. They shifted their focus to the folk tradition of the territory of the then-southern Serbia (present day Kosovo and Macedonia). As noted before, it can be debated whether that was due to the government's colonization efforts, but it certainly was not unusual for eminent Yugoslavs to be drawn to Macedonia and especially Kosovo.¹⁵⁸ Composers, in conceptualizing 'the folk', followed the traditions of earlier West European song collectors of collecting the 'raw material' as a basis for national musical styles.¹⁵⁹ These regions were the least urbanized and regarded by Konjović and Milojević as the ones with the 'untainted' folk tradition, that conserved archaic and authentic features free from foreign influences.¹⁶⁰ More significantly, however, for both composers these changes in compositional output coincided with changes in collaboration patterns with their sopranos. Konjović's complete disengagement with the art song genre after 1925 coincided with the end of his active collaboration with Strozzi-Pečić. Milojević continued composing art song after his

¹⁵⁷ Concert was held in *Istra* hall in Zagreb on 8th December 1951.

¹⁵⁸ Adam Pribičević was the best-known example, an eminent politician from the days of the Croat-Serb coalition and then in the Yugoslav kingdom, left politics in the second half of the 1930s and moved to a farm in Kosovo. See: Dejan Djokić, *Elusive compromise*. For more on colonization and government's idea about expulsion of disloyal Albanians by removing 200,000 Muslims to Turkey, which culminated with official Yugoslav-Turkish agreement in July 1938, see: Vladan Jovanović, "In search of homeland?: Muslim migration from Yugoslavia to Turkey 1918-1941", *Tokovi istorije* 1-2 (2008): 449-477.

¹⁵⁹ Dahlhaus, "The Natural World and the 'Folklike' Tone", 92.

¹⁶⁰ Milin, "The National Idea", 41.

wife retired, his final vocal opus dating from 1944.¹⁶¹ In his later opus he favoured poetry from the Far East, mainly Japanese Haiku poetry. This practice, common among European musicians at the beginning of the twentieth century, as explored in the following chapter, is one that Miloje Milojević started at the beginning of his collaboration with his wife, with the song *Japan* composed in 1909. Such decisive changes in the composers' outputs confirm the role two sopranos had as a driving force in this 'national' art song project.

¹⁶¹ Both composers spent World War Two in Belgrade. While there is anecdotal evidence of Milojević signing the anti-Communist resistance, anti-Yugoslav, pro-quisling 1941 Appeal to the Serbian people, it was actually Konjović who signed it. See: Miroslav Jokić, *Zvezdani časovi Miloša N. Djurića* [Stellar lessons of Miloš N. Djurić] (Belgrade: Signature RST, 2014). Milojević, together with a number of other intellectuals was sent to concentration camp Banjica, and it was Konjović who helped to get him rescued. For more on Milojević's incarceration in Banjica see: Petar Konjović, *Miloje Milojević*, 249-250.

CHAPTER 3

The Mother Figure and the ‘National’ Art Song: The Role of Ivanka Milojević in Miloje Milojević’s Song Opus

Introduction

A concert is the purest, most distinguished, sublime and cultivated music making and the concert hall is the temple where one should serve art... Many musicians in our environment fight for this...to show that we, the Yugoslavs, are a truly cultured people...Mrs Valjani is not a concert singer...Concert singing is something else: refined stylization (in a technically noble manner) of refined chamber pieces.¹⁶²

Milojević, one of the most prolific composers of art song in Yugoslavia before the Second World War, aptly summarised here his preference for the genre, identifying it as the ideal medium to present Yugoslavs as “cultured people”. More significant, however, is his emphasis on the performance. The repertory is subsidiary – it is not about *what* is being sung, but *how*. The ‘right style’ of performance, according to him, had to be noble, refined and stylized, its purity allowing the art to be served by the singers in “the temple” – the concert hall.¹⁶³

Milojević praised his wife Ivanka Milojević – the first professional concert singer in the region – as the champion of that style. While scholars acknowledge their

¹⁶² Miloje Milojević, “Povodom koncerta gdje Valjani,” *Politika* 18.1 1932.

¹⁶³ Milojević and Konjović, as well as other composers and music critics at that time, regularly used the term ‘style’ to denote the method of performance. The change in use of this term, today referring mainly to repertory, can be interpreted as yet another example of stripping the performers of the right to authorship in modern music scholarship with its focus on works and composers.

collaboration today, its central aspect is not recognised: this “refined style” – a term that Milojević and Konjović, as well as other composers and music critics regularly used to denote a method of performance – that the couple forged together, and which shaped the repertory he composed. There are three aspects of her voice that merit tracing in his vocal lines: first is the instrumental quality – *tessitura*, timbre and volume of her voice, determined by her physiognomy and hence the most speculative. The second is the technique she relied on – the tools optimizing the instrument to facilitate the interpretation, and the third is her interpretive artistry. In contrast to Strozzi-Pečić, compiling Ivanka Milojević’s vocal persona is mainly limited to what she created on stage. The ‘persona’ encompasses the publicity surrounding a performer, which in the case of Ivanka Milojević was limited by the couple’s eschewing of the commercialised world of opera.¹⁶⁴

Ivanka Milojević’s voice was praised as an exceptionally refined soprano, not large in volume but warm and clear. These characteristics of her instrument suggest that her physiognomy played a large part in her choice of the chamber career. This also suited the couple’s joint art song project, for the noble world of chamber music was, in contrast to the commercialised world of opera, an appropriate platform to present the idealised ‘national’ qualities through the female voice. Ivanka Milojević’s execution can thus be seen as a deliberate attempt to make concert performance clearly distinctive from that of opera. She was criticised by some reviewers exactly for what the couple were aiming to create: a refined, conservatoire-style, sophisticated chamber performance. Her reliance on head voice (rather than a fuller, more embodied sound), heard in the couple’s Pathé

¹⁶⁴ Persona – an aspect of personality (the distinctive character or qualities of a person) as shown to or perceived by others (*The Concise Oxford Dictionary* 1995).

recording, corroborates that she was attuning her technique to the requirements of small venues.¹⁶⁵ Her interpretive choices suited both her instrument and the art song project: she was praised for skilfully executed piano dynamics and for her great attention to diction, as cited in reviews later in the chapter.

Ivanka Milojević's small voice and attention to diction resulted in Milojević's recitative phrases with curtailed dynamics and restricted *tessitura* and her attention to detail, such as the extent of the composer's surface markings. The sophisticated mode of delivery, at times criticised as restrained, dictated the choice of poetry, which largely fits into two groups: poems about nature and maternal songs – lullabies and songs about mother figures – all suitable to promote the 'national' high art, aided with her perfect diction as an ideal representation of a native language. These musical and poetic patterns pertain to the Milojević's entire opus, regardless of whether it bears the 'folk' connection.

While drawing on the salon culture, Ivanka Milojević transformed what had been the traditional 'song-bird' image constructed in the German and French salon tradition.¹⁶⁶ As a professional singer she brought to the public female endeavours that were highly

¹⁶⁵ *Makedonska uspavanka: Dve ljubavne pesme*, by Miloje Milojević, Pathé Records, 19-?. [sic.] National Library of Serbia, Sound Recordings Collection, Belgrade. Catalogue number D II 9786/St. The three recorded songs are from Milojević's second folk-song collection: Miloje Milojević, "Narodne melodije iz Južne Srbije," in *Jugoslovenske narodne melodije*, eds. Miloje Milojević, Anton Neffat, Jakov Gotovac (Belgrade: Collegium Musicum, 1939).

¹⁶⁶ For more on the impact of the cult of domestic music making that developed during the 19th century and on the refashioning of the female voice from 'siren' into a harmless instrument see: Susan Rutherford, *The Prima Donna and Opera, 1815-1930* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 27-57. Rutherford charts the proliferation of images of sirens, who symbolized the powers of voice, music, knowledge, sex and pleasure, especially during the nineteenth century, citing the prominence of opera and its leading ladies as the main factor for their popularity. She defines the burgeoning tradition of domestic music making as "the battle to convert the siren into a songbird". Rutherford, 47. For more on women performers and domestic music making see: Nancy Reich. "Women as Musicians: A Question of Class", in *Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in Music Scholarship*, ed. Ruth Solie, 125-148 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993); idem., "The Power of Class. Fanny Hensel and the Mendelssohn Family" in *Women's Voices Across Musical Worlds*, ed. Jane A. Bernstein, 18-35 (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2003).

valued in the bourgeois sphere for being private – the roles of a mother, teacher and wife. Building on these traditional female roles, she created a new one – becoming a third-poet, artist, valued for her intelligence and seen as necessary for the realization of a communal project.

Besides her imprint in music, the robustness of her interpretation in the recording completes the image of an intelligent and confident artist, who created the new model of femininity within the socially accepted boundaries of the time. Gender roles were redefined in sound, both through the couple's activities on the concert platform and in the function laid out for each sex in the score. While he lectured, she embodied, voiced and interpreted the ideas for the audiences, dominating in performance through the power of the female voice. Furthermore, in the moment of the sound, the man was only supporting her on the piano; with the piano part itself subsidiary: delicate, transparent, never overtaking or clashing with the voice, at times even completely absconding in *a cappella* phrases. These typical musical and poetic patterns are illustrated by *Nimfa* [The Nymph] and *Molitva Majke Jugovića Zvezdi Danici* [The Prayer of the Jugović Mother to the Morning Star]. The two songs exemplify Milojević's vision of the 'national' art music in Yugoslavia, with the idealized nymph's voice and a traditional mother-figure character created for and by Ivanka Milojević.

Ivanka Milojević - Instrument and 'Style'

What constituted this 'refined style', for which Ivanka Milojević was praised? What were the qualities of her instrument and what technique and interpretive strategies did she employ? I rely on reviews of her concerts and Milojević's writings about other singers as well as on the sonic evidence – the only available recording of her and of this repertory

before the World War Two – to compare her singing to the vocal practice at the time.¹⁶⁷

I complement this standard scholarly approach with the practice-based autoethnographic account, using my own insight as a performer.



Figure 10 Photograph of Ivanka Milojević (MM FC)

Photograph taken in Atelier Roksanđić, Belgrade, in the years after the World War One

¹⁶⁷ While the year of this recording is unknown, it was probably made shortly after 1928 when the songs were composed, and when Ivanka Milojević was in Paris accompanying her daughter Gordana who studied piano with Alfred Cortot (1877-1962).

Konjović described Ivanka Milojević's voice as "an exceptionally refined soprano, not large in volume but warm and expressive",¹⁶⁸ "beautiful, soft and agile".¹⁶⁹ A number of critics praised her "silvery" and "crystal-clear" voice of "exceptional warmth".¹⁷⁰ The characteristics of vocal instrument depend on each individual body, the length of the vocal folds, neck circumference, as well as the characteristics of the vocal tract – the cavity formed by the pharynx, mouth and nasal cavities, and respiratory system.¹⁷¹ While certain generalisations can be made, the findings of such an approach inevitably remain speculative.¹⁷²

Despite the limitations posed in analysis of the early recordings,¹⁷³ the recording of Ivanka Milojević provides valuable additional information both on her vocal production, determined by her physiognomy and training, and her interpretative practice.

¹⁶⁸ Petar Konjović, *Miloje Milojević, kompozitor i muzički pisac* [Miloje Milojević, composer and writer on music] (Belgrade: Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 1954), 47.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 36.

¹⁷⁰ Kosta Manojlović, "Povodom prvog kompozicionog koncerta g. Miloja Milojevića," *Srpski književni glasnik* 5/8 (1922): 621.

¹⁷¹ For a concise summary on voice production, including registers (chest, middle and head) and *passaggio* (the transition between registers) see: Johan Sundberg, "Where does the sound come from," in *The Cambridge Companion to Singing*, ed. John Potter, 231-247 (Cambridge: The Cambridge University Press, 2000).

¹⁷² Martha Feldman's extensive study on the castrato voice deals with this issue, identifying the characteristics of the castrated body that determine the voice production, conceding though that her suggestions are "patchy and highly provisional". See: Martha Feldman, *The Castrato: Reflections on Natures and Kinds* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2015), 80.

¹⁷³ These include acoustic limitations with the restricted range of overtones, lack of editing, recording conditions and replay problems. See: Timothy Day, *A Century of Recorded Music: Listening to Musical History* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002). Furthermore, her recording came towards the end of her performing career, so may not be representative of her earlier performances. It is a recording of three folk song arrangements, leaving open to debate whether some of its characteristics could be ascribed to the vernacular tradition.

I compare this recording to the aspects of singing on the early recordings described by Crutchfield: *vibrato*, change of registers, timbre, *legato* and *rubato*.¹⁷⁴



Figure 11 Photograph of Ivanka Milojević, Miloje Milojević and Gordana Milojević (L-R) (MM FC)

Taken in 1934 in Paris at the time when the Pathé recording was likely to have been made.

While the recording cannot give us definitive answers as to the volume of her voice, it can provide information about the timbre. Of particular interest is the descriptor “silver” – a recurring metaphor in her reviews by various music critics – which in literature on

¹⁷⁴ See: Will Crutchfield, “Vocal performance in the nineteenth century,” in *The Cambridge History of Musical Performance*, ed. Colin Lawson and Robin Stowell, 611-642 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012). I cannot elaborate on *tessitura*, agility or cadenzas, because the pieces performed include neither extreme registers nor coloratura passages. Incidentally, the freedom singers had in performing the cadenzas is explored in written evidence of Strozzi-Pečić’s performances of *Sabah*, elaborated in the next chapter.

singing is usually associated with brightness.¹⁷⁵ A spectrogram of her recordings shows often-stronger upper harmonics regardless of dynamics, supporting the reviews of her voice as clear and bright (I used the *Sonic Visualiser* programme to analyse the recording. For illustration, see Spectrograms in Figures 1 and 2 in the Thesis Appendix).¹⁷⁶

Ivanka Milojević's predilection for *piano* dynamics and displaying a 'heavenly light' voice could be due to her small voice. However, it can also be the result of her technique – cultivated deliberately to fit the repertory. Her repertory relied on clear diction in order to portray the poetic idea, more easily achieved in *piano* dynamics. Furthermore, she performed mainly in small venues, accompanied either by a piano or a small instrumental ensemble. That means that, unlike the operatic singers who had to be heard over increasingly bigger orchestras, she did not need to add resonance to her voice. It is argued that due to the difference between male and female voices, female singers lack the "singer's formant" and have to rely on chest sounds to add resonance to their higher range.¹⁷⁷ Switching to and relying on the head voice earlier in the pitch would have contributed to the perception of her voice as light and heavenly, and facilitated the execution of *piano* dynamics. The sonic evidence corroborates this. She seems not to rely on higher-pitched chest-dominant sounds in her opening phrase of *More će prodam*, a

¹⁷⁵ Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, *The Changing Sound of Music: Approaches to Studying Recorded Musical Performance* (London: CHARM, 2009), chapter 4, paragraph 11. www.charm.kcl.ac.uk/studies/chapters/chap4.html.

¹⁷⁶ <http://www.sonicvisualiser.org/>

¹⁷⁷ Both Feldman and Sundberg deny the existence of the so-called singer's formant – a high spectrum envelope peak occurring in the range 2000-4000Hz as a result of the clustering of the third, fourth and fifth formant frequencies – in female voices. See Feldman, *The Castrato*, 99; Sundberg, "Where does the sound come from", 242-3. Some scholars argue against this: Sang-Hyuk Lee et al, "The Singer's Formant and Speaker's Ring Resonance: A Long-Term Average Spectrum Analysis," *Clinical and Experimental Otorhinolaryngology* 1/2 (2008): 92-96. The singer's formant and its possible relevance in operatic singing will be elaborated further in the following chapter on Strozzi-Pečić.

stepwise ascent from c'' to f'', which matches the subsequent held g'' that ends the phrase (bars 11-12). The early switch between the registers may explain why she favoured *Hercegovacka uspavanka*, which despite its simple line is vocally demanding as it lies almost entirely between c'' and e'' – the *passaggio* range, the transition area between the registers.¹⁷⁸

Incidentally, the *tessitura* of *Hercegovacka uspavanka* was not comfortable for Strozzi-Pečić, and she asked Milojević to transpose it a semitone higher when preparing for the concert in Budapest in 1914. We do not have a recording of Strozzi-Pečić for comparison, but Konjović described her voice as covered and dark in the middle range, suggesting she relied on the chest quality to colour the sound and add resonance needed for the operatic repertory.¹⁷⁹ I tested this hypothesis in my own performance, and found that the higher key was more comfortable if I employed the body to support the higher range, a technique largely developed in the twentieth century.

Ivanka Milojević's technique corresponds to nineteenth-century practice in terms of *vibrato*, *legato* and *rubato*. Her *vibrato* features more narrow pitch oscillations and a higher number of oscillations per second (6-8) compared to current operatic practice. While she regularly relied on scooping to the note, the sonic evidence shows her pitch was excellent – confirming her conservatoire training, musicality and professional standing (for illustration see the Thesis Appendix). This is corroborated in reviews: after

¹⁷⁸ Different modes of vocal-fold oscillations are called registers. Female singers use a chest voice for their lower range and a falsetto-like register in the upper range, also referred to as head voice. For more on the complexity of registers used by the different types of voices see: Johan Sundberg, "Where does the sound come from," in *The Cambridge Companion to Singing*, 236-240.

¹⁷⁹ Petar Konjović, "Maja de Strozzi," in *Ličnosti* [Personages] (Zagreb: Čelap i Popovac, 1920), 106. Konjović's account is the most extensive on Strozzi-Pečić's voice and is given in full in the following chapter.

her Prague concert in 1925, Czech newspapers described her as an outstanding concert singer who “surprised with her highly-refined chamber style and highly-cultivated vocal artistry”,¹⁸⁰ and someone who realized well all the nuances of the Czech *Lied* through her refined musicality, sense for detail and exceptional diction, creating an intuitive and atmospheric performance.¹⁸¹

Most of the critics praised Ivanka Milojević with the exception of Stanislav Vinaver, the staunch critic of Milojević’s compositions and rhetoric.¹⁸² According to his review of the 1922 concert, as “a person of an undisputed taste”, Milojević was not supposed to entrust his songs, “some of which are nice miniatures, though not particularly inspired”, to the voice of Mrs Milojević, nor accompany her himself.¹⁸³ Vinaver criticized

¹⁸⁰ *Reč*, 4.3.1925. This was a review of a concert of the Society for modern music in Prague, which dedicated its 48th concert to compositions by Yugoslav composers: Blagoje Bersa, Anton Lajovic, Antun Dobronić, Juro Tkalčić, Lucijan Marija Škerjanc as well as Konjović, Milojević, and Stevan Hristić.

¹⁸¹ “Veče narodne pesme na Narodnom Konzervatorijumu”, *Politika* 20.12.26.

¹⁸² Stanislav Vinaver (1891-1955), born in Šabac, Serbia, into an Ashkenazi Jewish family, studied mathematics and physics at University of Sorbonne, Paris. He was a poet and a writer, an amateur pianist and active as a music critic. Vinaver, too, was one of the advocates of Yugoslavism. In Rebecca West’s travel book *Black Lamb and Gray Falcon* the guide ‘Konstantin’ is actually Vinaver, and West tells us his views on Yugoslavia and on Europe of the 1930s. Rebecca West, *Black Lamb and Gray Falcon* (London: Macmillan, 1941). For commentary on the book and Vinaver see: Vesna Goldsworthy, *Inventing Ruritania: The Imperialism of the Imagination* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

¹⁸³ Vinaver did not spare Jelka Stamatović, a concert singer and a student of Ivanka Milojević, of criticism either, as he thought she should not have been the one performing the piano pieces. Vinaver, “Muzički život,” *Misao* 4/1-9, 1.5.1922. The Milojevićs were not the only musicians that Vinaver criticized. For more on Stanislav Vinaver’s opus on music and conflicts with the musical establishment of that time – such as the court case which resulted in Vinaver spending three days in prison for defamation of Stevan Hristić’s character in his review – see: Slobodan Turlakov, *Hrestomatija o Šopenu (uz njegovo prisustvo među nama do 1941)* [Study on Chopin (and his presence among us until 1941)] (Belgrade: self-published by Turlakov, 2003); Katarina Tomašević, *Na raskršću Istoka i Zapada. O dijalogu tradicionalnog i modernog u srpskoj muzici (1918-1941)* [At the crossroads of the East and the West: on the dialog between the traditional and the modern in Serbian music: 1918-1941] (Belgrade, Novi Sad: Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts-Matica srpska, 2009); idem., “Stanislav Vinaver i muzika,” [Stanislav Vinaver and Music] *Danica* (2008): 350-358. For the most recent comprehensive account of

her singing a year before as well, saying that “she has a very small voice and her singing is plain... good, diligent, but same as hundreds, maybe thousands of conservatory students around the world”.¹⁸⁴ According to Vinaver, she had “a nice and pleasant voice” and “worked a lot and with intelligence”, but lacked individuality and expressiveness.¹⁸⁵ What Vinaver criticized as restrained execution was actually a deliberate attempt at cultivating the concert performance clearly distinctive from the operatic one, based on strict conservatoire training. She sounded on the stage what Milojević as a critic praised as the ‘German school’ of concert singing:

Margareta Rol is a typical representative of German concert singing. There are no external effects. Almost ascetically, she withdraws into her inner feelings, led by instinct as much as by intellect to find the source to interpret a song, this most refined and delicate genre, intimate in character – the concert solo song.¹⁸⁶

All the elements of the excellent school of Dr Teodor Lierhammer are evident in her singing: secure position, good resonance, refined styling of a phrase on a long and stable breath, the timbre equal in all registers.¹⁸⁷

Vinaver himself praised Ivanka Milojević’s ‘concert style’ as opposed to operatic execution:

Vinaver’s writings on music see: Gojko Tešić, *Muzički letopis, Dela Stanislava Vinavera* [Musical Itinerary. Works by Stanislav Vinaver], (Belgrade: Službeni glasnik, 2015).

¹⁸⁴ Vinaver, “Koncert gdje Ade Poljakove” [A Recital by Ms Ada Poljakova], *Republika* 5/79, 12.6.1921.

¹⁸⁵ Vinaver, “Muzički život” [Musical Life] *Misao* 6/5-6, 16.7.1921.

¹⁸⁶ Milojević, “Jedna izrazita koncertna pevačica u Beogradu” [A True Concert Singer in Belgrade], *Politika* 4.4.1938.

¹⁸⁷ Milojević, “Gđa Kata Jovanović na operskoj sceni i na koncertnom podiumu” [Miss Kata Jovanović at the Opera and Concert Stages], *Politika* 28.11.1933.

Among the horrors of the operatic arias we are flooded by, we might even start wishing for more concerts of Mrs Milojević, who has not much voice nor temperament, but she takes care of style and meaning.¹⁸⁸

Despite his criticism, Vinaver agreed with other critics in saying that she created the music's meaning in performance. Ivanka Milojević's role of the third poet extended beyond the concert stage. She was an educator who passed the couple's mission to the next generation of performers, as Milojević's review of Jelka Stamatović-Nikolić, Ivanka Milojević's student and the foremost concert singer of her generation shows:

This performance is a proof that the tradition of pure concert singing established before the [First World] war, the tradition in which Jelka Stamatović-Nikolić was raised and educated, is still alive. She carries this noble and important mission.¹⁸⁹

The Milojevićs' Artistic Partnership

Ivanka Milojević's absence from scholarship is partly due to the lack of written evidence. As she was married to Milojević – the composer and pianist she collaborated with the most – there was no need for correspondence. Unlike Strozzi-Pečić, Ivanka Milojević did not give interviews, probably as the result of the couple steering clear of the commercialised world of opera and its publicity, identifying instead with the cutting edge artistic production and educational mission. As a result, Ivanka Milojević did not get the

¹⁸⁸ Gojko Tešić, *Muzički letopis, Dela Stanislava Vinavera*, 306.

¹⁸⁹ In this concert she sang works by Bach, Marcello, Scarlatti, Wolf, Schubert, Duparc, Ravel and Stravinsky. She performed with a chamber ensemble made up of members of the opera orchestra and members and students of the music school in Belgrade. Mr Bandur conducted, with Mr Butakov and Logar on the piano. Milojević, "Koncert Jelke Stamatović-Nikolić" [A Recital by Jelka Stamatović-Nikolić] *Politika* 7.12.1936.

same extent of press coverage as Strozzi-Pečić who commanded an opera star status. However, the wealth of evidence in Milojević's correspondence, his concert reviews of other singers, and above all his music confirm the agency of Ivanka Milojević in their artistic partnership starting from their early student days.

Slavko Osterc, the couple's close friend and himself a composer, was one of the first to acknowledge Ivanka Milojević as an active agent in the creation of Milojević's opus.¹⁹⁰

It would not be an accurate review [of Milojević's solo song opus] if I did not dedicate a couple of words to his wife Mrs Ivanka Milojević, who, as an excellent concert singer and a highly praiseworthy initiator of the pure concert style in Belgrade, induced almost all of his songs.¹⁹¹

Konjović shared Osterc's view some twenty years later:

In Serbian musical life, this artistic marriage was to be of great importance. Even more so as it was to be reflected in Milojević's compositional output... Belgrade, had an intensive, passionately but also systematically cultivated tradition of chamber vocal style which enriched our musical life with a valuable genre: art song for voice and piano.¹⁹²

¹⁹⁰ In modern scholarship, however, Koraljka Kos is one of few making this link, albeit only in one sentence. See: Koraljka Kos, "Pjesničko glazbene slike Miloja Milojevića," [Miloje Milojević's song opus] in *Miloje Milojević, kompozitor i muzikolog* [Miloje Milojević, composer and musicologist], Proceedings of the Scientific Conference held in Belgrade 12-13 December 1984, ed. Vojislav Simić (Belgrade: Composers Association of Serbia, 1986), 87.

¹⁹¹ Slavko Osterc, "Dr Miloje Milojević. O pedesetogodišnjici rođenja," [Dr Miloje Milojević. On His 50th Anniversary], *Zvuk* 5 (1935): 5.

¹⁹² Petar Konjović, *Miloje Milojević*, 47.

Milojević himself credited his wife for the repertory's creation and praised her style of performance as the 'right style' to promote it:

I owe her a lot, not just as her husband but as a composer as well. With her exquisite vocal technique, her refined musicality, vast culture and extensive training (she studied with me at the Academy in Munich), she mastered the concert style of singing and the art song (she was and remains our most refined concert singer). As a performer of her calibre, she did not just inspire me to compose the art song (and I wrote 54 songs), but she remained my most faithful and stylistically most accomplished interpreter.¹⁹³

Milojević identified her as a consummate professional in rarefied repertory; a unique interpreter who inspired his treatment of words in music; but also a faithful adherent to their joint vision. Having grasped her formative role, I will now chart how the couple's 'national' art song project unfolded.

Student days

Ivanka Milojević was born in 1881 into a well-off middle-class family in Vršac, then part of Austria-Hungary. Her mother Draginja (née Marinović) (1840-1918) appeared publicly as a pianist before marrying a merchant Kosta Milutinović (?-1893).¹⁹⁴ Draginja Milutinović, who stopped performing when she got married, supported her daughter's

¹⁹³ From a letter to Osterc, planning the programme for the concert in Vienna in 1934. Published in: Dragotin Cvetko, *Fragment glazbene moderne: iz pisem Slavku Ostercu* (Ljubljana: Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, 1988), 247.

¹⁹⁴ Konjović, *Miloje Milojević*, 34.

music career, giving her first piano lessons and enrolling her to study singing at the Serbian Music School in Belgrade.¹⁹⁵ Miloje Milojević also received his first piano lessons from his own mother, a keen amateur pianist. Though born in Belgrade, Miloje Milojević spent most of his school days in Novi Sad, then part of Austria-Hungary, where he moved with his family after losing his father. He returned to Belgrade to start University and music studies at the Serbian Music School.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁵ Unlike in many European Conservatoires at that time, which did not offer the same level of education to men and women, in the Serbian Music School men and women attended the same classes and received the same level of education. For details of separate classes given to girls at a number of European conservatoires See: Nancy Reich, "Women as Musicians: A Question of Class", 134-136.

¹⁹⁶ For the most detailed account of Milojević's life, including his early musical education during high school years spent in Novi Sad see: Konjović, *Miloje Milojević*.

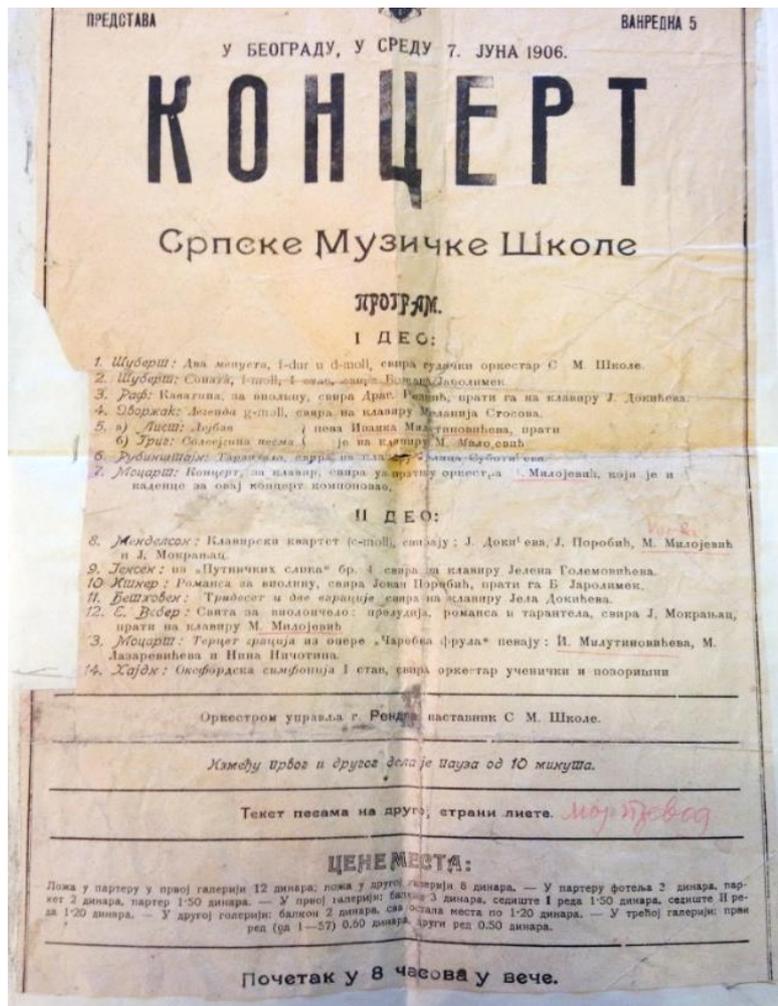


Figure 12 Programme for the Serbian Music School Student Concert, 7th June 1906. (MM FC).

Ivanka and Miloje Milojević performed together for the first time at a school concert in 1906, while they were still students at the Serbian Music School (Figure 12). After graduating, Ivanka Milojević started her career as an elementary school teacher, then a widely accepted option for women. She married Miloje Milojević in 1907 and together they went to study in Munich, where they stayed until 1910. According to their grandson, Vlastimir Trajković, marrying Miloje Milojević was the only way Ivanka Milojević would have been allowed to study abroad. At that time, for young single girls, especially from the middle class, studying abroad on their own would defy the social and cultural

expectations of bourgeois femininity and respectability.¹⁹⁷ Miloje Milojević studied musicology at the Munich University, and piano, composition and conducting at the Munich Music Academy. Ivanka Milojević studied singing with Bianca Bianchi (born Berta Schwartz, 1855-1947) at the Munich Music Academy. After completing their studies in 1910, the couple returned to Belgrade. Contrary to the custom of women stopping teaching after getting married, Ivanka Milojević took a post as a singing teacher at the Serbian Music School, where she remained until her retirement in 1935.¹⁹⁸

Concert life

The Milojevićs threw themselves into organizing the musical life in Belgrade as soon as they returned from Munich. They started regular musical gatherings at their home, which continued into the 1920s. These musical soirées were the meeting place for the Belgrade musical and intellectual elite, with programmes that contrasted the popularized song

¹⁹⁷ This was not the case just in rural Balkans. Juliette Toutain, a pupil of Fauré, caused a public scandal when she withdrew from the Prix de Rome in 1903, accusing the director of the Conservatoire that he failed to ensure her good reputation by not accepting her demands for proper accommodation. See: Annegrete Fauser, "'Fighting in Frills'. Women and the Prix de Rome in French Cultural Politics," in *Women's Voices Across Musical Worlds*, ed. Jane A. Bernstein, 64-70 (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2003). See also: Ljubinka Trgovčević, *Planirana elita: O studentima iz Srbije na evropskim univerzitetima u 19. veku* [The Planned Elite: Students from Serbia at European Universities in the nineteenth century] (Belgrade: Istorijski institut, Službeni glasnik, 2003).

¹⁹⁸ Jill A. Irvine and Carol S. Lilly, eds., *Natalija. Life in the Balkan Powder Keg, 1880-1956* (Central European University Press: Budapest – New York, 2008), 11. The book gives a rare insight into the life of an 'ordinary' woman – a personal account of a life of an educated, middle-class woman in Serbia, Natalija Matić-Zrnić (1880-1956), a contemporary of Ivanka Milojević and Strozzi-Pečić, charting her education, marriage, child bearing and war years in her diary. Matić-Zrnić attended the Women's High School in Belgrade that educated teachers for government schools, but it was typical for women to give up their teaching jobs once they got married.

characteristic of Belgrade salons at the time.¹⁹⁹ Mihovil Logar (1902-1998), a Croatian-born composer who spent most of his life in Belgrade, gave an account of these gatherings as “serious music-making” of “classical and romantic repertory”, turning into educational events of “impeccable logic”. They also provided a place for premiering new chamber compositions by composers from Yugoslavia, such as Logar’s Trio for violin, viola and cello.²⁰⁰

At the same time, the couple started teaching at the Serbian Music School, where they founded the Serbian Music School Teachers’ Society for Chamber Music.²⁰¹ The Society’s first concert in 1911 was held in the hall of the Belgrade Second High School, one of many held in school halls (Figure 13). While its small scale echoes the salon tradition, it was for a paying public, with three categories of prices and concession tickets for students, indicating a clear departure from the salon practice and a dedication to reach a wide range of audiences.

¹⁹⁹ For the standard repertory performed in Belgrade middle-class salons see: Srdjan Atanasovski, “Floating Images of Yugoslavism on the Pages of Family Music Albums,” in *Serbian Music: Yugoslav Contexts*, eds. Melita Milin and Jim Samson, 165-186 (Belgrade: Institute of Musicology SASA, 2014).

²⁰⁰ Mihovil Logar, “Moje prve godine u Beogradu medju pedeset daljih,” [My first years in Belgrade among the fifty that followed] in *Beograd u sećanjima 1919-1929* [Belgrade in memories 1919-1929] ed. Pavle Savić et al. (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1980), 89. Mihovil Logar (1902-1998) was a composer and music writer. He was born in Rijeka, Croatia, educated in Prague, and spent most of his life in Belgrade, where he died.

²⁰¹ Konjović, *Miloje Milojević*, 48-49.

