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Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac and Producing the Image of Serbian Folk-Song: Garlands from »Old Serbia« as a Form of Musical Travelogue*

Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac in ustvarjanje podobe srbske ljudske pesmi: Rukoveti (venčki) iz »Stare Srbije« v obliki glasbenega poročila

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IZVLEČEK

Z umeščanjem Mokranjačevih venčkov iz Kosova in Makedonije v kontekst poročila o potovanju iz »Stare Srbije« se ne morem strinjati, da bi se njihova politična pomembnost skrivala v vsebinski privrženosti folklorem gradivu. Z analizo načina Mokranjačevega obravnavanja ljudskih pesmi bom pokazal, kako je ustvaril podobo domovine Srbije kot organske celote.

ABSTRACT

By positioning Mokranjac's garlands from Kosovo and Macedonia into the context of travelogues from 'Old Serbia', I will argue that their political significance lay in purported adherence to folklore material. Analyzing how Mokranjac handled the folk-songs I will show how he produced an image of Serbian homeland as an organic whole.

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Opus of Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac in general, and the collection of fifteen garlands (rukoveti) in particular, undoubtedly acts as the cornerstone of Serbian art music canon. Adopting the paradigm of originality, and at the same time positioning Mokranjac as the founder of the Serbian national music school, one of the main objectives of Serbian musicological discourse, as well as discourse on music in general, has become claiming the much disputed status of original artworks for Mokranjac's garlands. However, in my investigation of Mokranjac's compositional choices and procedures, I will attempt to reconstruct the contemporary political and social meaning of Mokranjac achievement by addressing notions such as nation, territory, and folk-song as social constructs, and observing compositional activity as a material social practice. As a result, I will be able to show that in moment of their creation, garlands actually contested the position of folk-song arrangements, which could give them a greater role in political life than the position of an original artwork. In my discussion I will position a number of Mokranjac's garlands 'from Old Serbia' in the discourse of 'Old Serbia' travelogues which was current at turn of the centuries and which formed a germane part of Serbian kingdom's cultural politics. Finally, analyzing certain compositional choices and procedures, I will show how through these 'travelogue-garlands' Mokranjac built an image of a Serbian folk-song which strove to present accessible image of these lands and to represent them as an organic part of imagined Serbian 'homeland'

Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac (born in Negotin in eastern Serbia in 1856 and died in Skopje in 1914 during the First World War) represents the most prominent Serbian composer of romanticism. Not only was Mokranjac a widely acclaimed composer during his lifetime, but he also acted as one of the most important figures in the Serbian musical life. In the period between 1887 and his death he was the leading conductor of the Belgrade Choir Society (Beogradsko pevačko društvo), the most excelled Serbian choir society of the time that acted under the patronage of the royal family. Mokranjac gained his musical education in leading European centres of Munich and Rome, as he was awarded a scholarship firstly by Belgrade Choir Society and later by the state, gaining insight in the contemporary techniques of harmony and counterpoint.¹

The vast majority of Mokranjac compositional output was dedicated to choral music. Continuing the tradition of choir conductors, he wrote an array of occasional compositions, and compositions meant to be performed exclusively by his own choir. Distinguished from this line stands the collection of fifteen garlands, conceived as medleys of Serbian folk-songs organized by geographical criterion, stylized in a coherent musical whole and arranged for *a capella* choir.² In the case of garlands, initial premiere by Belgrade Choir Society was swiftly followed by reproduction, printing, and wide distribution through the network of choir societies. This secured garlands achieving not only great popularity during Mokranjac's lifetime, but also becoming the core stone of Serbian musical canon.

In the nineteenth-century and the beginning of the twentieth-century, choir societies were amongst the most far-reaching music institutions in Serbian cultural life, concern-

¹ Details of Mokranjac education are available in *Ђурић-Клајн, Стана. Млади дани Стевана Мокрањца*. Неготин: Мокрањчеви дани, 1981. For general biographical data see Романа Рибич, "Хронолошки преглед живота и рада Стевана Ст. Мокрањца," in *Стеван Стојановић Мокрањац. Живот и дело*, eds. Дејан Деспић and Властимир Перичић (Београд: Завод за уџбенике и наставна средства Књажевац – Нота, 1999), 235–249.

² The exception is Fourth Garland (1890), composed for soloist, mixed choir, piano and castanets.

ing both the sheer number of them, and the territorial extent covered by their network. In most of the cases, the activities of choir societies compromised political, cultural and artistic function and their cultural politics had a great impact on Serbian public in general. The political function was especially prominent in the lands controlled by Austro-Hungary, where the political discourse of Serbian nationalism was heavily censored. It is thus very important to bear in mind that in the period between Berlin congress of 1878 and the end of the First World War – that is, in the period when Mokranjac's creative output took place – people recognizing themselves as belonging to the Serbian nation were divided by many political borders crossing the Balkan. They inhabited various parts of Austro-Hungary – South Hungary, Croatia, occupied (and later annexed) Bosnia and Herzegovina, etc. – parts of the Ottoman Empire, and, finally, the newly constituted Kingdom of Serbia. Although the Principality of Serbia (which was declared kingdom at Berlin congress) existed as an autonomous polity in the Ottoman empire from the beginning of the nineteenth-century, and mostly acted as an independent state, throughout this period the major part of Serbian intellectual elite that played crucial part in shaping the Serbian nationalistic discourse was still concentrated in the South Hungary and cities of Vienna and Budapest. This overall political situation made the construction of the Serbian nation a difficult project; it was of crucial importance to create the cultural artefacts that could transcend given political borders and symbolize the unity and legitimacy of Serbian nationhood in a way that could be easily understood and perceived.

