Intertextual relations between the Serbian and Viennese concept of 19th-century music journals

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CONTEXTUALIZATION: VIENNA AS THE CENTER OF 19TH-CENTURY SERBIAN CULTURE. Viennese influences played a key role in forming the modern Serbian state and culture by providing the emerging Serbian bourgeois class, political liberalism, and an emphasized Enlightenment presence.¹ Two main interdependant strategies in the networking processes of Serbs living in both Ottoman and Austrian(-Hungarian) Empires in political, social, and cultural discourses were the Vereinsgesetz and public manifestation of cultural societies, as well as newly established media—namely, literary and music journals.² These processes signified a change in the direction of political orientation, turning from Russia to the Austrian Empire, and was followed by a long-lasting transformation of Serbia from an Ottoman province to an independent European country, with forms of bourgeois life reflected in the written media, particularly calendar almanacs. Later on, the specialized education of intellectuals coming (back) from Vienna, Pest, Buda, Leipzig, Prague, and Pressburg resulted in professionalized media, among them music journals.

Serbian music journals, established in the 1880s, were anticipated in two ways: on the one hand, notes on music and musical life were occasionally included in popular calendar almanacs and illustrated magazines; on the other, items were reprinted from Viennese, German, Czech, and Russian (music) journals. As in most of Europe, calendar

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¹ Different areas of Serbia were, since the end of the 14th century, gradually invaded by the Ottomans. After an extensive migration of Serbian people northwards since 1690, retreating in front of the Ottoman conquerors from Kosovo and southern Serbia, the centers of Serbian culture turned out to be towns under the Austrian administration, such as Vienna, Pressburg, or free royal cities in the territory of Vojvodina, like Novi Sad, Sombor, Subotica, and Sremski Karlovci. The consequences were remarkable: The majority of Serbian people lived outside of Serbia, dispersed all over Europe, and, therefore, two parallel political, cultural, artistic traditions followed, namely, Austrian (later, Austro-Hungarian) and Ottoman.

² See Tatjana Marković, "Strategies of networking Viennese culture", *Music and networking*, ed. by Tatjana Marković and Vesna Mikić (Beograd: Fakultet muzičke umetnosti, 2005) 48–58.

almanacs and illustrated magazines were highly popular and widely disseminated among the Serbian population and were primarily intended for educational purposes. They contained information on the phases of the moon, geography, animals, housekeeping, advice on agriculture, hygiene, and health care, mainly based on translations from French, German, and Russian sources, as well as patriotic poetry and articles on the social importance of theater and music. Starting with popular magazines that promoted Enlightenment ideas, one can find notes on a variety of topics, such as announcements and reviews of theater plays, concerts, and new novels, and articles about choral societies and on music education. Although not important contributions to Serbian music historiography, these articles have historical significance as early steps in communicating information about secular music to a wide audience in Serbia, one that had been earlier interested mainly in church music.

The popularity of calendars among a wide circle of readers resulted in their transformation into a separate and very interesting literary genre during the next several decades, especially during the Romantic period.³ It is also important that those Serbian calendars and journals were reviewed in Viennese magazines from the very beginning of the 19th century. Thus, for instance, an article from *Intelligenzblatt zu den Annalen* reported in 1803 that the Cyrillic calendar *Mésiaczoslaw léta ot rozdestwa Christowa* 1803 was published at the university publishing house in Buda for "slavisch-servischen und wallachischen Nation in den k.k. Erbländern".⁴

The calendar almanac of the broadest organization in Serbian and Yugoslav history, the Ujedinjena omladina srpska, demonstrates the role in political and cultural communications of such publications. The Serbian student society Zora, in Vienna, initiated the founding of the Ujedinjena omladina association in 1866 with the aim of uniting Serbian people in all of Europe. The new national and educational association, consisting of 16 literary and choral societies, published its own calendar, promoted a liberal ideology through the journal, the choral societies' besedas, and theater plays with music. Their Srpski omladinski kalendar from 1868 shows that they promoted the unification among South Slavic people from the beginning of their activities, especially among dispersed Serbian people, what is apparent also from the cover page itself [fig. 1].⁵ It is worth mentioning that at the same time (from 1869 on), the Hrvatsko pjevačko društvo Kolo also published its calendar. Another such calendar, Bog i Hrvati (God and the Croats), which was published in Zagreb from 1893 to at least 1908, is a precious source for 19th-century music, since it regularly included biographies of musicians.

PRINTING OFFICES IN VIENNA: INITIAL STEPS IN THE RE/CONTINUATION OF PUBLISHING SERBIAN BOOKS, NEWSPAPERS, AND FIRST MUSIC EDITIONS. Although individual books in Serbian started reappearing in the 1740s after an interruption of

³ See Dejan Medaković, "Štampanje srpskih knjiga i novina u Beču u XVIII i XIX veku" [Printing of Serbian books and newspapers in Vienna in the 18th and 19th centuries], Mirjana Brković and Jasna Katralović, *Srpska knjiga u Beču*, 1741–1900/Das serbische Buch in Wien, 1741–1900 (Beograd: Narodna bibliteka Srbije; Vukova zadužbina; Novi Sad: Biblioteka Matice srpske; Wien: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 2002) 23.

⁴ See Gertraud Marinelli-König, *Die Südslaven in der wiener Zeitschriften des Vormärz* (1805–1848) (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1994).

⁵ The title page of the *Srpski omladinski kalendar* [Serbian youth calendar] for 1868 reflects the ideology of Mihailo Obrenović promoted through establishing the Balkan union with Greece, Montenegro, Romania, and partly Bulgaria, 1866–68.



1. Srpski omladinski kalendar za prestupnu 1868. godinu [Serbian Youth calendar for the leap-year 1868] (Beograd, 1868). The title page of the calendar published by the organization Ujedinjena omladina indicates on the wreath the territories where Serbian people lived: Serbia, Banat, Srem, Bačka, Zeta, Old Serbia (today Kosovo and Macedonia), Montenegro, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia.

about one century⁶—published by Hristofor Žefarović (1710–53) in Vienna, on the demand of Arsenije IV Čarnojević (1633–1706), the Archbishop of Peć and later the

⁶ Books were published earlier in Venice. The last of them was the *Psalter* (1638). Later on, the first (known) Serbian calendar almanac was published by Zaharije Orfelin in Venice in 1765. Orfelin also published the first South Slavic journal, *Slaveno-serbski magazin* [Slavic-Serbian magazine] (1768).

Serbian Patriarch (1674–91), and the Metropolitan od Szentendre (1691–1706)⁷— the royal priviledge for establishing a Serbian printing office in Vienna, issued in 1770, meant the beginning of a steady flow of newspapers, magazines, and books.⁸ The earliest publications came out of the Serbian printing office in Vienna owned by the Austrian Josef Kurzbeck/Kurzböck (1736–92), who published 151 books, mainly in Church Slavonic Cyrillic script, between 1770 and 1792.⁹ The majority of them were religious books, textbooks for schools, administrative regulations, tributes to significant persons, and some literary works. After Kurzbeck's death, the types were bought by the journalist Stefan von Novaković (d.1823), and for the first time they were now owned by a Serb. However, because of financial problems, Novaković sold it three years later to the University in Pest and from then on, the Pest printing office was the only place where Serbian publications could have been printed. Thus the publishing of Serbian historical self-representative books and a calendar soon spread from Vienna to other cities.¹⁰

Except for the Bible and other religious books, Novaković's publishing activity was guided by Enlightenment ideology, and his main contributions to 18th-century Serbian literature are certainly secular books, such as *Istorija raznyh slavenskih' narodov naipače Bolgar'*, *Horvatov' i Serbov'* (History of different Slavic peoples, in the first place of Bulgarians, Croats, and Serbs; 1794–95) by Jovan Rajić, *Sobranija raznih naravoučitelnih veščej v polzu i uveselenije* (Collection of various educational issues, useful in work and funny) by Dositej Obradović, *Mali bukvar za veliku decu* (A small spelling book for big children) by Mihailo Maksimović, and *Grammatika italianskaja: Radi upotreblenija illiričeskija junošesti* (Italian grammar: For Illyrian youth) by archimandrite Vikentije Ljuština.

The first Serbian newspapers were also published in Vienna. Stefan von Novaković established *Slaveno-serbskija vjedomosti* (Slavic-Serbian news; 1792–94), which published mainly articles and commentaries about the political situation in Europe that were translated from the *Wiener Zeitung*. ¹¹ In the general framework of the journal the aim to establish a national ideology is apparent, and in the announcement of his journal,

⁷ Arsenije IV Čarnojević (1633–1706) was also the leader of the large migration of Serbian people from Kosovo and southern Serbia northwards.

⁸ See Dinko Davidov, Srpske privilegije carskog doma habzburškog (Novi Sad: Matica srpska, 1994). Among Žefarovićs editions were Stematografija (or, Izobraženij oružij ilirskij, 1741), a collection of coats of arms and heraldic poems related mainly to Serbian saints and rulers, two translations Poučenije svjatitelskoje k novopostavljenom jereju [Holy instructions for the newly positioned priest] (1742), Privilegija črez blaženim imperatori [Privileges by the blessed emperor] (1744), Starij grad Ierusalim [The old city of Jerusalem] by Simeon Simeonović (1748), and the lost Mjesacoslov (1743–44), which was probably an almanac with calendar.

⁹ "It was only then that the first edition came off the press in modern Cyrillic, the socalled urban' alphabet, modelled after the style of printed Roman letters and introduced in Russia at the beginning of the 18th century by order of Peter the Great. Serbian writers themselves, and also printing houses beyond the borders of Austria, proved to be much less conservative. Thus, as early as 1754, The History of Montenegro, written by Montenegrin metropolitan Vasilije Petrović, came out in print in St. Petersburg. In 1768, the Slavo-Serbian Magazine of Zaharije Orfelin and in 1772... the biography of Peter the Great came out in Venice. In 1783, The Life and Adventures of Dositej Obradović was published in Leipzig. This is only to mention a few of the more significant works". Pavle Ivić and Mitar Pešikan, "Serbian printing", History of Serbian culture, ed. by Pavle Ivić (2nd ed., Belgrade: Mrlješ, Verzal Press, 1999) 144.

¹⁰ It is worth pointing out one more communicative role of the calendars: One of the earliest of Gutenberg's publications, the *Turkish calendar* of 1454, was aimed at warning European Christians about how threatening the Ottoman army was, as the occupation of Serbia in the middle of the 15th century shows.

^{11 &}quot;Najveći broj priloga prevođen je iz bečkog lista Wiener Zeitung, čiji su sadržaj, prevashodno, bili spoljna politika, ratna zbivanja u tadašnjoj Evropi i oskudne vesti o Srbima". Branka Bulatović, "Kulturni letopis Banata u prvim srpskim listovima" [Cultural chronicles of Banat in the earliest Serbian papers], Banatska periodika XIX i XX veka: Zbornik radova, ed. by Vesna Matović and Marija Cindori (Novi Sad: Matica srpska; Beograd: Institut za književnost i umetnost; Zrenjanin: Gradska narodna biblioteka Žarko Zrenjanin, 1995) 12.

the editor claimed that every people aiming to make its name eternal should certainly cherish its national lanugage and science. Among reports from Serbian centers, the first news about Serbian theater life in Vršac and Timișoara were included. Other papers published in Vienna, all short lived, were *Serbskija povsednevnija novini* (Serbian daily newspaper; 1791–92) as well as the early magazines *Novine serbske* (Serbian newspaper; 1813) and *Zabavnik* (Magazine for entertainment; 1816).

