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PRVI SVJETSKI RAT
/1914.-1918./
I GLAZBA

THE GREAT WAR
/1914-1918/
AND MUSIC

UREDNICI / EDITORS

Stanislav Tuksar

Monika Jurić Janjik



HMD

**PRVI SVJETSKI RAT (1914.-1918.) I GLAZBA
SKLADATELJSKE STRATEGIJE, IZVEDBENE PRAKSE I DRUŠTVENI
UTJECAJI**

**THE GREAT WAR (1914-1918) AND MUSIC
COMPOSITIONAL STRATEGIES, PERFORMING PRACTICES,
AND SOCIAL IMPACTS**

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SADRŽAJ

Predgovor	11
Foreword	13
PLENARNA IZLAGANJA / KEYNOTE ADDRESSES	17
Richard Taruskin (Berkeley)	
»Pathos Is Banned«	19
Sažetak: »Patos je zabranjen«.....	40
Koraljka Kos (Zagreb)	
Tradicija i novo u hrvatskoj glazbi u prvim desetljećima	
dvadesetog stoljeća	41
Summary: Tradition and Innovation in Croatian Music at the Beginning	
of the 20th Century.....	57
Harry White (Dublin)	
Tonality, Genre and the Great War: Musical Narrative	
and the Impact of Modernism	59
Sažetak: Tonalitet, žanr i Veliki rat: glazbena naracija i utjecaj modernizma.....	69
OPĆE TEME / GENERAL THEMES	71
Kristina Milković (Zagreb)	
Fenomen smrti u građanskome društvu 19. stoljeća: primjer Zagreba	73
Summary: The Phenomenon of Death in the 19th-century	
Bourgeois Society: the Case of Zagreb	82
Lynda Payne (Kansas City)	
Medicine and Composers in the Great War	83
Sažetak: Medicina i skladatelji u Velikom ratu	102

Inja Stanović (Huddersfield)	
The Early Classical Recordings of First World War England: Process, Preoccupation, and Performance	103
Sažetak: Rane snimke klasične glazbe u Engleskoj tijekom Prvoga svjetskog rata; proces, zaokupljenost i izvedba	112
Trena Jordanoska (Skopje)	
The Shift in the Idioms of Macedonian Music Culture During the Balkan Wars and World War I	113
Sažetak: Promjena idioma makedonske glazbene kulture tijekom Balkanskih ratova i Prvog svjetskog rata	136
SKLADBE I TRAKTATI / COMPOSITIONS AND TREATISES	137
Ryszard Daniel Golianek (Poznań)	
Poland Has not Perished yet... Polish Themes in European Music 1900–1920	139
Sažetak: Još Poljska nije propala... Poljske teme u europskoj glazbi 1900.–1920.	148
Péter Bozó (Budimpešta/Budapest)	
Wagner's Influence on Bartók Reconsidered: The Case of <i>The Wooden Prince</i>	149
Sažetak: Ponovno razmotren Wagnerov utjecaj na Bartóka: slučaj <i>Drvenog princa</i>	162
Filip Hameršak – Marijana Pintar (Zagreb)	
Officer and Composer Lujo Šafranek-Kavić and His Symphonic Poem <i>Soča/Isonzo</i> (1917) within the Context of the First World War	163
Sažetak: Časnik i skladatelj Lujo Šafranek-Kavić i njegova simfonijska pjesma <i>Soča Isonzo</i> (1917) u kontekstu Prvoga svjetskog rata	190
Steven Young (Bridgewater)	
Louis Vierne's <i>terrible battle</i>: The Piano Compositions from World War I	191
Sažetak: <i>Strašna bitka</i> Louisa Viernea: glasovirske skladbe iz Prvog svjetskog rata	198
Jolanta Guzy-Pasiak (Varšava/Warsaw)	
»Sa personnalité est née dans le trouble de la guerre« (Franz Hellens). On Ludomir Michał Rogowski's Innovative Treatise <i>Essai sur les principes de la musique future</i>	199
Sažetak: »Njegova je osobnost rođena u ratnim previranjima« (Franz Hellens). O inovativnoj raspravi <i>Esej o principima glazbe budućnosti</i> Ludomira Michała Rogowskog (1918.)	209

Tijana Popović Mladenović (Beograd)	
Spori valcer kao mesto različitih individualnih stilskih zaokreta u umetničkoj muzici neposredno uoči Velikog rata	211
Summary: Slow Waltz as the Place of Different Individual Stylistic Shifts in Art Music just before the Great War.....	222
Rozina Palić-Jelavić (Zagreb)	
Između Ivana Zajca i Blagoja Berse. Zagrebačko operno kazalište na prijelomu stoljeća: opera <i>Maričon</i> Srećka Albinija	223
Summary: Between Ivan Zajc and Blagoje Bersa. The Zagreb Opera Theatre at the Turn of the Century: The Opera <i>Maričon</i> by Srećko Albini	275
William A. Everett (Kansas City)	
<i>Over the Top</i> (1917): The Great War on Broadway	277
Summary: <i>Iznad svega</i> (1917): Veliki rat na Broadwayju	289
Kristina Lučić Andrijančić (Zagreb)	
Popularna glazba u Hrvatskoj prije i nakon Prvog svjetskog rata	
Opći pregled i glavne odrednice	291
Summary: Popular Music in Croatia before and after the Great War	300
General Survey and Main Features	300
SKLADATELJI I IZVOĐAČI / COMPOSERS AND PERFORMERS	301
Tomáš Slavický (Prag)	
Češki glazbenici na obali Jadrana prije Prvoga svjetskog rata.	
Raspon teme i perspektive istraživanja	303
Summary: Czech Musicians on the Adriatic Coast before World War I.....	314
Adèle Commins (Dundalk)	
'Double D[amn] Those Huns': The Impact of the First World War on Charles Villiers Stanford and his Music	315
Sažetak: 'K vragu i ti Švabi': utjecaj Prvoga svjetskog rata na Charlesa Villiersa Stanforda i njegovu glazbu	334
Sanja Majer-Bobetko (Zagreb)	
Zagrebački »Povijesni koncerti« iz 1916. godine i onodobna hrvatska glazbena kritika	335
Summary: Zagreb »Historic Concerts« in 1916 and Croatian Music Criticism of the Time.....	347
Maruša Zupančič (Ljubljana)	
Contribution of Prague Violinists to the Musical Life in Europe and the United States during World War I	349
Sažetak: Doprinos praških violinista glazbenom životu Europe i SAD-a tijekom Prvog svjetskog rata.....	375

Stefanka Georgieva (Stara Zagora)	
Between Sofia and Berlin: Some Cross References in the Early Creative Years of the Bulgarian Composer Pancho Vladigerov	377
Sažetak: Između Sofije i Berlina: unakrsne reference o ranim stvaralačkim godinama bugarskog skladatelja Panča Vladigerova.....	389
Lucija Konfic (Zagreb)	
Hrvatska primadona Milena Šugh Štefanac u Pragu (1915-1918)	391
Sažetak: The Croatian Primadonna Milena Šugh Štefanac in Prague (1915-18).....	406
Zdenka Kapko-Foretić (Zagreb)	
Arthur Lourié – ruski avangardist u doba Oktobarske revolucije	407
Sažetak: Arthur Lourié, the Russian Avant-gardist during the October Revolution	415
GLAZBA I POLITIKA / MUSIC AND POLITICS	417
Ivano Cavallini (Palermo)	
From Dialects to a Language. Cesare Caravaglios and the Melodies in the World War I Trenches as Songs of the Italian Nation	419
Sažetak: Od dijalekata do jezika. Cesare Caravaglios i napjevi u rovovima Prvog svjetskog rata kao pjesme talijanske nacije	426
Petra Babić (Zagreb)	
The Role of Music in the Process of Međimurje's Annexation to Croatia (1918-1920)	427
Sažetak: Uloga glazbe u procesu pripojenja Međimurja Hrvatskoj (1918.-1920.).....	443
Michael Turabian (Montreal)	
Exiled Soundscapes: Musical Imaginings of the Armenian Homeland	445
Sažetak: Prognanički zvukolici: glazbeni zamišljaji armenske domovine.....	455
Biljana Milanović (Beograd)	
Konstruisanje alternativnog života: muzika i pozorište u srpskim zarobljeničkim logorima Austro-Ugarske u Prvom svjetskom ratu	457
Summary: Constructing an Alternative Life: Music and Theatre in the First World War Serbian Prisoners Camps in Austria-Hungary	477
Marko Vukičević (Zagreb)	
Glazba na zagrebačkim otvorenim prostorima u službi propagande tijekom Prvog svjetskog rata	479
Summary: Music in the Service of Propaganda in the Public Spaces of Zagreb during World War I.....	494

Marijana Dujović (Beograd)	
Delatnost srpskih muzičara u vojnim pozorištima i vojnim bolnicama na frontovima tokom Prvog svetskog rata.....	495
Summary: The Activities of Serbian Musicians in Military Theatres and Hospitals During the First World War	512
Ivana Šubic Kovačević (Zagreb)	
Djelovanje Zagrebačkog podsaveza u Savezu muzičara Kraljevine SHS / Kraljevine Jugoslavije (1923-1941).....	513
Summary: The Activities of the Zagreb Branch of the Association of Musicians of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes/Kingdom of Yugoslavia (1923-1941).....	547
GRADOVI I INSTITUCIJE / CITIES AND INSTITUTIONS.....	549
Vjera Katalinić (Zagreb)	
Zagreb on the Map of Guest Performances in the First Two Decades of the 20th Century	551
Sažetak: Zagreb na karti glazbenih gostovanja u prva dva desetljeća 20. stoljeća.....	565
Lana Paćuka (Sarajevo)	
Fall of the »Double-Headed Eagle«: Reflections of the Socio-Political Circumstances on Musical Life of Sarajevo.....	567
Sažetak: Pad »dvoglavog orla«: razmišljanja o društveno-političkim prilikama u glazbenom životu Sarajeva uoči i za vrijeme Prvog svjetskog rata.....	580
Stanislav Tuksar (Zagreb)	
In the Whirlpool of Idealism, Naivety, Escapism, Charity and Propaganda: Music, Mass Media and Public Sphere in Zagreb and Croatia during World War I.....	581
Sažetak: U kolopletu idealizma, naivnosti, eskapizma, milosrđa i propagande: glazba, masovni mediji i javnost u Zagrebu i Hrvatskoj tijekom Prvog svjetskog rata.....	590
Marijana Kokanović Marković (Novi Sad)	
Trijumf operete na sceni Srpskog narodnog pozorišta u Novom Sadu uoči Prvog svetskog rata	593
Summary: The Triumph of Operetta on the Repertory of the Serbian National Theatre in Novi Sad on the Eve of the First World War	607

