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**PHONOGRAPHIC RESEARCH (NON-COMMERCIAL)
RECORDINGS OF SERBIAN MUSICAL-FOLKLORIC MATERIAL:
FOREIGN CONTRIBUTIONS AND THE CONTEXT
OF THEIR CREATION**

Abstract: The importance of using the phonograph was recognized by musical folklorists from across the region that, after the First World War, became part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (renamed the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1929). However, the introduction of this device into their research practices was not implemented everywhere in accordance with that awareness. The varying pace of improvements in fieldwork through the use of the phonograph was only one indicator of the uneven development of musical folkloristics throughout the Western Balkans. Conditioned by numerous unfavorable circumstances, its advancement in Serbia progressed at a visibly slower pace than in the former parts of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, a fact reflected as well in the belated acquisition of the first phonograph in 1930. Under such circumstances, a kind of compensation for the historically very important yet modest domestic results in this field was provided by foreign researchers, through their own phonographic recordings of Serbian musical heritage in Serbia, in the broader region, or among Serbian populations in both near and distant diasporas. This paper offers a comprehensive chronological overview of these known research contributions, made between 1907 and 1940.

Keywords: phonographic recordings, phonographic collections, phonogram archives, Serbian musical folklore, *guslar* epics, Western Balkans.

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The invention of the phonograph by Thomas Alva Edison (1847–1931) in 1877 marked a significant turning point in the study of traditional world music. The use of the first device for recording and reproducing sound¹ greatly facilitated and accelerated fieldwork (as the need for on-site transcription was eliminated), advanced melography and analysis (due to the possibility of playback, enabling repeated listening to the same musical performance), and above all, decisively contributed to the establishment of comparative musicology, providing it with the essential prerequisite for any scientific discipline – documentation and verifiability of facts, permanently stored on a physical sound medium.²

After the earliest ethnomusicological application in America in 1890,³ the phonograph quickly attracted the attention of music folklorists on the other side of the Atlantic as well. Thus, by the end of the nineteenth century, the first recordings were made in Russia in 1894 by Julius Block (Юлий Иванович Блок, 1858–1934), a German-born entrepreneur and philoso-

¹ A somewhat earlier invention, the phonautograph, was patented in 1857 by Édouard-Léon Scott de Martinville (1817–1879), but this device only had the ability to graphically record sound on paper, not to reproduce it. On April 9, 1860, it was used to create the first graphical recording of the human voice, probably Martinville's own, who sang a short excerpt of the French folk song *Au clair de la lune*. Using computer technology, this visual recording was translated into sound in 2008 in Berkeley (California).

² The remaining two key constitutive events are linked to 1885, the official year of birth of comparative musicology. These are: the cent-system of Alexander John Ellis (1814–1890), introduced in his equally foundational study “On the Musical Scales of Various Nations” (1885); and “Umfang, Methode und Ziel der Musikwissenschaft” (1885), the treatise by Guido Adler (1855–1941) which established musicology, and within its systematic branch the field of comparative musicology (Vergleichende Musikwissenschaft), the precursor to ethnomusicology. It is worth noting that Adler divided musicology into historical and systematic branches, with the latter further divided into four subfields: music theory, music aesthetics, music pedagogy, and comparative musicology. See: Erica Muggleston, “Guido Adler’s ‘The Scope, Method, and Aim of Musicology’ (1885): An English Translation with an Historico-Analytical Commentary”, *Yearbook for Traditional Music*, 13, 1981, 13.

³ The credit for this goes to the ethnologist and archaeologist Jesse Walter Fewkes (1850–1930), who recorded the songs and stories of the Passamaquoddy North American Indians in the reservation at Calais (Maine) in the northeastern United States using a phonograph. He made these recordings with an early version of the phonograph, as part of the initial testing of the device in practice, conducted by the Edison company. See: Jesse Walter Fewkes, “A Contribution to Passamaquoddy Folk-Lore”, *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, 3/11, 1890, 257–280.

pher, who recorded several Russian epic songs (*bylinas*). Shortly thereafter, the famous Russian singer and folklorist Evgenia Lineva (Евгения Эдуардовна Линёва, 1853–1919) also conducted recordings, collecting examples of folk polyphony in the Upper Volga region and central Russia in 1897.⁴ This period also includes the earliest sound recordings from Hungary, made in 1896 by the ethnographer Béla Vikár (Béla Vikár, 1859–1945) in Borsod county.⁵

In Europe, at the turn of the century, there was already such an abundance of recorded material that the first phonogram archives were established, both as repositories for research materials and as symbols of cultural prestige for developed countries. The oldest in the world was founded in 1899 in Vienna at the Austrian Academy of Sciences (Phonogrammarchiv der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften),⁶ followed by the influential one in Berlin in 1900 (Berliner Phonogramm-Archiv),⁷ and soon other European centers joined this trend.⁸

The phonograph was gradually improved over time and was given various names, which usually referred to the type of technological innovation or the producer's brand. The most significant change within the broad framework of this technology was made in 1887 by Emile Berliner (1851–1929) with his invention of the gramophone, replacing cylindrical media with more practical and economical flat discs. Although both systems – his and Edison's

⁴ Е. Канн-Новикова (Ed. Е. В. Гиппиус), *Собира́тельница русских народных йесен Евѣния Линѣва*, Москва, Государственное музыкальное издательство, 1952, 44, 48, 62–101, 125–140.

⁵ See: <https://nepi.kultura.hu/cikk/fonograffal-uttalan-utakon>. According to some authors, Vikár conducted the recordings as early as 1892. See: Walter Graf, "The Phonogrammarchiv der Österreichischen Akademie der Wisschenschaften in Wienna", *The Folklore and Folk Music Archivist*, IV/4, 1962, 4.

⁶ Cf. Gerda Lechleitner, "The Phonogrammarchiv of the Austrian Academy of Science", *Etnografie Sonore / Sound Ethnographies*, I/1, 2018, 225–239. However, there is data suggesting that the oldest phonogram archive was actually founded in Helsinki as early as 1893, at the Finnish Literature Society (Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, SRS). See: Изалиј Земцовски, "Етномузикологија – стогодишњи пут", *Народно стваралаштво – folklor*, XXVI/1–4, 1987, 17.

⁷ Cf. Walter Graf, op. cit.

⁸ Cf. Jaap Kunst, *Ethnomusicology (A study of its nature, its problems, methods and representative personalities to which is added a bibliography)*, Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1959, 16–37; Mervyn McLean, *Pioneers of Ethnomusicology*, Coral Springs (CA), Illumina Press, 2006, 39–51.

– co-existed for decades, the term “phonograph” remained as a designation for all devices that convert sound impulses into a spiral groove on a medium (therefore, both cylindrical and disc-shaped),⁹ and the technology itself remained in wide use as the sole standard until the mid-twentieth century, when it was replaced by the tape recorder.¹⁰ This new invention brought numerous improvements, first and foremost the ability to record long musical pieces in their entirety, as phonograph records could hold only a few minutes of sound.¹¹

The importance of using the phonograph was quickly recognized by music folklorists from across the region, but its introduction into research practice was not uniformly carried out in line with this recognition. The varying pace at which fieldwork with this device was advanced was just one indicator of the already-present uneven development in music folklore studies in areas that would later, after the First World War, become part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, i.e. Yugoslav Kingdom (after its renaming in 1929).¹² This disparity in developmental conditions was influenced by several interrelated factors, primarily the following:

- different cultural and economic foundations, inherited from previous historical periods;
- the varying number, professional profiles, status, level of dedication, and methods of work of people engaged in the collection, research, and publication of music folklore material;
- disproportionate financial and other support from relevant national institutions, which unevenly assessed their priorities in different regions;
- the influence of certain neighboring countries, which, whether open or hidden, benevolent or not, was felt in various ways.

⁹ In the broadest sense, it is still today a general term for any device that is used to record (“write”) sound.

¹⁰ The tape recorder existed earlier, as far back as the 1930s. It was first used for research recording of folk music by Fritz Bose (1906–1975) in Karelia (Finland) in 1936. See: Susanne Ziegler, “Historijski snimci bosanske muzike u njemačkim arhivima”, in: Jasmina Talam; Fatima Hadžić; Refik Hodžić (Eds), *Zbornik radova – VII. Međunarodni smipozij “Muzika u društvu”* (Sarajevo, 28–30. oktobar), Sarajevo, Muzikološko društvo FBiH; Muzička akademija u Sarajevu, 2010, 143. However, the commercialization of the tape recorder did not occur until the 1950s.

¹¹ This problem was sometimes overcome by the successive use of two or more phonographs.

¹² Due to this change, the more general term “Yugoslav Kingdom” will also be used in this study, alongside other terms.

Determined by these factors, the development of Serbian musical folkloristics was in a worse position than in the western parts of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, as will be demonstrated in the following brief overview of the regional history of the discipline at the turn of the twentieth century and in the first half of the twentieth century.

The most significant results in almost all areas of music folkloristics activity were achieved by Slovenia. Karel Štrekelj (1859–1912), a linguist, ethnologist, and university professor of Slavic studies, led a major endeavor to publish Slovenian folk songs, collected earlier and during his time. In the publication *Slovenske narodne pesmi*, one of the finest in Europe of that era, around 8,700 texts and 300 melodies were successively published from 1895 to 1923 (in four volumes and 16 “bundles”), mostly under Štrekelj’s editorial work.¹³ The publisher of this endeavor was Slovenska Matica. The next major step was taken between 1906 and 1914, when Austria-Hungary implemented a project to collect traditional songs of the peoples under its rule, called *Das Volkslied in Österreich* (*The Folk Song in Austria*). This project resulted in the collection of around 13,000 Slovenian examples with melodies. The project was also led by Štrekelj, who was succeeded after his death by another great figure, Matija Murko (1861–1952).¹⁴ The research also included phonograph recordings, carried out in 1914 by the lawyer and politician Juro Adlešič (1884–1968) in his native Bela Krajina.¹⁵ They were not the first in Slovenia, as previously, in 1912 and 1913, the aforementioned Evgenija Lineva, one of the pioneers of phonograph recording in Europe, had been active in the vi-

¹³ After Štrekelj’s death, this work was completed by Joža Glonar (1885–1946), a linguist, literary historian, and translator, who edited the 15th and 16th volumes (in 1913 and 1923). Cf. Karel Štrekelj, *Slovenske narodne pesmi*, snopič 16, Ljubljana, Slovenska matica, 1923; Milko Matičetov, “Joža Glonar (1885–1946)”, *Slovenski etnograf*, III–IV, 1951, 399–401.

¹⁴ Vladimir Murko, “Sudbina literarne ostavštine i fonografskih snimaka srpskohrvatskih epskih pjesama Matije Murka”, *Narodna umjetnost*, 2/1, 1963, 108.

¹⁵ Adlešič recorded the material on 38 wax cylinders, of which only 10 have survived, now preserved in the archive of the Institute of Ethnomusicology of the Scientific Research Center of the Slovene Academy of Sciences and Arts (Glasbenonarodnopisni inštitut Znanstvenoraziskovalnega centra Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti, GIN ZRC SAZU), along with the accompanying manuscripts. See: Drago Kunej, “Peseško izročilo Bele krajine na zgodnjih terenskih posnetkih”, *Traditiones*, 46/3, 2017, 144–147. The testimony of Adlešič’s recordings is represented by transcriptions published in the collection *Das Volkslied in Österreich*. According to: Krešimir Kovačević (Ed.), “Adlešič, Juro”, in: *Leksikon jugoslavenske muzike 1 (A–Ma)*, Zagreb, Jugoslavenski leksikografski zavod “Miroslav Krleža”, 1984, 5.

cinity of Bled and in Bela Krajina.¹⁶ An important interwar continuation of Slovenian activities is then associated with the name France Marolt (1891–1951) and the founding of the Music Ethnography Institute (Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut) in Ljubljana in 1934 – although the recordings actually resumed only in 1955, when the tape recorder was introduced.¹⁷

A similar situation was evident with Croatia. To recognize that its starting position was considerably more advanced than in Serbia in the period after the Great War, it is enough to recall the collection of 1,600 recordings and numerous scholarly contributions published in Croatia in the second half of the nineteenth century by Franjo Ksaver Kuhač (1834–1911),¹⁸ as well as the existence of the esteemed Zagreb music journal *Sv. Cecilija* since 1877. The subsequent interwar period saw Croatia receive the highest possible level of institutional support for the publication of folk songs when, in 1924 and 1925, the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts (Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, JAZU) published two volumes of 902 folk melodies from Međimurje – a melographic achievement by Vinko Žganec (1890–1976),¹⁹ an exceptionally productive researcher and future academician, formally educated as a Catholic theologian and lawyer. Just before the Second World War the comprehensive book *Hrvatska narodna glazba (pregled hrvatske muzikologije)* by the composer, musical folklorist, and the first formally trained Croatian musicologist Božidar Širola (1889–1956) appeared, which was published in Zagreb in 1940 by Matica hrvatska.²⁰ Regarding pho-

¹⁶ Some of her recordings have been preserved and are kept in the sound archive of the Institute of Russian Literature (Pushkin House) of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Институт русской литературы (Пушкинский Дом) Российской академии наук, ИРЛИ РАН) in St. Petersburg. See: Drago Kunej, “Pesemsko izročilo Bele krajine na zgodnjih terenskih posnetkih”, op. cit., 144–146. There is also a larger study on the first phonographic recordings in Slovenia. Cf. Drago Kunej, *Fonograf je došel!: prvi zvočni zapisi slovenske ljudske glasbe*, Ljubljana, Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU, 2008.