Serbian journalism continued in 1813 with the publication of the first issue of the Novine serbske iz carstvujuščega grada Vienne (Serbian news from the imperial city of Vienna; 1813–22). Like Novaković earlier, its editor Dimitrije Davidović (1789–1838) pointed out that any people who would like to be recognized as enlightened must have its national magazines, which are especially important for the four million Serbs. Following this attitude, the Novine serbske iz carstvujuščega grada Vienne changed its direction from translations of travelogues, biographies, and writings on history to national issues, mainly concerning Serbian literature: Vuk Stefanović Karadžić (1787–1864) wrote several articles explaining and defending his reform of the Serbian language. Due to the influence of Jernej Kopitar (1780–1844) and other Slavic ideologists in Austria, the Novine serbske is recognized as the first magazine "which systematically considered the questions related to other Slavic peoples" and also brought for the first time "the hints of those ideas which will be dominant among Serbs before 1848 under the name of Pan-Slavism". ¹²

Later on, Serbian magazines were issued in other cities as well, such as Buda, Pest, ¹³ and Timişoara, and finally in Belgrade. In 1832, in the period when Serbia gained autonomy as a principality (1830–39) under the rule of Prince Miloš Obrenović, the printing office—the Knjaževska srpska pečatnja—established in Belgrade, was for the first time located within the country. ¹⁴

An unavoidable point in considering the early publishing history of Serbian books and periodicals as well as the establishment and development of modern Serbian literature has to do with the Mechitaristen-Druckerei in Vienna. The list of Serbian books, magazines, and newspapers published by Armenian monks is rather impressive and could serve as a model of publishing policy at that time. ¹⁵ "The Mechitarists were not only deserving credit for neatly printing these books of ours… but by preparing the types they also contributed to the aesthetical improvement of graphical typeface of our [Serbian, T.M.] alphabet". ¹⁶

¹² Jovan Skerlić, *Istorijski pregled srpske štampe, 1791–1911* [Historical survey of the Serbian press, 1791–1911] (Beograd: Državna štamparije Kraljevine Srbije, 1911) 5.

¹³ The Letopis Matice srpske [The chronicle of Matica srpska] (1825) is not only the most important journal at that time, but also one of the oldest European literary journals still being published. After the initial run in Pest, Letopis Matice srpske, as well as the Matica srpska itself, moved in 1864 to Novi Sad. The Matica srpska has been a significant cultural institution, organizing literary and musical events, publishing journals and individual studies; it has a rich library and manuscript collection. During the 19th century in particular, it was lead by the most distinguished authors, poets, linguists, historians of literature, and musicians, who initiated, for instance, the establishment and development of Serbian literature through their open competitions for the first Serbian drama, the national anthem, and many other similar initiatives.

¹⁴ "While only 194 Serbian books came out in the first decade of the nineteenth century according to the *Serbian Bibliography* of Stojan Novaković, and 386 book came out in the 1840s that number had grown to 670 by the sixth decade of the century. The role played by books printed in Serbia quickly increased, and it surpassed the halfway mark by the second half of the seventh decade". Pavle Ivić and Mitar Pešikan, "Serbian printing", 145.

¹⁵ See Günther Wytrzens, "Serbische Drucke", Die Slavica der Wiener Mechitaristen-Druckerei. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften: Philosophisch-historische Klasse 460 (Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1985) 54–177.

¹⁶ "Mehitaristi nisu zaslužni samo za uredno štampanje ovih naših knjiga i za korektno držanje u vezi sa komplikacijama do kojih je došlo zbog njihovog štampanja već su, pripremajući slova u svojoj režiji, doprineli i estetskom

The very first Serbian publication of the Mechitaristen-Druckerei was the *Srpski rječnik*, a Serbian–German–Latin dictionary with 26,270 terms. The book is regarded as the most important book by Vuk Karadžić because it presented Serbian grammar of the literary language based on the Štokavian dialect used in epics as well as a new writing system. The dictionary had significant consequences not only for constituting Serbian Romantic literature, but also for the foundation of music terminology in the Serbian language, especially after 1866, when the reformed language was officially adopted in Serbia. In the same year Milan Milovuk (1825–83), the Serbian musician from Pest, published the first theory of music, the *Teorički osnovi muzike* (The basics of music theory; 1866), with new music terms.

Among the publications in Serbian issued by the Mechitaristen-Druckerei were also the first music editions which appeared either as an appendix in cultural magazines or in textbooks (the choral composition Graničar by Mita Topalović was added to the Srbska čitanka za gimnazije by Jovan Subotić, 1855), or as individual editions, starting with Srbske narodne pesme (Serbian folk songs; 1859) arranged for voice and piano by Kornelije Stanković (1831–65). Music editions published by other Vienese printers include the following: Kornelije Stanković, Pravoslavno crkveno pojanje u srbskog naroda (Orthodox church chant of the Serbian people), vol. 1: Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom arranged for four voices and piano (1862), and Srbske narodne pesme (Serbian folk songs) for voice and piano, 2 vols. (1862–63); Dragutin (Karel) Cižek (1831–1913), Nezavisnost Srbije (Independence of Serbia) for piano, op. 102 (1878); Josif Marinković (1851–1931), Zvučna davorija sa napevom crnogorske pesme "Onam' onamo" (A patriotic song with the melody of the Montenegrin song "Onam' onamo"), op. 3 (1879); Robert Tollinger (1859–1911); Crnogorskom vojniku (To a Montenegrin soldier), for male choir (1886); Mita Topalović (1849–1912), Pesme u dva glasa za učenike narodnih škola (Two-part songs for pupils from people's schools) (1887); and Tihomir Ostojić (1865–1921), Srpski zvuci, narodne pesme i igre (Serbian sounds, folk songs and dances, arranged for piano) (1894). It is significant that music literature was also presented; the

usavršavanju naše grafije." See Zoran Konstantinović, "Kulturna misija i politika: Uloga bečkih mehitarista u štampanju srpskih knjiga 1847. godine" [Cultural mission and politics: The role of Viennese Mechitarists in printing Serbian books in 1847], Godina 1847. u srpskoj književnosti i kulturi: 150 godina kasnije, ed. by Predrag Palavestra (Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 1999) 42.

¹⁷ The process included firstly Pan-Slavism and later Serbian nationalism. In the process, the very understanding of Serbian-ness was redefined. It is obvious, for instance, from an article about the folk and church rites of Serbs from Herzegovina ("Srbi Hercegovcy muhamedanskog' i pravoslavno-istočnog' veroispovjedanija"/Serbs from Herzegovina of the Muslim and Orthodox-East religions), published in the Serbian folk calendar *Vojvođanin* for 1854, that Serbs who accepted Islam were also included as national citizens, but this was later abandoned in favour of belief that only Serbs of the Orthodox religion could be regarded as "real Serbs". In 1825 the Orthodox Church reached the status of the state institution, and in the constitutions of 1869, 1888, and 1901 the state religion of Serbia was confirmed as "Eastern-Orthodox".

¹⁸ The new orthography of the Serbian language meant the application of a rule that every sound is represented by one letter, which was more closely related to German than to Russian. The process was a sign of the cultural and political shift toward Austria instead of Russia, and the question was discussed in 1825 in Serbski letopis [Serbian annual], one of the Serbian magazines published in Vienna. The Serbski letopis reprinted a review from a Russian scientific journal of 1824 concerning three volumes of Serbian folk poetry by Vuk Stefanović. This very positive opinion about Karadžić's publications concluded with a criticism that reflected the political struggle between Austria and Russia for domination in Serbia: "It should be noticed that Vuk Stefanović and other Serbian authors suddenly had an idea to suppress ancient Slavic alphabet by introducing new letters and orthography incompatible with the Slavs. Instead of rapprochment of Serbs and Russians and make easier mutual exchange of their vernacular works, they tear the union between two languages."

book Nauka glavnih pojmova muzike (The science of main musical terms) by Dragutin (Karel) Blažek (1847–1922), published in 1889, signifies the establishing of discourse about music, too.

Music journals. Following the first articles on literature and the arts published in almanacs, general newspapers, and magazines, the earliest writings on music were published in 1825 in newspapers, illustrated magazines, and calendars. Along with general literature on music, texts on specialized topics, attitudes, and terminology appeared. The earliest Serbian music journals were published toward the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries. This was relatively late in comparison with other European countries, but the historical circumstances of Serbian people did not provide favourable conditions any earlier. European countries any earlier.

The format of Kornelije (1883), the first music periodical, followed the format of calendar almanacs, and since only a single issue was published, it has in the first place historical significance. Gudalo (1886-87), with its ten published issues, can be regarded as the first true professional music periodical in the Serbian language. Twenty years after Milovuk's attempt to establish Serbian music terminology, its development was continued here, particularly due to the efforts of the journal's publisher and editor, the Czech composer and cellist Robert Tollinger (1859–1911), who wrote the first extensive music analysis of his own choral compositions printed as an insert to the journal.²¹ The journal's masthead lists Milan Petrović as its editor and publisher, but it is known that Tollinger did the editorial work on the journal using the pseudonym Mladen in the byline. The Srpski muzički list (1903), edited by Isidor Bajić, dedicated most of its space to news items. The last periodical before World War I, Gusle (1911-14), was an official journal of the Savez srpskih pevačkih društava, and included mainly news items related to Serbian choral societies in the Habsburg Monarchy, Ottoman Empire, and even in the United States. The journal was analogous to Pjevački vjesnik, the journal published in Zagreb by the Savez hrvatskih pjevačkih društava (1904 to 1912), which had a similar contents. With the exception of Kornelije, which was published in Belgrade, the other three journals were published in urban centers of Vojvodina with sizeable Serbian population: Velika Kikinda, Novi Sad, and Sombor.

WRITINGS ON MUSIC. Morphologically speaking, writings on music included short biographies of significant musicians, simple descriptions of artistic events, news about

¹⁹ A possible model of music calendars could be the Viennese *Fromme's musikalische Welt,* or *Kalender für die musikalische Welt,* edited by Carl Fromme (1876–1901), containing data about musical life in Vienna and other towns in the Habsburg monarchy, including those with Serbian population as well.

²⁰ Roksanda Pejović lists some 150 articles on music published between 1825 and 1882, over 350 between 1882 to 1900, and 6540 articles until 1918. Roksanda Pejović, *Kritike, članci i posebne publikacije u srpskoj muzičkoj prošlosti* (1825–1918) [Criticism, articles, and special publications in the Serbian musical past (1825–1918)] (Beograd: Fakultet muzičke umetnosti, 1994) 26.