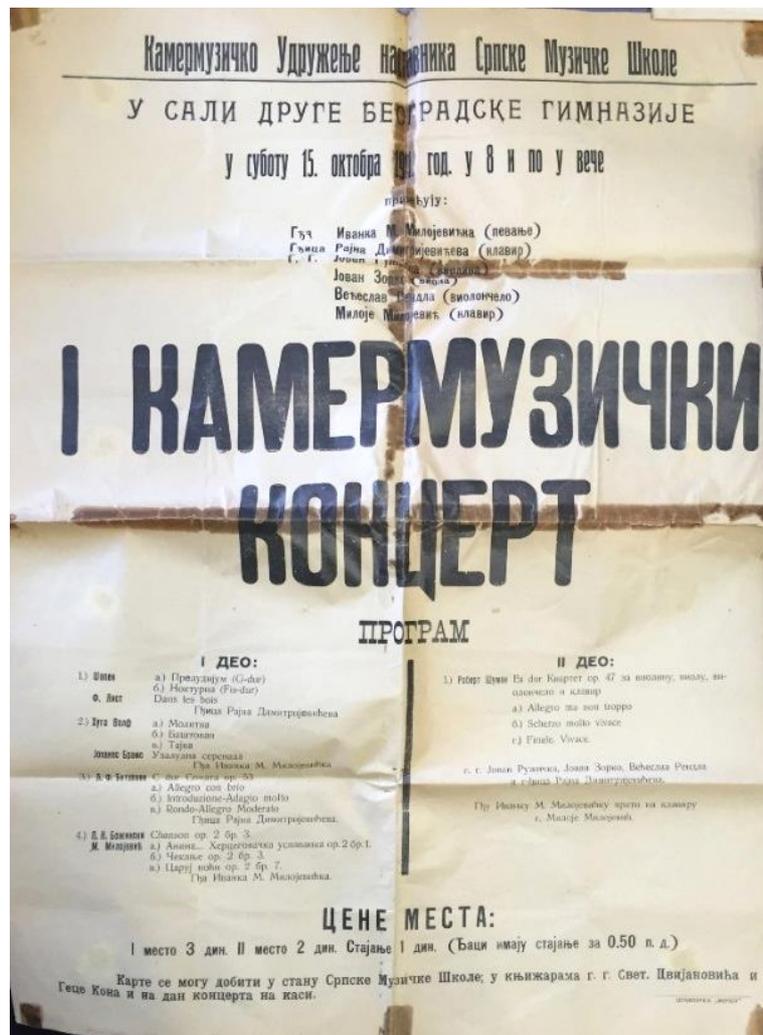


Figure 13 Programme for the first concert of the Serbian Music School Teachers' Society for Chamber Music, Belgrade 1911 (MM FC)

Out of the seventeen concerts the couple held up to 1925, all but five were small-scale; the other five included larger ensembles (see the table of concerts in the appendix for details of concert programmes).²⁰² In 1925, Miloje Milojević founded Collegium Musicum in Belgrade and the concerts moved to bigger venues, reaching a wider

²⁰² Data on concerts compiled from MMFA and Roksanda Pejović, *Koncertni život u Beogradu (1919-1941)* [Concert scene in Belgrade (1919-1941)] (Belgrade: Univerzitet umetnosti, 2004).

audience.²⁰³ Out of twenty-three concerts held between 1925 and 1930, twelve were large-scale events featuring other musicians and chamber ensembles. Ten of the eleven other concerts were recitals, including eight lecture-recitals given during the melographic tour of the territory of present-day Macedonia and Kosovo in 1928. Regardless of the venue, the didactic aspect of their concert activity remained paramount.

In addition to their self-organized concerts, we must consider their concerts for and with the *Grupa umetnika* [The Group of Artists]. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the Group was founded in Belgrade in 1919 by a number of writers, painters and musicians who gathered to collaborate and present a series of literary-musical evenings and art exhibitions.²⁰⁴

²⁰³ Collegium Musicum was the first chamber orchestra in Belgrade, consisting of students and professors of the Belgrade University. Milojević founded the orchestra in 1925. For the significance of the orchestra in the musical life of Belgrade and details of its regular activity up to the Second World War, see: Slobodan Turlakov, ""Collegium musicum" i Miloje Milojević," ["Collegium musicum" and Miloje Milojević] *Godišnjak grada Beograda* 33 (1986): 93-132.

²⁰⁴ The group's activity illustrates the cultural and social circumstances in Belgrade after World War One, where the 1920s were a period of free and flourishing cultural activities, favouring Yugoslav and European identities over the separate ethnic ones, and promising prospects of cultural integrations. Intellectuals and artists gathered informally in cafes, contributing to the increasingly cosmopolitan cultural life, with women gaining an increasingly visible role in public life. For more see: John Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History: Twice There Was a Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 145-9.

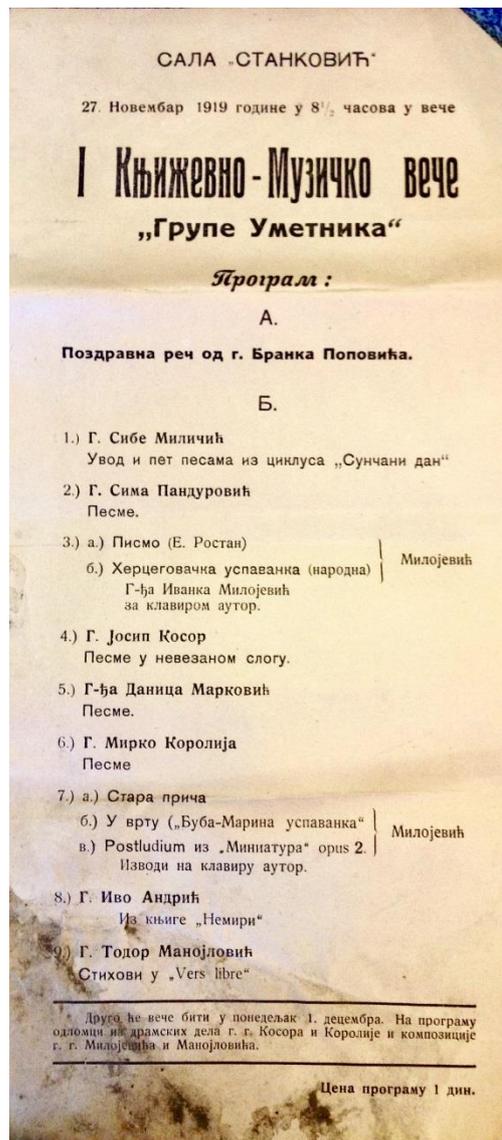


Figure 14 Programme for the Group of Artists's first literary-musical evening, Belgrade 1919 (MM FC)

The Group had a loose structure and included many artists. While the list of participants in literary-musical evenings reads as the ‘who’s who’ of Yugoslav culture, I would like to single out Ivo Andrić (1892-1975), a Nobel Prize winner for literature and an advocate

of the Yugoslav idea.²⁰⁵ The Group's aim was to strengthen ties between artists in Yugoslavia and promote their art.²⁰⁶

A number of female artists took part in the Group's events. For instance, in the Group's first literary-musical presentation of 27 November 1919 Danica Marković (1879-1932) read her poems (Figure 14).²⁰⁷ Before-mentioned Anica Savić-Rebac (p. 67), another poet, read her work at the Group's gatherings in 1920, and various women musicians performed in subsequent events. Since there is no formal documentation about the Group's origins, scholars have identified the participants of the group's first event as the founding members. Despite the fact that Ivanka Milojević took part in this and most of the subsequent events organised by the Group, she is not acknowledged as a founding member.²⁰⁸ Considering the fact that Marković gets a mention as one of the Group's founders, Ivanka Milojević's omission from scholarship cannot be attributed to gender. However, Marković read her own works, thus suggesting that Ivanka Milojević is excluded for being a performer and not an 'author', confirming indirectly the biased view towards performers in Serbian and Yugoslav musicology. The document in Figure 15,

²⁰⁵ The personal correspondence kept in MM FC shows that Ivo Andrić was a family friend of the Milojevićs. The programmes from MM FC include Sibe Miličić, Sima Pandurović, Josip Kosor, Danica Marković, Mirko Korolija, Ivo Andrić, Todor Manojlović, Branko Popović, Anica Savić, Miloš Crnjanski, Branislav Nušić, Ruža Vinaver. Apart from Miloje Milojević, two other composers who were most active in the group were Kosta P. Manojlović and Stevan Hristić.

²⁰⁶ Jelena Milojković-Djurić, *Tradition and Avant-garde: Arts in Serbian Culture between the Two World Wars* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), 10-16.

²⁰⁷ Danica Marković was the only female poet included in the seminal anthology of Serbian poetry by Bogdan Popović in 1911. Although the concert programme kept in MM FC is dated 27th November 1919, Milojković-Djurić states that the Group's first gathering was on 17th November 1919. There are other discrepancies regarding the number of Group's gatherings and its longevity between her account and accounts by Katarina Tomašević, *Na raskršću Istoka i Zapada*, and Roksanda Pejović, *Koncertni život u Beogradu (1919-1941)*.

²⁰⁸ Both in Milojković-Djurić (1984) and Tomašević (2009).

which seeks to correct this bias, contains signatures of all of the Group's members who were reimbursed for attending an event in Novi Sad in 1920, and shows Ivanka Milojević as an equal member of the group.

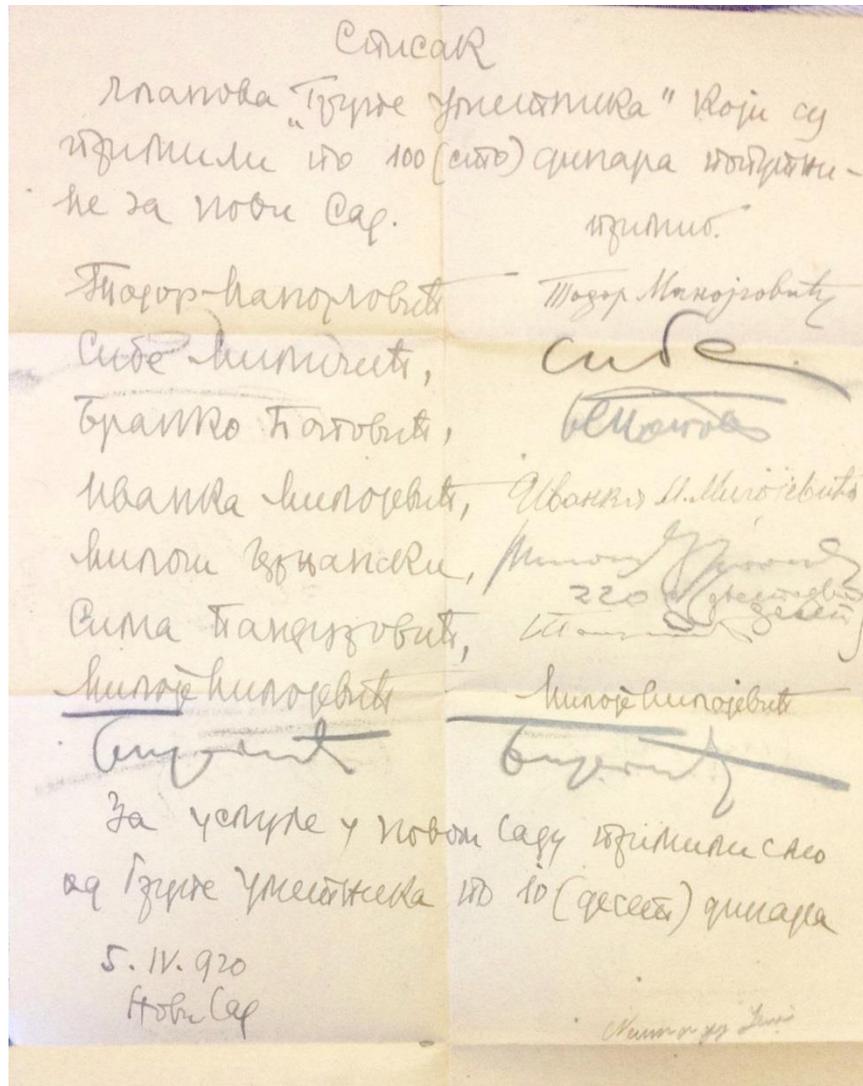


Figure 15 List of signatures of members of the Group of Artists

Members signed in the following order: Todor Manojlović, Slbe Miličić, Branko Popović, Ivanka Milojević, Miloš Crnjanski, Sima Pandurović, Miloje Milojević, last signature illegible. Milojević wrote the list, dated April 5, 1920, highlighting his role as organizer. (MM FC)

In the first month alone, the Group held five events, attesting to the members' dedication and enthusiasm.²⁰⁹ Though concerts of the Group of Artists mainly continued the tradition of the small halls, some of the concerts were held in bigger spaces, such as the concert at the National Theatre in Novi Sad in 1920 (Figure 7). This concert confirms the Group's Yugoslav orientation – the couple indirectly flagged the Yugoslav identity by performing the folk-song arrangements from the entire territory of Yugoslavia – as explained in the previous chapter (for the details of programme see the table of concerts in Appendix). The receipt in Figure 16 shows that the group ordered 100 posters and 200 programmes for this concert, giving an estimate of the anticipated audience numbers.

²⁰⁹ The concert programme in the Miloje Milojević's Family Collection dated 18th December 1919 is titled "The fifth concert". More significantly, together with the group's concert of French repertory on 10th December 1919, this programme consisting only of works by Polish composers confirms the group's aspirations for a cosmopolitan, European, rather than an exclusively 'national' art. Apart from Milojević who acted as accompanist, this gathering featured women performers, the soprano Lovćinska and pianist Ruža Vinaver. There are no records of soprano Lovćinska in the accounts of musical life in literature. Her last name is Polish, suggesting that she may have been a visiting artist or an amateur. Ruža Vinaver, a concert pianist and teacher in the Serbian Music School, was the mother of Stanislav Vinaver, Milojević's staunchest critic. This concert programme counteracts Tomašević's criticism that Milojević misunderstood the Group's aims in presenting the programme of French music. See Tomašević (2009), 82.

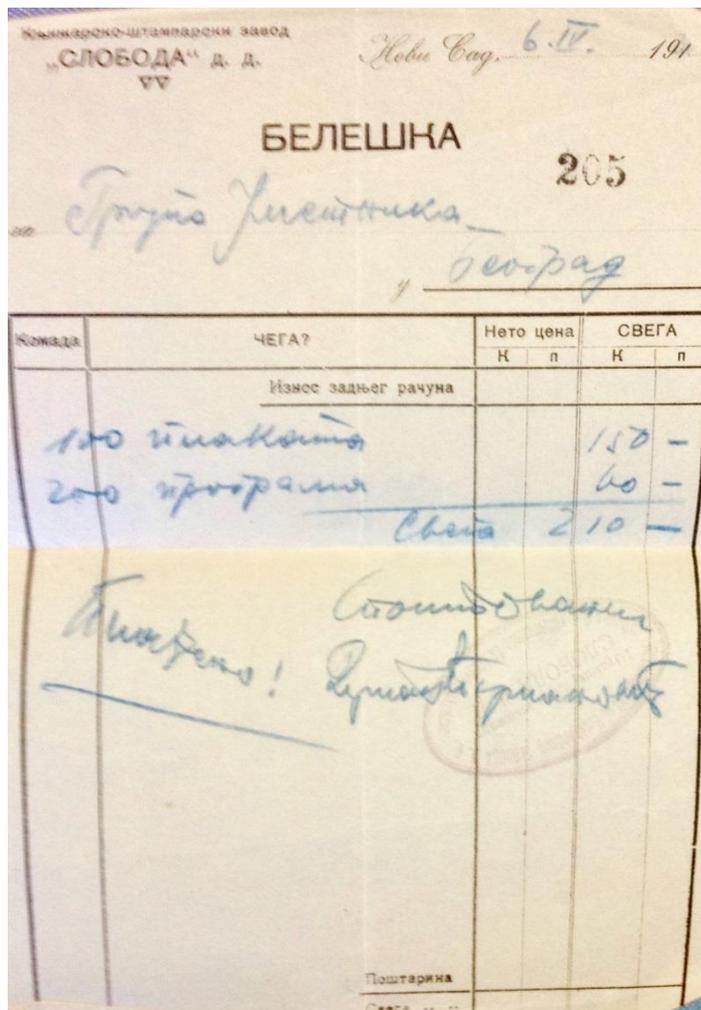


Figure 16 Receipt for the Group of Artists' publicity material

From the mid-1920s art song, and chamber music in general, was regularly reaching bigger audiences. This was due almost exclusively to the Milojevićs' efforts in organising the musical life in the capital. The extent of activity of Narodni Konzervatorijum Cvijeta Zuzorić [The People's Conservatory Cvijeta Zuzorić] and Collegium Musicum, both founded by Milojević, was unmatched in interwar Belgrade.²¹⁰ The fact that it was

²¹⁰ For more on Narodni Konzervatorijum Cvijeta Zuzorić, a society established to promote arts and featuring an active music section see: Radina Vučetić, *Evropa na Kalemegdanu. "Cvijeta Zuzorić" i kulturni život Beograda 1918-1941* [Europe on Kalemegdan. "Cvijeta Zuzorić and the Cultural Life in Belgrade] (Belgrade: Institut za noviju istoriju Srbije, 2003).

actually the couple's joint educational mission is best illustrated by the example of the Collegium Musicum, a student orchestra that was educating generations of its performers as well as its audience.

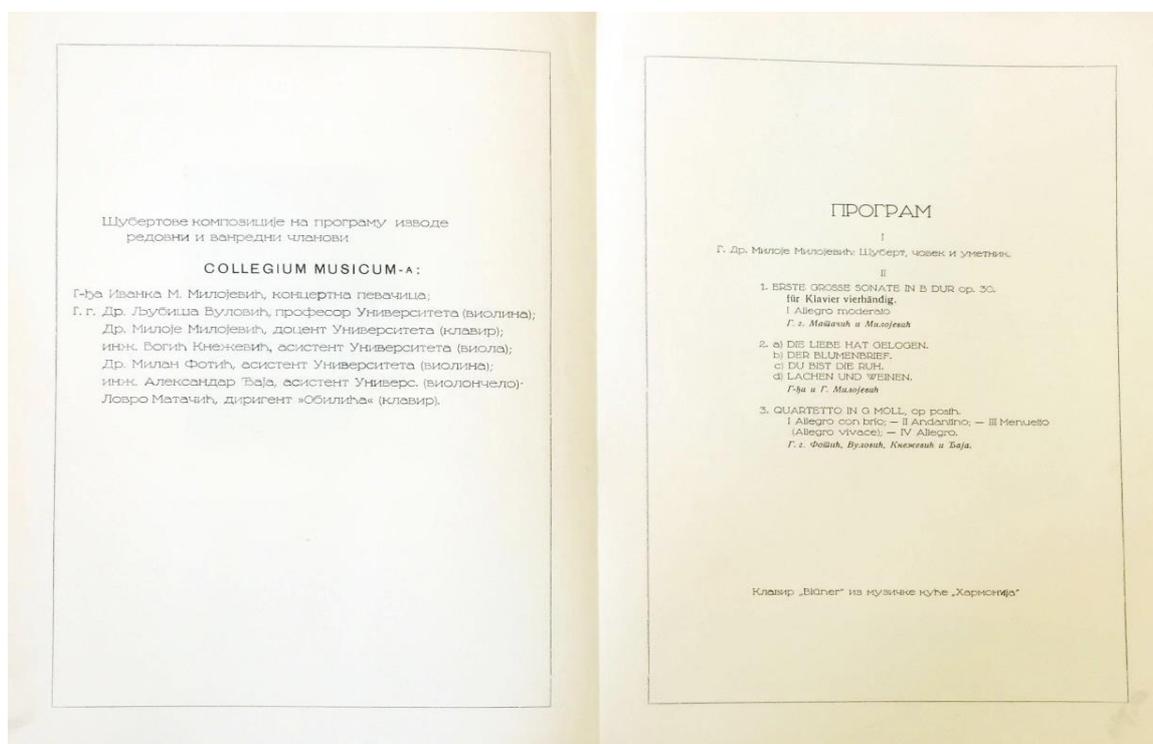


Figure 17 Programme for Collegium Musicum concert marking Schubert's centenary, 1st December 1928

The concert programme in Figure 17 illustrates the pattern of Collegium Musicum's programming strategy. Weekly concerts would always start with Miloje Milojević's lecture and Ivanka Milojević regularly performed with the orchestra that Miloje Milojević conducted, creating a balance between their performance, during which the author explains, and the singer realizes the musical work.

The climax of the Milojevićs' efforts to promote the Yugoslav idea through song was the First Festival of Yugoslav Modern Music in 1928 in Belgrade. Slavko Osterc gave Miloje Milojević full credit for its organization:

In 1928 he organized the first festival of Yugoslav music in Belgrade. It took an unprecedented amount of work and enthusiasm – until now no one did anything like it again.²¹¹

The Milojevićs' efforts were individual as there was no clearly defined cultural policy in place, in contrast to the period after the Royal Dictatorship of 1929, when, as mentioned in Chapter One (pp. 24-25), preserving the Yugoslav national unity became part of state policy. The festival consisted of two concerts – one with orchestral and the other with chamber music. Ivanka and Miloje Milojević performed three folk-song arrangements from Miloje Milojević's second folk-song collection, the same ones they would record for Pathé Records a couple of years later.²¹²

²¹¹ Osterc, "Dr Miloje Milojević", 2.

²¹² She sang songs *Marika*, *More će prodam* and *Lulela je Janka*.

The Stage Dynamics

Miloje Milojević's penchant for lecturing made him one of the most recognizable figures of public music life in Belgrade. His role as a critic and ubiquitous public educator influenced the couple's stage dynamics and the press coverage. In most reviews of the couple's concerts, Miloje Milojević is wrongly held in the limelight; Ivanka Milojević received passing praise. Modern scholars perpetuate this impression: "despite the fact that she did not try to impose her musical persona, she was present on the musical scene, taking part in recitals and chamber concerts".²¹³ The following extract from a review is a rare example of one in which the equality between Miloje and Ivanka Milojević is recognized:

Ivanka Milojević, our well-known concert singer, sang songs by French composers. She has a very appealing voice and an exceptionally good technique. Her transitions from the strongest fortissimo dynamics to the quietest piano were so skilfully executed that they entranced the audience. Her husband Miloje Milojević, who accompanied her on piano, gave a well-received lecture on modern French song before the recital. We wish we could hear such artists more often.²¹⁴

Miloje Milojević's dominating presence in the Belgrade musical life and his unmatched activity – he was a writer, critic, lecturer, conductor and translator, as well as a composer and performer – are a testament to his strong character and desire to control the music life. That may have also influenced Ivanka Milojević's exclusively chamber career.

²¹³ Pejović, *Koncertni život u Beogradu (1919-1941)*, 33.

²¹⁴ *Narodna Slova*, Pančevo, 21.3.26. Evening of French Song. It was mostly outside of Belgrade and abroad that Ivanka Milojević had a more prominent role on the stage, giving more solo recitals – possibly because her husband did not want to lecture in another language.

According to family accounts, Miloje Milojević objected to his wife's potential operatic engagements. However, it has to be noted that his objections were not unusual at the time, and represent his endorsement of the commonly held view of opera as a symbol of feminised musical seduction, eliciting such descriptions as 'a tawdry courtesan', 'a species of intellectual prostitution'.²¹⁵ It was common for female opera singers in the nineteenth century to withdraw from the opera stage after marriage, but remain active on the concert stage, which did not carry the same "stigma of unrespectability".²¹⁶ In connection with the "noble cause" of building the new 'national' repertory, the concert stage provided a suitable platform for a middle-class wife's public role.²¹⁷ These restrictions did not apply exclusively to middle-class women, but also to the members of the so called "artist-musician class", born into families of professional musicians and artists.²¹⁸ The parallel may be drawn with Strozzi-Pečić who withdrew from the operatic stage after marrying her first husband, and returned to opera only after being widowed. Furthermore, it was Strozzi-Pečić's engagement with the 'national repertory' that helped build her star persona, notably aided by her husband Bela Pečić as her exclusive accompanist, as I show in the following chapter.

The strict societal norms can also be observed on the business card from Ivanka Milojević's time in Paris in Figure 18, which reads "Ivanka Dr M. Milojevitch".

²¹⁵ For more see: Rutherford, *The Prima Donna and Opera, 1815-1930*, 38-9.

²¹⁶ Nancy Reich, "Women as Musicians: A Question of Class", 129.

²¹⁷ Konjović referred to Ivanka Milojević's engagement with the 'national repertory' as fighting for a 'noble cause'. See: Konjović, *Miloje Milojević*, 35.

²¹⁸ Nancy Reich, "Women as Musicians: A Question of Class", 125-6.



Figure 18 Ivanka Milojević's business card (MM FC)

Although today this can be seen as evidence of her subordinate position, it was a common practice at the time and not just in Yugoslavia. Furthermore, according to family members she was persistent throughout her life in asking to be formally addressed as “Mrs Dr Miloje Milojević”. In addition, Miloje Milojević’s letter to his sister Vladislava dated 6th August 1920, contains a vague reference to “the issue” of Ivanka Milojević performing as a soloist, suggesting that she may have lacked confidence on stage:

Iva sang beautifully. She successfully mastered a very long programme without any problem, which means that the issue of her independent performing is definitely resolved. Even more so as her voice, technique and interpretation impressed the Zagreb audience beyond expectations (some influential, including impresario Marković). We hope to have many more engagements in the next season.

This letter shows that, while objecting his wife entering an operatic career, Miloje Milojević fully supported her concert activity. Ivanka Milojević’s choice of an exclusively chamber career was unique in the region. Her chosen role of the songstress-muse-wife, rather than the commercialized prima donna, was likely resulting from her vocal type, personality and marriage. However, this career was also considered by both

her and her husband as contiguous with the profile of an educated, bourgeois woman. She embodied bourgeois feminine values, which seeped into Miloje Milojević's output and, from the view of gender politics, turned what had been conservative into something impactful and advantageous for women. The sonic evidence confirms her image as a confident performer. More than anything, the recording shows this: we hear her boldness. For instance, she executes all the portamenti notated in the score, and adds more; liberally using *rubato* and a wide range of dynamics. This fits with the review that described her as a singer of great beauty who, after a great applause, gave a rousing encore,²¹⁹ rather than a restrained one as painted by some critics.²²⁰ Together with the sonic evidence, it calls into question the (mis-)representation of her style in the written accounts. It further supports the claim that the couple deliberately cultivated the refined and sophisticated style of performance to fit the 'noble art song project'. Based on reviews, sonic evidence and archival material (photographs, letters and concert programmes), I offer an alternative profile of Ivanka Milojević's vocal persona, depicting her in Chapter Five as a confident and buoyant performer who embodied a strong and progressive maternal figure on the concert stage.

²¹⁹ *Hudebný Věstník*, Brno, 1.3.1926.

²²⁰ I warn against "victimising" Ivanka Milojević but do not adopt the power-feminist stance. For the example of the power-feminist rethinking of the scholarship on Fanny Mendelssohn see: Marian Wilson Kimber, "The 'Suppression' of Fanny Mendelssohn: Rethinking Feminist Biography," *Nineteenth Century Music* 26/2 (2002): 113-29. Kimber criticized the second-wave feminism for blaming Fanny's lack of success on her brother, thus making him a villain and her a victim. For the critique of this approach see: Marcia Citron, "Feminist Waves and Classical Music: Pedagogy, Performance, Research," *Women and Music: A Journal of Gender and Culture* 8 (2004): 47-60. As elaborated in Introduction I adopt the third-wave feminist approach. While the third-wave feminist focus is mostly on popular music and culture, I draw on the way it is defined by contradiction and embracing duality to explain Ivanka Milojević's perceived subordinate position and her role as an equal partner. For a study dealing with this approach in popular music see: Melissa Klein, "Duality and Redefinition: Young Feminism and the Alternative Music Community," in *Third Wave Agenda: Being Feminist, Doing Feminism*, eds. Jennifer Drake and Leslie Heywood, 207-225 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997).

Fitting this image is the fact that Ivanka Milojević ardently followed feminist issues, discussing them with her husband. Her letter to him from Prague, dated 12th May 1934, where their daughter studied piano at that time, shows her wish to give publicity to the struggle for women's rights in Yugoslavia:

Mrs Flider gave an excellent lecture about the Yugoslav woman. In her short speech, she covered everything that should be said about the topic. She spoke very affirmatively. It would be nice if we could have it reported in *Politika*.²²¹ Enough to say that she gave this lecture. I have already congratulated and thanked her.

Ivanka Milojević was active in the *Cvijeta Zuzorić Society*, established to promote arts but particularly known for advocating women's rights.²²² Rather than serving on its committee, she regularly performed in its concerts. Her concertizing was part of this fight, creating a paradigm of a professional woman with a public voice on the concert stage, broadening our understanding of how women contribute as performers.²²³

²²¹ At that time, Milojević was a regular contributor to the Belgrade daily newspaper *Politika*.

²²² For the feminist activity of the *Cvijeta Zuzorić Society* see: Radina Vučetić, *Evropa na Kalemegdanu. "Cvijeta Zuzorić" i kulturni život Beograda 1918-1941*, 111-155.

²²³ For the account on direct and indirect involvement of operatic singers in women's movements in Europe and North America see: Susan Rutherford, *The Prima Donna and Opera, 1815-1930* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 83-89.

Ivanka Milojević: The Co-Creator of Milojević's Vocal Opus

Imprint in the score

'The Nymph's Voice'

Understanding Ivanka Milojević's qualities as a singer, and the collaborative nature of her music-making with her husband, we can use the song that Miloje Milojević wrote for her to grasp ways in which her voice inspired his vocal opus. *Nimfa* [The Nymph], the first song Miloje Milojević composed in Munich during the couple's first year of marriage to his own translation of the poem by Theodor Kóstlin (1855-1939), typifies Milojević's many songs about nature. It also illustrates the change from "the traditionally attractive singable melodies" of his very early student works.²²⁴ *Nimfa* features a wide range; its recitative line is broken up by with leaps and chromatic downward movement depicting in the first verse the ringing sound of the nymph's voice (Figure 20, m6), requiring good intonation and diction. While the lower range of the vocal line is b, the *tessitura* mainly lies between g' and g'' – the range Ivanka Milojević commanded with the head voice. The lesser emphasis Ivanka Milojević put on the chest register would also facilitate the execution of dynamics, typical of his later songs. Out of the total 26 measures, the dynamics range from *pp* to *p* and *ppp* in the first 19. Only four bars of the song's climax feature *mf* and *f*, for the song to end again in *ppp*. In addition, *messa divoce* and *tenuto* on *passaggio* notes e'' and f'', all showcase Ivanka Milojević's strengths.

²²⁴ Kos, "Pjesničko glazbene slike Miloja Milojevića", 101.

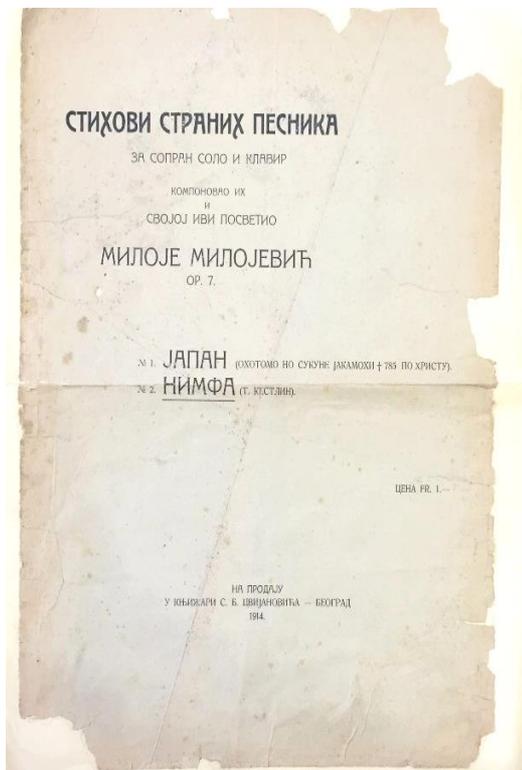
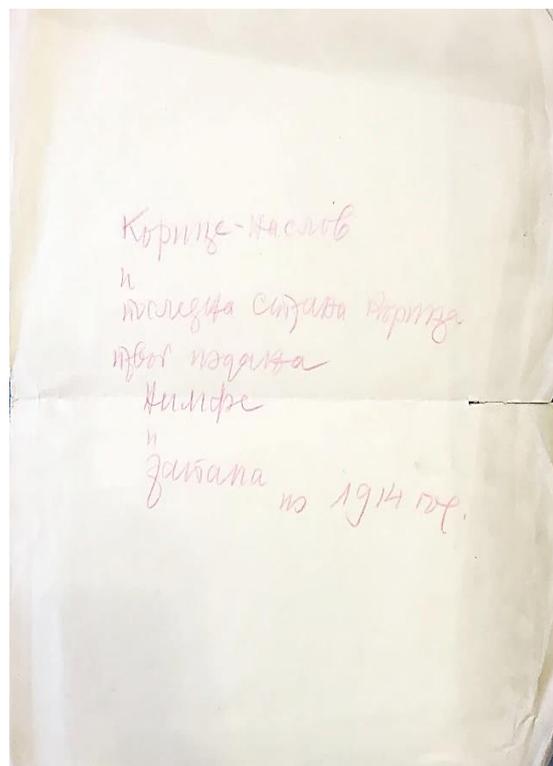


Figure 19 The first edition of Milojević's *The Nymph* (1914) (MM FC)



The first page bears dedication “Composed and dedicated to his Iva, Miloje Milojević”, the second is Milojević’s handwritten description of the score.

The song’s intimate chamber character is not surprising if we bear in mind it was written for his wife (Figure 19). The choice of the poem is telling. The story of the young boy enchanted by the heavenly voice can be read as an allegory of the young couple, who met as students singing in the choir in Belgrade.²²⁵ The bare, *a cappella* opening phrase of *Nimfa* asserts the dominance of the voice – the female, over the piano part – the male.

Miloje Milojević’s attention to articulation markings is evident from the first phrase. Three words bear articulation markings: *mrak* [darkness], *bistrom* [clear] and *ti’o* [quiet, delicate]. While the marking *tenuto* on *mrak* – the highest note of the phrase – can be seen as standard practice, the others are telling of Milojević’s attention to diction,

²²⁵ Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac, then conductor of the Belgrade Singing Society where the couple met, was Milojević’s best man.

perpetuated in his later opus. The accent on *ti'o* serves to highlight not just the second climax of the phrase but also the length of the “i” vowel, pronounced as “ee”. As a metaphor, the description of the nymph’s voice – quiet, delicate – are the strengths of Ivanka Milojević, while the descending movement of the melody is both following the stress of the vowel and creating the sound shape to render audible the caressing quality of the nymph’s, and Ivanka Milojević’s, voice. In contrast, the different marking on “i” in *bistrom* is for a short vowel, leading quickly into a sibilant “s”. I single out, however, the word with no markings, both as a metaphor and for its use of consonants signifying gentleness. It is the verb *zazvonio* [[the voice] rang], which marks the moment the sound of the nymph’s voice is first heard. Musically, it is a descending motive of four crotchets followed by a rest, painting a nymph’s call disappearing over the lake. The soft buzzing of her call is painted with repeated sibilant “z” – a consonant pattern that is repeated in later songs as well.²²⁶

Miloje Milojević’s phrases are recitative, ranging from declamation on a single pitch to wide phrases and leaps, identified by Kos as “Milojević’s vocal “stile misto” [mixed style] which requires a cultivated performance, finely attuned to the various demands of the vocal part”.²²⁷ An example of his “declamatory” songs, deemed particularly successful by the critics for their attention to diction, is *Vetar* [The Wind] (Figure 21).²²⁸

²²⁶ Sibilance is a specific type of alliteration – a stylistic device in poetry, where the soft consonant sounds are repeated more than twice in quick succession. The “s” sound is most often used as a sibilant, but it can also be “sh,” “ch,” “th,” “z,” “x” and “c”.