¹⁷ Drago Kunej, “Pesemsko izročilo Bele krajine na zgodnjih terenskih posnetkih”, op. cit., 147.

¹⁸ Cf. Fr.[anjo] Š. Kuhač, *Južno-slovjenske narodne popievke*, knj. 1–4, Zagreb, Tiskara i litografija C. Albrechta, 1978–1881.

¹⁹ Cf. Vinko Žganec, *Hrvatske pučke popievke iz Međimurja*, sv. I (svjetovne), Zbornik jugoslovenskih pučkih popijevaka, knj. I, Zagreb, JAZU, 1924; idem, *Hrvatske pučke popievke iz Međimurja*, sv. II (crkvene), Zbornik jugoslovenskih pučkih popijevaka, knj. I, Zagreb, JAZU, 1925.

²⁰ Cf. Božidar Širola, *Hrvatska narodna glazba (pregled hrvatske muzikologije)*, Mala knjižnica Matice hrvatske, kolo V, sv. 30, Zagreb, Matica hrvatska, 1940.

nographic recording of folk melodies in Croatia from 1901 to 1936, a whole series of highly-educated individuals were engaged in this field, mostly from various parts of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, the majority of them directly involved in the joint project of the Vienna Phonogram Archive and the Austro-Hungarian Balkan Commission of the Imperial Academy of Sciences.²¹ They not only recorded Croatian traditional music and the folk speech of Croats in Croatia itself, but also in certain areas of the diaspora.²² After the establishment of the Department of Folk Music (*Odsjek za pučku muziku*) at the Ethnographic Museum (*Etnografski muzej*) in Zagreb (1921), this activity continued in parallel within Croatia through domestic research expeditions. Initially, due to financial difficulties, it depended heavily on support from Vienna;²³ nevertheless, it operated continuously under the auspices of a specialized national institution and produced important results. Recordings were made in various parts of Croatia from 1923 to 1931, carried out by two close colleagues – Božidar Širola, and the distinguished ethnographer and

²¹ These included: Matija Murko, a Slovenian literary historian and ethnologist who worked as a university professor of Slavic studies in various cities of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy; the Serbian Slavist, dialectologist, and also university professor Milan Rešetar (1860–1942); the Croatian linguist and musician Josip Floršić (Josip Florschütz) (1864–1916); the Italian linguist Giuseppe Vidossi (1878–1969); Josip Široki Baček (1882–1963), a folklorist, musicologist, Doctor of Philosophy, physicist, and a man of many other interests and professions; the Czech and Moravian ethnographer and curator František Pospíšil (1885–1958); and Leo Hajek (1887–1975), a physicist of Jewish origin employed at the Phonogram Archive until the Anschluss (first as an assistant, later as the director of the institution). Cf. Сања Радиновић, Милан Миловановић, “*Croatian Recordings 1901–1936*”, *Музиколоџија*, 14, 2013, 235–249. (review)

²² Cf. *ibid.*

²³ The available funds were very modest at first, so the phonographic workshop of the Department of Folk Music could not begin operating independently. Širola therefore turned to the Vienna Phonogram Archive with a request that the newly-founded Department become its branch, which was immediately accepted. Soon after, a phonograph from the archive and the necessary recording discs were sent from Vienna as a gift. The cooperation agreement required the Department to send the recorded originals to Vienna for processing, from where their copies were then returned to Croatia. This, however, demanded considerable material resources and time, which caused the collection of the phonographic workshop to grow rather slowly. Relief came in 1929, when the Department, thanks to a large donation, succeeded in purchasing a more modern recording device. See: Božidar Širola, Milovan Gavazzi, “*Muzikološki rad Etnografskog muzeja u Zagrebu*”, *Narodna starina*, 10/25, 1931, 3–20.

musical folklorist Milovan Gavazzi (1895–1992) – who were also the founders of the Department of Folk Music.²⁴

The collecting and research results in Bosnia and Herzegovina around the turn of the century were also far more extensive than those in Serbia, primarily thanks to the attention given to the region by the renowned Czech folklorist Ludvík Kuba (1863–1956). His four-month field expedition in 1893 was conducted under the patronage of the National Museum (*Zemaljski muzej*) in Sarajevo, an institution established in 1888 by Austria-Hungary in the occupied territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Between 1906 and 1910, the Museum consecutively published as many as 965 out of a total of 1,127 musical transcriptions in its *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine*.²⁵ In Bosnia and Herzegovina, there were also significant research recordings made by foreign collectors. The first was undertaken as early as 1908 by the linguist, ethnographer, folklorist, and archaeologist Eduard Carl Gottfried Wolter (1856–1941), a citizen of the Russian Empire and later the USSR.²⁶ He carried out these recordings in Sarajevo and its surroundings, resulting in a small collection of cylinders of poor quality, but significant as evidence of one of the earliest undertakings of this kind²⁷ (see below). In various parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Matija Murko conducted record-

²⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, 3–20, 30–40. During this period, Croatia also became involved in international scholarly activity in the field of musical folklore – through Širola's participation at an international congress organized in Vienna on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of Beethoven's death in 1927. There, he presented a paper on the relationship of Haydn and Beethoven to Croatian folk music, which was published in Vienna later that same year. See: *ibid.*, 18, 75.

²⁵ Ludvík Kuba, (Ed. Cvjetko Rihtman), *Pjesme i napjevi iz Bosne i Hercegovine*, Sarajevo, Svjetlost, 1984, 11.

²⁶ In Russia, he is known as Eduard Alexandrovich Wolter (Вольтер Эдуард Александрович). He held high positions in various Russian cultural institutions – among other roles, he worked as a university professor and is considered the founder of the Russian Phonotheque in Saint Petersburg, where he lived from 1883 to 1918. After that, he was active in Lithuania. Wolter was an outstanding expert on the culture of the Baltic peoples, particularly Lithuanians, but he also had interests in other regions. Among his important pioneering achievements were the first recordings of Lithuanian traditional music, made on wax cylinders in 1908 and 1909. In 1908, he also conducted recordings in Bulgaria and Ukraine. See: Susanne Ziegler, "Historijski snimci bosanske muzike...", *op. cit.*, 143–144; <https://ethnomuseum.ru/collections/collectors/volter-eduard-aleksandrovich/>

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 143–146.

ings several times thereafter, primarily focusing on epic poetry, culminating in 1937 with the peak of phonographic activity achieved by a team of renowned foreign and domestic experts led by Gerhard Gesemann (1888–1948) (which will be discussed in more detail).

We now return to Serbia, whose status throughout the period under consideration was fairly unfavorable. Its martial destiny, conditioned by a particular geopolitical position in the Balkans, did not allow the same pace of cultural development, even though enormous efforts had previously been made in this direction, throughout the entire nineteenth century. As a result, the most significant achievement from the beginning of the twentieth century was a small collection of fewer than 100 examples, titled *Српске народне њесме и иїре с мелодијама из Левча*, which was a joint effort by the village teacher Todor M. Bušetić Toša (1864–1919) and the renowned composer Stevan St. Mokranjac (1856–1914).²⁸ It was published in 1902 in the journal *Српски еїноїрафски зборник*, based on Bušetić's amateur collecting work, which Mokranjac, dissatisfied with the appearance of the notation, had to correct melodically, relying solely on Bušetić's interpretations of the recorded examples.²⁹ During this period, there were also numerous other collections in Serbia, but they were still mostly compiled in the nineteenth century manner – for concert, school, or private music-making in bourgeois settings, often with harmonized and stylized melodies that were usually already widely known, or became so through these very collections. The scholarly approach to musical folklore, especially rural, developed slowly in interwar Serbia and engaged a small number of specialists, primarily devoted to other musical professions.³⁰ The most extensive publications supported by the state were the collection *Српске народне мелодије (Јужна Срдија)*³¹ by Vladimir R.

²⁸ Cf. Тодор М. Бушетић, Стеван Ст. Мокрањац, *Српске народне њесме и иїре с мелодијама из Левча*, *Српски еїноїрафски зборник*, 3, 1902.

²⁹ According to: Оливера Младеновић, “Учешће Стевана Мокрањаца у раду Српске краљевске академије наука”, in: Михаило Вукдраговић (Ed.), *Зборник радова о Сїевану Мокрањацу*, Београд, Одељење ликовне и музичке уметности САНУ, 1971, 185–204.

³⁰ Cf. Владимир Р. Ђорђевић, “Оглед библиографије српске народне музике”, *Гласник Еїноїрафскої музеја у Београду*, 6, 1931, 120–125.

³¹ According to the administrative division in force from 1919 to 1922, Southern Serbia was one of the eight provinces of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. It consisted of Old Serbia – made up of the Novi Pazar Sandžak, the Kosovo-Metohija region, and the areas around Tetovo, Skopje, Kratovo, and Kočani – along with the remaining parts of Northern Macedonia. See: Jovan Erdeljanović, “Etnički položaj Srba Stare Srbije i

Đorđević (1869–1938), published by the Скопско учено друштво (Skopje Learned Society),³² and the extensive paper “Музичко дело нашега села” by Kosta P. Manojlović (1890–1949) in 1929, published in the collection of papers of the same name.³³ For his second “true Serbian” study, and up to that point the most extensive collection in Serbia – *Српске народне мелодије (џреградџина Срдија)*, containing 597 vocal and instrumental examples – Đorđević did not receive adequate state support. The Ministry of Education granted him barely one-third of the necessary funds, so this publication was realized as a private edition.³⁴ In short, the collecting and research results in Serbia during that period were significantly more modest than those from

Makedonije među Južnim Slovenima”, *Нова Европа*, X/11, 1924, 331. After that, a new division was introduced, creating 33 districts, which remained in effect until 1929. Under the final division, valid from 1929 to 1939, the country consisted of nine *Banovinas*; the former territory of Southern Serbia largely coincided with the Vardar and Zeta Banovinas. Nevertheless, the term “Southern Serbia” continued to be frequently used during the interwar period. A closer look at Đorđević’s aforementioned collection reveals that it contains only a few dozen examples from areas belonging to present-day Serbia.

³² Cf. Владимир Р. Ђорђевић (Introduction: Ernest Closson), *Српске народне мелодије (Јужна Срдија)*, Књиге Скопског научног друштва, 1, Скопље, Скопско научно друштво, 1928.

³³ Cf. Коста П. Манојловић, “Музичко дело нашега села”, in: Милосав Стојадиновић (Ed.), *Наше село*, Београд, Савремена општина, 1929, 3–64. (offprint)

³⁴ Cf. Владимир Р. Ђорђевић, *Српске народне мелодије (џреградџина Срдија)*. Београд: б. и., 1931. At the end of his preface, Đorđević writes the following: “Finally, let me also mention that I recorded all the melodies in this collection while traveling through Serbia at my own expense. I was never able to obtain assistance from any source. I am likewise compelled to publish them with my own money. It could not have been otherwise. My only, and indeed great, gratitude goes to Mr. Božidar Maksimović, Minister of Education, who graciously granted me from the funds of the Ministry of Education the sum of ten thousand dinars for printing this book, thereby easing nearly one-third of the cost. My heartfelt thanks to him!”. See: *ibid*, XIV. Even before that, Đorđević had publicly pointed out the state’s indifference toward the financial and other difficulties faced by collectors of folk melodies in Serbia. He believed that the solution lay in systematically organized fieldwork under state patronage, in a more thorough professional approach to this endeavor, in primary dedication to rural environments, and, finally, in the serial publication of results financed by the state. See: Vlad.[imir] R. Đorđević, “Nevolje naše narodne muzike”, *Nova Evropa*, VI/3–4, 1922, 80–81; Сања Радиновић, “Написи о традиционалном музичком наслеђу југословенских народа у часопису *Нова Европа*”, in: Марко Недић, Весна Матовић (Eds), *Нова Европа 1920–1941 (зборник радова)*, Историја српске књижевне периодике, 21. Београд, Институт за књижевност и уметност, 2010, 622.

the western regions of the Yugoslav Kingdom, while a more appropriate level of state institutional support was received only after the Second World War, within the framework of the new social order.

In the field of phonographic recording, Serbia also lagged behind those parts of the Yugoslav community that had for years enjoyed the strong support of German-speaking countries (which, it should be noted, clearly saw their own political interest in this). The key reason for this was the lack of awareness among representatives of Serbia's most relevant institutions about the importance of supporting the acquisition of phonographs, organizing recordings under state patronage, and ensuring institutional care for the sound collections that would be created in this way. Several representative examples demonstrate that, over a long period, folklorists repeatedly but unsuccessfully emphasized the need to use the phonograph for documenting Serbian cultural heritage. The survey may begin with Ludvík Kuba, who, considering that in certain cases the phonograph was not only indispensable but also the only possible choice, stated the following as early as 1890:

In Montenegro itself, that is, in the Katunska Nahija and its immediate surroundings, there prevails a type of singing which, unfortunately, cannot be written down. It is a fluid, long-lasting, pure trill performed at various intervals. Figuratively speaking, it is a musicalized cry; a phenomenon encountered throughout inner Dalmatia, as well as among the Uskoks in Croatia. Such things – very interesting and unusually important – can be recorded only with the phonograph, and only as phonograms will they be possible to comprehend and analyze.³⁵

Shortly thereafter, he expressed a similar view regarding interpretations by Montenegrin *gusle* (a monochordal, bowed Serbian instrument) players, in which improvisation is strongly present: "It is impossible to record this production in musical notation. Only part of the interlude can be captured. For all of this, the phonograph already exists. And I believe that it would indeed deserve the phonograph."³⁶

The next example can be found in a report by Stevan St. Mokranjac, which he presented to the Ethnographic Committee (Etnografski odbor) of the Serbian Royal Academy (Srpska kraljevska akademija, SKA) in 1906. He was dissatisfied with the results of fieldwork by amateur collectors, and wrote the following:

³⁵ Ludvík Kuba, *Album černoohorské 70 národních písní*, V Praze, nákladem vlastním, 1890, 119.