Vijoleta Herman Kaurić (Zagreb)	
Charity Concerts in Zagreb during the First World War, Or, How to Provide Care for the Wounded, Feed the Hungry, and Assist Other War Victims with the Help of Music	609
Sažetak: Dobrotvorni koncerti u Zagrebu tijekom Prvog svjetskog rata ili kako uz pomoć glazbe zbrinuti ranjenike, nahraniti gladne i pomoći ostalim ratnim stradalnicima	633
Zdravka Jelaska Marijan (Zagreb)	
Glazba u javnom životu Splita i okolice uoči sloma Austro-Ugarske Monarhije	635
Summary: Music in the Public Life of Split and Its Surroundings on the Eve of the Collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire	644
Nada Bezić (Zagreb)	
Mozaik o Hrvatskom glazbenom zavodu u Prvom svjetskom ratu	645
Summary: The Mosaic of the Croatian Music Institute in World War I.....	652
Ivana Tomić Ferić (Split)	
Skica za glazbenu sliku Splita u jeku Velikoga rata (1914-1918)	653
Summary: A Sketch for the Musical Picture of Split during World War I (1914-18).....	677
Antonija Bogner-Šaban (Zagreb)	
Režije Ive Raića Široline opere <i>Novela od Stanca</i> (1915) i Konjovićeve <i>Vilin veo</i> (1917)	687
Summary: Ivo Raić's Stage Productions of Operas <i>Novela od Stanca</i> (1915) by Božidar Širola and <i>Vilin veo</i> (1917) by Petar Konjović	700
Tomislav Bužić (Zagreb)	
Prvi i drugi povijesni koncert u Zagrebu: 1916-2016. Historiografske interpretacije dviju »nebitnih epizoda u jednom bogatom i raznovrsnom slijedu zbivanja«	701
Summary: The First and the Second Historic Concerts in Zagreb: 1916-2016. Historiographical Interpretations of »Two Marginal Episodes in a Rich and Diverse Sequence of Events«	708
Aldo Foško (Zagreb)	
Jazz in Zagreb in the 1920s: The Beginning of a New Age in Popular Music in the City?	711
Sažetak: Jazz u Zagrebu 1920-ih: početak novoga doba u popularnoj glazbi grada?	729
Autori – Authors	731
Popis slikovnih priloga, notnih priloga i tablica – List of Illustrations, Music Examples and Tables	735
Kazalo imena – Index nominum	745

The Shift in the Idioms of Macedonian Music Culture During the Balkan Wars and World War I

Trena Jordanoska (Skopje)

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Izvorni znanstveni članak

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I

Nineteenth-century geopolitical changes in the Balkan Peninsula were marked by the reduction of European territories controlled by the Ottoman Empire and the formation of the modern states of Greece, Romania, Serbia, Bulgaria and Montenegro. Nevertheless, the Central Balkans and particularly Macedonia, continued to be ruled by the Ottoman Empire until the Balkan Wars (1912; 1913). This led to new territorial divisions through extensions of the borders of Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece. Situated on the cusp of Oriental and Occidental cultural encounters, the Balkan cultural landscape underwent significant change in the nineteenth century. Strong acculturation¹ processes influenced the shift in the Oriental cultural idioms² and the introduction of Western European models, symbolically present in the relationship between the terms *alaturca* and *alafranga*.³ However, until the establishment of the modern Republic of Macedonia (ASNOM, 1944), its territory changed hands several times (being ruled by Serbia after the Balkan Wars, Bulgaria until the end of the World War I, existing as Southern Serbia between World War I and World War II, and again as part of Bulgaria during World War II). Within this context, cultural propaganda played a prominent role in spreading influence and control. Consequently, music provided a soft and indirect means for the extension of political, religious and cultural propaganda.

¹ See the »Acculturation« section in Bužarovski's *Sociology of Music*. Dimitrije BUŽAROVSKI, *Sociologija muzike*, Niš: Fakultet umetnosti u Nišu, 2016, 134–36.

² *Idiom* – defined as a concept integrally covering music features such as tonality, rhythm, harmony, polyphony, instrumentation and music forms, as well as music functions such as secular or spiritual music.

³ See for example John Morgan O'CONNELL, In the Time of Alaturka: Identifying Difference in Musical Discourse, *Ethnomusicology*, 49/2 (2005), 177–205; cf. Sonia Tamar SEEMAN, Čalgija, in: *Grove Music Online*, Oxford Music Online, 2015; Alla KAČEVA – Slavica HRISTOVA – Tatjana GJORGJIOVSKA, *Životot vo Skopje 1918–1941*, Skopje: Muzej na Grad Skopje, 2002, 320–46; Srpska zabava u Skoplju, *Cari-gradski glasnik*, No. 8, 22 February (1908), 1.

Our main assumption in this paper is that the frequent changes in the political and territorial governance of present-day Republic of North Macedonia during the first half of the twentieth century would be mirrored by shifts in music culture, thus providing a fruitful avenue for musicological research.⁴ Various acculturation processes changed the music landscape and provided the most prominent argument for our hypothesis about the shift in the music idioms not only in Macedonia but generally across the regional Balkan culture. Still, in this sense, the most intense cultural and musical events were concentrated around the Balkan Wars and World War I – the timeframe of the focus of our interest in this paper.

We can use different indicators to determine the elements of the music idioms which define acculturation processes. Among the first indicators is the structure of the **tonal** and **scale systems**. During the observed period, two different tonal, temperament and rhythmic modes collided in the Balkans: the Turkish Ottoman tonal system based on *makam* melodic-scale system and *commas* (*koma*, *fazla*), and compound *usul* patterns (cycles of complex rhythmic units) vs Western European equal temperament major-minor key tonality, constant binary or ternary metric pattern, chords of superpositioned thirds and cadences at the end of the chord progressions. Macedonia was among the last parts of the Ottoman Empire in central and Western Balkan where the Oriental Turkish music idioms were the leading music feature of the local music environment.⁵ At the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, the Ottoman music legacy in Macedonia consisted of: spiritual music in the mosques and *tekke* buildings and urban secular music, represented through the *čalgija* ensembles as well as the *ashik*, *tapan* and *zurla* ensembles,⁶

⁴ We had in mind that the strategic position of Macedonia as a crossroads of the central Balkans has deeply influenced music culture, thus reflecting broader changes in the social and the political environment. The concept of the *Balkan Sprachbund* (language union; see Jouko LINDSTEDT, *Linguistic Balkanization: Contact-induced change by mutual reinforcement*, *Studies in Slavic and General Linguistics*, 28 (2000), 231–46) is equally applicable to the music culture of the region with shared models among the different ethnic groups, and rich acculturation processes on an east-west axis. In this context, Dimitrije Bužarovski has suggested the term *Balkan Musikbund*. See Dimitrije BUŽAROVSKI – Trena JORDANOSKA – Dragan TOMIĆ – Iva JOVANOVIĆ, Panel diskusija – Repertoar mešovutih horova u Srbiji u 2015. godini, Istraživanje repertoara mešovutih horova u Srbiji u 2015. godini, in: *Balkan Art Forum (BARTF)*, IV nacionalni naučni skup sa međunarodnim učešćem Umetnost i kultura danas: Igra kao antropološki, estetički i pedagoški princip, (Niš, 7–8. oktobar 2016), Nataša Nagorni Petrov, ed., Niš: Univerzitet u Nišu, Fakultet umetnosti u Nišu, 2017, 209.

Or, as George Ward Price (the official correspondent with the Allied Forces in the Balkans during World War I) wrote: »... all Macedonia is a salad of nationalities—a fact which doubtless led some Balkan-travelled cook to invent the name *macédoine de fruits*.« George WARD PRICE, *The Story of the Salonica Army*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1918, 180.

⁵ Aida Islam, a Macedonian musicologist, examined the Ottoman music culture in the Macedonian part of Rumelia, i.e. the European part of the Ottoman Empire and published a textbook in Macedonian language related to the tone system of the Turkish music. AIDA ISLAM, *Održite na otomanskata muzička kultura vo sovremenata muzička kultura na turskata zaednica vo Republika Makedonija*, PhD thesis, Univerzitet »Sv. Kiril i Metodij« vo Skopje, Fakultet za muzička umetnost – Skopje, 2005; AIDA ISLAM, *Tonskiot sistem na turskata muzika, so kratok pregled na istorijata na turskata muzika i muzičkite formi*, Skopje: Kultura, 2007.

⁶ The music tradition of playing the *tapan* and the *zurla* is inherent to all Islamic civilizations and it is transferred to the Balkans by the Ottoman music culture. A. ISLAM, *Održite na otomanskata muzička kul-*

military music (*mehter* orchestras)⁷ and the music education in the Turkish schools (*İdadi* and *İslahane*).

The *čalgija* (*chalgia*, *chalgiya*) ensembles were typical representatives of the Ottoman urban popular music, and they dominated (both indoor/*ince saz* and outdoor/*kaba saz*) the Macedonian »soundscape« throughout the whole nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century. *Čalgija* performers combined Ottoman cultural features with local (Slavonic) and other elements in the Ottoman-ruled Rumelia provinces, producing unique repertoire items, rhythms (rhythm patterns – *usul*), melodies (tonal patterns – *makam*), and instrumental textures.⁸ As noted by Seeman, »the ensembles are comprised of clarinet (introduced from Western Europe into Greece and Ottoman Turkey in the early nineteenth century); Western European violin tuned 'alaturka' (d-a-d-g), *ut* (Turkish *ud*; Arabic *oud*); *lauto* (Turkish *lavta*, Greek *lauto*); *džumbuš* (Turkish *cümbüş*; early twentieth century instrument with an *ud/ut* fingerboard attached to metalbodied resonator); *kanon* (Turkish *kanun*; Arabic *qanun*); *dajre* (frame drum); and *tarabuka* (goblet-shaped drum struck with the hands)«. ⁹ Versions of the ensemble differed across the regions: for example Bitola and Ohrid ensembles were comprised only of string instruments and vocals,¹⁰ while Veles ensembles included violin, *lauto*, *ut*, clarinet, *kanon* and *dajre*.¹¹

The same author adds that »typical *čalgija* performance styles include: a heterophonic texture in which melody instruments provide simultaneous semi-improvised interpretations of a single melodic line; the incorporation of solo improvised passages in the middle of songs and dances (called *mane*)«. ¹² The performance repertoire consisted of a known body of urban songs, dances, and instrumental works for listening. According to Seeman, who is also discussing musical refashioning of the national identities through *čalgija* music in Macedonia,¹³ the *čalgija* repertoire and ensemble

tura..., 119. In 1911 the group *Tapanite na Gjoŕšanovci* played in Bitola during the visit of Mehmed V Reŕad. Borivoje DŒIMREVSKI, *Gradska instrumentalna i muzička tradicija vo Makedonija 1900–1941*, Skopje: Institut za folklor »Marko Cepenkov« – Skopje, 2005, 32. DŒimrevski also mentioned the tradition of playing the *kaba zurla* and the *tapan* in Tetovo region. *Ibid.*, 355. For further reading see: Aleksandar LININ, *Zurlite vo Makedonija*, in: *Muzikata na počvata na Makedonija, Prilozi za istražuvanjeto na istorijata na kulturata na počvata na Makedonija*, book 7, Georgi Stardelov – Dragoslav Ortakov – Dimitrije Buŕarovski, eds., Skopje: Makedonska akademija na naukite i umetnostite, 1999, 301–04.