Serbian choral music of Mokranjac's predecessors was often bluntly nationalistic, especially regarding the texts of the songs, whereas the music held to the hymn- and fanfare-like sound. What this representation lacked at the end of the nineteenth-century, when ethnic and primordial features of the nations became increasingly important throughout Europe, was the adequate usage of the folklore material that would create the musical image of common ancestry and speak about shared heritage. In this context, Mokranjac's collection of garlands can be construed as an adequate answer to this need.³ In the period between 1884 and 1909 Mokranjac composed fifteen garlands, as well as the composition entitled *Coastland Tunes (Primorski napjevi)*, built on the similar principles,⁴ giving in total 92 folk-tunes arrangements for various choir settings. In the process of finding the adequate folk-tunes, Mokranjac drew on pre-existing compositions of other authors, folk-songs collections of his predecessors such as Kornelije Stanković and Franjo Kuhač, used songs that were popular in his urban surrounding, and, finally, performed his own fieldwork in order to collect folk-songs.

It is possible to show that Mokranjac activity closely corresponded with the strivings of Serbian intellectual and political elite to encompass all the lands recognized as Serb national territory under the realm of a single nation-state. As Biljana Milanović demonstrated, the different stages in creating the cycle of garlands, as well as in planning the concert tours of the Belgrade Choir Society, reflect the strategic changes in Kingdom of Serbia territorial expansion politics: after first six garlands, labelled 'from my homeland'

³ For situating Mokranjac in Serbian romanticism from the aspect of the theories of musical style cf. Marković, Tatjana. *Transfiguracije srpskog romantizma: muzika u kontekstu studija kulture*. Beograd: Univerzitet umetnosti u Beogradu, 2005.

⁴ *Coastal tunes* (c. 1893) differ from the garlands as they were composed using an eponymous medley by Slavoljub Lžičar as a model. They, however, meet the criterion of geographical reference (Dalmatia) and have had similar reception history.

(which can be interpreted as the boundaries of existing Kingdom of Serbia), Mokranjac turned his eyes towards south ('Old Serbia', 'Macedonia', 'Kosovo' and 'Ohrid' in seventh, eighth, tenth, eleventh, twelfth and fifteenth garland) and west ('Bosnia' in fourteenth, as well as Dalmatia in *Coastal Tunes*), paying tribute to Montenegro in the Ninth Garland, on occasion of strengthening political ties between kingdoms of Serbia and Montenegro.⁵ Mokranjac was also closely related to semi-civil initiatives which served as vehicles of state politics, such as Saint Sava Society (Društvo *Sveti Sava*), purportedly educational initiative active in Ottoman Kosovo and Macedonia, and which strived to inculcate Serbian national identity in the Slav population of these regions.⁶ The garlands which Mokranjac composed referring to the territories widely recognized at the time as 'Old Serbia' are particularly intriguing from at least two standpoints. On one hand, perusing the narrative of Serbian medieval state, these territories increasingly came to be recognized as the 'core territory' of Serbian nation, becoming more and more prominent in the official political discourse of the day. On the other hand, Mokranjac himself travel to these lands, whether specifically for performing ethnomusicological research or as a part of Belgrade Choir Society concert tours, which makes it possible to construe these compositions as a part of a current and politically engaged discourse of travelogues from 'Old Serbia'.

It is far from surprising that the narrative of Serbian medieval state rose as the main focal point of Serbian nationalistic discourse. Serbian medieval state, or, more precisely medieval feudal polity ruled by the Serbian dynasty of Nemanjić from 12th to 14th century, was perceived as the golden age of Serbian nation, when both the claim of Serbian statehood and autocephaly of Serbian church were successfully vindicated in spite of the vicissitudes of medieval Balkan political map. The main figure of this narrative was emperor Dušan 'the Mighty', the first of the lineage to adopt the lofty title, after he had waged a successful military campaign and occupied a vast swath of land, reaching even the Bay of Korinthos. The potency of this narrative in the nineteenth century was manifold. As the narratives of medieval states' past were adopted as one of the main sources of nations' legitimacy across Europe, it gave the nascent Serbian nation sense of dignity and a vehicle to strive to symbolic equality with the 'great European nations', notwithstanding its current unenviable political situation. More generally, it served as a claim to prove the Serbian nation's historical right to statehood and it was used to vindicate the project of the unification of 'Serbian lands'. Finally, as the very territories which formed the core of Serbian medieval state were the lands ruled by Ottoman Empire and bordering the south reach of the contemporary Serbian kingdom, the glorification of this chapter in Serbian history served as often unambiguous call to wage yet another 'liberation' war with the Ottomans. Widely named 'Old Serbia', these lands, mostly encompassed by Ottoman Kosovo vilayet and comprised of Kosovo and Metohija, Raška and Macedonia, were becoming the object of rising curiosity of Serbian people living in the Kingdom and in Austro-Hungary, and who were eager to receive information on these places which they considered to be the spring of their nationhood.