³⁶ Ludvík Kuba, *Na Černé Hoře. Cesty podniknuté za účelem sbírání národních písní, roku 1890 a 1891*, V Praze, Tiskem i nákladem Edvarda Beauforta, 1892, 255.

These collections, as they are, cannot be printed. They must be verified and reliably recorded. For this purpose, I propose that an expert go to the places where the collectors gathered these songs, listen to the same songs directly from the mouths of the local singers, and record them. And in order for this recording to be even more reliable, it is necessary to acquire a phonograph, on which the singers would perform, and the expert would then faithfully transcribe everything sung into notation. Therefore, the *phonograph* should be acquired immediately, both to verify these collections and to obtain reliable collections from all regions of Serbia.³⁷

A quarter of a century later, Kosta P. Manojlović also advocated for collecting work using the phonograph:

What is immediately evident is that work on recording folk melodies and tunes must be organized at once, without delay, and for this purpose the country should be divided into musical regions, and a musical expert should be sent to each to carry out this task. All of this material should be sent to the Ethnographic Museum, where it can be catalogued and published. For this purpose, the department of musical folklore was created in the Museums of Belgrade, Zagreb, and Ljubljana, and it is only necessary for all the Museums to acquire phonograph devices as soon as possible, in order to facilitate the work of recording folk melodies.³⁸

Nevertheless, the most persistent advocate was Gerhard Gesemann, a German Slavist, folklorist, literary critic, and university professor from Prague, who was primarily interested in the Serbian epic tradition. Knowledge of this comes from a reliable witness to the interwar events: the Montenegrin Germanist, literary historian, and folklorist Radosav Medenica (1897–1987). Hoping for a final understanding on the part of the authorities after the great international success of the *gusle* player Tanasije Vučić (1883–1937) and the recording of his interpretations in Berlin in 1928 (see below),

Gesemann repeatedly tried to convince the representatives of our scholarly institutions in Belgrade of the necessity of creating an archive of recordings of our folk songs. (...) It goes without saying that he did not succeed in this endeavor. A primitive, egocentric, and indifferent attitude toward this field of our scholarship prevented any work of this kind. We do not hesitate in the least to point out that the then representatives of the Academy of Sciences and the University of Belgrade bear the gravest and greatest responsibility for this. We know this from the many futile attempts at persuasion and reasoning that we, a few of us ‘romantics,’

³⁷ According to: Оливера Младеновић, *op. cit.*, 196, 200.

³⁸ Коста П. Манојловић, “Музичко дело...”, *op. cit.*, 63–64.

as we were called, made precisely to the leading figures of those institutions. (...) All of this has been recounted in order to emphasize once more: that future generations will never forgive us for having failed to preserve, through recording, the singing of our epic songs – thus safeguarding the greatest treasure of our ancient culture – at a time when it was still possible to find enough performers of the original, traditional, and convincingly representative style, before modern life silenced it completely. The yellowed texts of our folk songs on the shelves of future generations will be nothing but dead, dry mummies – without a trace of the people's soul, yet serving as an eternal memento of our negligence and our lack of respect for ourselves and for our past.³⁹

Nevertheless, the overall situation regarding the phonograph recording of Serbian musical heritage was somewhat better than in the previously outlined aspects of music-folkloristic activity. This more favorable picture was largely due to the results of sound recordings carried out by foreign researchers – in Serbia, in the wider region, or among Serbian communities in both nearby and distant diaspora. As for the results originating from Serbia itself, they appeared in the early 1930s, thanks to the efforts of two distinguished scholars – the only ones within the domestic milieu who managed to achieve anything in this regard. These were the eminent ethnologist, anthropogeographer, and museologist Borivoje M. Drobñaković (1890–1961), and, to a far greater extent, the composer, choral conductor, folklorist, and tireless promoter of musical culture in Serbia and Yugoslavia, Kosta P. Manojlović. Both remained solitary figures in this field until the introduction of magnetic tape technology after the end of the Second World War. Their phonographic achievements are connected to the period of existence of the first common state of the South Slavic peoples – a turbulent era marked by numerous challenges, which both of them enriched with their many professional accomplishments. The valuable phonographic contribution of these individuals can be fully understood only within the broader context of the phonographic efforts of foreign collectors who included Serbian heritage in their recordings. The importance of such a comprehensive overview lies not only in the fact that only by acknowledging this wider framework can an objective understanding of the scope and significance of the sound legacy created by domestic efforts be achieved, but also in the realization that all phonographic contributions – both domestic and foreign – together form an essential, and until now missing, part of the historical picture of the overall achievements

³⁹ Радосав Меденица, *Наша народна ејика и њени ѿворци*, Цетиње, Обод, 1975, 373–375.

of musical folkloristics in the first half of the twentieth century in the field of recording, researching, and preserving Serbian musical heritage.

It should be pointed out that, alongside research-oriented recordings, commercial field recordings were also conducted until the mid-twentieth century. These were carried out by various gramophone companies, which used them as material for their phonograph record releases.⁴⁰ There were significant and multiple differences between profitable and research-oriented recordings – manifested in the different purposes of the recordings, the different approaches to fieldwork by those conducting them, the superior technology used by gramophone companies, and in the fact that commercial recordings, unlike research recordings, were long considered disposable goods of limited duration, deemed unworthy of institutional archival preservation (which is why, in our time, it is often impossible to obtain information about them). Nonetheless, it is also true that today the clear boundary between the results of commercial and phonographic research recordings is disappearing. Many research recordings later appeared on commercial audio releases; while, on the other hand, commercial recordings possess undeniable value as sources for ethnomusicological research – especially considering that since the end of the twentieth century, the scope of ethnomusicological study has expanded to encompass virtually all music worldwide, regardless of genre, period, location, or social and cultural context.

The contributions of foreign collectors to the phonographic documentation of Serbian material

Information on Serbian material collected during phonographic expeditions by foreign researchers (and, in rare cases, by Serbs living outside Serbia) remains rather fragmentary and incomplete. Until the Second World War, re-

⁴⁰ “In the early 1900s, the major record companies were feverishly building up separate repertoires for major nationalities and ethnic groups of the world in order to conquer new marketing areas. They manufactured sound carriers (cylinders or discs) as well as record-playing equipment (phonographs or gramophones). They had realised that without an impressive recorded repertoire of local music it was impossible to sell equipment in each area. Various recording systems were used, which meant that the cylinders or discs of one company were not necessarily playable on machines of another company”. See: Risto Pekka Pennanen, “Immortalised on Wax: Professional Folk Musicians and Their Gramophone Recordings Made in Sarajevo, 1907 and 1908”, in: Božidar Jezernik et al. (Eds), *Europe and Its Other: Notes on the Balkans*, Ljubljana, Filozofska fakulteta, 2007, 112.

search recordings of Serbian heritage were largely carried out under the auspices of foreign institutions. Apart from the portion that was published, the collected material was stored in specialized archives abroad and is often not readily accessible. In addition, there still exists unsorted material known to very few individuals today, typically archival staff and private collectors.⁴¹ Consequently, the review that follows⁴² can only outline the main contours of these activities, which are likely to be further enriched by new findings in the future.

- Walter's small collection from July 1908 (previously mentioned in connection with Bosnia and Herzegovina) is among the earliest contributions of foreign researchers to the non-commercial phonographic recording of Serbian heritage. It is preserved in the so-called Walter Collection of the Berlin Phonotheque, together with accompanying correspondence, where it is catalogued as Serbian ("Wolter Serben"), in accordance with Walter's own designation. It was sent from Saint Petersburg to Berlin because, at that time, the galvanization and duplication of cylinders⁴³ could only be carried out there.⁴⁴ More complete documentation on this material is kept in the archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Saint Petersburg.⁴⁵

The Berlin Wolter collection consists of four cylinders of lower quality and contains examples of Serbian epic songs performed for this researcher in July 1908 in Sarajevo and Ilidža by two *gusle* players, Rizvan Kadrović⁴⁶ and

⁴¹ Susanne Ziegler, "Historijski snimci bosanske muzike...", op. cit., 142, 150.

⁴² The presentation will mainly follow the chronology of the phonographic recordings, but there will be minor departures from this criterion when necessary.

⁴³ Due to their physical fragility, wax cylinders and 20 cm wax discs (a later medium) had to undergo galvanization and the creation of electrotypes (galvanoplastic) copies to ensure the durability of the sound recordings and the possibility of their duplication.

⁴⁴ Susanne Ziegler, "Historijski snimci bosanske muzike...", op. cit., 143.

⁴⁵ The original archival data for this item is as follows: Санкт-Петербургский филиал Архива РАН, Фонд 178, Вольтер Эдуард Александрович, опис 1, ед. хр. 45. See. *ibid.*, 144–145.

⁴⁶ In a letter addressed to the Berlin Phonotheque, Wolter wrote (translated): "Rizvan Kadrović in Sarajevo, a Muslim *gusle* player, sang Serbian melodies to me in the City Museum and played the *gusle*, recorded in July 1908". The epic song was recorded on two cylinders, while the third captured Kadrović's account of his military life. See: Susanne Ziegler, "Historijski snimci bosanske muzike...", op. cit., 144. According to Finnish ethnomusicologist Risto Pekka Pennanen, the Sarajevo Muslim Roma Kadrović (whom he likely mistakenly refers to as "Kardović") was originally from Trebinje. He earned a living both as a porter and as a singer with a great reputation. During that period, he was also

Pero Dragoje (from Mostar).⁴⁷ Walter himself classified all the recorded pieces as Serbian, even though one of the performers was of the Islamic faith.⁴⁸ It is not known how these individuals identified themselves in terms of ethnicity at the time, but, evidently due to the content mentioned, this collection is catalogued in Berlin as Serbian. However, the records from St. Petersburg differ slightly, as the recordings of Rizvan Kadrović are labeled “Bosnian,” while those of Pero Dragoje are labeled “Serbian”.⁴⁹ In any case, this small phonographic contribution from 1908 is highly significant, both

recorded by others, both commercially and for research purposes – Matija Murko in 1913, and earlier in 1907 by Georg Franz Hampe (1879–1947), a traveling sound engineer for the Deutsche Grammophon-Aktiengesellschaft. Hampe’s recordings, which were the first ever made of the *gusle* tradition, are of high quality and are preserved in England at the EMI Music Archive. The surviving recordings made by Murko are of much lower quality and are part of the Phonogram Archive of the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna (see below). Similar recording activities were carried out in Bosnia and Herzegovina by representatives of other record companies, although detailed reliable data on these efforts are lacking. See: Pekka Pennanen, op. cit., 113.

Moreover, Franz Hampe was engaged in this activity from 1902 to 1918, primarily in Europe. On several occasions, he also made recordings in other cities that would later become part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes – in Zagreb (1902, 1907, 1910, 1912), Belgrade (1907, 1910), Subotica (1910), Sombor (1911), and Pančevo (1912). Cf. https://www.recordingpioneers.com/RP_HAMPE1.html. His elder brother Theodor Heinrich Max Hampe (1877–1957) was also a recording engineer for the Deutsche Grammophon company, but among the future Yugoslav cities he visited only Sarajevo and Cetinje in 1908. It seems likely that, thanks to the Hampe brothers, other Serbian musical-folklore material was documented for commercial purposes in all these cities, in addition to the recordings already mentioned. The same applies to recordings made in these areas by the British Gramophone Company (and likely by others as well, which warrants further detailed investigation). However, this task is challenging, since, as previously noted, commercial recordings were long considered unworthy of institutional archiving, leaving many today difficult to access or even permanently lost. Cf. Pekka Pennanen, op. cit., 135–143.

⁴⁷ Wolter labeled the recorded piece as follows (translation): “Heroic song about Kraljević Marko, accompanied by the gusle, sung by Pero Dragoje in Ilidža, near Sarajevo, recorded by me in July 1908”. See: Susanne Ziegler, “Historijski snimci bosanske muzike...”, op. cit., 144.

⁴⁸ Preserved data indicate that there were two more cylinders in this collection, but for unknown reasons Wolter sent only four to Berlin. The remaining two, recorded in Ilidža, contain a song about Musa Kesedžija performed by Pero Dragoje and an unspecified piece performed by Spaniola Simona, i.e., Jewish Simon. See: *ibid.*, 145.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 144–145, 150.

chronologically and in terms of identity. The material was digitized in Berlin and officially transferred in 2010 to the Institute of Musicology (Institut za muzikologiju) at the Music Academy (Muzička akademija) in the Federal part of Sarajevo. Some of it had previously been published in Germany in 2007 on the valuable CD-ROM edition *Musik WeltKarte*⁵⁰ (*World Map of Music*).