²²⁷ Kos, “Pjesničko glazbene slike Miloja Milojevića”, 96.

²²⁸ Kosta P. Manojlović preferred Milojević as a ‘dramatist’, meaning declamatory or following the inflection of the speech. See: Manojlović, “Povodom prvog kompozicionog koncerta g. Miloja Milojevića”, 621. Milojević used the same term when he wrote of the three types of art song: strophic,

Nimfa.

- Nymphe -

15

Poesie de
Th. Köstlin.
Adaptation française de
Josette Borfiga-Dragoutinovitch.
Stihove napisala
T. Köstlin.

Tiho, prozračno i jasno.
Andantino.

Miloje Milojević.

pp
Melodia ben marcato

senza rigore len.
Kroz pr - vi mrak je nim-fin poj -
Un chant planait sur l'eau tranqui -

- za-zvo-ni-o nad bis-trom vo-dom tl'-o.
-(le) et en - dor - mje! Au soir la nym-phe chan - te!

come sopra

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Figure 20 Music example 1 Milojević: Nimfa

This one and the following music examples are from: Miloje Milojević, *Pred veličanstvom prirode. Deset pesama za jedan glas i klavir.* (Belgrade: Publishing Bookshop Geca Kon, 1933).

through-composed and declamatory, the last one being the basis for the 'modern' solo song. See: Miloje Milojević, "O savremenoj jugoslovenskoj umetničkoj solo pesmi," [On Modern Yugoslav Art Song] *Srpski književni glasnik* 58/3 (1939): 96-107.

Vetar.

-Le vent-

Poème de
Yovan Douthitch.
tiré du cycle „Les poèmes ensoleillés“
Adaptation française de
Josette Borfiga-Dragoutinovich.

Stihove napisao
Jovan Dučić
iz Ciklusa „Sunčane pesme“

Milolje Milojević.

Hitro kao nemirni vetar u prou jesen.
Allegro vivace. leggerissimo

Pre-nu se kaotić u žbu-
D'un épais buisson la bri-

nu se plaš-lji-vi pr-vi dah
se comme un pe-tit oi-seau, i sé-

Più mosso.

stru-veil-ja; I pre što si-
Et là, sur la-

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Figure 21 Music example 2 Milojević: Vetar

Vetar is one of seven songs in Miloje Milojević's ten-song collection *Pred veličanstvom prirode* [In Awe of the Magnificence of Nature] composed in 1920, marking a renewed collaboration with his wife after five years of separation (1914-1919) during World War One and Miloje Milojević's stay in Paris. In these songs Milojević detailed the singer's execution, a practice he first followed in *Nimfa*. Konjović particularly praised him for the detailed and clear markings in his scores:

Our singers, particularly young ones, should know that performing Milojević's songs is an excellent learning opportunity. Everything there is crystal-clear, music orthography is exemplary, everything is tidy; phrasing, breath, accents, dynamics – all is marked.²²⁹

Miloje Milojević's detailed markings can be interpreted as his desire to control the voice. However, contextualised within their joint concertising, these markings emerge as part of their shared artistic process. This practice, established in his early songs from the beginning of the couple's marriage, lessened in his songs composed during World War One in France, away from his wife:

(My inspiration) was not always original, especially not when in Nice, in 1917-1919, I composed "sweet" [sic] songs to French verses for young French ladies. Those songs mark one phase of my lyricism. Still: *L'heure exquise*, *Adieu*, *Le mensonge*, *Chanson du vent de mer*, *Jamais...* are neither Massenet nor Saint Saëns...²³⁰

²²⁹ Konjović, *Miloje Milojević*, 198.

²³⁰ *Ibid*, 248.

His songs from the 1920s, after he returned from France and composed seven out of ten songs in the collection *Pred veličanstvom prirode*, feature renewed attention to expressive markings. Family accounts of the joint compositional sessions taking place by the piano, with the new repertory being tried out together, confirm this. Rather than seeing Miloje Milojević as a teacher for the younger singers, it was his wife, herself an experienced singing teacher, who helped him to write such a detailed ‘manual’. In short, her traces are in the surface features of the vocal line.

‘The Mother Figure’

The process of collaboration with Ivanka Milojević, within which her instrument, vocal technique and creative practice was crucial, influenced Miloje Milojević’s opus, resulting in a large number of lullabies and songs featuring mother figures. The first lullaby *Hercegovačka uspavanka*, from Miloje Milojević’s first folk song collection, was composed in 1909.²³¹ The second folk song collection featured two more lullabies, *Lulela je Jana*, recorded for Pathé records, and *Šarplaninska uspavanka*. Miloje Milojević also revisited the lullaby in his settings of French lyrics, composing *Berceuse Triste* which he dedicated to their daughter. His collection *Pred veličanstvom prirode* opens with *Molitva Majke Jugovića Zvezdi Danici*, centred on the most famous mother figure in Serbian epic tradition, explored in detail later in this chapter. The collection ends with the song *Zvona*, also composed in 1920, the only other original song in this collection with stylized folk

²³¹ Milojević particularly valued and distinguished *Hercegovačka uspavanka* from the other folk song arrangements, as stated in his letter to Konjović. See: Konjović, *Miloje Milojević*, 42-3. Konjović refers to it as “Milojević’s artistic treatment of the folk motive” rather than folk song arrangement, term used for other songs in the collection. Ibid, 42. Ana Stefanović describes it as an example of *folklore imaginaire* rather than a folk song arrangement. See: Stefanović, “Folklor i njegova umetnička transpozicija u kompozicijama za glas i klavir Miloja Milojevića,” [Folklore and its artistic transposition in the compositions for voice and piano by Miloje Milojević] *Folklor, Muzika, Delo* 4 (1997): 349-375.

traits.²³² It is not a lullaby but a mother's lament for her deceased child. Its recitative-styled line, detailed markings and continuous *p* dynamics (ranging to *pppp*) showcase Ivanka Milojević's strengths. Miloje Milojević's late works, both solo songs and piano pieces, also feature references to the lullaby and the mother figure.²³³



Figure 22 Photograph of Ivanka Milojević and her daughter Gordana (MM FC) Undated, taken during World War One.

Hercegovачka uspavanka is the only song in the collection dedicated to his wife and one of the songs she performed most often. It was also the only folk song arrangement grouped in concert programmes always with the original songs, rather than other folk-

²³² Miloje Milojević himself classified these two songs as having folk traits. Miloje Milojević, "O umetničkoj solo pesmi," [On Art Song] *Muzički Talas* 1-3 (1999): 61.

²³³ This includes the song *Majka* [Mother] from 1932 and piano pieces from 1943 *Moja majka* [My Mother]. Miloje Milojević was close to his mother, who gave him first piano lessons, and after her husband's death supported her family by teaching piano. She was supportive of her son's music career, and even sold a part of the family's land to pay for the couple's studies in Munich. See: Petar Konjović, *Miloje Milojević*, 36.

song arrangements, confirming its special status among his entire folk-song opus.²³⁴ Out of the three early Miloje Milojević's songs performed in the first chamber concert in 1911, only this one remained a staple repertory in years to come.²³⁵ Miloje Milojević used sibilants again to create the atmosphere: “*Spavaj slatko, spavaj. Spavaj sine, san te prevario.*” [Sleep sweetly, sleep. Sleep son, let the dream overcome you]. Diction has to be negotiated within the difficult *passaggio tessitura* explored earlier in the chapter, while maintaining the *legato* line and piano dynamics needed in a lullaby to portray a nurturing mother's voice.

Miloje Milojević drew on this maternal quality, which crosses the ethnic, national and religious boundaries to create a new musical identity in Yugoslavia – the one based on and shaped by his wife. She made this link in her programming, regularly performing lullabies by other composers, for instance *Uspavanka* [Lullaby] by the Slovene composer Pavčić and *Lullaby* by Gretchaninov. On the only two occasions that she performed Konjović's songs, a surprisingly small number considering their friendship, she sang *Večernja pesma* [An Evening Song], a lullaby. Ivanka Milojević identified with the role of mother in professional life as well, with *Madam Butterfly* as her unfulfilled dream operatic role.

²³⁴ Osterc, “Dr Miloje Milojević”, 5. Manojlović, “Povodom prvog kompozicionog koncerta g. Miloja Milojevića”, 621; Stefanović, “Folklor i njegova umetnička transpozicija u kompozicijama za glas i klavir Miloja Milojevića”, 370; Nebojša Todorović, “Obrade narodnih melodija i njihovo mesto u vokalnom opusu Miloja Milojevića,” [Arrangements of folk tunes and their place in the vocal opus of Miloje Milojević] in *Miloje Milojević, kompozitor i muzikolog* [Miloje Milojević, composer and musicologist], ed. Vojislav Simić, 112.

²³⁵ The original songs *Čekanje* and *Caruj noći* were not performed again. The regular programming of *Hercegovačka uspravanka* with the original songs confirms Stefanović's *folklore imaginaire* hypothesis.

Art Song as the Yugoslav Project

Konjović called Ivanka Milojević a “pioneer” of art song tradition in the region. He acknowledged her dedication to the Western repertory and “as a quest even more important to us – to Yugoslav and Serbian art song”.²³⁶ While he identified the couple’s joint efforts on the stage, he failed to recognize a central aspect of their collaboration: this “refined style” shaped the repertory composed. The song *Molitva Majke Jugovića* [The Prayer of the Jugović Mother], one of the few Miloje Milojević’s original songs with folk connections, illustrates how Ivanka Milojević embodied this repertory and the cultural work it was supposed to fulfil, merging the nymph’s voice with the traditional mother figure in a prayer.

Miloje Milojević drew his inspiration from the Kosovo Myth, arguably the key Serbian nationalist myth, which in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century also inspired advocates of Yugoslavism. It emerged not long after the Battle of Kosovo in 1389, waged between the predominantly Serbian forces and an Ottoman Turkish army which included Serbian and other Christian vassals, but assumed its significance only in the nineteenth century when the medieval period became the ‘golden age’ for nationalist aspirations.²³⁷ While there are scarce historical records of the battle, it is held in Serbian collective memory as a fateful defeat that led to the loss of independence, securing the region’s standing as a ‘sacred place’.²³⁸ However, the Kosovo Myth was also important

²³⁶ Petar Konjović, *Miloje Milojević*, 35.

²³⁷ For more on the concept of ‘golden age’ see: Anthony Smith, *Ethnosymbolism: A Cultural Approach* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009), 36.

²³⁸ For more on the historical facts and origins of the Kosovo Myth see: Dejan Djokić, “Whose Myth? Which Nation? The Serbian Kosovo Myth Revisited,” in *Uses and Abuses of the Middle Ages: 19th -21st Century*, eds. Janos M. Bak et al., 215-233 (Munich: Fink, 2009).

for the Yugoslav discourse.²³⁹ Ivan Meštrović stands out among many artists who used the Kosovo Myth as inspiration, both for the success of his work and the longevity of his dedication to the Yugoslav idea. In his sculpture called ‘St Vitus or Kosovo Temple’ (the Battle of Kosovo was fought on St Vitus day), shown in the 1911 Rome Exposition, he combined Catholic and Orthodox elements, expressing the new Yugoslav synthesis.²⁴⁰ The Kosovo Myth was widely represented in music. As mentioned in Chapter Two (p. 47), Konjović drew on it for his first opera, *Ženidba Miloša Obilića/Vilin Veo* [The Marriage of Miloš Obilić/The fairy’s veil], composed in 1903.

Miloje Milojević favoured the region of what was then known as “Southern Serbia” for his melographic work, and in his original works drew on to the body of epic poetry referred to as The Kosovo Cycle.²⁴¹ Apart from a number of male characters, it features three key female figures: knjeginja [princess] Milica, wife of the Serbian ruler knez [prince] Lazar who died in the Battle of Kosovo, and two fictional characters – Kosovka devojka [The Maiden of Kosovo] and majka Jugovića [The Jugović Mother]. They represented the highest ideal of family values. The first Women’s Society in Belgrade, founded in 1875, was encouraged by officials to promote family values and propagate according role models such as the female mythic characters majka Jugovića

²³⁹ For its use by the Yugoslav Committee in London to get the support from the allies see: Connie Robinson, “Yugoslavism in the Early 20th Century: The Politics of the Yugoslav Committee,” in *New Perspectives on Yugoslavia: Key Issues and Controversies*, eds. Dejan Djokic and James Ker-Lindsay, 10-26 (London and New York: Routledge, 2011).

²⁴⁰ For more on Meštrović’s appropriation of the Kosovo Myth see: Wachtel, “Ivan Meštrović, Ivo Andrić and the Synthetic Yugoslav Culture of the Interwar Period,” in *Yugoslavism*, ed. Dejan Djokić, 239-241.

²⁴¹ The Serbian Epic Poetry is divided into cycles: Non-historical cycle, Pre-Kosovo cycle, Kosovo cycle, Cycle of Kraljević Marko, Post-Kosovo cycle, Cycle of uskoks and hajduks (brigands and rebels) and poems about the liberation of Serbia and Montenegro. For more on the significance of the Balkan epic today see: Philip V. Bohlman and Nada Petković, eds., *Balkan Epic: Song, History, Modernity* (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 2012).

and *Kosovka devojka*. Miloje Milojević chose the maternal figure rather than a girl, confirming the practice of investing women, traditionally viewed as inferior to men, with a positive value through the concept of motherhood.²⁴² As a wife and a mother, appearing on stage accompanied by her husband to promote a “noble” genre and a highly-esteemed quest for ‘a new music for a new identity’, Ivanka Milojević was the ideal embodiment of this character. In return, it gave her the power within this world of ‘art song for the nation’ to command a voice that women were traditionally denied.

²⁴² Celia Hawkesworth, *Voices in the Shadows: Women and Verbal Art in Serbia and Bosnia* (CEU Press: Budapest, New York, 2000), 23.

2 Molitva Majke Jugovića Zvezdi Danici.
 (Iz Dramske pjesme „Smrt Majke Jugovića“)
 -La prière de la mère Yougovitch à l'étoile du soir-

Poème de
 Yvo Voïnovitch.
 Adaptation française
 par C. Germont.
 Stihova napisao
 Ivo Vojnović.

Miloje Milojević.

Andante sostenuto e espressivo. *Prozirno; sa najdubljim osećanjem.*

Chant. *p*
 Oj, Da - ni - ce,
 Oh, é - toi - le

Piano. *pp* *Tiho, kao daleki šum zvezda u letnju noć.*

Ve - čer - nji - cel! Dok je sun - ce još na ne - bu,
 ray - on - nan - tel! Tu dé - ver - ses ta lu - miè - re

mf
 ti mi svije - tliš!
 dans le ciel pâ - le.

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*Kao tih šapat molitve.
ad libitum, quasi Recitativo*

Ja te mo - lim: Noć - ni mir nam ti pri - ve - di,
Oh! é - cou - te: Sur nos fronts ré - pans le cal - me,

p *pp mistico*

poco agitato *meno mosso* *poco ritenuto*

a pred zo-rom pak o-svani, is-tim pla - mom vječ - nim na - - dom,
mais à l'au-be brille en-co-re, soispournous l'es-poir fi - de - - le!

agitato mf *dim.* *ppp* *poco ritenuto*

8va *8va* *8va* *8va*

Tempo L *cantabile* *espressivo* *ten.*

Oj, Da-ni-ce, sunca-ni-ce!
Oh! é - toi-le ma-ti-na-le.

come sopra *cassa*

(29. IX. 1920.)

Figure 23 Music example 3 Milojević: Molitva Majke Jugovića Zvezdi Danici.

The dynamics and recitative vocal line showcase Ivanka Milojević's strengths, with parallels to the composer's early songs. To start with *tessitura*, we again encounter the

vocal line that centres around the *passaggio*. Resembling *Hercegovачka uspavanka*, where the vocal line encompasses only the interval of a fourth in the *passaggio*, in *Molitva Majke Jugovića Zvezdi Danici* only four measures expand over the interval of a fourth. These four measures, on the other hand, mirror the *tessitura* of *Nimfa*, with jumps encompassing the same pitches in the lower range. The song starts with five measures in *pp* dynamics, with only three measures of the song reaching *mf*, and ending in *ppp*. Measures 10-12 in Figure 23 feature a recitative line on a single pitch, with a changing meter, following closely the prosody of the text and requiring excellent diction. In another parallel, the last phrase mirrors the opening phrase of *Hercegovачka uspavanka*, in *tessitura*, range encompassing the interval of a third and a descending line. The detailed expressive markings in *Molitva Majke Jugovića Zvezdi Danici* are probably unmatched in his vocal opus, from individual note accents, to tempo and dynamics changes in almost every measure, to descriptive instructions for mode of delivery. In addition to Italian markings, his instruction in Serbian to the singer is “prozirno; sa najdubljim osećanjem” [transparent; with a depth of feeling] at the beginning of the song and “kao tihi šapat molitve” [as a quiet whisper of the prayer] in the measure ten. The instruction for a pianist is “tiho, kao daleki šum zvezda u letnju noć” [quietly, as a distant whisper of the stars on a summer night] – evoking yet again the pastoral nature of Miloje Milojević’s opus but also highlighting the piano’s – and man’s – subsidiary role as support for a woman’s voice.

The chronology of the song is also noteworthy: Miloje Milojević composed it in 1920, marking the time of unparalleled enthusiasm among intellectuals for the new state, and the activity of the Group of Artists, but also the time of his outburst of songs after renewing the collaboration with his wife. A year later, Miloje Milojević drew again on

the Kosovo myth and its female character in his only symphonic poem *Smrt majke Jugovića* (The Death of the Jugović Mother).²⁴³

Conclusion

Ivanka Milojević's image of a chamber singer exclusively appearing on the concert stage, removed from the commercial world of opera and accompanied by her husband, was suited to promote the newly composed art song repertory and the cultural mission it was supposed to fulfil – creating Yugoslav high art. Despite her perceived subordinate position in the partnership with Miloje Milojević, she was an active agent in this process. Her voice, method of delivery and stage persona modelled both the repertory and its reception. Miloje Milojević's chamber vocal style, penchant for lullabies and references to traditional mother figures were a result of the artistic partnership with Ivanka Milojević, whose voice and style of performance he both wrote for and transcribed.

In the Milojevićs' newly created temple of the concert hall, Ivanka Milojević's pure and refined performance and 'heavenly' voice could depict the idealized nature of the new state, and the perfect diction an ideal representation of native language. This pastoral nymph's voice could merge with her image of wife and mother, but also a teacher – creating a new female role model worthy of taking part in public life. In *Molitva Majke Jugovića Zvezdi Danici*'s succinct form, in only seventeen measures, we can see how

²⁴³ This is not the only female character in Milojević's opus: his sonata for cello and piano (1915) is called *Legenda o Jefimiji* [Legend of Jefimija]. Despotica Jelena-Jefimija (c1349-1405) was a wife of Despot Uglješa, a Serbian medieval nobleman. She entered the convent after her husband's death in 1371 and took the name Jefimija. She left behind literary texts in the form of embroidery and was known as a "woman of wisdom". For more see: Hawkesworth, *Voices in the Shadows*, 76-85.

Miloje Milojević conceptualized his vision of the ‘national’ art music – merging a nymph’s voice with a traditional mother figure. Like the sculptor Ivan Meštrović, Miloje Milojević used the Kosovo myth, probably the most significant of myths in both Serbian and Yugoslav history. He reconciled rural and urban, national and cosmopolitan, epic tradition and lyrical poetry, different ethnicities and the Yugoslav idea. He set it in the Western form of art song, elite and repeatedly hailed as a “noble genre”. He infused it with ‘authenticity’ by referring to the folk tradition. However, Miloje Milojević’s appropriation of the Kosovo myth in this song is highly stylized, made without direct links to the epic poetry. He set the song instead to a poem by Ivo Vojnović (1857-1929), a Croatian writer of Serbian ethnicity well known for his support for a united Yugoslavia and his pro-Yugoslav identity, keeping the Ijekavian dialect of the poem.²⁴⁴ All the above-mentioned conflicts were mediated and sanitized by an idealized female character, a mother figure, and embodied in a sophisticated concert performance tradition pioneered by his wife.

²⁴⁴ The division to Ekavian, Ijekavian and Ikavian dialects is made according to reflex of the vowel ‘e’. Both Serbian and Croatian use Ijekavian and Ekavian, and Croatian also uses Ikavian dialect.

CHAPTER 4

The Star and the ‘National’ Art Song: Maja Strozzi-Pečić as the Face and Voice of Petar Konjović’s Opus

Introduction

The fascination with leading ladies of the opera, “the top billing women”, developed into a cult of celebrity during the eighteenth and nineteenth century.²⁴⁵ Association with vanity, glamour, adversity and scandals at times overshadowed their onstage performances, and numerous studies focus on operatic prima donnas and divas.²⁴⁶ Strozzi-Pečić was a celebrated opera star, famous for her portrayal of coloratura roles. Starting from the concert in Budapest in 1914, described in Chapter Two, Strozzi-Pečić was also the *face* of the ‘national’ art song. She had a formative role in the creation of Yugoslav art song and specifically Petar Konjović’s opus. A celebrated prima donna, Strozzi-Pečić was arguably more successful in drawing in audiences than Konjović in the first decades of the twentieth century. Her success encouraged Konjović and other

²⁴⁵ Rachel Cowgill and Hilary Poriss, eds., *The Arts of Prima Donna in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), XXVII.

²⁴⁶ Term ‘diva’ has a negative connotation, alluding to capricious behavior and notoriety often associated with prima donnas. For more on primadonnas see: Cowgill and Poriss, eds., *The Arts of Prima Donna in the Long Nineteenth Century*. Susan Rutherford, *Prima Donna and Opera, 1815-1930* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009). For divas, and more recently added divos – male lead principal singers – see: Hillary Poriss, “Divas and Divos,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Opera*, ed. Helen Greenwald, 374-395 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); Karen Henson, “Introduction: Divo Worship,” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 19/1 (2007): 1-9. The divo studies highlight the complexity of gender issues, as they turn the attention to operatic masculinities, pointing that there is no more one fixed model of operatic masculinity than there is of operatic femininity. See: Alexandra Wilson, “Gender,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Opera*, ed. Helen M. Greenwald (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 776.

composers to set native-language songs, as well as to engage with folk songs. Drawing on the works she performed and the resulting publicity she sparked, this chapter explores how she drew into her star production a newly-minted art song, bringing together national ideas articulated elsewhere by the composers she promoted.

In contrast to Ivanka Milojević, whose public persona was largely limited to what she created on the concert stage, Strozzi-Pečić's 'persona' encompassed the significant amount of surrounding publicity. Therefore, in addition to the tripartite division of the voice into instrument, technique and interpretive artistry, as elaborated in the previous chapter, I further explore Strozzi-Pečić's star status to illuminate her role as the third poet. This approach combines the studies of nationalism and stardom which are underrepresented in the genre of art song.²⁴⁷

I consider four cornerstones of the celebrity cult around Strozzi-Pečić: entitlement, in her family background; charisma, in her unmatched status as the performer of 'national' song; virtuosity, as praised in all the reviews; and notoriety, in her disputes with the Zagreb Opera Management.²⁴⁸ Furthermore, I consider how Strozzi-Pečić used her shift to the genre of art song as part of her star production. She started her concert career during the first of her two disputes with the Management of Zagreb Opera House. This resulted in her temporary withdrawal from the operatic stage, suggesting the change

²⁴⁷ Sophie Fuller, "'The Finest Voice of the Century': Clara Butt and Other Concert-Hall and Drawing-Room Singers of Fin-de-siècle Britain," in *The Arts of Prima Donna in the Long Nineteenth Century*, eds. Rachel Cowgill and Hilary Poriss, 308-327 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012). This recent work is an exception as it explores the British contralto Dame Clara Butt and her claims to stardom at stages other than opera: concert, music festival, society salon and drawing room soirée.

²⁴⁸ These cornerstones of celebrity culture form the basis of Berta Joncus's lecture series, 'Classical' Versus 'Common' Music: London's Celebrity Culture (1700-1800) at Goldsmiths, University of London.

of genre served as a tool for reinventing herself after this challenge to her success.²⁴⁹ Associated with a ‘noble’ national cause, in a recital setting removed from the commercialized world of opera, chaperoned by her husband as an accompanist, she could create a new image for herself: rather than prima donna, she could become an author – a third poet – creating the new repertory on the concert stage. This attests to the control rarely attributed to stars, corroborated further with evidence that she steered her concert career, acting as her own manager and at times even accompanying herself.

Just like Ivanka Milojević, Strozzi-Pečić left an imprint on the vocal lines of the composer she collaborated with most. The evolution of Konjović’s *sevdalinka* songs in particular can be traced via his collaboration with Strozzi-Pečić. Her virtuosic and dramatic method of delivery was suited for *sevdalinks* – melismatic songs of yearning and ecstasy.²⁵⁰ Konjović drew on this and, unlike other composers, dedicated a significant proportion of his opus to this genre. He is credited today for giving credibility to this genre, previously associated with lowbrow popular entertainments, and for turning it, as scholars say, into art song.²⁵¹ However, Strozzi-Pečić’s role in this process has not been recognised. It was due to her embrace of the genre that *sevdalinka* songs made a transition from the tavern performances onto the concert stage.²⁵²

²⁴⁹ For more on change of genre and star production see: Berta Joncus, “Producing Stars in drama per musica,” in *Music as Social and Cultural Practice: Essays in Honour of Reinhard Strohm*, eds. Melania Bucciarelli and Berta Joncus (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2007), 290-1.

²⁵⁰ The name *sevdalinka* derives from *sevdah*, the Turkish word of Arabic origin, which means amorous yearning and ecstasy of love.

²⁵¹ Ana Stefanović, ed., *Anthology of Serbian Art Song in 5 volumes* (Belgrade: Composers Association of Serbia, 2008), XI.

²⁵² For a study on the history of *sevdalinka* song in the context of the tavern performances see: Marija Dumnić, “Istorijski aspekti i savremene prakse izvodenja starogradske muzike u Beogradu,” [Historical

As mentioned before, *sevdalinkas* feature “the main signifier of the Eastern Other in Serbian (and Balkan) music”, the interval of the augmented second, usually representing the Ottoman Turk (p. 37).²⁵³ In what can be seen as an Orientalist view, Konjović considered this ‘oriental’ heritage as a ‘supplement’ that distorted and falsified music.²⁵⁴ Konjović composed *sevdalinka* before meeting Strozzi-Pečić, but once she became enthusiastic about the genre he focused more on it, composing an opera *Koštana* with Strozzi-Pečić in mind for the lead role. Konjović referred to this opera as “Serbian Carmen”,²⁵⁵ further fostering the siren image – symbolising the powers of voice, music, knowledge, sex and pleasure,²⁵⁶ and its link with exotic operatic female characters.²⁵⁷

Strozzi-Pečić’s embrace of *sevdalinka* helped Konjović to include this ‘oriental’ heritage, and incorporate it into a newly created Yugoslav high art.²⁵⁸ The coloratura

Aspects and Contemporary Performance Practices of “Old Urban Music” (starogradska muzika) in Belgrade] PhD Diss., University of Belgrade, 2016.

²⁵³ Melita Milin, “Images of Eastern Other in Serbian art music,” in *Beyond the East-West divide: Balkan Music and its Poles of Attraction*, eds. Ivana Medić and Katarina Tomašević (Belgrade: Institute of Musicology and Department of Fine Arts, SASA, 2015), 88.

²⁵⁴ Petar Konjović, “Muzički folklor, njegova vrednost, čistota i interpretacija,” [Music Folklore, its Value, Purity and Interpretation] in *Knjiga o muzici, 23-41* [The Book about Music] (Novi Sad: Matica srpska, 1947). For more on Edward Said’s critique of the cultural representations that are the bases of Orientalism, defined as the West’s patronizing representations of “The East”, see: Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon, 1978).

²⁵⁵ Nadežda Mosusova, “Prepiska izmedju Petra Konjovića i Tihomira Ostojića,” [Correspondence between Petar Konjović and Tihomir Ostojić] *Zbornik Matice srpske za književnost i umetnost* 19/1: 158. Tihomir Ostojić (1865-1921) was a distinguished literary historian and music connoisseur, who was Konjović’s professor at the Grand Serbian Orthodox High School in Novi Sad.

²⁵⁶ Susan Rutherford, *The Prima Donna and Opera, 1815-1930* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 36.

²⁵⁷ For more on the “fragile women” and “fatal women” in the operatic world see: Ralph Locke, *Musical Exoticism: Images and Reflection* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 184-192.

²⁵⁸ For more on Konjović’s ambivalent stand towards *sevdalinka* see: Biljana Milanović, “The Balkans as a cultural symbol in the Serbian music of the first half of the twentieth century,” *Muzikologija* 8 (2008): 17-26; Katarina Tomašević, *Na raskršću istoka i zapada: o dijalogu tradicionalnog i modernog u srpskoj*

passages, shunned in Konjović's original songs without folk influences, are abundant in his folk-related songs, notably *sevdalinka*, associated mainly with Bosnia-Herzegovina which had a significant Muslim population. This calls for a parallel with Andrić's literary work, whom Andrew Wachtel credits for opening the question of incorporating the Muslim identity into Yugoslav music.²⁵⁹ While it can be debated whether Strozzi-Pečić and Konjović created this song as a Yugoslav manifesto in the 1916 Zagreb context, when the Yugoslav idea may not have been the same as in the years that followed, the subsequent reception of *Sabah* and this repertory in general as Yugoslav was largely the result of Strozzi-Pečić's performance.

Strozzi-Pečić – The Star

Strozzi-Pečić, primadonna, was a member of an “artistic dynasty”,²⁶⁰ a household name in Zagreb who filled both the opera houses and the concert halls in the region and abroad

muzici: 1918-1941 [At the crossroads of the East and the West: on the dialogue between the traditional and the modern in Serbian music: 1918-1941] (Belgrade: Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 2009). This can be interpreted as a case of ‘nesting Orientalism’, as argued by Milica Bakic-Hayden, in relation mostly to political discourses around the time of the disintegration of Yugoslavia. She invented this concept, based on gradations of ‘Orients’. While Serbia (and the Balkans) are the usual Europe's ‘Orient’ in the western imagination (see Todorova, Goldsworthy), Konjović's ‘other’ would be further east. Milica Bakic-Hayden and Robert Hayden, “Orientalist Variations on the Theme “Balkans”: Symbolic Geography in Recent Yugoslav Cultural Politics,” *Slavic review* 51/1 (1992): 1-15. Vesna Goldsworthy, *Inventing Ruritania: The Imperialism of the Imagination* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012). Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

²⁵⁹ Andrew Wachtel, “Ivan Mestrović, Ivo Andrić and the Synthetic Yugoslav Culture of the Interwar Period,” in *Yugoslavism*, ed. Dejan Djokić, 238-251.

²⁶⁰ The family is referred to as ‘dynasty’ in both popular and scholarly accounts. For more see: Zlatko Vidačković, “Stoljeće jedne dinastije: U povodu 110. godišnjice rođenja Tita Strozija i 120. godišnjice rođenja Maje Strozzi-Pečić,” [Centenary of a Dynasty: Celebrating 110 years since the birth of Tito Strozzi and 120 years since the birth of Maja Strozzi-Pečić] *Vijenac: Novine Matice Hrvatske za književnost, umjetnost i znanost* 10/228 (2002).

and regularly gave interviews. She was a friend of Thomas Mann, who wrote of her as “My friend, Maja Strozzi, perhaps the most beautiful voice of both hemispheres”²⁶¹ and Igor Stravinsky, one of many composers who dedicated their songs to her.²⁶² Therefore, in addition to the tripartite division of the voice – instrument, technique and interpretive choices – her public persona has to be accounted for when exploring how she shaped Konjović’s vocal opus and its reception as ‘national’ high art.



Figure 24 Photograph of Strozzi-Pečić, Igor Stravinsky and Bela Pečić (L-R) (CMIA MSPC)

Photograph was taken in Zagreb in 1923 when they performed together in a concert.

²⁶¹ Thomas Mann, *Doctor Faustus*, Chapter 37.

²⁶² Igor Stravinsky, *Quatre Chants Russes Pour Voix et Piano* (London: J&W Chester, 1920). Erich J. Wolff (1874-1913) dedicated his *Four songs op 3* to her. Erich Wolff, *Vier Lieder fur eine singstimme op. 3* (Strassburg: Suddeutscher Musikverlag, 1903). Many ex-Yugoslav composers apart from Konjović dedicated songs to her, most notably Antun Dobronić (1878-1955).

The Voice

Strozzi-Pečić did not leave any recordings. Amongst the abundant reviews of her performances, Konjović's account gives the most details about her voice as an instrument:

Her voice is not big, and it does not affect one with its volume; its virtues are elsewhere. She is an unusually delicate soprano, slightly covered in the middle range, which gives it a certain edge, dark and fluid in the lower range. Vibrant and elastic, without tremolo though slightly nervous at times, it is able to paint the finest lines in music, from the Italian fioraturas and coloraturas to the melancholy of our folk song. Between those two simultaneously existing poles oscillates her artistic self.²⁶³

The description of her voice as “not big” corresponds to the operatic repertory she was praised for in numerous reviews, particularly at the beginning of her career – Gilda (*Rigoletto*, Verdi) and Rosina (*The Barber of Seville*, Rossini). It is likely that her voice was mid-range in terms of volume for the operatic sopranos, as her Gilda in *Rigoletto* was also praised for her “fine big voice and well-trained coloraturas” with “euphony and gloss in her high range”.²⁶⁴ She moved to the heavier repertory later in her career.²⁶⁵

Her timbre and *tessitura* seem to have been different to Ivanka Milojević's, and her technique in accordance with the shift from the turn of the century which came about

²⁶³ Petar Konjović, “Maja de Strozzi,” in *Ličnosti* [Personages] (Zagreb: Čelap i Popovac, 1920), 106. The essay was first published in the journal *Savremenik* in 1918, just a year after Strozzi-Pečić premiered his songs in Zagreb.

²⁶⁴ Schwerin, 1905. This quotation is from the newspaper cutouts kept in Croatian archives.