⁵ Биљана Милановић, "Стеван Стојановић Мокрањац и аспекти етничитета и национализма," in *Мокрањац на дар. 2006. Прoшeтa – чудних чуда кажу – 150 година. 1856*, eds. Ивана Перковић Радак and Тијана Поповић-Млађеновић (Београд: Факултет музичке уметности, 2006), 33–53.

⁶ Милановић, "Стеван Стојановић Мокрањац и аспекти етничитета и национализма," 45.

Although travelogues of Serbian lands appeared in Serbian culture throughout the nineteenth century, after the Berlin congress and strengthening of the newly constituted kingdom one can note formation of a specific discourse of travelogue form ‘Old Serbia’. These ‘travelogues’ appeared in various disguises, as literary travelogues, demographic and ethnographic reviews, works of visual art, etc., sharing a common goal to present cogent and vivid imagery of the distant lands that people living in Kingdom of Serbia and Austro-Hungary, and participating in the Serbian national identity, felt belong to their nation, and form the core part of their homeland (see table 1). Importantly, this discourse formed when travel in general was becoming increasingly available to middle class as a possible articulation of incipient category of ‘time of leisure’,⁷ which made the descriptions of travel and movement through space more tangible to the prospective audience. The corner stone of the discourse was laid by Miloš S. Milojević, historian, politician and writer, who published two key works following his travel through ‘Old Serbia’: the first one was literary travelogue written in documentary style and published in three volumes during the 1870’s,⁸ and the second one was scholarly study on demographics, ethnography and geography of the region.⁹ These works established several basic principles of the discourse: the travelogue was to be ostensibly documentary, purporting to contain the factual reports, descriptions of the places were to be designed to emphasize the sense of space and downplay the sense of historical time, knitting together events from past with current landscape and paying special attention to historical monuments linked to Serbian medieval state, and, finally, reports of the present state of affairs was to be filled with the sense of imminent danger of cultural assimilation or even sheer extinction of Serbian population. The documentary nature of the Miloš Milojević’s literary travelogue was even more accentuated with the consequent publication of scholarly study, and this strategy was to be repeated by Branislav Nušić, writer and politician, who for a certain period of time acted as the Serbian consul in Priština, in Kosovo.¹⁰ The principles of the discourse functioned across different media and can be also discerned in the illustrated journals *Iskra* (published in 1898) and *Nova iskra* (1899–1911) that were continuously bringing illustrations of places from ‘Old Serbia’. It was often stated that the illustrations were produced following the photographic image, portrayed objects were often monuments linked to Serbian medieval state, and comments to the images convey the sense of danger posed towards Serbian national heritage in these lands. Illustrations 1 and 2 bring images from *Nova iskra* in 1899, when an array of images from Macedonia was reproduced. The second one brings an image based on photographic material of the bridge which was supposedly build by emperor Dušan ‘the Mighty’, and the first one an image of a gorge Demir Kapija, one of the most iconic geographical landmarks of

⁷ Cf. Дубравка Стојановић, “Туризам и конструкција социјалног и националног идентитета у Србији крајем 19. и почетком 20. века,” *Годишњак за друштвену историју* 13 (2007): 41–59.

⁸ Милојевић, Милош С. *Путпис дела Праве (Старе) Србије*. Књ. 1, Београд: Главна српска књижара Јована Д. Лазаревића, 1871; Књ. 2, Београд: Државна штампарија, 1872; Књ. 3, Београд: Државна штампарија, 1877.

⁹ Idem. *Народотисни и земљотисни преглед средњег дела праве (Старе) Србије: са етнографском мапом српских земаља у кнежевинама: Србији, Дрвој Гори, Краљевини Румунији, Аустро-Угарској и Турској царевини*. Београд: Задруга штампарских радника, 1881.

¹⁰ Nušić travelogue from Kosovo appeared in parts in various journals prior to its integral publication. For data on the history of its publication, but also for discussion of the sense of timelessness in Nušić’s travelogue from Kosovo, cf. Славица Дејановић, “Нушићев путопис о Косову у српским часописима од 1892. до 1902. године,” in *Књига о путопису*, ed. Слободанка Пековић (Београд: Институт за књижевност и уметност, 2001), 451–463.

Macedonia. Interestingly, very similar illustration of Demir Kapija was also featured in Spira Kalik's short travelogue documenting the trip of the members of Belgrade Choir Society on the concert tour to Macedonia, where this gorge is described as similar to other gorges one could find in Kingdom of Serbia.

Table 1: Example of 'travelogues' from 'Old Serbia' from the late 19th to the beginning of 20th century.

