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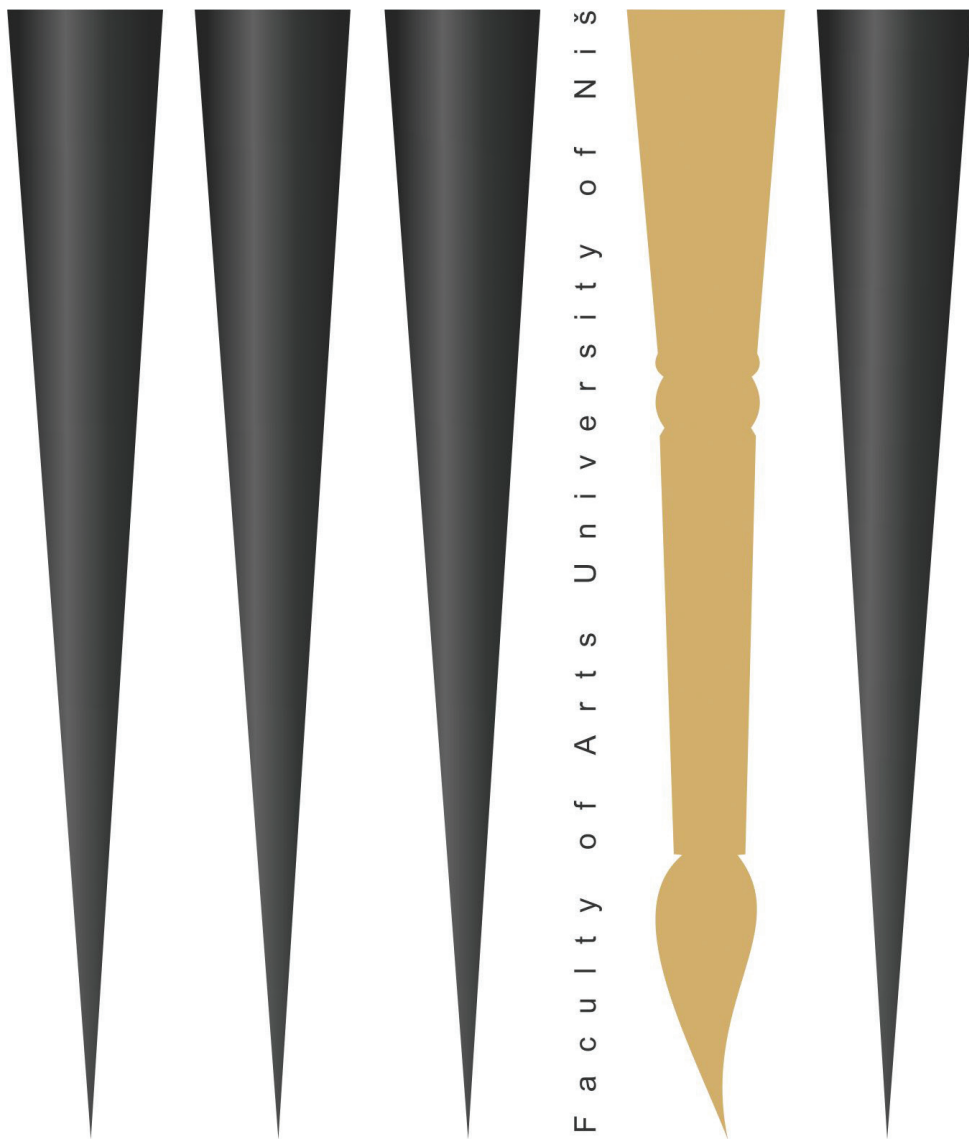
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3. Mikić, V., (2014), "Old/New Music Media: Some Thoughts on Remediation in/of Music", In: Veselinović-Hofman, M. at al. (ed.), *Music Identities on Paper and Screen*, Proceedings of the Eleventh International Conference of the Department of Musicology, Faculty of Music, Belgrade, 2012, pp. 28–33.
4. Stowell, T., (1981), *The Origins of Phrase Structure*, Doctoral dissertation, MIT.

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CASE STUDY: ARE MECHANICAL MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS APPLICABLE TO LIVE PERFORMANCE PRACTICE?

UDC (78.087.612.1/.6+782):(7.04:78) G. F. Handel

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Abstract. *By comparing a version of 'Alla Fama' from 'Ottone' intended for mechanical performance to one of Handel's specifically intended for a singer, we can more accurately gauge how 'vocal' the ornaments we find in mechanical arrangements of opera areas may be. Although a very large number of vocal pieces are pinned into mechanical organs, this fact alone does not prove unequivocally that the ornamentation style is applicable to a vocal performance. The voice can, of course, be an extremely agile instrument but, as with all instruments, it undeniably has idiomatic pros and cons which make certain ornaments perhaps more suitable to a vocal performance and others to an instrumental one. So, shall we, whenever there is an instrumental arrangement of a vocal piece containing ornaments, interpret this as being a rendition in which the instruments imitate a vocal performance? Or is the vocal line being 'instrumentalized' and therefore treated differently? The answer may be a combination of the two but this case study seeks to demonstrate a clear link between an arrangement for mechanical performance and one made by Handel himself to be performed by a singer thereby affirming the status of mechanical sources as being vital sources of Handelian performance style.*

Key words: *G. F. Handel, mechanical organs, ornaments, vocal performances*

1. SOURCES

1.1. Handel's vocal ornaments

In 1976, Oxford University Press published *Three Ornamented Arias* (ed. Winton Dean), transcribed from a manuscript in the Bodleian Library¹. This is a fascinating piece of ornamentation evidence since Handel himself added the ornaments, one of the rare occasions that he did so. The manuscript contains two autograph Handel cantatas for solo voice and continuo and, bound between them, six copies of arias in the hand of J. C.

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¹ Bodleian MS Don.c.69

Smith the elder, five from *Ottone* and one from *Floridante*. Four of the *Ottone* arias contain annotated ornaments in Handel's hand, but one "Falsa imagine", having only one small ornamented figure is not included in Dean's edition (Dean 1976, -i-iii). The three arias published are "Affanni del pensier", "Alla Fama" and "Benchèmi sia crudele", all transposed down from their original keys, as they are in the Bodleian MS (ibid). Dean's hypothesis is that Handel added these ornaments to aid a mezzo-soprano singer who was to replace an indisposed soprano performer (either Cuzzoni or Faustina). This seems plausible, though it is in no way verifiable so it is possible these were written for an altogether different, but as yet unknown reason. In either case however the additions are in Handel's hand and Dean's dating of the manuscript to the 1720s seems accurate. The same manuscript is also detailed by Helmuth Wolff, though his interpretation of the source material differs to Dean's, attributing the ornaments to the castrato Gaetano Guadagni and their notation to "an admirer" (Wolf 1972, 101–132). In the case of "Alla Fama" however his interpretation of the notated ornaments is not sufficiently different to merit separate discussion.

1.2. Arrangement for mechanical organ clock

The version of "Alla Fama" in the *Three Ornamented Arias*² will be compared here to a version of the same piece which forms part of the *Aylesford Collection*, now housed in the British Library. The collection contains a huge body of music, much by Handel but also up to 40 other composers, was sold in 1918 by Lord Aylesford and bought by various institutions including The Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, The British Museum³ and the Manchester Public Library. The music had passed to an earlier Lord Aylesford as a bequest from his second cousin Charles Jennens (1700–1773), librettist for many of Handel's works including *Messiah*. Jennens had a passion for the music of Handel alongside a deep desire for completeness, and the collection contained many complete scores of operas, oratorios and other music. He clearly acquired a great deal of this during his close association with Handel as much of the music is in the hand of J. C. Smith the elder and other scribes of the Handel household. The volume comprising this version of "Alla Fama" is now housed by the British Library⁴ and comprises an eclectic mix of various pieces by Handel identified by J. H. Roberts as being in the hand of the scribe he identifies as S2, an assistant to Smith from the late 1720s onwards (Roberts, 1993).

At the bottom of the contents list at the start of the volume there is an entry at number nineteen: "Ten Tunes for Clay's Musical Clock".⁵ There are actually eleven pieces at this place in the volume and initially the scribe does not seem to have decided upon the best format for transcription. The first three pieces are notated using treble and bass clefs, meaning that the notated ranges are larger (by an octave) than any other known arrangements used in Charles Clay's clocks. That could be a merely scribal error, understandable since it would generally be the format for keyboard music. However in the following eight pieces this is rectified and they are notated either on single or doubled

² Here after referred to as Handel/Dean.

³ William Barclay Squire acquired this and other volumes from the collection for the British Museum (detailed in: Squire 1919, 538–552). It is now in the British Library, which also houses a further volume from the *Aylesford Collection* containing clock music by Handel (R.M.18.b.8/HWV 598-604) and an autograph Handel Sonata composed for a musical clock (R.M.20.g.13./HWV 578)

⁴ Shelf Mark R.M.19.a.1 (HWV 587–597)

⁵ The volume is here after referred to as *Aylesford*.

treble staves, giving them the customary ranges for Clay clock tunes. The pieces included in the manuscript are not given titles, and although many can be identified as arias or other known pieces, usually from operas, others may have been composed specifically for this purpose (See Tab. 1).

Tab. 1 Contents of *Aylesford* manuscript (BL R.M.19.a.1)

Number	Title/indication	Original source/other Clay sources	Key	Time Sig.	Staves
1		(also in Windsor Castle Clay Clock)	F	C	Treble Bass
2	[Voluntary or a Flight of Angels]	(also in R.M.18.b.8)	C	C	Treble Bass
3		(also in Windsor Castle Clay Clock)	C	C	Treble Bass
4	[Vola l' augello]	<i>Sosarme</i>	C	3/8	Treble Treble
5	Allegro		F	3/4	Treble
6	[Alla fama dimmi il vero]	<i>Ottone</i>	C	3/8	Treble Treble
7	[Deh lascia un bel desio]	<i>Arianna</i>	C	C	Treble Treble
8	[..from overture]	<i>Scipione</i>	G	3/4	Treble
9	[Dell'onda ai fieri moti]	<i>Ottone</i> (also in Windsor Castle Clay Clock)	C	C	Treble Treble
10	[In mille dolcimo di]	<i>Sosarme</i>	C	3/4	Treble
11	[In mar tempestoso]	<i>Arianna</i> (also in Windsor Castle Clay Clock)	C	C	Treble Treble

1.3. Charles Clay: background

Little is known of Clay's early life: he seems to have been born in Yorkshire, in the town of Flockton near Huddersfield, yet by 1720 he had established himself as a clock and watchmaker in London just south of St Mary-le-Strand. In 1723 he was appointed Clockmaker to His Majesty's Board of Works, a position which he held until his death in 1740. Clay's only large scale work in this capacity was a commission in 1731 to construct a clock over the gatehouse at St James's Palace. This remained there until it was dismantled in 1831, when it was moved to Hampton Court. In 1736 he was summoned to court and there given the opportunity to exhibit:

“his surprising musical clock, which gave uncommon satisfaction to all the Royal Family present, at which time her Majesty, to encourage so great an artist, was pleased to order fifty guineas to be expended for numbers in the intended raffle, by which we hear Mr Clay intends to dispose of the said beautiful and complicated piece of machinery” (*The Weekly Journal*, 8 May 1736, quoted in: Croft 1948, 1378–80).