²⁶⁵ Her roles included Madame Butterfly (Puccini), Rusalka (Dvorak), Lucia di Lammermoor (Donizetti), Mimi (Puccini, *La Bohème*), Mélisande (Debussy, *Pelléas and Mélisande*), Marguerite (Gounod, *Faust*), Desdemona (Verdi, *Otello*) and Violetta (Verdi, *La Traviata*) – her signature role.

due to the requirements larger venues imposed on operatic singers. Konjović described her voice as ‘covered’ in the middle range, suggesting she relied on the chest voice. That would corroborate the hypothesis mentioned in the previous chapter that, as a soprano, lacking the “singer’s formant” or vocal ring, she would rely on chest sounds to add resonance to her higher range, vital for her to gain volume and penetration through the rich orchestral textures of Verdi’s and Puccini’s scores, whose roles she excelled at. Her transposition of Milojević’s *Hercegovačka uspavanka*, discussed earlier, suggests her canniness in optimizing her instrument. Konjović described her voice as dark and fluid in the middle range, suggesting not just timbre but also *legato* singing. This confirms my findings from practice as a performer. I registered bodily that *Jesenja Elegija* [The Autumnal Elegy] is the only one of Milojević’s songs that required a different technique of sound production – requiring more of a chest sound and reminding me of Konjović’s vocal lines. Tracing the first edition from 1914 clarified this difference: it is his only song dedicated to Strozzi-Pečić. Milojević composed it in September 1911, right after Strozzi-Pečić’s performances in Belgrade with the touring Zagreb Opera – another example of growing cultural contacts between two centres – when he heard her sing for the first time.²⁶⁶ *Tessitura* is low, with a broad cantilena type melody, no recitative, a broader range of dynamics, and an expansive climax in slow tempo ending on g’ in *ff*, all which suited Strozzi-Pečić’s dark operatic vocal production, rather than Ivanka Milojević’s light chamber voice. Konjović also identified why Strozzi-Pečić’s voice allowed her to move from opera into art song: the absence of tremolo (excessive *vibrato*) and agility – coloraturas and fioraturas – often praised in reviews.

²⁶⁶ Milojević wrote extensively about the Zagreb Opera performances in Belgrade. See: Miloje Milojević, “Umetnički pregled: Gostovanje operске trupe Kraljevskog Zemaljskog Hrvatskog Kazališta u Beogradu,” [Review: Zagreb Opera tour in Belgrade] *Srpski književni glasnik* 27/1 (1911): 62-68.

The Early Operatic Career and the Star Status

There are numerous reviews of Strozzi-Pečić's unrivalled status with audience and critics, but could she be called a *star*?²⁶⁷ The concept of stardom encompasses different criteria depending on the field of study.²⁶⁸ For musicologists, a star tends to be identified as a performer whose virtuosic powers are thought to be inimitable. A star's value is measured by consumer demand, and scholars recognise stardom when a performer becomes essential to the marketing and dissemination of entertainment.²⁶⁹

In addition to virtuosity and charisma, the entitlement played important part in Strozzi-Pečić's celebrity cult. Strozzi-Pečić's lineage was aristocratic and artistic. Her father was Ferdinand Junior Strozzi (1848-1905), from the Strozzi family which moved from Firenze to Zagreb, and she inherited the family title of marquise. Her mother was the actress Marija Ružička (Litovel, Moravia, 1850 – Zagreb, 1937), famous in Croatia and recognized throughout Europe, making Strozzi-Pečić a member of the "artist-

²⁶⁷ Studies point to a recent shift in the nature of fame, with the apparent move towards a culture of 'attributed' celebrity (emerging from concentrating media representation) rather than previous 'achieved' celebrity (linked to talent and accomplishment). As the third category of fame Rojek identifies the 'ascribed' celebrity, a product of lineage, which is relevant to Strozzi-Pečić. See: Chris Rojek, *Celebrity* (London: Reaktion Books, 2001), 17. Other scholars dispute that there have actually been "seismic changes" in the nature of fame and call for Dyer's work to be revisited before accepting the popular narrative that there has been a qualitative break with the past. Su Holmes, "'Starring... Dyer?' Re-visiting Star Studies and Contemporary Celebrity Culture," *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture* 2/2 (2005): 7. Holmes lays out some of Dyer's still relevant questions about stardom. Dyer points to the 'ordinary/extraordinary' paradox notion that stars are constructed as being 'ordinary' (like us), yet simultaneously distinctive and 'special'. Ibid, 10.

²⁶⁸ Scholars explore stardom in various fields, including contemporary TV culture and literature. See: Joshua Gamson, *Claims to Fame: Celebrity in Contemporary America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994). David P. Marshal, *Celebrity and Power: Fame in Contemporary Culture* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2014). Joe Moran, *Star Authors* (London: Pluto, 2000).

²⁶⁹ Joncus, "Producing Stars in drama per musica", 277.

musician class”.²⁷⁰ Her brother Tito Strozzi (1892-1970) was a famous actor and director in Croatia, and her son Boris Papandopulo (1906-1991) became one of the most distinguished Croatian composers and conductors. All three generations drew on each other’s fame.



Figure 25 Family portrait of Strozzi family (STMA MSPC)

Appeared in 1932 in “Ženski list” 11 [Women’s Magazine]. Marija Ružička-Strozzi, Maja Strozzi-Pečić, (sitting L-R), Boris Papandopulo and Tito Strozzi (standing L-R)

²⁷⁰ Nancy Reich, “Women as Musicians: A Question of Class”, in *Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in Music Scholarship*, ed. Ruth Solie (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993), 125-6.

Konjović acknowledged her lineage:

She was destined for the artistic career while still in the cradle. Daughter of our great actress, she has grown in an environment immersed in art. From her father's side, she inherited the sophisticated Florentine cultural tradition. It is not a surprise then that in the fusion of hot Slavic and Latin ancestry, an artist of such artistic intuition was born.²⁷¹

However, he highlighted her extraordinary achievements:

What is particularly exceptional is that in our simple environment, these [Strozzi-Pečić's] extraordinary talents developed and blossomed fully.²⁷²

As a member of the artist-musician class, she was allowed to go to Vienna in 1899 to study singing as a single seventeen-year-old girl. After a two-year professional engagement at Wiesbaden Opera House, she moved in 1903 to Graz, where she met her first husband, a Russian aristocrat of Greek descent Konstantin Papandopulo (1876-1908). They were married in 1905, and their son Boris was born in Bad Honnef in Germany the following year. According to the family account, his birth was celebrated with official state processions in Stavropol, Caucasus, "as befit Papandopulo's rank", suggesting yet again the 'entitlement' that the whole family drew on for their celebrity status.²⁷³ Strozzi-Pečić withdrew from the opera stage after getting married, in compliance with societal constrictions, and only after being widowed in 1908 did she

²⁷¹ Konjović, "Maja de Strozzi", 103.

²⁷² Ibid.

²⁷³ Sergej Županić, "Genijalni skladatelj : Čudesni Papandopulo," Express 30.5.2015. <http://www.express.hr/artis/cudesni-papandopulo-nije-se-sramio-sto-mu-je-zena-striptizeta-925#> accessed 28.12.2015.

return to opera in Graz.²⁷⁴ Life as a single mother and opera singer proved difficult and in 1910 she returned to Zagreb, where her family lived.

She remained at the Zagreb Opera House until her retirement in 1932, establishing herself as a vocalist of unmatched virtuosity. She was particularly praised for her performance in the title role of *Lucia di Lammermoor*, as well as for her acting skills in *La Bohème* and *La Traviata*. Enthralled audiences demanded numerous curtain calls. But rather than her coloratura, her interpretive artistry made her famous:

While the performances of this [Lucia's] aria by Hempel, Kurz or Bosetti [sopranos performing in Croatian Opera] sound dazzling and spectacular, in Mrs. Strozzi's performance the coloratura is in the service of music expression; we forget virtuosity because we are enchanted by art.²⁷⁵

Konjović praised not just Strozzi-Pečić's technique, but also her acting skills and her "psychological" portrayal, which set her apart from all other performers. In *La Traviata*, she managed to surpass the failings of a "frail libretto" and transform the "poor and meagre piece" into an impressive dramatic creation that evoked the strongest emotions on "our" stage.²⁷⁶ A number of other reviews paint a picture of her as an inimitable virtuosic performer:

In *Madame Butterfly*, *Bohème* and *Manon* on the Zagreb [opera] stage, Maja de Strozzi's dramatic portrayal made an impact that could not be surpassed by anyone thereafter.²⁷⁷

²⁷⁴ For more on women performers and their employment after marriage see: Nancy Reich, "Women as Musicians: A Question of Class", 132-133.

²⁷⁵ *Hrvatski pokret*, 15.3.1913.

²⁷⁶ Petar Konjović, "Maja de Strozzi," 108-9.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid*, 109-10.

In addition to her publicity in newspapers and magazines, the number of available images of her was also unmatched at that time, including a range of photo-postcards depicting her in various operatic roles. According to Croatian composer and critic, Antun Dobronić (1878-1955), she was a household name: “in Zagreb, she is simply known as Mrs Maja”.²⁷⁸



Figure 26 A postcard with Strozzi-Pečić as Madam Butterfly (Puccini) (CMIA MSPC)

²⁷⁸ *Narodne Novine*, 4.4.1936.

Change of Genre: Rebranding the Star Image or Diva-like behaviour?

Strozzi-Pečić's marriage to Bela Pečić (1873-1938) in 1914 proved crucial for her concert career. A son of a Slovak pharmacist, he was also a pharmacy graduate, but did not want to follow in his father's footsteps.²⁷⁹ He was a keen amateur pianist and accompanying his wife on the concert podium was an opportunity for him to pursue his dream career.²⁸⁰ Though Strozzi-Pečić did continue to perform in opera, Pečić encouraged her to pursue a recital career as well and together they formed an enduring partnership, comparable only to that of the Milojević couple in Yugoslav music.

It was at this time that Strozzi-Pečić had the first of two disputes with the Zagreb Opera House. At the beginning of the World War One Strozzi-Pečić took a two-year break from the operatic stage due to a dispute with the Opera House management. According to Konjović, she disagreed with the artistic policy of the Opera Management, the "stale atmosphere" and repertory, imposed partly by war conditions.²⁸¹ She used this break to focus on her concert career. This is an example of a star's agency, according to which, the performer switches to a new genre for self-reinvention. In this case, Strozzi-Pečić used her break from the operatic stage to launch herself and her husband as the ambassadors of the 'national' song. This departure signified for Strozzi-Pečić not just a change of genre, but a change in function: she became an author – a third poet.

²⁷⁹ Stella Fatović-Ferenčić and Jasenka Ferber Bogdan, "Ljekarna k Sv Trojstvu: izgubljeni sjaj zagrebačke secesije," [Saint Trinity Pharmacy: Lost Glamour of Art Nouveau in Zagreb] *Medicus* 16/1 (2007): 123.

²⁸⁰ Bela Pečić performed with Igor Stravinsky at Fête Société des Nations in Lausanne March 1919, Stravinsky's piece for piano four hands, attesting to their friendship but also to Bela Pečić's piano skills.

²⁸¹ Konjović, "Maja de Strozzi", 111-112.

In general, a change of genre is often a tool for reinventing a star, allowing the artists to expand their skill set, and to be seen in a new light.²⁸² This was precisely what Strozzi-Pečić did, according to Konjović, at the encouragement of her new husband.

Konjović gave a detailed account of how Bela Pečić facilitated his wife's "noble" performance of art song.²⁸³ According to Konjović, Strozzi-Pečić and Bela Pečić had lengthy exchanges about repertory in their "salon", with Strozzi-Pečić bringing "near religious dedication" to their working relationship.²⁸⁴ This account of the couple's activity in the domestic realm implies the 'ordinary/extraordinary' paradox identified by Richard Dyer, portraying the celebrated opera star as being 'one of us', and having an ordinary family life.²⁸⁵ In addition to being chaperoned by her husband, as a good bourgeois wife would be, Bela Pečić's amateur status further aided Strozzi-Pečić's image as 'one of us'. This stands in stark contrast to her remoteness as a prima donna – a remoteness generated by her virtuosity, her social rank and the ubiquity of her image in the public sphere.

Although Konjović praised Strozzi-Pečić's operatic performances, highlighting her 'hot theatrical blood' as a positive trait, he emphasised her 'good taste':

This hot theatrical blood that she inherited from her mother is what allows her abundant artistic passion to blossom fully on the stage. Fortunately, her temperament is moderated by a disciplined sense of good taste, regulating this talent of hers.²⁸⁶

²⁸² Joncus, "Producing Stars in drama per musica," 290-1.

²⁸³ Konjović, "Maja de Strozzi", 112-6.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid*, 114-5.

²⁸⁵ Richard Dyer, *The Stars* (London: British Film Institute, 1979).

²⁸⁶ Konjović, "Maja de Strozzi", 109.

Still, Konjović drew on her ‘hot theatrical blood’ in pursuing the *sevdalinka* tradition, both in song and later in his opera *Koštana*, promoting her in ways that would help him as a composer. Strozzi-Pečić’s husband also benefited from her career, forging his music career as her accompanist. Although Bela Pečić urged Strozzi-Pečić to take up art song, she had actively pursued a concert career even before they were married, as the Budapest concert in 1914 shows. She also managed her own recital career. In a letter dated 31st August 1921 Milan Obuljen, the founder of the publishing and concert agency Edition Slave in Vienna, thanked her for a letter in which she inquired about the possibility of organising a concert in Vienna.²⁸⁷ He asked her to choose a date, and promised to do his best to bypass the big names from concert agencies who “only ripoff the artists”.²⁸⁸ Bela Pečić was her accompanist, but unlike Milojević he never addressed the audience. Even accompanying was often a shared role, as a number of her recital reviews show Strozzi-Pečić often accompanied herself for the operatic encores, often being her signature role of Violetta (*La Traviata*). Unlike Milojević, Bela Pečić was not a composer and had no music of his own to promote, leaving the spotlight entirely to his wife.

Strozzi-Pečić’s second dispute with Zagreb Opera House in 1932 shows that she used ‘her’ song repertory to secure further operatic engagements. Having been promised a certain number of performances per year after her official retirement (Figure 27), this

²⁸⁷ Konjović published most of his songs with Edition Slave. For more on Konjović’s collaboration with Milan Obuljen and ‘Edition Slave’ see: Nadežda Mosusova, “Slavenski izdavački zavod u Beču (Milan Obuljen i Petar Konjović),” [Slavonic Publishing in Vienna (Milan Obuljen and Petar Konjović)] *Zvuk* 85-86/9 (1968): 261-275; Nada Bezić, “Notna izdanja Edition Slave (Slavenski izdavački zavod), Beč,” [Music editions of Edition Slave (Slavic Publishing Company), Vienna] in *Glazba, riječi i slike. Svečani zbornik za Koraljku Kos* [Music, Words and Images. Essays in honour of Koraljka Kos], eds. Vjera Katalinić and Zdravko Blažeković, 127-144 (Zagreb: Hrvatsko muzikološko društvo, 1999).

²⁸⁸ Letter kept in CMIA SPC.

agreement was not honoured by the management. Both Strozzi-Pečić and the Director of Opera Krešimir Baranović (1894-1975) published open letters in the press.²⁸⁹ The archival material gives insight into the involvement of Boris Papandopulo in the dispute, as well as Konjović's reconciliatory role.

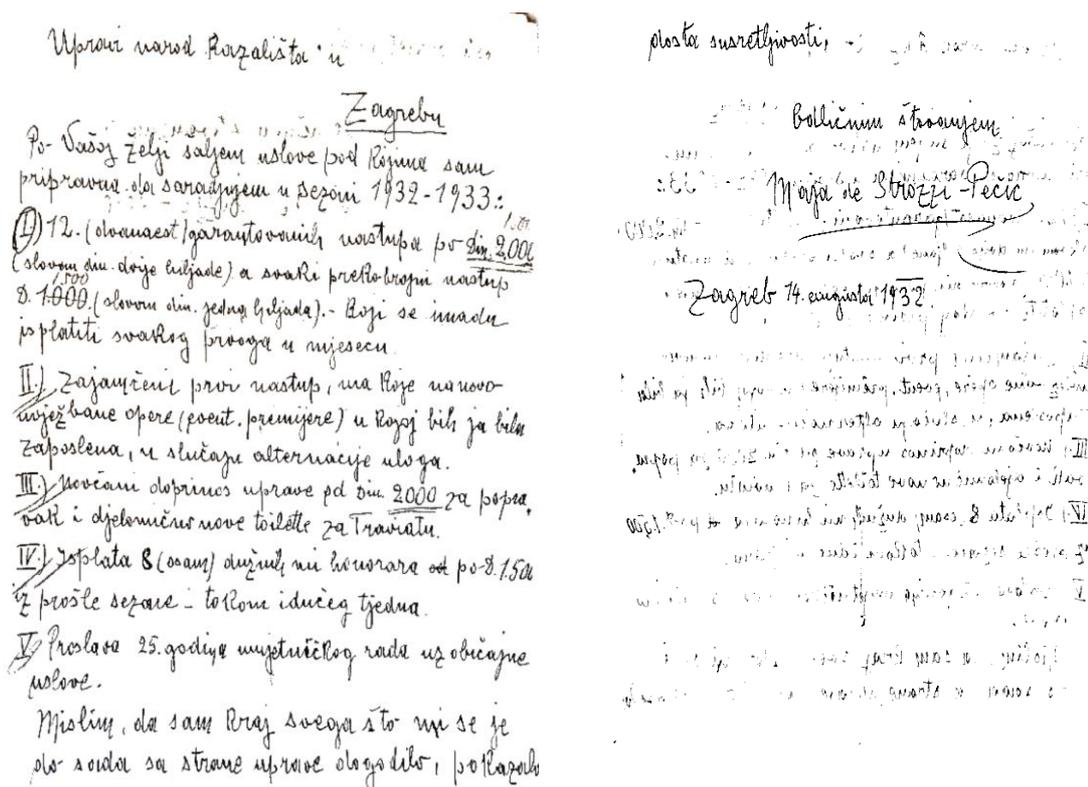


Figure 27 Strozzi-Pečić's letter to the Zagreb Opera Management, 14/8/1932 (STMA MSPC)

The letter was written on one paper, and the poor quality of the second page is due the imprint of the text on the first page which specifies terms Strozzi-Pečić asked for – guaranteed monthly performances, payments and organizing the special performance to mark 25th anniversary of her singing career.

²⁸⁹ Krešimir Baranović (1894-1975) was a Croatian composer and conductor. He was the conductor of the Zagreb Philharmonic Orchestra, Belgrade Opera and professor at the Zagreb Music Academy.

In her letter to Dr Ivo Tartalja (1880-1949), the mayor of Split, dated 30 March 1933, Strozzi-Pečić complained that she had not been included in Zagreb Opera House's planned visit to Split. She stated that Konjović (at that time Director of the Croatian Theatre) recommended her to Tartalja. She found her exclusion to be a grave injustice, "particularly considering her services in promoting art and national repertory". Referring to her performance in *La Traviata*, she pointed out that she had drawn a full house in Zagreb, and assured Tartalja that "A mere announcement that Maja Strozzi will be singing it will be enough to fill the house in Split". In his reply Tartalja wrote that he was not involved in the programming of the tour, and that her exclusion was simply due to the absence of Italian operas in the Split programme.

Boris Papandopulo reported on the dispute between Strozzi-Pečić and the Opera Management in *Pravda* on 21 December 1933.²⁹⁰ The director Baranović's rebuttal appeared a week later. Baranović hinted at nepotism by pointing out that Boris Papandopulo was Strozzi-Pečić's son. Baranović further complained that Strozzi-Pečić was not happy with the arrangements she had with the Opera House and that she kept asking for more frequent engagements. Rather than taking a passive stand, Strozzi-Pečić countered all of Baranović's claims. She commended the action taken by the new director, Petar Konjović, who compensated her for the number of performances she was supposed to have had that season and promised to honour the agreement she made with former management. In the original letter to *Pravda*, subsequently published in an abridged version, Strozzi-Pečić directly drew on her lineage. What might be seen as arrogance, is

²⁹⁰ He was a music reporter from Zagreb for the Belgrade-published paper *Pravda*.

legitimated as she anticipates that the audiences will see her, as the member of a ruling elite, as merely invoking her social prerogatives:

I do not ask if I have deserved such a treatment from the Zagreb Opera House as a daughter of Marija Ružička-Strozzi, sister of Tito Strozzi, mother of Boris Papandopulo and someone born in Zagreb. I ask if I deserved it after all my artistic achievements, in theatre and outside of it, and considering all I could still do for advancing our music culture in our cultural centre, my home town of Zagreb?²⁹¹

The press took Strozzi-Pečić's side, titling the article with: "The worthy reply of our opera star, who should still be shining on the Croatian stage".

But even as she fought for more roles, Strozzi-Pečić complained of opera's commercialism. She said to Konjović "with a sigh" that "a composer's art is a lasting one, a performer's art is a fading one".²⁹² Konjović protested, arguing that an artistic performer determined the fate of the work: "It is the power in the performer that models the reception by the audience."²⁹³ For him, the art song grew out from the performer's input. Because of his convictions, Konjović wanted her to be an exclusive interpreter of his songs, and she accepted. Her role was recognized by the critics: "Together with Konjović and [the poet] Nikolić she reigned as the "third poet of this song."²⁹⁴ However, this meaning is specific to Strozzi-Pečić, and distinct from the way Ivanka Milojević became a 'third poet'. While Ivanka Milojević collaborated with a male author to realise their ideas, Strozzi-Pečić held the power to call forth the ideas from men she collaborated with.

²⁹¹ Letter kept in STMA MSPC.

²⁹² Konjović, "Maja de Strozzi", 103.

²⁹³ Ibid, 104.

²⁹⁴ *Obzor*, 6.3.1917.

Furthermore, Strozzi-Pečić possessed independence and power over audiences, in contrast to Ivanka Milojević's nurturing and educational role.

Dissemination of The Repertory – Star as The Face and Voice of National Song

Maja de Strozzi was no longer an artist who is supposed to entertain the audience. That night, her art was intertwined with the audiences' national feelings, as if her soul whispered after each song: 'yes, I am yours, we belong to each other...' ²⁹⁵

This quote shows that by 1917, when Konjović was still a fairly unknown composer, Strozzi-Pečić was already an established star vocalist, recognised for her engagement with 'national' repertory. Three significant moments shaped their collaboration: Strozzi-Pečić's tour in Belgrade with the Zagreb Opera House in 1911, the concert in Budapest in 1914 organized by the Serbo-Croat Youth organization and their meeting in Zagreb in 1916.

According to Konjović, the tour of the Zagreb Opera House was the sign of "our national unity, best expressed in our art". He particularly singled out her performance as the first time that an artist of such a standard, and moreover from "our nation", performed on the stage in Serbia.²⁹⁶ It is worth noting that Konjović, a Serbian, referred to the Croat Strozzi-Pečić as one of "our nation", showing his belief, widely spread at the time, that

²⁹⁵ *Primorske novine*, 30.5.1917

²⁹⁶ Konjović, "Maja de Strozzi", 110-1.

Serbs and Croats belonged to the same nation,²⁹⁷ as well as the cultural synthesis the artists were aiming to achieve. Konjović was not the only critic praising this particular performance by Strozzi-Pečić. Similarly, Miloje Milojević described Strozzi-Pečić as an actress and singer of outstanding ability.²⁹⁸

Konjović, Strozzi-Pečić and Milojević crossed paths again at a concert organized by the Serbo-Croat Academic Youth Organisation in Budapest in 1914, described in detail in Chapter Two (pp. 59-61). According to Konjović, the success of that concert was a sign that Strozzi-Pečić's calling was to promote the "artistic national song" among Yugoslav people in her concerts:²⁹⁹

In Budapest,...feeling the heartfelt gratitude of the young composer Miloje Milojević, whom she helped so much in achieving success, Maja felt all the lure and power of her artistic mission.³⁰⁰

Two of Konjović's points are noteworthy. First, Strozzi-Pečić was credited for the success of Milojević's songs. He was after all, just like Konjović, still a relatively unknown composer. Second, her enthusiasm for the repertory was seemingly fuelled not just by the composers' gratitude but by the audience's reception as well. Konjović identified Strozzi-Pečić's engagement with the 'national' song as a mission, using the

²⁹⁷ As mentioned before, this was, incidentally, also the official view in the Habsburg monarchy, where the 1910 population census did not distinguish between Serbs and Croats but used a single category 'Serbo-Croats'.

²⁹⁸ Miloje Milojević, "Umetnički pregled: Gostovanje operne trupe Kraljevskog Zemaljskog Hrvatskog Kazališta u Beogradu," [Review: Zagreb Opera tour in Belgrade] *Srpski književni glasnik* 27/1 (1911): 62-68.

²⁹⁹ Konjović, "Maja de Strozzi", 111.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

same word as for Ivanka Milojević despite the two sopranos' distinctively different careers.

Konjović's and Strozzi-Pečić's meeting in Zagreb in 1916 marked the beginning of their collaboration. In a letter to Tihomir Ostojić dated 25th June 1916, Konjović wrote that Strozzi-Pečić spoke to him about her plans to perform a series of concerts with a 'national' repertory and asked to see his songs. The following day they met again, and Konjović was so fascinated with the way she interpreted, that they had an impromptu session improvising a new song.³⁰¹ The song in question is his most 'operatic' and technically demanding song *Sabah* [Morning], analysed below. They inspired each other: only several days after their meeting, Strozzi-Pečić sent Konjović a telegram asking urgently for the manuscript of this song. When later that year Konjović was trying to organize his first art song concert in Zagreb, he indicated that the concert itself would not go forward unless Strozzi-Pečić was the performing artist.

I am still waiting for a reply from Maja Strozzi, to decide if there will be a concert. She has been in a dispute with the Opera management since before the war started and hasn't performed in Zagreb since. I am not putting my hopes too high, but I will not go ahead without her.³⁰²

In her skills and reputation as a 'champion of national repertory' Konjović recognized a unique ambassador for his songs, and never changed his opinion – the last edition of his *Lirika* collection published in 1948 bears a dedication "to Maja de Strozzi".

Strozzi-Pečić agreed to perform and the concert was held on 3rd March 1917 in the Croatian Conservatoire Concert Hall. Strozzi-Pečić and the baritone Marko Vušković

³⁰¹ Mosusova, "Prepiska izmedju Petra Konjovića i Tihomira Ostojića", 158.

³⁰² *Ibid*, 163.

(1877-1960) sang eleven songs.³⁰³ Its success led to a repeat performance only three weeks later, on 24th March 1917.

Strozzi-Pečić then regularly performed Konjović's songs until 1951.³⁰⁴ Out of the twenty-five Strozzi-Pečić's concert programmes kept in Croatian Archives,³⁰⁵ starting from 1916, at the beginning of her and Konjović's collaboration, only five do not feature Konjović's songs.³⁰⁶ These five concerts were exclusively of foreign repertory and did not feature any Yugoslav composers. Her concertizing peaked in the 1920s, with eighteen concerts. For three of these concerts she performed only Konjović's songs – an honour he alone enjoyed among the composers whose works she sang. As explored in Chapter Two, Strozzi-Pečić took an active part in the selection of the 'folk' material for Konjović's collection and broadened the geography covered.

Konjović was not the only one who acknowledged Strozzi-Pečić's engagement with the 'national' repertory at the time. According to Dobronić one of the staunchest supporters of the "national style in music" in Croatia,³⁰⁷ the actual scope of this [national] repertory is largely due to the efforts of this "artistic [husband and wife] power-couple", as Bela Pečić "literally chased and nagged" the composers to compose more songs for them to perform. He listed composers "who should feel personally indebted to Maja and

³⁰³ Strozzi-Pečić sang *Chanson, Iščekivanje, Večernja pesma, Pod pendžeri, San zaspala, Nane, kazi tajku* and *Sabah*. Vušković sang *Minadir, Ukop, Noć* and *Čekanje*.

³⁰⁴ Strozzi-Pečić celebrated her 70th birthday with a recital in the concert hall Istra in Zagreb on 8.12.1951. She sang two songs from Konjović's collection *Moja zemlja* [My Country]: *Do tri mi puški* [Three guns] and *Povela je Jela* [Jela was leading].

³⁰⁵ Croatian Music Institute, Zagreb and Samobor Town Museum, Samobor.

³⁰⁶ For the full table of concerts see The Thesis Appendix.

³⁰⁷ Roksanda Pejović, "Antun Dobronić i njegovi napisi publikovani u Beogradu," [Antun Dobronić's publications in Belgrade] *Međimurje* 13/14 (1988): 166.

Bela” [in the following order] – Konjović, Širola, Gotovac, Grgošević, Tajčević and himself.³⁰⁸

Like Ivanka Milojević, Strozzi-Pečić was ‘chaperoned’ by her husband. What was different though, due to the couple’s stage dynamics, was that she commanded the spotlight, her performance eclipsing both the accompanist and the repertory:

We are not the ones to estimate the musical value of these songs, but Mrs Strozzi sang them in such way that the audience, by approving her interpretation, also approved this up and coming composer’s work.³⁰⁹

Strozzi-Pečić often performed in bigger spaces than Ivanka Milojević. That was partly due to her star status, but also because in Croatia there were more theatres and concert halls than in Serbia. Strozzi-Pečić also broadcast recitals on Radio Zagreb during the summer of 1926. Notably, this was her only lecture-recital, as two of these eight recitals were preceded by lectures given by composers. In all other instances there were no other ‘voices’ but hers addressing listeners.

One among several press reports drives home her perceived leadership in Yugoslav art song:

Maja Strozzi was born to be an apostle of our folk song, which she performs with her artistic instinct and her vast musical culture like no one before her.³¹⁰

The term ‘an apostle’ characterizes her as prophetess, while the use of ‘our’ is yet another occurrence of deixis in reports about her concerts. She often performed folk and art songs in one programme. At the concert referred to in the quote, there were actually no folk

³⁰⁸ *Narodne Novine*, 4.4.1936.

³⁰⁹ *Nezavisnost*, 26.5.1917.

³¹⁰ *Obzor*, 6.3.1917.

songs performed, but the ‘national’ repertory was simply equated with ‘folk’. Her “vast musical culture” refers to the sophistication of her taste (resulting from entitlement) and technique (meaning virtuosity). Another press report clarifies these points in yet another concert where newly-composed art songs stood for folk music:

[Strozzi-Pečić]...is famous for her operatic and demanding concert repertory, but we were surprised how, using the simplest natural means, mainly a clear diction and her supple voice, she made these [Konjović’s] songs particularly enchanting. She is, without a doubt, the best performer of the lyrical folk song.³¹¹

This review pinpoints diction as crucial to Strozzi-Pečić, like Ivanka Milojević, being judged ‘the best performer of lyrical folk song’.

Inprint in the Score

Konjović’s *Sevdalinka*

Konjović’s early *sevdalinka* songs resembled traditional *sevdalinks*, but for Strozzi-Pečić, he transformed this song’s Orientalism, drawing on operatic writing tailored to her voice, and stage roles.³¹² Here again, she sanitised – in this instance, virtuosity and exotic display, which Konjović turned into high art.

³¹¹ *Nezavisnost* 26, 26.5.1917

³¹² Konjović’s affinity for ‘operatic brushstrokes’ in his art song was recognised by Ernst Isler (1879-1944), the music critic of the *Neue Züricher Zeitung*, who found that “Konjović’s songs had at times operatic quality”. This was on occasion of concert of Slavic music in 1919 in Zürich, elaborated further later in the chapter. Among other songs Strozzi-Pečić performed *Sabah*. The quote is from Strozzi-Pečić’s personally annotated interview notes, held in CMIA MSPC.

Konjović's disapproval of Italian opera is noted above. He also had an ambivalent stand towards the use of 'Oriental' heritage in art music. In his writings on folk tradition he stressed the need to identify all "supplement" that distorted and falsified "authentic folk music" whose kernel was healthy and original.³¹³ His original songs without folk connections feature declamatory lines, in accordance with his creed of following the inflections of the spoken word as the starting point for a song's melodic line.³¹⁴ However, coloratura passages are abundant in Konjović's folk-related songs, notably *sevdalinka*, contradicting his theoretical writings on both account of their virtuosity and Orientalist decorations. It was through Strozzi-Pečić's voice and celebrity status that he reconciled these dilemmas.

In his detailed account of Strozzi-Pečić's initial foray into "this tradition", Konjović elaborates how her "European trained ear" needed some time to get acquainted with intervals found in "our primitive music". However, once she got to learn them, "her soul quickly felt the connection". He further emphasised the importance of her interpretation:

It is in highly refined interpretation such as Strozzi-Pečić's that our East, Oriental motives can gain the patina necessary for a work stemming from primitive origins to be appreciated as a pure work of art. Educated in refined Italian tradition, at first she found these sensual traits of our music strange. However, she felt instantly that these songs, which are raw expressions of our passionate East,

³¹³ Petar Konjović, "Muzički folklor, njegova vrednost, čistoća i interpretacija," [Music folklore, its value, purity and interpretation] in *Knjiga o muzici* [The Book about Music] (Novi Sad: Matica srpska, 1947), 30.

³¹⁴ His preoccupation with melody of the spoken language is widely cited in literature: Ana Stefanović, ed., *Anthology of Serbian Art Song in 5 volumes* [Belgrade: Composers Association of Serbia, 2008], XI; Ivana Vuksanović, "'Lirika' Petra Konjovića," ["The Lyric" of Petar Konjović] *Medjimurje* 13-14 (1988): 138; Zija Kučukalić, "Romantic Solo song in Serbia," *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 7/1(1976): 109; Nadežda Mosusova, "Lirika Petra Konjovića," [The Lyric of Petar Konjović] *Zvuk* 75-76 (1967): 2.

possess the power of a new art. Transposed into cultivated registers of her voice, these songs turned into art which was transformed, pure and devoted.³¹⁵

In short, she not just purged ‘primitive’ elements through her voice and execution, but in her role as a third poet transformed this ‘unwanted’ musical material into art worthy of the ‘new Yugoslav culture’.

Strozzi-Pečić’s artistry was indispensable and irreproducible. It allowed Konjović to problematize love, longing and eroticism in his most famous opera *Koštana*, based on a play by Borislav Stanković (1875-1927), and inspired by the *sevdalinka* tradition. He conceived this work for her:

While talking about *sevdalinka* style, she [Strozzi-Pečić] asked me if it would be possible to compose an opera in that style. I told them [Strozzi-Pečić and Bela Pečić] about ‘Koštana’, the one that I’ve been carrying in my heart for some time now, in hope that passionate motives from Vranje [town in southern part of Serbia] could give new Carmen.³¹⁶ The enthusiasm she showed, and the way she understood instantly the soul of this music with her supple voice and passionate heart fuelled my desire and nothing will quench my angst till my dream becomes a finished work.³¹⁷

Konjović’s *sevdalinka* songs show the procedures through which he passed off virtuosity as Orientalist excess, now sanitized thanks to her artistry. Three early *sevdalinka* songs, *San zaspala* [She dreamt a dream], *Sevdah* [Amorous yearning] (both composed in 1903) and *Pod pendžeri* [Under your windows] (composed in 1906) feature the *sevdalinka*

³¹⁵ Konjović, “Maja de Strozzi”, 117.

³¹⁶ Koštana, the main character in opera, is a young Gipsy girl.

³¹⁷ Mosusova, “Prepiska između Petra Konjovića i Tihomira Ostojića”, 158. However, the realization of the project took longer than expected, and by 1931 when it premiered she was not actively performing on opera stage. They collaborated on the operatic stage often, including the Yugoslav premiere of *Pelleas and Melisande* in Zagreb in 1923, Konjović conducted and Strozzi-Pečić sang the title role.

idiom: wide range, melismatic vocal line and use of augmented second. *Pod pendžeri* was so successful in evoking the tradition that it was often mistaken for a folk song. The song *Nane, kaži tajku* [Mother, tell Daddy], composed in 1910, departs from this pattern. There are no melismatic sections, and though the vocal line features prominent augmented seconds, its expansive phrasing, octave jumps, and text about a girl asking for a permission to marry the boy call for parallel with Puccini's *O mio babbino caro* (Lauretta's aria from *Gianni Schicchi*). The arpeggio piano accompaniment drives further this comparison. *Sabah*, his last *sevdalinka*, is his ultimate nod to the opera genre in his art song opus, an 'Oriental Violetta' with incorporated muezzin cadenza.