- In 1912, Béla Viktor János Bartók (1881–1945) carried out some of the earliest ethnomusicological recordings of Serbian musical heritage from the Banat diaspora, working in his native region – in the Banat villages of Temesmonostor in the Temes district (in March) and Saravola in the Torontal district (in November). This area, which belonged to Austria-Hungary until 1918 and later became part of Romania, includes Bartók's birthplace, the small town of Nagyszentmiklós.⁵¹ The region is known for its striking ethnic diversity, shaped by Serbian, Hungarian, German, Romanian, Roma, and other communities. Equipped with a phonograph and wax cylinders from the Ethnographic Museum (Néprajzi Múzeum) in Budapest, Bartók recorded 21 examples of instrumental, vocal-instrumental, and vocal music – mostly dance tunes. His recordings featured two singers⁵² and two instrumentalists (violin and tambura)⁵³ from Temesmonostor, and one instrumentalist from

⁵⁰ Ulrich Wegnet, *Der Edison Phonograph und die musikalische Kartographie der Erde. The World Map of Music. The Edison Phonograph and the Musical Cartography of the Earth*, CD-ROM, Museum Collection Berlin Audiovisuell Vol. 1, Lars-Christian Koch (ed), Ethnologisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 2007. According to: Susanne Ziegler, "Historijski snimci bosanske muzike...", op. cit., 145, 151.

⁵¹ The town is called Veliki Semikluš in Serbian, Sânnicolau Mare in Romanian, and Großsanktnikolaus in German.

⁵² Their names were Ima Jović and Dimja Urmaz. However, according to some researchers, Bartók likely recorded their names incorrectly – they were probably Sima Jović and Dina Burmaz. See: Стеван Бугарски, "Сава Илин трагом Беле Бартока", in: Јовановић, Јелена; Катарина Томашевић; Пера Ластић (Eds), *Бела Барток и српска музика – Зборник радова са скупа "Својина од Бартокових фонозаписа српске народне музике"* (Будимпешта, децембар 2012), Будимпешта, Српски институт; Београд, Музиколошки институт САНУ; Будимпешта, Музиколошки институт Мађарске академије наука (MTA BTK Zenetudományi Intézet); Сентандреја, Удружење "Вујичић", 2016, 56.

⁵³ The violinist was Mihaj Skitović, of Romani origin. The young tamburitza player, who was 22-years-old at the time of the recording, was named Milan Marković.

Saravola (Banat bagpipes).⁵⁴ Eleven recordings came from Temesmonostor,⁵⁵ and ten from Saravola.⁵⁶

Bartók completed precise transcriptions of all the recorded melodies in 1935, once again demonstrating his extraordinary musical perception and his rich, unique talent as a melographer. He compiled the notated scores (to which he added seven Bulgarian melodies) into a manuscript titled *Musique paysanne serbe (No. 1–21) et bulgare (No. 22–28) du Banat*, and sent copies from Budapest to several recipients, including his Croatian colleague Vinko Žganec in Sombor, along with a letter containing the following message:

I have recently noted down some of my own Serbian and Bulgarian phonogr. recordings dated 1912, or rather I have revised my earlier, not altogether accurate, notations made from these recordings. I think the Serbian material will interest you, so I am sending you a copy of these notations. It's true that some of the Serbian pieces are well-known melodies, but nowhere have such accurate recordings and notations been published. In fact, I think this is the only Serbian material so far to have been taken down (with the greatest possible accuracy) from phonograph recordings; for, as far as I know, no phonograph has been used hitherto in your country for folk-song collecting; or at any rate, no material collected in this way has been published.⁵⁷

All of these transcriptions have been published in facsimile several times between 1970 and 2017.⁵⁸ Since 2004, the original sound recordings are also

⁵⁴ The name of the bagpipe player was not recorded by Bartók.

⁵⁵ Recordings from Temesmonostor: 1. *Malo kolo* (violin); 2. *Malo kolo* (tambura); 3. *Veliko kolo* (tambura); 4. *Veliko kolo* (violin); 5. *Srbkinja* (tambura) [a folklorized choral composition by Isidor Bajić (1878–1915)]; 6. *Seljančica* (tambura); 7. *Zaplet* (tambura); 8. *Oj, djevojko, rokoko* (tambura); 9. *Đurdevka* (tambura); 10. *Pevaj, petle, na dudu jalovcu* (tambura and singers); 11. *Idem kući, a već zora* (tambura and singer Ima Jović).

⁵⁶ Recordings from Saravola: 12. *Malo kolo* (bagpipes); 13. *Veliko kolo* (bagpipes); 14. *Banatsko kolo* (bagpipes); 15. *Seljančica* (bagpipes); 16. *Srpski mađarik* (bagpipes); 17. *Folk song* (bagpipes); 18. *Otvori mi vratnice* (bagpipes); 19. *Otvori mi vratnice* (bagpipes with singing); 20. *Odbi se biser grana od jorgovana* (singing) [wedding song]; 21. *Lepu Smilju dovedoše* (singing) [wedding song]. The vocal pieces and the vocal sections of the vocal-instrumental recordings were most likely performed by the bagpipe player himself.

⁵⁷ Béla Bartók, Albert B. Lord (Ed. Benjamin Suchoff), *Serbo-Croatian Folk Songs and Instrumental Pieces from the Milman Parry Collection*, Vol. 1, Yugoslav Folk Music, Vol. 1–IV, New York, State University of New York Press, 1978, 451.

⁵⁸ The first publication took place in Budapest in 1970, in the series *Dokumenta Bartókiana* collection. Cf. *Dokumenta Bartókiana* 4, Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1970, 221–240. https://adt.arcanum.com/hu/view/MTA_DocumentaBartokiana_04/?pg=5&layout

available to the public in a digitized and restored form, thanks to a commercial CD-ROM issued by the “Vujičić” Association in Hungary (which since 1974 has been dedicated to preserving Serbian and Croatian musical traditions from the diaspora in that country).⁵⁹ The edition is accompanied by a short text about the collection, photo illustrations, and Bartók’s autograph transcriptions from 1935.⁶⁰ These forms of appreciation of Bartók’s 1912 research were complemented by a small international scholarly conference held in Budapest in 2012 to mark the centenary, followed by a collection of the presented papers published a few years later.⁶¹

In the Yugoslav region, Bartók’s overall contribution to the study of Serbian musical tradition was hardly written about before the end of the twentieth century,⁶² when the need to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of

t=s. The second was in New York in 1978 as “Appendix Two” at the end of the first book of the revised and greatly expanded edition of Bartók and Lord’s (Albert Bates Lord, 1912–1991) famous work on “Serbo-Croatian” folk songs (see below). Cf. Béla Bartók, Albert B. Lord, op. cit., 451–471. The third was on the CD-ROM issued by the “Vujičić” Association (Vujicsics Együttes). Cf. *Bartók Béla szerb népzenei gyűjtése – Fonogramok a Bánáttól 1912 (Serb Folk Music Collected by Béla Bartók – Early Wax Cylinder Recordings from the Bánát region 1912)*, 2004, Vujicsics Association, Eredics Gábor →-e-DISC 101, Извор, CD-ROM. The fourth was in Budapest in 2017, as a separate, representative co-edition by the “Vujičić” Association and the Serbian Institute (Srpski institut), supplemented by a study by the director of the Bartók Archive, László Vikárius, on the history of the recordings and the place of those Bartók’s transcriptions within his ethnomusical work. Cf. <https://srpskiinstitut.hu/>.

⁵⁹ For more information about this ensemble, see: https://hu.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vujicsics_egy%C3%BCttes

⁶⁰ See note 59.

⁶¹ Cf. Јелена Јовановић, Катарина Томашевић, Пера Ластих (Eds), *Бела Барток и српска музика – Зборник радова са скупа “Сто година од Бартокових фонозаписа српске народне музике” (Будимпешта, децембар 2012)*, Будимпешта, Српски институт; Београд, Музиколошки институт САНУ; Будимпешта, Музиколошки институт Мађарске академије наука (MTA BTK Zenetudományi Intézete); Сентандреја, Удружење “Вујичић”, 2016.

⁶² The reason for this decades-long neglect lies in the highly negative reception of Bartók’s work on “Serbo-Croatian” folk songs in Serbia by several Yugoslav intellectuals, which carried political connotations and escalated into an extremely unpleasant and unfounded polemic, published in the respected *Књижевне новине* in 1954 and 1955. The delicate postwar period in which this occurred was marked by harsh persecution of opponents of the newly established communist regime. Ignoring warnings about someone’s alleged political ill intent (even if unfounded), or especially defending such a person, usually meant bearing the same stigma. Consequently, the professional community of the

his death in 1995 prompted a change. In the small body of work produced from then until today,⁶³ Bartók's recordings from the Banat have not been the subject of particularly thorough consideration. From these studies it is evident that for a long time in Serbia the same assumption prevailed that Bartók himself had made – that his phonograms represented the first sound testimonies of Serbian musical heritage in general. Work by Walter, as well as an even earlier contribution (see below), demonstrates the unfoundedness of such beliefs. Nevertheless, it remains true that this small collection constitutes one of the oldest and most valuable sound documents of Serbian culture, a significance further emphasized by the fact that the material comes from the Serbian diaspora. Its value was not diminished even by the critical assessment of the well-known melographer Savo Ilin⁶⁴ (1935–1989), from Varjaš near Timișoara, who, intending to verify the validity of Bartók's findings, conducted repeated research in the same area from 1952 to 1960 and, as reported by Stevan Bulgarski, concluded that:

time quietly chose to ignore Bartók's work, a situation that persisted until the democratic changes and the breakup of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the 1990s. See: Сања Радиновић, "Станислав Винавер, Јожеф Дебрецени, Јосип Славенски и Бела Барток у етномузиколошком дискурсу (или: О могућим последицама једне старе политичке полемике)", in: Мирјана Живковић (Ed.), *Јосип Славенски и његово доба – Зборник са научној скупи њоводом 50 година од композицијорове смрти (Београд, 8–11. новембар 2005 године)*, Београд, СОКОЈ-МИЦ, 2006, 239–255.

⁶³ Cf. Драгослав Девић, "Бела Барток и југословенска народна музика", *Нови Звук*, 6, 1995, 17–36; Нице Фрациле, "Записи Беле Бартока са банатских простора", *Зборник Мајнице српске за сценске уметности и музику*, 16–17, 1995, 53–76; Nice Fracile, "In the Wake of Bartók's Recordings. The Changes and Evolutionary Tendencies in the Serbian and Romanian Folklores in Vojvodina, Yugoslavia", in: Marin Marian Blaşa (Ed.), *East European Meetings in Ethnomusicology, Vol. 2*, Bucharest, Marin Marian Blaşa, 1995, 15–23; idem, "Bartók Béla: Szerb népzenei gyűjtése Fonogramok a Bánátból 1912. Szerb zenei hagyományok I (Collection of Phonographic Recordings of Serbian Folk Music from Banat, 1912. Legacy of Serbian Folk Music I)", *New Sound*, 37/1, 2011, 107–109. (review); idem, "The Manners of Performance in Historical Recordings of the Serbian and Romanian Traditional Music", in: *Proceedings of the Regional Conference Research, Preservation and Presentation of Banat Heritage: Current State and Long Term Strategy* (Vršac, Serbia, 17–19 November 2011), Vršac, City Museum of Vršac, 2012, 157–164; idem, "The Phonographic Recordings of Traditional Music Performed by Serbian Prisoners of War (1915–1918)", *New Sound*, 51, 2018, 17–42; Сања Радиновић, "Станислав Винавер, Јожеф Дебрецени...", op. cit.; Јовановић et al, op. cit.

⁶⁴ In ethnomusicological circles, he is better known by the later form of his surname – Илић. Cf. Стеван Бугарски, op. cit., 49.

the recordings in Monostor are not authentic local folklore as performed by the villagers, but rather notations based on performances by a tamburitza band composed of people from various places, which toured the area on Sundays, holidays, church feast days, weddings, and so on, with repertoires for different occasions and tastes, moving musical motifs from place to place, mixing and embellishing them, without strictly observing authenticity.⁶⁵

- During the First World War (1914–1918), the renowned musicologist Georg Otto Alexander Schünemann (1884–1945) made recordings in the German prisoner-of-war camps Königsbrück (near Dresden) and Parchim (near Hamburg).⁶⁶ On 63 wax cylinders, he documented 85 examples of Serbian folk music (51 vocal or vocal-instrumental and 34 instrumental) performed by 18 Serbian prisoners (not before 1916, as they only began arriving at these camps at that time).⁶⁷ This previously unknown material, preserved in the Ethnological Museum (Ethnologisches Museum) in Berlin and now available in digitized form, was first reported to the Serbian scholarly community by Nice Fracile, who subjected it to a limited morphological analysis and comparative discussion.⁶⁸ His work was complicated by the relatively poor sound quality of the recordings, the incompleteness of the metadata in the accompanying card catalog, the varied places of origin of the performers (Podrinje, Veliko Gradište, the surroundings of Požarevac, Grocka, Niš...), and consequently the pronounced heterogeneity of the recorded material. The vocal corpus of this collection includes traditional village songs, urban songs (old town songs, a serenade, a wedding song, a *šalajka*...), patriotic songs, battle

⁶⁵ Ibid., 53–54.

⁶⁶ Of more than 8 million prisoners during the Great War, approximately 220,000 were Serbian, the majority in Austria-Hungary (over 154,000) and in Bulgaria (around 40,000). The last in this unfortunate tally was Germany, with about 28,000 Serbian prisoners across 47 camps. Cf. Далибор Денда, “Српски ратни заробљеници у Великом рату”, in: Срђан Рудић; Миљан Милкић (Ed.), *Први светски рат, Србија, Балкан и велике силе – Зборник радова*, Београд, Историјски институт; Институт за стратегијска истраживања, 2015, 269–289.