By the time this majestic work was exhibited Clay was collaborating with many of the finest artisans of his day. The sculptures on his clocks were provided by the likes of Louis François Roubiliac (later commissioned to design Handel's memorial in Westminster Abbey) and John Michael Rysbrack (responsible for the monument, also in Westminster Abbey, to Sir Isaac Newton). His paintings were supplied by Jacopo Amigoni, resident in London from 1730–39 and eventually settling as court painter to Ferdinand VI of Spain and director of the Royal Academy of Saint Fernando. The music included in Clay's organ clocks (the surviving examples of his work all use a mechanical organ mechanism, though his last and most ambitious project seems to have included several instruments, possibly harpsichord, bells and other percussion) seems to have been provided by a variety of well known composers. His advertised lists include Handel, Geminiani and Corelli. Corelli never visited London and was dead by the time Clay began building his career, but his music was widely venerated and Geminiani, a pupil of Corelli, may well have included Corelli's music in his contributions.

1.4. Parameters and limitations

The first thing to be noted is that both of these sources deal only with the vocal melody. Handel/Dean's ornaments are but attached to the vocal line, nothing added to the instrumental parts. In fact the ornaments break off after bar 46, roughly two thirds of the way through the vocal part of the A section and it appears that the additions may be incomplete, since the other two arias published here, contain a great many ornaments throughout both their A and B sections.

The *Aylesford* arrangement (HWV 592) includes only bars 17–60 of the Handel/Dean aria (the first 41 bars of the vocal A section), omitting bars 34, 41 and 56. Clay's clock tunes were of necessity truncated, since the barrels were only able to play for roughly one minute, so small ritornello bars are often omitted in the interests of including a complete vocal line. We can hardly infer anything from these sources about the performance of orchestral parts and this must be dealt with elsewhere.

From the manuscript alone it is impossible to tell what input Handel had on the *Aylesford* arrangement. We know that he was not disinterested in mechanical instruments, since in addition to this manuscript and the other in the *Aylesford Collection* (R.M.18.b.8.) there is an autograph sonata (HWV 578) written for a musical clock. Handel is also known to have had an interest in unusual instruments. This can be seen from the letter sent by Jennens to Lord Guernsey, and quoted by Donald Burrows:

“Mr. Handel's head is more full of Maggots than ever: I found yesterday in his room a very queer Instrument which He calls Carillon (Anglice a bell) & says some call it a Tubalcain [...] 'Tis played upon with Keys like a Harpsichord [.....] His second Maggot is an Organ of 500£price which (because he is overstock'd with Money) he has bespoke of one Moss of Barnet: this Organ, he says, is so contriv'd, that as he sits at it, he has better command of his Performers [...since...] instead of beating time at his Oratorio's (sic), he is to sit at the Organ all the time with his back to the Audience” (Burrows 2012, 266).

2. COMPARISON

Despite a lack of autograph evidence in the *Aylesford* manuscript we can infer a link from the similarities which we find in the two versions. Handel/Dean adds 12 bars of ornaments to the first 29 bars of the vocal line (after which the ornaments break off). Of these 12 bars, 8.5 are almost identical to their corresponding bars in *Aylesford*. It seems most efficient to analyze each phrase, in turn, since the arrangement is short and leads us succinctly through many of the questions which arise when considering the difference between viable vocal and instrumental practices.

The figure shows three staves of music in 3/8 time. The top staff is labeled 'Unornamented Vocal Line' and contains the lyrics 'Al - la fa - ma, dim - mi il ve - ro'. The middle staff is labeled 'Handel/Dean Ornamented' and shows the same melody with additional notes and ornaments. The bottom staff is labeled 'Aylesford Ornamented' and shows the same melody with three trill markings (tr) on the first notes of the first three bars.

Fig. 1 Bars 1–4 of “Alla Fama”: original key is Bb but all have been transposed into C to correspond with *Aylesford* for ease of comparison

As we can see from Fig. 1, *Aylesford* is the only version to add anything to this first vocal phrase, in the form of three trill markings. These contravene advice from Tosi (originally writing in 1723) regarding shakes: “[...it is] very bad to begin with them, which is too frequently done.”⁶ This initial trill however, is entirely in keeping with additions to vocal lines elsewhere in the mechanical evidence, and there is nothing intrinsically ‘un-singable’ about it, in fact as Tosi admits, many singers were in the habit of placing trills on opening notes, whether he liked it or not.

Handel/Dean does not add any extra trills in this piece and in fact, adds only one over the course of the entire three arias.⁷ This is an interesting comparison point however since it occurs in the middle of a passage of semiquavers, at a moment where technically it might be unexpected for a singer to insert a trill. We know Handel expected a high degree of virtuosity from his singers and wrote differently to accommodate their various strengths and weaknesses. If he included a passage requiring such clarity and technique, then he must have had singers capable of performing this. This would render the opening trills (and indeed most of the ornaments included in mechanical sources) entirely plausible as inclusions in a vocal performance in eighteenth-century London.

⁶ Tosi has been adopted as a reference for the purposes of this paper since his treatise *Opinioni de'cantori antichi, e moderni o sieno osservazioni sopra il canto figurato* (1723) refers specifically to the practice of singing. Tosi was also resident in London at various times, including the 1720s, and certainly aware of the musical style of Handel (the English version of his treatise was published after his death)

⁷ *Benchèmi sia crudele*, Handel/Dean, bar 104, p 21. Dean adds two additional editorial trills but we will only concern ourselves with Handel's additions here.

The image displays a musical score for the vocal line of "Alla Fama". It is presented in three staves, each in 3/8 time. The top staff is the "Unornamented Vocal Line" with lyrics: "Trop-pa fè die - de il pen - sie - ro -". The middle staff is the "Handel/Dean Ornamented" version, and the bottom staff is the "Aylesford Ornamented" version. Both ornamented versions include trills (tr) in bar 6. The score continues with lyrics "Quan - do a te mi fin - se - bel - la;" in the second system.

Fig. 2 Bars 5–13 of “Alla Fama”

The two different ornaments in bar 6 (see Fig. 2) demonstrate two of the standard options available to the performer when improvising ornamentation. Firstly the Handel/Dean pattern, in which the ornament follows the line of the given melodic material, altering the rhythm and filling in the larger intervals and with faster notes. The alternative version in *Aylesford* however, varies the line using the same material as in bar 11, thereby providing a unifying motif linking the beginning and the end of the phrase.

In the remainder of this phrase, however, we can see some of the key moments of correspondence between the two arrangements. Bars 7–12 (inclusive) are very nearly identical, the only difference (in bar 7) being a termination at the end of the trill in *Aylesford* which is not marked into the Handel/Dean score. Yet, since terminations are such a common addition to trills we cannot assume that Handel deliberately omitted this; it may well have been that it was such a common “optional extra” that he considered it barely worth mentioning. Tosi describes the “Trillo-Mordente” or “Shake with a Beat” as being “a pleasing Grace in Singing” and goes further to say that “He, who understands his Profession, rarely fails to use it after the ‘Appoggiatura’, and he that despises it, is guilty of more than Ignorance” (Tosi 1743, 47). The fact that it is specifically notated in *Aylesford*, perhaps tells us that extra care was taken in this manuscript to emphasize that terminations should be included, rather than leaving this to the discretion of the barrel pinner. If Dean’s hypothesis concerning the background to Handel’s ornaments is correct then the composer would have expected to use this manuscript only as an aid to his own work with the singer, so there may well have been no need to notate every nuance. As suggested in other case studies: it is possible that small *graces* such as trills etc were used so frequently as to be considered not as ornaments, but simply as an tool to aid expressive articulation. A composer or copyist, therefore would find little need to notate every one, except at points where they were considered essential or may have been unexpected. The learning of the many varieties and correct placing for trills is a matter for the taste of the singer, as Tosi describes and as such they had little place in the main

musical text (ibid, 41–50). Although there is no doubt that the barrel pinners used by Clay had some musical training, this perhaps reveals something about the level of trust Handel (or his scribe) felt able to place on these craftsmen who, although skilled could not be expected to display the same taste as a great master.

In bars 8–10 the only difference between the two ornamented versions is the addition of a trill and omission of an auxiliary upper note in *Aylesford*. If we assume however, that the trill begins on the upper note this renders the melodic pattern fundamentally the same as the Handel/Dean version with only a rhythmic variation. It would, in fact be a reasonable interpretation of the Handel/Dean turned figure which repeats through these three bars. When we add to this the descending scale in bar 11 landing in bar 12 a third above the original melody, we see a probable sign that the authors of the two ornamented versions were either the same person, or at the very least entirely used to hearing notably similar interpretations of this melodic line and so well known to each other.

The variance which occurs in bar 13 is due to the requisite self sufficient nature of the *Aylesford* arrangement. Since the version is to be performed by the mechanical organ alone, some of the string ritornelli are included to link the vocal phrases together, adapted to fit the range of the organ.

The figure displays a musical score for three staves. The top staff is the 'Unornamented Vocal Line' with lyrics: 'Dim-mi Al-la fa ma dim-mi il ve-ro dim-mi il'. The middle staff is 'Handel/Dean Ornamented' and the bottom staff is 'Aylesford Ornamented'. The Aylesford version includes trills (tr.) and triplets (3) in bars 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, and 29. The Handel/Dean version includes triplets (3) in bars 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, and 29.

Fig. 3 Bars 16–29 of “Alla Fama”

In bars 13–15 the un-ornamented violin part continues in the *Aylesford* arrangement for three bars and the Handel/Dean version merely follows the melody of the original.

The main points of similarity in the phrase shown in Fig. 3 (the last phrase that is ornamented in Handel/Dean) occur in the final three bars. The figurations found in bars 27 and 28 are identical in both versions and the material used here has clearly informed other ornaments in both versions. The rising semiquaver scale pattern beginning with a descending third found in bar 27 is also found earlier in bar 20, in Handel/Dean. This figure is found in the original musical text later in this section (bar 36) demonstrating a use of thematic material from the original melody in the ornaments. The Handel/Dean

arrangement follows this in bar 21 with the triplet semiquaver motif similar to bar 28, which is perhaps unsurprising since these parts of the phrase are a sequence. This triplet pattern is also used in *Aylesford* in bar 23, as another unifying feature. The remaining ornaments follow the melodic line: Handel/Dean follow exactly, whilst *Aylesford* follows the melodic shape with added rhythmic changes, expressive trills and accented appoggiaturas. These appoggiatura figures, found in *Aylesford* bars 19, 21 and 26, seem to be ornaments which would be well suited to a vocal performance, since they allow moments of ‘lift’ in the melodic line, in which a singer could take breath.

After this point there are no more ornaments in Handel/Dean and it is therefore fruitless to draw further comparisons. The *Aylesford* arrangement continues, using descending scales to fill in intervals (bars 30–31), and imitation (in diminution) of the rising scale pattern seen in bar 36 of the original, to decorate the rising sequential pattern in bars 33–36. This ornamented sequence does increase in intensity with a longer ascending scale in bar 36 as the arrangement reaches its zenith, before the final four bars resolve with the ornaments again following the basic melodic shape (See Appendix).