Year of publication / first exhibition / premiere performance	Work	Genre
1871-1877	Miloš S. Milojević: <i>Putopis dela prave (Stare) Srbije</i> [Travelogue of a part of the true (Old) Serbia], three volumes	literary travelogue (with several illustrations)
1881	Miloš S. Milojević: <i>Narodopisni i zemljopisni pregled srednjeg dela prave (Stare) Srbije</i> [Ethnographic and geographic review of the middle part of the true (Old) Serbia]	demographic, ethnographic and geographic study
1884	Đorđe Krstić exhibition featuring number of sketches and drawings made on a trip to the south	visual art works: drawings, aquarelles, oil painting
1894	Spira Kalik: <i>Iz Beograda u Solun i Skoplje s Beogradskim pevačkim društvom: putničke beleške</i> [From Belgrade to Thessaloniki and Skopje with Belgrade Choir Society: traveler's notes]	literary travelogue (with several illustrations)
1894	Branislav Nušić: <i>S obala Ohridskog jezera</i> [From the shores of lake Ohrid]	literary travelogue
1894-1909	Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac: garlands from 'Old Serbia', 'Macedonia', 'Kosovo', 'Ohrid'	choir compositions / folk-songs arrangements
1892-1902	Branislav Nušić: <i>S Kosova na sinje more</i> [From Kosovo to the blue sea]	literary travelogue
1898-1911	Illustrations in illustrated journals <i>Iskra</i> (1898) and <i>Nova iskra</i> (1899-1911)	illustrations / graphic art
1903	Branislav Nušić: <i>Kosovo. Opis zemlje i naroda</i> [Kosovo. A Description of the land and people]	demographic, ethnographic and geographic study (featuring music examples)



Picture 1: *Demir Kapija*, published in *Nova iskra 1* (1899): 95.



Picture 2: *Most preko Vardara kod Skoplja*, published in *Nova iskra 1* (1899): 118.

In order to demonstrate that Mokranjac's garlands from 'Old Serbia' can be construed as a musical travelogue and a part of the discourse of 'Old Serbia' travelogues I will firstly discuss the documentary nature of garlands. On two occasions Mokranjac himself travelled to the territories of 'Old Serbia': in 1894 Mokranjac travelled with Belgrade Choir Society on a concert tour to Thessaloniki and Skopje and in February 1896 Mokranjac travelled to Kosovo specifically in order to collect folk-songs for his garlands. Information on both of these travels was available to Mokranjac's audience, as Spira Kalik literary travelogue described the former, from the vantage point of a choir member, and Nušić, in his study *Kosovo. Opis zemlje i naroda* (Kosovo. A Description of the land and people) published in 1902, included eight tunes recorded by Mokranjac on his latter trip, mentioning the name of the recorder. The dates of Mokranjac first garlands from 'Old Serbia' closely correspond with these travels: just after the trip to Thessaloniki and Skopje Mokranjac wrote the Seventh Garland, *From Old Serbia and Macedonia*, and in the year of trip to Kosovo he wrote the Eight Garland, *From Kosovo*. Comparing the relationship between Mokranjac's garlands labelled 'from my homeland' and garlands from 'Old Serbia' one can note a striking difference: while Mokranjac rarely wrote down the tunes for the first six garlands in a form of ethnomusicological transcription before composing the garland itself (bar two songs from Third Garland and two songs from Fifth Garland), all the songs from Seventh and Eight Garland can be found in Mokranjac ethnomusicological material, as well as majority of the songs from later garlands from 'Old Serbia' (see table 2).

Investigating the contemporary receptions of these Mokranjac's garland, it is possible to argue that the purport of the garlands was to present the authentic folk-songs from various regions inhabited by Serbs.¹¹ For purposes such as reporting the concert

¹¹ Even in today's Serbian (ethno)musicological discourse one can sense that it is a certain taboo to discuss the possibilities that the tunes in the garlands are not authentic folk-songs, that is that Mokranjac actually composed some of the tunes he used in garlands, which is paradoxical having in mind that vindicating Mokranjac originality in composing garlands has become one of the main goals of the same discourse. In his introduction to Mokranjac's melographic work Dragoslav Dević gives a following paradigmatic statement:

"We know that *Garlands* are based on about eighty odd folk songs originating from various parts of the country, of which this edition covers 32 songs. We think that Mokranjac's records should also include the other songs from the Garlands, but we did not publish them in this book because they are partly altered by his composer's treatment."

programs in press garlands were generally referred to as medleys of songs and the subtitle – emphasizing the geographical origin of the music material – often acted as the title. from certain geographical region.¹² Tunes from Mokranjac garlands were also further transmitted as authentic folk songs, which can be shown using an edition of Serbian folk-songs edited by composer Isidor Bajić and printed at the begging of the 20th century in Belgrade. Bajić titles his edition “Serbian folk-songs and folk-songs from Mokranjac’s garlands”, printing the latter part of the title in small prints (see illustration 3), and throughout edition does not make any additional comments whether a certain song which is included is a folk-song or derives from Mokranjac’s garlands.¹³ This also corresponds with the manner in which Kalik also refers to the garlands in his travelogue, describing Third Garland as “the artificial array of Serbian folk-songs”.¹⁴ Concurrently, Mokranjac ethnomusicological work was highly praised and esteemed, as we learn from the writings of Vladimir Đorđević, himself collector of folk-songs; in his preface to an edition of folk-songs from ‘Southern Serbia’ Đorđević warned the reader on low quality and reliability of previously collected folk-songs material, praising Mokranjac as the deftest of the collectors whose work is “in every regard, flawless”.¹⁵