⁷ A. ISLAM, *Održite na otomanskata muzička kultura...*, 40, 120.

⁸ See T. SEEMAN, *Čalgija*.

⁹ *Ibid.*; cf. B. DŒIMREVSKI, *Gradska instrumentalna i muzička tradicija...*, 8, 9.

¹⁰ Bitola ensemble: two violins, *ut*, *lauto* and *dajre*; Ohrid ensemble: violin, *ut*, *lauto*, *dajre* and rarely clarinet. B. DŒIMREVSKI, *Gradska instrumentalna i muzička tradicija...*, 31, 219; cf. Œivko FIRFOV, *Za muzičkite gradski sostavi i nivnite interpretatori*, in: *Muzikata na počvata na Makedonija, Prilozi za istražuvanjeto na istorijata na kulturata na počvata na Makedonija*, book 7, Georgi Stardelov, Dragoslav Ortakov, Dimitrije Buŕarovski, eds., Skopje: Makedonska akademija na naukite i umetnostite, 1999, 291–92.

¹¹ B. DŒIMREVSKI, *Gradska instrumentalna i muzička tradicija...*, 82. The founder of the Macedonian ethnomusicology Œivko Firfov used this model for Radio-Television Skopje *Čalgija Ensemble* in 1945. See Sonia Tamar SEEMAN, *Macedonian čalgija: A Musical Refashioning of National Identity*, *Ethnomusicology Forum*, 21/3 (2012), 302.

¹² *Ibid.* DŒimrevski used the metathesis *name*. See B. DŒIMREVSKI, *Gradska instrumentalna i muzička tradicija...*, 9.

¹³ See T. SEEMAN, *Macedonian čalgija...*, 297.

was adopted and localized through the decades by a variety of town-dwelling communities in Macedonia: Christian Slavs, Albanians, Jews, Muslim Roma, Christian Vlachs, and Muslim Slavs (*Torbeši*). Until the middle of the twentieth century *čalgija* ensembles mostly included Roma and Macedonian musicians.¹⁴ At the beginning of the twentieth century, *čalgija* ensembles were active in Skopje (1908), Veles (1902), Štip (after 1908), Bitola (1908), Prilep (1900), Kavadarci (1908), and Ohrid (in the second half of the nineteenth century). After World War I, ensembles were also formed in Berovo (1918), Pehčevo (1920) and Struga. The *čalgija* musicians from Bitola¹⁵ performed at Turkish, Macedonian, Jewish, Greek and Roma religious and secular festivities and in the local pubs. The Macedonian cinema pioneers, the brothers Milton and Yanaki Manaki recorded *čalgija* in the short b/w films from the first decade of the twentieth century.¹⁶ Their rich photo collection also has *čalgija* photos.¹⁷

Most of the *čalgija* instruments were used in the spiritual music of the 77 *tekke* (17 out of them in Skopje) buildings in Macedonia during the Ottoman period (of the orders Rifa`i, Mevlevi, Bektashi, Qadiri, Naqshbandi, Melâmî, Sadi, Sinane, Jelveti and Shabaniye).¹⁸ Members of other ethnic and religious communities were regular visitors to the *tekke* to listen to the music (the most typical works being *zikr* and *ilahi*).¹⁹ During World War I, James Johnston Abraham (1876–1963), the Irish general surgeon of the British Red Cross mission in the military hospital in Skopje in the period November 1914 – March, 1915, attended a service of the howling (dancing) Dervishes of Rifa`i and Mevlevi order of men in the *tekke* in Skopje.²⁰

¹⁴ Borivoje DŽIMREVSki, *Čalgiskata tradicija vo Makedonija*, Skopje: Makedonska kniga, 1985, 59.

¹⁵ Džimrevski mentions the *ut* player Metodija Spirovski-Mecano (1892–1982) as precedent of a family of *čalgija* musicians which dates back to the nineteenth century. B. DŽIMREVSki, *Gradska instrumentalna i muzička tradicija...*, 31.

¹⁶ See »Saint George's Day Celebration« and »Rural Wedding«, *Filmovi od brakja Manaki* (Films by Manaki brothers), Kinoteka na Makedonija, 2015.

¹⁷ For instance, the photo of *čalgija* ensembles in Bitola in 1908, celebrating the Young Turk Revolution. See B. DŽIMREVSki, *Gradska instrumentalna i muzička tradicija...*, 39. There is also a photo with a violin, a clarinet and a *dajre* from the celebration of the First of May in Skopje in 1909. B. DŽIMREVSki, *Čalgiskata tradicija...*, 483.

¹⁸ A. ISLAM, *Održite na otomanskata muzička kultura...*, 97–111. The Rifa`i order used percussion instruments *kudum*, *bendir* (*def*) and *piatti*. *Ibid.* 99–100. Yet, we should have in mind that *tekke* rituals included special instrumentarium, particularly percussions such as cymbals. At the end of the nineteenth century, Cheikh Saduddin Sirri a distinguished member of the Rifa`i order, worked in Skopje. He was also a diplomat, a poet, a translator and a composer. *Ibid.*, 100–04.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 97–99.

²⁰ James Johnston ABRAHAM, *My Balkan Log*, London: Chapman & Hall, 1921, 254–58: »... a very modern American clock on the wall struck eight, that is four hours before sunset the end of the Moslem day. I looked at my watch. It was 1.30 European time. This, it seemed, was the signal for which we had been waiting. Everyone stood up, and we were conducted into the room next door, where the Consul and I were given chairs. This it seemed, was the place where the service was to be held...

The proceedings started simply with the Fatiah the Mussulman confession of faith. As the congregation chanted they swayed slowly from right to left on their knees, intoning the melodious Arabic words as an incantation, led by one of the more prominent members seated next the Kibleh. Line after line, verse after verse followed, the men swaying slowly from right to left chanting in unison, some of them with their eyes shut. One boy near the centre of the semicircle was particularly prominent. He was already hypnotic.

Another important feature for the support of our hypothesis about the change of the idioms is the adjustment of the repertoire of the *čalgija* ensembles in accordance with their client demands. During World War I, the foreign charity workers, such as doctors and respondents for the Allies described the *čalgija* orchestras (they used the words *gypsy* or *čigane*) that had been hired to play at cinema projections in Skopje.²¹ The Russian, Serbian and British national anthems were included in their repertoire.²² Thus *čalgija* ensembles were among the first to open the doors for Western tonal music, smoothing the transition away from the Ottoman legacy through the reduction of the basic *makam* to major and minor key tonalities, and rhythm *usul* patterns in regular binary and ternary meters.

The introduction of the Western instruments in the *čalgija* ensembles, such as the clarinet, points to the existence of another parallel process related to the modernization of the Ottoman Empire at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. The education reforms of the sultan Abdulhamid II at the end of the nineteenth century contributed to the opening of the *İslahane*, *İdadi* and *Askerî* high schools. At the turn of the twentieth century **Western music instruments** were introduced in *İslahane* schools.²³ The *İslahane* in Skopje was founded in Hijri year 1313 (= 24 VI 1895 – 11 VI 1896) during the rule of Abdulhamid II (thus the name of the school *Hamidiye*²⁴). The school had a special music class for gifted students, and school orchestra, with music instruments bought in Vienna.²⁵ The

His eyes were glazed. His voice rose shrilly in the responses. His body swayed independent of his will. Presently the whole semicircle rose from their knees and stood, right toe over left. The sheepskins were removed, and the chanting recommenced to the accompaniment of a small tom-tom beaten by a very old, feeble Dervish. Still in a semicircle, the devotees swung forwards and sideways, invoking the ninety-nine names of Allah until they were all in a complete state of mesmeric exaltation.

Suddenly four out of the semicircle advanced in a square, extended their arms and began to turn, head over left shoulder, gyrating at first slowly, gradually turning more and more quickly whilst all the others chanted around them. Minute after minute passed, and still they gyrated, getting faster and faster, till the sleeves of their robes stood out like wings and each body appeared like a poised bird. Then one of the four tapped with his right foot, and all stopped instantly, apparently without any signs of giddiness, though they had been whirling for approximately ten minutes. The members of the orders fell on their knees again. There was still more chanting. Then the ceremony finished quite abruptly and quietly. The 'Ecstasis' was over.«

²¹ *Ibid.*, 166–68.

²² The Ohrid group led by Klime Sadilo (1880–1965) performed Albanian dances for the Albanian communities and Greek dances for the local Greeks. The musicians were also proficient at performing 'alafranka' dances such as waltzes, tangos, polkas, and mazurkas at customers' demand. Synthetic practices among *čalgija* ensembles also resulted in songs and dance melodies that have no parallels elsewhere in the former Ottoman territories, such as *beranče* dance melodies in 12/8 rhythmic patterns found primarily among Albanian and Slav residents of Western and Southern Macedonia. See T. SEEMAN, *Čalgija...*

²³ Islam refers to *The first statistical yearbook of the Ottoman Empire (Osmanlı Devleti'nin ilk istatistik yıllığı)* from 1897, where playing piano was part of education in teacher's high schools. It cannot be confirmed if this course was implemented in Macedonia. A. ISLAM, *Održite na otomanskata muzička kultura...*, 118.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 117.