²¹ During the 19th century, many Czech musicians lived in Vojvodina and Serbia, working as choir conductors, music teachers, and performers. They composed mainly choral music on Serbian lyrics, and some of them were also music writers. One of the most significant among them was the composer, cellist, editor of the music journal *Gudalo*, and music publisher Robert Tollinger, who worked in Kikinda, Šabac and then in Cetinje (Montenegro). During his stay in Kikinda (1880–90), the town was an important music center since its choral society, the Društvo za negovanje muzike Gusle, was one of the most accomplished vocal ensembles among very many such ensembles in Serbia. Within this society Tollinger published his journal and compositions. He was also the organizer of the concerts and performed as a cellist. The fact that his analyses are hard to understand today shows how long the process of determination and adoption of music terminology was, which had its beginning in the literal translations of terms from German.

the activities of choral societies, and were mainly written by amateurs. In the 1880s more profound concert reviews, essays on music and its social role, and analyses of newly published compositions were introduced, with theoretical and aesthetic comments modelled after Viennese and German journals on culture, literature, and the arts. However, their general tone was in accord with the national program present at the time in Serbian periodicals.

The editorial by Robert Tollinger in the first issue of Gudalo (Velika Kikinda, 1 January 1886) explained the intended direction of the journal. He pointed out that the continuity of Serbian culture and music was interrupted from the Kosovo Battle of 1389, when the Serbian Empire lost its independence and became an Ottoman province, to the appearance of Kornelije Stanković (1831–65), and that the circumstances "turned out in a much better way" with the beginning of Stanković's professional work.²² The editorial claimed further that many widely accepted choral compositions by Davorin Jenko (1835–1914) provided the impetus for founding new choral societies, which were in turn the primary reason for initiating a professional music journal. The main goal of the journal was to connect and unify all choral societies in order to bring further advancement to musical culture among the Serbian people. Serbian, Croatian, and other Slavic choral societies were asked to send to the editor of the Gudalo news items about their activities as well as relevant questions. Later the journal intended to collect news items about all kinds of musical events and compositions coming from "Slavic tribes", 23 which were supposed to be analyzed and reviewed. It also intended to encourage music publishing in order to advance Serbian music, because this was seen as the only way to provide "healthy directions to our music" as well as compositions for the school and home in order to "expel foreign influences from our homes, which are now overwhelmed by it".24 The third direction of the journal was to collect data and material for "creating our history of music". Considering these goals, the editorial concludes that "our aims are rather big and hard to achieve. Nevertheless, we hope to fulfill these tasks fast and gradually... We are aware that the readership of our journal is still small, but our requirements are also very small. If we are lucky enough to get at least 200 subscribers... for the beginning that would be enough, 25 The national promotion was obviously connected with an educational approach, characteristic of still-popular almanacs with calendars and other Serbian periodicals of the time.

The contents of *Gudalo* followed the model of European, and especially Viennese, music journals, such as *Die Neue Wiener Musik-Zeitung* (1852–60), edited by Franz-

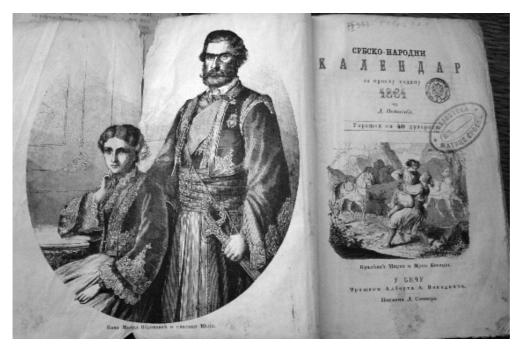
²² "Новорођај глазбе у нас морамо рачунати од Корнелија Станковића. После Косова, а пре њега, на томе пољу није учинио нико озбиљна и успешна корака у нас. Али од Корнелија овамо почеше се ствари на боље окрећати". "Приступ" [The introduction], Гудало 1 (1886) 1−2.

²³ Ibid., 2.

²⁴ "Трудићемо се, да поновљ**еном развијтку глазбе наше здраве правце дамо; порадићемо, да нам се напишу** чим пре, за прву потребу нужна стручна дела за школу и кућу, да се напишу и издаду ваљани глазботвори, те да се потисне туђинштина из кућа наши, која их је досад плавила". **Ibid, 3. It is interesting to mention that a similar** opinion about Kornelije Stanković and Davorin Jenko was expressed in the same year in the first survey of Serbian music, written by the Croatian historian, author, and amateur composer Vjekoslav Klaić (1849–1928): "Muzika u Srba" [Music among the Serbs], *Vienac* 18/46 (1886) 734–35; 18/47 (1886) 746–48; 18/48 (1886) 763–66.

²⁵ "Поред свега овога обратићемо велику пажњу на куплење података за градиво повеснице наше глазбе. У томе молимо сваког пријатеља српског напретка да нам буде на руци и да нам постави сваки, па ма и најсићушнији податак о прошлости српске глазбе.... Ово су нам смерови. Доста су велики и тешко изведљиви. Па ипак се надамо, да ћемо постепеном решењу задаћа, које смо себи истакли, брзо и успешно приступити... Ми знамо, да је публика за наш лист за сада још врло мала, али су и наши захтеви врло мали. Послужили нас срећа да добијемо само 200 претплатника, ... за прве потребе било би нам и то довољно." "Приступ" [The introduction], 3–4.

Xaver Glöggl. The *Musik-Zeitung* was known to Serbian musicians and editors in Vojvodina, who even translated articles from it, such as the one about Kornelije Stanković published in *Serbski dnevnik*. A comparison of the contents of these journals shows that Viennese and Serbian editors shared the same or similar concerns: The main feature in the *Musik-Zeitung*, published in eight installments during its first year (1852, nos. 11–18), was dedicated to the question of what is music (*Was ist Musik*), just as *Gudalo* published in its first issue an article about the beginnings and development of music. Both journals considered issues related to folk music and folk melodies, published announcement and notes about new compositions, music performances (primarily



2. Sprsko-narodni kalendar za prostu godinu 1861 [Serbian popular calendar for common year 1861] (Wien, 1861). The title page shows a picture of the Serbian national hero Kraljević Marko struggling against Musa the Robber (Musa Kesedžija); on the left foldout are shown Prince Mihailo Obrenović and Princess Julija.

related to opera performances and choral societies in the Viennese journal, and to the concerts of choral societies in the Serbian journal), advertisments for new editions of music, advertisements for private lessons on instruments, notes about the history of music, biographies or portraits of contemporary composers (Rossini, Marschner, Händel, Beethoven, Mozart, Czerny, Glinka, Diabelli, Chopin, Haydn, John Field)²⁷ and performers (more so in *Die Neue Wiener Musik-Zeitung*), and correspondence.

²⁶ Serbian musicians and authors could have known Die Neue Wiener Musik-Zeitung also from the fact that it was published by the Mechitaristen-Buchdruckerei in Vienna.

²⁷ There were also other signs showing the importance of the discourse of biography. In *Die Neue Wiener Musik-Zeitung* 26 (25 June 1857) 105–06, was published an advertisement for a collection of composers' biographies: "Sammlung von Biographien, Ernst Balde in Kassel, Sammlung von Biographien der jetzt lebenden Komponisten mit Portraets, das Heft zu dem sehr billigen Preise von 4 Silbergroschen".

Every issue of *Gudalo* included a music supplement—a composition by Tollinger—and those pieces were analyzed in the journal itself. In the first issue Tollinger included his choral composition called, symbolically enough, *Dižimo škole*! (Let's build schools!), followed by an analysis of another of Tollinger's composition (*Svatovac* for piano). The section on biographies included an extensive biography of Franz Liszt and a list of his works, a report about Anton Rubinštejn's concert tour, and at the end came the miscellanea with news about musicians, composers, vocal and instrumental ensembles, concerts, new operas, and the concert programmes of Serbian choral societies in various cities, such as Novi Sad, Timişoara, Velika Kikinda, Martonoš.²⁸

Over the lifespan of *Gudalo*, Tollinger published 18 biographical articles on those composers, musicians, and music writers (and in some cases also their family members) that he considered to be representative of the 18th and 19th centuries. The most extensive biographies were of Liszt, Beethoven, Chopin, Paganini, Salieri, Haydn, and, interestingly, the musicologist August Wilhelm Ambros. It seems that although only biographies of Leopold, Maria Anna, and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart are attributed to Hugo Riemann, his *Musik-Lexikon*, published two years earlier, served Tollinger as the model for all entries.²⁹ From there he translated biographies of August Wilhelm Ambros,³⁰ Beethoven,³¹ Czerny, Donizeti, Carl Joseph Lipinski, Moritz Moszkowski, the Mozart family,³² Paganini, Benedikt Randhartinger, and Antonio Salieri. In his biographies of the Haydn brothers, Tollinger omitted Riemann's details about Joseph Haydn's early music education, as well as remarks concerning the characteristics of the composer's musical language, but at the end he made his own comment that Franjo Ksaver Kuhač "proved" Joseph's and Michael Haydn's Croatian origin.³³

Tollinger made more substantial changes in the biographies of Smetana, Chopin, and Čajkovskij, since with those entries he promoted the Pan-Slavic ideology that was the journal's main orientation. Consequently Riemann's entries translated from the *Musik-Lexikon* were only the basis for much broader biographies of the composers in the *Gudalo*. Tollinger followed Riemann's text about Čajkovskij's biography up to the following evaluation: "his compositions are often surprising in their spicy harmonic means, fresh pulsating rhythm, and wonderful melodies; still, to our German ears their theme sometimes sounds trivial, although it is a good Russian national melody".³⁴

²⁸ The complete bibliography of articles published in *Gudalo* is appended.

²⁹ Hugo Riemann, Musik-Lexikon. Theorie und Geschichte der Musik, die Tonkünstler alter und neuer Zeit mit Angabe ihrer Werke, nebst einer vollständigen Instrumentenkunde. Zweite, vermehrte Ausgabe (Leipzig: Verlag des Bibliographischen Instituts, 1884).

³⁰ In the entry about August Wilhelm Ambros, Tollinger added only a remark that it is a pity that Ambros did not pay more attention to the music of Slavs in his otherwise excellent history of music. "Животописи: Август Вилем Амброс" [Biographies: August Wilhelm Ambros], Гудало 8 (1886) 152.

³¹ The only difference in the Serbian journal concerns the bibliography of works about Beethoven: Instead of some 20 books listed by Riemann, Tollinger mentioned only one, the most important biography of the composer written by A.W. Тhyer. "Животописи: Бетховен Лудвик ван" [Biographies: Beethoven Ludwig van], Гудало 10 (1887) 181.

³² There is one interesting change made in the translation of the list of W.A. Mozart's works: Riemann's titles for the groups of works "Konzerte und Solostücke mit Orchester" and "Kammermusik", Tollinger translated in his journal as "Концерти и салонске глазбовине са свегласијем" [Concerts and salon compositions with orchestra] and "Дворска глазба" [Court music]. Riemann, "Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus", *Musik-Lexikon*, 611; Др. Х. Риман, "Животописи: Моцарт, Волфганг Амадеј" [Biographies: Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus], *Гуоало* 4 (1886) 84.

³³ "Животописи: Франја Јосип Хајдн; Јован Михајло Хајдн" [Biographies: Franz Joseph Haydn: Johann Mihael Haydn], Гудало 9 (1886) 171.