Picture 3: Title page of Isidor Bajić's album for voice and piano *Srpske narodne pesme i narodne pesme iz Mokranjčevih rukoveta* [Serbian folk-songs and folk-songs from Mokranjac's garlands].

Dragoslav Dević, foreword to Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac, *Ethnomusicological work*, ed. *idem*, trans. A. S. Petrović (Beograd: Institute for Textbooks and Teaching Aids, and Krnjaževac: Nota, 1996), xvii.

¹² Цвејић, Cf. Ђорђе, ed. *Гусле. Званично гласило Савеза српских певачких друштава*. Сомбор: Година I, Број 1, 1911; Година IV, Број 5, 1914.

¹³ Бајић, Исидор. *Српске народне песме и народне песме из Мокрањчевих рукова*. Београд: Дворска књижара Мите Стајића, s.a.

¹⁴ “Čim se malo stiša, Stipan dade znak i mi počesmo III rukovet, taj veštački niz srpskih narodnih pesama našega denijalnoga Mokranjca,” Спир Калик, *Из Београда у Солун и Скопље с Београдским певачким друштвом: путничке белешке* (Београд: Штампарија П. К. Танасковића, 1894), 49.

¹⁵ Владимир Р. Ђорђевић, Предговор for *Српске народне мелодије* (Скопље: Скопско научно друштво, 1928), xiv.

Table 2: Tunes in Mokranjac's garlands 'from Old Serbia'.

Name of the song in the garland	Reference in Mokranjac*	Reference. in Đorđević**	Reference in Milojević***
Seventh Garland, <i>From Old Serbia and Macedonia (Iz Stare Srbije i Makedonije)</i>, 1894			
More, izvor-voda izviralala	257: Iz vir voda izviralala	62: Izvir voda izviraše. Veles	
'Ajde, koj' ti kupi kulančeto	258: Ajde koj ti kupi kulančeto		
Što li mi je milo le, majko, i drago	259: Što mi je milo i drago		
Poseja dedo golemata njiva	260: Posadi deda golemata njiva		57: Poseja dedo golemata njiva. Peć
Varaj, Danke, gizdava devojko	260a		
Mokranjac used only the text of the song he noted. Unlike the small ambitus of the noted melody, the tune used in the garland is wide-spread and follows the contours of the tonic six-four chord.			
Eighth Garland, <i>From Kosovo (Sa Kosova)</i>, 1986			
Džanum, na sred selo šarena češma tečaše	173 : Na sred selo šarena češma (urban, from Živko / gradska, od Živka)		
Što Morava mutno teče	189a, 189b	(402: Rosa pade te Morava dođe. Donja Gušterica / na Kosovu/)	6: Što Morava mutno teče. Vučitrn
Mokranjac noted two different versions of the song. In the garland he used melody of 189a, and part of the text of 189b. Milojević noted another version of the song, with the text similar to 189b			
Razgrana se grana jorgovana	129 (urban, from baba Lena / gradska, od baba Lene)		51: Razgranjala grana jorgovana. Uroševac
Skoč' kolo, da skočimo	117 (rural / seoska), 118		
Mokranjac opted for 118 with greater ambitus and clearer dominant, discarding 117 he noted as rural. He also adds octave leap at the final cadence.			

Name of the song in the garland	Reference in Mokranjac*	Reference. in Dorđević**	Reference in Milojević***
Tenth Garland, From Ohrid (Sa Ohrida), 1901			
Biljana platno beleše	295	236	
Mokranjac used only the text of the song he noted. Dorđević notes different version of the song, but recognizes Mokranjac tune from the garland as an older folk song.			
Do tri mi puški puknale			
Dinka dvori mete	298		
Pušči me, majko le mila		388. Puštaj me, male mori, da vidam. Tetovo	
Niknalo cvekje šareno			
Eleventh Garland, From Old Serbia (Iz Stare Srbije), 1905			
Pisaše me, Stano, mori	190		
Mokranjac adds fourth leaps, makes rhythmical changes and speeds the tempo.			
Crni goro, crni sestro			
Oj, Lenko, Lenko, Stavreva kjerko	305: Oj, Lenko, Lenko, Stavreva čerko		
Mokranjac used only the text of the song he noted. Unlike the small ambitus of the noted melody, the tune used in the garland follows the contours of minor six-four chord.			
Kalugere, crna dušo, 'ajde de	191: Kalugere, crna dušo		
Twelfth Garland, From Kosovo (Sa Kosova), 1906			
Deka si bila daneske, Cveto	299		
Aman, šetnala si, more Jano	163		
Da l' nemam, džanum, ruse kose	162: Da l' nemam, ruse kose		
Cvekje cafnalo	306: Cveće c'fnalo u naša gradina		
Sedi moma na pendžeru	127a: Posejala baba tikve 127b: Sama rade po livade		
Mokranjac combined the tunes of two similar folk-songs and used new text, as he considered existing texts as unsatisfactory.			