3. CONCLUSIONS

It seems clear that these two arrangements were made either by Handel himself or by Handel and another person extremely well acquainted with the ornaments used by the composer and his performers. The primary conclusion of the study therefore is that the *Aylesford* arrangements must be imbued with an importance hitherto not granted to them, as serious sources for Handelian embellishment. An example of this disregard can be found in the introduction to the very publication by Amadeus (Forrer 2010) of all known pieces by Handel for musical clocks (with the exception of Sonata HWV 578). Here the editor recommends them as “an ideal addition to pupil literature, for example as sight reading practice”. Certainly this is a case of ‘damning with faint praise’ since the music contains far more historical significance than mere sight reading exercises.

Some further conclusions, taking into account this new significance, can be added to those of the previous case study, drawn from the placing and type of trills in the *Aylesford* manuscript.

- Firstly regarding terminated trills: in this case, all trills which resolve either to the same note or the one above have a termination. However all trills which resolve downwards remain plain.
- Secondly regarding the ornamentation of sequential patterns: performance of sequences has same level of ornamentation throughout (or even the same ornaments repeated)

There are of course many further questions raised by the study of these two sources. When were the ornaments in Handel/Dean expected to be applied? In the opening is it a section or only on the Da Capo? Which direction did the trills move in? Was the barrel pinner in the *Aylesford* arrangement expected to add any more to the score? Was the singer of Handel/Dean required to add their own *graces* to the melodic embellishments detailed here? How applicable are the organ trills etc. to a vocal performance?

With regard to the earlier questions of the trill direction and whether any more would have been added by the barrel pinner, these will be addressed in the following section, comparing the notated arrangements. We can now assume, at the very least sanctioned, if not actually set down by Handel, to the final versions of the same pieces found in Clay’s clocks.

The aria here discussed, even in its original form, is quite florid, but even so it seems Handel perceived some decoration as essential. Tosi, as others do, makes recommendations that the opening section of a *Da Capo* aria requires little in the way of embellishment.

“In the first they require nothing but the simplest Ornaments of a good Taste and few, that the Composition may remain simple, plain and pure; in the second they expect that to this Purity some artful Graces be added, by which the Judicious may hear, that the ability of the Singer is greater; and in repeating the Air, he that does not vary it for the better is no great Master” (Tosi 1743, 93–94).

However in a footnote, Tosi specifies that he is referring in this section, to “the general dividing of Airs to which the Author often refers”; i.e. to the melodic embellishment or variation of the melody. The phrase “simplest Ornaments of a good Taste” refers to the small additions such as trills, mordents, ports de voix etc. so clearly these should be included at all times. So perhaps what we see in the *Aylesford* manuscript is the final A section of a *Da Capo* aria, used as a standalone piece for reasons of time limitation. On the other hand, in the other Handel/Dean arias there is a large amount of melodic embellishment in the B section, and this musical material only ever occurs once. So clearly it is not always necessary to perform a melody “pure” before embellishments are added.

With regards to the final question of how far we can accept instrumental sources as evidence for vocal performance, there are many writers who recommend that instrumentalists should learn from a good singer and vice versa and that the ornaments should be the same for all, as exemplified by Montclair in his *Principes de Musique* of 1739:

“As music is the same for both the voice and the instruments we should use the same names and agree unanimously on the best symbols to represent the ornamentation of a melody (Montclair 2008).”

Tosi suggests that the over use of “Beats, Shakes, and Prepares, is owing to Lessons on the Lute, Harpsichord, and other Instruments whose sounds discontinue, and therefore have need of this Help.” He does not specify how much is over use however, the *Aylesford* manuscript, aimed as it is at an organ performance, does not have any need for help in terms of sustain. Many mechanical renditions use long sustained notes with no decoration, so there can be no question that this was simply a keyboard style.

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APPENDIX

Alla Fama Comparison Score

Handel (from *Ottone*)
(Arr in BL MS R.M.19.a.1. and *Three Ornamented Arias* ed. Dean)

Bars 1-16 omitted in BL MS

The score is presented in three systems, each with four staves. The top staff is the 'Original Vocal Line' in treble clef, 3/8 time, with lyrics underneath. The second staff is 'Handel/Dean Ornaments', the third is 'Aylesford MS 1', and the fourth is 'Aylesford MS 2'. Trills (tr) are indicated above notes in the ornamented versions. The first system covers bars 1-7. The second system starts at bar 8 and covers bars 8-13. The third system starts at bar 14 and covers bars 14-19. A box above bar 14 in the original vocal line indicates 'Bar omitted (GF) in BL MS'.

Original Vocal Line
Al - la fa - ma, dim - mi il ve - ro Trop - pa fe - de - de il pen -

Handel/Dean Ornaments

Aylesford MS 1

Aylesford MS 2

8

Orig Voc
sie - ro - Quan - do a te mi fin - se - bel - la;

H/D Ornaments

Aylesford MS 1

Aylesford MS 2

14

Bar omitted (GF) in BL MS

Orig Voc
Dim - mi il ve - ro Dim - mi Al - la fa - ma dim - mi il

H/D Ornaments

Aylesford MS 1

Aylesford MS 2

21 Bar Omitted
in BL MS

Orig Voc

ve - ro dim-mi-jil ve - ro Trop-pa fè die - de il pen - sie - ro, die

H/D Ornaments

Aylesford MS 1

Aylesford MS 2

28

Orig Voc

- de il pen - sie - ro Quan-do a te mi fin-se bel - -

H/D Ornaments

Aylesford MS 1

Aylesford MS 2

35 Bar Omitted
in BL MS Bars 61-114
omitted in BL MS

Orig Voc

- - - la quan-do a te mi fi - se bel - la;

H/D Ornaments

Aylesford MS 1

Aylesford MS 2

STUDIJA SLUČAJA: DA LI SE ORNAMENTI IZ KOMPOZICIJA ZA MEHANIČKE INSTRUMENTE MOGU PRIMENITI U VOKALNOJ IZVOĐAČKOJ PRAKSI?

Poređenjem verzije arije 'Alla Fama' iz Hendlove opere 'Otone', namenjene izvođenju na mehaničkim instrumentima sa onom u originalu napisanom za vokalnog solistu, možemo tačnije oceniti u kojoj meri su ornamenti u aranžmanima za mehaničke instrumente "vokalni". Iako postoji veliki broj kompozicija napisanih za mehaničke orgulje, ova činjenica nije sasvim pouzdan dokaz da je taj ornamentalni stil mogao biti primenjen i u vokalnoj praksi. Glas može biti u tehničkom pogledu veoma spretan instrument, ali kao i svi drugi instrumenti, poseduje svoje specifične karakteristike i mogućnosti koje neke ukrase čine pogodnijim za vokalno izvođenje, a druge za izvođenje na instrumentima. Na primer, ako uzmemo u obzir instrumentalni aranžman vokalnog dela koji sadrži ukrase, da li bi ga trebalo protumačiti kao instrumentalnu imitaciju glasa? Ili je vokalna linija "instrumentalizovana" i samim tim drugačije tretirana? Pravi odgovor bi se mogao naći u povezivanju oba tumačenja, a u ovoj studiji slučaja želimo da ukažemo na očiglednu vezu između aranžmana za mehaničke instrumente i onog koji je Hendl namenio vokalnom solisti i tako potvrdimo važnost muzike za mehaničke instrumente prilikom proučavanja vokalnog stila G. F. Hendla.

Ključne reči: *Hendl, mehaničke orgulje, ornamenti, vokalna interpretacija*

MUSIC DIRECTORS AND COMPOSERS IN BRITISH CINEMA OF THE 1930S: THE CREATIVE PROCESS AND WORKING MUSICAL RELATIONSHIPS

UDC 791.636:78+78.071.1“1930“(410)

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Abstract. *British film music in the 1930s might be defined by its variety. Unlike its Hollywood counterpart, there was no fully developed 'production line' as an alternative to creating film scores. Nevertheless, most studios had a musical director, who was responsible for the brokering of composer deals and seeing a project to completion. This paper aims at examining a few individuals working in Britain at the time, such as Muir Mathieson, Arthur Bliss and Mischa Spoliansky, and revealing some of the diplomacy that had to be negotiated to produce some of the major scores of the period. I ask to what extent MDs actually engineered the stylistic direction of the music.*

Key words: *British film music, 1930s, Arthur Bliss, Muir Mathieson, Mischa Spoliansky*

In an article published in 1922, fourteen years before *Things to Come* (William Cameron Menzies, 1936), Arthur Bliss opined at length on film music, and the nature of cinema-going:

“[L]et me state this as the first cinematic axiom – the picture house is no place for those who feel the need of a mental stimulus. It is primarily for the inert, the exhausted, the feeble minded, the unimaginative, and those who have not seen LIFE. That is why we all go. Have you ever floated down the rapids tucked up on an iceberg or felt the grip of the hangman's rope while your best friend raced his car against the train that carried the governor and your pardon? If you have – you will flee the cinema – it is too painful. We have not, and therefore throng there” (Bliss, *Musical News and Herald*, 18 February 1922, 220, cited in Roscow, 1991, 32).

Perhaps more interestingly, he ends his article with the declaration: “What a proud day it will be for some of us to be featured as the sound-producing experts on a real live million-dollar movie!” (ibid, 33).

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Bliss had that chance in 1936, with *Things to Come*, produced by London Films. Whether he would stand by those comments about the nature of cinema-going or not is unclear. Yet, it might be worth bearing them in mind, since in this article I hope to show how a certain cultural tension existed behind the scoring process of films in Britain at the time. The tension was created by the realistic need for commercial film-making on the one hand, and an environment of craftsmanship, classical musicianship, and (arguably) a sense of duty towards the cinema-going public on the other. I will be discussing various collaborations involving the young Scottish musician, Muir Mathieson, including his work with Bliss, an Englishman – on *Things to Come* – and his partnership with Mischa Spoliansky, a Russian-born composer who had settled first in Poland and then in Berlin, on several films from the same period.

Founded in 1932 by the Hungarian Alexander Korda, London Films became an international phenomenon. Korda's biographical epics of the 1930s have never lacked critical attention. Most notably Korda's early directorial project *The Private Life of Henry VIII* (1933) became the most successful film that Britain had ever produced. This company represents much of what I want to discuss in relation to the realities of collaborative work in film music at the time. London Films might be seen to have been a flexible and open-minded venture with regard to the many composers who became associated with it (some of whom worked on very few pictures but who had good reputations in the concert hall), but the company had a commercial drive in a broader sense in terms of its international outlook and ambition which some critics have found lacking in other British companies of the period. Further, it represents in many ways the kind of company that might be seen as typical, turning out self-consciously 'British' pictures on 'British' themes (whatever those may be, and there are numerous volumes written on what exactly defines 'Britishness' in film) but staffed and crewed by an international team.

Korda typified the pragmatic movie mogul, searching for original ideas and finding the means to make them work. It was Korda who suggested in 1937 to Chaplin that he might be the perfect performer to impersonate Hitler; the outcome was *The Great Dictator* (Charles Chaplin, 1939) (Chaplin 1964, 386–387).