²⁵ Lidija KUMBARADŽI-BOGOJEVIĆ, *Osmanliski spomenici vo Skopje*, Skopje: Islamska zaednica vo RM, Sektor za nauka i islamska kultura, 1998, 215; cf. A. ISLAM, *Održite na otomanskata muzička kultura...*, 117.

members of the Turkish gentry in Macedonia supported the introduction of Western cultural models. As a result, the first theater was built in Bitola at the turn of the century.²⁶

Brass bands were also another important aspect of Western acculturation. Džimrevski locates the appearance of the brass orchestras in 1907,²⁷ but we could assume that they might have existed earlier, given that it was a region with substantial military presence in addition to the frequent visits of high state and military officials (the Ottoman *mehter* orchestras which performed during the visits of the sultans²⁸). Such example is the visit of Mehmed V Reşâd in 1911. Milton and Yanaki Manaki brothers received special permission to record the visit of the sultan of Thessaloniki and Bitola/Manastir.²⁹ The visit was shot in b/w film and contains a long sequence of a parade through *Porte Réchadié* in front of the municipal building featuring participants from all nations and religious communities in the Ottoman Empire as well as social, political, military and religious representatives. In this movie we can see but not hear the military brass bands and men playing the *zurula*, *tapan*, and bagpipes. The Manaki brothers were also the first to shoot several b/w films of brass ensembles marching during the festivities celebrating the Young Turk Revolution in Bitola in 1908.³⁰

Among the different documents related to Turkish brass ensembles in Macedonia one can find the performance of the Serbian anthem during the visit of the king Petar I Karađorđević to Skopje, on his way back from Mount Athos in 1910. The Turkish officials asked the music teacher Petar Ž. Ilić to attend the rehearsal. He noted that they were well trained, but recommended that they play more slowly.³¹ According to Živko Firfov³² in Veles, even before the Young Turk Revolution there was a Turkish brass band music that belonged to the Turkish garrison. Sometimes concerts were held on public holidays, usually in »Ada kahvesi« or in front of the barracks.³³ Manaki brothers recorded other festivities, parades³⁴ and *deflees* of armies

²⁶ The Bitola Theater was built in the period 1897–1905 by the Ottoman commander Abdulkirim Pasha. Cf. *Bitola, včera, danas i sutra, foto-monografija*, Skopje: Naša knjiga, 1969, 64.

²⁷ B. DŽIMREVSKI, *Gradska instrumentalna i muzička tradicija...*, 194, 210.

²⁸ But also during the visits of officials from other countries. See A. ISLAM, *Održite na otomanskata muzička kultura...*, 120.

²⁹ *Filmovi od brakja Manaki*, *op. cit.*

³⁰ *Ibid.* Manakis' photographs from the Young Turk Revolution were printed by Attar Faik in a series of 1908 postcards. Among them, there are postcards with the military band from Smyrne entering the city of Bitola. Cf. *Bitola niz stari razglednici (Bitola on old postcards)*, Muzej Bitola, photos 112 and 113.

³¹ Stojan Zafirović, ed., *Spomenica četrdesetogodišnjice državne muške gimnazije u Skoplju 1894–1934*, Skopje, 1934, 64–65; cf. Aleksandra Ž. NOVAKOV, *Srednje srpske škole u Osmanskom carstvu (1878–1912)*, PhD thesis, Univerzitet u Novom Sadu, Filozofski fakultet, Odsek za istoriju, 2014, 520–21.

³² Živko FIRFOV, *Eden vek muzički život*, in: *Sto godini veleška gimnazija*, ed. Dančo Zografski, Titov Veles: Opštinski odbor na SSRNM, 1961, 172–73.

³³ There is a photo of a Turkish brass band taken in 1908 in Veles. B. DŽIMREVSKI, *Gradska instrumentalna i muzička tradicija...*, 93.

³⁴ There are photos with brass-band greeting the guests from the Sofia National Theatre in 1908. Cf. *Bratja Manaki, Fotoalbum s fotografij na b'lgarskite chetnici i s'bitija ot obshtestveno-politicheskiya zhivot v Bitolja*, Biblioteka »Strumski«, 1908–1910.

that were staying in Bitola, as well as a photo shot in 1905, of the Romanian High School orchestra in Bitola with students playing brass instruments, snare drums, gran cassa and piatti.³⁵ They also recorded in b/w film a brass band leading a funeral procession in Bitola.³⁶ Moreover, after the Young Turk Revolution the Serbian Royal Military Band, comprised of 45 musicians and led by the conductor Stanislav Binički, visited Skopje on February 7, 1909.³⁷

The first non-Turkish brass band in Macedonia is considered to be the one from Kumanovo (there is a photo which dates back to 1907³⁸), with the Czech musician Josif Pokorný as Kapellmeister (in the years 1911/12 he worked as teacher in the Serbian Men's High School in Skopje³⁹). In 1909, after the Young Turk Revolution, two non-Turkish brass bands were established in Bitola: *Pelisterski junak* (Pelister Hero) and *Vlaška fanfara* (Aromanian Fanfare). Among the photo materials we found the photo of the Veles band of Kočo Apostolov Matov Čauš (who studied in Sofia) taken in 1911.⁴⁰ The repertoire included music *alafanga* and *alaturca* (predominantly European waltzes and Oriental marches, as well as sports tunes, due to the connection of the ensemble with the youth sport and gymnastics organization in Veles).⁴¹ The 24 instruments for this ensemble were bought from Leipzig. According to Firfov, the orchestra consisted of two flutes, piccolo, two B clarinets, two Es clarinets, two pistons, two trombones, two alt trombones (C), two trumpets, bass trombones (F and B), snare drum, gran cassa and piatti.⁴² Between 1908 and 1912, a Gevgelija school brass orchestra was led by Argir Manasiev. He was a music teacher and member of the Macedonian revolutionary organization (VMRO).⁴³ In 1910 a brass orchestra operated in Prilep;⁴⁴ another existed in Kruševo in 1912, led by the Kapellmeister Antonie Marku hired from Constantinople.⁴⁵

The presence of the military and other brass bands, i.e. orchestras during the pre-Balkan Wars period played a special role in the gradual change from monodic to homophonic structures of the Occidental origin. Due to the absence of sound recordings and scores from the repertoire played in Macedonia in this period, we can only assume that this was one of the important routes for the penetration of the Western

³⁵ Student Orchestra of the Romanian High School in Bitola (Bitola, 1905), The State Archives of the Republic of Macedonia (DARM), Bitola Department.

³⁶ Funeral in Bitola, *Filmovi od brakja Manaki*, *op. cit.*

³⁷ U Skoplju, *Novosti, Carigradski glasnik*, No. 8, 20 February (1909), 3; cf. S. Zafirović, *Spomenica četrdesetogodišnjice državne muške gimnazije...*, 63, 65.

³⁸ B. DŽIMREVSKI, *Gradska instrumentalna i muzička tradicija...*, 210.

³⁹ A. Ž. NOVAKOV, *op. cit.*, 526; cf. S. Zafirović, *Spomenica četrdesetogodišnjice državne muške gimnazije...*, 151.

⁴⁰ B. DŽIMREVSKI, *Gradska instrumentalna i muzička tradicija...*, 85, 93.

⁴¹ Ž. FIRFOV, *Eden vek muzički život*, 174.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ B. DŽIMREVSKI, *Gradska instrumentalna i muzička tradicija...*, 100–101, 106; Dragoslav ORTAKOV, *Muzičkata umetnost vo Makedonija*, Skopje: Makedonska revija, 1982, 56; Dragoslav ORTAKOV, *Ars Nova Macedonia*, Skopje: Makedonska kniga, 1986, 155.

⁴⁴ B. DŽIMREVSKI, *Gradska instrumentalna i muzička tradicija...*, 237.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 121.

influence. The helicons (tuba) filmed in Manaki's films point out that there was a bass line and corresponding chord structures above it. As argued below, this was not the first time that homophony and harmony were heard in the region, as they had already been introduced through the choral practice.

Similarly to the military activities of different armies in Macedonia during the Balkan Wars and World War I there was an enlarged presence of the military and civil brass orchestras performing regularly in the major cities in Macedonia.⁴⁶ The data could be found in the newspapers and periodicals which covered the area, such as *Srpski jug* published by the comedy writer Branislav Nušić. The repertoire was fully Westernized, including waltzes and marches. The extent of the changes is evident in the participation of the women charity organizations (entirely new practice) with concerts organized in Skopje's *Islahane*,⁴⁷ the army hall,⁴⁸ and the cinema.⁴⁹ The other important data sources for the presence of the brass orchestras are the several books written by representatives of foreign military personnel, and particularly medical workers during World War I in Macedonia.⁵⁰ Dr. Johnston Abraham in his *Balkan Log*, often mentioned military orchestras comprised of Czech amateurs and professional musicians playing during the funerals.⁵¹

The above discussion on the presence of the military bands with instruments of Western origin during the Balkan Wars and World War I leads to the conclusion that these bands played an important role in the shift in music idioms. After 1918 they become a regular component of the military and secular music culture. Newly established civil brass ensembles lost the original function and became orchestras for entertainment, festivities, sports activities, etc. Typical examples are the brass ensembles of the *Sokol* youth organisations after World War I with a fully Westernized repertoire present almost in all major cities in Macedonia. The significant number of

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 14. During the First Balkan War military brass ensemble played at the reception of the king Petar I Karadorđević in Skopje on o. October 21/n. November 3, 1912. Cf. Kralj u Skoplju, *Politika*, No. 3149, 22 October (1912), 2–3. There are photos of: a Serbian military band marching through *Porte Réchadié* in Bitola during the Balkan Wars (Bitola niz stari razglednici, *op. cit.*, picture 196), also printed in the illustrated magazine *Balkanski rat u slici i reči* (the photo caption is »Christmas in Bitola: The Serbian Army on a Christmas Eve«. Božić u Bitolju, *Balkanski rat u slici i reči*, Year 1, No. 2, 27 January (1913), 32); and a Serbian military brass band in Bitola during the World War I (Bitola za vreme na Prvata Sv. Vojna, Muzej Bitola, 2012).

⁴⁷ *Srpski Jug*, No. 360, 26 July (1915), 2.

⁴⁸ *Srpski Jug*, No. 356, 22 July (1915), 2.

⁴⁹ *Srpski Jug*, No. 352, 18 July (1915), 2.

⁵⁰ The selected titles being: J. J. ABRAHAM, *op. cit.*; G. W. PRICE, *op. cit.*; Alice and Claude ASKEW, *The Stricken Land; Serbia as We Saw It*, London: Eveleigh Nash company, 1916.