Name of the song in the garland	Reference in Mokranjac*	Reference. in Đorđević**	Reference in Milojević***
Fifteenth Garland, <i>From Macedonia (Iz Makedonije)</i>, 1909			
Marije, bela Marije	307 (for 15 th G / za XV R)		
Ej, obasjala mesečina	308: Ugrejala mesečina (for 15 th garland / za XV rukovet)	203: Ugrejala mesečina. Bitolj	
Bog da go ubije, mamо	309: Bog da go ubije komšičeto	(279: Bog da go bijet Alima. Kičevo)	
Prošeta devet, majko, godini	310		
Sejala Dinka bosiljak	311	326: Sadila Dimka bosilek. Debar-Melničane	
<p>* – Стеван Стојановић Мокрањац, Етномузиколошки записи, ed. Драгослав Девић (Београд: Завод за уџбенике и наставна средства Књажевац: Нота 1996). The number refers to the numbering in this edition. The title of the tune is given if it differs from the title in the garland. If Mokranjac's comment exist, it's given in brackets.</p> <p>** – Владимир Р. Ђорђевић, Српске народне мелодије (Скопље: Скопско научно друштво, 1928). The number refers to the numbering in this edition. Follows the title, geographical reference (regular in Đorđević) and comment, if any. Loosely connected songs are bracketed.</p> <p>*** – Милоје Милојевић, Народне песме и игре Косова и Метохије, ed. Драгослав Девић (Београд: Завод за уџбенике и наставна средства and Карић Фондација, 2004). The number refers to the numbering in this edition. Follows the title and geographical reference (regular in Milojević).</p>			

Placing Mokranjac garlands from 'Old Serbia' in the context of travelogue discourse has ample ramifications. If Mokranjac's contemporaries perceived tunes contained in the garlands as authentic, documented folk-songs, the garlands then acted as the musical image of the territories they considered belonging to the Serbian nation and served as a vehicle in producing a tangible sensory representation through which both members of the choirs performing these works and their respective audience believed to experience the soundscape of the core of their homeland. It is thus of crucial importance to investigate how Mokranjac produced these representation, by manipulating and arranging the folk-tunes from the moment of making transcription in the 'field' to the composing of the arrangement in the garland. I will argue that Mokranjac's compositional choices had at least two goals: firstly, he tended to produce an accessible image of Serbian folk-song adjusted to Western-European music style and, secondly, he tended to downplay regional differences creating a unified image of Serbian folk-song which was to symbolize the organic unity of the imagined Serbian homeland itself. In order to do so, I will trace Mokranjac compositional choices comparing the songs from the garlands with his transcriptions from the 'field'. As an aid, I will also use later transcriptions of particular folk-songs made by Vladimir Đorđević in 1920's and Miloje Milojević

in 1930's, having in mind that they certainly must have had encountered different versions of the songs.

Tracing Mokranjac creative process from the 'field' to a garland, there are at least four different stages in which he made choices which are important for the resulting product of the image of the Serbian 'folk-song'. As a first step we must recognize Mokranjac's decision where and what to record. Mokranjac mostly recorded songs in urban centres where folk-music would be under heavier influence from western-style functional music harmony, which sets him apart from the later ethnomusicological tradition. Unlike other collectors of folk-songs, Mokranjac never intended to publish his ethnomusicological work, and his prime objective in recording the folk-songs was to collect material for the garlands. In the case of two first songs from Fifteenth Garland he even noted their purpose together with the tunes. Therefore, we can suppose that his decision whether to record a song or not would be driven with the prospect of including it in one of the future garlands. The second step is the process of making the actual transcription: phonograph was not available to Mokranjac, and he wrote down the melodies on the spot. It is interesting to note that in the case of several tunes which entered the garlands mostly unaltered (such as the last song from Fifteenth Garland), Đorđević or Milojević give significantly different version of the tunes, which could lead us to the conclusion that Mokranjac also recorded the tune in the way he wanted to include it into the garland.

Third and fourth step in Mokranjac compositional process would be selection of appropriate songs for a garland, and arranging the songs for choir and making interventions on the tune. These are two crucial steps both to accommodate the tunes in western-style music harmony and to produce a unified image of what a Serbian folk-song is. In selecting the songs Mokranjac mostly shunned songs from rural areas and songs with small ambitus, as well as songs which were hard to fit into his harmonic idiom.¹⁶ In altering the tunes one can also note certain repeating procedures which Mokranjac performs:

- speeding up the song, especially if it is the opening song of a garland (e.g. "Pisaše me, Stano, mori", first song in the Eleventh Garland)
- changing leaping intervals in order to meet desired harmony, most often dominant function (e.g. "More, izvor-voda izviralala" in the Seventh Garland, correcting the tune to accommodate cadential six-four)
- introducing octave, fifth or fourth leaps (e.g. "Poseja dedo golemata njiva" in the Seventh Garland);
- introducing dotted rhythm (e.g. "Sejala Dinka bosiljak" in the Fifteenth Garland).