Konjović's *sevdalinks* suited Strozzi-Pečić for their operatic vocal lines, but they also suited the siren image - symbolising the powers of voice, music, knowledge, sex and pleasure.³¹⁸ In contrast to Milojević, who most often chose texts about nature,³¹⁹ Konjović mostly set love poetry, whether by an individual or drawn from folk tradition. One of his first songs was *Sevdah*, with lyrics by Osman Djikić.³²⁰ It is about "ašik" (meaning passion, desire, yearning) for the sweetheart's dark eyes, for which the poet will search everywhere and risk his life, only to kiss them. The title *Sevdah* was translated in the earliest score as "Turkish word – amorous yearning".³²¹ For Konjović folk ballads were synonymous with love poems. His original song *Nane, kaži tajku* is one example. When he set the song's words, he knew only the ballad verses; not until years later did he

³¹⁸ Rutherford, *The Prima Donna and Opera, 1815-1930*, 36.

³¹⁹ Milojević's song collection from 1932 is called "In awe of Magnificence of Nature".

³²⁰ Osman Djikić (1879-1912) was a Serbian poet and writer from Bosnia and Herzegovina, famous for his love poetry. The song Konjović set to music in *Sevdah* is *Ašik osta na te oci*, from collection *Ašiklije* (1903).

³²¹ Petar Konjović, *Lirika*, (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1948), 13.

hear the folk melody, after which he arranged it for his *Moja zemlja* collection. Konjović also wrote verses for his songs, notably two *sevdalinkas*: *Pod pendžeri* and *Sabah*. *Pod pendžeri* is a serenade that climaxes on the words “burning heart” in a melismatic cadenza at the end.³²² Strozzi-Pečić’s preference for *sevdalinka* was in stark contrast to Ivanka Milojević’s penchant for lullabies. Tellingly, Strozzi-Pečić chose not to sing *Hercegovačka uspavanka*, Ivanka Milojević’s favourite lullaby, in a Budapest concert in 1914, despite dedicating considerable time and effort to learning it.

³²² The song is today usually sung by men, but Strozzi-Pečić regularly included it in her concerts. This was not an unusual practice in late nineteenth century when gender was less of a factor in performers’ choice of songs. For more on standard practice in performance of *Lieder* and *Mélodie* see: Martha Elliott, *Singing in Style: A Guide to Vocal Performance Practices* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006).



Figure 28 Milojević's manuscript of *Hercegovska uspavanka* (CMIA MSPC)

The manuscript attests to her struggle with this song. (Figure 28) She wanted it transposed, as shown in the marking in the top left corner: “za ½ tona više” [for half-tone higher].³²³

³²³ This is one of many examples of this practice found in the archive, confirming that transposing the songs was still widely accepted, particularly since in this concert she was accompanied by the composer himself.

- 12 -

III.) Annina - narodna uspavanka iz Hercegovine.

Lagano. Sanjivo. M. Milojević.

Annina du-šo mo-ja Anni-na

du-šo spa-raj slat-ko spa-

Ped.

Figure 29 Copy of Hercegovska uspavanka (CMIA MSPC).

Furthermore, she added embellishments to the vocal line, visible in a different pen and in a different handwriting to the copyist's or Milojević's in the transposed copy (Figure 29, measure 6).³²⁴ Despite all this, she did not perform it in the Budapest concert. Furthermore, there are no records of it in any of her concert programmes or reviews. This

³²⁴ While Milojević published the song in the 1921 collection in the original key, he added Strozzi-Pečić's embellishment.

lullaby, though delicate and demanding a highly restrained mode of delivery, posed no real vocal challenge to Strozzi-Pečić, but it did not suit her ‘siren’ virtuosic image. Instead of this song, she chose to perform Milojević’s *Japan*, with a markedly melismatic line. Her choice matched that for her encores in her song recitals, for which she typically chose arias for Violetta and Lakmé to conclude with vocal fireworks. Konjović’s *Luda Jele* [Foolish Jele], a song Strozzi-Pečić performed often, illustrates the stark contrast with Milojević’s lullabies.

Luda Jele (folk poem)

Bacala se Jele jabukom od zlata.
 Bacala je zlatnu u zelenu bašču
 Na zalenoj travi momče neženjeno
 Momce neženjeno, jošte neljubljeno
 Pa ga zove Jele uveče pod granje
 Da joj ludoj kaze što je milovanje?

Foolish Jele

Jela was playing with a golden apple.
 She threw it into the garden
 Where on green grass laid a young boy,
 Still unmarried, still not kissed.
 Thus Jela called him under the trees in the
 evening
 To explain to her, a foolish girl, what is
 love?

The song manuscript (Figure 30) shows Strozzi-Pečić’s annotation of the word “erotica” at the beginning of the song, as if she was classifying the repertory she was programming. She gave her audiences the best of both worlds, merging the ‘noble national cause’ of art song with the power and sensuality of opera to become a native siren.

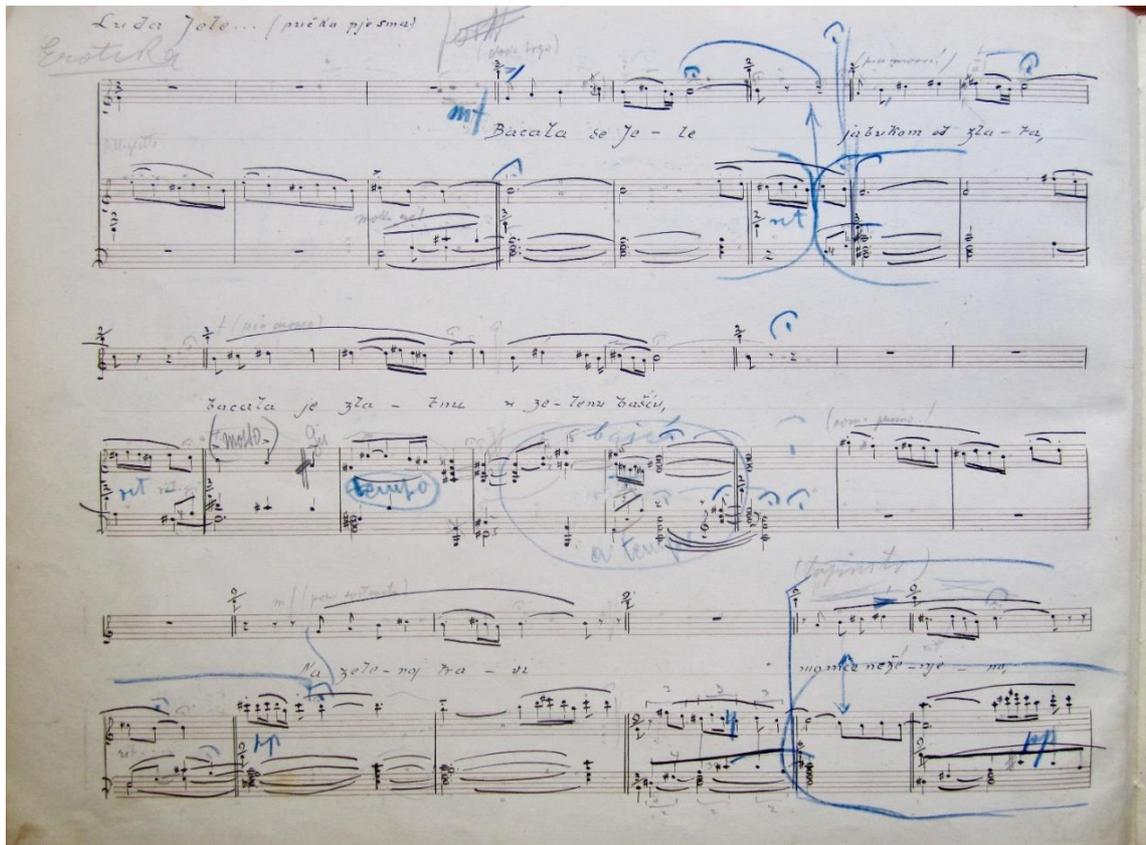


Figure 30 Manuscript copy of Konjović's song *Luda Jele* (CMIA MSPC).

Sabah and Yugoslav Identity

The most compelling evidence of Strozzi-Pečić's and Konjović's direct collaboration in compositional process is the manuscript of the song *Sabah*. The song resulted from their joint improvising at a session on 15th June 1916 in Zagreb. The context of their 1916 Zagreb session differed from that of 1914 Budapest, when they took part in concert organized by Serbo-Croat Youth Organisation. The Budapest concert happened in February, before World War One started. In 1916 Serbia was occupied by Austro-Hungary, and Konjović spent the war years in Zagreb. As mentioned in Chapter Two, he viewed Zagreb not only as the cultural center of the region, but possibly as the capital of a mini-Habsburg Yugoslavia – a South Slav polity made of Habsburg South Slav lands

that would remain within a transformed, Triune Austrian-Hungarian-Slav Habsburg monarchy.³²⁵ Strozzi-Pečić spent these turbulent years mainly away from the stage, although to Konjović's letter to Ostojić mentions her recital in Novi Sad (present-day Serbia, but then in southern Hungary).³²⁶

While it can be debated whether at the moment of inception *Sabah* was bearing a Yugoslav idea, two points remain: Strozzi-Pečić was its co-creator, and her performance secured the song's reception as Yugoslav in the years to come.

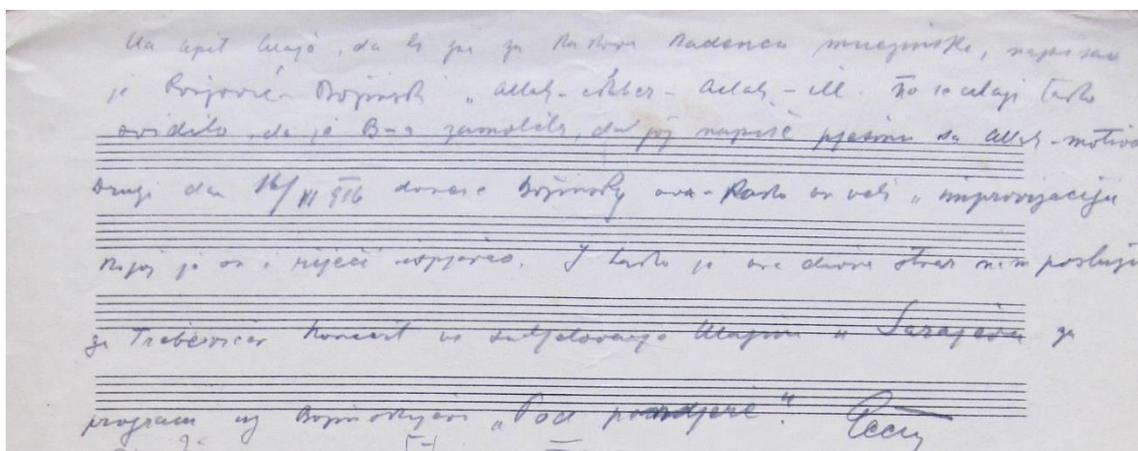


Figure 31 Konjović's manuscript, *Sabah*, back page with Bela Pečić's inscription (CMIA MSPC).

As mentioned in Chapter Two, the idea for the song came from Strozzi-Pečić. The paragraph in Figure 31, added on the back of the score by Bela Pečić, also present in this meeting, gives previously unknown details about the song's genesis. Strozzi-Pečić asked

³²⁵ Meaning as the center under whose jurisdiction the territories of former Serbian territories in southern Hungary, including Novi Sad, would have come. For more see: Katarina Tomašević, "Imagining the Homeland: The Shifting Borders of Petar Konjović's Yugoslavism," in *Serbian Music: Yugoslav Contexts*, eds. Melita Milin and Jim Samson, (Belgrade: Institute of Musicology SASA, 2014), 80-3.

³²⁶ Mosusova, "Preписка između Petra Konjovića i Tihomira Ostojića", 165.

Konjović for a cadenza in ‘muezzin’ style which she could include in her concerts with folk songs. Strozzi-Pečić’s choice of words reveals the extent to which she drew on her gender for her performances: she referred to a muezzin as female (Serbian word: *mujezinka*), turning a religious call into a performance of femininity.

Konjović sketched the opening line of *Sabah*. She liked this so much that she asked him to compose a whole song. They improvised at the keyboard, and the result was this manuscript. The following day Konjović sent her the song with a piano accompaniment and verses, calling it “the improvisation”. Pečić concludes the note stating that he and Strozzi-Pečić were going to perform *Sabah* in the forthcoming concert in Sarajevo, together with Konjović’s song *Pod pendžeri*. Strozzi-Pečić combined in *Sabah* two components typical of the siren – an extravagant cadenza and a sensual *sevdalinka*-styled melody. The manuscript (Figures 32 and 33) confirms the date from Konjović’s correspondence, but also shows that Konjović composed the entire vocal line during the session with Strozzi-Pečić.

Impromptu
Magidi Horn *Sabah* *Konjović*

Allah elber, el - Sabah elber
 Dul - bul he - ra
 Be - bul

Figure 32 Konjović's manuscripts, Sabah, first page (CMIA MSPC).

a tempo
 zastani vie da de dođ!
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 aji aji
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Figure 33 Konjović's manuscript, Sabah, second page (CMIA MSPC)

Furthermore, the analysis of the vocal line emerges, after closer study, as Konjović's transcription of Strozzi-Pečić's voice. Strozzi-Pečić was famous for her portrayal of

Violetta (*La Traviata*, Verdi). It was her signature role and the one she chose to mark her twenty-five years of operatic career in Zagreb Opera house in 1926. The descending a-f-c motive in vocal line, which is repeated twice in *Sabah* and then further varied, directly quotes in pitch, rhythm and accents Violetta's fioraturas from the first duet with Alfredo (compare Fig. 34 to Fig 35). The song's conclusion mirrors the ending of the Violetta's second aria, with the turn ornament and floating octave jump in *p* dynamics, marked *morrendo* in the manuscript (compare Fig 36 to Fig. 37). In other words, as they rehearsed Strozzi-Pečić recalled her most familiar operatic role, whose melody Konjović folded into *Sabah*.

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mf

zašt mi re-če da će doć? A!
 ty chō-zal mne što pri-đeš! A!

p

pp

a!
 a!

Mje-sec za - dje,
 Me-ću ra - čet,

sub. pp

sp

Figure 34 Music example 4 Konjović, *Sabah* (Petar Konjović, *Lirika* (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1948), 103)

VIO.
Ah se ciò è ver, fug - gi - temi...

A.
.li-zia, croce e de - li-zia, delizia al cor.

p *p*

Figure 35 Music example 5 Verdi, La Traviata, act 1 Violetta and Alfredo Duet (Giuseppe Verdi, La Traviata (Milan: G. Ricordi, 2004), 44).

p *pp*

Al - lah il Al - lah il Al - lah

ppp *ppp* poco rit.

ossia *pp*

lah!
sax!
a tempo

ppp *ppp* *ppp* dim.

Figure 36 Music example 6 Konjović, Sabah (Petar Konjović, Lirika (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1948), 104).



Figure 37 Music example 7 Verdi, *La Traviata*, Violetta's aria, 3rd act. (Giuseppe Verdi, *La Traviata* (Milan: G. Ricordi, 2004), 217).

Konjović added words after he and Strozzi-Pečić had determined vocal line. He chose to write of ‘amorous yearning’, that, in accordance with *sevdalinka* tradition, turns out to be unrequited, since the lover does not arrive at night as promised. For the material taken from *La Traviata* Konjović wrote words that had Strozzi-Pečić imitate the call of the “bulbul”, or songbird; here, siren power merges the songbird’s ennobling charms with the Oriental lover’s smouldering desire.

Sabah(Konjović)

Allah ekber!
 Bulbul pjeva, srce plače, minu noć,
 Zašt’ mi reče da će doć?
 Mjesec zadje, gasnu zvijezde, dan je tu,
 Gle, čuj, oh čuj, s minareta pjesmu čuj:
 Allah ekber!

Morning

Allah ekber!
 Songbird is singing, my heart is weeping,
 the night has passed,
 Why did he tell me he would come?
 The moon and stars are gone, the day is
 here.
 Oh listen, listen to this song coming from
 minnaret:
 Allah ekber!

The various manuscripts of *Sabah*, both by Konjović and by copyists,³²⁷ show that Strozzi-Pečić performed more elaborate melismas than featured in the song's final published version.³²⁸ Furthermore, the melismas are not the same in all of these copies; that is, as part of her practice, she prepared a range of improvisatory additions for her performances.



Figure 38 The copy of *Sabah* (CMIA MSPC)

³²⁷ The copies in figures 30 and 38 are by Bela Pečić. It was his standard practice to copy manuscripts, either for transposing or simplifying the accompaniment.

³²⁸ *Sabah* was only published in the final version of collection *Lirika* in 1948.

The published version contains the *La Traviata* quotations, but not her improvised melismatic opening. Seemingly, Konjović found Strozzi-Pečić's distinctive execution irreproducible.

This improvisatory coloratura passages call for an analysis of their function in musical text.³²⁹ In his analysis of *Lakmé*, one of Strozzi-Pečić's signature roles, Gurminder Bhogal argues that this ornamentation is wrongly perceived as a static, immutable entity that cannot speak.³³⁰ He identifies two types of *Lakmé*'s coloratura, mimetic and structural.³³¹ A parallel can be made with *Sabah*'s mimetic fioraturas with Violetta's line, and the opening and closing melismatic line, the muezzin prayer, which Strozzi-Pečić changed for her performances. Strozzi-Pečić's choice of motive, her method of execution, and her previously mentioned "psychological portrayal of coloratura passages" made the 'Oriental' heritage in the melismatic passages integral to the material instead of mere decoration.

Another characteristic of *sevdalinka* melodies, apart from their sensuality, is the interval of augmented second. Melodies built around this interval recalled, thanks to their associations with *sevdalinka* tradition, the Ottoman and the large Muslim population in Bosnia. While Ivo Andrić "opened for consideration the question of how the Muslim heritage can be incorporated into the Yugoslav synthesis" with his short story *Djerzelez*

³²⁹ Gurminder Kaur Bhogal, "Lakmé's Echoing Jewels," in *The Arts of the Prima Donna in the Long Nineteenth Century*, 188.

³³⁰ Ibid, 187. For more on Orientalism, femininity and female sexuality see: Richard Taruskin, *Defining Russia Musically* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000); Marina Frolova-Walker, *Russian Music and Nationalism: From Glinka to Stalin* (London: Yale University Press, 2007).

³³¹ Bhogal, "Lakmé's Echoing Jewels", 191.

u hanu [Djerzelez at the Inn] published in 1918,³³² *Sabah* shows not just that Konjović did the same in music two years earlier, but more significantly, that a female performer prompted him to do so. Without Strozi-Pečić such a song would have been neither performed, nor popularized.

Strozi-Pečić often chose *Sabah* as the last piece of the concert programme, earning high praise, such as in Zagreb in 1917: “The way she sang *Sabah* was a crown she placed on composer.”³³³ Numerous reviews of Strozi-Pečić evidence her spellbinding power over audiences as they listened to her ‘Yugoslav’ art song. For instance:

She was supposed to finish the concert with Konjović’s song *Sabah*, but it wasn’t to be [after standing ovations she sang the song again as an encore]. It was as if with this song she touched everyone’s emotions and lifted them in thoughts to ‘Allah’, and as if in the Nightingale [character in song] she depicted our people, who are crying for freedom that was promised by ‘Allah’...³³⁴

Strozi-Pečić, a Catholic Croatian singer of Czech-Italian background, sang a song by Konjović, an Orthodox Habsburg-born Serbian composer, which evokes the Bosnian *sevdalinka* tradition and calls Allah. None of these facts seemed to get in the way for the audience in a small town of Rijeka in Croatia, then Austria-Hungary, to applaud both the performer and the ‘national’ art song of a nascent Yugoslavia. The population in Rijeka,

³³² Wachtel, “Ivan Meštrović, Ivo Andrić and the Synthetic Yugoslav Culture of the Interwar Period,” 244. I remind here that Ivo Andrić was a founding member of The Group of Artists with Milojević, confirming the interconnectedness of the intellectuals at that time.

³³³ *Obzor*, 6.3.1917.

³³⁴ *Primorske novine* 124, 30.5.1917.

mainly Croat, strongly favoured South Slav unification because of the threat from Italy.³³⁵

The song's overwhelming reception attests to the power of both performance and a performer as a binding force for communities.

The concert in Zürich Tonhalle of 19th January 1919, titled "The Slav Concert – Works by Yugoslav, Czech-Slovak and Russian authors", sheds further light on *Sabah*'s stage life but also the repertory's reception in Europe (Figure 39).

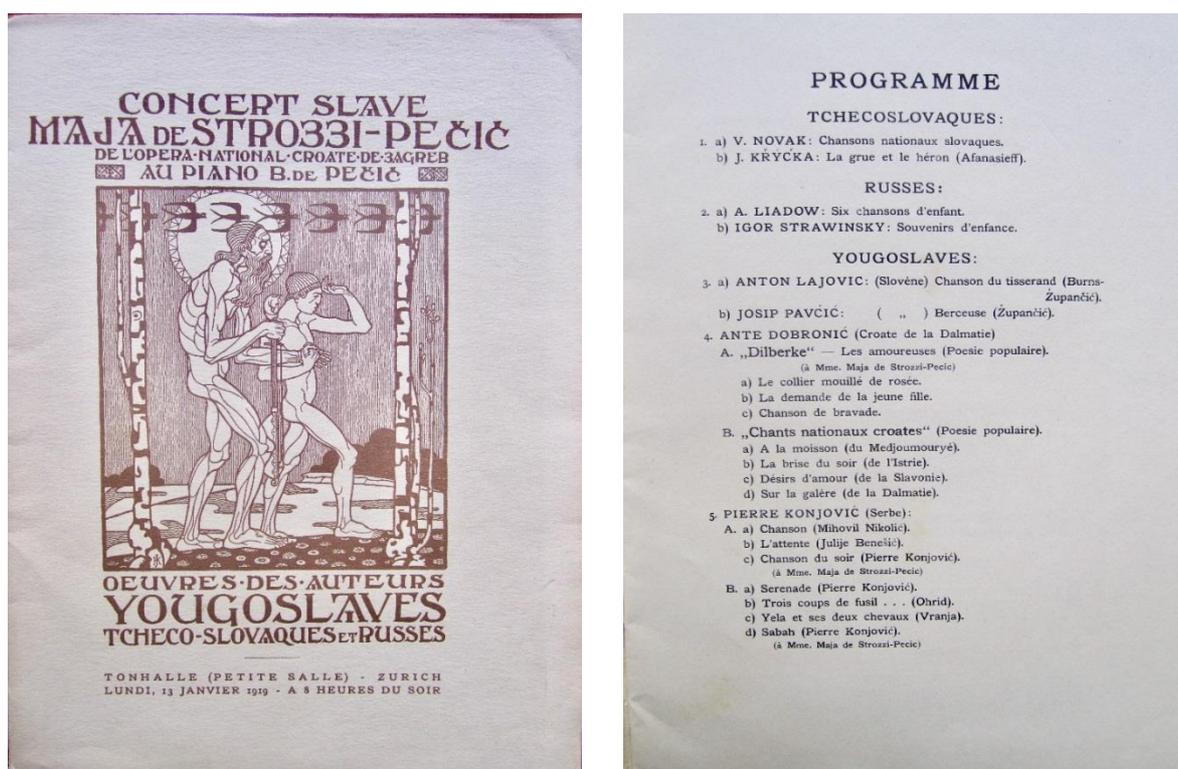


Figure 39 Programme, Strozzi-Pečić's Concert Slave in Zürich in 1919 (CMIA MSPC).

After performances in Sarajevo and Zagreb, *Sabah* was again the culmination of a performance in Zürich. Strozzi-Pečić chose the programme and presented it to the

³³⁵ There was a significant Italian and Serbian population living in Rijeka at the time. Incidentally, Rijekačka rezolucija [The Rijeka Manifesto], the political document signed in Rijeka on 3rd November 1905 was crucial for the foundation of the Croat-Serb coalition later that year.

audience who frenetically called for encores though, in her own words, there were “no more than 70 Slavs in the full hall”. According to Ernst Isler, this concert was proof that *Yugoslav* music [my italics] existed before the Yugoslav state itself and could be compared in value to Russian and Czech traditions.³³⁶ Scholars today agree that the two composers did not develop or define any specific style that would follow their Yugoslav rhetoric. However, expanding our analysis to music as performance shows that, because of the performative role these two sopranos had, the performances of this body of repertory at this particular time probably came closest to the concept of Yugoslav music.³³⁷

Of particular interest is Strozzi-Pečić’s inscription inside the programme (Figure 40):

“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”

³³⁶ Strozzi- Pečić performed Konjović’s original songs *Chanson, L’attente, Chanson du soir, Serenade* and *Sabah* [*Chanson, Iščekivanje, Večernja pesma, Pod pendžeri* and *Sabah*] and folk song arrangements *Trois coups de fusil* and *Yela et ses deux chevaux* [*Tri put mi pukna* and *Povela je Jela*]. Isler particularly valued the fact that Konjović’s music draws both its melodic line and harmony from the characteristics of the language, a comment which would have been the ultimate compliment for Konjović who wrote extensively on this topic. The two quotes are from Strozzi-Pečić’s personally annotated interview notes, held in CMIA MSPC.

³³⁷ Carl Dahlhaus argues that the idea of nationalism as an aesthetic factor lies in composers’ intention and the way it is received by audiences. Carl Dahlhaus, *Between Romanticism and Modernism, Four Studies in the Music of the Later Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley-Los Angeles-London: University of California Press, 1989), 86-87.

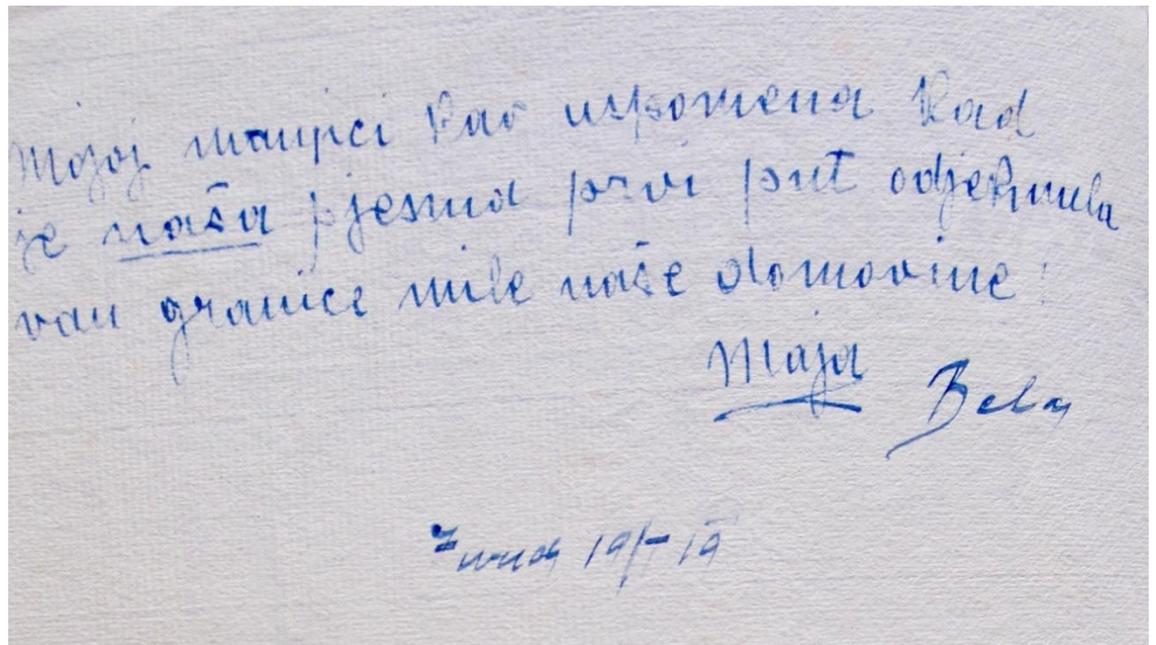


Figure 40 Strozzi-Pečić's inscription inside the 1919 Zürich concert programme (CMIA MSPC)

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

Conclusion

Strozzi-Pečić was a celebrated opera star. Although she drew on her lineage, she carved her status as a performer of inimitable virtuosity. At the height of her operatic career she withdrew from the stage due to a dispute with the opera management. During this period, she turned her focus to the concert stage, premiering a vast body of newly composed art song repertory. She used this change of genre to rebrand her persona, with her star status growing through her engagement with the 'national' repertory. Aiding her was her husband Bela Pečić who, by being her exclusive accompanist, strengthened her ownership of this repertory. Instead of a diva, she assumed an alternative artistic identity as an ambassadress and an ennobler of Yugoslav art song. Besides a first songstress, she

was also a co-composer, agent, concert manager and accompanist for encores during which she alone commanded the stage. That she was thought of as art song's 'apostle' – a noun normally standing for a man – is a mark of her singular authority.

Petar Konjović was the composer she collaborated with the most. Apart from her star persona, Strozzi-Pečić's voice (dark in the lower, glossy in the higher range and not too big), her technique – above all her agility and controlled *legato* line – and her passionate interpretation all shaped his vocal opus, first in art song, then in opera. Her imprimatur is particularly clear in Konjović's *sevdalinka* opus with its sensuality, its focus on love and yearning, and wide-ranging melismatic vocal lines. She embraced his *sevdalinka* and its associations with the "Eastern Other", allowing Konjović to integrate this tradition into newly created high art. Konjović's *Sabah*, his most demanding song due to its fioraturas and stylized muezzin call, was commissioned by Strozzi-Pečić, and co-created during their joint rehearsal. As virtuosa and 'apostle', Strozzi-Pečić voiced the aspirations not just of her chief collaborator, but of the Yugoslav idea itself.

CHAPTER FIVE

Performing the ‘National’ Art Song Today

Introduction

The art song, the most frank of all music forms, created in meeting of souls – of poet and composer, needs the soul of its third creator – the performer. The performer has to eliminate the poet, the composer, and the voice itself, creating thus the work as the purest impression.³³⁸

Konjović’s stance on the art song – which the quote above captures well – as work created in the moment of performance, foreshadowed the recent shift in defining the object in musicological studies from music as writing to music as performance. His further view on the performer as the one holding the power to determine the work’s fate and model its reception by the audiences,³³⁹ captures the essence of the scholarly paradigm shift, where the performers are acknowledged as the ones creating the meaning in performance. I draw on his concept of the third poet and, following Nicholas Cook’s suggestion, approach this repertory as a “script”, rather than “text”, offering a new reading for the audience today.³⁴⁰

My research stemmed from performance – more specifically my insight as a performer – that two different voices were needed for Konjović’s and Milojević’s songs. Exploring the two original sopranos’ role showed it is not just that the composers wrote

³³⁸ Petar Konjović, “Iz muzikalnog Zagreba,” [From Musical Zagreb] in *Ličnosti* [Personages] (Zagreb: Čelap i Popovac, 1920), 170-1.

³³⁹ *Ibid*, 104. The quote is also explored in Chapter Four p. 155.

³⁴⁰ Nicholas Cook, *Beyond the Score: Music as Performance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 1.

exclusively for them, but that they co-authored their art songs through practice. Two personae, one forged in chamber music (Ivanka Milojević), the other in operatic practice (Strozzi-Pečić), infused and found expression through this repertory. But for me as a performer this was only the starting point. Having recognized the power of the original sopranos, how can a performer be the third poet today – the creator of meaning for the audiences today? Going back to the original performances, which aspects of the original practice can be kept while creating a new reading of the “script”?

Issues I have considered are the vocal production, the performers’ histories and the original format of the performances. For my performance, I developed the type of ‘lecture-recital’ that Ivanka Milojević fostered, in order to illuminate for the audiences the repertory’s creation and the positive messages that infused it. Because the body determines the instrument, the quality of each singer’s voice is inimitable, even if a specific type of vocal production is associated with a genre, such as art song, and a ‘Fach’ or registral type. The technique and interpretive choices are likewise independent, being founded on each performing artist’s creative responses. That is why I do not follow the Historically Informed Performance movement (HIP) to try to restore the past practice,³⁴¹ but use the findings to reinvent it for the modern context, thus adding to the underrepresented genre of art song to the modern scholarship on vocal practice.³⁴²

³⁴¹ HIP movement relies on historical research to recreate the original performance practice of the work. The critics of the movement argue that HIP is a twentieth-century construction as we ultimately cannot know what the original performances sounded like. The most vocal critic is Richard Taruskin who calls HIP a “modernist paradigm”. See: Richard Taruskin, “The Early Music Debate: Ancients, Moderns and Postmoderns,” *Journal of Musicology* 10/1 (1992): 113–130; idem., “The Modern Sound of Early Music,” in *Text and Act: Essays on Music and Performance*, 164-172 (New York: Oxford University Press: 1995).

³⁴² There is a growing scholarship that tackles the issues of singer’s physiognomy, aiming to integrate science and practice. Michael Edgerton, for instance, focuses entirely on contemporary repertory and extended vocal techniques. See: Michael Edgerton, *The 21st Century Voice: Contemporary and Traditional Extra-Normal Voice* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004). In more comprehensive treatises

Taking up the methodology of performance research, this chapter gives an auto-ethnographic account of my journey through this repertory.³⁴³ My approach combines a couple of strands from recent scholarly works. It has live performance as the starting point of research;³⁴⁴ however, this is combined with the historical findings to chart the preparation process for the final recital.³⁴⁵

Two songs as metaphors of the composers' sounded versions of Yugoslavism were the starting point in this process. They carry the imprint of each soprano's performance of femininity, and each composer's response to it: Konjović's broad operatic idiom and Milojević's 'chamber style', with its recitative-styled lines and reliance on

on singing pedagogy the art song is also neglected. See: Scott D. Harrison and Jessica O'Bryan Springer, eds., *Teaching Singing in the 21st Century* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2014). This seminal account, aimed at both teachers and performers, approaches different styles – including opera, popular music, musical theatre, jazz and worship – but not the art song.

³⁴³ For a concise summary on methodology, history, and critique of autoethnography – an approach to research and writing that seeks to describe and systematically analyze personal experience in order to understand cultural experience, see: Carolyn Ellis, Tony E. Adams & Arthur P. Bochner, "Autoethnography: An Overview," *Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 12/1 Article 10 (2011). While every performer can chart individual preparation for a performance, what distinguishes it as research is the presence of an analytical component. Autoethnography has been increasingly used by performers aiming to incorporate the performance into scholarly discourse – Performance as research. The research here resides in part within the performing itself (or in its preparation): it could not have been achieved without the embodied knowledge resulting from the experience of performing. Outputs also include performances, usually as part of an integrated research portfolio.

³⁴⁴ Mine Doğantan-Dack, for instance, proposes to focus solely on the live performance as the site of research. See: Mine Doğantan-Dack, "The Art of Research in Live Music Performance," *Music Performance Research* 5 (2012): 34-48; idem., "The Role of the Musical Instrument in Performance as Research: The Piano as a Research Tool," in *Artistic Practice as research in Music: Theory, Criticism, Practice*, ed. Mine Doğantan-Dack, 169-202 (London: Routledge, 2015). Kathryn Whitney applies this approach in the genre of art song in SongArt Performance Research Group under auspices of Institute of Musical Research (University of London) in association with Amanda Glauert. For more on this project see: Kathryn Whitney, "Following Performance across the Research Frontier," in *Artistic Practice as research in Music: Theory, Criticism, Practice*, ed. Mine Doğantan-Dack, 107-125.