⁵¹ The *leitmotif* of Abraham's book is the funeral march which he listened every day during his stay in Skopje: »I was oddly fascinated, particularly by the funeral march. It was the first time I had heard it. Afterwards in the months to come it became only too, too familiar. I used to wonder how I could ever have liked it; for it came to be horrible, a nightmare, a dreadful thing to be pushed back in one's mind by any and every means.« J. J. ABRAHAM, *op. cit.*, 126. There are several references with the descriptions of the funeral processions and the use of the music (the funeral of the Serbian Major, pp. 206–07; the orderly Edwards, p. 223; the »Sergeant«, p. 260; the sounds of the funeral are also mentioned at the closing part of the book, pp. 310–11).

brass bands (of the *Sokol* organization, of the tobacco factory, and of the railroad workers) in Prilep is another example of the use of music for cultural, social and political activities after World War I.⁵²

The differences in **the fretting of the tambura and the mandolin** are another important argument supporting to our thesis about the shift in the idioms. *Tambura*, an important instrument of the *bağlama* group in all genres of Turkish Ottoman music, was adjusted to the comma system.⁵³ Mandolin, on the other hand, had the division of the frets in accordance with the Western European half tone system. Most likely the mandolin appeared in Macedonia in Veles⁵⁴ between 1860s and 1870s. Another assumption is that the mandolin was introduced mainly by the Italian workers working on the Thessaloniki–Skopje railroad. The first mandolin orchestras date back to the end of the nineteenth century. According to Firfov, a mandolin school orchestra called *Slavej* (Nightingale) was established in Veles after the Young Turk Revolution. Students, young merchants and teachers played the violin, the mandolin, the guitar, the flute and the mandola.⁵⁵ The school orchestra in the Veles High School photographed during the period 1917–1919 consisted of students playing the mandolin, the violin, the *brač*, and the mandolin bass.⁵⁶ Among the other materials is the photo of the Kruševo mandolin orchestra in 1915⁵⁷ and the photo of mandolin and violin players, members of the Jewish Youth Cultural Society in Bitola during the period 1898–1912.⁵⁸ There is also a photo of a quartet consisting of two violins, a mandolin and a guitar in Tetovo in 1919.⁵⁹ After the World War I, under the influence of the travelling *tambura* ensembles from Vojvodina and Slavonia, *tambura* orchestras (consisting of: *tambura*, *prim*, *basprim*, *brač*, *bugarija*, bass, mandolin, violin, guitar, triangle and flute) became popular in Macedonia, too.⁶⁰

The »harmonic« instruments, i.e. the **instruments which can play homophonic or polyphonic structures**, such as the accordion, the harmonium and the piano, symbolize a full turn toward the Occidental idiom.⁶¹ As expected, these instruments

⁵² See B. DŽIMREVSKI, *Gradska instrumentalna i muzička tradicija...*, 238, 244–45.

⁵³ There is a *saz* orchestra as part of the Turkish cultural society *Yeni Yol* from Skopje. Dimitrije BUŽAROVSKI, *Yeni Yol*, documentary, Skopje: BuzAr, 2004. It is quite interesting to compare the frets of the *saz* and the modern Macedonian *tambura* which is used as a solo instrument or part of the Macedonian folk instruments orchestras formed in the Macedonian Radio after the World War II. Modern Macedonian *tambura* is fretted in half tone system, thus illustrating exactly our thesis of the two different tonal idioms. See Dragan DAUTOVSKI, *Tamburata vo Makedonija*, Skopje: DD Kju Produkcija, 2011, 43, 65–67, 96–107 passim.

⁵⁴ Ž. FIRFOV, *Za muzičkite gradski sostavi...*, 293; cf. B. DŽIMREVSKI, *Gradska instrumentalna i muzička tradicija...*, 9, 84.

⁵⁵ Ž. FIRFOV, *Eden vek muzički život*, 173.

⁵⁶ B. DŽIMREVSKI, *Gradska instrumentalna i muzička tradicija...*, 94.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 125, 128.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 43.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 354, 358.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 12, 383.

⁶¹ Unfortunately, until now there is no firm evidence to show when the first harmoniums and pianos were brought to Macedonia. (See for instance Snežana ANASTASOVA ČADIKOVSKA, *Muzičko obrazovanje*, in: *Muzikata na počvata na Makedonija od Atanas Badev do denes*, *Prilozi za istražuvanje na istorijata*

could have been introduced by the Western citizens working in Macedonia.⁶² For instance, there was a French Roman Catholic School in Bitola (*Maison des Filles de la Charité a Monastir*). It dates back to 1875, and was significantly active between 1905 and 1919. The School's nuns – French Sisters of St. Vincent de Paul – gave piano lessons, but the exact year when their piano arrived in Bitola could not be traced.⁶³ George Ward Price mentions a piano belonging to the French Sisters of St. Vincent de Paul convent; it had been taken by the German officers and placed in the Austro-Hungarian Consulate in Bitola. However, this event occurred after 18 November 1916, when the Allied Army entered the city of Bitola.⁶⁴ There is also a document about the piano in the inventory list of the Serbian Men's High School in Skopje in 1914. During World War I, all music inventories were stolen, and after the war the appointed director of the Serbian High School wrote a grim report about the fate of these instruments.⁶⁵ Another information confirming the presence of the first pianos

na kulturata na počvata na Makedonija, book 12, Georgi Stardelov – Dragoslav Ortakov – Dimitrije Bužarovski, eds., Skopje: Makedonskata akademija na naukite i umetnostite, 2004, 269; *Bitola, včera...*, *op. cit.*, 65; cf. Aida ISLAM, *Makedonskata pijanistička umetnost i pedagogija*, Skopje: Pedagoški fakultet »Sv. Kliment Ohridski« – Skopje, 2011, 3, 9. In 2007 the NI Institut and Museum of Bitola organized an exhibition of the oldest keyboard instruments found in private houses and in the Co-Cathedral of the Sacred Heart; the Cathedral dates back to 1870. See Liljana HRISTOVA, *TV TERA – Bitolskite klaviri edna od atrakciite vo Zavod, Muzej Bitola, Tera TV*, 2013.) The myths about the hundreds and even thousands of pianos in Bitola, also known as »the City of Consuls« (some even use the nickname »The City of the Pianos«) already in the nineteenth century, are far from reality in light of the density of the population, the economic level of development, educational attainment, and, above all, the practical obstacles associated with transporting such instruments (the railway route Thesalloniki–Vrtikop–Bitola was finished only in 1894), the maintenance of the instruments and the piano teachers. That is why this paper is based on evidence that can be supported by material findings: photos, articles in newspapers and other documents.

⁶² As we have already mentioned, Bitola – the City of the Consuls – is generally considered as an important door for the Western influence at the end of nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, particularly through the presence of the European consular missions and diplomats. During this time, Bitola was the capital of the *Manastir Vilayet*, which encompassed most of the Ottoman Empire's territory in the central Balkans. The European representatives intensified the introduction of Occidental culture, music, and dances (waltz, quadrille, and polka) during the regular receptions and parties in their missions. Dimitrije BUŽAROVSKI, Bitola, in: *Grove Music Online*, Oxford Music Online, 2014.

⁶³ The exhibition of the Institute and Museum of Bitola in 2007 also presented a harmonium donated by the Cathedral in 2012, but again the date of arrival of the instrument in Bitola is unknown. L. HRISTOVA, *op. cit.* The same goes for the information about a Bitola merchant who ordered a piano from Stuttgart for his newborn daughter in 1911, and a pianino Ehrbar bought from the French Sisters of St. Vincent de Paul in 1948 by the Svetiev family. Nade GENEVSKA BRAČIKJ, *Bitola, grad na klavirite*, MRT/Visit Macedonia, 2016. Džimrevski mentioned information about a possible piano in the home of an Ottoman representative in Kavadarci. B. DŽIMREVSKI, *Gradska instrumentalna i muzička tradicija...*, 175.

⁶⁴ »I turned into what used to be the 'Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Consulate' in the main street of the town. In the hall, littered with broken packing-cases and other signs of hurried departure, were two placid-faced French Sisters of St. Vincent de Paul, with their white-winged headgear as stiff and spotless as if they were in a peaceful French country town instead of a newly captured Macedonian city. They had come there to try and reclaim their piano, which some German officers had commandeered and carried off to their quarters at the consulate.« G. W. PRICE, *op. cit.*, 177.

⁶⁵ »As I can remember, the 30th of October 1918 I arrived in Skopje, which was in miserable condition after we left it in 1915... As one of the biggest high schools in Southern Serbia, we have fully equipped the Skopje High School after the liberation (Balkan Wars) (...) I found the heaviest and biggest object the

in Macedonia is the already mentioned photo of the Veles High School orchestra taken circa 1917–1919, with a Serbian composer Stevan Šijački, as music teacher, sitting on the right of the piano, one of his sons in marine uniform sitting on the piano bench and standing in the middle is a boy with a mandolin, Stefan Gajdov (*b. Veles, 1905; d. Ohrid, 1992*), one of the founders of contemporary Macedonian music culture. Gajdov's age confirms the time period of the photo.⁶⁶ At the end of the nineteenth century, the inventory of the Serbian High School in Skopje listed two harmoniums beside string, woodwind and percussion instruments.⁶⁷ Also, there is a photo of the Tetovo High School orchestra (a piccolo, flutes, a clarinet, a gran cassa, violins, a cello and a double bass) in 1915, with the music teacher Kitić playing the harmonium.⁶⁸ Also there is an article in the periodical *Carigradski glasnik* about the purchase of musical instruments by the Serbian High School in Bitola in the school year 1905/06,⁶⁹ and that the school had a music room in 1908,⁷⁰ but there is no information about instruments. The number of pianos in Macedonia after World War I increased substantially as the first pianos, violins and accordions were present in private homes in Skopje.⁷¹ According to one of the informants of Džimrevski,⁷² there were two retail stores in Bitola (one owned by Petro Osmanlija that imported pianos from Austria during the period of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia).

One of the serious obstacles for further research into the true extension of Occidental music models is lack of information about the repertoire performed with »harmonic« instruments, as well as scores – as mentioned earlier. Playing piano could not be achieved through self-education and without scores.⁷³ Unfortunately we could not find any music scores in the archives in Macedonia from this period. Also, the first data about regular piano instructions – initially private lessons – date after the World War I period.⁷⁴

grand piano Erard bought in 1914, in the cafeteria *Zrinski*, terribly out of tune and damaged.« Acting high school director Aleksa Jovanović cited in S. Zafirović, *Spomenica četrdesetogodišnjice državne muške gimnazije...*, 69–70, cf. p. 107.

⁶⁶ B. DŽIMREVSKI, *Gradska instrumentalna i muzička tradicija...*, 94.

⁶⁷ S. Zafirović, *Spomenica četrdesetogodišnjice državne muške gimnazije...*, 107.

⁶⁸ B. DŽIMREVSKI, *Gradska instrumentalna i muzička tradicija...*, 353, 358.

⁶⁹ A. Ž. NOVAKOV, *op. cit.*, 582; cf. *Carigradski glasnik*, No. 37, 15 September (1906), 2.

⁷⁰ A. Ž. NOVAKOV, *op. cit.*, 614.

⁷¹ See A. KAČEVA – S. HRISTOVA – T. GJORGJIOVSKA, *op. cit.*, 290, 306, 310. Also there is a photo of a harmonium in the French-Serbian school in Skopje (this private school was established in 1919 by the French officer Charles H. Doerr and his wife Hélène Am. Doerr, who gave music lessons). *Ibid.*, 259, 260.