While the first, third and fourth procedure contribute to the overall vivacity and dance-like style of the garlands, second and third procedure help establish strong functional harmony anchored in strong dominant function.

One of the most intriguing questions in this investigation is whether Mokranjac actually composed some of the songs himself, contrary to the belief of his contemporaries. In three cases Mokranjac actually completely disregarded the tune he recorded and

¹⁶ For a detailed overview on Mokranjac harmonic style see Dejan Despić, "Хармонски језик и хорска фактура у Мокрањчевим делима," in *Стеван Стојановић Мокрањац. Живот и дело*, 145–199. Importantly, Despić argues that Mokranjac came up with specific harmonic patterns which he then applied across his choral oeuvre (see specifically pp. 157–165).

seemingly decided to compose the tune himself, using only the text of the songs. These examples are the last song in Seventh Garland, “Varaj, Danke, gizdava devojko” (“Beguile, Danka, beautiful maid”), the first song from Tenth Garland, “Biljana platno beleše” (“Biljana whitened her linen”) and third song from Eleventh Garland, “Oj, Lenko, Lenko, Stavreva kjerko” (“Lenka, Lenka, Stavro’s daughter”). The first and the last of these three examples are very much alike: Mokranjac disregarded small ambitus tune and instead wrote a vivacious tune which mostly follows six-four chord, thus building climactic closure of the Seventh Garland and contrasting section of the Eleventh Garland. As these examples correspond with the interventions Mokranjac performed in case of other tunes, it is viable to conclude that these songs are indeed thoroughly composed.

In order to strengthen my argument, I will look more closely at two specific examples of songs from garlands: “Što Morava mutno teče” (“Why does the Morava turbidly flow”), second song in the Eighth Garland, and aforementioned “Biljana platno beleše”. In case of “Što Morava mutno teče” Mokranjac had recorded two distinct versions of the song (189a and 189b), differing both in the tune and in the text (see examples 1 and 2).¹⁷ Comparing the musical, as well as the literal content of the songs, it is possible to discuss their historical sequence and to argue that the first song (189a) is of more recent origin. While the story of the first song refers to relatively recent historical events connected with the contemporary crisis of Ottoman society, the second song (189b) tells an allegorical story of one of the sisters lost in a flowing river, that can be interpreted as related to pre-Christian Slavonic rituals. Regarding the melodies, the first song has simplified rhythm, clearer chromatic substance, as well as fully developed second phrase that the second song lacks. In producing his garland, Mokranjac made very interesting choice: he selected the tune of the first song, but he adhered to the text of the second one. Choosing quasi-mythological subject over a subject from a recent history Mokranjac adds the quality of ‘timelessness’ quintessential in the context of ‘Old Serbia’ travelogue discourse. Mokranjac’s choice of musical material, however, conveniently fits into already existing and recognisable models of harmonisations of Serbian folk-songs, and by accentuating augmented second he also achieved striking resemblance to the several other passages in the garlands, such as the very famous beginning of the Sixth Garland, *From My Homeland. Hajduk Veljko*.

Што Мо-ра-ва мут-но-те-че, што Мо-ра-ва мут-но-те-че,

мут-но те-че — и — кр-ва-ва, жа-ло-сти мо- - - ја.

Example 1: Stevan St. Mokranjac, *Što Morava mutno teče*, 189a.

¹⁷ Similar examples are “Skoč’ kolo, da skočimo”, also from the Eighth Garland, and “Sedi mama na pendžeru” from Twelfth Garland; see table 2.

Што Мо-ра - ва мут - но те - че, што Мо - ра - ва
мут - но те - че, еј, жа - ло - сти, мут - но те - че.

Example 2: Stevan St. Mokranjac, *Što Morava mutno teče*, 189b.

“Biljana platno beleše” is exceptional amongst the songs we can speculate Mokranjac had composed due to its immense popularity, both of the recorded folk-song and the one from the garland. After Mokranjac had recorded the song in Belgrade (see example 3) he used it in this form in music for the theatre play *Ivkova slava* (*Ivko's Feast*) in 1901, arranging it for mixed choir and orchestra. However, only a year later, Mokranjac composed his Tenth Garland, *From Ohrid*, with a song bearing the same text but radically different tune, both in its contours and in character. (see example 4). As in the case of other ‘composed’ songs, Mokranjac modelled the tune and its ambitus around six-four chord, using spirited tempo. Thus it seems that Mokranjac remodelled the song in order to get a jovial introduction, which became a recognizable cachet of his garlands from ‘Old Serbia’. The result is that “Biljana platno beleše” used in the garland resembled an array of other opening songs of the garlands from ‘Old Serbia’.