⁶⁷ Official data on Serbs who perished in the camps at Königsbrück and Parchim can be found on the following web pages of the Ministry of Culture (Ministarstvo kulture) of the Republic of Serbia: <https://velikirat.rs/spomenici-page/spomen-obelezja-u-inostranstvu/nemacka-spomenici/logorsko-groblje-kenigsbrik/>; <https://velikirat.rs/spomenici-page/spomen-obelezja-u-inostranstvu/nemacka-spomenici/logorsko-groblje-parhim/>

⁶⁸ Cf. Nice Fracile, “The Phonographic Recordings...”, op. cit.

songs, and even the anthem *Bože pravde*. Instrumental interpretations feature *frula* (a type of flute), *dvojnica* (a type of double flute), bagpipes, *gusle*, and violin, on which folk songs and dances, signaling, shepherd, and improvised melodies were performed, as well as accompaniment for epic songs.⁶⁹ Among the performers were four individuals of non-Serbian origin with Serbian first and last names – a Romani and three Romanian violinists.⁷⁰ All participants identified themselves as Orthodox Christians.

Despite the circumstances mentioned, which make a full understanding of this mosaic collection difficult, its scientific and historical significance is exceptional. As Fracile rightly concludes:

In all likelihood, this is the largest collection of non-commercial recordings of traditional Serbian music from the early 20th century, established for scholarly purposes and unique for the fact that the recordings were made in a prison camp, during World War One, and not in times/conditions of peace. Its peculiarity also arises from the fact that some of the Serbian prisoners did not perform on their own instruments but on those which were available in the camp and had been brought from Serbia. (...) The corpus in question is an invaluable historical document, testifying to the national and cultural identity of the Serbs.⁷¹

- It has already been noted that several significant phonographic projects were carried out in Croatia and among Croats in the diaspora from 1901 to 1936, primarily thanks to research conducted by the Austro-Hungarian Balkan Commission of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, in collaboration with the Vienna Phonogram Archive (see above). A large portion of the recordings were published in 2009 on the five-disc set *Croatian Recordings 1901–1936* – publication no. 11 of the aforementioned institution in the series *Complete Historical Collections 1899–1950* (*Gesamtausgabe der Historischen Bestände 1899–1950*).⁷² Within this very diverse material, there are examples that are

⁶⁹ The recorded material also includes several pieces of art music. See: *ibid.*, 34.

⁷⁰ Considering the regions from which the “three Romanians” originated (Požarevac and Podrinje) and the music they performed, they may in fact have been Vlachs and/or Romanian Roma. See: *ibid.*, 24, 37.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 38–39.

⁷² Cf. *Croatian Recordings 1901–1936*, Tondokumente aus dem Phonogrammarchiv der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften – Gesamtausgabe der Historischen Bestände 1899–1950, Series 11/1, Wien, Phonogrammarchiv der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009, OEAW PHA CD 27.

undoubtedly of Serbian origin, although this fact was generally omitted by the editors, except in a few extremely transparent cases.⁷³ Serbian material is found primarily within three “South Slavic” folk music collections by Josip Široki Baček, created in 1913, 1914, and 1917 at the Phonogram Archive itself, based on Široki’s own singing – meaning that he was simultaneously both performer and recorder of his repertoire. He seems to have learned part of the Serbian material from Serbs in Vojvodina, which is not unusual, as he had spent some time there for his education. This group also includes several pieces of instrumental and vocal heritage that Milan Rešetar recorded in 1907 among the descendants of old Serbian colonists in the Molise region of southern Italy. Unfortunately, the recordings are of very poor quality, making it difficult to discern the content precisely. The aforementioned population, most likely settled from Dalmatia in the area between the Neretva and Biokovo, left their homeland at a time that has not yet been precisely determined, but certainly sometime between the late thirteenth and sixteenth centuries. Over time they adopted the Catholic faith, which led Croatian and German researchers – unjustifiably – to classify them as Croats (as could have been expected), even though they were unquestionably Serbs who, by the late nineteenth century, were fully aware of their true ethnic identity.⁷⁴ Thus, the recordings made by Rešetar are the earliest known to date and, as such, establish 1907 as the chronological boundary for the emergence of Serbian phonographic material. Finally, the *Croatian Recordings* collection also includes around a dozen examples of *gusle* epic songs recorded in Sarajevo and Široki Brijeg in 1913 through the efforts of Matija Murko. The accompanying recording protocols do not always include information about the performers, so it remains uncertain how all of them identified themselves ethnically. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt as to how this material should be attributed, since the texts mention, for example, *trides’t kaurina* (“thirty infidels”) and

⁷³ A comprehensive critical review of that edition, with particular emphasis on such omissions, can be seen in: Сања Радиновић, Милан Миловановић, op. cit.

⁷⁴ In 1885, this colony was visited by Risto Kovačić (1845–1909), professor of Slavic studies at the Faculty of Philosophy in Rome and a corresponding member of the Serbian Learned Society (Srpsko učeno društvo) since 1883. He gave a detailed account of his findings in issue no. 62 of the *Гласник Српској ученој друштва*. Cf. Ристо Ковачић, “Српске насеобине у јужној Италији. Први извештај члана проф. Риста Ковачића”, *Гласник Српскоја ученој друштва*, 62, 1885, 273–340; Novak R. Miljanić, “Kovačić, Risto”, in: *Leksikon pisaca Jugoslavije*, III K–LJ, Novi Sad, Matica srpska, 1987, 357; <https://www.sanu.ac.rs/clan/kovacic-risto/>

the famous Serbian hero Kraljević Marko; moreover, it is well known that, in these and other regions, any possible Croatian or Bosniak identity of Murko's informants mostly arose from an earlier conversion from Orthodox Christianity to the Catholic or Islamic faith.

• Matija Murko's recordings, conducted under the auspices of the Vienna Phonogram Archive, were carried out on several occasions and represented a substantial continuation of the passionate interest in the nineteenth century in Slavic epic heritage of the Balkans, both domestic and foreign. This interest had been initiated by the work of Vuk Stefanović Karadžić (1787–1864) and received a new significant impetus in the era of phonographic recordings.⁷⁵ The project encompassed the traditions of Serbs, Croats, and Bosniaks and was carried out in the following regions:

- 1912: northwestern Bosnia
- 1913: central Bosnia including Sarajevo; parts of Herzegovina⁷⁶
- 1930: part of northwestern Serbia; eastern Bosnia; Montenegro; Metohija; Old Serbia; eastern part of the Novi Pazar Sandžak
- 1931: central and southwestern Serbia; Resava; remaining parts of south-eastern Bosnia up to Sarajevo; the hilly regions of Dalmatia
- 1932: Dubrovnik and surroundings; the islands; Bay of Kotor; Montenegrin Littoral⁷⁷

⁷⁵ The *guslar* tradition was especially prominent on commercial phonographic recordings issued between 1908 and 1931/32. During the interwar period, it enjoyed widespread popularity throughout the Yugoslav Kingdom and was actively promoted through the so-called *guslarske utakmice* (*guslar* competitions), held in 1924, 1927, 1929, and 1933, which received the personal support of King Alexander I Karađorđević. See: Данка Лајић-Михајловић, “Такмичења као облик јавне гусларске праксе”, *Музиколоџија*, 11, 2011, 183–202; idem, “Такмичења гуслара: поглед из перспективе етномузиколога”, in: Жељко Чуровић (Ed.), *Хоће ли Срби сачувати њихове гусле као што су њих сачувале њих – Зборник радова*. Обреновац, Друштво гуслара “Никола Тесла”, 2012, 55–67; Данка Р. Лајић-Михајловић, Смиљана Ж. Ђорђевић-Белић, “Певање уз гусле и музичка индустрија: гусларска извођења на првим грамофонским плочама (1908–1931/2)”, *Музиколоџија*, 20/I, 2016, 199–222.

⁷⁶ In Herzegovina, he visited Mostar, Široki Brijeg, and Nevesinje. See: Jasmina Talam, *Narodni muzički instrumenti u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarjevo, Muzička akademija; Institut za muzikologiju, 2014, 22. The previously-discussed CD publication *Croatian Recordings 1901–1936* contains a selection of material recorded in that same year.

⁷⁷ Murko's fieldwork took place in other years as well, but during those years he did not have access to a phonograph. For instance, this was the case in 1924, when he was col-

In his lifelong work, Murko mostly recorded epic songs, with a smaller number of other types. His first recordings (1912 and 1913) were made on wax discs under the patronage of the Vienna Academy, while the later ones (1930–1932) were made under the patronage of the Slavic Institute (Slovanský ústav) from Prague on wax cylinders (an older but higher-quality technology). According to available data, he recorded a total of 82 discs (46 + 36) and 349 cylinders (208 + 96 + 45), but many have since been lost, mostly during the Second World War. What has survived is of poor quality and is kept in two locations. The “Viennese” collection, technically poorly executed,⁷⁸ is preserved at the Vienna Phonogram Archive. The originals no longer exist, but most of their galvanoplastic copies have been preserved (13 were lost). Unfortunately, only 138 cylinders from the higher-quality “Prague” recordings remain. For the purpose of study and creating galvanoplastic copies, Gezemann sent that collection to Berlin. There, it was reportedly heavily damaged in 1945 during the street fighting at the end of the Second World War, and further deterioration occurred afterward (due to fires, improper storage, and natural oxidation). The remaining material is now kept in Zagreb (Croatia). At the request of the Yugoslav government, the cylinders were sent from Prague in 1965 and became part of the Archives of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts (Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, JAZU; in 1991 renamed the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, i.e., Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, HAZU).⁷⁹ In the entirety of the preserved Murko legacy there must certainly be a significant amount of Serbian material, although precise details about it are, for now, harder to access.

- From 1928 to 1937, a series of phonographic documentation projects on the musical heritage of the Yugoslav Kingdom was carried out, initiated and

lecting songs in the western part of the Novi Pazar Sandžak. See: Vladimir Murko, op. cit., 113–114.

⁷⁸ Murko conducted the recordings from 1912 and 1913 with a “small imperfect device on wax discs of poor quality, so the entire effort was in vain”. See: Радосав Меденица, *Наша народна ејика...*, 373.

⁷⁹ Vladimir Murko, op. cit., 112–118; Maja Bošković-Stulli, “Tragom ostavštine Matije Murka”, *Narodna umjetnost*, 4/1, 1966, 285–287; Danka Lajić-Mihajlović, “Doprinos Matije Murka etnomuzikološkom proučavanju epike”, in: Petr Kaleta, Lubomir Tyllner (Eds), *Slovanský svět očima badatelů a publicistů 19. a 20. století – Sborník z mezinárodní vědecké konference k 50. výročí umrtí Ludvíka Kuby (Opole 16.–17. listopadu 2006)*, Praha, Etnologický ústav AV ČR, v. v. i., 2007, 81–82; Данка Лајић-Михајловић, *Српско традиционално певање уз гусле (гусларска пракса као комуникациони процес)*, Београд, Музиколошки институт САНУ, 2014, 16.

led by Gerhard Gezemann. The first such project took place in early 1928, when Gezemann and Serbian historian Andrija Luburić (1891–1944) were in Berlin with the famous Montenegrin *gusle* player Tanasije Vučić to record his repertoire. This visit was part of a major international tour that Vučić undertook in late 1927 and early 1928,⁸⁰ organized by Gezemann after he was impressed by Vučić's performances at the 'London' tavern in Belgrade. The tour itinerary included Zagreb – Prague – Berlin – Frankfurt am Main – Prague. It featured his performances for both general and academic publics, and in Prague it also included lectures and presentations by Gerhard Gezemann, Matija Murko, and Ludvík Kuba. In Berlin, twenty so-called shellac records of good quality were recorded in the Department of Phonetics of the Prussian State Library, at the beginning of 1928.⁸¹ This material, labeled as Serbian from Montenegro, is now part of the Sound Archive (Lautarchiv) at Humboldt University in Berlin (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin), with brief information about it (though not the music itself) available on the official website.⁸² Based on this information, as well as data published by Gezemann in 1928, it can be seen that Vučić, accompanied by the *gusle*, recorded 11 epic songs and one *Prijev* ("Appendix") on 18 records, while the remaining two include examples of folk speech and several lyrical songs – four wedding songs, one litany for the cross procession, and one Christmas song.⁸³ Unfortunately, the Berlin documentation shows that five records have been lost.⁸⁴

⁸⁰ Sometimes the literature incorrectly states that the tour took place at the end of 1928 and the beginning of 1929. It is beyond doubt that this is erroneous when the archival records from Berlin (see below) and the publication dates of other relevant sources reporting on this endeavor are taken into account. Cf. Миро Вуксановић, "Јакобсон, Геземан и Грета Сикора о Танасију Вућићу", *Зборник Мајнице српске за књижевности и језик*, 49/3, 2001, 367–375.

⁸¹ Рад.[осав] Меденица, "Фонографско снимање наших народних песама у Сарајеву", *Прилози истраживању народне поезије*, IV/2, 1937, 273; idem, *Наша народна епика...*, 367–369.

⁸² The records are numbered 1005–1024. See: <https://www.sammlungen.hu-berlin.de/objekte/lautarchiv/?page=2>

⁸³ The titles of the epic songs are: *Ženidba Banović Mijajla*; *Nevjerna sestra*; *Junaštvo Rada Čevljanina*; *Vila Zavađa Jakšića*; *Pogibija Vuka Lopušine*; *Toplica Milan i careva šćer*; *Marko sveti sokola*; *Ženidba Komnen-barjaktara*; *Žena izbavlja muža*; *Majčina kletva*; *Ženidba Đurova Lazara*; *Prijev*. Only the first and third epic songs were recorded in their entirety, and even then in segments (records no. 1005–1010 and 1011–1016). The titles of the lyrical songs are not known. See: Миро Вуксановић, op. cit., 370; <https://www.sammlungen.hu-berlin.de/objekte/lautarchiv/?page=2>

⁸⁴ No. 1017–1021.