³⁴ "Seine Kompositionen ueberraschen oft durch pikante harmonische Wendungen, Frisch pulsierende Rhythmik und eigenartige Melodik; doch erscheint unsern deutschen Ohren auch manchmal ein thema banal, das gut russischnational sein mag". Riemann, "Tschaikowsky, Peter Iljitsch", *Musik-Lexikon*, 941.

Commenting on this opinion, Tollinger pointed out that Germans would always have an objection to anything of Slavic origin, but that cannot harm Čajkovskij's compositions; it could make Čajkovskij's music harder "to get into the big Germany, but not to prevent it", since his music was already known all over Germany.³⁵

The Slavic-German "misunderstanding" is also present in Chopin's biography. Following Riemann's survey of his life and work, or, more accurately, of how his greatness and originality were understood by the Germans, Tollinger commented that in spite of their well-known and profound thoroughness in research, Germans could not have understood the uniqueness of Chopin's music, which is otherwise obvious and easy to recognize: "Chopin was a thoroughly Polish man. [He] was fed with Polish milk, raised with Polish word and song. His compositions—especially the early ones—are completely national to Poland. With his ten-years-younger contemporary Stanisław Moniuszko, Chopin is the most perfect representative of Polish national music. The Germans should recognize and admit that, and then they will immediately have the key to the riddle that they cannot solve".36 The greatness of Chopin, continues Tollinger, thus has its roots in his origins, and for that reason the composer reached the peak of his originality and creativity in his early twenties, since he formed his unique style while in Warsaw and could not have further developed it since he moved to Paris thereafter. Therefore, only the work "at the source of the national genius" could provide such deep creativity, never reached even by Liszt or Schumann, who tried to create music like Chopin's.³⁷ According to Tollinger, or, more precisely, Franjo Kuhač's firm standpoint, Slavic people are the most gifted musically, and their origins as such, embodied in the greatest music, could offer relevant proof.

Precisely like Kuhač, who nevertheless claimed that the representatives of his motherland Croatia are the most gifted for music among all Slavic people, Tollinger had the same opinion about his countrymen, the Czech composers. This is obvious from the entry about Smetana, the most extensive biography in the journal, in which Tollinger's additions to Riemann's entry from the *Musik-Lexikon* were inspired by Eliška Krásnohorská's monograph.³⁸ Having in mind that Krásnohorská collaborated with Smetana, was the librettist of his four operas,³⁹ and also wrote and promoted Romantic poetry, her (and consequently Tollinger's) rhetoric is rather romanticized. Smetana is presented as the founder of the newer Czech music, very talented, but, at that time, not yet sufficiently recognized in the context of European music history. The time when his name would be written in golden letters was anticipated.⁴⁰ Smetana's biography was

³⁵ "Што је словенско, Немцима не може бити без замерке. Но те замерке Чајковсковим глазботворинама не крње ни најмање вредности. Отешчавају им улазак у велику Немачку, али га не спречавају. Чајковскови глазботвори отимају из дана у дан све то већа маха у Немачкој. Велики концертски заводи, слабо се осврћу на сићушне народносне суревњивости, и ти заводи негују Чајковскове злазботворе већ широм по свој Немачкој." "Животописи: Петаръ Чайковский Илйчъ" [Biographies: Pëtr Čajkovskij Il'ič], Гудало 8 (1886) 149–50.

³⁶ "Шопен је био скроз Пољак. Одгојен је о пољском млеку, одгојен је пољском речи и попевком. Његови су глазботвори—особито они из млађи му година—скроз пољски народни. Шопен је са својим сувремењаком, само за десет година млађим Станиславом Моњушким, најсавршенији представник пољске народне глазбе. Нека Немци то увиде и признаду, па ће одма имати кључа решењу загонетке, која им је нерешива." "Животописи: Фредерик Франсоа Шопен" [Biographies: Fryderyk Franciszek Chopin]", Гудало 7 (1886) 138.

³⁷ Ibid

³⁸ Eliška Krásnohorská, Bedřich Smetana: Nástin jeho života i působení jeho uměleckého [Bedřich Smetana: An outline of his life and artistic work] (Praha: F.A. Urbánek, 1885).

³⁹ Beside librettos for Smetana's four operas (*Hubička* [The kiss], 1876; *Tajemství* [The secret], 1879; Čertova stěna [The devil's wall], 1883; *Viola*, unfinished), she also wrote librettos for Zdeněk Fibich's and Karel Bendl's operas.

^{40 &}quot;И ако вањство знаменитост и важност Сметанови уметнички дела данае јоште није пуно признало и

written in a way that was typical for presenting founders of a national music, or for composers who were chosen to be the first national composer. He is described to be so deeply dedicated to music and his creative work that he never understood it as his job or as a means for earning a living, but only as the idealized embodiment of his love for the *Heimat*. Similar descriptions can be found in earlier writings about Kornelije Stanković and Vatroslav Lisinski, the first Serbian and Croatian national composers retrospectively. Tollinger stressed, just as the first biographer of Stanković, Fedor Demelić, did, that Smetana's musical language was developed and modern, but not too advanced, and certainly not as advanced as Wagner's. Therefore, "the genius of Smetana directed Czech music to its authenticity, provided the characteristic Czech national type of music. His influence on younger and the youngest generation is and will remain very strong for long time."

The frequent contributions in both *Die Neue Wiener Musik-Zeitung* and in the *Gudalo* point to the great importance of Liedertafeln in Vienna and to the concerts of many Serbian choral societies in and out of the country. These journals are also precious sources of information about the activities of the choral societies of many nationalities active "auf unsere vaterlaendischen Gegenden", 43 as the editor of *Fromme's musikalische*

уважило, то није далеко доба, кога ће повесница *чешке* глазбе име Сметаново златним словима забележити, и тиме и у анале опште повеснице уврстити." **Cf.** "Животописи: Бедрих Сметана" [**Biographies: Bedřich Smetana**], Гудало 3 (1886) 54.

 $^{^{41}}$ "Ту (у опери $\mathit{Либушa}$ – Т.М.) се Сметана придржавао модерни глазбено-драмски начела, али без да их је заоштрио до Вагнерова схваћања и употребе." Ibid.

⁴² "Његова гениалност дала је чешком глазботворењу правац изворности, чешки народносни тип. Уплив његов на новије и најновије поколење чешко био је, и остаће још дуго силан." **Ibid.**

⁴³ Thus, in 1878, for instance, news items in Fromme's musikalische Welt were received from music institutions in over 300 towns of central and south Europe (listed by their German names), and they document how even small Serbian, Croatian, and Bosnian places supported an interesting musical life: Agram, Aich, Althabendorf, Altheim, Andritz, Arad, Arbesbach, Arco, Arnau, Aspach, Aussig an der Elbe, Baden, Baumgarten, Bela, Bennisch, Bilin, Bielitz, Bozen, Braunau, Boehm. Kamnitz, Boehm. Leipa, Boehmen, Braunau aus Oberoesterreich, Bregenz, Brixen, Brody, Brood, Bruck an der Leitha, Bruck an der Mur, Bruenn, Budapest, Budweis, Cattaro, Christofsgrund, Chrudim, Cilli, Chittavecchia, Curzola, Czernowitz, Debreczin, Deutch. Liebau, Deutsch-Landsberg, Dornbirn, Dux, Ebreichsdorf, Eger, Egg, Eggenburg, Eisenerz, Eisenstadt, Elbogen, Engabrum, Engelsbegr, Enns, Erlau, Essegg, Feldkirch, Fischamend, Fischern, Franzensbad, Frassanz, Freistadt aus Oberoesterreich, Freistadt aus Schlesien, Freundenthal, Friedland, Friesach, Fuenfkirchen, Fuerstenfeld, Gars, Georgswalde, Glina, Gmunden, Gmuend, Gobelsburg, Goisern, Goerkau, Goerz, Goetzis, Graz, Greifenburg, Grein, Gross. Kanizsa, Gross. Sieghardts, Grottau, Grulich, Guens, Hainburg, Haindorf bei Friedland, Hall, Hallein, Hard, Harzdorf bei Reichenberg, Haugsdorf, Heinrichsgruen, Hermannstadt, Herzongenburg, Hittisau, Hoechst, Hohenelbe, Hohenems, Hohenstadt, Iglau, Innsbruck, Inzersdorf am Wienerberg, Irdning, Ischl, Jaegerndorf, Jičin, Joachimsthal, Josefstadt, Judenburg, Jungbunzlau, Kardas-Rečič, Karlsbad, Kaschau, Katharinenberg, Késmark, Kindberg, Kirchdorf, Klagenfurt, Klaus, Klausenburg, Klosterneuburg, Knin, Knitelfeld, Kolin, Korneuburg, Kostajnica, Krainburg, Kratzau, Kreibitz, Krems, Kremsler, Kremsmuenster, Laa an der Thaya, Laibach, Langenbruck, Langenlois, Leibnitz, Leitmeritz, Lemberg, Leoben, Leobersdorf, Lesina, Leutschau, Leva, Lienz, Liesing, Lingenau, Linz, Lundenburg, Lustenau, Machendorf, Maffersdorf, Mahrenberg, Makarska, Marburg, Marienthal, Maros-Ujvár, Marschendorf, Matheótz, Mauthausen, Melk, Meisterdorf, Meran, Mies, Miscolocz, Mistek, Moedling, Mondsee, Muraru, Nagy-Enyed, Neuhabendorf, Neuhaus, Neulengbach, Neundorf bei Kratzau, Nenkirchen, Neusohl, Neustadt, Maehr., Neustadtl, Oberdrauburg, Oberlaa, Oberwoelz, Oberzeiring, Oedenburg, Olmuetz, Orsova, Ostrau, Maehr., Papá, Petrinja, Petschau, Pettau, Pilsen, Pirkenhammer, Pisek, Poprád, Pottendorf, Prag, Prerau, Pressburg, Prossnitz, Przemysl, Raab, Radautz, Radkersburg, Ragusa, Reichenberg, Retz, Ried, Riva, Rohle, Rottenman, Rudolfswerth, Rumburg, Saaz, Salzburg, Schaerding, Schessburg, Schatzlar, Scheibbs, Schemnitz, Schlins, Schönau, Schönberg, Schönborn, Schönlinde, Schrems, Schwanberg, Schwanenstadt, Schwarzenthal, Schwechat, Sebenico, Seitenstetten, Sereth, Sissek, Spatalo, Spital, St. Martin aus Ennskreis, St. Nikola an der Donau, St. Peter in der Au, St. Poelten, St. Veit, Stainz, Stanislau, Steinamanger, Steinschoenau, Sternberg, Steyr, Stockerau, Strakonitz, Stuhlweissenburg, Szegedin, Tabor, Tarnopol, Tarnow, Teplitz, Teschen, Traiskirchen, Trau, Trautenau, Trebitsch, Trient, Triest, Troppau, Trumau, Tullin, Uebelbach, Ung. Hradisch, Ung. Weisskirchen, Voecklabruck, Waidhofen an der Thaya, Waidhofen an der Ybbs, Warasdin, Warnsdorf, Wels, Werschetz, Wien, Wiener-Neustadt, Wittingau, Wolfersdorf, Wolfsberg, Wuerbenthal, Ybbs, Zara, Zeidler, Zeltweg, Zlabings, Znaim, Zwettl, Zwickau, Boehm, Zwittau.