The personality who shaped much of the musical output of Korda's company was Muir Mathieson, a Scot who fell into the business when barely out of college. Mathieson was undoubtedly a key figure in British film music of any decade until his death. To a certain extent, he was a champion of British composers and believed that 'serious' British musicians should be given the opportunity to write film scores for the benefit of both concert music and the film industry. Indeed some have argued that Mathieson's attitude stopped just short of xenophobia. Jan Swynnoe, who wrote one of the only books dealing with this period, asserts that "Mathieson was vehemently against the scoring of British films by foreign composers" (Swynnoe 2002, xiii–xiv). Swynnoe goes as far as stating that London Films made pictures that crossed cultural boundaries, largely due to the variety of nationalities working with them. Yet, she is misguided in her wish to disqualify their contribution to the development of British filmmaking. Both British and American studios were hugely reliant on foreign practitioners in every department. If a British company is to be judged for its cosmopolitanism and targeting in terms of jeopardizing the gestation of a national cinema, then Hollywood must be seen in the same terms. I would argue that Korda's output is quintessentially 'British' if only for its variety. I will not discuss some of the other major collaborations here, such as those with Richard Addinsell or Miklós Rózsa, although the latter's remarks are quite helpful. Rózsa remembers Mathieson: "He was kind and helpful to

me when I was first learning the job, although he didn't, I think, particularly like my music and never forgave me for not being British. He used to make fun of my poor English, and in return I would tease him about his Scottish accent" (Rózsa 1982, 85).

Rózsa discusses the predominance of Hungarians in London Films at the time: "It was the easiest thing in the world to be a Hungarian at the Denham studios. The three Korda brothers were Hungarian; so were Lajos Biro, the head of the script department, and Stephen Pallos, the head of the sales department. [...] There was an underlying resentful feeling against this Hungarian invasion of the British film industry, and a popular joke was that the three Union Jacks flying over the Denham Studios were one for each of the Englishmen working there" (ibid).

For a company that constantly shifted its focus in terms of subject matter in the films it made, one element about the scoring procedures remained largely constant, with only a few exceptions: the convention of giving top billing to a 'Musical Director' rather than a composer. This was as prevalent in London as it was in the US, as a way of showing that the music was produced by a department of people with various roles. In many ways it is a fairer convention than today's insistence on a named composer, particularly for certain kinds of big-budget films. This Music Director billing convention was the case in large-scale productions in both the UK and the US, but the terms of employment for those working in American studios were on the whole more controlling and rigid. For musicians as much as actors or directors, it was harder to work as a freelancer in Hollywood once you had signed on to a particular studio. David Raksin wrote a revealing account of the professional fall-out resulting from a musician moonlighting for another studio (see Raskin 1989). By the latter half of the decade, Muir Mathieson had already established himself as the regular M.D. at London Films; he also quickly gained a reputation as a broker of composer-director collaborations. Early in his association with Korda, Mathieson declared his belief that concert composers should be persuaded to write for the cinema; his championing of "serious" composers continued throughout his tenure at London Films. While there are some claims – as I have noted – that Mathieson did not wish foreign composers to work on British films, the canon of London Films projects on which he worked seems to discredit that notion. Foreign composers were frequently hired to write for London films, at least one of whom, Rózsa, later became one of Hollywood's most treasured musical assets. As for Spoliansky, he continued to work as a composer in the industry until the early 1970s.

The only constant in terms of employment criteria for composers, under Mathieson's direction in the 1930s, was the requirement that they be respected musicians beyond the film studio gates. This is true of most of those whose work is heard in London Films productions in the decade. An early project for Mathieson was *Rembrandt* (Alexander Korda, 1936), scored by Geoffrey Toye. Another star vehicle for Charles Laughton, it was envisaged as a follow-up of sorts to *The Private Life of Henry VIII*, which had made Laughton an international star. In 1936 Toye was the general manager of the Royal Opera House, Covent Garden, having forged a reputation as a conductor and music director for the stage, notably as musical director of the D'Oyly Carte Opera Company. He was a beneficiary of Mathieson's remarkably brave declaration to Korda, on being asked to succeed Kurt Schroeder at London Films:

"If you will guarantee me first-rate composers for every score, I'll take on the job, but I am not going to write you one note of indifferent music, which is the only kind of music I can write. It is ridiculous that you should pay vast sums of money for the finest of everything in the film and then, when it comes to adding the music, let the whole thing down by getting me or some other 'hack' to supply the score" (Hetherington 2006, 42).

Ernst Toch, an Austrian émigré and respected composer who would in 1956 win the Pulitzer Prize for Music, worked on a handful of scores for London Films during Mathieson's early years before heading to Hollywood. Mathieson's teacher at the RCM, the esteemed Australian composer Arthur Benjamin, was brought in to score *The Scarlet Pimpernel* in 1934, and would also work on its sequel three years later. So any claims that Mathieson actively avoided booking foreign composers seem to be false according to this roster. Korda certainly did not have the depth of musical knowledge and networking that Mathieson had in order to procure these individuals. Mathieson undoubtedly had Korda's trust, but their relationship frequently became fraught, as with any kind of working environment where the deadlines are tight and pressures are high.

In contrast to what we know about Mathieson, Gaumont Pictures' Louis Levy was considerably more commercial in outlook and much less of a musical idealist. To put it briefly, one might say that Mathieson did far more than he ever claimed credit for, and Levy apparently claimed credit for far more than he ever did. Levy was a showman, more 'Hollywood' in style than Mathieson ever would be. Levy's (almost certainly ghost-written) autobiography doesn't mention Mathieson, and I can't help but imagine that had Mathieson written one himself he would have been far less ruthlessly self-promoting.

As for London Films, its cosmopolitan outlook informed the scope of its films in terms of their source material, cast and crew and indeed musical elements; the result is a series of scores that, whilst never quite adopting the full Hollywood underscoring idiom (I use 'underscoring' as a term to indicate the musical accompaniment of dialogue), nonetheless showed remarkable breadth and imagination throughout the decade. Taken as a whole, this body of work represents a company that refused to stagnate in working methods or creative vision. To adopt this company as an analogy for the ever-changing British industry as a whole is therefore fully appropriate.

Things to Come represents an early example of a composer being given relative freedom and early involvement on a picture. Furthermore, from a modern point-of-view, the fact that the author upon whose work the film was based was heavily involved in the scoring process is surprising. H. G. Wells, the author of the book on which the film is based, wrote the following to Arthur Bliss in 1934:

Dear Bliss

I am at issue with Korda and one or two others of the group on the question of where you come in. They say – it is the Hollywood tradition – 'We make the film right up to the cutting then, *when* we have cut, the musician come in and *puts in his music*.'

I say Balls! (I have the enthusiastic support of Grierson, who makes Post Office films, in *that*). I say 'A film is a composition and the musical composer is an integral part of the design. I want Bliss to be in touch throughout.'

I don't think Korda has much of an ear, but I want the audience at the end not to sever what it sees from what it hears. I want to end on a complete sensuous and emotional synthesis.

Consequently I am sending you Treatment (Second Version). It is very different from the first and in particular the crescendo up to the firing of the Space Gun, which is newly conceived. I think we ought to have a Prelude going on to the end of Reel I, but I won't invade your province. Will you read this new Treatment and then have a talk with me sometime next week. Then when we two have got together a bit, we will bring in Biro the scene artist, and then Menzies and my son who are busy on the scenes. I have already a definite scheme for drawings and models.

So far from regarding the music as trimming to be put in afterwards I am eager to get any suggestions I can from you as to the main design.

Yours ever
H. G. (Roscow 1991)

Both were to become rather disillusioned as the process developed. Bliss describes Wells' building frustration as the film progressed. Wells wanted the film to be "an educative message to mankind" (Bliss 1989, 105) but "the financial necessity of having to appeal to a vast audience meant a concession here and a concession there, a watering down in one place, a deletion in another, so that, instead of having the impact of a vital parable, it became just an exciting entertainment" (ibid, 106).

Wells' didactic streak is something he shared with Mathieson. The latter rarely theorized on the educational aspects of his work, but he was undoubtedly an educator. Throughout his career he worked closely with youth orchestras and various concert series aimed at a younger audience. Another Bliss collaboration, *Conquest of the Air* (Zoltan Korda et al, 1936) is essentially a documentary, partly dramatized but closer in spirit to the GPO productions under Grierson than the majority of projects from London Films or Gaumont. This was a period during which the BBC was still young, and significantly under the influence of John Reith's strong ethos of public service broadcasting, drawn partly from his strict Scottish Presbyterian upbringing. In this we might draw a parallel with Mathieson and Grierson (indeed the film critic David Thomson makes a similar connection between Grierson and Reith) (Thomson 2012, 184).

The manuscript for *Conquest of the Air* has only recently turned up among Mathieson's papers, having been apparently given to him by the composer as a gift in the 1970s. Bliss and Mathieson shared a love for musical forms that blended with other artforms. Bliss wrote in his autobiography that "I have always found it easier to write 'dramatic' music rather than 'pure' music. I like the stimulus of words, or a theatrical setting, a colourful occasion or the collaboration of a great player. There is only a little of the spider about me, spinning his own web from his inner being" (Bliss *As I Remember*, cited in Palmer 1971, 558). Christopher Palmer, discussing Bliss, made the connection between ballet music and film scores, in the sense that composers for both media find themselves having to write in "small time-units" (ibid).

However, other evidence suggests that Bliss lost his enthusiasm for film music, and indeed he only revisited it as a craft a handful of times. In an anonymous article in *Tempo* magazine, some years later, the favorable working conditions afforded Bliss on *Things to Come* are discussed: "Although one might think that the resounding success of this music would have encouraged film directors to proceed farther along these lines, this unfortunately does not appear to be the case, and Bliss therefore considers film-music primarily as routine work, and not at present an art-form" (*Tempo* no. 3 1939, 3).

Along with Miklós Rózsa, who eventually settled in the United States after his own success with London Films and other companies, Mischa Spoliansky entered Britain shortly after Hitler's rise to power in 1933. Prior to this, he had established himself as a cabaret musician on Berlin's thriving inter-war theatre scene. He was instrumental in giving Marlene Dietrich a significant break on the stage, in *Es liegt in der Luft* ("It's in the Air"), by insisting that she repeat her audition song at a lower pitch, thus reversing the panel's decision not to cast her. Premiered on May 15, 1928, at the Komödie on Berlin's Kurfürstendamm, the show was a great success (Cornforth). Dietrich herself traced much of her success to this moment, and Spoliansky's encouragement.

It is important to bear in mind Spoliansky's background in the cabaret of the Weimar Republic: an art-form beset with paradox. In its early incarnations cabaret struggled to find an identity that pleased audiences, since for the *literati* it was too populist and often crude; for those seeking entertainment, cabaret's patchwork of theatrical *kleinkunst* proved too

highbrow. As Alan Lareau writes, “[t]he dilemma of mediating between the public taste and the ideals of artistic style was to plague the cabaret of the Weimar Republic” (Lareau 1991, 474).