Interestingly, in 2012 an example of one of them (no. 1018) appeared on a YouTube channel, illustrated with a photograph of its label.⁸⁵ The anonymous person who uploaded it (likely a private collector, under the name “Gamelan 78s”) wrote in the comments that he/she owns 11 more such records(!) by the same performer – a detail that is particularly alarming when considering the aforementioned disappearance of the originals from this Berlin collection and their current fate.

- From May 21-31, 1931, the Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade (Etnografski muzej u Beogradu) took part in a series of recordings organized for the purpose of researching epic poetry in Southern Serbia – that is, in the then Vardar Banovina of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. It was an international expedition, approved by the Ministry of Education, proposed to the Museum by the German Society for Slavic Studies from Prague, with the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje (Филозофски факултет – Скопје) also participating. The recordings were carried out by representatives of the German partner institution: two professors from the German Charles University in Prague (Deutsche Karlsuniversität in Prag), Gerhard Gesemann and the musicologist Gustav Wilhelm Becking (1894–1945),⁸⁶ accompanied by his assistant Grete Sykora (1906–1988).⁸⁷ The Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade was represented by its director Borivoje M. Drobnjaković and curator Mitar S. Vlahović

⁸⁵ Cf. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A76GTuPOrUw>; <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZDmSs3E9uPg>; https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZDmSs3E9uPg&list=RDZDmSs3E9uPg&start_radio=1

⁸⁶ In addition to his work in musicology, Becking was also deeply interested in folkloristic subjects, particularly in the rudimentary forms of musical expression characteristic of the *gusle* epic tradition and other related traditions preserved in the Balkans. For this reason, he undertook field research in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Greece together with his team of collaborators. In the field of Serbian ethnomusicology, he is best remembered for his renowned 1933 study, in which – based on excerpts from one of the previously-mentioned performances by Tanasije Vučić, recorded in Berlin (from record no. 1013) – he conducted a meticulous analysis of the musical and melopoetic structure of epic songs from Montenegro. Becking's paper was the first of its kind on this subject and included his transcription of the example in question, where he applied an original system of notation devised specifically for that purpose. Cf. G.[ustav] Becking, “Der musikalische Bau des Montenegrinischen Volksepos”, *Archives Néerlandaises de Phonétique Expérimentale*, VIII-IX, 1933, 144–153.

⁸⁷ She also left a testimony about the *guslar* Tanasije Vučić through an unusual, literary-toned obituary on the occasion of his death in 1937. According to: Миро Вуксановић, *op. cit.*, 373–375.

(1897–1982),⁸⁸ while the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje was represented by the ethnologist Milenko S. Filipović (1902–1969) (Геземан 1932: 194). This research project was a unique joint endeavor of two domestic institutions and one foreign institution, a collaboration reflected not only in the composition of the participating experts but also in the equipment used. The phonograph belonged to the Ethnographic Museum, while the wax cylinders were financed through a subsidy from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Prague. It was agreed that the original recordings would remain in Belgrade, with copies to be kept in Skopje and Prague.⁸⁹

The expedition followed the route Skopje – Veles – Prilep – Bitola – Ohrid – Struga – Debar – Gostivar – Tetovo – Skopje, and resulted in material recorded on 36 wax cylinders.⁹⁰ The research focused on the distinctive epic tradition of the central Balkan region, which, on a poetic level, is related to the Dinaric tradition but differs considerably in its musical realization and certain other aspects.⁹¹ From the perspective of official scientific and political positions, it does not, in fact, belong to the Serbian but rather to the Macedonian musical heritage of the former “Southern Serbia” and, according to that logic, it does not fall within the scope of these considerations. Of course, this touches on the long-standing and controversial question of the ethno-

⁸⁸ Vlahović brought back several dozen items for the museum’s collection from these trips, including musical instruments. His well-known article on blind *guslars* from South Serbia is largely based on the data gathered on this occasion. See: Митар С. Влаховић, “О слепим гусларима у Јужној Србији”, *Гласник Етнографској музеја у Београду*, 6, 1931, 100–106; Боровоје Дробњаковић, “Етнографски музеј у Београду у 1931. години”, *Гласник Етнографској музеја у Београду*, 6, 1931, 148.

⁸⁹ Герхард Геземан, “Нова истраживања о народном епу у Вардарској бановини”, *Гласник Скойској научној друштва*, XI, Одељење друштвених наука, 5, 1932, 194.

⁹⁰ Боровоје Дробњаковић, *op. cit.*, 147.

⁹¹ For Gesemann himself, as a Slavist, these musical aspects were not important. Moreover, given his broad interest in the history of European and world epic traditions, he approached the “local” characteristics of the Balkan epic as part of a larger framework: “First: the Serbo-Croatian epic question must be freed from the shackles of national isolation. It is not only a question of the history of the Serbo-Croatian epic but of the history of European and non-European epic in general. Within a purely national framework, we will never find a way forward. The first step toward this goal is the recognition that the entire South Slavic epic constitutes an indivisible whole. ‘South Slavic’ means, in national terms, Serbo-Croatian and Bulgarian; and in geographical terms, Dinaric and central Balkan epic”. See: Герхард Геземан, “Нова истраживања о народном епу...”, *op. cit.*, 192.

genesis of the Macedonian population, which continues to provoke debate today; however, we shall leave this issue aside and return to the results achieved during that phonographic research (in the second part of this paper).⁹² It may be added here that Gesemann's report on the expedition was published the following year, in 1932, in the *Гласник Скопскої научної друштва*,⁹³ and that, even before the Second World War, the poor technical quality of the recorded material had been noted due to the use of an inferior sound medium.⁹⁴

- The third, final, and by far the most significant in the series of phonographic expeditions initiated by Gesemann took place in Sarajevo and its surroundings in 1937, from September 15 to October 15. The multidisciplinary research team (previously mentioned in connection with activities in Bosnia and Herzegovina) carried out extensive phonographic recordings aimed at documenting and studying folk music and language. The expedition was titled "Journey through Bosnia 1937" ("Bosnienfahrt 1937") and its sponsor was the German Academy in Munich, established to study the culture of peoples in Eastern and Southeastern Europe – specifically, its separate South-eastern Committee (Südost-Ausschuss der Deutschen Akademie München), for which this was the first task of this kind.⁹⁵ In addition to Gesemann, the team of distinguished scholars included: Kurt Huber (1893–1943), a professor at the University of Munich, musicologist, philosopher, and psychologist; his assistant Walter Wünsch (1908–1991), a specialist in the Slavic epic; the phonetician Friedrich Karl Roedemeyer (1895–1948) from Frankfurt; Wilhelm Stauder (1903–1981), a musicologist from Frankfurt responsible for technical matters; and on the Yugoslav side, two experts from Belgrade who

⁹² When examining the collection of interwar wax cylinders from the Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade.

⁹³ Герхард Геземан, "Нова истраживања о народном епу...", *op. cit.*

⁹⁴ Рад.[осав] Меденица, "Фонографско снимање...", 273; *idem*, *Наша народна ејука...*, *op. cit.*, 372.

⁹⁵ The Southeastern Committee focused on the study and promotion of the culture of the German minority in Eastern and Southeastern Europe, and the "Bosnienfahrt 1937" project was the first to be devoted to the local population. This ambitious undertaking also involved the State Institute for German Music Research in Berlin, as well as the Department of Linguistics and the Musicological Institute of the University of Frankfurt am Main.

joined privately, Radosav Medenica and Alois Schmaus (1901–1970), a German Slavacist and Balkanologist.⁹⁶

Although this information cannot be found in ethnomusicological literature from the former Yugoslav region, some foreign sources explicitly state that the purpose of the expedition was “to study and record all the distinctive varieties of Serbian [emphasis S. R.] musical folk-lore,” as well as the language of the local population.⁹⁷ Sarajevo was chosen as the center of the research due to its pronounced interweaving of different cultures and confessions. A total of 137 musical recordings and 35 spoken recordings were made, in the highest possible quality for the time. For the first time, a plastic medium – decelith discs⁹⁸ – was used, and the recording equipment, quite complex and specially developed for this occasion, was designed by Stauder. A highly heterogeneous body of material was recorded, consisting primarily of *sevdalinkas* (urban love songs of the Muslim tradition), documented in their most distinctive contexts and interpretations. These songs were performed not only by Muslims, but also by Catholics and Orthodox Christians.⁹⁹ In addition to the urban heritage, rural material from the surroundings of Sarajevo was also collected. Great attention was devoted to *guslars* (epic singers accompanying themselves on the *gusle*), of whom there were about ten.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ Рад.[осав] Меденица, “Фонографско снимање..., 273; idem, *Наша народна ејика...*, 374; Vlado S. Milošević, “Rad ekipe prof. dra Gerharda Gezemana na fonografisanju narodnih pjesama u Sarajevu 1937.”, *Radovi Akademije nauka i umjetnosti BiH*, XLVII, Odjeljenje za književnost i umjetnost, 1, 1973, 185.

⁹⁷ Walter H. Rubsamen, “Kurt Huber of Munich”, *The Musical Quarterly*, 30/2, 1944, 230.

⁹⁸ This type of disc was subsequently put into use by German radio and television. See: Susanne Ziegler, “Historijski snimci bosanske muzike...”, op. cit., 147.

⁹⁹ An interesting detail is that the most prominent interpreter of *sevdalinkas* was Nikola Stojković, a former singer for *begs* (*beg* was a noble or administrative title in the Ottoman Empire), “who sang and experienced *sevdalinka* within the circles that were largely its main bearers, and who possessed an extraordinary understanding of the true sensual mystique of the *sevdalinka*”. See: Радосав Меденица, *Наша народна ејика...*, op. cit., 374.

¹⁰⁰ Particularly notable were Vukan Štuka (according to some sources: Štaka), an accomplished *guslar*, multi-instrumentalist, singer, and storyteller, as well as a pair of blind *guslars*, Nikola Korica from Lika in Croatia, and Rom Jovan Antić from Serbia, recognized for their unusual joint performances on double *gusle*. These performances inspired the publication of two studies in the same year in *Прилози истраживању народне поезије*. Cf. Рад.[осав] Меденица, “Два путујућа слепца-гуслара”, *Прилози истраживању народне поезије*, IV/2, 1937, 287–300; Валтер Винш, “Гуслање и рецитација слепаца Николе Корице и Јована Антића”, *ibid.*, 300–302.

The recordings also include examples of secondal polyphony singing,¹⁰¹ as well as, for the first time, single examples of *eganje* (vocalization intended to incite bullfighting) and singing accompanied by a *tepsija* (a metal tray used as an idiophone instrument). Various forms of religious music-making were also documented, along with performances on the *dvojnica* (a type of double flute), *ćurlika* (a type of flute), *tambura*, *saz* (a type of large *tambura* used to accompany the singing of *sevdalinkas*), and violin, as well as vocal-instrumental renditions (singing accompanied by *gusle*, *saz*, or violin). The material is divided into five categories: 1. songs from small towns; 2. rural songs; 3. *guslar* epics; 4. instrumental music; and 5. religious songs, recitations, and other forms. This collection is considered the most significant body of phonographic material from Bosnia and Herzegovina preserved in Germany.¹⁰² Based on the personal names and recorded musical practices listed in Felix Hoerburger's (1916–1997) *Katalog der europäischen Volksmusik* from the Sound Archive of the Institute for Music Research in Regensburg (Schallarchiv des Institutes für Musikforschung Regensburg),¹⁰³ there is no doubt that this collection also contains Serbian material.

There was considerable discussion in scholarly publications about the representative undertaking “Bosnienfahrt 1937”, particularly before the Second World War, when the recordings were kept in Berlin at the State Institute for Research on German Music (Staatliche Institut für Deutsche Musikforschung). Three copies were made, two of which were destroyed during the war, while the third somehow ended up in Regensburg. For a long time it was believed that even this copy had been lost, but at the beginning of the twenty-first century it was eventually rediscovered and digitized,¹⁰⁴ and in the au-

¹⁰¹ Foreign researchers were particularly fascinated by this old rural secondal polyphony, which they regarded as typical of the Western Balkans, especially in performances featuring alternating groups of singers. According to: Susanne Ziegler, “Historijski snimci bosanske muzike...”, op. cit., 148.

¹⁰² Герхард Геземан, “Пролегомена поводом грамофонског снимања босанске народне песме”, *Прилози проучавању народне поезије*, IV/2, 1937, 222–239; Рад. [осав] Меденица, “Фонографско снимање...; idem, *Наша народна ејика...*; Kurt Huber, Walther Wünsch, “Bosnienfahrt”, *Deutsche Musikkultur*, III/1, 1938/39, 19–26; Vlado S. Milošević, op. cit.; Susanne Ziegler, *ibid.*, 146–149.

¹⁰³ Cf. Felix Hoerburger, “Jugoslavien”, in: “Katalog der europäischen Volksmusik” *im Schallarchiv des Institutes für Musikforschung Regensburg*, Regensburg, Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1953, 33–46. Hoerburger's *Katalog* is partially available at the following web address: <http://www.sevdalinke.com/2012/08/spisak-sevdalinki-snimljenih-1937-god-u.html>.