³⁴⁵ The more prevalent practice and resulting larger scholarly discourse is research into preparation leading to the performance. This can be HIP related or instead just rely on performer's own reflexive practice.

diction, articulation and dynamics. While I dismissed scooping as a vocal practice – as Daniel Leech-Wilkinson highlights,³⁴⁶ modern recording techniques have made this once-welcome treatment of line unacceptable – I probed the rhetorical function of portamento to see where it would be appropriate.³⁴⁷ I approach diction as a locutionary act, identifying different consonant patterns. I have experimented with implementing the *rubato*, phrasing and breathing patterns annotated by Strozzi-Pečić and the composers in the song manuscripts. Adding my own surface markings, I change Milojević’s unfinished last vocal opus. By these means, I assess the extent of the sopranos’ input through my own practice.

With the final recital, I close the circle in my thesis whose hypotheses had their origin in my experience of singing this repertory. I recover for audiences a lost repertory within a genre thought to be marginal.³⁴⁸ But more importantly, I recast the performer as a third poet, one responsible for creating the meaning in the art song.

³⁴⁶ Daniel Leech-Wilkinson charts the changing practices in the twentieth century recordings that led to Elena Gerhardt’s 1911 performance of Schubert’s *An die Musik* being considered today as “appalling”. See: Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, *The Changing Sound of Music: Approaches to Studying Recorded Musical Performance* (London: CHARM, 2009), chapter 4. www.charm.kcl.ac.uk/studies/chapters/chap4.html.

³⁴⁷ For more on the history of portamento and scooping see: Will Crutchfield, “Vocal performance in the nineteenth century,” in *The Cambridge History of Musical Performance*, eds. Colin Lawson and Robin Stowell, 611-642 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

³⁴⁸ This repertory exemplifies what Graham Johnson calls “an esoteric sub-section (song) of an embarrassingly emotional corner (vocal music) of an already doomed species (classical music)”. Graham Johnson, “The Lied in Performance,” in *The Cambridge Companion to the Lied*, ed. James Parsons (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 315.

Changing the Perspective: The Story of Two Songs

Konjović chose the song *Sabah* to close his collection *The Lyric*. It was a great success with critics and audiences and a regular encore in Strozzi-Pečić's concerts. However, it is rarely performed nowadays, and there is only one recording held at the Radio Belgrade Archive.³⁴⁹ This may be due to its technical challenges and its association with the 'nationalist' discourse, the latter which made me question whether to include this in the recital programme. Although *Sabah* was the first Konjović autograph I came across,³⁵⁰ the cultural appropriation that the music might seem to represent made me uncomfortable. However, my research showed that the muezzin chant, composed by Serbian composer, commissioned by Croatian opera star of Italian-Czech origin who performed it throughout the South-Slav territories accompanied by her husband Bela Pečić of Slovak origin, represented a repertory with a unifying rather than a divisive function. Furthermore, the song's demanding vocal line, with fioraturas and an optional floating top C is the result of Konjović's and Strozzi-Pečić's collaborative process in its creation. Apart from the music itself, multiple publicity photographs of her, particularly the postcard of her dressed as Violetta in *La Traviata*, allowed me to hear her presence in the score (Figure 41).

³⁴⁹ The recording (catalogue number TO-10917) from 1974 is by soprano Gordana Jevtović-Minov (1947-2007), soloist of the Belgrade National Opera and incidentally my first singing teacher. She sang the title role in the recording of Konjović's opera *Koštana* in 1983, inspired by *sevdalinka* tradition and collaboration with Strozzi-Pečić.

³⁵⁰ I refer here to the manuscript held in the Institute of Musicology, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts that I consulted while preparing the thesis proposal. It was only in the second year of my studies that I had access to the Maja Strozzi-Pečić's Collection in the Croatian Musical Institute Archive which holds a number of manuscripts of *Sabah*, both Konjović's autographs and transcripts.



Figure 41 Postcard of Strozzi-Pečić as Violetta (*La Traviata*, Verdi) (CMIA MSPC)

Ivanka Milojević shows there was another model of empowerment. Her teaching and pioneering concert activity paved the way for new generations of singers.³⁵¹ I gained important insight into her practice through an image, as I did for Strozzi-Pečić, in this case of Ivanka Milojević wearing trousers (Figure 42). It points to her own perception of maternity at a time when such dress was, for a bourgeois wife, highly unorthodox.³⁵² This photograph, showing a modern, strong woman, goes in line with my findings of Ivanka Milojević as an equal partner with her husband, one commanding authorial voice. The two sopranos belonged to the movement of “New Woman” that spread across Europe from the latter part of the nineteenth century to 1950.³⁵³ Their self-presentation provided two strong role models for Yugoslav ‘New Woman’: Ivanka Milojević, the strong mother figure whose robust voice and performances alongside her husband resolved ethnic, linguistic and religious conflicts; and Strozzi-Pečić, the native siren – confident, seductive, erotic, and entrepreneurial – allowed by the art song project to command authority usually reserved for men.

³⁵¹ As mentioned before, Jelka Stamatović-Nikolić, the leading concert singer in Serbia of the generation following the four artists studied in this thesis, was Ivanka Milojević’s student.

³⁵² Lampe describes the gradual changes in dress code among Belgrade middle class women. See: Lampe: 145.

³⁵³ For more on feminism and the, unofficial, “New Woman” movement see: Karen Offen, “Depopulation, Nationalism and Feminism in Fin-de-Siecle France,” *American Historical Review* 89 (1984): 648-76; Debora Silverman, “The ‘New Woman,’ Feminism, and the Decorative Arts in Fin-de-Siecle France,” in *Eroticism and the Body Politic*, ed. Lynn Hunt, 144-163 (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991).



Figure 42 Photograph of Ivanka Milojević, Lopud, mid-1930s (MM FC)

What does this mean in terms of my performance? First, I discovered the need to challenge scholars' assumptions that concert and operatic techniques are the same. At the beginning of the twentieth century *Lieder* performers were opera singers. Crutchfield gives as an example the recording from 1905 of two *Lieder* sung by Gustav Walter, concluding that almost anyone listening to it today would start defining the style with the

term “operatic”.³⁵⁴ While we do not have a recording by Strozzi-Pečić to reach a definite conclusion on her modes of delivery on the operatic versus the concert stage, we have a recording by Ivanka Milojević. Crutchfield’s description of Gustav Walter’s ‘operatic’ trademarks could also be used to describe her recording: “Extremely generous portamento, overtly emotional expression, broad *rubato*, even the trademark breaks in the voice that are colloquially called ‘sobs’”.³⁵⁵

What unifies Ivanka Milojević’s and Strozzi-Pečić’s concert reviews is that they were both particularly acclaimed for their communication, Ivanka Milojević relying for this on diction and Strozzi-Pečić on a combination of virtuosity and ‘simplicity’ delivered in the mother tongue that foregrounded the text. Most significantly, this was achieved in live performance.

‘Four Voices’: The Lecture Recital

The Format and its Strategy

While mechanical reproduction was scarce when this repertory was created, today’s technology-soaked environment diminishes the impact of song and its performance, as audiences desire to hear on stage an interpretation they know from a recording.³⁵⁶ Live and recorded music, however, can offer different experiences. In a digital age, the live

³⁵⁴ Gustav Walter (b. 1834), operatic and concert singer, often accompanied by Brahms, many of whose *Lieder* he premiered. In this recording he sang Schubert’s ‘Am Meer’ and Brahms’s ‘Feldeinsamkeit’. Crutchfield, “Vocal performance in the nineteenth century”, 642.

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁶ Cook argues that producers aim to reproduce the experience of listening to live music, while live music at the same time aims to reproduce the recordings. Cook, *Beyond the score*, 3-4.

contact in small, flexible concerts can be more precious and impactful. I adopt thus the lecture recital format to communicate this repertory, with commentary and images to accompany the music and explain interpretation choices.

I divide the concert programme between the two artistic couples, telling a story of the repertory's creation through couples' collaboration, and illuminating the four distinctive voices captured in this repertory. To plan the programme, I looked into the composers' writings about their art songs, the original performances and relevant testimony about the two sopranos. I looked for patterns in the original artists' programming to identify the most frequently performed songs. Ivanka Milojević's lullabies were found to be represented in Miloje Milojević's *Hecegovačka uspavanka*, *Šarplaninska uspavanka*, *Tužna pesma* and *Lulela je Jana*. The collaborative input of Strozzi-Pečić Konjović's *sevdalinka* songs is best illuminated with his *Pod pendžeri*, *Nane kaži tajku* and *Sabah* and their complex vocal lines. Yet maternal lullabies and intoxicating *sevdalinka* are only part of the sopranos' legacy. Equally, if not more important is that these songs show the rupture between the composer's official nationalism – articulated in their many writings and represented in their folk song collecting – and the practice of native-language art song, the performance of which speaks for post-national aspirations. That is, this repertory and its performance, rather than defining boundaries, looked to dissolve them, opening up the 'Yugoslav idea', which was regarded as both national and supranational at that time, to supranational ideals rooted in positive models of femininity.

This led me to choose radically different readings than in the original lecture recitals. The question then arose: who should lecture during the recital? At Ivanka Milojević's recitals, her composer-husband alone spoke, while Strozzi-Pečić omitted lectures in her recitals. Given the strength of her public voice, and her practice of

accompanying her own encores, would it not be appropriate for the soprano to speak? Should Ivanka Milojević be seen as a speaker? Eventually I decided to represent the two sopranos' contributions and practices in my performances. I use quotes from the composers' written output – their reviews, lectures, essays, while for the two sopranos I rely on their correspondence, and additionally for Strozzi-Pečić her interviews. Some of the quotes that have not been cited beforehand are included in this chapter.

The Programme

Ivanka and Miloje Milojević

I wove the maternal thread in Miloje Milojević's opus into a song cycle depicting different stages of woman's life – from courtship, young motherhood and mourning loss, as if making a maternal patchwork version of *Frauenliebe und Leben*.³⁵⁷ One aspect dominates this cycle – Miloje Milojević composed the songs while living through two Balkan Wars and World War One. He probed the painful lessons of these wars in his music. However, the losses that the mainly male-driven wars bring to mothers are as relevant today, in the current context of wars and refugee crises, as they were one century ago. The pain of mothers who lose their children crosses the ethnic, national and religious boundaries, and Miloje Milojević took up this post-national theme to harmonise different traditions into a newly created high art.

The first song is *Nimfa*, composed in 1908, when Ivanka and Miloje Milojević, the newly-wed young couple, were immersed in Munich's rich music scene. Miloje

³⁵⁷*Frauenliebe und Leben* [A Woman's Life and Love] is a cycle of poems by German poet Agelbert von Chamisso (1781-1838), written in 1830. Poems describe a woman's life and love for her man. Setting to music by Robert Schumann (1810-1856) is the most widely known.

Milojević set it to his own Serbian translation of the German poem by Theodor Kōstlin (1855-1939). The story of the young boy enchanted by the heavenly voice can be read as an allegory of the young couple, who met as students singing in the choir in Belgrade.

Nimfa

Kroz prvi mrak je nimfin poj zazvonio
Nad bistrom vodom ti' o.
Kraj bistre vode momak mlad
Božanstven glas je slušo njen,
I vetar je ćarlijao.
Kad pade mrak tad večnim snom
Je zaspao momak, lepši nego ikad
I zvona kad zazvoniše
Pun bola ču se nimfin poj.
I više nikad, nikad.

The Nymph

Through the twilight the nymph's voice
rang
Over the clear water, silently.
By the clear water a young boy
Listened to her heavenly voice,
While the wind was murmuring.
When the darkness fell, a final dream
The boy dreamt, more handsome than ever.
And when the bells rang,
Full of sorrow the nymph's song rang.
And never again, never.

The second is *Hercegovačka uspavanka* – the only folk song arrangement the couple regularly performed alongside original songs, composed in Munich in 1909. It is the only song in his first folk song collection dedicated to his wife: “a ma chère Yva” [to my dear Iva].

Hercegovačka uspavanka

Anina, dušo moja, Anina, dušo,
Spavaj slatko, spavaj.
Spavaj sine, san te prevario,
San te prevario.
Ruža te je na cvet dočekala,
Na cvet dočekala.

The Lullaby from Herzegovina

Anina, my dear, Anina, dear.
Sleep well, sleep.
Sleep my child, let the dream overcome
you,
Let the dream overcome you.
The blooming rose awaits you,
Awaits you.

The third song is *Berceuse Triste* [Sad Lullaby] composed in France to poem by the French poet Marcel Wyseur (1886-1950) in 1916.

Berceuse Triste

Dodo l'enfant, l'enfant dodo
Petit papa viendra bientôt.
Au coin du feu triste et dolente
Au coin de feu la maman chante
Dodo l'enfant, l'enfant dodo.
Mais la chanson est un sanglot
Dehors la pluie et ses élytres
Viennent frapper au noir des vitres
Dodo l'enfant, l'enfant dodo.
La bise est froide et le lit chaud
Sur le chenêts la cendre blanche
La cendre blanche s'avalanche
Dodo l'enfant, l'enfant dodo.
Mettons dans l'âtre un grand fagot.
Au coin du feu triste et câline toujours
Toujours la voix s'obstine
Dodo l'enfant, l'enfant dodo.
L'enfant dort dans son berceau.
Hélas! Hélas!
Près la tranchée vite une fosse fut creusée
Dodo l'enfant, le chant s'est tû:
Petit papa ne viendra plus.

Sad Lullaby

Sleep child, child sleep.
Daddy will come soon.
Sad and dolent corner of fire
At the corner of the fire the mother sings
Sleep child, child sleep.
But the song is a sob
Outside the rain with its wings
Comes to strike our dark windows
Sleep child, child sleep.
The wind is cold and the bed warm
On the andirons the white ash
White ash sinks
Sleep child, child sleep.
Let's put a big hearth in the fire.
The fire is sad and warm
And the voice goes on
Sleep child, child sleep.
The child sleeps in his crib.
Alas! Alas!
In the trench a pit was hollowed out
Sleep child, the song is silent:
Daddy will not come back anymore.

While it is a lullaby, it is influenced by Miloje Milojević's war experience, and its autobiographic side is further emphasized because he dedicated it to his daughter Gordana. Composed away from his wife, this song features a lower *tessitura* than the rest of this cycle. The angst of war and separation from his family affected Miloje Milojević's vocal opus. These feelings are laid even more bare in a letter Ivanka Milojević wrote to her husband in February 1917, while caring alone for their six-year-old daughter Gordana in war-torn Belgrade.

My dear Miloje,

Yesterday was a great day in our house – we received your card. How much joy it brought us to see your handwriting! A burden fell off my shoulders, though for a short time only, as I thought straight away – who knows what could have happened to you in these six weeks since you wrote the card. Our Goda's [daughter Gordana] birthday went well. We tried not to let her feel your absence, and there were gifts and toys too. I just cannot bear it anymore that she is growing without you. I bless the day she was born though – she is my only joy and hope now.³⁵⁸

Miloje Milojević returned home in 1919, and his renewed collaboration with Ivanka Milojević resulted in one of the most productive years in his vocal opus, composing in 1920 seven songs which he published in 1933 in the collection *Pred veličanstvom prirode* [In Awe of the Magnificence of Nature]. Although the last two songs of my cycle were composed in 1920, after the wars, they continue the thread of war and maternal loss. These two songs frame his collection *Pred veličanstvom prirode*. The song that opens the

³⁵⁸ Letter kept in Miloje Milojević Family Collection, Belgrade.

collection, *Molitva Majke Jugovića*, is set to a poem by Dubrovnik poet Ivo Vojnović, telling the Kosovo Battle myth from the vantage point of a bereaved mother. As discussed in Chapter Three (pp. 126-133) the Kosovo Myth was among the most sacred in South-Slav regions; by setting this poem, Milojević harnessed music to allow his wife to recount this tale from a maternal perspective.

**Molitva Majke Jugovića Zvezdi Danici The Prayer of the Jugović Mother to
the Morning Star**

Oj, Danice, Večernjice!
Dok je sunce još na nebu, ti mi svijetliš!
Ja te molim:
Noćni mir nam ti privedi,
A pred zorom pak osvani,
Istim plamom vječnim nadom,
Oj, Danice, sunčanice!

Oh, Danica, The Evening Star!
You shine to me alongside the Sun!
I beg of you:
Bring us the peace of the night,
And then at dawn come again
With the same flame and eternal hope.
Oh, Danica, the Morning Star!

The fifth song in my cycle is *Zvona*, which is Milojević's setting of a poem by German poet Theodor Vulpinus (1844-1910) that Milojević translated into Serbian. While in the first song of the collection the mother – a fictional mother character who stands for collective motherhood – is praying for her children who are going into battle, the last one is about the loss:

Zvona

Jedan kovčeg mali, jedna daska laka,
Jedno uže malo, jedna crna raka,
I u pesku jedan ašov mali.
Aj! Tako su mi čedo zakopali.

The Bells

One small coffin, one light wooden plank
One small rope, one dark hole
And in the sand one small pike.
Alas! That is how they buried my child.

What is the sonic representation of femininity and motherhood in these songs? What qualities make the nymph's 'heavenly voice'? I drew on Ivanka Milojević's use of different vocal registers, diction, dynamics, and *rubato* during the rehearsal process. I rely on the head voice, as elaborated in Chapter Three, to negotiate the phrases in *passaggio* range and *piano* dynamics, both which are crucial for the opening *a cappella* phrase in *Nimfa* and for *Hercegovачka uspavanka*. In the small setting of my lecture recital I do not need to compete with the orchestra nor fill the big hall, making this mode of delivery appropriate. That also helps to put the emphasis on diction. In *Nimfa*, the word that stood out for me was actually one without markings: *zazvonio*. While singing the phrase in one breath created the beautiful line, I found the breath before the word *zazvonio* was necessary as it emphasised the sibilant *z*.

Hercegovачka uspavanka, as elaborated in Chapter Three, draws extensively on the use of sibilants: "*Spavaj slatko, spavaj. Spavaj sine, san te prevario.*" [Sleep sweetly, sleep. Sleep son, let the dream overcome you]. In addition, it achieves the 'hypnotic' effect of a lullaby with phrases in *pp* dynamics, rocking 2/4 meter, marked 'egalemente' [evenly]. While relying on head voice, I still struggled placing the breaths until I found Strozzi-Pečić's markings in this song. As mentioned earlier, this is the one lullaby that Strozzi-Pečić annotated while preparing for the concert in Budapest in 1914, marking breaths after each comma in the text in the manuscript (Figure 28), which means almost at every bar line. Her markings suggest she followed Ivanka Milojević in focusing on the lullaby's gently rocking repetition, abandoning the long cantabile lines that typify Konjović's writing for her.

Molitva Majke Jugovića is a prayer, but the story evolving is daunting – it is about a mother who is going to lose nine sons and a husband in a battle. Although it features *piano* dynamics and an atmospheric sustained line, it paints a dramatic moment. It is a mother’s prayer before the battle, and though gentle, the performance needs to transmit gravity. In sonic terms I realized that through articulation, particularly accents, and liberal use of *rubato*, this could be communicated.

The song *Zvona* closes the story of maternal loss. It depicts a cry of a mother burying her child with a sustained top A in *forte* dynamics, unmatched in Miloje Milojević’s opus. The portamenti in the song *Zvona* have a rhetorical function, particularly on the first syllable of “crna raka” [dark grave], notated over a descending interval of third. For me as a mother, this song is painful to express, and one I avoided in my early performances.

The change in Miloje Milojević’s late idiom – the lesser focus on mother figure and increased interest in poetry from Far East – can be related to Ivanka Milojević’s withdrawal from the concert stage. Miloje Milojević explained his departures from “artistic nationalism” in a letter to Slavko Osterc:

I do not think that artistic nationalism is the only worthy expression. I believe that an artist has both duty and freedom to express himself in other ways, but only if that is a sincere expression. He can give his intimate voice even through non-national style. Or, to put it more clearly: he can use certain international practices to express his soul.³⁵⁹

The different idiom is illustrated here with *The Three Songs op 67* [to German verses], which feature recitative and expansive vocal lines, including the ascending line to the

³⁵⁹ Cvetko, *Fragment glazbene moderne: iz pisem Slavku Ostercu*, 246.

held top B flat in *forte* dynamics. This is perhaps Miloje Milojević at his most distinctive. Difficult intervals and little support in pitch from the piano indicate the ways he tailored his other songs to his wife's strengths, and avoided modes of expression with which she would struggle. My previous performance of Strauss' *The Four Last Songs* helped me find ways to pace the breadth and support the *tessitura*, particularly in the middle section of *Die Pfade liegen still* [Our Road is Tranquil and Quiet]. *Ein einsamer Klang* [The Lonely Sound], the third song of the cycle, which opens with a recitative *a cappella* line, likewise illuminated how best to approach the *a cappella* opening of *Nimfa*. Furthermore, the climax on the word "klang" [sound] required me to find the same 'ringing' as called for in *Nimfa*'s opening line. Vlastimir Trajković, Milojević's grandson and arguably the greatest authority on Miloje Milojević's opus, described this synthesis of styles in a review of his key compositional opera:

Three Songs to German Verses composed in 1924 turn their back on neo-Romanticism, even to classic Impressionism, and offer a synthesis of impressionistic and expressionistic artistic gestures which create the essence of the music work...We should understand it here [this synthesis] as a chemical compound rather than a simple physical mixture. That is why we can think here of Richard Strauss or Claude Debussy only to immediately forget about them. What is left is only Milojević, maybe more wild and dramatic than ever before...³⁶⁰

Although he did not compose these songs for Ivanka Milojević, her legacy was still part of this 'chemical synthesis' of styles. Both his *Three songs op 67*, and his 'exotic' opus

³⁶⁰ Vlastimir Trajković, "Ključni opusi u stvaralaštvu Miloja Milojevića," [Key opera of Miloje Milojević] in *Kompozitorsko stvaralaštvo Miloja Milojevića* [The works of the composer Miloje Milojević], Proceedings of the Scientific Conference held in Belgrade 25-27 November 1996, ed. Vlastimir Peričić (Belgrade: Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 1998), 25-6.

composed after she had ceased to perform, for instance, take their gestures from word inflection, and this practice is one he cultivated in his output for her. What other poetry demands greater sensitivity and restraint than Haiku poetry that he chose? This is the essence of her practice, and is found in the piano and vocal part of his still unpublished six-song cycle *Haikai* of 1943. The vocal part is mainly declamatory, featuring zig-zag lines, elaborate articulation and dynamic markings, as well as non-standard effects such as glissando and spoken phrases.

I approached learning Miloje Milojević's last opus – *The Two Songs op 87* – as an opportunity to test my research findings through practice. The two songs set to Japanese poetry in German translation by Paul Lueth are part of an unfinished cycle dated on Good Friday 1944, two days before Miloje Milojević was seriously injured in the bombing of Belgrade. Their vocal and piano parts are complete, but Miloje Milojević's translation into Serbian is not complete and there are no surface markings at all. That provided me a unique blank canvas for my own interpretation of this piece, informed by my findings on Ivanka and Miloje Milojević and my own practice-based research. The expansive *legato* vocal line encompasses almost two octaves, from a to g'', corroborating that his late opus was not catering for Ivanka Milojević's voice. The parallel with Strauss' *Four Last Song* is even more clear in performance than in the case of his op. 67.

I finish the selection of Miloje Milojević's songs with two folk song arrangements from his second collection. The collection was published in 1939 and dedicated to his wife. It consists mainly of songs collected and arranged in 1928, during the couple's joint melographic trips of then southern Serbia, now Kosovo and Macedonia. Unlike with his first folk song collection, the songs from this one were favoured by the couple in concertizing, and three were recorded for Pathé Records.

Pušči me...

Pušči me,
Pušči me, majko le mila, do na dvor,
Da vidim, mi vrve, majko le mila,
No ludo i mlado.
Za nego, majko le mila, ja sakam.

Let me go

Let me go,
Let me go, beloved mother, go outside.
To see there my sweetheart, beloved mother,
My dear heart, my brave lad.
For 'tis he, beloved mother, whom I love.

More će prodam

More će prodam jalovata krava,
Tebe će te zemam, ej!
More će prodam dva čivta pistolji,
Tebe će te zemam, ej!

I will sell

I will sell my dear, sell the barren cow
Then I will marry thee, Ah!
I will sell my dear my two pairs of buffaloes,
Then I will marry thee, ah!

The first song features a broad sensuous line, while the second – marked *risoluto liberamente* – contrasts it with fast energetic character and a sustained top G in *fff* dynamics. Although this is not what we would typically associate with Ivanka Milojević, she favoured these two songs in the programmes she chose. Her selection shows her own desire to combine her expressions of maternity with the vibrancy of a trouser-wearing ‘New Woman’ who dares to sing of love and longing. This made me reconsider Ivanka Milojević’s recording, which I initially dismissed entirely as ‘old-fashioned’. Analysis shows that she changed scooping and portamenti in repeated phrases with different text, making her pitch inflection and its rhythmic implications part of her interpretation.³⁶¹ While on the first word in *Pušči me* – “pušči” [let me go] – on d’ she bent the pitch

³⁶¹ John Potter, “Beggar at the Door: The Rise and Fall of Portamento in Singing.” *Music & Letters*, 87/4 (2006): 530.

downwards, when the same note returns on the words “do” [at] and “da” [to] she adheres strictly to standard intonation (587.33 Herz).

In short, her practice involved generating word meaning by making vowels less or more pure according to the precision with which she pitched them. Ivanka Milojević’s practice reminds of the weight needed to communicate pleading in the first word of the song. To create this effect, I accent the short “u” vowel to enhance the impact of the sibilant “š” [pronounced sh]. I explore also the appropriateness of use of portamento for its rhetorical function. Ivanka Milojević observed all of the notated portamenti in *Pušči me*, both ascending and descending, but also sang additional ones. The word that stands out is “majko” [mother], where the descending portamento follows the vowel inflection, but also paints the love and tenderness of the daughter’s plea to her mother. Fittingly, this closes the programme with yet another moment of resolution of conflict, in this case of a forbidden love.

Konjović-Strozzi-Pečić Partnership

Sempre libera

Sempre libera degg’io
folleggiare di gioia in gioia,
vo’che scorra il viver mio
pei sentieri del piacer.
Nasca il giorno, o il giorno muoia,
sempre lieta ne’ ritrovi,
a dilette sempre nuovi
dee volare il mio pensier.

Always free

Always free and aimless
I frolic from joy to joy,
I want my life to flow
on the path of pleasure.
As the day is born or the day dies
Always happy I turn
To the new delights
That make my soul soar.

The story and music of Violetta in Verdi's *La Traviata* represent a stark contrast to the previously identified idealized image of a mother figure. The life of the Parisian courtesan is depicted with brilliant coloratura passages, showing off the virtuosity of the primadonna who sings it. Violetta was, however, the signature role of Strozzi-Pečić to whom Konjović's dedicated his entire vocal opus. She owned this role, and was not afraid to use this to her advantage:

My Zagreb audience never failed me. Only a couple of days ago I sang *Traviata* to a full house with the greatest of success. Let me tell you, the theatre in Split would not be empty if you advertised that Maja Strozzi would be singing *Travita*.³⁶²

As we have seen, her Violetta proved crucial for the idioms that Konjović cultivated in his art song, and the collaborative nature of what is their joint output is clearly evidenced in their 1916 rehearsal. I present in this recital proof of her authorship, by highlighting in 'their' songs the liberation of the voice from the text, and the ecstatic pleasure of pure sound – that of Strozzi-Pečić.

For this project, the "Allah ekber" prayer of *Sabah* [Morning] is ideal. It shifts what musicologists have considered a 'nationalist' output away from this narrative, to highlight instead the vocalism of longing for the loved one at the break of dawn. To experiment with this idea, I rehearsed using two different manuscript versions of the song's opening and closing phrase as an operatic vocalise in rehearsals. The version in Konjović's autograph that came out of his improvising session in 1916 with Strozzi-Pečić shows more elaborate coloratura and different bar grouping (Figures 45 and 46) than the published version (Figures 43 and 44). While Konjović's autograph gives information as

³⁶² Letter to Dr Ivo Tartalja, dated March 30, 1933. Letter kept in Samobor Town Museum.

to what the two artists created in the session, the best evidence of what Strozzi-Pečić actually performed in her concerts is Bela Pečić's 'transcription' of the song. By 'transcription' I refer to Bela Pečić's practice of putting into a vocal score what his wife did, and what she liked to do, in rehearsal, and on the concert stage. In this case he gave her precise version of the song's opening and closing coloratura, including both the pitch and rhythmical values (Figures 47 and 48).

Despite Strozzi-Pečić's different performance versions of *Sabah*, I chose to perform the song as Konjović published it, adding only minor embellishments to the vocal line. Rehearsing from the copy by Bela Pečić gave me and my pianist the impression of disjointed vocal and piano part, with arpeggio chords situated in between virtuosic vocal phrases only providing the pitch support, rather than creating a cohesive whole.

SABAH
(. * .)

XXIV

УТРО
(. * .)

PETAR KONJOVIĆ
ПЕТР КОНЕВИЧ
(1916)

Largo espressivo

Largo espressivo

ffz *ffz* *ff*

pp *dim.* *ppp dim.* *mp*

f

pp *fz*

Al - lah ek -
Ал - сах эк -

ber. Al - lah ek -
бер. Ал - сах эк -

Figure 43 Music example 8 Petar Konjović, Sabah, the opening page.

Source: Petar Konjović, *Lirika* (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1948), page 100.

lah ————— ek — ber!
 nah ————— ak — gep!

f *fp* *pp*

Al — lah ————— ek — ber!
 Al — nah ————— ak — gep!

f

p *pp* *poco rit.*

Al — lah ————— il ————— Al —
 Ah — nah ————— nah ————— Ah —

pp *ppp* *poco rit.*

ossia
pp

lah!
 nah!
a tempo

ppp *pppp* *dim.*

Figure 44 Music example 9 Petar Konjović, Sabah, the last page. (Ibid, 104)

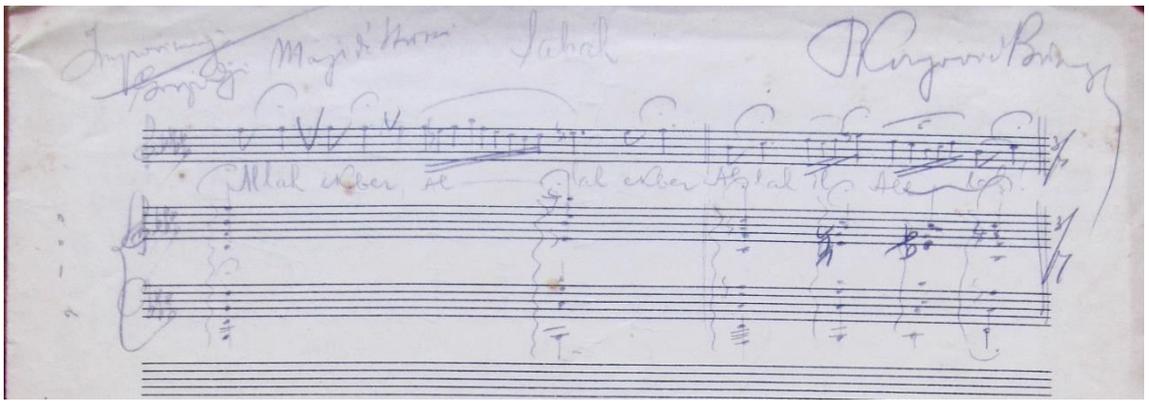


Figure 45 Sabah, Petar Konjović's original autograph (1916), the first page. (CMIA MSPC)

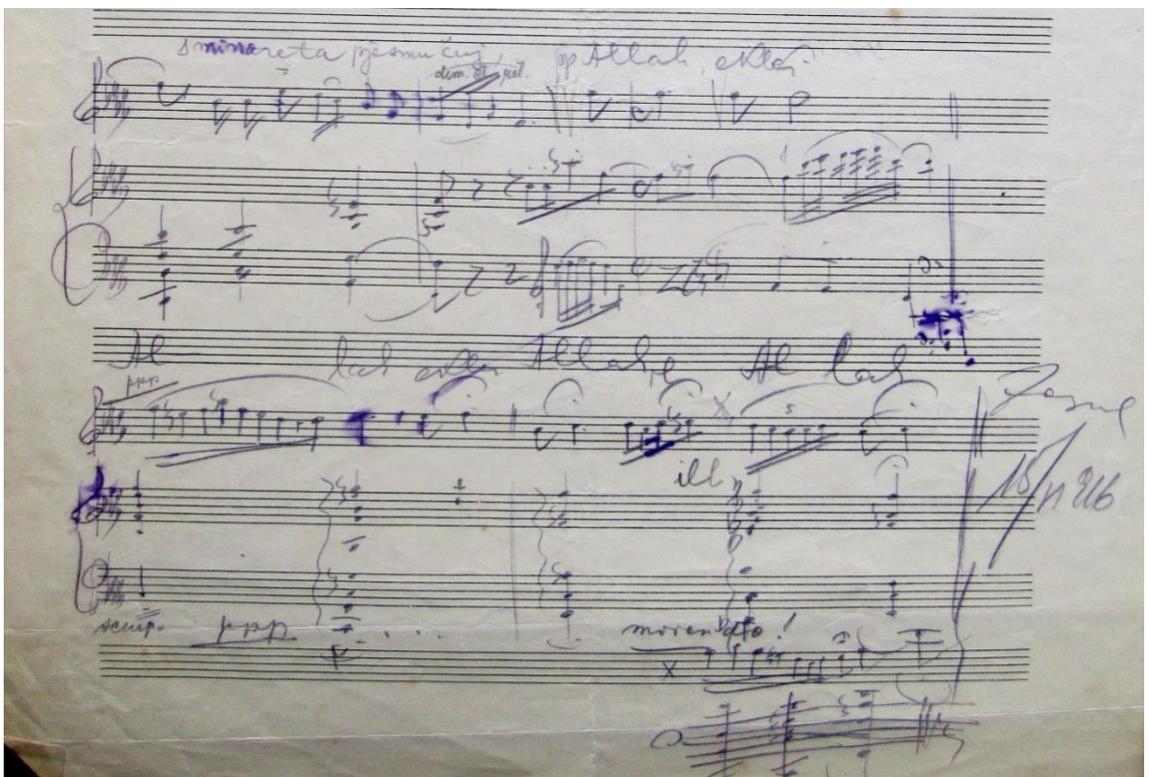


Figure 46 Sabah, Petar Konjović's original autograph (1916), last page. (CMIA MSPC)



Figure 47 Sabah, Bela Pečić's transcript (1919), first page. (CMIA MSPC).



Figure 48 Sabah, Bela Pečić's transcript (1919), last page. (CMIA MSPC).

Approaching the song's opening as a vocalise changed my performance. At first, what guided my interpretation was the melody's roots in a Muslim call to prayer, and the song's small scale. Once, however, I had identified Strozzi-Pečić's practice within the melody, I changed my interpretation to indulge the expansiveness of Konjović's melodic writing. Absence of words does not undermine Konjović's attention to text, but rather points to an interplay of music and words that distinguishes itself from Milojević's. Pure sound is used to show what words cannot communicate. In such a passage, Konjović relied not

just on Strozzi-Pečić acting – for which he regularly praised her – but the “psychological character she managed to capture” through pure vocalism that transcends words and gestures.³⁶³ I therefore decided to open *Sabah* as a love call rather than a religious call for prayer, foregrounding sensuality, the motion of the melisma, and the sound of ‘exotic’ augmented second,³⁶⁴ at the expense of the words.