Welt pointed out in his editorial in the first issue of 1876. Detailed information about individual ensembles includes the names of the conductor and concert master of the orchestras, as, for example, Dragomir Krančević at the Budapest Magyar Nemzet.

Because of its terminology, one announcement of a choral society's concert published in *Die Neue Wiener Musik-Zeitung* deserves special attention. The concerts of choral societies were referred to mainly as "besede" in Serbian, probably because they were not concerts in the traditional sense, but events with mixed programs often consisting of educational speeches related to housekeeping, geography, biology, medicine, astronomy, history, or poetry; the recitation of poems; performances of lieder and instrumental compositions; and even gymnastic excercises. The term was rarely used later, and eventually it disappeared completely from music terminology. For this reason it is interesting to see it used in the Viennese journal with the same meaning; a note about a Slavic festival says: "On 21 December this year a Beseda' was held in Sperl Hall. These celebrations of the Slavs were, as every year, well attended". Czech and Russian songs accompanied by the orchestra of Johann Strauß, who also collaborated with the Serbian community in Vienna, were included in the program.

Viennese journals used to print news items about musical life in the Serbian towns of Vojvodina as well as about Serbian musicians or institutions in Vienna and other cities in the Habsburg monarchy, as it was the case with Fromme's musikalische Welt. The most significant of these news items is an extensive comment about the first performance of Serbian Orthodox chant in a transcription and harmonization by Kornelije Stanković, the first professional Serbian composer and a member of the Ujedinjena omladina srpska. Being influenced by Vuk Karadžić, the Serbian patriarch Josif Rajačić, and his professor in Vienna, Simon Sechter, Stanković worked on developing strategies for establishing a national music based on folk melodies. This performance was recognized as the turning point in the history of Serbian music, and it attracted the attention of high-level members of Serbian and foreign social circles. His first collection of 12 folk melodies, Srbske narodne pesme (Vienna 1862)—dedicated to the Serbian prince Mihailo Obrenović III (1823–68), who was also a supporter of the Ujedinjena omladina srpska—was the earliest edition of music by a Serbian composer. In the introduction Stanković explained that he had published two volumes of folk songs earlier, but he considers this one to be truly the first one because he heard and transcribed all of the included songs himself, and because these songs represent the pure characteristic of folk music.46 Then he goes on to say that this time he did not provide only the melody, as earlier, but for each song he supplied the artistic embellishment, but in such a way

 $^{^{\}rm 44}\,$ It is still applied only to designate the speech, and is not related to any kind of musical event.

⁴⁵ "Am 21. Dezember d. J. war Beseda' in den Sperl-Salen. Dieses fest der Slaven in Wien war wie alljährlich besucht". "Kunstnachrichten", *Die neue Wiener Musik-Zeitung* 52 (24 December 1857) 209.

⁴⁶ "Пре ове књиге народних песама (мелодија), издао сам још две, али ја ову називам првом, едно за то, што сам све ове песме сам собом у народу чуо, и што су оне чиста особина нашега народа; а друго што овде ние само мелодија написана као пре, него сам још огледао, те сам свакој мелодији дао вештачки украс, али тако, да у њој не повређен остане дух, коим ју е народ задахнуо. (...) Али Његовој Светлости кнезу србском Михаилу не само да морам за то захвалити, што сам могао доћи у средину свога народа, него његова доброта допустила е још да смем ово дело његовом светлом имену посветити. Тако обилној милости едва се мође упоредити воља, с којом сам радио око овога посла, и она воља, коју сам том обилатом милошћу задобио, да и у напредак радим око свега онога, што е народно и што е намењено користи народној. А о народу нашем нека е овај милост нов јасан знак, како Његова Светлост прима под своју заштиту све оно, што е народно, и што е намењено користи народној. У Бечу о Ускрсу, 1862. Корнилие Станковић". *Србске народне песме* сакупио, и у ноте за певане и клавир написао Корнелиє Станковић. Прва књига, у Бечу 1862 [Serbian folk songs, collected and transcribed for singing and piano by Kornelije Stanković] (Wien: Gustave Albrecht, 1862) 5.

Ronzert.

Das Konzert spirituel des Cornelius Stankovits, welches am Oftermontage um die Mittagestunde im Musikvereinssaale statt fand, war im hohen Grade intressant. Es bestand aus Choral = Melodien der griechisch-slavischen Liturgie, vom Konzertgeber aus der ursprünglichen Quelle geschopft, und für Sopran, Alt, Tenor und Baß geseht, welche

von vierzig Sangern und Sangerinnen ausgeführt murben.

Erft unferem Zeitalter mar es vorbehalten, über die Mufit der neueren Griechen, über die bisher ein unerklarliches Dunkel herricht, einiges Licht zu verbreiten. Das großte Berdienft hierbei gebuhrt bem gelehrten Frangofen Villoteau, welcher den General Bonaparte nach Egypten begleitet, nnb nach feiner Buruckkunft in einer Reihe hochft ichagbarer Ubhandlungen theils aus bem Schape ber an Ort und Stelle gefammelten Rotizen, theils mit hilfe ber feltenen Manuferipte ber großen Parifer Bibliothet bie Musit (bie musikalischen Sifteme) ber Egyptier, Araber, Perfer, Syrier, Armenier, Griechen und Juden beschrieben hat. Nach ber im neunten Jahrhunderte erfolgten, im eilf= ten vollkommener ausgesprochenen Trennung ber griechischen von ber lateinischen Rirche murbe eine neue Liturgie eingeführt, worin die Beiftlichen ungemein viel und vielerlei zu fingen hatten. Es ift in biefer und in ber nachftfolgenden Periode, daß jene Befange entftanden, die noch heut zu Tage im Gebrauche find; eine fast unglaubliche Bahl von Simnoben (Poetiker nnd Melodiker) that fich damals hervor, ihre Namen find gewöhnlich auch noch in ben Gefangbuchern angezeigt. Mitunter erscheinen auch noch Gefange, welche bem h. Johannes Damaszenus aus bem achten Jahrhunderte zugeschrieben werden. Aus welchen Quel-len herr Stankovits die von ihm vorgeführten Proben von Ofterliebern, Gefangen aus ber Liturgie bes beiligen Bafilius bes Großen, und aus der Giphanie, bann ber Melodien fur den Charfamftag und jene fur Pfingften ichopfte, ift uns unbekannt; fo viel aber ift ficher, baß alle biefe Gefange den Charafter bes Urfprunglichen, Bolfethum: lichen im hochsten Grade an sich tragen, und daß namentlich der allen flavischen Bolksweisen eigenthumliche klagende Zon überall hindurch: Elinat. Diefe in ihrer Grundfarbuna fo aleicartiaen Gefanae find reich an Modulazionen von der iconften und ergreifenbften Urt, ba fich barin bas echt religiofe und glaubige Gemuth in feiner ganglichen Singebung fpiegelt. Bei ber großten Ginfachheit und Ruhe aber geht bie marmfte Bewegung burch alle bargelegten Seelenstimmungen. Auffallend ift bie innere gleiche Saktart und die ftete Biedertehr einiger mufikalischer Phrasen und Wendungen. Den größten Gindruck brachte ber britte Befang aus ber Liturgie bes heiligen Bafilius bes Großen "Es erfreut sich beiner" hervor, ber wiederholt werden mußte. Der vom Rongert: geber komponirte Cherubin'iche Befang ift recht edel gehalten, und ichmiegt fich ber Beife ber urfprunglichen Gefange ziemlich treu an. Die Melodie fur Pfingsten "Freue Dich, Ronigin" ift ein fehr intereffantes ausbruckevolles Lonftuck, worin bie Stimmen fich in gefchickt geführten Imitazionen in- und gegen einander bewegen.

Die Ausführung biefer Gefange unter ber Leitung bes hr. Stans fovits war eine wundervolle, die meisten Mitwirkenden waren aus dem Chorpersonale des Karnthnerthortheaters entnommen, und sangen wie mit einer Seele, wie aus einer Brust, wie mit einer Stimme. Man kann sich ein innigeres Verschmelzen, ein zarteres Betonen, Tragen und heben der Tone, mehr Kraft und Melodie, eine feinere und edlere Schattirung des Vortrags kaum denken, und man sah wieder eins mal deutlich, was ein von seiner Ausgabe ganz durchdrungener Dirigent

uber ein Chor= ober Orchefter: Personale vermag.

that has preserved the spirit which the people gave to it. Stanković's activity was very positively evaluated by Simon Sechter, who collaborated with *Die Neue Wiener Musik-Zeitung* and published on 12 April 1855 a report about Stanković [fig. 3] that was in turn translated and published in Serbian journals, primarily the *Srbski dnevnik*.

Emphasizing the importance of the concert dedicated to Serbian Orthodox music, Sechter compared it to the significance of Egyptian, Arabic, Syrian, Persian, Armenian, Greek, and Jewish "music systems". Then he pointed out that he is not familiar with the sources from which Stanković wrote the liturgy, "so viel aber ist sicher, dass alle diese Gesängen den Charakter des Ursprünglichen, Volkstümlichen im höchsten Grade as sich tragen, und dass namentlich der allen slavischen Volksweisen eigenthümliche klagende Ton überall hindurchklingt. Diese in ihrer Grundfärbung so gleichartigen Gesänge sind reich an Modulazionen von der schönsten ergreisendsten Art, da sich darin spiegelt". Stanković's concert from 1861 in the Musikverein in Vienna was also positively reviewed by Leopold Alexander Zellner in his Blätter für Musik, Theater und Kunst. The importance of Stanković's work was recognized even by the Austrian emperor Franz Joseph II and the Russian emperor Aleksandr II, who both awarded him medals.

The activities of Kornelije Stanković can be seen as a case study of the analysis of Serbian and Viennese writings on music. His efforts to promote Serbian folk and church music as well as the fact that he died young provided fertile ground for the creation of his iconic place in Serbia (naming after him the first music journal, choral society, and later music school, and other institutions) and abroad.

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Historical and political circumstances caused large-scale migrations of Serbian people for several centuries after the 1690s, with the consequence that the majority of the Serbian population in the 19th century lived outside of the country, dispersed all over Europe. Intellectuals, educated Serbian bourgeois, thus made Vienna the center of Serbian culture and arts as well as the center of Serbian printed media, including music journals. Their concept shows how national journals were developed in general—from almanacs with calendars that had educational purposes and were intended for a wide audience (like Kornelije, the first music journal that was organized as a calendar) with translated news items from Viennese, German, Czech, French, and Russian journals related to musical life, to professional studies on question about music history, theory, analyses of selected compositions, as well as music—primarily choral—performance, and thoughts about building a national music culture (such as Gudalo). The first steps in establishing Serbian music historiography thus were realized in early music journals, in intertextual relations with Viennese cultural and music magazines, and were accepted as a canon until nowadays, with recent redefinitions.⁴⁷ As a matter of fact, studying precisely 19th-century Viennese journals could provide deeper insight into Serbian musical life and writings and, therefore, to the mentioned redefinition of the canon in national music historiography.