⁷² B. DŽIMREVSKI, *Gradska instrumentalna i muzička tradicija...*, 38. cf. Nade GENEVSKA BRAČIKJ, *Semejni tradicii, Dimitrie Osmanli, Bitola: N.U. Zavod i muzej – Bitola, 2012.*

⁷³ See for example the book by Kokanović Marković for the catalogues, scores and genres of ballroom compositions by Serbian and other composers who lived among the Serbs in Vojvodina, Belgrade and other regions during the nineteenth century. Marijana KOKANOVIĆ MARKOVIĆ, *Društvena uloga salonska muzike u životu i sistemu vrednosti srpskog građanstva u 19. veku*, Beograd: Muzikološki institut Srpske akademije nauka i umetnosti, 2014, 43–97.

⁷⁴ The Russian emigrees after the October Revolution played a very important role in the introduction of Western music models, among them Sergey Nikolaevich Mikhailov in Štip (see Trena JORDANOSKA, Štip, in: *Grove Music Online*, Oxford Music Online, 2015.), and Sofia Nezlobinska in Struga (see

Thus, conclusions can only be made by reconstructing references to the performers themselves.⁷⁵ Among the scarce data on the **performed repertoire** during World War I in Skopje is the one about the Belgrade Military Brass Orchestra that had a hundred musicians led by the conductor Dragutin Pokorni: Nicolai's *The Merry Wives of Windsor's* Overture, Gounod's *Romeo and Julia Fantasy*, Bajić's compositions *Igra*, *Elegija* and *Đavolan*, *Fantasy* on Verdi's *Traviata*, Saint-Saëns's *Danse Macabre*, Dvořák's *Slavonic Dances* no. 1 and no. 3, fragments from Bizet's *Carmen*, and Tchaikovsky's *1812 Overture*.⁷⁶ Other known repertoires dating from 1915 include the one on the chorus and the orchestra of the People's Theatre of Skopje with the conductor Hinko Maržinec: Beethoven's *Egmont Overture*, Ernst Spohr's *Elegy* (with Introduction) for violin (František Dvořák as a soloist), Intermezzo from Viktor Parma's opera *Ksenia*, Doppler's *Airs Valaques* for flute (Ljubomir Dimitrijević as soloist), Bizet's *II suite*, Jenko's Overture *Srpskinja*, Drdla's *Souvenir*, Wieniawski's *Mazurka* for violin (Dvořák as a soloist), Intermezzo from Leoncavallo's opera *Pagliacci* and Strauss Jr.'s *Beautiful May*.⁷⁷

In general, the repertoire of the chorus and orchestra of the People's Theatre of Skopje with the conductor Hinko Maržinec, consisted of fragments from operas and operettas (for instance, *Cavalleria rusticana* performed as a theatre play with selected musical parts from the opera sheet,⁷⁸ Hervé's vaudeville-opérette *Mam'zelle Nitouche*,⁷⁹ as well as *kermis* – summer open air concerts in the *Islahane* park⁸⁰), is among the key arguments to support the thesis about the shift in music idioms during the World

Mirjana PAVLOVSKA, Sofia Nezlobinska's Influence on the Development of Music Life in Struga between World War I and World War II, in: *Contemporary Trends in Musicology and Ethnomusicology, X IRAM Conference, Skopje, November 11–12, 2005*, IRAM/BuzAr, 2005.). The next important step for the regular piano instructions is the formation of the *Mokranjac* music school in Skopje in 1934. See A. KAČEVA – S. HRISTOVA – T. GJORGJIOVSKA, *op. cit.*, 287–88.

⁷⁵ Abraham makes a reference to the performance of a quartet of three violins and a cello in Skopje during the Christmas period in 1914: »At the upper end of the room there was a little platform, with an orchestra of three violins and a cello playing softly some queer melancholy Hungarian music (...) [and] the leader of the orchestra, a mere boy in appearance, but already, they told me, a leading star in the Conservatoire at Prague.« J. J. ABRAHAM, *op. cit.*, 122–24.

There is also information about the concert of the Bulgarian Tsar's Philharmonic Orchestra in Kumanovo during World War I. The information comes from a later period, through an article in the newspaper *Celokupna B'lgaria* (the printed media in Skopje from 1941–1944), about the Tsar's Philharmonic Orchestra tour in Macedonia 25 years later, in 1942, with the conductor Saša Popov. See Dimitrije BUŽAROVSKI – Trena JORDANOSKA, *Macedonian Music Culture During World War Two Revisited*, *BuzAr Journal*, 1 (2014). (On the other hand, according to Firfov, Popov performed already as a child prodigy violinist in Veles in 1910. Ž. FIRFOV, *Eden vek muzički život*, 174.)

⁷⁶ *Srpski Jug*, No. 340, 6 July (1915), 2; Milanović gives more information on the work of the orchestras and the conductors of the Serbian Military Divisions (Srpske konjičke divizije) in Macedonia during World War I. Biljana S. MILANOVIĆ, *Evropske muzičke prakse i oblikovanje nacije kroz kreiranje nacionalne umetničke muzike u Srbiji u prvom decenijama XX veka*, PhD thesis, Univerzitet u Beogradu, Filozofski fakultet, 2016, 61.

⁷⁷ *Srpski Jug*, No. 290, 17 May (1915), 2.

⁷⁸ *Srpski Jug*, No. 347, 13 July (1915), 2.

⁷⁹ *Srpski Jug*, No. 339, 6 July (1915), 2.

⁸⁰ *Srpski Jug*, No. 311, 7 June (1915), 2.

War I period. Also is important to point out that the shift discussed in this paper is related mainly to the urban music culture.

Another essential argument about the shift between the two models, the Eastern monodic and Western homophonic, stems from the change in choral tradition, mainly in the context of religious services used by the Orthodox Church. Paradoxically, Western influence came from the East, i.e. from the Russian Orthodox Church and its homophonic, harmonized practice, opposed to the monodic Byzantine/Slavonic tradition. The introduction of this practice in Macedonia followed two separate routes through Serbian and Bulgarian church missionaries. Some of the first composers who promoted **harmonized choral singing** during Orthodox Church services (Liturgy) in the nineteenth century include Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac⁸¹ and Atanas Badev.⁸² Moreover, their scores were written in Western notation.⁸³

Mokranjac concert tours with the Belgrade Choral Society were predominantly based on choral works of the nineteenth century national Romanticism schools. For instance, the concert repertoire from 1894 visit of Skopje⁸⁴ consisted of the First (written in 1883), the Third (1888), and the Fifth Mokranjac *Rukovet* (1892), his work based on Turkish song »Bir çaresi jok« (transl: Amorous Reverie),⁸⁵ and the Greek song »Le vieux Dimos« (1859) for solo tenor by Pavlos Carrer in the first part,⁸⁶ and the second

⁸¹ Stevan St. Mokranjac visited Macedonia conducting the Belgrade Choral Society in 1894, 1908 and 1914. See Biljana Milanović, ed., *Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac (1856–1914). Inostrane koncertne turneje sa Beogradskim pevačkim društvom*, Beograd: Muzikološki institut SANU, Muzikološko društvo Srbije, 2014, 29, 31, 33, 209, a photo with Mokranjac towering above the choir, p. 219. The visits are mentioned in the *Yearbook of the Serbian Men's High School in Skopje*. S. Zafirović, *Spomenica četrdesetogodišnjice državne muške gimnazije...*, 66.

⁸² Atanas Badev was born in Prilep, Macedonia in 1860, and died in Sofia in 1908. His *Liturgy of St John Chrysostom (Zlatoustova liturgija)* was composed in the manner of Russian choral concertos of the nineteenth century and published in Leipzig in 1898.

⁸³ For instance, Badev's *Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*. Mokranjac published the *Octoich* (Osmoglasnik) in 1908 written with Western notation. On the other hand, Kalistrat Zografski's *Octoich (Vostochno crkovno penie)* published on Mount Athos in 1905, is written with neumatic notation. Kalistrat Zografski was born in Struga, Macedonia, and several priests, the offsprings of the extended Zografski's family, have continued to take care of the »old« monodic tradition. See Dimitrije BUŽAROVSKI, *Father Stefan Sandžakovski on Father Archimandrite Kalistrat Zografski and His Family*, documentary, Skopje: BuzAr, 2003.

⁸⁴ The concert had been held on May 9/n. 21, 1894, in a hall decorated with Serbian and Turkish flags in the hotel »Turati« in Skopje, and in front of a diverse ethnical and religious audience of Turkish gentry, the Russian and the Greek consuls, Serbian officials and trade and industrial representatives, Bulgarian teachers and Greek priests. Cf. B. Milanović, *Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac (1856–1914)...*, 29. The censorship had prohibited performances of several choral works (because of politically unacceptable lyrics for the Ottoman officials in Skopje). *Ibid.*, 37. During this stay, Mokranjac made some transcriptions of Macedonian folk songs, which were subsequently most likely used in his Seventh *Rukovet* titled »Songs from Old Serbia and Macedonia,« written the same year of 1894, or in the other *Rukoveti*. *Ibid.*, 23.

⁸⁵ The name Said Efendi was used as a pseudonym in concert programs. Elisaveta Borisova VALČINOVA-ČENDOVA, Stevan Mokranjac i njegove koncertne turneje sa Beogradskim pevačkim društvom u Bugarskoj, in: *Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac (1856–1914). Inostrane koncertne turneje sa Beogradskim pevačkim društvom*, ed. Biljana Milanović, Beograd: Muzikološki institut SANU – Muzikološko društvo Srbije, 2014, 80.

⁸⁶ See Atanasios TRIKUPIS, Beogradsko pevačko društvo u ogledalu grčke štampe: Koncertne turneje 1894–1914, in: *Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac (1856–1914). Inostrane koncertne turneje sa Beogradskim pevačkim društvom*, ed. Biljana Milanović, Beograd: Muzikološki institut SANU – Muzikološko društvo Srbije, 2014, 52.

part included the song »The maid and the pine tree« by Dvořák, Bulgarian folk songs by Stevan Šram, Polka by Slavjansky, and Mokranjac's Fourth *Rukovet* (1890) and *Primorski napjevi* (1893).⁸⁷ Mokranjac's *Rukoveti* were also the main repertoire during the second visit to Skopje of the Belgrade Choral Society in 1908. The Belgrade Academic Orchestral Society *Mladost* was part of this visit, performing an overture. In addition, there was a solo performance of an orchestra member, Jovan Mokranjac (Stevan's nephew), who performed two pieces on a cello, »an instrument that speaks to the heart,« as written in the report from the event in the *Carigradski glasnik* periodical.⁸⁸ Mokranjac did not conduct the last, third concert of the Belgrade Choral Society in Skopje in 1914⁸⁹ because he was already seriously ill.⁹⁰ Hinko Maržinec replaced him as conductor.