In a sense, this atmosphere was ample preparation for Spoliansky's entry into the British film industry since, if we are to believe Rachel Low (and indeed some have emphatically disagreed), British films in the 1930s were “either quality or quota” (the ‘Quota Act’ was government legislation that forced distributors to meet a certain percentage of British films in their rentals to cinemas; the effect it had on the industry was that many cheap productions were made by subsidiaries of US companies). Like German cabaret, British filmmaking did not tend to reflect in a direct sense the hardships of the time. According to Christine Gledhill, “these films adopt a whimsicality or feyness of tone, espousing romanticist escape into costume and disguise, using late-Victorian and Edwardian popular middle-brow sources and aesthetic predilections” (Gledhill, cited in Murphy 2009, 163).

Spoliansky is admired by the Australian composer and conductor Hubert Clifford in an article written in 1945, as representing the kind of composer who might be trusted not to appeal to an “imaginary lowest common denominator” (Cliford 1945, 10).

He praises *Don't Take it to Heart* (Jeffrey Dell, 1944), scored by Spoliansky, as a film which “combines the virtues of intelligent and technically skilful direction with an adroit use of music” (ibid). One can understand therefore why Mathieson might warm to such a character, very much drawn from the musical establishment of Vienna and Berlin but also a composer with a keen sense of how to entertain. Spoliansky scored a number of pictures with Mathieson, notably comedies, such as *The Man Who Could Work Miracles* (Lothar Mendes, 1936), the story of an ‘everyman’ character who is suddenly given god-like powers. The handwritten notes (at the Mischa Spoliansky Archive, Akademie der Künste, Berlin) for a proposed sung-through sequence of *The Man Who Could Work Miracles* attest to the spirit of self-improvement and classical education that permeates the film, a trope that would resurface later in Powell & Pressburger's *A Matter of Life and Death* (1946). Indeed these two films share a supernatural flavor and are comparable in their highly stylized portrayal of a deific realm.

The Ghost Goes West (1936) was another major collaboration between Spoliansky and Mathieson, but this time with the director René Clair. The comedy plot concerns the ghost of a Scottish laird played by Robert Donat, who also plays the ghost's modern-day descendant. An American businessman buys a castle and has it moved from Scotland to Florida, and the ghost comes with it. The cue sheet for Reel 10 of *The Ghost Goes West* is a rare glimpse into the working methods of Spoliansky and Mathieson. The sheet is divided into columns: “Scene” (description); “Time on watch” (i.e. timing of the cues, not from the beginning of the reel); “Music” (description). There are references to specific themes and multiple penciled corrections over the typed text, diegetic notes (“Introduction to love theme played by radio”) and indications of ideas that have been rejected. Documents such as this imply a layered approach over time to whole sequences of scoring, and show that Spoliansky and Mathieson revised and updated their scores according to editorial changes or meetings with the director or producers.

What emerges from these film music collaborations in Britain in the 1930s is a variety of different approaches and collaborative modes, but always a sense of craftsmanship and conscientiousness with regard to producing scores of quality which nonetheless met demands for a film's mandate to entertain (much to H. G. Wells' discomfort). Muir Mathieson was a key figure, brokering collaborations and overseeing the scoring process at London

Films with various composers, most of whom he seems to have appreciated for their reputations beyond film scoring. It was a time when even the author of a film's source material could become heavily involved in the composing of its score; it would be hard to imagine such a dialogue occurring today. Furthermore, despite Mathieson's alleged suspicion of foreign composers, immigrant or exiled composers thrived in Britain, often under the guidance of Mathieson himself. Bearing in mind that this is a relatively neglected period in terms of academic attention to the scores themselves, the works examined here attest to the vibrancy of some of the film music being produced at the time.

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MUZIČKI UREDNICI I KOMPOZITORI U BRITANSKOM FILMU TRIDESETIH GODINA PROŠLOG VEKA: STVARALAČKI PROCESI I USPOSTAVLJANJE MUZIČKIH RELACIJA

Osnovna karakteristika muzike u britanskom filmu tridesetih godina prošlog veka je raznovrsnost. Za razliku od Holivuda, u Britaniji nije u potpunosti bio razvijen sistem "proizvodne linije" u stvaranju filmske muzike. Ipak, u većini britanskih studija postojali su muzički urednici koji su bili odgovorni za saradnju sa kompozitorima. U ovom radu bavimo se pojedincima koji su radili u Velikoj Britaniji tokom tog perioda: Mjuirom Matisonom, Arturom Blisom i Mišom Spolianskim. Nastojaćemo da osvetlimo specifične, gotovo diplomatske odnose, zahvaljujući kojima su stvorene neke od najznačajnijih muzičkih partitura za film. Suštinsko pitanje na koje rad pokušava da odgovori je u kojoj meri su muzički urednici zapravo kreirali stilski pravac u filmskoj muzici.

Ključne reči: *britanska filmska muzika, tridesete godine prošlog veka, Artur Blis, Mjuir Mateson, Miša Spolianski*

REVISITING MACEDONIAN MUSICAL CULTURE DURING WORLD WAR TWO

UDC 78:930.24(497.7)“1941/1945“

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Abstract. *Existing musicological papers concerned with Macedonian musical culture during World War Two usually skip the period between 1941 and 1943, a period marked by the German/Bulgarian occupation. This pilot research project aims at revisiting the articles published in Macedonia during World War Two, and at checking missing or contradictory data.*

Key words: *Macedonian Music Institutions, Choirs, Education, World War Two*

Distance in time opens opportunities for undertaking a relatively unbiased analysis, and aims at eliminating the influence of political and social attitudes. Having in mind that Macedonia used to be an administrative unit (“Vardarska Banovina”) in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (until 1941), later on divided, i.e. annexed to Bulgaria and Albania (1941–1944), and in the end proclaimed an independent republic in the new Federative People’s Republic of Yugoslavia (ASNOM 1944), we assumed that these political changes have always influenced the coordinates of Macedonian music culture.

We would like to point out that this period finalized the process of ‘westernization’ of Macedonian music culture, a process that started at the end of the nineteenth century and was particularly intensified during and after the Balkan Wars (1911). The oriental features of the Ottoman music culture were gradually replaced by western genres, tunes, harmony, instruments and particularly musical education. The first traces can be found at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, with the joining in of instruments of Western origin, as well as the first brass bands, the guitar, the mandolin, and the piano. Unfortunately, there is no evidence about when the first piano, or pianos, arrived in Macedonia (Islam 2011, 3). The piano symbolizes the shift towards the Western tradition, and up to that point it was never part of the ensembles playing folk or traditional music in Macedonia. The German and Bulgarian occupation of Macedonia during World War One,

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when the new western education was introduced, intensified the acculturation processes, which continued in the following “Yugoslavian” period in between the wars. Once again, music education was among the main windows for the replacement of the monadic makams and usuls with the western tonal and homophonic/harmonic music systems. Macedonian musical culture received its final western shape right at the end of World War Two and over the subsequent years. It was paralleled by the formation of the Macedonian Republic, as part of the Yugoslav Federation, and the appearance of the typical representatives of the western music culture: the opera and the ballet, as well as the philharmonic orchestra.

Consequently, Macedonian musicology took its first modest steps during the late 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s, beginning with the first western educated musicologists Dragoslav Ortakov (a graduate of the Belgrade Faculty of Music), and the three Ljubljana-educated musicologists: Branko Gligorov, Vlado Chuckov and Dragan Bojadziev. The first official history of Macedonian music appeared in 1982 by Dragoslav Ortakov (*Music Art in Macedonia – Muzichkata umetnost vo Makedonija*), followed by the instruction book by Sotir Golabovski, *History of Macedonian Music (Istorija na makedonskata muzika)* from 1999. The next important step was the large project of the Macedonian Academy of Science and Arts, *The Music on the Macedonian Soil (Muzikata na pochvata na Makedonija)*, which addressed the history of Macedonian music through a collection of articles (Stardelov, Ortakov & Buzarovski, eds. 1999; 2004).

Nevertheless, in all existing musicological reviews related to the period of World War Two, we can notice a bypass from the end of the 1930s through to the revolutionary struggle and partisan songs (Karakash 1970; Ortakov 1974, 516; 1982; 2004; Proshev 1986; Golabovski 1999). One can get the impression that music culture and music life were eliminated from the start of World War Two through to the music events related to the activities of partisans in the liberated territories.

This is obvious in the biographies of the Macedonian composers of the period, and particularly in the biographies of the so-called composer’s “petorka”, which is considered a founder of modern Macedonian music culture (Jordanoska & Buzarovski this edition). Keeping in mind that until recently Macedonian music culture was predominantly analyzed through the activities of the composers of the “artistic” music, the fact that there are missing or contradictory data about their activities during World War Two provided a sufficient reason for launching this project. This was particularly important when we have in mind that there is very little research devoted to the performers, and the only other data are the monographs published during the celebration of the anniversaries of the major music institutions in Macedonia.

This was provocative enough to design a pilot research regarding the musical culture during World War Two. In our research hypothesis, we assumed that there are missing and contradictory data for two major reasons:

- political (ideological)
- ethnic (the Bulgarian attempts to assimilate Macedonia ethnically, territorially, culturally and linguistically)

Our decision to undertake a pilot project was the result of the complexity of the subject we aim at researching. From a methodological point of view, we have obviously approached the problem very carefully, trying to avoid some of the mistakes of the past. Once we have enough proof for our assumptions, there is more profound and complex research to be accomplished. Also having in mind the complexity of the subject, we decided

that Trena Jordanoska will do a pilot survey regarding the activities of the Macedonian composers during the observed period, and the paper as such will be dealing with the culture in its integrity.

Of particular importance, the democratization processes which followed the fall of communism, and the formation of the independent Republic of Macedonia (1991) enabled a stripped off ideology approach to the observed events.

We assumed that it would be very difficult to collect material artifacts such as scores, programs, posters etc., as probably they were hidden or destroyed in the post war years. That is why we decided that as a starting point we could only use the newspapers published in Macedonia during the World War Two. Thus we could compare the results from our research with the published papers in the Macedonian musicology. For this purpose, and having in mind that this is only a pilot research, we decided to select information only from one newspaper i.e. the newspaper *Celokupna B'lgarija* (*The Whole Bulgaria* – the title clearly points out to the goal of annexation of Macedonian territory) which was the leading printed media in Skopje from 1941–1944. We checked the articles related to music in the months July, August and September 1942, assuming that during this period there were no larger military activities, which could have influenced the events and the structure of music life. We did a rough search through the other issues of 1941/1942, too.

During the formulation of our research hypothesis we recalled a private conversation with the founder of the Macedonian ethnomusicology Zhivko Firfov (1906–1984) in the late 1970s, where he referred to the influences of the German and Bulgarian music education in the Macedonian music folklore. He mentioned that he was an elementary school student during World War One. The education in the schools was organized by the Bulgarians, as he stated, and it had a lot of music. In fact, he said that majority of the classes were devoted to learning Bulgarian and German songs. In the 1970s he found these songs in the repertoire of the traditional music amateur societies in smaller Macedonian towns as a part of the urban folklore, with tunes adjusted to the newly added Macedonian lyrics. Unfortunately, he did not point out a particular song, only that one of the groups was from the city of Resen.