⁴⁷ For instance, significantly more light should be shed on the history of Serbian stage music performance, as it is almost unknown until now. The importance of studying Viennese journals could be illustrated by the article "Ueber des theaterwesen in Ungarn" by certain Csaplovits, who reports the following: "In serbischer Sprache spielte eine Dilettanten-Gesellschaft im Ofner Theater zum ersten Male 1820, den 22. und 26. August". *Humorist* 141 (29 September 1837) 563–64. Such information is frequently unknown and not included in any history of Serbian music.

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TABLE I

GUDALO: ČASOPIS ZA UNAPREĐENJE GLAZBE, NOS. 1-10 (1886/87)

(Unless indicated, all contributions were unsigned. Presumably, they were written by Robert Tollinger)

Main features (all signed Mladen, what was the pseudonym of the editor Robert Tollinger)

- Летимичан поглед на зачетак и развитак глазбе [A brief overview of the beginnings and development of music], no. 1, 4–6.
- Јавна нега глазбе у нас [Public music-playing among us], no. 2, 17–18. {In Vojvodina}
- О критици глазбе [On music criticism], no. 3, 37–43.
- Наши стручни називи [Our professional terminology], no. 3, 43–45.
- О настави певања у народној школи (Корнелије) [On teaching singing in public schools (Kornelije)], no. 4. {In Vojvodina}
- О гласовном сликању [On tone painting], no. 5, 89-94.
- О правцу и саставу програма наши певачки дружин [On the direction and programming of our choral societies], no. 6, 105–15. {In Serbia}
- Неколико речи о кућној нези глазбе [A few words on playing at home], no. 7, 125–32.
- Глазба на нашој народној позорници [Music on our national stage], no. 8, 142–46. {Argues in favor of founding permanent theater choir and orchestra in Belgrade}
- Певачким дружинама нашима [To our choral societies], no. 9, 157–65. {On Serbian choral societies in Vojvodina}
- Махне у првој настави глазбе [Flaws in early music education], no. 10, 173–76.

Наш прилог [Our supplements] / Прикази [Reviews of compositions] / Претрес [Analysis of compositions] / Критички вестник [Criticism of compositions]

- Роберт Толингер (Robert Tollinger), Дижимо школе!, двозбор, четворогласан мешовит и четворогласан дечији уз пратњу гласовира за две руке на речи Змаја Јована Јовановића, дело 4 [*Dižimo škole!*, double chorus for mixed and children choirs with piano accompaniment, op. 4], no. 1, 6–7.
- Роберт Толингер (Robert Tollinger), Сватовац, за гласовир, дело 2 [Svatovac, for piano, op. 2], no. 1, 7–8.
- Роберт Толингер (Robert Tollinger), Неколико листића из гласовне записнице, за гласовир у две руке, дело 5 [Nekoliko listića iz glasovne zapisnice, for piano four hands, op. 5], no. 2, 22–23.
- Роберт Толингер (Robert Tollinger), Слике и прилике из дечијег живота, 32 гласовна комадића, дело 8 [Slike i prilike iz dečjeg života, 32 pieces for piano, op. 8], no. 2, 23.
- Robert Tollinger (Robert Tollinger), Младост и радост, 12 гласовних сличица ради веџбања
 у предавању на гласовиру, дело 9 [Mladost i radost, 12 little piano images for practicing piano
 playing, op. 9], no. 2, 23–24.
- J.К. Борјановић (J.К. Вогјановиć), Песма на божић, за два гласа удешена [Pesma na božić, arranged for two voices], no. 2, 31–33.
- Роберт Толингер (Robert Tollinger), Три патриотске песме, за мушки хор, дело 6 [Tri patriotske pesme, for male choir, op. 6], no. 3, 46–47.
- Роберт Толингер (Robert Tollinger), *Пупољци*, низ песмица за дечије грло са пратњом гласовира, дело 10 [*Pupoljci*, cycle of children songs with piano accompaniment, op. 10], no. 4, 68–69.
- Јован Иванишевић (Jovan Ivanišević), У част витешкога војводе тимочке војске ђенерала
 М. Лешјанина Марш, за гласовир [U čast viteškoga vojvode timočke vojske đenerala M. Lešjanina
 Marsh, for piano], no. 4, 87.
- Шандор Босиљевац (Šandor Bosiljevac), Хрватицам, коло за гласовир, ор. 11 [Hrvaticam, kolo for piano, op. 11], no. 4, 87–88.
- Роберт Толингер (Robert Tollinger), Две српске игре, за гласовир у четири руке, дело 11 [Zwei serbische Tänze for piano in four hands, op. 11], no. 5, 94–95.
- Роберт Толингер (Robert Tollinger), Храму св. Тројице у Вел. Кикинди сазиданом госпођом Меланијом Николић рођ. Гајчић, *Литургија светог Јована Златоустога*, лаког

- слога за три мушка гласа, дело 12 [Liturgija svetog Jovana Zlatoustoga, for 3 male voices, dedicated to the Hram sv. Trojice in Velika Kikinda, built by Mrs. Melanija Nikolić, born Gajčić, op. 12], no. 6, 115–16.
- Алојзије Милчински (Alojzije Milčinski), Молитва од Бранка Радичевића, за мешовит лик [Molitva by Branko Radičević, for mixed choir], no. 6, 116–21.
- Антон Хочевар (Anton Hočevar), Да л' то..., Небо моје од Ђуре Јакшића, за баритон или алт уз пратњу гласовира [Da l' to..., Nebo moje by Đura Jakšić, for bariton or alt with piano], no. 6, 124.
- Роберт Толингер (Robert Tollinger), Русанђанке, 6 песама за мешовити збор у духу певања српског народа, дело 13 [Rusandanke, 6 songs in the spirit of Serbian folk melodies, for mixed choir, op. 13], no. 7, 132–134.
- Роберт Толингер (Robert Tollinger), *Зачинка*, за гусле, хармониум и гласовир, дело 14 [*Začinka*, Serbian serenade for violin, harmonium and piano, op. 14], no. 8, 147.
- Даворин Јенко (Davorin Jenko), Глазба алегорији Маркова сабља [Music for alegory Markova sablja], no. 9, 172a—72c.
- Роберт Толингер (Robert Tollinger), Г. Милану К. Петровићу, народном учитељу у В. Кикинди, *І. Ђулић Змаја-Јована Јовановића*, самопев за тенор или сопран са пратњом ситних гуда, хармониума и гласовира, дело 15 [*I. Đulić* by Zmaj Jovan Jovanović, dedicated to Mr. Milan K. Petrović, teacher in Velika Kikinda, for tenor or sopran with strings, harmonium and piano accomplaniment, op. 15], no. 9, 166.
- Роберт Толингер (Robert Tollinger), Три песме за два женска гласа са пратњом гласовира дело 16 [Three songs for two female voices with piano accompaniment, op. 16], no. 10, 177.

Животописи [Biographies]

- Фрања Лист [Franz Liszt], no. 1, 8-13.
- Карло Черни [Carl Czerny], no. 2, 27-28.
- Антонио Салиери [Antonio Salieri], no. 2, 28–29.
- Бенедикт Рандхартингер [Benedikt Randhartinger], no. 2, 29.
- Бедрих Сметана [Bedřich Smetana], no. 3, 49–54.
- Др. Х. Риман (Hugo Riemann), Јован Ђорђе Леополдо Моцарт [Johann Georg Leopold Mozart] no. 4, 77–78.
- Др. Х. Риман (Hugo Riemann), Марија Анна Моцарт [Maria Anna Mozart], no. 4, 78.
- Др. Х. Риман (Hugo Riemann), Волфганг Амадеј Моцарт [Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart], no. 4, 78–84.
- Др. Х. Риман (Hugo Riemann), Волфганг Амадеј Моцарт [Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Jr.], no. 4, 84.
- Николо Паганини [Nicolo Paganini], no. 7, 134-36.
- Фредерик Франсоа Шопен [Fryderyk Franciszek Chopin], no. 7, 136–39.
- Петаръ Чайковскій Илійчь [Pëtr Il'ič Čajkovskij], no. 8, 149–52.
- Август Вилем Амброс [August Wilhelm Ambros], no. 8, 152–53.
- Карло Јосиф Липински [Carl Joseph Lipinski], no. 8, 153.
- Фрања Јосип Хајдн [Joseph Haydn], no. 9, 166-70.
- Јован Михајло Хајдн [Johann Michael Haydn], no. 9, 171.
- Бетховен Лудвик ван [Ludwig van Beethoven], no. 10, 177-81.
- Донизети Гаетано [Gaetano Donizeti], no. 10, 181-82.
- Московски Маврикије [Moritz Moszkowski], no. 10, 182-83.

Извештаји [Reports]

- Антон Рубинштајн последњи пут на јавности [Anton Rubinštejn last time in public], no. 1, 13–14.
- Опера у Загребу [Opera in Zagreb], no. 1, 14–15.
- Извештај о раду Панчевачког српског певачког друштва за год. 1885 [A report about activities of the Serbian church choral society in Pančevo in the year 1885], no. 2, 25–27.

- Димитрије Славјански-Агрењев и Немачка [Dmitrij Slavjanskij-Agrenev in Germany], no. 2, 29–31. {Translation from the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, Berlin}
- Са народне позорнице у Београду [From the National theater in Belgrade], no. 3, 48–49. {Dve sirotice by C. Ochsendorff, with music by Davorin Jenko}
- Димитрије Агрењев-Славјански и његова радња на пољу глазбе [Dmitrij Agrenev Slavjanskij and his work in the field of music], no. 4, 85–86. {Translated from a Czech newspaper}
- (†), Прослава десетгодишњице Мите Топаловића [Celebration of the tenth anniversary of Mita Topalović], no. 5, 95–98. {The Pančevačko pevačko društvo celebrated the 10th anniversary of the work with its conductor Mita Topalović}
- Прослава дана смрти Сметанове [Commemoration of Smetana's death], no. 6, 121–22.
- Славјански у Паризу [Slavjanskij in Paris], по. 6, 122. {Translation from Le Figaro, Paris}
- Чешки глас о Славјанском и његовом збору [Czech voice about Slavjanski and his choir], no. 6, 122–23 {Translation from Dalibor, Prague}
- Симфонијски концерти руског музикалног општества [Symphonic concerts of the Russian music society], no. 8, 147–49; no. 10, 183–85. {Report about the concert in St. Petersburg, conducted by Hans Buelow}

Пабирци [Notes from everywhere]

NO. I, P. 15:

- Лео Делиб [Leo Delibes]. {Visit to eastern Europe}
- Бечка академија певача [Wiener Singakademie]. {Performances of Händel's Athalia and Dvořák's Stabat mater}
- У Павловску [In Pavlovsk]. {The fourth symphonic concert in the season conducted by Vojtéch Hlavač}
- Едвард Ремењи [Eduard Reményi]. {The violinist gave concert in California}
- Нова руска опера [New Russian opera]. {Kordeliâ by Solov'ev}
- Нове глазботворине [New compositions]. {Announcement for new compositions by Robert Tollinger, published by the Braća Jovanović bookshop in Pančevo}

NO. 2. P. 33-35:

- Слављење Листа у Русији [Celebration of Liszt in Russia].
- Најновија дела Фрање Листа [The newest compositions by Franz Liszt].
- Антон Рубинштајн на одмору [Anton Rubinštejn on holidays].
- Гђцу Олгу Васиљевићеву [Ms. Olga Vasiljević]. {Announcement for the concert of the pianist in Szeged}
- Друштво "Гусле" позвато у госте [The society Gusle is invited for a visit]. {The Serbian choral society Gusle is invited to Szeged}
- Нов Интендант Будимпештанске кр. опере [The new director of the Budapest opera]. {Apointement of Stephen Keglevich}
- †Јосиф Алојзије Тихачек [†Josif Alojzije Tihaček]. {An obituary}
- Број ученика и ученица на бечкој консерваторији год 1885/6 [The number of students at the Vienna Conservatory in 1885/1886].
- Новост, стара 100 година [News older than 100 years]. {Performance of an overture by Friedrich the Great in Berlin}
- "Севиљски берберин" на београдској позорници [Il barbiere di Seviglia at the Belgrade National theater].
- Новина у Будимпештанској краљ. опери [News from the Budapest Royal Opera]. {The premiere of Ödön von Mihalovich's opera *Hagbarth und Signe* in Budapest}
- Немачка опера у Петрограду [German opera in St. Petersburg]. {Permanent German opera has been initiated}
- Вјера Тиманова [Vjera Timanova]. {Concert tour of the pianist}
- Нова глазбовина [New composition]. {Announcement for the edition of Jovan Ivanišević's Radničko kolo}

NO. 3, P.55-56:

- Магистрат вароши Париза [Municipal council in Paris]. {Agreement with L'Odeon theater for a series of afternoon opera performances}
- У Балтимору [In Baltimore]. {Death of a nun and singer Agneska Gubertova from Baltimore}
- Почасни дарови [Honoring presents]. {Presents given to the singer Joseph Tihaček became after his death property of the city of Dresden}
- †Луј Келер [†Louis Köhler]. {Obituary for the composer well-known in Serbian homes by his pedagogical literature}
- Драгоцена глазбала [Precious instruments]. {Outlines recent prices of master violins}
- Консерваторија у Стутгарту [The Stuttgart Conservatory]. {Statistics about students}
- Рубинштајнова опера "Фераморс" [Rubinštejn's opera Feramors]. {Performance by the Court Opera in Munich}
- "Мерлин" [Merlin]. {Performance of Karl Goldmark's opera in Vienna Hofoper, and preparation for its staging in Budapest}
- Јени Линд [Jenny Lind].
- Нова слика Мункачијева [New painting by Mihály Munkácsy]. {Describes the painting Dying Mozart}
- В. Хршималијева шаљива опера "Заклети принц" [Vojtéch Hřimaly's comic opera Zaklety princ (Der verwünschte Prinz)].

NO. 4, P. 88:

- Народно позориште у Београду [National theater in Belgrade]. {Performance of the drama vaudeville Le paradis des femmes by Xavier de Motnepin i H. de Charlien, with music by Davorin Jenko}
- Оцењивачи [Evaluators]. {Dragotin Jenko, Josif Svoboda, and Jovan Ivanišević will be on the jury for compositions submitted to the competition organized by the Pevačko društvo Kolo in Melenci}

NO. 5, P. 103-105:

- Царско признање Рубинштајну [Anton Rubinštejn awarded by the Russian Emperor].
- Нови професори на Будимпештанској глазбеној академији) [New professors at the Budapest Music academy].
- Специална повест српске глазбе [A special history of Serbian music]. {Franjo Ksaver Kuhač is working on history of Serbian music}
- Из Ческе глазбене библиографије [From the Czech music bibliography]. {Announcement for new music editions}
- Заклада за међународне награде [Foundation for international awards]. {Anton Rubinštejn established foundation for awarding musicians 20 to 26 years old]
- Јубилеј опере "Хугеноти" у Паризу [Jubilee of the opera Les Huguenots in Paris]. {50th anniversary}
- В. Хлавач у Немачкој [V. Hlavač in Germany].
- Изгорело позориште [Theater burned down]. {Starkbek's theatre in Lvov}
- Издашни удеоничари [Generous share-holders]. {The first season of the German opera in New York}
- У Београду [In Belgrade]. {The farewell concert of the Beogradsko radničko pevačko društvo organized for its conductor Jovan Ivanišević]

NO. 6, P. 124-126:

- Државна стипендија за изучавање глазбе [State fellowship for study of music]. {Awarded to Jovan Ivanišević for study of music in Prague}
- Награда [An award]. {The Holy Synod of Serbia awarded Mita Topalović for transcription of Serbian Orthodox chant}
- Славени на консерваторију у Бечу [Slavs at the Vienna Conservatory]. {Concert of students from Slavic countries, including the violinist Vladislav Miličević from Serbia}
- Стогодишњица опере "Фигарова свадба" у Бечу [A centennial of the opera *Le nozze di Figaro* in Vienna].

- Рубинштајн [Rubinštejn]. {Series of eight historical concerts presented in Paris}
- Одликовање [A recognition]. {Russian czar awarded Alois Alexander Buchta, conductor of the choir of the Russian diplomatic church in Vienna}
- Глазбена берза [Music market]. {In New York}
- Дарови уметнице [Donation by an artist]. {The soprano Marcella Sembrich made donation to conservatories in Kraków and Lvov}
- Родољубив дар [Patriotic contribution]. {Donation to the Polish theater in Kraków}
- Халевијева опера "Жидовка" [Halévy's opera La Juive]. {500th performance in Paris}
- Друштво француски аутора [Society of French authors]. {In first three months of 1886 received royalties were 190,000 Francs}
- Глазбеници у Енглеској [Musicians in England]. {Among 4000 musicians, there are 1600 foreigners}
- Популарни концерти [Popular concerts]. {Concerts of the Umelecká Beseda in Prague}
- Руска опера у иноземству [Russian opera abroad]. {Planned performances in Berlin, Vienna, Paris, and London}
- Лист [Liszt]. {Trip to Paris, Brussels, and London}

NO. 7, P. 139-140:

- Нове оргуље [New organ]. {At the Stephansdom, Vienna}
- Драгоцена глазбала [Precious instruments]. {Sale of masters' violins}
- Нова опера [New opera]. {The Milan premiere of the opera Flora mirabilis by the Greek composer Spiro Samara}
- Лепа оставина [A nice inheritance]. {The daughter of the singer Marie Heilborn inherited three million Francs}
- Са сталне изложбе учила у Грацу [From the permanent exhibition of teaching equipment in Graz]. {Received 756 objects}
- Тражи се зборовођа [Search for choral conductor]. {Advertisement for position in an unspecified Croatian town}
- Штедионица-покровитељка уметности [Savings bank sponsoring the arts]. {Innsbruck bank donated 10,000 forints for music school}
- Антон Рубинштајн [Anton Rubinštejn]. {Donated 4000 marks to music institutions in Berlin}
- Марцела Сембрић [Marcela Sembrich]. {The soprano Marcella Sembrich performed in Berlin and donated proceeds to institutions for retired musicians}
- Лорцингова опера "Czar und Zimmermann" [Lortzing's opera Czar und Zimmermann]. {Performance of the opera in Paris, under the title Les deux Pierre, was the first presentation of the composer in France}
- Тугаљивост Шпањолака [Protest of Spanish women]. {300 Spanish women protested against certain baritone Silvio, who was perceived too old and insufficiently good looking for the role of Don Juan}

NO. 8, P. 153-157:

- Листова смрт [Liszt's death].
- Течај год. 1886/7. на мађарској глазбеној академији у Будимпешти [Courses in 1886/87 at the Hungarian Music academy in Budapest].
- Петар Чајковски [Pëtr Čajkovskij]. {Prepares concerts in Paris}
- Антон Рубинштајн [Anton Rubinštejn]. {Works on a symphony and prepares for a trip to Odessa, Bucharest, Prague, and Leipzig}
- Слављење Хлавача у Русији [Celebration of Hlavač in Russia]. {Concert in Pavlovsk near St. Petersburg in honor of the Czech composer}
- Највише одликовање [The highest award]. {Emperor Franz Joseph awarded gold medal to the Hlahol choral society for its 25th anniversary}
- Споменик Белину [Monument to Bellini]. {Unveiling of the monument in front of the Naples Conservatory}
- Споменик Берлиоцу [Monument to Berlioz]. {Unveiling of the monument in Paris, and performance of *Benvenuto Cellini*}
- Јосиф Вјењавски [Józef Wieniawski]. {Invited to teach at the Conservatory in St. Petersburg}

- Георг Хеншел [Georg Henschel]. {Appointed professor at the Conservatory in London}
- Марцела Сембрић [Marcella Sembrich]. {Signed contract for 60 concerts, for the total amount of 240,000 marks}
- Американска опера [American opera]. {American opera troupe is preparing for a tour and is organizing fund raising}
- Најбољи метод наставе певања у школи [The best method of training voice in school]. {Teaching method of Hermann Hauer was adopted at the Conservatory in Berlin}
- Српска народна песма у немачкој изради [Serbian folk song in German rendition].
 {Announcement for the edition of Zwei Lieder aus Osten für hohe Sopranstimme by Wilhelm Kinzl in Leipzig}
- Северно америчка народна химна [Modern American national anthem]. {The United States still has not selected its national anthem}
- Међународно позориште [International theater]. {Preparation for the building of a new international theater in Berlin}
- Репертоар московског оперског друштва за иноземство [Repertoire of the Moscow opera society for the international tour]. {Announcement of the program for the tour in Vienna, Berlin, Hamburg, London, Paris, and Milan}
- {Announcement of death of the members of the Society Gusle: Smilja Crvenkova, Ilija Dabić, Nikola Krčadinac}
- Испунило се пророчанство [A fulfilled prophecy]. {Only one composition is submitted to the competition for the best choral works announced by the Serbian choral society from Melenci since six-forint award was insufficient incentive}
- Осамнаеста слава заједнице певачких друштава швајцарских [The eighteenth celebration of the association of Swiss choral societies]. {Held in St. Gall}
- Позоришта у Паризу [Theaters in Paris]. {Report about finances of Paris theaters}
- Необична парница [Unusual court process]. {Report about the court procedures concerning whether or not piano soloist should be placed on the stage}
- Женски офисири [Women as oficers]. {Appointment of women as officers at the military academy in France]

NO. 9, P. 171-172C:

- "Пупољци" пред судом јавне критике ["Buds" exposed to the public criticism]. {The journal *Javor* published a comment about the text from no. 4}
- Листова вероисповест [Liszt's religiosity].