The concerts of the Belgrade Choral Society were part of the national and political propaganda officially furthered by the Serbian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Serbian consulates in Constantinople, Skopje, Thessaloniki, Prishtina and Bitola, and the Saint Sava Society.⁹¹ They also reflect the propaganda clashes between the Bulgarian and Serbian state over the territory of Macedonia, which were intensified during the Balkan Wars and World War I. As we have already underlined at the beginning of this article, music was a useful and effective means for the promotion of political and ethnic objectives. Nevertheless, such clashes facilitated the introduction of Western music models, in addition to the forms of acculturation discussed above. The Belgrade Choral Society concerts conducted by Mokranjac undoubtedly belong to the biggest music public events before the Balkan Wars. In addition to the Belgrade Choral Society, there were also other visits by the Serbian choral societies, such as the *Obilić* choir from Belgrade.⁹² They were an important stimulus for the

⁸⁷ B. Milanović, *Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac (1856–1914)...*, 209.

⁸⁸ The concert and the party after the concert were held in the overcrowded Skopje Municipal Theatre on February o. 16/n. 29, 1908, in front of a colorful audience comprised of noble foreign representatives dressed in tailcoats with white bow ties and white gloves, men dressed in various suits, and women from the mountain villages of Skopska Crna Gora in their traditional dress. The purpose of the event was to collect funds for rebuilding the high school building in Skopje destroyed in a fire. *Srpska zabava u Skoplju, op.cit.*; cf. B. Milanović, *Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac (1856–1914)...*, 31, 33; Dragana STOJANOVIĆ-NOVIČIĆ, *Napisi o muzici u Carigradskom glasniku (1895–1909)*, *Zbornik Matice srpske za scenske umetnosti i muziku*, 20/21 (2000), 92; *Koncerat u Skoplju*, *Politika*, *Dnevne vesti*, No. 1447, 27 January (1908), 2.

⁸⁹ As part of Athens–Thessaloniki–Skopje tour, the choir (among the singers already plenty of officers), performed at an open air concert at Gevgelija (o. May 19/n. June 1) and Veles railway stations (o. May 20/n. June 2), and in Skopje Theatre (o. May 21/n. June 3), on their way back from Athens and Thessaloniki visit. *Put u Atinu*, *Politika*, No. 3708, 10 May (1914), 1; *Povratak Beograđana*, *Politika*, No. 3719, 21 May (1914), 2; *Pevači u Velesu i Skoplju*, *Politika*, No. 3720, 22 May (1914), 2.

⁹⁰ At the beginning of the World War I Mokranjac moved with his family in Skopje, where he died on the night between September o. 16 and 17/n. 28. and 29, 1914. See Stevan Mokranjac, *Politika*, *Dnevne vesti*, No. 3824, 17 September (1914), 2; Branislav NUŠIĆ, *Kako je radio i umro St. St. Mokranjac*, *Politika*, No. 5543, Year 19, 29 September (1923), 1–2; Miloje MILOJEVIĆ, *Slava Stevanu St. Mokranjcu*, *Politika*, No. 5543, Year 19, 29 September (1923), 5.

⁹¹ B. Milanović, *Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac (1856–1914)...*, 28.

⁹² The *Obilić* choir performed in the old theatre house in Skopje in 1910. Stojan Zafirović, ed., *Pevačko društvo »Vardar« u Skoplju*, *Spomenica prilikom proslave dvadesetpetogodišnjice 1907–1932*, Skopje,

foundation of domestic choral societies in most Macedonian cities at the beginning of the twentieth century.

The *Vardar* Choral Society was founded in 1907 and is considered to be the first of its kind in Macedonia.⁹³ The choral societies continued the incumbent tradition of group singing during house gatherings in all the Balkans.⁹⁴ The choir consisted only of male voices, with the Czech musician Julie Jan Morman (who was also a teacher at the Serbian Men's High School in Skopje 1906–1909),⁹⁵ as the first conductor. Yet, their first public concert was after the Young Turk Revolution in 1908, performing: »two Turkish songs... and the songs 'Izlazi Vanka mori', 'Kraj Vardar mi sedeše', 'Hej Sloveni', 'Uskliknimo s ljubavlju', 'Lovačka pesma' and 'Nek blista u čaši'«. ⁹⁶ The pivotal figure in this choral society was the Serbian music teacher Pera Ž. Ilić, who replaced Mormanovič⁹⁷ as a conductor of the *Vardar* Society. He completed his music education as one of the first students of the Serbian Music School in Belgrade, founded by Stevan Mokranjac in 1899.⁹⁸

During the Archangel Michael Celebration Day of the *Vardar* Society in 1909, the choir sang the pray (*jektenija*) in the religious service in The Church of the Ascension of Jesus (*Sveti Spas*) and »Naš zaštitnik Gospod Bog« by Davorin Jenko. After welcoming the guests at the party, they would adjust their repertoire to the visitors. For instance, if a Turkish representative appeared, they would change the lyrics that

1933, 22; S. Zafirović, *Spomenica četrdesetogodišnjice državne muške gimnazije...*, 65. They also performed twice in Bitola (in the theatre and on open-air concert in the restaurant *Terpsis*), and in Prilep, in May 1914, with repertoire consisting of Serbian composers and traditional songs that resembled closely Byzantine singing. See A. TRIKUPIS, *op. cit.*, 60. See also the information about concerts of *Obilić* choir in Skopje, Prilep, Bitola, Veles and Thessaloniki in 1914. B. S. MILANOVIĆ, *Evropske muzičke prakse i oblikovanje nacije...*, 187.

⁹³ S. Zafirović, *Pevačko društvo »Vardar« u Skoplju...*; cf. B. S. MILANOVIĆ, *Evropske muzičke prakse i oblikovanje nacije...*, 73–74.

⁹⁴ There is a description of music gatherings in Prishtina in the *Vardar Choral Society Yearbook* (from 1933): »Young men, craftsmen/artisans and traders, played different types of instruments: Sava, the watchmaker, played the violin; Vane the watchmaker and Blaga the shoemaker played the accordion (small portable harmonium, while Blaga has even managed to buy a real big harmonium); Nikola Pop Ristić and Sima the shoemaker played the clarinet (»grneta«, that's why Sima was known as »grnetadžija«); Pota »Lumbak« and Sava Nedeljković-»Siriinić« struck the dajre (»def«). (...) Many others sang, while Pota »Abduš« excelled at dancing: when in the peak of rapture he stood up to dance the čoček (»čoček-oyun«) or »pervane« the room filled with people and children (...) This young men... set themselves the goal of playing, singing and dancing without compensation of poor girls at weddings...« S. Zafirović, *Pevačko društvo »Vardar« u Skoplju...*, 12–13.

⁹⁵ S. Zafirović, *Spomenica četrdesetogodišnjice državne muške gimnazije...*, 147.

⁹⁶ S. Zafirović, *Pevačko društvo »Vardar« u Skoplju...*, 17–18.

⁹⁷ Julie Jan Morman changed his surname to Mormanović, while he was working in the Serbian Men's High School. In 1909 he moved to the Bulgarian High School in Skopje, and changed his name again into Ivan Mormanov. This practice illustrates well the Macedonian political climate. A. Ž. NOVA-KOV, *op. cit.*, 505.

⁹⁸ Stevan STOJANOVIĆ MOKRANJAC, *Izveštaj o radu u Srpskoj Muzičkoj Školi za školsku godinu 1907/8, i predlog za budući rad, Prosvetni glasnik*, 1 (1909), 72. See also Marijana KOKANOVIĆ, Ilić, Petar Ž., *Srpski biografski rečnik*, Vol. 4, Novi Sad: Matica srpska, 2009, 158–59; Aleksandar VASIĆ, *Srpska muzikografija međuratnog doba u ogledalu korpusa muzičke periodike*, PhD thesis, Univerzitet u Novom Sadu, Akademija umetnosti, 2012, 231–47.

might be offensive to him. It is important to point out that this event marked the first inclusion of female voices into the choir. The *Vardar* Society gave performances in different restaurants in Skopje singing: »Bože bratimstva«, D. Jenko; »Kate, Katerino«, P. Ž. Ilić; »Naš zaštitnik Gospod Bog«, D. Jenko; »Oj, Srbijo«; »Magdo mori ubava devojko«, P. Ž. Ilić; P. Ž. Ilić even formed a singing quartet, SATB voices, and him as a second tenor singing »Pesme iz Đide« by D. Jenko, and »Mi kinisa Kate od Sarajo« by P. Ž. Ilić; »Uskliknimo s ljubavlju« and »Pesme iz Galičnika«, P. Ž. Ilić (these were sung with the high school mixed choir) etc.⁹⁹ In 1910, the society performed its first concert in the old Turkish theatre in Skopje and was granted a license (by the Constantinople Ottoman officials) to open a music school, following the guidelines of Mokranjac's Serbian Music School in Belgrade, with preparatory, lower and higher courses, an evening school, and a class for ballroom and other dances.¹⁰⁰ The *Vardar* Society welcomed the Serbian king Peter I in Skopje on his return to Belgrade from Mount Athos in 1910.¹⁰¹ In 1911, they participated in a celebration to welcome the sultan Mehmed V Reşâd.¹⁰² The society was connected with the gymnastic (*Sokol*) group *Silni*, with whom it performed at a joint concert in Novi Sad in 1912. During the trip to Novi Sad, the two groups stopped in Belgrade where they sang Mokranjac's »Kozar« for a closed circle of visitors, including Stevan Mokranjac, Josif Marinković, Božidar Joksimović and Stanislav Binički.¹⁰³ The full repertoire of the *Vardar* choir consisted of:¹⁰⁴

Men's choir: »Oj, Srbijo« by Vojteh Šistek; »Naš zaštitnik Bog«, »Bože bratimstva«, »Tija noći«, »Spavaš li«, »Hej nek bruji« and »Bože Pravde« by Davorin Jenko; »Hej trubaču«, »Kolo«, »Pesmom srcu« and »Opelo« by Josif Marinković; »U boj« by Ivan Zajc; *Komitski* Songs and Songs from Galičnik by Pera Ž. Ilić; First *Rukovet* »Bojo mi Bojo« and Eleventh *Rukovet* »Pisaše mi Stano« by Stevan Mokranjac; Liturgy by Kornelije Stanković.

Mixed-voice choir: II, IV, V, VII, VIII, X and XII *Rukovet*, »Kozar«, »Mekam«, Opelo, Akatist and Liturgy by Stevan Mokranjac; Liturgy by Benedict Randhartinger; »Kad jeknu zvona« and »Dvoglav oro« by Josif Marinković; »Magdo mori«, Songs from Galičnik, Songs from Veles, »Kosači«, Songs from Tetovo and »Bakšu güzel« (Turkish song) by Pera Ž. Ilić; Songs from *Koštana* by Petar Krstić; »U kolo« by Vladimir Đorđević; »Iz srpske gradine« by Isidor Bajić; »Bože pravde« by Davorin Jenko; »Prikloni Gospodi« Psalm by Grigoriev, »Raborajte Gospodovi« by Leonid Dimitrievich Malashkin; »Sej den«, »Uskliknimo«, »Oj Sloveni« etc.