¹⁰⁴ Susanne Ziegler, “Historijski snimci bosanske muzike...”, op. cit., 150.

tumn of 2017 it was delivered in this form to the Music Academy of the University of (Federal) Sarajevo.¹⁰⁵ Much earlier, in 1969, Vlado S. Milošević (1901–1990) managed to re-record almost the entire collection in Germany using a tape recorder. Shortly thereafter, he published a study on the material, which included transcriptions of twelve illustrative examples as well as a complete translation of Stauders' 1937 report.¹⁰⁶

- In the same pre-war period, from 1935 to 1939, another German – economist, journalist, and agricultural expert Gustav Adolf Küppers-Sonnenberg (1894–1978) – traveled through the countries of Southeastern Europe to make phonographic recordings of folk music on wax cylinders, under the auspices of the Berlin Phonogram Archive. He visited Yugoslavia in 1935, 1938, and 1939. Given the fact that he was a supporter of Hitler's ideas – later becoming an advisor for the Balkans in the military-economic staff of the Wehrmacht High Command during the Second World War – it is unsurprising that Küppers-Sonnenberg primarily sought to document the music of the Volksdeutsche in Southeastern Europe. Nevertheless, of the total 188 recorded cylinders, he also documented many musical examples from other peoples: Czechs, Slovaks, Hungarians, Croats, Macedonians, Slovenes, Serbs, Albanians, Romanians, Vlachs, Jews. In 2011, part of this material was published for the first time in Berlin, in the series Berlin Phonogram Archive – Historical Sound Documents (Berliner Phonogramm-Archiv Historische Klangdokumente).¹⁰⁷ The accompanying study notes that Küppers-Sonnenberg recorded in Vojvodina as well as in the southern and eastern regions

¹⁰⁵ This information was provided by Dr. Tamara Karača-Beljak, professor of ethnomusicology at the aforementioned Sarajevo institution, to whom I am grateful on this occasion as well.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Wilhelm Stauder, "Die Volksliedaufnahmen der Deutschen Akademie in Südslawien", *Akademie zur wissenschaftlichen Erforschung und zur Pflege des Deutschtums – Deutsche Akademie, Mitteilungen*, 12/4, 1937, 583–584; Vlado S. Milošević, "Rad ekipe prof. dra Gerharda Gezemana...", op. cit., 185–186.

¹⁰⁷ *Walzenaufnahmen aus Südosteuropa (Wax Cylinder Recordings from Southeast Europe) – G. Küppers-Sonnenberg 1935–1939*, Berliner Phonogramm-Archiv Historische Klangdokumente 7, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 2011, CD. The contents of this publication are also available at: <https://www.discogs.com/Various-Walzenaufnahmen-Aus-S%C3%BCdosteuropa-Wax-Cylinder-Recordings-From-Southeast-Europe-1935-1939/release/4603967>. A concise review by Dimitrije O. Golemović was published shortly thereafter by ICTM. Cf. Dimitrije O. Golemović, "Walzenaufnahmen aus Südosteuropa (Wax Cylinder Recordings from Southeast Europe): G. Küppers-Sonnenberg 1935–1939", *Yearbook for Traditional Music*, 45, 2013, 282.

of Yugoslavia, and that Serbian heritage in his legacy was represented by a smaller number of examples – mainly recordings of instrumental dance melodies and church chanting from the Dečani Monastery.¹⁰⁸ However, no Serbian example was included in the selection. The text of the study offers no explanation for this omission, nor does it provide a clear account of what Serbian material from his collection, if any, has survived to this day, since part of the legacy was damaged under various circumstances during the Second World War.

- The Balkan musical tradition also attracted American scholars of various backgrounds. Between 1933 and 1935, during study trips to Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, and Croatia, the renowned American Homeric scholars Milman Parry (1902–1935) and Albert Bates Lord (1912–1991) assembled an impressive collection of 3,584 double-sided 12-inch aluminum discs (approximately 415 hours of material). These recordings include not only recitations but also sung renditions of 367 epic and 260 lyric “Serbo-Croatian” songs – that is, songs of Bosniaks, Serbs, and Croats (along with several dozen Turkish, Albanian, and Macedonian songs, as well as instrumental pieces).¹⁰⁹ Overall, this represents the most significant result of phonographic expeditions across all territories that were once part of Yugoslavia. Transcriptions of 75 selected examples were incorporated by Bartók into his and Lord’s aforementioned 1951 study on the “Serbo-Croatian” songs.¹¹⁰ According to international scholarly consensus, these particular transcriptions represent the pinnacle of Bartók’s melographic work and rank among the most complex ever produced in ethnomusicology.¹¹¹ This extraordinary collection, largely unexplored, is preserved at the Widener Library of Harvard University under the title *Milman Parry Collection of Oral Literature*. To the best of our

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Susanne Ziegler, “The Wax Cylinder Recordings by Gustav Küppers-Sonnenberg”, in: *Walzenaufnahmen aus Südosteuropa (Wax Cylinder Recordings from Southeast Europe) – G. Küppers-Sonnenberg 1935–1939*, Berliner Phonogramm-Archiv Historische Klangdokumente 7, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 2011, 63–73.

¹⁰⁹ David Elmer, “The Milman Parry Collection of Oral Literature”, *Oral Tradition*, 28/2, 2013, 341–346.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Béla Bartók, Albert B. Lord, op. cit. The first publication of this major work appeared in 1951, and a revised and significantly expanded edition, which we refer to here, was published in 1978.

¹¹¹ Ter Ellingson, “Transcription”, in: Helen Myers (Ed.), *Ethnomusicology: An Introduction*. The Norton/Grove Handbooks in Music, New York – London, W. W. Norton & Company, 1992, 142–143.

knowledge, it has not yet been published in audio form. Digitization has been ongoing since 2002, and selected examples are available through the official website,¹¹² as well as on a YouTube channel.¹¹³

• The next in this series of known collections of Serbian material recorded on phonograph is also linked to the United States. In 1938, the famous American ethnomusicologist Alan Lomax (1915–2002) conducted field recordings of music from various peoples residing in the Great Lakes region (i.e., the states of Michigan and Wisconsin), including Serbs and, to a lesser extent, Croats. Examples of Serbian music were recorded on August 5th and 6th in Clairpointe and River Rouge, suburbs of Detroit (Michigan).¹¹⁴ These recordings are part of Lomax's extensive collection from the area, which is kept at the Library of Congress in Washington D.C. The material consists of 10 double-sided 12-inch discs¹¹⁵ of relatively good quality, each capable of holding up to 5 minutes of sound.¹¹⁶ It has been digitized and is available through the official website,¹¹⁷ though this does not apply to the accompanying written materials. The collection is quite diverse, but, due to the inaccessibility of

¹¹² See: <https://mpc.chs.harvard.edu/>

¹¹³ See for example: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LuemytQRmnE>

¹¹⁴ The existence of this valuable sound collection was first pointed out by a graduate student in ethnomusicology, Nikola Zekić from Podgorica (Montenegro). Cf. Никола Зекић, *Гусле на 78 обрћаја (од њочейка снимања звука до 1939 године)*, 2018 (unpublished).

¹¹⁵ They are listed under the signature AFC 1939/007, from numbers 2238 to 2248, with additional labels A and B. According to the library records, the collection contains 17 "items," although there are actually a few more: *Announcement*; *Pastirska pesma*; *Narodno kolo* (2238 A); *Pastirska pesma*; *Pesna o bojo srba* (2238 B); *Guslarski ep* (2239 A; 2239 B); *Salaška narodna pesma* (2240 A); *Kraljević marko* (2240 B); *Dolinom se šetala* (2241 A); *Drina*; *Oj savice* (2241 B); *Oj savice*; *Drinking song* (2242 A); *Zaplakala stara Majka*; *Tamburitza group* (2243 B); *Bosa Mara Bosun fregazila*; *Lipa jelo*; *Tamburitza group* (2244 A); *Maširala kralja petra garda*; *Tamburitza group* (2244 B); *Smrt čekaj paše* (2245 A; 2245 B; 2246 A); *Kolo* (2246 B); *Pastirska pesma*; *Kolo*; *Seljančica (kolo)* (2247 A); *Scale on diiple*; *U ivana gospodara*; *Melodija gusle na dipli* (2247 B); *Pastirska pesma* (2248 A); *Pastirska pesma*; *Seljančica*; *Melodija gusle na duduko*; *Šalaj* (2248 B). See: <https://www.loc.gov/collections/alan-lomax-in-michigan/about-this-collection/>;

<https://www.loc.gov/collections/alan-lomax-in-michigan/>

¹¹⁶ Zekić concluded that Lomax's recording device (brand Presto) was placed in the trunk of his car and operated on electricity supplied by a battery. This was probably the main reason why the recordings took place outdoors. See: Никола Зекић, op. cit., 13.

¹¹⁷ See note 116.

all metadata, it is not possible to precisely determine from which Serbian regions the performers originate. Based on the recorded pieces and limited information, it is reasonable to conclude that some performers come from Banat, Bosnia, the Banija region, and surrounding areas of Serbian Krajina, while for others, it can only be stated that they are also from the Dinaric area. In addition to epic *guslars* and vocal pieces (both monophonic and in old two-part polyphony), the collection features various instrumental examples, performed on the *duduk* (a type of flute), *dvojnice*, *diple* (a type of single-reed schalmay), and by a smaller tambura ensemble.

- Before the outbreak of the Second World War, there were other American research recordings of Serbian musical heritage, conducted both in Yugoslavia and in the United States. Pianist and folklorist Esther C. Jonsson¹¹⁸ (1901–1982) documented traditional music in Serbia (at the Belgrade tavern “Triglav” at Zeleni Venac), Macedonia, and Bulgaria, “around 1940.”¹¹⁹ About 20 recorded pieces (with a total duration of approximately 65 minutes) are preserved on seven “first-generation aluminum discs,” 12-inch, 78 rpm records, which are kept in the Indiana University Archives of Traditional Music.¹²⁰ The examples from Serbia document songs and dances performed by an unnamed Roma tavern orchestra from Niš, which included violin, probably various tamburas, cymbal, and accordion. The vocal parts were performed by a female singer and a male duet. Among the songs, the still popular *Evo srcu mom radosti* can be recognized, and among the dance melodies, *Seljačko kolo* stands out.¹²¹

¹¹⁸ In the sources, she is more commonly known by her surname Garlinghouse, which she adopted after marriage.

¹¹⁹ Some sources state that Jonsson was recording “around 1940”, while others give 1938 as the year of her stay in the Balkans and note that she visited Yugoslavia again in 1946. Cf. <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/garlinghouse-esther-c-jonsson>. The year of her recordings in Belgrade certainly cannot be 1940, given the fact that she collaborated with Kosta P. Manojlović there in 1939 (see the continuation of this article).

¹²⁰ The content of the recordings is as follows: *Mohammedan call to prayer*; *Zurla solos*; *Wedding procession*; *Račenica dance*; *Gypsy, Paiduska, Srpsko, Seljacko and Crnogorsko kolo dances*; *Gypsy orchestra music*; *Hungarian gypsy music*; *Bosnian singer with orchestra*; *Children’s songs*; *Game song*; *Marriage song*; *Bulgarian songs*; *Moma, momče*; *Untitled songs* [Macedonian?].

See: <https://beta.worldcat.org/archivegrid/collection/data/16879038>.

¹²¹ Марија Думнић, “Музичирање и музичари у кафанам у Београду од почетка емитовања програма Радио Београда до Другог светског рата”, *Зборник Мајинце српске за сценске уметности и музику*, 49, 2013, 86.

- Esther Jonsson later recorded several songs of Serbian origin on three identical media (12-inch aluminum discs, 78 rpm) on December 10, 1940, in New York, in collaboration with George Herzog (1901–1983), which also marks – as far as we know – the later chronological boundary of the phonographic documentation of Serbian musical folklore. These songs were performed by a certain Chris Sekulić, apparently a descendant of Serbian émigrants, singing and accompanying himself on the *gusle*. All of these recordings are also part of the collection at the Indiana University Archives of Traditional Music, which was founded by Herzog in 1948.¹²² Copies of these recordings were transferred to the Institute of Musicology, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (SASA) in 2012 for research purposes.¹²³

- At the conclusion of this overview, we will revisit the previously discussed collections of Evgenia Lineva and Juro Adlešič from Bela Krajina, recorded in 1913 and 1914. It is a well-known fact that this part of Slovenia was settled several centuries ago by Serbian and Croatian populations arriving from various regions (fleeing from the Turkish expansion during the Ottoman Empire), which had a significant impact on the region's traditional culture, and thus on its musical folklore.¹²⁴ Since intermarriages between members of different faiths were very rare in the past, the Serbian population in Bela Krajina, isolated by its Orthodox faith, long resisted acculturation and assimilation – processes that only gained significant momentum after the Second World War.¹²⁵ Therefore, it is highly likely that Lineva's and Adlešič's recordings included what was then still well-preserved Serbian material, even though there are no explicit references to this. The only data we have is that Lineva recorded eight

¹²² The tracks are labeled with the following titles: *Boj na kosove*; *Starac Vujadin*; *Pjesnik i vila* / by King Nikola; *Poem* / by Branko Radičević; *Songs from the drama Balkanska Carica* / by King Nicola; *Zenska pjesma*; *O devojko duso moja*. See: <https://beta.worldcat.org/archivegrid/collection/data/16752543>.

¹²³ Данка Лајић-Михајловић, Јелена Јовановић, “Историјат сакупљања теренских звучних записа традиционалне музике у Музиколошком институту САНУ”, in: Растко Јаковљевић (Ed.), *Фоноархив Музиколошког института САНУ: историјски звучни записи у дигиталној ери*, Београд, Музиколошки институт САНУ, 2014, 4.