We expected that similarly, education and particularly musical education will be the focal points of the assimilation activities carried out by the Bulgarian government. The main subject of the instructions in the schools was *B'lgaroznanie* (*knowing Bulgaria*) which comprised a large portion of music (Terzioski 1974, 81–89, 106–107). In accordance with the instructions from the Bulgarian Ministry of Education “every day at least half an hour should be devoted to singing, with a special accent the Bulgarian national songs” (ibid, 81). Macedonian songs were also included but there was a recommendation that they should be adjusted to Bulgarian rhythms (ibid, 89). The repertoire included the Bulgarian anthem *Shumi Marica* and the *Anthem of the Tsar*, the songs about Cyrilus and Methodius, the Bulgarian national songs *Gordej se, majko Bugarijo* and *Zhiv e toj, zhiv e*, and the marches *Velik e nashiot vojniki*, *Titane Kalemanski* and *Velik zavet*, all with the same purpose to induce Bulgarian ethnic feelings (ibid). Moreover, the teachers were obliged to “allocate time to the religious songs, in order to reinforce the religious feelings of the students” (ibid). The most effective way for using the songs as a didactic means was the student choirs:

There was a recommendation that every school should have a choir which should be used for educational purposes, and this was particularly important for the schools in the villages, having in mind that the other forms can not access the peasants due to their low cultural level (ibid, 107).

One can also expect that more serious music activities would have been performed in the higher classes of the high schools. This was confirmed by the article related to the choral concert marking the annual anniversary of the Skopje High Schools:

The celebration started with the performance of the national anthem and the Anthem of the Tsar, performed by the All-Girls High School choir conducted by Mr. Stefan Gajdov, followed by the selected poetry and music evening. The First All-Boys High School choir conducted by Mr. Aleksandr Motzev performed the choral songs “Trakija”, “Do moeto prvo libe”, “Moreto sni” and the popular song for Mile pop Jordanov. As soloists were senior classes students Dimitar Krangov, Vladimir Atanasov and Roman Lechev... After that we listen to the performance of the Second All-Boys High School choir and the conductor Mr. Trajko Prokopiev, who also performed several beautiful songs (*Celokupna B'lgarija* 1942, no. 332, 3)

When reviewing the articles it occurred to us that the newspaper we used was a central propaganda tool both in a political and ethnic sense. This was obvious from the first glance at the title page which was always filled with articles about the “successes of the German army on different battle fronts”. In our case, we expected that in addition to the propaganda, the newspaper would be used to promote the assimilation policy of the Bulgarian government, particularly against the Serbian influence. This was obvious in the article about the concert of the choirs of the All-Girls and All-Boys High Schools, conducted by Stefan Gajdov and Aleksandr Motzev in Sofia, where the author concluded that “thanks to the songs of the Macedonian Bulgarians, we are witnessing the fast return of the young generation to the pristine and correct native language” (ibid. no. 355, 4). This article with the title “Makedonskata pesen” (“The Macedonian song”) clearly states the intent of the author to launch the thesis that the songs, particularly the folk songs were the area which helped “the Macedonian Bulgarians” survive the extremely hard and difficult life during the previous regimes (ibid).

We can conclude that choral practice was preferred to instrumental practice from several reasons. First, choral singing did not require any additional investments for buying and maintaining instruments (in comparison to orchestral, or chamber music practice); then, it enabled mass participation; last but not least, it was consistent with the spiritual choral practice, a forerunner of the secular choirs. In the absence of wide use of mass media (the radio was a luxury product), singing was a very popular form of music practice. In the interview with Leta Bardzieva, the famous folk singer from the group Bapchorki, (recorded in the BuzAr documentary movie *Bapchorki*), she states that young girls were singing almost every day, as they were going into the fields to work or in their houses – during work and entertainment (Buzarovski 2002). Consequently, choral practice was very adequate for the masses in both, cultural and musical sense. With the introduction of the new repertoire, and homophonic as well as polyphonic structures, choral practice played a major role in the westernization of the Macedonian musical culture.

Together with the cultural aspect, equally important was the social aspect of mass gatherings. Before, during and after World War Two, all social players considered mass gatherings of the choral practice as an important opportunity not only for disseminating ideas, but also for recruiting human resources. Therefore, even before World War Two it is possible to observe the setting up of the so-called “workers’ choirs” formed around the workers’ union, bigger factories or enterprises (such as tobacco), as well as the citizens’ choirs. There are a lot of statements that between World War One and World War Two, as well as during the war, these choirs were very active in support of the socialist illegal

activities and recruitment of resistance fighters (Kostadinovski 1983, 40–41; Burnazovski & Trajkovski 1984, 59–62; Shuplevski 1999, 51–52; Kitan Ivanovska 2003, 39).

Thorough research is required in order to determine the objectivity and the reality regarding the political activities of the choirs existing in Macedonia before and during World War Two, the repertoire and the changes of names during World War Two period. In our pilot research of *Celokupna B'lgarija* we found two articles about the concert of the “Georgi Sugarev” citizens’ mixed choir from Bitola, consisting of 90 members and conducted by Todor Skalov(ski) in Sofia in July, 1942 (no. 325, 4; no. 339, 2). There was also an article about the “Boris Drangov” choir (ibid. no. 355, 4), which in some of the resources is related to the “Vardar” and “Mokranjac” choirs from the previous period (Kostadinovski 1983, 40). We have good reasons to believe that one of these choirs was used in the special events, as we could see a choir singing during the visit of Tsar Boris in Skopje in 1942 (Skopje. April... 2012). We found other controversial data about the activities of the “Boris Drangov” choir related to setting up the Music School in Skopje (for example, see Ortakov 1974, 516) which adds arguments to the main hypothesis of this paper.

Coming back to the question of the music education and politics, we expected that the Bulgarian regime would devote special attention to the training of the teachers. In fact, a combined strategy was applied: sending Bulgarian teachers to Macedonia (Terzioski 1974, 89), and sending Macedonian teachers to Bulgaria for additional training. For example, in the book about the Macedonian folk violinist Nikola Galevski, the author Mihail Beldedovski (2007, 30) mentions Bulgarian music teacher Dimitra Lilova, sent for this purpose in Berovo during World War Two Danka Firfova. The latter was one of the leading Macedonian opera singers, attending these courses in 1941/1942 (Pavlovska-Shulajkovska 2006, 99, 123; 2009, 95). After a period of teaching in Sofia, in 1942, she was appointed a teacher at the Veles High School and later at the All-Girls High School in Skopje (ibid. 2006, 99; 2009, 15, 95). We can assume that the other Macedonian music teachers also attended some training courses in Bulgaria.

As a rule, the training of the teachers was an obvious attempt of the Bulgarian regime to suppress the dominant Serbian influence from the pre World War Two period, particularly as all of the Macedonian musicians, had completed their musical education in the Belgrade Music School (Jordanoska & Buzarovski this edition).

At the same time, music education and the training of musicians played an extremely important role in the gradual oriental towards occidental transition of the Macedonian music culture. The existing data points out that the Ottoman music education practiced in the *islahane* and the *idadia*, was substituted by private music schools, until the official opening of the Music school in Skopje in 1934, which was named “Mokranjac”. Yet, even this segment needs further clarifications as data regarding the beginning of the instructions is currently contradictory (for example, compare Karakash 1970, 10; Kostadinovski 1983, 26, 40; Ortakov 1982, 69; Proshev 1986, 51; MBUC 1995, 5; Golabovski 1999, 106; Dzimrevski 2005, 315–317).

The same school continued to work during the Bulgarian occupation, with the intention to be transformed into a Music High School with 5 years of instructions, but due to the military activities in the late 1943, and 1944, it is unclear if there were any classes until the liberation of Skopje and Macedonia (Terzioski 1974, 31; Kostadinovski 1983, 40; MBUC 1995, 5). By December 1944, the newly formed Macedonian government issued the decree for the establishment of the Music High School. This school was the major center for

designating musicians and specialized music teachers during the following decade, particularly before the establishment of the higher music education system.

In addition to the obligatory choir activities, the educational policy of the Bulgarian government used different forms of music evenings, matinee – also organized by the schools. These types of events:

should have been effective means for national education of the students and the citizens. The programs were determined by the teachers' councils and they were always subordinated to the national goals... often presented outside the schools, or transmitted through the radio programs (Terzioski 1974, 107).

We could not find enough data regarding the instrumental, i.e. orchestral forms of the music culture during the World War Two period. More of the data points out that before World War Two almost all major cities in Macedonia had brass or wind instruments bands, mainly gathered around the “Sokol” societies (Dzimrevski 2005). The “Socolanas” which were primarily designed for sports activities, were covering also the cultural, i.e. the musical activities, as in the absence of concert and other public halls, in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia they were used for larger public events. We can only assume that occupation cut the connection between the “Sokolana” and the music bands, and the musicians probably went playing in the military or other smaller bands (for entertainment, at wedding ceremonies etc.). Consequently, additional research is needed to determine what happened with musicians such as Metodi Dokuzov (Mitevska 2004, 235), Ilija Todorovski (Karakash 1970, 43; Buzarovski 2011), Ilija Nikolovski-Luj (Karakash 1970, 49) and Gligor Smokvarski (who, for example, was trained at the Military Music School in Vršac, before World War Two, *ibid.*, 52).

Almost all the issues of *Celokupna B'lgarija* which we surveyed had numerous photographs of Macedonians in national costumes. In addition, we found several articles related to the music folklore, such as the one about the wedding custom from Galichnik (*Celokupna B'lgarija* 1942, no. 331, 4). As we have already mentioned the music folklore was considered a very important means for the ideological, political and ethnic influence. Still, the division between folklore and artistic music (reflected in the division between ethnomusicology and musicology), was – and in most of the educational systems of the Balkan still is – the major prism for observation of music culture, neglecting particularly the popular music genres.

Among the other articles of the surveyed period we found several about the concert tour of the Tsar's philharmonic orchestra, in Kumanovo, Shtip, Veles, Ohrid and Skopje, in August and September 1942 (*ibid.* no. 373, 3; 376, 3; 377, 1; 384, 3). The articles inform the readers about the conductor Sasha Popov pointing out – in the same propaganda manner – that the audience was thrilled by the performances of the anthems at the beginning of the program. However, there are no indications about the repertoire performed at these concerts (*ibid.* no. 384, 3). In the article about the concert in Kumanovo, it is mentioned that the citizens will have an opportunity to listen and enjoy a philharmonic orchestra after 25 years, which indicates that there could have been similar performances during World War One (*ibid.* no. 373, 3). Some of the concerts were organized in the central squares (for example, Ohrid), while the two concerts in Skopje were hosted by the National Theater (*ibid.* no. 376, 3).

Among the other events which randomly appeared in our pilot research, it is worth mentioning the performance of the operetta *S'n't na Violeta* by the “Princess Maria

Luisa” Women’s Charity Association from Skopje in the National Theatre in Skopje (ibid. no. 239, 4), and the tour of the German military band (ibid. no. 396, 4).