One of the last activities of the *Vardar* society before World War I was the ceremony of greeting the Serbian Army and the king Petar I Karađorđević in Skopje in

⁹⁹ S. Zafirović, *Pevačko društvo »Vardar« u Skoplju...*, 19–20.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 21.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 21.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 22.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 22–23.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 25.

October 1912.¹⁰⁵ During the Balkan Wars and World War I the activities of all choral societies in Macedonia were interrupted as the male population was drafted in the military, and cultural activities suffered the consequences of the military clashes. The *Vardar* Choral Society was renewed immediately after the World War I in 1919, with the first concert in the »Zrinski« venue. Two years later, a couple of *Vardar* choir members founded the *Mokranjac* Singing Society.

The intrinsic mosaic of the cultural and musical activities that contributed to the creation of an entirely new musical environment after World War I equally includes **music education**. Education was considered as a crucial means for accomplishing of the political, religious and ethnic goals by all parties involved in the struggle for Macedonian territories. Thus, it is not surprising to find a plethora of Turkish, Serbian, Bulgarian or Exarchate, Greek, Romanian,¹⁰⁶ American, French and Albanian schools¹⁰⁷ in Macedonia at the beginning of the twentieth century. In their curricula, a special part was reserved for music education as a covert and a soft form of the introduction of political agendas and associated propaganda.¹⁰⁸ There is little doubt that music education substantially contributed to the shift in music idioms. Yet, the final ascendancy of the Western music models could not have been accomplished without the activity of the first specialized music schools with Western classical music repertoire, as was the case with the *Mokranjac* Music School in Skopje in 1934.

Last but not least, the Western acculturation processes can be observed through the use of **the gramophone**, which already conquered the world in the first decade of the twentieth century. We found a reference related to the selling of gramophone records and needles in Skopje in 1915,¹⁰⁹ but we could not confirm the extent of its use in this period. Although the practice of recording via wax cylinders had been present for almost two decades at that point, there are no sound materials recorded in Macedonia from this period.

Having in mind all the aspects discussed in this paper, we can conclude that the World War I period represents the focal point in the clash of music idioms in Mace-

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 23–24.

¹⁰⁶ There had been music classes in the Romanian High School in Bitola also with the teacher Karanika, who worked part time in the Serbian High School in Bitola in the schoolyear 1911/12. A. Ž. NOVA-KOV, *op. cit.*, 621, 622.

¹⁰⁷ Gligor TODOROVSKI, *Makedonija po rasparčuvanje 1912/13 – 1915, opštestveno-politički, ekonomski i prosvetni priliki vo vardarskiot del na Makedonija*, Skopje: Matica makedonska, 1995, 229–300.

¹⁰⁸ Even this paper was initiated by the conversation between Prof. Dr. Dimitrije Bužarovski and Živko Firfov in the 1970, when Firfov retold him his experience as a student of elementary Bulgarian and German schools in Macedonia during the World War I period. The major part of the elementary education consisted of learning Bulgarian and German songs, three of four classes each day, in accordance with the Firfov memories. D. BUŽAROVSKI – T. JORDANOSKA, *Macedonian Music Culture During World War Two...*

¹⁰⁹ *Srpski Jug*, No. 349, 15 July (1915), 2. Moše S. Medine's store initiates another missing component about the influence of the Jewish community in shaping the musical landscape in Macedonia. Their Sephardic origin and the connection to the Ladino tradition, confirms the use of guitars as an accompaniment instrument, i.e. another segment for the homophonic routes into Macedonia. D. BUŽAROVSKI, *Bitola...*; D. BUŽAROVSKI – T. JORDANOSKA, *Macedonian Music Culture During World War Two...*; Dimitrije BUŽAROVSKI – Trena JORDANOSKA, Macedonia, in: *Grove Music Online*, Oxford Music Online, 2015.

donia that swayed the music pendulum towards the West. Even more impressive is the richness of the Macedonian soundscape of this period, with its Eastern and Western music models combining new and archaic influences, where Verdi, Mascagni, Gounod and Hervé were mixed with the sounds of *čalgija*, *zurla*, *tapan*, *saz*, bagpipes¹¹⁰ and the last *gousla rhapsodists*.¹¹¹

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¹¹⁰ Abraham describes the traditional dance *oro*, *kolo* (reel dance) on the sound of the bagpipe performed in the village Gorno Vodno near Skopje during the Christmas period in 1914. »The sound of the music grew clearer and clearer. Turning a corner we came upon its origin, the stone cloister of the village church, where the girls and boys of the little hamlet were slowly dancing the 'Kola,' swaying backwards and forwards, with hands on each others shoulders in a broken circle, to the music of the pipes.« J. J. ABRAHAM, *op. cit.*, 159. A British couple, Alice and Claude Askew, who traveled through the Balkans as volunteers with the British field hospital in Skopje during 1915, also noted the sound of the bagpipes as typical for the Macedonian region. »In Macedonia you get the bagpipes instead of the 'gousle.' The sound under such unusual conditions falls strangely upon British ears, while it is even more strange to British eyes to see the bagpipes manipulated, as they usually are, by some fantastically dressed gipsy.« Alice and Claude ASKEW, *op. cit.*, 96. *Kolo* is also performed regularly on the Day of St Sava in Serbian high schools in Skopje and Bitola during the analyzed period. A. Ž. NOVAKOV, *op. cit.*, 591. Manaki brothers also filmed a bagpipe player and the *oro* at a fair at the Holy Sunday Church in Bitola. *Filmovi od brakja Manaki*, *op. cit.* There is a postcard titled »Un cornemuseur à Monastir« which dates back to July 1906 with a villager piper from Bitola region. Cf. Bitola niz stari razglednici, *op. cit.*, sl. 36. The Bitola postcard collection also includes postcards of Serbian soldiers dancing *kolo* during Christmas Eve in January 1913 (photo 184), and Macedonians dancing *Veligdensko* (Easter) *oro* in 1917 (photo 249).

¹¹¹ During the period of the Balkan Wars, a photo of a rhapsodist (singing about the Prince Marko from the 14th century) was taken on November 5, 1912 when the Serbian Army conquered Prilep. Mihael Opeka – Evgen Lampe, eds., *Guslar peva o turški vojski, Dom in Svet*, let. 25/12 (1912), 444, 467. Unfortunately, the *gouslar* tradition gradually disappeared in Macedonia, and today there are no musicians who keep it alive. In the past, the *gouslar* tradition was present in different regions of Macedonia. For instance, the tradition of epic singing with *blind gouslars* (mac. *Božjaci*, *slepici guslari*) was registered in villages around Bitola and Lerin/Florina. Cf. Svetislav VULOVIĆ, *Beleški i beleščice jezične, literarne, istorične, folkloristične i dr., Godišnjica Nikole Čupića*, Year 35, book 14, Beograd, 1894, 267. One of them (the oldman Filip Mitre from the Lerin/Florina village Petorak/Petoraci/Tripotamos) was even photographed (by the Bitola photographer Lazar Kermele-Nikolić) performing in the »Belgrade« Hotel in Bitola in 1899. Sima N. TOMIĆ, *Uz naše slike (Mačedonski rapsod)*, *Nova iskra, ilustrovani list*, Year 2, No. 2 (1900), 47, 60–61. In the school year 1898/99, on the day before Christmas, the students of the Serbian High School in Skopje listened to *gusla*. A. Ž. NOVAKOV, *op. cit.*, 482. The students of Bitola Serbian High School listened to *gusle* in 1906 during the Day of St Sava. *Ibid.*, 610. See also Arbatsky's references on *gousla rhapsodists* in Macedonia in: Jury ARBATSKY, *Das Verkürzen der Volkslieder bei den mazedonischen Guslaren vom musikalischen Standpunkte aus, Südostforschungen*, IX/X (1944/45), 402–03.

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Sažetak

Promjena idioma makedonske glazbene kulture tijekom Balkanskih ratova i Prvog svjetskog rata

Makedonska glazbena kultura koja je u osmanskome razdoblju i početkom 20. stoljeća bila pretežno orijentalna doživjela je ozbiljne promjene tijekom Balkanskih ratova i Prvog svjetskog rata koji su uslijedili. Makedonija je bila posljednji dio Osmanskog carstva na središnjem i zapadnom Balkanu gdje su orijentalni turski idiomi, osobito kroz uporabu *makama* i *usula*, bili glavne glazbene karakteristike makedonskog lokalnog glazbenog okruženja. Ipak, već krajem 19. i početkom 20. stoljeća možemo pratiti proboj zapadnog utjecaja kroz različite kanale: najprije kroz članove turskog plemstva koji su pokušavali modernizirati zemlju i uvesti zapadne kulturne modele; zatim kroz utjecaj sakralne i svjetovne glazbe okolnih zemalja (Srbija, Bugarska i Grčka); i konačno, kroz uvođenje zapadnih modela za koje su zaslužni europski diplomati u Bitolskom vilajetu u kasnom 19. stoljeću. Iako će taj proces trajati još nekoliko desetljeća prije uspostavljanja Republike Makedonije (ASNOM, 1944), pomak u glazbenoj kulturi gotovo u svim segmentima dogodio se već u prvim godinama nakon završetka Prvog svjetskog rata. Tako se »pozapadnjivanje« makedonske glazbene kulture može primijetiti na nekoliko područja: u popularnoj glazbi, duhovnoj glazbi, glazbenom obrazovanju, te osobito u korištenju zapadnih glazbenih instrumenata. Usporedo s ansamblima čalgija i njihovim monodijskim vokalnim i instrumentalnim idiomima (*makam* i *usul*), dio urbanog folklor postaje tročetvrtinski, osobito molski tonalitetni zapadni valcer. Uvođenje glasovira i prve izvedbe odsječaka iz opera bili su drugi primjeri zapadnjačkih glazbenih uzoraka u urbanoj kulturi. Vojni sastavi sa zapadnim instrumentima zapadne provenijencije imali su vrlo važnu ulogu u kretanju različitih vojnih skupina kroz Makedoniju tijekom Balkanskih ratova i Prvog svjetskog rata, s vremenom postajući standardna komponenta vojne i svjetovne glazbene kulture nakon 1918. godine. Posebno važan kanal za uvođenje zapadnih idioma bilo je osnovnoškolsko obrazovanje koje se koristilo kao glavni alat za političke i druge utjecaje okupatorskih zemalja. Konačno, zamjenjivanje starog bizantskog/slavenskog monodijskog pravoslavnog pjevanja homofonskim tonalitetnim uzorcima ukazuje na dramatičnu promjenu glazbenih idioma makedonske glazbene kulture u 20. stoljeću.

**SKLADBE I TRAKTATI
COMPOSITIONS AND TREATISES**