NO. 10, 1887, 185-188:

- Симфонијски концерти музикалног општества у Петрограду [Symphonic concerts of the Russian music society in St. Petersburg]. {Announcement for the 1887/88 series of concert conducted by Anton Rubinštejn}
- Претплатни симфонијски концерти у Петрограду [Symphonic subscription concerts in St. Petersburg]. {Announcement for the four-concert series conducted by Rimskij-Korsakov}
- Завод за бесплатно **изучавање глазбе у Петрограду** [The institute for free study of music in St. Petersburg]. {The music school founded by Milij Balakirev in 1862}
- Са консерваторије у Петрограду [From the Conservatory in St. Petersburg].
- Нови руски глазботвори [New Russian compositions]. {New compositions by Cezar Kûj, Pëtr Il'ič Čajkovskij, and Karl Davidov}
- Дилетантска драматско-декламаторна задруга у Петрограду [Amateur dramatic theater society in St. Petersburg].
- Шпански на мађарској позорници [The Spanish language on the Hungarian stage]. {Singers in one performance of Verdi's *Aida* performed in Spanish, Italian, and Hungarian}
- Најбоља мушка певачка задруга у Немачкој [The best male choral society in Germany]. {Choral society of teachers in Frankfurt am Main}
- Опет исторички концерти [Historical concerts again]. {Hans von Bülow is preparing a series of concerts}
- Нов изналазак у Белгији [New discovery in Belgium]. {Construction of an appliance for recording mechanical action on keyboard instruments}

- Са бечке глазбаоне [From a Viennese music room]. {Statistics about music students in Vienna}
- Ново позориште [New theater]. {Expansion of the theater building in Pressburg}
- Морска критика [Weird criticism]. {Report about negative criticism on Dvořak's opera Šelma sedlák, published in Neue Zeitschrift für Musik}
- Женски тенор [A female tenor singer]. {Italian alto Barnani-Dini trained her voice to sing in the tenor register}
- Шеста симфонија Рубинштајнова [Rubinštejn's sixth symphony]. {The sixth symphony, dedicated to Liszt, was performed at the Gewandhaus in Leipzig}
- Руско царско оперско друштво у Петрограду [Russian imperial opera society in St. Petersburg]. {Announcement about the repertoire for the current opera season}
- Одличије за глазбаре и глазботворце [Awards for musicians and composers]. {The French government established award Order lyrique}
- Антон Рубинштајн на ново одликован [Anton Rubinštejn awarded again].
- Рубинштајнова опера "Фераморс" [Rubinštejn's opera Feramors]. {Performance of the opera at the German theater in Prague}
- "Souvenirs artistiques". [The Belgian publisher Eduard Grégoir is working a biographical dictionary and asks artists to send him information about themselves]
- Са Листовог гроба [From the grave of Liszt].
- Рубинштајнов "Демон" [Rubinštejn's Demon]. {The opera had its 101st performance in Moscow}
- Рубинштајнов "Hepo" [Rubinštejn's Nero]. {Plans for performances of the opera in America}
- Е. Ремењи [E. Remény]. {The celebrated Hungarian violinist lives in America}

ПРОГРАМИ [Programs] – Includes programs of concerts

NO. I, P. 16:

- У Новом-Саду о св. Сави [St. Sava Day in Novi Sad]. {Celebration of the St. Sava Day at the Srpska velika gimnazija in Novi Sad]
- У Тамишвару на Богојавлење [Epiphany in Timişoara]. {Srpska temišvarska pevačka družina}
- У В.-Кикинди, о св. Сави [St. Sava Day in Velika Kikinda]. { Celebration of the St. Sava Day by the Pevačko društvo Gusle in Velika Kikinda}
- У Мартоношу о св. Сави [St. Sava Day in Martonoš].

NO. 2, P. 35-36C:

- У Г.-Карловцу о св. Сави [St. Sava Day in Gornji Karlovac]. {Srpska učiteljska škola}
- У Вршцу о св. Сави [St. Sava Day in Vršac]. {Srpski učiteljski zbor}
- У Панчеву о св. Сави [St. Sava Day in Pančevo]. {Viša djevojačka škola}
- У Сомбору о св. Сави [St. Sava Day in Sombor]. {Celebration of the St. Sava Day among Serbian clerks}
- У Загребу у очи св. Саве [The St. Sava Eve in Zagreb]. {Srpsko pevačko društvo}
- У Бањој Луци о св. Сави [St. Sava Day in Banja Luka]. {Srpska pravoslavna osnovna škola}
- У Бјељини о св. Сави [St. Sava Day in Bjeljina]. {Srpski crkveni školski odbor}
- У Земуну о св. Сави [St. Sava Day in Zemun]. {Srpska crkvena pevačka zadruga}
- У Грацу о св. Сави [St. Sava Day in Graz]. {Srpsko akademsko pevačko društvo Srbadija}
- У Сарајеву о св. Сави [St. Sava Day in Sarajevo]. {Srpska pravoslavna osnovna škola}
- У Доњем Осјеку о св. Сави [St. Sava Day in Lower Osijek]. {Srpska čitaonica}
- У Дољ. Тузли светосавска беседа [The beseda on St. Sava Day in Doljnja Tuzla]. {Srpska crkveno školska opština}
- У Ковину 23. јануара (4. фебруара) [In Kovin, 23 January (4 February)]. {Srpsko crkveno pevačko društvo}
- У Срем. Карловцима на три јерарха [In Sremskim Karlovcina on Three Holy Hierarchs]. {Srpska gimnazija}
- У Загребу 10/22. фебруара [In Zagreb on 10/22 February]. {Narodni zemaljski glazbeni zavod}
- У Панчеву 25. janyapa [In Pančevo, 25 January]. {Srpsko crkveno pevačko društvo}

- У Меленци на три јерарха [In Melenci on Three Holy Hierarchs]. {Srpsko crkveno pevačko društvo Kolo}
- У Вел.-Бечкереку 18/30. јануара [In Veliki Bečkerek 18/30 January]. {Srpsko crkveno pevačko društvo Zidanje Ravanice}

NO. 3, P.56A-56B:

- У Н. Саду 1. фебруара [In Novi Sad, 1 February]. {The singer Dušan Janković}
- У В. Кикинди 2/14. фебрура [In Velika Kikinda, 2/14 February]. {Srpska zanatlijska zadruga}
- У Руми о св. Сретенију [In Ruma on St. Sretenije]. {Srpska zanatlijska zadruga}
- У Модошу о 9/21. фебруара [In Moduš, 9/21 February]. {Srpsko crkveno pevačko društvo}
- У Новом Саду 15/27. фебруара [In Novi Sad, 15/27 February]. {Viša devojačka škola}
- У Вршцу 20. фебруара [In Vršac, 20 February]. {Srpsko crkveno pevačko društvo}
- У Сегедину 20/8. фебруара [In Szeged, 20/8. February]. {Srpska ženska zadruga}
- У Белојцркви 20. фебруара [In Bela Crkva, 20 February]. {Srpsko pevačko društvo}
- У Панчеву 22. фебруара [In Pančevo, 22 February]. {Srpsko crkveno pevačko društvo}
- У Митровици 23. фебруара [In Mitrovica, 23 February]. {Srpsko crkveno pevačko društvo}

NO. 4, P. 86-87, 89:

• Панчево, 28. фебруара 1886 [In Pančevo, 28 February 1886]. {The Pančevačko pevačko društvo organized the second annual concert; the committee of the choral society decided to celebrate the 10th anniversary of the work with its conductor Mita Topalović}

NO. 5, 89A:

- У Панчеву на други дан ускрса [In Pančevo, on the day after Easter]. {The Pančevačko pevačko društvo organized concert celebrating 10th anniversary of the work with its conductor Mita Topalović}
- У Београду, на Цвети [In Beograd, on Palm Sunday]. {The Beogradsko radničko pevačko društvo organized a benefit for its conductor Jovan Ivanišević to study abroad.}

NO. 6, P. 124B:

- У Н.-Саду 25. маја/6. јуна [In Novi Sad, 25 May/7 June]. {Choral society of the Srpska čitaonica}
- У Ст.-Бечеју на други дан ускрса [In Stari Bečej, the day after Easter]. {Srpsko crkveno pevačko društvo}
- У Котору 27. априла/9 маја [In Kotor, 27 April/9 May]. {The Gymnasium and the Srpsko pevačko društvo Jedinstvo}

NO. 7, P. 140A-B:

- У Вел.-Бечкереку 17/29. маја [In Veliki Bečkerek, 17/29 May]. {The Srpsko crkveno pevačko društvo from Veliki Bečkerek organized a benefit concert for the Srpsko narodno pozorište in Novi Sad}
- У Београду 20. маја [In Belgrade, 20 May]. {The committee for support of the poor students in Belgrade organized a concert}
- У Срем.-Карловци 13/25. маја [In Sremski Karlovci, 13/25 May]. {Dušan Janković with guests in Sremski Karlovci for the Srpsko narodno pozorište from Novi Sad}
- У Вршцу 21. маја [In Vršac, 21 May]. {Srpsko crkveno pevačko in Vršac performed their 75th regular concert}
- У Темишвару 11/23. јуна [In Timisoara, 11/23 June]. {Srpsko pevačko društvo}
- У Меленци о Петрову-дне [In Melenci, on St. Peter's Day]. {Pevačko društvo Gusle from Velika Kikinda}

Miscellaneous articles

- Приступ [Editorial], no. 1, 1–2.
- Распис награде [Announcement for the award], no. 3, 45–46. {Competition for six mixed choral compositions, announced by the Srpsko crkveno pevačko društvo Kolo in Melenci}
- Franjo Ksaver Kuhač, Pozdrav uredništvu "Gudala" [Greetings to the editors of Gudalo], no. 4, 58–59.
- Б.Б., Почетци нотног црквеног појања у Панчеву и развиће Панчевачког црквеног

- певачког друштва [The beginnings of the church singing in Pančevo from music scores and the development of the Pančevačko crkveno pevačko društvo], no. 4, 69–77. {The article emphasizes that members of the choral society were singing from notated scores, rather than as earlier following oral tradition}
- Позив на учешће у сталној специјалној изложби глазбовина и глазбала сталне изложбе учила у Грацу [Invitation to the permanent special exhibition of the compositions and music instruments at the permanent exhibition of teaching equipment in Graz], no. 4, 88a–88b.
- Franjo Ks. Kuhač, Obći prikaz onih glasbala koja našemu narodu rabe ili su mu se ikada rabila [General overview of instruments which are used in our nation, or were used in the past], no. 5, 98.
- Преглед штампаних теоретичких, критичких и гласбено-знанствених радња Фр. III.
 Кухача [An overview of printed theoretical, critical and music scholarly works by Franjo Ks. Kuhač], no. 5, 104b–04c.
- Прослава дана смрти Сметанове у Прагу 11. и 12. маја о.г.п.н. [Commemoration on the death day of Smetana in Paris on 11 and 12 May of this year], no. 6, 121–22.
- Досадашња издања друштва "Гусле" [Compositions published by the Choral Society Gusle], no. 7, 140a–40b. {In Velika Kikinda}
- [Anouncement of Franz Liszt's death], no. 8, 141.
- [Robert Tollinger], "Пупољци" од бунике и поп без петрахиља: Скромне примедбе на критику господина Јована Иванишевића штампану у 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35. и 36. броју "Јавора" из године 1886 ["Buds" of henbane and priest without faith: Modest comments on the criticism by Mr. Jovan Ivanišević, printed in nos. 30, 31, 32, 33 34, 35 and 36 of Javor for the year 1886], no. 10, 188a–88c. {Editor of Gudalo is defending music terminology used in the journal, as well as his negative opinion about Ivanišević's composition}