Particularly interesting additional information was broadcast by the Radio Skopje program with music playing a major role. As the technology of the period allowed only use of records, we expected that there might have been live music performances included in the program. The regular announcements pointed out to two ensembles: the Chamber radio orchestra (ibid. no. 370, 2) and Entertainment orchestra (Salonski orkestar) (ibid. no. 384, 2). Unfortunately, there is no information about the repertoire, musicians, and the conductors, i.e. the leaders of the orchestra. We cannot be sure if these orchestras existed in Skopje at all, or if in fact, they were live performances from Sofia. Assuming that it was the same building where, after World War Two, Radio Skopje continued to broadcast the program, we can recall that there was a small hall that could have been used for such purposes.

These announcements are the only references to popular music during the World War Two period. The program of Radio Skopje had a very strict schedule, divided in blocks for:

- folk music: songs and dances, and programs devoted to the different Macedonian regions (we could find again the wedding customs from Galichnik, ibid. no. 331, 2);
- popular music: music for entertainment, concert of the Entertainment orchestra, light and dance music, Bulgarian and foreign music;
- classical music: mostly in the evening hours with opera, recitals, orchestral works, transmission of concert (for example, electrophonosynchronized concert, ibid. no. 352, 2) etc.

Having in mind that the information we collected from the newspaper *Celokupna B’lgarija* was censored and biased, i.e. instrumental in propaganda sense, we expect that other important segments of the music culture are missing, such as the tradition of the Jewish community in Macedonia (see *Spanish romances from Bitola*, Romano [1985] 2012). Another very poorly presented area is the spiritual music with occasional articles such as the formation of a “Brakja Miladinovi” church choir (*Celokupna B’lgarija* 1942, no. 352, 2) and the information about the liturgies in the morning Radio program (ibid. no. 325, 2).

To conclude, we might say that our pilot research entirely demonstrated the need for an extensive project to revisit and re-evaluate the entire musical culture during World War Two, addressing the question of music genres, music institutions and music education. We have also confirmed that the democratization processes which followed the period after the fall of communism, enabled more opened, unbiased and realistic approach to the historical events and the sensitive social, political and ethnic issues.

We only hope that the enthusiastic musicologists in the future will have better access to all Balkan archives. This could contribute to an improved understanding and respect of the complex and inter-related Balkan history of cultures.

SUMMARY

The democratization processes that followed the fall of communism, and the establishment of the independent Republic of Macedonia (1991) have assisted the creation of a methodological approach that enables a de-ideologized observation of events from the past. Having in mind that existing musicological papers concerned with the Macedonian music culture during World War Two usually skip the period between 1941

and 1943, marked by the German/Bulgarian occupation of Macedonia, we undertook a pilot research project with the aim of reviewing articles in the newspapers published during World War Two in Macedonia and checking if political issues influenced the musicological surveys.

The pilot research reviewed the articles in the newspaper *Celokupna B'lgarija* during three months in 1942. Despite the obviously censored and biased approach of the newspaper – particularly instrumental in the Bulgarian policy of the assimilation of the Macedonian territory in a political and ethnic sense – the data about the numerous music events entirely demonstrated the need for an extensive project to revisit and re-evaluate the music culture during World War Two in its integral form, addressing the question of music genres, music institutions and music education. The methodological frames should be based on a meticulous scrutiny of all data, avoiding the misinterpretations generated by biased political, ideological, cultural or ethnic perspectives.

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PONOVNO RAZMATRANJE MAKEDONSKE MUZIČKE KULTURE TOKOM DRUGOG SVETSKOG RATA

U dosadašnjoj muzikološkoj literaturi koja se bavi makedonskom muzičkom kulturom tokom Drugog svetskog rata uglavnom je izostavljen period nemačke/bugarske okupacije od 1941. do 1943. godine. Ovaj rad je deo pilot istraživačkog projekta koji je nastao sa ciljem da se analiziraju članci objavljeni u novinama tokom Drugog svetskog rata u Makedoniji i da se proverí da li postoje nepoznate ili protivrečne činjenice.

Ključne reči: *muzičke institucije u Makedoniji, horovi, obrazovanje, Drugi svetski rat*

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MACEDONIAN COMPOSERS DURING WORLD WAR TWO, REVISITED

UDC 78.071.1(497.7)“1941/1945“

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Abstract. *Despite the numerous writings about the first generation of Macedonian composers, we have decided to design a pilot project based on a meticulous review for missing or contradictory data. We revisited the data about four Macedonian composers who played a crucial role in the establishment of the contemporary Macedonian music culture: Stefan Gajdov, Zhivko Firfov, Trajko Prokopiev and Todor Skalovski.*

Key words: *Macedonian Music, Composers, World War Two*

The historical analysis of contemporary Macedonian music is usually focused on the works and the activities of Macedonian composers. If we compare the quantity of the written materials regarding all aspects of contemporary Macedonian music culture, the majority of papers will be primarily devoted to the life and the works of Macedonian composers. Likewise, five composers who were among the first to initiate the modern history of Macedonian music take highly distinguished positions: Stefan Gajdov (1905, Veles – 1992, Ohrid), Zhivko Firfov (1906, Veles – 1984, Skopje), Trajko Prokopiev (1909, Kumanovo – 1979, Belgrade), Todor Skalovski (1909, Tetovo – 2004, Skopje), and Petre Bogdanov-Kochko (1913, Skopje – 1988, Skopje). Not only are there numerous articles, essays, and TV documentaries, but three of them (Prokopiev, Skalovski and Kochko) are highly recognized in monographs (Kostadinovski 1983; Kitan Ivanovska, Skalovski and Manchev 2003; Nikolovski, ed. 2002) describing in detail their activities and the events in their lives.

One can expect such an outcome, bearing in mind that they were crucial actors during a period that, particularly after the end of World War Two and the establishment of the Republic of Macedonia, marked the transition of Macedonian musical culture from an oriental to an occidental type. All modern “westernized” music institutions are connected

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to their names and their activities, and sometimes they were compared to the Russian “petorka”, alluding to their role in developing a unique Macedonian music idiom.

The existing papers give the impression that there is sufficient written musicological material about this subject. Nevertheless, we decided to revisit and check the influence of ideological, political and other factors which could have contributed to misinterpreting events from the past. This was the main incentive to launching a pilot research regarding Macedonian music culture during the World War Two period, presented in this paper as viewed by the author of this edition.

We also expected that the time distance, despite the fact that participants are deceased and the artifacts no longer exist, particularly those of the pre-digital era, has a very important and serious impact that would lead towards an increased level of objectivity in the understanding and explanation of the events.

Once again, we would like to emphasize that there are no doubts that these five composers, who were also choral and orchestral conductors (Stefan Gajdov, Todor Skalovski and Trajko Prokopiev), singers (Petre Bogdanov-Kochko) and ethnomusicologists (Zhivko Firfov) played a crucial role in the establishment of the Macedonian contemporary music culture idiom. This paper does not intend to either reverse or re-evaluate the explanation and understanding of the contemporary history of Macedonian music. The history of Macedonian music in the second half of the 20th century is an exceptional example not only for the oriental-occidental transformation, but also for a skyrocketing development which brought fully home-educated musicians such as Simon Trpcheski, who at the moment holds performances on world-renowned stages.

In fact, our main goal is to raise the level of criticism, and determine, i.e. locate any missing or contradictory data. We can only share the common scientific opinion that any written conclusion should be carefully and meticulously checked to avoid copying of statements not based on solid facts. This also assumes that we have evidence for such inconsistencies, particularly in the pioneering years of Macedonian musicology (ibid). For example, the concert of Yury Arbatsky held in the German Evangelist Church in Prague on October 18, 1942, which included two compositions for organ, *Fantasia* by Zhivko Firfov, and *Sonata nr. 6* by Panche Peshev (Karakash 1970, 54–55), is confusing due to several reasons:

- both, Zhivko Firfov, and Panche Peshev wrote compositions for an instrument which was totally unknown in Macedonia at that time;
- the scores from the quoted compositions or other similar compositions for the organ are missing;
- the title suggests large music forms not present in their compositional opus;
- last but not least, “the sixth” sonata by Panche Peshev, implies that the other five are missing (see ibid, 56).

What can be confirmed is that:

- the copy of the concert program, published in Branko Karakash’s book on Macedonian composers, is obviously not a fake;
- Yury Arbatsky, who was a pianist, an organist and a composer, was also very interested in ethnomusicology and Macedonian and Central Balkans folklore, resulting from his book *Beating the Tupan in the Central Balkans* (1953);
- both Firfov and Peshev were taking private lessons from Yury Arbatsky (Karakash 1970, 28, 55; Ortakov 1982, 77; Burnazovski & Trajkovski 1984, 10–14, 97), yet when, how often, how long and what the content of the lessons was, remains unclear.

The theoretical responsibility was the main criterion behind the revisited subject of the activities of the Macedonian composers during World War Two. We would also like to emphasize that this paper is complementary to the paper of Buzarovski & Jordanoska (this edition) that determines the methodological assumptions and wholly reviews the culture through the results of the pilot research. Moreover, we had in mind that the data presented in the previous papers, are often based on interviews with the composers or the members of their families, and the copies of the original documents that would confirm their authenticity are rare.

While focusing on the activity of composers, we decided to organize the accessible artifacts in accordance with the three different periods characteristic to World War Two: 1939–41, 1941–44, and 1944–45. This entirely corresponds to the changes of the suffixes or even the entire family names from “ić”, to “ov” and (for Skalovski to) “ski”. For instance, until 1941 we find the following names: Stevan M. Gajdović (Zorikj 2007, 40), Todor Nastić for Todor Skalovski (Kitan Ivanovska 2003, 32), Trajko Prokopijević (Kostadinovski 1983, 25, 28) and Zhivko Firfović (according to the change of the surname of his wife, see Pavlovska-Shulajkovska 2009, 12).

We also decided that our paper will review the activities of only four composers of the group, as Petre Bogdanov-Kochko, started his compositional activities later, i.e. at the end and after World War Two (see Nikolovski, ed. 2002).

The first period was consistent with the previous period, when the group acquired their music education in the Belgrade Music School (Muzička škola u Beogradu), which after World War Two took the name of its founder Stevan Mokranjac (Marinković 2007, 631). Still, despite the numerous papers about the education of the group, the data should be thoroughly checked as the only copy of the diploma is the one printed in Kostadinovski's monograph about Trajko Prokopiev (1983, 22). There is no doubt that they completed the school – the missing or contradictory data is related to their enrollment, graduation and the classes they attended (or what they majored in).

There is evidence, and consequently, a common agreement that the emphasis of the compositional activities of the whole group is in the choral area. There are two major reasons for this outcome: the compositional skills of the group and the overwhelming presence of the vocal i.e. the choral practice in the whole region during the pre World War Two period (Buzarovski & Jordanoska this edition). This does not undermine the achievements of the group, as their compositions have been present in the international repertoire until present times (for example, see the data about the most frequently performed works at the International Choir Festival in Nis, where one can find the works of Skalovski and Prokopiev. Kostić 2010, 60, 62–63, 94). It is obvious that at that stage of development of the Macedonian music culture, one cannot expect complex compositional works in a formal, orchestral and stylistic sense. This will be achieved when the first generation of Macedonian composers who had undertaken the full higher education training in Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana in the late 1950s and the 1960s, such as Kiril Makedonski, Vlastimir Nikolovski, Toma Proshev and Tomislav Zografski, graduated.