Konjović’s favourite genre - the *sevdalinka* songs - were a means for Strozzi-Pečić to showcase her voice. In *Nane kaži tajku*, the song’s operatic broad line and octave jumps resemble Puccini’s *O mio babbino caro* (Lauretta, *Gianni Schicchi*). Having mastered its suspended vocal lines, this helped me lighten the lines in this song. Puccini’s aria also helped me lighten Milojević’s *Pušči me*, whose subject and treatment of line are the same. In Milojević’s song *Pušči me*, the daughter also pleads with her mother to help her marry the boy she loves. Interestingly, the Milojević mother is stronger, as she is the one asked to warrant the love union, while in Konjović’s song she needs to ask father for permission.

Drawing on the original sopranos’ practice to tailor their programme according to their audiences, I looked into the repertory that could engage the audience in Britain. The British composer Judith Weir composed two songs “inspired by *sevdalinka* tradition”.³⁶⁵ By her account, the text only was her inspiration, meaning that, just like Konjović for

³⁶³ Petar Konjović, “Maja de Strozzi,” in *Ličnosti*, 108.

³⁶⁴ For musical representations of the Ottoman Other in Serbian music see: Milin, “Images of Eastern Other in Serbian art music,” 82-93.

³⁶⁵ Judith Weir CBE composed *Songs from the Exotic* in 1987 for mezzo-soprano Josephine Nendick. Two of these four songs referred here are *Sevdalino, my Little One* and *In the Lovely Village of Nevesinje*.

Nane kaži tajku,³⁶⁶ she had no knowledge of traditional melodies associated with the poems she set. While both composers set the music in their preferred idiom and with a particular singer in mind, Weir's songs have no connection with *sevdalinka* musical tradition. Their contemporary idiom was conceived for Josephine Nendick, a mezzo-soprano who built her career premiering a vast body of new repertory and commissioned these songs for her farewell concert. My attempt at this song cycle highlights the constrictions that the individual performer's instrument poses in choosing the programme. These two songs are written for a mezzo-soprano, lying uncomfortably low for my voice, particularly in the context of the whole evening recital. While they are potentially illustrative examples, they are not the best choice to be included in the programme.

To distinguish between what the composer, and what the singer, brought to the score, is easier in Konjović's songs than in those of Milojević. First, Konjović's collaboration with Strozzi-Pečić is evidenced in writing, and second his earlier song output is clearly distinct from his songs for her. A good illustration of Konjović's and Milojević's contrasting treatment of both the text and the character of the vocal line can be found in their songs sharing the image of a nymph. Konjović composed *Chanson* in 1906, while a student in Prague:

³⁶⁶ There are two musically contrasting versions of *Nane kaži tajku*. Konjović composed the original version in 1910 after hearing the text of the folk song only, and arranged the actual simple strophic folk song years later.

Chanson

Zamrlo jezero
Sanjivo mir se nad dubokom vodom
toči.
Snivaju zvijezde jezeru na dnu
Ko nimfine da su oči
Katkad se digne oblačak blijedi
Katkada vjetar dune
S obale kao da nečija ruka
Harfine dira strune
I onda opet mir i tišina
Zamire muzika vruća
Na obali nimfa plače i plače
Od žudnje, od strasnog čeznuća.

Chanson

The lake stands still,
And peace lazily sifts across the deep water.
On the bottom of the lake stars dreamily reflect,
As if they were the nymph's eyes.
From time to time the cloud appears
From time to time the wind picks up
From the shore it is as if someone's had
Picks on harp's strings.
And then again all is peaceful and quiet
The intense music stops
On the shore the nymph cries
With desire and passionate longing.

Just like in Milojević's *Nimfa*, two sibilants paint the stillness of the lake in the opening line: "Zamrlo jezzero". However, while Milojević's nymph quietly mourns the unfortunate young boy, Konjović's nymph is crying with passion and longing. Starkly contrasting Milojević's mainly declamatory line are Konjović's broad phrases; these culminate with a held top A in *f* dynamics, requiring more embodied delivery to match the thicker textures in Konjović's piano accompaniment. The song still requires great attention to the text, with elaborate changes of the meter and rhythm to follow the inflection of the words. The quasi *a cappella* recitative, sung *sotto voce*, opens the song's climax and likewise derives its shape from its words.

Ivanka Milojević's retirement resulted in Miloje Milojević's shift from national narrative and recitative lines. In a striking parallel, Konjović's last original song, *Pesma o dvoje*, from 1922 stands apart from the rest of his opus in its vocal line and subject matter, as if signaling the end of collaboration with Strozzi-Pečić. Rather than the broad

operatic idiom, the song's recitative-styled line and reduced piano accompaniment resembles more Miloje Milojević's opus than Konjović's. This is the only one of Konjović's songs where I switched a performance 'mode', feeling almost as if I was singing Miloje Milojević. This change becomes even more significant bearing in mind that Konjović wrote the poem as well, making this, his last song, both autobiographic and prophetic. The bird in *Pesma o dvoje*, who stopped singing, is Strozzi-Pečić, who Konjović likened to "bulbul" [greenbul] at the very beginning of their collaboration in his letter to Tihomir Ostojić:

You should have seen this woman – and her husband, I have to add, who is very musical – when the day after I showed her some of my songs for "Iz naših krajeva" [song collection From our Regions]. She sang them in no time – trust me, and beautifully like bulbul – as they would say in Bosnia – so I improvised more music on the spot.... The enthusiasm of this woman, who with her soft voice and passionate heart got the essence of this idiom, previously unknown to her, awakened my dream of "Koštana" [opera], and I will have no peace, my unrest will just grow until it produces this work.³⁶⁷

This is the "bulbul" that sings in *Sabah*, mimicking Violetta's fioraturas. In *Pesma o dvoje*, however, the bird stopped singing to Konjović:

³⁶⁷ Mosusova, "Prepiska izmedju Petra Konjovića i Tihomira Ostojića," 158

Pesma o dvoje

Danas me je zaboravila moja mala ptica!
Ja imam jednu malu pticu,
I često na prozor mi dolazi moj, da, da,
I cvrkuće i peva, peva,
A ja je slušam, slušam.
A duši mojoj krila rastu
Krila kao što ih ima moja mala ptica.
I tako krademo božiji dan,
Kao što krademo komadić sreće
Ja i moja mala ptica...Ah!
Danas me je zaboravila moja mala ptica!
Zaboravila...

A song about two

Today, my little bird has forgotten about me!
I have a little bird
Who comes often to my window, oh yes.
And it chirps and sings, it sings.
And I listen to it, listen.
And my soul grows wings,
Wings as those of my little bird.
And so we spend our God given days
As we steal snippets of happiness
I and my little bird...Ah!
Today, my little bird has forgotten about me!
Forgotten...

My journey, which I share in this programme with the audience, ends as I began: with the fascination of a female singing voice. Whereas I begin with the nymph – the co-creation of Ivanka and Miloje Milojević – I finish with Konjović's loss of Strozzi-Pečić. The last two songs of my recital songs have no folk connections, situating the art song project beyond its nationalist narrative, denationalizing it and setting it onto the cosmopolitan stage, as advocated in composers' writings. As almost a century ago, this re-location is effected by the performers.

Conclusion

Molitva Majke Jugovića and *Sabah* are, respectively, metaphors of Miloje Milojević's and Konjović's sounded Yugoslavism. They explicate two bodies of repertory, Miloje Milojević's restrained chamber idiom focusing on mother-figures and Konjović's

operatic songs of love and longing. Behind this music stand not just composers but also the two sopranos who inspired, co-wrote and performed these songs. Above all, Ivanka Milojević and Strozzi-Pečić gave these songs meaning for their audiences.

A performance of this repertory is a performance of femininity. Understanding this changed both my programming and performance strategy. I rely on the lecture recital format to circumvent negative associations of the war in the Balkans, and allow audiences to focus on what these songs thematize: maternity and female authority. The first group of songs chart the mother's life and loss – experiences close to the Milojević couple's own – which is searingly relevant to the crises faced by refugee mothers. The second song group treats the story of *Sabah* and celebrates empowerment through vocality.

To realise the two sonic representations of femininity, I drew on the vocal practices of two original sopranos. While their use of registers differs, there is a parallel in their attention to diction and expressive markings. Both sopranos strove above all to communicate the text, at times interrupting and thereby sacrificing the beauty of the vocal line. Despite their different instruments and practices, both sopranos were the ones to create meaning through performance. Allowing the performers to fully acknowledge this function can help to regenerate a repertory, and even a genre, whose relevance mystifies many concert-goers.

CONCLUSIONS

In this thesis I explored the art song repertory created in the South Slav territories in the first three decades of the twentieth century. The two sopranos, Maja Strozzi-Pečić and Ivanka Milojević, collaborated with two composers, Petar Konjović and Miloje Milojević respectively. Together they created a repertory and established its concert tradition. Aiding their project was Bela Pečić, husband of Strozzi-Pečić who, as a keen amateur pianist, acted as his wife's exclusive accompanist.

While this body of repertory is today referred to as the Serbian art song, this thesis situates the artists' activity in a broader Yugoslav context of the early decades of the twentieth century. Whereas the Yugoslav state was formed in 1918, the issue of Yugoslav identity remained open. The common culture and language were a convenient starting point in a new country with mix of ethnicities. Although there was no consensus on the model for the creation of the Yugoslav cultural identity, it was mostly constructed by combining the elements of the existing (Serbian, Croat and Slovene) cultures into one, new Yugoslav culture. The composers in this thesis followed the broader intellectual action among South Slavs, and adopted this model in their quest to create high art music matching the standards of their European counterparts. The art song emerged as a suitable genre to create this new high art due to its poetic component and its links to vernacular tradition and popular song. In addition, its small scale suited the undeveloped music tradition in the region, lacking instrumental apparatus which could perform orchestral pieces. The two sopranos premiered most of the newly created vocal opus. Both the composers and the sopranos interchangeably referred to this newly created high art music

as national, Yugoslav and ‘ours’, highlighting the fluidity of identities constructed at that time.

Contrary to the standard approach which focuses on music as writing, thus foregrounding the composers, this thesis shifts the focus to the performance. Having the performance as the object of investigation opens the question of its performative aspect, bringing into focus the role of the two sopranos as the cultural taste makers, who constructed both the national identity and the new gender roles. The newly established performance tradition and the unmatched extent of the two sopranos’ touring provided the context and repetitive aspect needed for the performative actions to take place. The actions were conveyed on the level of the story presented but also in the act of narration itself, with gender and voice – and in the case of Strozzi-Pečić her star factor – as aspects of narrator crucial for the reception and appreciation of this narrative as a form of cultural agency. Konjović himself acknowledged the role of a performer as a third creator in the genre of art song. Audience and critics acknowledged the formative role of the two sopranos, with Strozzi-Pečić referred to as a third poet of this repertory in concert reviews. In addition to the two sopranos as creators in performance, I identify them as collaborators in the compositional process – shaping the vocal lines, selecting the ‘folk’ tradition and authoring the surface markings.

Neither the link between nationalism and music nor the call for emphasis on performance aspect are specific for the territory of former Yugoslavia. What was specific in this case was that the high art and the ‘national’ music traditions were forged simultaneously, promoting each other, in an environment with a possibly unprecedented mosaic of ethnicities, religions and cultures in Europe. The created Yugoslav musical discourse therefore has to be studied in the context of a complex interplay of Yugoslav and particular national identities at that time, and these two collaborations, unfolding in

two different cultural centres of Yugoslavia between artists of different ethnic and social backgrounds, provide excellent case studies for comparative analysis.

This thesis identifies two female performers – Ivanka Milojević and Strozzi-Pečić as more important than the two composers in this joint project for a number of reasons. In the context of low music literacy and scarce means of mechanical reproduction, it was live performance that was crucial for the repertory dissemination. The two sopranos' gender and professional training were crucial in redefining the communal, predominantly masculine character of mainly choral works by the previous generation of composers, shifting the focus instead to female figures to mythologise the nation in a single author art song. As mothers and wives, they could represent idealized female values and characters from the 'folk' tradition. Art song, in return, was a respectable platform for women's public activity, removed from the commercialised world of opera to the chamber performance settings associated with appropriate femininity. Coupled with the 'noble' national quest and repertory that stood for higher aims, particularly celebrating the mother tongue, it further safeguarded the integrity of the artists involved.

Touring extensively, Ivanka Milojević and Strozzi-Pečić were both accompanied by their husbands, aiding the image of appropriate femininity. While they established different formats of concertising – Ivanka Milojević favoured lecture recitals and chamber concerts, and Strozzi-Pečić championed recitals – both formats had a clear educational aim: presenting the newly composed 'national' song. They were 'patriots' – bearers of national identity as identified by Hroch, more active than would be expected of women in what was still a patriarchal society. They chose the 'national' songs they performed alongside the standard European art song repertory – mainly German and French. They regularly collated three strains of repertory into one performance: European art song repertory, the folk-song arrangements and the songs by local composers without

traditional links. They sounded the whole territory of Yugoslavia on the stage, embodying the composers' work which aimed to synthesise the existing cultures into a new one. Language was crucial in this process. In the newly created Yugoslav state three distinctive languages, Serbian, Croat and Slovene were considered as one official language, and the sopranos sounded all three of them on the concert stage. By keeping the original languages of all the repertory performed and through their advanced vocal technique they legitimised the newly-composed repertory as both national and high art. The repertory was 'flagged' as Yugoslav explicitly (by titling the songs as Yugoslav), or implicitly (by including the songs from all the regions or in all three languages). Although Strozzi-Pečić performed more songs by Croatian, and Ivanka Milojević more songs by Serbian composers, that corresponded with the regions they toured the most.

The bulk of the sopranos' concert activity took place in the 1920s. That confirms their role of patriots as 'highly motivated individuals', since this was the period when – in contrast to the period after the 1929 Royal Dictatorship – there was no clearly defined cultural state policy in place. All the activities – the artists' individual recitals, establishing of various music journals and magazines, organisation of various professional associations and festivals, such as the Yugoslav Section of International Society for Contemporary Music and particularly the First Yugoslav Festival of Modern Music organized by Miloje Milojević in 1928 in Belgrade were a result of the artists' individual efforts rather than being state endorsed.

Taking on Barthes' proposal "to change the musical object itself, as it presents itself to the discourse",³⁶⁸ and looking into this body of music as performance gives new perspective to the question whether artists' efforts resulted in creating the 'Yugoslav

³⁶⁸ Roland Barthes, tr. Stephen Heath, *Image-Music-Text* (London: Fontana Press, 1977), 180.

music'. Analysis limited to music as writing shows that, despite crediting Miloje Milojević, an "eminently known Yugoslav", for the Yugoslav ideology of Serbian Literary Magazine,³⁶⁹ and highlighting Konjović's *Moja zemlja* as a manifesto to Yugoslavism,³⁷⁰ 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 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, I argue that, because of Ivanka Milojević and Strozzi-Pečić, the performances of this body of repertory at this particular time probably came closest to the concept of Yugoslav music.³⁷¹

Following the four artists' Yugoslavism after 1930 is less conclusive, as their activities almost completely ceased after this period. Ivanka Milojević officially retired in 1933, following the already less active period of the early 1930s. Strozzi-Pečić officially retired from the opera stage in 1932 but continued performing sporadically, both on the concert stage and in opera. Although the composers' rhetoric did not change after the 1930s, there were changes in their compositional output. They shifted their focus to the folk tradition of the territory of the then-southern Serbia (present day Kosovo and

³⁶⁹ Aleksandar Vasić, "Muzikografija Srpskog književnog glasnika i ideologija jugoslovenstva," [Music in Serbian Literary Magazine and Yugoslav Ideology] *Musicology* 4 (2004): 59

³⁷⁰ Katarina Tomašević, *Na raskršću istoka i zapada: o dijalogu tradicionalnog i modernog u srpskoj muzici: 1918-1941* [At the crossroads of the East and the West: on the dialogue between the traditional and the modern in Serbian music: 1918-1941] (Belgrade: Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 2009).

³⁷¹ Carl Dahlhaus, *Between Romanticism and Modernism, Four Studies in the Music of the Later Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley-Los Angeles-London: University of California Press, 1989), 86-87.

Macedonia). That can be seen as a sign of disillusionment, corresponding to the trend of the gradual waning of the Yugoslav idea during the interwar period. However, it can also be attributed to the general trend in nineteenth-century nationalism in Europe: as the least urbanised regions they conserved the ‘untainted’ folk tradition, aspired to as a basis for national musical styles.

The chronology of the composers’ collaboration with the two sopranos, however, suggests another reason for the change in their compositional output. Konjović stopped composing art song in 1925, when he ended his active collaboration with Strozzi-Pečić. Miloje Milojević continued composing art song after his wife retired, but shifted his focus to Japanese Haiku poetry. Such decisive changes in both composers’ outputs confirm that it was the two sopranos and their performances that were a driving force in their joint ‘national’ art song project.

Despite the artists’ shared rhetoric, the resulting two bodies of repertoires are distinctively different. What scholars identify as Konjović’s ‘Dramatised *Lied*’ and Miloje Milojević’s ‘vocal-lyrical’ opus,³⁷² are a consequence of their collaboration with two sopranos. Two distinctive public personae – determined by the sopranos’ voice as instrument, their technique and artistic temperament and perpetuated by the stage dynamics of their collaboration with their husbands-accompanists – engendered two different bodies of repertory, embodying two different models of femininity.

Ivanka Milojević, the first professional concert singer in Serbia, was active only on the concert stage. She was praised as an exceptionally refined soprano, not large in volume but warm and clear, making it suitable for the chamber career. Being

³⁷² Ana Stefanović, ed., *Anthology of Serbian Art Song in 5 volumes* (Belgrade: Composers Association of Serbia, 2008), XI-XII.

accompanied by her husband, the most prominent figure in Belgrade music life at that time – a critic, essayist, conductor, public lecturer; as well as a composer promoting his own music – contributed to her perceived subordinate role in their partnership. This, however, is challenged by the available evidence which suggest Ivanka Milojević's refined, conservatoire-style, sophisticated chamber performance was the result of a deliberate attempt to establish the concert performance clearly distinctive from the operatic one. Her interpretive choices suited both her instrument and the art song project: she was praised for the skilfully executed *piano* dynamics and for her great attention to diction.

In contrast, Strozzi-Pečić, aided by her combined aristocratic and artistic family background, was a celebrated prima donna who commanded great publicity. In addition, she was accompanied by her husband who was an amateur pianist, without any other public music role and no music of his own to promote, leaving the spotlight in their collaboration entirely on Strozzi-Pečić. She was praised for her virtuosity and acting skills, and, like Ivanka Milojević, nuanced interpretation and attention to diction.

Both sopranos benefitted from their engagement with national art song, whose noble cause bestowed upon them the right to command the authorial voice. They countered the nineteenth-century gender representation images associated with their activities: the siren of the opera world and the song bird of domestic music making who symbolised the much-vaunted bourgeois moral qualities. Ivanka Milojević liberated the song bird, bringing the role of mother and wife into the public sphere to nurture and teach the nation. Strozzi-Pečić used the change of genre as a tool to enhance her star persona, taming her siren image. Removed from the world of opera, Strozzi-Pečić could project a contrasting image to Ivanka Milojević – loud, bold, erotic, and still be a widely respected native siren.

This translated into the score. Ivanka Milojević's small voice and attention to diction resulted in Miloje Milojević's recitative phrases, curtailed dynamics and restricted *tessitura*; her attention to detail is reflected in the extent of surface markings. The restrained mode of delivery dictated the choice of poetry, largely fitting into two groups: the poems about nature, and maternal songs—lullabies and songs about mother figures. The pastoral *Nimfa*, marking the very beginning of the couple's personal and artistic union, exemplifies Ivanka Milojević's voice. *Molitva Majke Jugovića Zvezdi Danici*, composed in 1920, is Miloje Milojević's metaphor of Yugoslavism – reflecting the enthusiasm among the intellectual elite in the newly created state. It merges a nymph's voice with a traditional mother figure from the Kosovo myth, probably the most significant of myths in both Serbian and Yugoslav history and widely used by artists; reconciling rural and urban, national and cosmopolitan, epic tradition and lyrical poetry, different ethnicities and the Yugoslav idea. These conflicts were mediated by an idealized female character, a mother figure, and embodied in a sophisticated concert performance tradition pioneered by his wife.

Strozzi-Pečić's voice (dark in the lower, glossy in the higher range and not too big), her technique (in particular an excellent agility and *legato* execution), her expressive and passionate interpretation, and her star persona: all fuelled Konjović's penchant for *sevdalinkas* – sensual songs of love and yearning with wide-range melismatic vocal lines. While Konjović composed *sevdalinka* songs before he met Strozzi-Pečić, it was her embrace of the genre, associated with “Eastern Other” as the Ottoman Turk that allowed Konjović to integrate this tradition into newly created high art. Strozzi-Pečić commissioned Konjović to compose a song with a stylised muezzin call. The resulting *Sabah*, his most demanding song with operatic fioraturas and stylized muezzin call, was then co-created in their joint compositional session. Due to the different historical context

of this 1916 session, it is debatable whether at the moment of inception *Sabah* was bearing a clear Yugoslav idea. However, it opens questions in music parallel to those explored in literature – relating to integration of a Muslim identity into a newly created Yugoslav one. Regardless of the song’s creation context and its original aim, the fact remains that in the years to come it was Strozzi-Pečić’s performance that secured the song’s reception as Yugoslav.

This thesis brings back to the spotlight the original performers and performances of this repertory. More significantly, it does so through performance, an approach still under-represented in musicology in general, and particularly so in the genre of art song. My insight as a performer, that two different voices were needed for Konjović’s and Miloje Milojević’s songs, started my research into the contexts of each composer’s art song opus. Unearthing the two sopranos’ input changed my performance and programming strategies. It made me rethink the role of a performer as a third poet today, and the extent to which one can wrestle away both the composer and the poet in creating a new reading of the script. Furthermore, it made me rethink the extent to which today one should draw on the original performances.

Approaching this repertory as the performance of femininity allowed me to remove it from a nationalist narrative, usually associated with the music of European periphery, and in this particular case, possible negative associations with recent events in the Balkans. I used the lecture recital format as part of the original performance practice to tell the story of the repertory’s unifying role during a turbulent time of the region’s history, and to highlight the role the two women had in its creation and reception. The context of the repertory, a hundred years ago, was marked by three wars – two Balkan Wars and World War One, but the losses that the, mainly male-driven, wars bring to mothers are as relevant today. I assemble a song cycle depicting a woman’s life and losses

from Miloje Milojević's songs that Ivanka Milojević – herself a mother of a small girl waiting for her husband to return from the war – performed often. This maternal thread crosses the ethnic, national and religious boundaries today, just like it did when Miloje Milojević drew on it to harmonise different traditions into a newly created high art.

The mother figure was to be a strong woman, embodied by trouser-wearing Ivanka Milojević. Both Ivanka Milojević and the self-reinventing Strozzi-Pečić were recognised by contemporaries as authors – co-creators of this repertory. This sense of empowerment of a performer is crucial for rescuing this repertory today. Allowing the performers the right to be authors – to be creative and offer readings of the art song relevant in the modern context – may bring back the audiences to this repertory. I close the circle of my research with a recital. I reinvent the story of two women and draw on the vocal practices of the two original sopranos to realise the two sonic representations of femininity. Within the boundaries of my voice as an instrument and the current vocal practice, I draw on their technique and interpretive choices to offer my own interpretation of the script that this repertory provides. If the context for my future performances changes, while the script remains, my interpretation may change as well.

THE THESIS APPENDIX

Table 1. Ivanka Milojević's concert activity

Date	Place	Type of Event, Repertory
7.6.1906	Belgrade, Srpska muzička škola	First time the Milojevićs performed together. List (<i>Ljubav</i>) Grieg (<i>Solveig Song</i>). Mozart (<i>Terzet</i> from <i>Magic Flute</i>)
15.10.1911.	Belgrade, Druga beogradska gimnazija	First concert of The Serbian Music School Chamber Society. Wolf (<i>Molitva, Baštovan, Tajna</i>), Brahms (<i>Uzaludna serenada</i>), Petar Konjović (<i>Chanson</i>), Miloje Milojević (<i>Hercegovačka uspavanka, Čekanje, Caruj noći</i>)
12.3.1914.	Belgrade National Theatre	Strauss (<i>Traum durch die Dämmerung</i>), Grieg (<i>Solveig's Song</i>), Pfitzner (<i>Gretchen</i>), Wolf (Spanish book No17), Massenet (<i>Elegy</i> , with cello and piano), Gretchaninov (<i>Lullaby</i>), Novak (<i>Budjenje</i>), Pavčić (<i>Pastirka</i>)
10.11.1919.	Belgrade, Hotel <i>Kasina</i>	The Serbian Music School Chamber Society, Strauss (<i>Traum durch die Dämmerung, All' mein Gedanken</i>) Wolf (<i>Veilina pesma</i>)
27.11.1919	Belgrade, Music School Stanković	Group of Artists: Milojević (<i>Pismo, Hercegovačka uspavanka</i>)
10.12.1919	Belgrade, Music School Stanković	Group of Artists: French repertory
** 27.9.1919 17.11.1919. 1.12.1919. 5.12.1919.		Group of Artists musico-literary evenings
5.4.1920. #	Novi Sad, Serbian National Theatre	Group of Artists: Milojević (<i>Pismo, Japan</i>). Folk song arrangements by Milojević and Manojlović (<i>Tesno mi ga skroji, Kje so moje rozice, Tužna draga, Pusti me majko</i>)
6 Aug 1920	Zagreb	

18.5.1921.	Belgrade, Druga beogradska gimnazija	French repertory (Saint Saens, Chausson, Breville, Gillier, Faure, Hahn, Debussy, Bergerette, Lully) (1)
12.6.1921	Belgrade, Druga beogradska gimnazija	Pavcic (<i>Uspavanka</i>), Milojević (<i>A Lyde</i>), Debussy (<i>Air de Lya</i>)
1.4.1922. #	Belgrade, Music School Stanković	Miloje Milojević's authorial evening (<i>Pismo, Nikad, Zanosni čas, Pčela i cvet, Nimfa, Pesma orla</i> and <i>Zvona</i> ; folk song arrangements <i>Zdvojenje, Tužna pesma, Vse mine</i>)
1.8.1923	Bled	Hausseger, Strauss, Brahms, Grieg Milojević (<i>Japan, Pjesma Orla</i>) Pavčić (<i>Uspavanka</i>) Folk arrangements (Milojević, Lhotka, Chezh) Quilter (<i>Now sleeps the crimson petal</i>), Debussy (<i>Air de Lya</i>), De Severac (<i>Ma poupee Cherie</i>) (1)
^ #	Slovenia	Grieg, Severac, Strauss, Saint Saens, Lully, Gillier. Milojević (<i>Japan, Pismo</i>). Konjović (<i>Večernja pesma</i>), Manojlović (<i>Tuzna pesma</i>). Pavčić (<i>Uspavanka</i>), Lajovic (<i>Mesec v izbi</i>). Folk song arrangements Milojević/Manojlović (<i>Mirjano, Tesno mi ga skroji, Makedonska</i>). (1)
*11.2.1924.	Belgrade	Czech music
*28.2.1924.	Belgrade	Smetana's centenary, chamber concert
16.4.1925.	Prague	^^
14.12.1925 #	Prague	Bersa (<i>Den dusicek</i>), Hristić (<i>October</i>), Milojević (<i>Japan</i>), Konjović (<i>Marie vstava</i>)
22.11.1925.	Belgrade	[Narodni Konzervatorijum] Chausson, Saint Saens
*3.1.1926.	Belgrade	[Narodni Konzervatorijum] Novak, Jirak, Dvorak, Milojević
*8.1.1926.	Belgrade	[Narodni Konzervatorijum] Novak, Vrutnicki. Jirak, Kricka, Aksman, Dvorak
*30.1.1926.	Belgrade	Milojević, Grieg, Dvorak
*18.12.1926.	Belgrade	[Narodni Konzervatorijum] Vomacka, Kricka, Jirak, Novak
21.3.1926''	Pancevo	French songs (1)

21.4.1926.	Belgrade	[Collegium Musicum] Gluck (<i>O del mio dolce ardor</i>), Lully (<i>Ma petite revue</i>)
30.3.1927.	Belgrade	[Collegium Musicum] Beethoven (<i>Liebesklage, Wachtelschlag</i>)
*26.11.1927	Belgrade	[Narodni Konzervatorijum] Marx, Grieg, Milojević (<i>Japan, Pesma orla, Hercegovacka uspavanka, Cigančica, Mirjana</i>)
Feb 1928	Then territory of Southern Serbia	Series of eight lecture-recitals in towns of the then territory of Southern Serbia, folk song arrangements.
28.2.1928	Skopje, National Theatre	Schumann, Grieg, Ipolit-Ivanov, Faure, Dvorak, Kowarzovitz, Milojević (<i>Japan, Pesma orla, Hercegovacka uspavanka</i> ; folk song arrangements - <i>Posla moma, More će prodam, Marika</i>) (1)
5.5.1928.	Belgrade University Hall	The First Yugoslav Festival of Modern Music, Milojević (folk song arrangements - <i>Marika, Ljuljala je Janka, More će prodam</i>)
1.12.1928	Belgrade	[Collegium Musicum] Schubert (<i>Lachen und Weinen, Du bist die Ruh, Der Blumenbrief, Die Liebe hat Gelogen</i>)
17.3.1930.	France	Milojević (<i>Japan, Hercegovacka uspavanka</i>)

Unless specified otherwise the data has been compiled from concert programmes (Miloje Milojević Family Collection). Concerts that are mentioned in literature without information on date, venue or programme are not included.

(1) Recitals

* Data taken from Roksanda Pejović, *Koncertni život u Beogradu (1919-1941)* [Concert scene in Belgrade (1919-1941)] (Belgrade: Univerzitet umetnosti, 2004).

** Data on Group of Artists' activity from Pejović (2004). The date of group's first concert given as 17.11.1919. Accounts of group's activity not uniform across literature (Milojković-Djurić, Tomašević).

Concert flagging the Yugoslav idea

‘ No programme available, information from the Milojević's letter of this date to his sister Vladislava (MM FC).

‘ No programme available, information from review of the concert.

^ Concert programme in Slovenian, undated (MM FC).

^^ Concert invitation without programme (MM FC).

Narodni Konzervatorijum – Music section of Cvijeta Zuzorić Society founded in 1924, among others by Milojević, which organized music concerts and supported artists. Society named after 16thC female patron of arts from Dubrovnik. Advocated women's rights.

Collegium Musicum – Chamber Orchestra founded by Milojević in 1926, made up of Belgrade University staff and students.

Table 2. Maja Strozzi-Pečić's concert activity

Date	Place	Type of Event, Repertory
*1.1.1899.	Zagreb	G. Praga (Serenata) (Concert of "Kolo" choral society)
*1.12.1900.	Zagreb	Zajc (Hajd u kolo), Verdi (Gilda, Elena), Strauss (Voci di primavera) (Concert of "Zora" choral society)
*16.1.1901.	Ljubljana, Narodni Dom	Verdi (aria Violeta), Zajc (Romanca, Domovini i ljubavi, Slovenska pesma), Albini (Oproštaj), Meyerbeer (aria Dinorah)
*2.3.1901.	Zagreb, HGZ	^^
*3.12.1901.	Vienna	Concert of Slavic Choral Society. Dvorak (Napadly pisne, Dobru noć), Zajc (Domovini i ljubi, Romanca), Gerbič (Sklepala roke si bele), Vilhar (Ukazi)
*28.2.1914.	Budapest	Zajc (Domovini i ljubi), Milojević (Jesenja Elegija, Japan), Strauss (Voci di primavera)
*3.3.1917.	Zagreb, Croatian Conservatory	Konjović's authorial concert (Chanson, Iščekivanje, Večernja pesma, Pod pendžeri, San zaspala, Nane, kaži tajku, Sabah)
24.3.1917.	Zagreb, Croatian Conservatory	Repeat of Konjović's authorial concert
# (1) 19.1.1919.	Zurich	Novak (Slovak folk songs), Kricka (La grue et le héron), Liadov (Six chansons d'enfant), Stravinsky (Souvenirs d'enfance), Lajović (Pesma tkaca), Pavčić (Uspavanka), Dobronić (cycle Dilberke, folk songs Žetva, Večernji povetarac, Ljubavne želje, Na galiji), Konjović (Chanson, Iščekivanje, Večernja pesma, Pod pendžeri, Tri put mi pukna, Povala je Jela, Sabah) YU
' (1) 15.1.1920	^	French folk songs, Debussy (Ariettes oubliées, Chansons de Bilitis, Fêtes galantes), Ravel (Mélodies populaires grecques)
# (1) 22.4.1922.	Maribor	Dobronić (Na žetvi, Na gafiji, U čežnji za dragim), Širola (Kiša, Susedovo dete, Lan), Lakmé, Otelo, Tosca, Konjović (Pod pendžeri, Večernja, Povala je Jela, Sabah)
# † (1) 10.1922.	Split	Three recitals: 1. Yugoslav concert (Konjović, Širola, Dobronić, second half: Operatic arias) 2. French songs 3. Russian songs

16.2.1923.	Zagreb, HGZ	Stravinsky – songs and piano pieces (Three songs to Japanese poems, Two songs by Balmont, Svraka, Vrana, Cicer Jacer, Pribautki, Berceuses du Chat, Guske, Tilim Bom, Four Russian Songs)
# (1) 6.4.1923.	Zagreb, HGZ	Konjović (Chanson, Iščekivanje, Večernja pesma, Pesma o dvoje, 16 songs from Moja zemlja collection)
# (1) 4.5.1923.	Zagreb, HGZ	Konjović (Pod pendžeri), Albini (Oproštaj), Širola (Ne marim), Pavčić (Uspavanka), Hahn (D'une prison), Dalcroze (Avril), Catherine (Ton sourire), Liszt (Die Lorelei), R. Strauss (Winterweihe), Reger (Maria Wiegenlied), Hildach (Lenz), Tosti (Vorrei morire, Non m'ama piu, Spes, ultima dea), Stravinsky (Pastirica), Cherepnin (Suze), Gretchaninov (Uspavank)
# (1) 23.2.1924.	Sušak	Zajc (Djevojka i bilje, Romanca, Lastavicam), Dobronić (Svatovac, Mila moja, Uspavanka), Konjović (Chanson, Večernja pesma, Povala Jela), Gotovac (Ljeti pod kućom, Pred dragine prozore, Mornar u krčmi), Delibes (aria Lakmé)
(1) 5.4.1925.	Prague, Obecnih dom	Novak (Zelen Jagluk), Širola (Lan), Konjović (Umre Rajole), Tajčević (Nasa pučka lirika, Vračaruša, Uspavanka, Rugalica), Gotovac (Dodji, Tuge moje, Nisam znala), Grgošević (Diteca, Molitva, Soldacka), Debussy (Green, Colloque sentimentale, La Flute de Pan), Ravel (Le Paon, Le Grion), Arthur Hoeree (Trois pieces), Delage (Jeupur, Benares, Lahore), Lyadov (Dozivanje kiše, Uspavanka, Zabavna), Mussorgski (In the corner, Before sleep), Stravinsky (Svraka, Vrana, Cicer Jacer, Guske Labudi, Tilim Bom)
(1) 2.5.1925	Karlovac, Zorindom	Same programme as Prague 5.4.1925.
*23.3.1926.	Zagreb, HGZ	Stravinsky (Prelude, Chant du Pêcheur, Air de Rossignol) Accompanied by Stravinsky
9.7.1926.	Radio Zagreb	Zajc (Devojka i bilje), Širola (Lan), Gotovac (Poljubi me), Konjović (Sabahzorski vetrovi), Dobronić (Kulundžija), Novak (Zelen jagluk), Tajčević (Kozar, kozi javi), Grgošević (Diteca, Molitva, Soldacka), Wolf (Spaziergang), Marx (Die tote Braut), Reger (Maria Wiegenlied), Gerber (C'est mon ami, Qu'est ce qui passe), Debussy (Romance, Mandoline), Gretchaninov (Epicedium), Lyadov (Dozivanje kise, Uspavanka, Zabavna), Mussorgski (Before sleep), Stravinsky (Tilim Bom)

(1) 23.7.1926.	Radio Zagreb	Dobronić (Mila moja, Vrati se, Ljuljala majka sinana), Grgošević (Došli su orači, Tiček slaviček, Veter popuhava), Konjović (Večernja, Povala je Jela, Sabah), Rosa (Canzonetta), Giordani (Caro mio ben), Paisiello (Arietta, Il mio ben quando verra, Nel cuor mi sento), Novak and Janáček (Slovak folk songs), David (La perle du Bresil)
(1) (2) 6.8.1926.	Radio Zagreb	Livadić (Udaljenoj), Lisinski (Zavist), Zajc (Devojka i bilje), Širola (Jesen je), Hatze (Moja sudba), Konjović (Chanson), Dobronić (Svatovac), Stolcer-Slavenski (Romarska popevka), Gotovac (Mornar u krčmi, Pod dragine prozore), Tajčević (Uspavanka), Grgošević (Sbogom Lobor ti nas), Delibes (Aria Lakmé)
(1) # 13.8.1926.	Radio Zagreb	Milojević (Jesenja elegija), Konjović (Pod pendžere, Veter duse, Umre Rajole) Pavčić (Uspavanka), Leeson (The auld Scotch songs), Less (Coming through the rye), Griffes (In the myrihle shade), Fisher (Deep river), Cherepin (Proletnja tisina), Mussorgski (In the corner, Before sleep), Stravinsky (Svraka, Nezaboravka, golub, Akahito), Donizetti (Norina, Don Pasquale),
(1) (2) 19.8.1926.	Radio Zagreb	Livadić (Udaljenoj), Lisinski (Zavist), Zajc (Devojka i bilje, Romanca), Širola (Jesen je), Konjović (Chanson), Gotovac (Ruža i leptir, Svatovac), Slavenski (Romarska popevka), Tajčević (Uspavanka, Rugalica), Grgošević (Zavjetna, Soldacka), Delibes (Aria Lakmé)
(1) 27.8.1926.	Radio Zagreb	The same programme as 13.8.1926.
# * (1) 2.1935.	Zagreb	Concert for The British Society of Yugoslavia. Yugoslav songs (Zajc, Grgošević, Tajčević, Dobronić, Konjović), Wolf, Marx, Debussy, Stravinsky. Accompanied by Dora White
* (1) 17.3.1941.	Zagreb, HGZ	^^
‘ * (1) 8.12.1951	Zagreb, Hall Istra	Papandopulo (Lijepo moje Drinopolje, Sadila sam bazulek), Dobronić (Djevojčino nagovaranje, Uspavanka), Grgošević (Veter potpuhava, Kada ti lobica merla bos), Konjović, excerpts from La Bohème and La Traviata. Accompanied by Boris Papandopulo
‘ * (1) 1956	Samobor	^^ Last public performance

Unless specified otherwise, data compiled from concert programmes (CMI MSPA).