¹²⁴ Cf. Zmaga Kumer, *Pesem slovenske dežele*, Maribor, Založba Obzorja, 1975.

¹²⁵ Сања Ранковић, “Основне одлике српске вокалне праксе у Белој Крајини (Словенија) (На основу грађе Гласбенонародописног института у Љубљани)”, in: Ивана Перковић-Радак, Драгана Стојановић-Новичић, Данка Лајић (Eds), *Историја и мистерија музике – у часи Роксанге Пејовић*, Музиколошке студије – монографије, св. 2, Београд, ФМУ, 2006, 227.

or nine Croatian examples.¹²⁶ However, this certainly requires verification, due to the similarities and frequent intermingling of Serbian and Croatian musical folklore,¹²⁷ as well as the fact that the unwarranted attribution of numerous Serbian heritage examples to Croatian music has become a common practice in our time (one such case has already been mentioned in this report). In short, when a thorough examination of Lineva's and Adlešić's sound materials is conducted, it will likely turn out that parts of these collections should be included in our overview. The language and characteristic structure of the titles of certain recorded songs (with dependent refrains within the verse, for example), as well as the typical surnames of some of the singers, provide more than enough grounds for such an assumption.¹²⁸

* * *

According to the facts known so far, the overall picture of the phonographic recordings of Serbian musical folklore heritage carried out by foreign collectors could be summarized as follows:

- The recordings took place with varying intensity over a span of 33 years, from 1907 to 1940, with the highest number occurring just before the Second World War, i.e., at the end of the 1920s and during the 1930s.
- They mostly took place either in areas of older and newer Serbian diaspora (Italy, Slovenia, Hungary, Romania, United States), or in regions that were historically Serbian but over time became part of surrounding newly-established states and nations (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro). It was more rare for performers to travel abroad specifically for the purpose of recording (such as the journeys of Josip Široki Baček to Vienna and Tanasije Vučić to Berlin), or for them to be temporarily displaced for other reasons and by chance participate in the recordings (such as Serbian prisoners in two German camps during the First World War). On the other hand, sound recordings of Serbian material within Serbia itself were carried

¹²⁶ Drago Kunej, "Pesemsko izročilo Bele krajine...", 145–146, 149–153.

¹²⁷ This is not surprising, given the well-known fact that a considerable part of the Croatian ethnic corpus derives from Serbian populations who, either voluntarily or – more often – under pressure, abandoned the Orthodox faith and converted to Catholicism.

¹²⁸ Here are a few indicative song titles from Lineva's and Adlešić's phonographic collection: *Išla Mara, zlato moje, kraj vode bunara*; *Široko je Drenopolje*; *Devojka je išla u goru zelenu*; *Oj, Korano, oj, janje, tiha voda 'ladna*; *Tri sem dana kukuruzu brala*. According to: Drago Kunej, "Pesemsko izročilo Bele krajine...", op. cit., 149–153.

out very rarely (Murko, Küppers-Sonnenberg, Jonsson), and the phonograms that were made have either been lost without a trace (Küppers-Sonnenberg), are in extremely poor condition (Murko), or are few in number and insufficiently characteristic (Jonsson).

– The recordings were conducted by 23 individuals of various professions, interests, and motivations, most of whom were experts of high renown, including respected university professors. The largest group consists of foreign Slavic scholars and linguists (Murko, Gezemann, Šmaus, Parry, Lord, Rodemeyer), with a few domestic experts from these fields joining them as exceptions (Rešetar, Medenica). Following them are musicologists (Schünemann, Beking, Sykora, Huber, Wunsch, Stauder), comparative musicologists (Bartók, Lomax, Herzog), and folklorists (Wolter, Lineva, Široki, Jonsson), while contributions were also made by individuals from other professions (Adlešič, Küppers-Sonnenberg). Equally impressive is the heterogeneous ethnic background of all these individuals, among whom were as many as ten Germans, five Americans, two Slovenes, one Russian, one Lithuanian, one Hungarian, and one Croat (with, as an exception, two Serbs).

– Since musical folklore was not the primary area of interest for everyone (Slavists, linguists), musical performances were recorded as part of a broader syncretic whole and context. Those researchers who were primarily focused on traditional music very rarely concentrated specifically on Serbian heritage (Bartók, Herzog) – their encounter with it was usually part of a broader recording of the musical heritage of other nations, or even an unplanned incidental event. Ultimately, there were also cases of clear instrumentalization of phonographic activities for political purposes, at a time when fascist ideology was on the rise and the Third Reich had aspirations toward the Balkans (Küppers-Sonnenberg). It was only with the involvement of domestic researchers – primarily Kosta P. Manojlović, who was actively engaged both at the Ethnographic Museum and at the Music Academy – that a somewhat larger body of Serbian material from Serbian territory was intentionally recorded, primarily that from Kosovo and Metohija.

– When it comes to the technical aspect of the phonographic activities of foreign collectors, a variety of devices of different chronological origins were used during this relatively long period, and accordingly, almost all types of related media – ranging from wax cylinders and discs, to shellac and lacquer discs, and even high-quality carriers made of decelith.

– For both technical reasons and due to the historical circumstances of survival over a long period of time – which, in some cases, extends beyond a century and includes two world wars – the sound collections have not always been preserved in their entirety and vary in audio quality. The range of condition extends from examples that are completely inaudible, to those that are barely audible and filled with interference, to recordings whose digitization and restoration can, or already have, resulted in exceptionally good sound quality.

– As the most successful, due to the technical quality of the recordings, the quantity and comprehensiveness of the material recorded, and/or historical significance, the following four collections stand out: the collection of Parry and Lord (1933–1935), the collection of Gezemann's team from Bosnia (1937), Schünemann's collection from German prisoner-of-war camps (First World War), and Gezemann's collection with performances by Tanasije Vučić (1928). The same status likely applies to Murko's "Prague" collection (1930–1932), but this can only be confirmed if it one day becomes more accessible to researchers from Serbia.

– The recorded phonograms provide an unusually diverse spectrum of sound documentation of Serbian traditional music. In general, the greatest attention was given to epic songs accompanied by the *gusle*. They were collected in the wider "epic area" of the western and central Balkans (Murko's collections), most extensively and systematically in the border region of Serbia, Montenegro, and Bosnia and Herzegovina (the collections of Parry and Lord), to a greater extent around Sarajevo (Gezemann's team collection, Wolter's collection), and occasionally even from across the Atlantic (Lomax, Jonsson, Herzog). In comparison to the recordings of *guslars*, all other material shows a pronounced mosaic-like quality and gives the impression of an unplanned collection of "trial samples" of music from the territories represented.

– Despite the mentioned shortcomings, the ethnomusicological value of all the phonographic recordings in these collections is undeniable, and due to their rarity, this value is all the more significant. Above all, their great historical importance must be emphasized – not only as sound testimonies of Serbian traditional music *per se*, but also as evidence of the Serbian presence and lived fate in the represented geographical areas.

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Summary

The invention of the phonograph by Thomas Alva Edison (1847–1931) in 1877 marked a significant turning point in the study of traditional world music. The use of the first device for recording and reproducing sound greatly facilitated and accelerated fieldwork, advanced melography and analysis, and above all, decisively contributed to the establishment of comparative musicology (1885), providing it with the essential prerequisite for any scientific discipline – documentation and verifiability of facts, permanently stored on a physical sound medium.

After the earliest ethnomusicological use of the phonograph in the United States (1890), the first recordings on the eastern side of the Atlantic followed: in Imperial Russia (1894; 1897) and in Hungary (1896). The importance of using the phonograph was quickly recognized by music folklorists from across the region that would later, after the First World War, become part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, i.e., Kingdom of Yugoslavia (after its renaming in 1929), but its introduction into research practice was not uniformly carried out in line with this recognition. The varying pace of improvements in fieldwork through the use of this device was only one indicator of the uneven development of musical folkloristics in the Western Balkan region. Conditioned by numerous unfavorable circumstances, the advancement of Serbian musical folkloristics progressed at a visibly slower pace than in the former parts of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, a fact reflected as well in the belated acquisition of the first phonograph in 1930. Moreover, the only Serbs who ever engaged in phonographic recording of Serbian musical heritage within the local environment were the distinguished ethnologist, anthropogeographer, and museologist Borivoje M. Drobnjaković (1890–1961), and (much more extensively) composer, choral conductor, folklorist, and multifaceted contributor to the development of musical culture in Serbia and Yugoslavia, Kosta P. Manojlović (1890–1949). Under such circumstances, a kind of compensation for the historically very important yet modest domestic results in this field was provided by foreign researchers, through their own phonographic recordings of Serbian musical heritage in Serbia, in the broader region, or among Serbian populations in both near and distant diasporas.

According to the facts known so far, the overall results of their work present a highly heterogeneous picture in every possible respect. Their recordings took place with varying intensity over a span of 33 years, from 1907 to 1940, with the highest number occurring just before the Second World War, i.e., at the end of the 1920s and during the 1930s. They mostly took place either in areas of older and newer Serbian

diasporas (Italy, Slovenia, Hungary, Romania, United States), or in regions that were historically Serbian but over time became part of surrounding newly-established states and nations (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro). It was more rare for performers to travel abroad specifically for the purpose of recording (such as the journeys of Josip Široki Baček to Vienna and Tanasije Vučić to Berlin), or for them to be temporarily displaced for other reasons and by chance participate in the recordings (such as Serbian prisoners in two German camps during the First World War). On the other hand, sound recordings of Serbian material within Serbia itself were carried out very rarely (Murko, Küppers-Sonnenberg, Jonsson), and the phonograms that were made have either been lost without a trace (Küppers-Sonnenberg), are in extremely poor condition (Murko), or are few in number and insufficiently characteristic (Jonsson).

The recordings were conducted by 23 individuals of various professions, interests, and motivations, most of whom were experts of high renown, including respected university professors. The largest group consists of foreign Slavic scholars and linguists (Murko, Gezemann, Šmaus, Parry, Lord, Roedemeyer), with a few domestic experts from these fields joining them as exceptions (Rešetar, Medenica). Following them are musicologists (Schünemann, Beking, Sykora, Huber, Wünsch, Stauder), comparative musicologists (Bartók, Lomax, Herzog), and folklorists (Wolter, Lineva, Široki, Jonsson), while contributions were also made by individuals from other professions (Adlešič, Küppers-Sonnenberg). Equally impressive is the heterogeneous ethnic background of all these individuals, among whom were as many as ten Germans, five Americans, two Slovenes, one Russian, one Lithuanian, one Hungarian, and one Croat (with, as an exception, two Serbs).

Since musical folklore was not the primary area of interest for everyone (Slavists, linguists), musical performances were recorded as part of a broader syncretic whole and context. Those researchers who were primarily focused on traditional music very rarely concentrated specifically on Serbian heritage (Bartók, Herzog) – their encounter with it was usually part of a broader recording of the musical heritage of other nations, or even an unplanned incidental event. Ultimately, there were also cases of clear instrumentalization of phonographic activities for political purposes, at a time when fascist ideology was on the rise and the Third Reich had aspirations toward the Balkans (Küppers-Sonnenberg). It was only with the involvement of domestic researchers – primarily Kosta P. Manojlović, who was actively engaged both at the Ethnographic Museum and at the Music Academy – that a somewhat larger body of Serbian material from Serbian territory was intentionally recorded, primarily that from Kosovo and Metohija.

When it comes to the technical aspect of the phonographic activities of foreign collectors, a variety of devices of different chronological origins were used during this relatively long period, and accordingly, almost all types of related media – ranging from wax cylinders and discs, to shellac and lacquer discs, and even high-quality car-

riers made of decelith. For both technical reasons and due to the historical circumstances of survival over a long period of time – which, in some cases, extends beyond a century and includes two world wars – the sound collections have not always been preserved in their entirety and vary in audio quality. The range of condition extends from examples that are completely inaudible, to those that are barely audible and filled with interference, to recordings whose digitization and restoration can, or already have, resulted in exceptionally good sound quality. As the most successful due to the technical quality of the recordings, the quantity and comprehensiveness of the material recorded, and/or historical significance, the following four collections stand out: the collection of Parry and Lord (1933–1935), the collection of Gezemann's team from Bosnia (1937), Schünemann's collection from German prisoner-of-war camps (First World War), and Gezemann's collection with performances by Tanasije Vučić (1928). The same status likely applies to Murko's "Prague" collection (1930–1932), but this can only be confirmed if it one day becomes more accessible to researchers from Serbia.

The recorded phonograms provide an unusually diverse spectrum of sound documentation of Serbian traditional music. In general, the greatest attention was given to epic songs accompanied by the *gusle*. They were collected in the wider "epic area" of the western and central Balkans (Murko's collections), most extensively and systematically in the border region of Serbia, Montenegro, and Bosnia and Herzegovina (the collections of Parry and Lord), to a greater extent around Sarajevo (Gezemann's team collection, Wolter's collection), and occasionally even from across the Atlantic (Lomax, Jonsson, Herzog). In comparison to the recordings of *guslars*, all other material shows a pronounced mosaic-like quality and gives the impression of an unplanned collection of "trial samples" of music from the territories represented.

Despite the mentioned shortcomings, the ethnomusicological value of all the phonographic recordings in these collections is undeniable, and due to their rarity, this value is all the more significant. Above all, their great historical importance must be emphasized – not only as sound testimonies of Serbian traditional music *per se*, but also as evidence of the Serbian presence and lived fate in the represented geographical areas.