Би - ља - на плат - но бе - - ле - ше на
о - рид - ски - те из - во - ри, Би - ља - - на плат - но
бе - - ле - ше на о - рид - ски - те из - - во - ри.

Example 3: Stevan St. Mokranjac, *Biljana platno beleše*, 295.

Allegretto grazioso [M.M. ♩ = 132-144]

Би - ља - на плат - но — бе - ле - ше на ох - рид -
 Vi - lja - na plat - no — be - le - še na oh - rid -

Би - ља - на плат - но — бе - ло бе - ле - ше на ох - рид -
 Vi - lja - na plat - no — be - lo be - le - še na oh - rid -

Би - ља - на плат - но — бе - ло — бе - ле - ше на ох - рид -
 Vi - lja - na plat - no — be - lo — be - le - še na oh - rid -

Би - ља - на плат - но — бе - ле - ше на ох - рид -
 Vi - lja - na plat - no — be - le - še na oh - rid -

Example 4: Stevan St. Mokranjac, Tenth Garland, beginning (bars 1–5).

It is striking that Vladimir Đorđević, in his collection of folk-songs from ‘Southern Serbia’, argued the case of authenticity of Mokranjac’s “Biljana platno beleše”, which shows the level in which Mokranjac’s songs from the garlands were venerated as examples of true folklore tradition. Commenting on his record of another version of “Biljana platno beleše”, Đorđević states as following:

This melody, in all likelihood, is not folk tune, but I record it as it has become extensively adopted and has suppressed the folk one. For the sake of completeness, I bring the folk tune, which Mokranjac recorded and used in his Tenth Garland. I, however, cite the text which I had noted.¹⁸

In the continuation, Đorđević gives the reader the tune of Mokranjac’s “Biljana platno beleše” in sixteen measures, copied from the leading voice in the garland. Đorđević transcribes Mokranjac in every detail, including the key of the song and articulation, which makes it obvious that he had no other source to claim this song as part of folklore tradition. Đorđević comment provide us with yet another and final argument in situating Mokranjac’s garlands from ‘Old Serbia’ in the context of ‘Old Serbia’ travelogue discourse: Đorđević actually tends to perceive Mokranjac garlands as a repository of true, old folklore tradition which is increasingly being suppressed and threatened to the verge of existence. Mokranjac’s garlands from ‘Old Serbia’ in the process of reception thus encompassed the sense of imminent danger posed to the cultural heritage of Serbian population.

¹⁸ “Ova melodija, po svoj prilici, nije narodna, ali ja ju beležim s toga što je ona veoma odomaćena i što je potisla narodnu. Potpuno radi unosim i narodnu melodiju, koju je zabeležio Mokranjac i upotrebio u svojoj Desetoj Rukoveti. Tekst, pak, navodim onaj, koji sam ja zabeležio,” *Борбенић*, Српске народне мелодије, 84.

Mokranjac compositional interventions in assembling the garlands 'from Old Serbia' were more far reaching than it's usually recognized, especially in the aspect of composing and altering the tunes. Mokranjac's garlands served as a kind of mechanism of representing musical folklore of the Serbian lands in an accessible, recognisable manner, and that they produced the likeness of musical folklore of various Serbian lands. Through his compositional dexterity, Mokranjac cogently argued for and musically presented the organic unity of the imagined Serbian homeland, of which 'Old Serbia' acted as a core part. In contrast with modern musicological discourse, garlands were often described as arrangements of folk songs, and not as original compositions. Perceived as authentic, documented folk-songs, they carried the aura of authenticity and it was their proclaimed veritable adherence to the folklore that gave them political legitimacy to serve as an image of united Serbian people.

POVZETEK

Ob dveh priložnostih je Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac potoval na ozemlja, ki so bila na splošno poznana kot »Stara Srbija«: Leta 1894 je šel na koncertno turnejo po Makedoniji, leta 1896 pa je obiskal Kosovo z namenom, da bi tam posnel ljudske pesmi. Takoj za tem je začel pisati zbirke ljudskih pesmi, pri katerih je navdih črpal iz teh pokrajin, to tematiko pa je uporabljal še pozneje pri večini svojih venčkov. Ne strinjam se, da je ta glasbena dela mogoče obravnavati kot del razprave o poročilih o potovanjih po »Stari Srbiji«, ki je bila takrat aktualna in je ogrozila razne kulturne

izdelke, kot so literarna poročila o potovanjih, demografske študije, ilustracije itd. Pogosta podlaga za ta dela, ki je bila vključena tudi v Mokranjčeve venčke, je dokumentarna osnova, kot tudi »brezčasna« razsežnost pripovedništva in čut za neizbežno nevarnost, ki je pretila srbski kulturi. Z analiziranjem, kako je Mokranjac izbral, dopolnjeval in v nekaterih primerih celo skladal pesmi v venčkih iz »Stare Srbije«, želim prikazati, kako je ustvaril dostopno imaginarno glasbeno okolje, ki bi lahko preseglo današnje politične meje na Balkanu in vtisnilo zavest o teritorialni identiteti v glave ljudi, ki so se imeli za člane srbske nacije.