‘Data from Samobor Town Museum

* Not accompanied by Bella Pečić

(1) Recitals

(2) Lecture recitals

Concert programmes reflecting Yugoslav idea (songs by Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian composers or folk-song arrangements from Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia)

† No programme available, information from the concert review.

^ Concert programme without place or venue.

^^ Concert invitation without programme details.

HGZ – Hall of the Croatian Music Institute

Figure 1. Sonic Visualiser Spectrogram 1:

Milojević, *Lulela je Jana*. (*Makedonska uspavanka: Dve ljubavne pesme*, by Miloje Milojević, Pathé Records, 19-?. [sic.] National Library of Serbia, Sound Recordings Collection, Belgrade. Catalogue number D II 9786/St.)

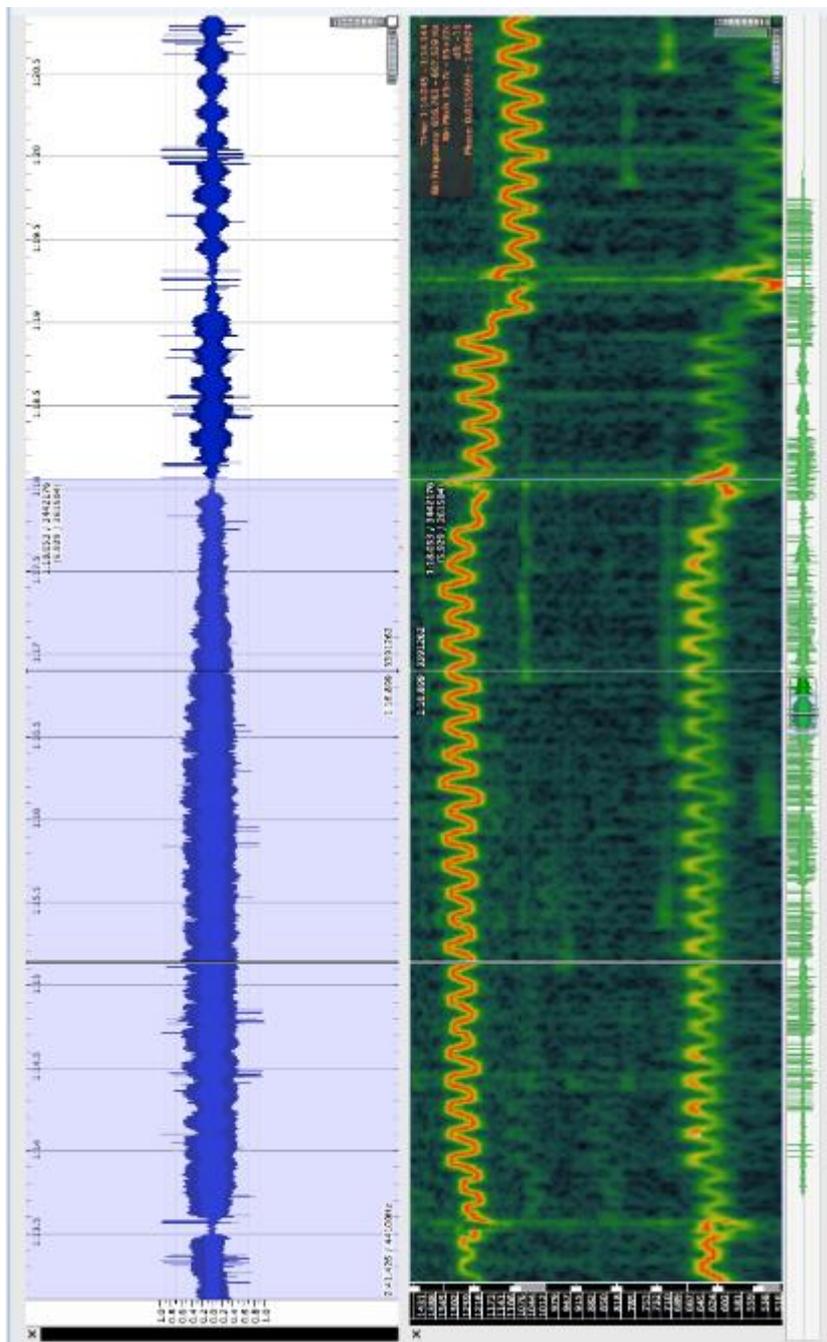
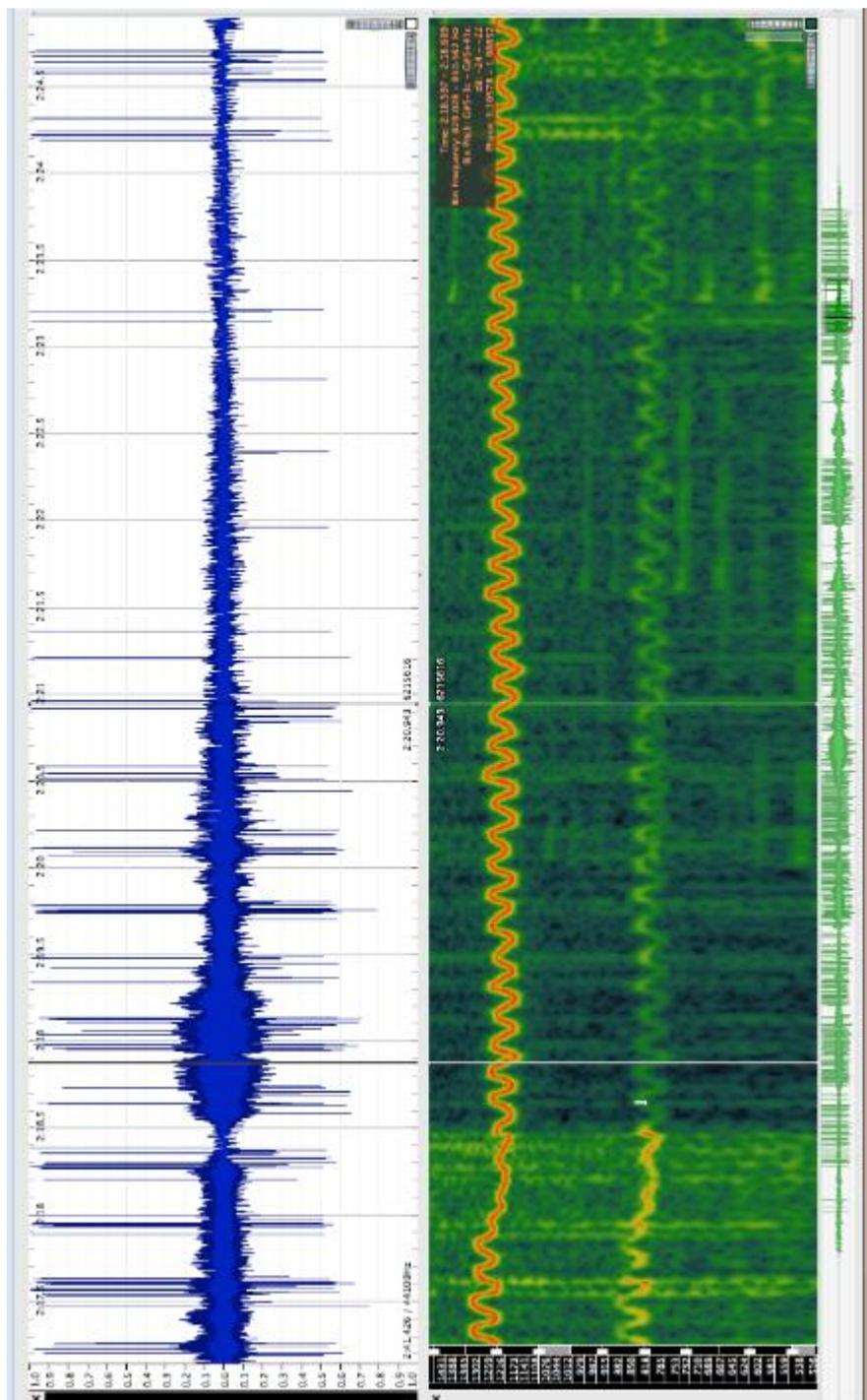


Figure 2. Sonic Visualiser Spectrogram 2:

Milojević, *More će prodam.* (Makedonska uspavanka: *Dve ljubavne pesme*, by Miloje Milojević, Pathé Records, 19-?. [sic.] National Library of Serbia, Sound Recordings Collection, Belgrade. Catalogue number D II 9786/St.)



The Lecture Recital



Verica Grmuša (soprano) with Mina Miletic (piano)

Performing the 'National' Art Song Today – Songs by Miloje Milojević and Petar Konjović

Wednesday, 22nd November 2017 6 p.m. Deptford Town Hall, New Cross Road, SE14 6AF



Programme

Miloje Milojević

Nimfa [The Nymph]

Hercegovačka uspavanka [The Lullaby from Herzegovina]

Berceuse Triste [Sad Lullaby]

Molitva Majke Jugovića Zvezdi Danici [The Prayer of the Jugović Mother to the Morning Star]

Zvona [The Bells]

The Three Songs op 67

Sehr heisser Tag [A Very Warm Day]

Die Pfade liegen still [Our Road is Tranquil and Quiet]

Ein einsamer Klang [The Lonely Sound]

Japan [Japan]

Haikai

U poznu jesen [In the Late Autumn]

Trešnja u cvetu [The Cherry Blossom]

Pušči me [Let me go]

More će prodam [I will sell]

Interval (15 minutes)

Giuseppe Verdi

É strano... Sempre libera (Violetta's aria, 1st act La Traviata)

Petar Konjović

Pod Pendžeri [Under your window]

Nane, kaži tajku [Mother, tell Daddy]

Sabah [Morning]

Chanson

Noć [The Night]

Večernja pesma [The Evening Song]

Pesma o dvoje [A song about two]

Luda Jele [Crazy Jele]

Umre, umre Rajole [Rajole is dead]

PROGRAMME NOTES

The Context of the Repertory's Creation

Petar Konjović (1883-1970) and Miloje Milojević (1884-1946) left the largest vocal opus in the South Slav region in the first half of the twentieth century. While this body of repertory is today referred to as the Serbian art song, it was composed in a broader Yugoslav context of the early decades of the twentieth century. The high art and the 'national' music traditions were forged simultaneously, promoting each other, in an environment with possibly unprecedented mosaic of ethnicities, religions and cultures in Europe. The newly created art song emerged both as a symbol of national identity and high art. Milojević and Konjović embraced it as their preferred genre in creating the Yugoslav cultural identity, combining and uniting the elements of the existing (Serbian, Croat and Slovene) cultures into one, new Yugoslav culture.

Despite the composers' shared Yugoslav rhetoric, the

resulting two bodies of repertories are distinctively different. What scholars identify as Konjović's 'Dramatised Lied' and Milojević's 'vocal-lyrical' opus, are a consequence of their collaboration with two sopranos: Maja Strozzi-Pečić (1882-1962) and Ivanka Milojević (1881-1975). The sopranos were recognised by contemporaries as champions of the 'national' repertory and praised for the extent of their concert activity. What is less known is that they were active partners in the compositional process, both in selecting the folk material and shaping the vocal lines. I retell the story of the repertory's creation as a story of two women as authors. Rather than particular nationalist ideas, it was the two distinctive public personae – determined by the sopranos' voice as instrument, their technique and artistic temperament and perpetuated by the stage dynamics of their collaboration with their husbands-accompanists – that

engendered two different bodies of repertory, embodying two different models of femininity: mother-figure of the chamber repertory and a native siren with a luring operatic voice.

The Mother-Figure and the 'National' Art Song



Ivanka Milojević, the first professional concert singer in

Serbia, premiered most of her husband Miloje Milojević's songs. Milojević acted as her exclusive accompanist in a stage partnership spanning almost three decades, forging together the 'style of performance' that seeped into his vocal lines. Ivanka Milojević's small voice and attention to diction resulted in Milojević's recitative phrases with curtailed dynamics and restricted tessitura. The sophisticated mode of delivery, at times criticised as restrained, dictated the choice of poetry, which largely fits into two groups: poems about nature and maternal songs – lullabies and songs about mother figures, all suitable to promote 'national' music at the turbulent time in the history of South Slavs. The three wars that marked the beginning of the twentieth century in the region – two Balkan Wars and World War One, directly affected the couple when Milojević was conscripted in the Serbian army. I assembled Milojević's 'maternal' songs composed in this period into a cycle depicting a woman's life, creating a patchwork

from scenes of courtship, early motherhood and losses. While the songs were composed a hundred years ago, the losses that the, mainly male-driven, wars bring to mothers are as relevant today as they were for the song's original performer Ivanka Milojević, herself a mother of a little girl waiting for her husband to return from war.

The song *Nimfa* [The Nymph] was composed in 1908, when Ivanka and Miloje Milojević, the newly-wed young couple, were studying in Munich. The story of the young boy enchanted by the heavenly voice can be read as an allegory of the young couple, who met as students singing in the choir in Belgrade. Song's musical idiom typifies the rest of Milojević's opus. *Nimfa* features a wide range; its recitative line is broken up with leaps and the piano accompaniment is transparent. The bare, a capella opening phrase of *Nimfa* asserts the dominance of the voice over the piano part. Contrary to Ivanka Milojević's perceived subordinate role in the couple's

artistic partnership, in Milojević's scores his wife's heavenly voice had absolute spotlight.

Hercegovačka uspavanka
[The Lullaby from Herzegovina] largely followed this idiom in 1909. It was the first of many lullabies to come and the only folk song arrangement the couple regularly performed alongside Milojević's original songs. The contrasting, sombre mood of *Berceuse Triste* [Sad Lullaby] reflects the war years. Milojević composed it in 1916, while serving in the Serbian army, away from his wife and daughter Gordana (1911-2003). Milojević returned home in 1919, and his renewed collaboration with Ivanka Milojević resulted in one of the most productive years in his vocal opus. In 1920 he composed seven songs which he published in 1933 in ten-song collection *Pred veličanstvom prirode* [In Awe of the Magnificence of Nature]. Although the last two songs of my cycle were composed in 1920, after the wars, they continue the thread of war and maternal loss.



In *Molitva Majke Jugovića Zvezdi Danici* [The Prayer of the Jugović Mother to the Morning Star], Milojević merged a nymph's voice with a traditional mother figure. The Kosovo Battle myth, one of the most sacred myths in South-Slav regions, is told from the vantage point of a bereaved mother, embodied in a sophisticated concert performance

tradition pioneered by Ivanka Milojević. Song's recitative line on a single pitch and a changing meter follow closely the prosody of the text – the mother's prayer for her nine sons going to battle the following day. The fifth song in my cycle is *Zvona* [The Bells], a mother's lament for her deceased child, its recitative-styled line and continuous piano dynamics broken only with the mother's cry.

While recitative lines still dominate *The Three Songs op 67* [to German verses] composed in 1924, the cycle introduces expansive vocal lines, including the ascending line to the held top B flat in forte dynamics in the middle section of *Die Pfade liegen still* [Our Road is Tranquil and Quiet]. The third song of the cycle, *Ein einsamer Klang* [The Lonely Sound] in particular, calls for a parallel with *Nimfa* for its opening recitative a capella line describing a fascinating 'sound', although this time it is an abstract rather than the nymph's voice.

Japan [Japan], composed in 1909, marks the beginning of

Milojević's recurring interest in Japanese poetry. While this poetic thread may seem at odds with the couple's 'national' art project, the sensitivity and restraint of the Haiku poetry hold the key to understanding Ivanka Milojević's imprint. This is the essence of her practice and is found in the piano and vocal part of his still unpublished six song cycle *Haikai* of 1943. The vocal part is mainly declamatory, featuring zig-zag lines, elaborate articulation and dynamic markings, as well as non-standard effects as glissando and spoken phrases.

Attesting to Ivanka Milojević's strong and multifaceted artistic persona are the two Milojević's folk song arrangements she performed most often: *Pušči me* [Let me go] and *More će prodam* [I will sell]. Milojević arranged them during the couple's joint melographic trips of South Serbia in 1928. Both songs are set to love poems. While the first one features a broad sensuous line, the

second contrasts it with fast energetic character and a sustained top G as the song's climax. Ivanka Milojević's selection shows her own desire to combine her expressions of maternity with the vibrancy of trouser-wearing 'New Woman' who dares to sing of love and longing.

The 'Native Siren' of the Concert Stage

Maja Strozzi-Pečić was a celebrated prima donna who commanded great publicity. She was a friend of Thomas Mann, who wrote of her as "My friend, Maja Strozzi, perhaps the most beautiful voice of both hemispheres", and Igor Stravinsky, one of many composers who dedicated their songs to her. She was praised for her virtuosity and acting skills and was a household name in Zagreb for her performance of Violetta in Verdi's *La Traviata*. Strozzi-Pečić also championed the concert scene, accompanied by her husband Bela Pečić (1873-1938), a keen amateur pianist. She was hailed by critics as the 'apostle' of the national song for her formative

Strozzi-Pečić's virtuosic and dramatic method of delivery, suited for Verdi's heroine, was in stark contrast to the mother figure embodied by Ivanka Milojević. However, it was suited for *sevdalinkas* – melismatic songs of yearning and ecstasy. Konjović drew on *sevdalinka* tradition, type of folk music associated mainly with



regions of South Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina and with the Ottoman influence, before meeting Strozzi-Pečić, but once she became

enthusiastic about the genre his vocal lines evolved.

Pod pendžeri [Under your windows], composed in 1906, features a typical *sevdalinka* idiom: wide range, melismatic vocal line and the interval of augmented second, all set to Konjović's love poetry. It was so successful in evoking the tradition that it was often mistaken for a folk song. The song *Nane, kaži tajku* [Mother, tell Daddy], composed in 1910, departs from this pattern. There are no melismatic sections, and though the vocal line features prominent augmented seconds, its expansive phrasing resembles operatic idiom that Konjović favoured. *Sabah* [Morning], Konjović's last *sevdalinka* composed it in 1916 in Zagreb during an impromptu improvising session with Maja Strozzi-Pečić, is his ultimate nod to the opera genre. The repeating motive of a bird in *Sabah* directly quotes in pitch, rhythm and accents Violetta's fioraturas from the first duet with Alfredo, while the song's conclusion mirrors the ending of the

Violetta's second aria. In other words, as they rehearsed Strozzi-Pečić recalled her most familiar operatic role, whose melody Konjović folded into *Sabah*. Strozzi-Pečić commissioned this song for a concert in Sarajevo, but it became her regular encore in concerts throughout the region.



When Strozzi-Pečić, a Catholic Croatian singer of Czech-Italian background, sang a song by Konjović, an Orthodox Habsburg-born Serbian composer, which evokes the Bosnian *sevdalinka*

tradition and calls Allah; audience in a small town of Rijeka in Croatia, then Austria-Hungary, applauded both the performer and the 'national' art song of a nascent Yugoslavia, attesting to the power of both performance and a performer as a binding force for communities.

Konjović's *Chanson*, composed in 1906, shows his early preference for broad, cantabile lines and love poetry that sparked Strozzi-Pečić's interest in his work. His depiction of 'nymph' contrasts Milojević's in both text and music. While Milojević's nymph quietly mourns the unfortunate young boy, Konjović's nymph is crying with passion and longing. Starkly contrasting Milojević's mainly declamatory line are Konjović's broad phrases culminating with a held top A, paired with thicker textures in his piano accompaniment. *Noć* [The Night], composed in the same year, further extends this musical idiom. The change of 'style' in *Večernja pesma* [The Evening Song], also from 1906, is conditioned by the song type. His

only lullaby features curtailed dynamics, descending melody and almost transparent piano accompaniment. *Pesma o dvoje* [A song about two], from 1922, is Konjović's last original song. He continued arranging the folk songs until 1925, but after leaving Zagreb in 1926 and ceasing direct collaboration with Strozzi-Pečić, he did not compose a single song. *Pesma o dvoje* stands apart from the rest of his opus with its recitative-styled line and reduced piano part. This contrast becomes even more significant bearing in mind that Konjović wrote the poem as well, making this, his last song, both autobiographic and prophetic. The bird in *Pesma o dvoje*, who stopped singing, is Strozzi-Pečić, making Konjović lose his 'voice'.

Strozzi-Pečić often performed *Luda Jele* [Crazy Jele] and *Umre, umre Rajole* [Rajole is dead], Konjović's folk song arrangements

from his one-hundred song collection *Moja zemlja* [My Country] composed between 1905 and 1925. Konjović consulted Strozzi-Pečić when selecting the songs for this collection and composed elaborate piano accompaniment for her. These songs further corroborate her as an astute artist, who reinvented her image as the 'face and voice' of the national song at the testing moment in her operatic career. Though having her husband's support, she acted as her own concert manager, at times even accompanying herself in operatic encores. She gave her audiences the best of both worlds, merging the 'noble national cause' of art song with the power and sensuality of opera to become a native siren. Ultimately, she could boldly perform not just the dramatic lines but also the openly sensual and erotic songs and still retain the title of an 'apostle'.

Biographies

Verica Grmuša studied singing at the University of Belgrade's Academy of Music. In addition to studying music, Verica pursued her studies at Medical School, qualifying as a doctor in 2001. The same year she won a scholarship for postgraduate studies at Royal Academy of Music in London, graduating with distinction the following year. While still a student, she extensively performed for Live Music Now in community venues all over UK, igniting her penchant for lecture recitals and reaching new audiences. She performed a vast oratorio and concert repertory in venues throughout UK and Europe. She made her operatic debut in National Opera House in Belgrade as a member of Belgrade's Academy of Music Opera Studio, followed with roles of Fiordiligi (*Così fan tutte*, Mozart, British Youth Opera), Micaela (*Carmen*, Bizet, Gulf Chamber Opera), and Violetta (*La Traviata*, Verdi), Tytania (*A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Britten), Queen of the Night (*The Magic Flute*, Mozart) and Rosalinde (*The Bat*, Strauss) in OperaGold productions.

Verica now combines her performing interests and academic studies with her doctoral research in performance at Goldsmiths. She has presented papers dealing with issues of identity, performance, gender and stardom at conferences organised by Goldsmiths, University College London and the London School of Economics, the UK Performance Studies Network, the Institute of Musicology of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts and the Study Group for Russian and East European Music of the British Association for Slavonic and East European Studies (REEM-BASEES), recently published in journal *Musicology*. Further details may be found on her web-site: www.vericagrmusa.com.

Verica and Mina met as students at Royal Academy of Music, and since then performed regularly in concerts and festivals in UK and abroad. In the last couple of years, they have extensively performed Konjović's and Milojević's songs.



Verica Grmuša and Mina Miletić, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Recital of Konjović's and Milojević's songs, Belgrade 2013

Mina Miletić was born in Belgrade to parents of Serbian and Bulgarian heritage. After attending the Belgrade University, she was awarded an E. Power Biggs scholarship to study at the Royal Academy of Music with Paul Lewis and Colin Stone. Prize-winner of many awards, Mina

established her career regularly appearing in recital, as a chamber musician and concerto soloist in concert halls across Europe, Asia and the USA. Mina also completed a doctoral thesis on 'Interpretation of Impressionistic Piano Music'. She was the Honorary Secretary of the Beethoven Piano Society of Europe (2004-2009) and is an active contributor and reviewer for the 'Arietta' Journal. She has given master-classes in Armenia, Bulgaria, Serbia and UK; and is regularly engaged as an adjudicator for festivals and competitions. Mina is passionate about education and learning and she currently teaches piano at Eton College and Harrow School.

A versatile personality, Mina Miletić shows interests in various forms of artistic expression. She has won prizes in literary competitions and has published short stories in several anthologies. In February 2009 Mina was named Belgrade Ambassador of Ecology and in July 2009 was voted in the 'Top 10 Most Successful Young Serbs in the World'. Further details may be found on her web-site: www.minamiletic.co.uk

Song Translations

The Nymph (Theodor Kóstin (1855-1939),
from Serbian translation by Miloje
Milojević)

Through the twilight the nymph's voice
rang

Over the clear water, silently.

By the clear water a young boy

Listened to her heavenly voice,

While the wind was murmuring.

When the darkness fell, a final dream

The boy dreamt, more handsome than

ever.

And when the bells rang,

Full of sorrow the nymph's song rang.

And never again, never.

The Lullaby from Herzegovina (Traditional
poem)

Anina, my dear, Anina, dear.

Sleep well, sleep.

Sleep my child, let the dream overcome
you,

Let the dream overcome you.

The rose awaits for you,

Awaits for you.

Sad Lullaby (Marcel Wyseur (1886-1950))

Sleep child, child sleep.

Daddy will come soon.

Sad and dolent corner of fire,

At the corner of the fire the mother sings

Sleep child, child sleep.

But the song is a sob.

Outside the rain with its wings

Comes to strike our dark windows

Sleep child, child sleep.

The wind is cold and the bed warm

On the andirons the white ash sinks.

Sleep child, child sleep.

Let's put a big hearth in the fire.

The fire is sad and warm

And the voice goes on.

Sleep child, child sleep.

The child sleeps in his crib.

Alas! Alas!

In the trench a pit was hollowed out.

Sleep child, the song is silent:

Daddy will not come again.

**The Prayer of the Jugović Mother to the
Morning Star** (Ivo Vojnović 1857-1929))

Oh, The Morning Star!

You shine to me alongside the Sun!

I beg of you:

Bring us the peace of the night,

And then at dawn come again

With the same flame and eternal hope.

Oh, the Morning Star!

The Bells (Theodor Vulpinus (1844-1910),
from Serbian translation by Miloje
Milojević)

One small coffin, one light wooden plank

One small rope, one dark hole

And in the sand one small pike.

Alas! That is how they buried my child.

A Very Warm Day (Georg Britting (1891-
1964))

Through dusky slant and the dry grass,
Buzzes the sound, like a flute made of
glass.

The white sky is buzzing with it, and the
bumblebee too.

Before my step, a bird rattles in the light,
Into white sounding emptiness.

Our Road is Tranquil and Quiet (Johann
Wirtz (-1658))

Our road is tranquil and quiet.

From the silver mountain forest the fog
rises.

I think now of all the songs the Cuckoo bird
sang us in the summer in the woods.

Your step was soft and shy, as you touched
a green branch with your dainty hand.

It seemed as if you were calling it to come
along with us.

My heart now hurts so much. So much that
I think my life is doomed.

The cool white snow has fallen on our
forest path,

And there may be a lost deer on our quiet
path.

Our road is tranquil and quiet in the snow-
covered forest,

And the mist still rises.

I think always of all the songs the Cuckoo
bird sang us in the summer in the woods.

Of all, of all the songs.

A Lonely Sound (Cyrill Christov (1875-1945))

From afar, the lonely sound was heard,
Just to disappear in the deep darkness.
It was all alone, not part of a song, nor of a
buzzing swarm.

Just one lonely sound.

If my pain was to join it, it would get a
beautiful shine.

But my pain dies in misery.

Listen my heart, the lonely sound is the
beginning and the end.

Japan (Otomo Yakamochi (718-785), (tr. E. D. Dernay), from Serbian translation by Miloje Milojević)

O beautiful country, Yamato,

Your mountains bring you glory:

There is no equal to monumental
Kaguyami.

Under your peak, my dear mountain, I
often dreamed a dream.

As the fog gathers in the valley, the day is
coming to an end.

Seagulls cry over the vast sea and the
evening star shines above me.

You should know, Yamato, my dear
country, that no one loves you as I do.

In the late Autumn (Matsuo Bascho (1644-1694) (tr. Paul Lúth), from Serbian translation by Miloje Milojević)

The autumnal day dawned above the
lonely path.

Not a single soul can be found.

All is quiet.

The Cherry Blossom (Matsuo Bascho (1644-1694) (tr. Paul Lúth), from Serbian translation by Miloje Milojević)

A man thinks of many things when a cherry
blossom appears.

Of his dreams. His longings. When he was
in lone. And young.

Of many things!

Let me go (Traditional poem)

Let me go,

Let me go, beloved mother, go outside.

To see there my sweetheart, beloved
mother,

My dear heart, my brave lad.

For 'tis he, beloved mother, whom I love.

I will sell (Traditional poem)

I will sell my dear, sell the barren cow

Then I will marry thee, Ah!

I will sell my dear my two pairs of
buffaloes,

Then I will marry thee, ah!

Always free (Francesco Maria Piave (1810-1876))

It is strange,

To have these words in my heart.

Could the true love be my misfortune?

What should I resolve?

I have never loved any man like this.

Oh the joy, to love and be loved!

Can I reject it because of my living?

Maybe he is the one,

Modest and vigilant, who has awakened my
love?

The love that is mysterious,

Both crucifixion and delight for my heart!

Madness!

Poor woman, abandoned in Paris,

What hope is there?

What should I do? Have fun!

Always free and aimless

I will frolic from joy to joy.

I want my life to flow

on the path of pleasure.

As the day is born or the day dies,

Always happy I turn

To the new delights

That make my soul soar.

Under your window (Petar Konjović)

I sneak under your windows in the evening,
In the evenings, under your windows.

Hey! I want to give you a bunch of
hyacinths

To let the flowers tell you how much my
heart aches for you!

Hey!

Mother, tell Daddy (Traditional poem)

Mother, tell Daddy.

Mother, tell Daddy to let me marry Radoje,
Our neighbour, the peasant boy.

Mother, tell Daddy.
Mother, tell Daddy.

Morning (Petar Konjović)

Allah ekber!
Songbird is singing, my heart is weeping,
the night is passing,
Why did he tell me he would come?
Moon and stars are leaving, day is
appearing.
Oh listen, listen to this song coming from
minaret:
Allah ekber!

Chanson (Mihovil Nikolić (1878-1951))

The lake stands still,
And peace lazily sifts across the deep
water.
On the bottom of the lake stars dreamily
reflect,
As if they were the nymph's eyes.
From time to time the cloud appears
From time to time the wind picks up
From the shore it is as if someone's had
Picks on harp's strings.
And then again all is peaceful and quiet
The intense music stops
On the shore the nymph cries
With desire and passionate longing.

The Night (Mihovil Nikolić (1878-1951))

The forest is silent and lethargic.
The tall fir trees are dreaming.
The birds fly restlessly, as if ready to
migrate.
There is no sign of life.
Both earth and sky are asleep:
Fir trees, fern, oak, flowers and grass.
The night is creeping, cold and lifeless,
Its stars extinguished from passion.

The Evening Song (Petar Konjović)

The evening is coming, the light breeze too,
Sleep my dear child, sleep.
Our Dad is out in the sea,
Sending his greetings with the stars.
But tomorrow early morning,
With the sun,
Our Dad will come back.

A song about two (Petar Konjović)

Today, my little bird has forgotten about
me!
I have a little bird
Who comes often to my window, oh yes.
And it chirps and sings, it sings.
And I listen to it, listen.
And my soul grows wings,
Wings as those of my little bird.
And so we spend our God given days
As we steal snippets of happiness
I and my little bird...Ah!
Today, my little bird has forgotten about
me!
Forgotten...

Foolish Jela (Traditional poem)

Jela was playing with a golden apple.
She threw it into the garden
Where on green grass laid a young boy,
Not yet married, not yet kissed.
Thus Jela called him under the trees in the
evening
To explain to her, a foolish girl, what is
love?

Rajole is dead (Traditional poem)

Rajole died, but not in his own mother's
lap.
Call my sister to bring the candle.
Call Damjan to bring incense.
Call Kuzman to bring rosemary.
Where shall we bury him?
In a small hole under the weeping willow.

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