Usually, the most documented part of the activities of these composers, are the catalogs with the titles of their compositions. Among the latest research in the area, the dissertation “Digital Catalog of Macedonian Choral Works” by Ivica Zorikj (2007), is based on the largest collection of such compositions at the moment. The catalog fully confirms our previous thesis that the accent of their opus was on choral practice. Bearing in mind that

we were interested only in the specified period of 1939–1945, we were immediately confronted with the problem of the exact year of creation, particularly pointing out that some of the compositions might have been published, performed or rewritten later.

During 1939–1941, most of the existing data refers to the choral works of Stefan Gajdov – ten compositions for mixed choir, two for male choir and five for female choir (Kolovski 1993, 88–89). The other composers are much less present, or hypothetically, less creative during the period. This is particularly evident in Zhivko Firfov's works where there is hardly any data. The opus of Trajko Prokopiev includes two mixed choir compositions, one for male choir and, a piece, *Pastoral*, for flute, harp and violin with inconsistent data about the ensemble(s) and year of creation (see Kostadinovski 1983, 204–208, 315). The list of Todor Skalovski's works from the same period includes two lost compositions, *Uchi Karaj* and *Rudari* (Skalovski 2003, 198), four compositions for mixed choir, and one for female choir.

During the same period, 1939–1941, and particularly in 1941, all of these composers were living and working abroad: Stefan Gajdov was a music teacher at the Vukovar High School (Todorchevska 2004b, 34); Zhivko Firfov was a teacher and leader of the orchestra at the Zemun Center for the blind and visually-impaired, and a conductor of the Zemun Choral Society (Karakash 1970, 27–28); Todor Skalovski was a high school teacher in Sremska Mitrovica and a conductor of the Citizens' Choir (Kitan Ivanovska 2003, 37–38; Skalovski 2003, 190); while Trajko Prokopiev was the conductor of the choral society "Sloga" in Sarajevo and a part-time teacher at the Serbian Orthodox Church School (Kostadinovski 1983, 38). When the war started they all returned to Macedonia. Although we cannot say that the exact data of return are of a special musicological importance, we found some discrepancies such as in Kitan Ivanovska's quote that "... as a supporter of the Yugoslav Communist Party, with a decision of the Croatian Ustasha on the April 6, he [Todor Skalovski] was exiled with his family to Macedonia..." (2003, 38). Such data should be corrected bearing in mind that April 6, 1941 was the first day of the German attack on Yugoslavia.

During the next period, 1941–1943, there is partial data that the four composers in our survey stayed mainly in Skopje, except for Todor Skalovski in whose case there is inconsistent data about his stay in Bitola and Skopje (compare *ibid*, 38–39; v. Skalovski 2010, 69, 71). As the majority of them were working as music teachers, it is unclear whether or not they were sent to Bulgaria for additional training as part of the restructuring of the educational system in Macedonia during the Bulgarian occupation (see Buzarovski & Jordanoska this edition). In 1941, Stefan Gajdov was employed in the "Tsaritsa Ioanna" All-Girls High School in Skopje, and, "in September 1943 he was appointed "principal" of the Bulgarian established authority of the Music School in Skopje, "who, a month later, discontinued classes" (see Todorchevska 2004b, 34). The quoted data contradicts the research by the historian Rastislav Terzioski, who writes that the Music School in Skopje was opened in the school year 1941/1942:

The classes were held by high school music and singing teachers. This music school in the school year 1943/1944, with order from the Ministry of education, became the Music High School... (Terzioski 1974, 31).

Again there is no data about Zhivko Firfov during the period when Todor Skalovski was a teacher at the Bitola High School. Trajko Prokopiev was also a teacher in the Second All-Boys High School where we used to work with a choir and an orchestra which performed some of his compositions (Kostadinovski 1983, 40).

We were particularly careful when reviewing the data of this period, bearing in mind the ideological and political pressure during the following socialist period. All of the extant biographies emphasize that Skalovski, Prokopiev and Gajdov (as well as Bogdanov-Kochko) were included in the resistance against the German and Bulgarian occupation, and that choral practice was the undercover means for these activities. Consequently, Skalovski formed the “Macedonia” male choir in 1942 in Skopje (Skalovski 2003, 156), “as a cover for the activities of the partisans“. Its members later on became members of the Second Skopje Partisan Detachment (Kitan Ivanovska 2003, 39). Later, “under the directions of the Party” he moves to Bitola where his house is “the headquarters for the resistance of the entire Bitola region” (ibid). “In Bitola, also the choir is the ideal form for action and propoganda and sending the ‘singers’ to the partisan detachments” (Skalovski 2010, 71).

Similar activities were noted by Prokopiev, who states that he, as a sympathizer of the resistance, supported the activities of the “progressive youths” through the organization of music events, which were used for undercover meetings (Kostadinovski 1983, 40). He also helped keep their meetings undercover through additional music lessons and organization of weekend choir concerts in the Sv. Gjorgji Church in the Chayr neighborhood where one of the communist party cells was working (ibid).

We find similar information based on the interview with Prokopiev that:

... in the “Boris Drangov” choral society, a Music School was formed... [by Skalovski, Asparuh Hadzinikolov, Prokopiev and Bogdanov-Kochko] where unofficially they appointed Stefan Gajdov as its principal, and Petre Bogdanov-Kochko as its secretary. But the school did not start to work, and there were no students enrolled. Under the instructions of our [sic] Communist party the school should have been a place for gathering of the progressive youth. These intentions were discovered by the Bulgarian occupants who immediately brought Bulgarian music teachers and opened the Music High School (ibid).

This obviously contradicts the previously quoted data about the opening of the Music School with Stefan Gajdov for “principal” in 1943. Moreover, Todorchevska writes that “...the Bulgarian fascists appointed Petre Bogdanov-Kochko as principal of the ‘Boris Drangov’ Music High School from November 4, 1941 to April 1, 1942” (2004a, 42).

At the same time Gajdov was a conductor of the “Brakja Miladinovi” male church choir in the Sv. Dimitrija Church in Skopje until 1945. According to the article by Todorchevska, it was “used as a link between the soldiers sent to partisan detachments” (2004b, 34). Parallel with this information, in the newspaper *Celokupna B’lgarija* we found an article reporting that “yesterday (August 5) in the hall of the First All-Boys High School the new choir “Brakja Miladinovi” was established” with members mainly coming from the former Sv. Dimitrija church choir (*Celokupna B’lgarija* 1942, no. 352, 2).

As we have already emphasized, this is only a pilot research into the area regarding a larger project for clearing up the inconsistencies in the existing data, inconsistencies arising particularly from political and ideological reasons. We assumed that the political pressure might have resulted in an exaggeration related to the progressive roles of the individuals. This also refers to the use of the choirs as a center for the resistance movement, as there is parallel data, which show that the choirs were equally used for propoganda activities from the Bulgarian side, as well (see Buzarovski & Jordanoska this edition). For example, immediately after the Bulgarian occupation of Macedonia in 1941, the “Boris Drangov” choir was formed of the former members of the choirs “Vardar” and “Mokranjac”, and at first, the conductors were Todor Skalovski and Asparuh Hadzinikolov.

Later on, Trajko Prokopiev was appointed as conductor of the same choir, while Petre Bogdanov-Kochko was a piano accompanist (Kostadinovski 1983, 40). The next choir which was frequently mentioned in the articles of *Celokupna B'lgarija* and reviewed in our pilot research is “Georgi Sugarev” with the conductor Todor Skalovski. The pilot research points out that there is written and photographic material about both choirs, particularly obvious in the concert of “Georgi Sugarev” in “Zala B'lgarija” in Sofia with the conductor Todor Skalovski on July 16, 1942 (*Celokupna B'lgarija* 1942, no. 325, 4; no. 339, 2).

As we have mentioned earlier, there is little evidence about their activities as composers in this period. There are only two choral pieces by Gajdov, written in 1942, *Gora i junak* for female choir with several confusing years of creation – 1941, or 1942 (Kolovski 1993: 89), or even 1932, (Todorchevska 2004b, 34) and *Rumba, rumba se sobrale*, also for female choir (1942) (Kolovski 1993, 89).

Again there is no data about Zhivko Firfov. This only confirms the need for a larger study of Zhivko Firfov’s life and particularly his ethnomusicological work, as there are no doubts about his contribution to the establishment of Macedonian ethnomusicology, and particularly the preservation of Macedonian music folklore. Yet, we should not undermine his compositional activities which are also confirmed by the article “Makedonskata pesen” (“The Macedonian song”) where one can find a list of the Macedonian composers: Firfov, Gajdov and Prokopiev (*Celokupna B'lgarija* 1942, no. 355, 4).

According to the list of works by Trajko Prokopiev (Kostadinovski 1983, 314), he finished the choral work *Kumanovka IV* (ibid, 99) and wrote only the music for the play *Pechalbari* by Anton Panov (1942) which was performed the same year (*Celokupna B'lgarija* 1942, no. 393, 2). We found very often the name of Trajko Prokopiev in the Radio Skopje program for children *Chas za Deteto*, where he conducts the group *Detska pesen* (for example, ibid. no. 353, 2).

We have more data about Skalovski’s choral compositions, mostly for mixed choir: *Goce* (as first part of the Ilinden trilogy) (1941–44), *Rhapsody I* (1941–44), *Ilinden Ballad*, *The Song of Gjorgji Sugare* [sic] (as second part of the Ilinden trilogy) (1942), *Prijdite poklonimsja* (1942) and *Makedonsko oro* (1943–44) (also with a version for a female choir) (Skalovski 2003, 199). Another list of works by Todor Skalovski from 1942 includes an additional three choral compositions: *Dobro utro lichno mome*, *Tuljo* and *Tumbe kafe* (Kolovski 1993, 198). In the monograph about Skalovski, Kitan Ivanovska quotes Ivan Kamburov who pronounced Skalovski’s composition *Macedonian Humoresque* (written in 1938–1939) performed during the concert of “Georgi Sugarev” in Sofia in 1942, as “the most humorous song in Bulgarian literature” (2003, 39). As we have already said, there is other data that need further clarification, such as the performance of *Makedonsko oro* for female choir in 1943 at “the National theater in Skopje, where all the communist youth [SKOJ] was present and rewarded the composition with a long applause” (ibid, 43).

There is much more data covering the period from 1944 on, all of it mainly regarding the activities related to the organization of culture by the partisans in the liberated territories. They generally refer to the music activities in the AGITPROP (agitation and propaganda) unit of the Communist party in the Headquarters of the newly formed resistance in the village Gorno Vranovci, a place where musicians, poets, and other artists were gathered. In the existing printed documents we find the names of Skalovski, Prokopiev and Zhivko Firfov (Vlastimir Nikolovski and Petre Bogdanov-Kochko are also

mentioned) working with the newly formed partisan choirs (ibid, 42). According to Todor Skalovski:

every event began with an opening speech and the song *Izgrej zoro na slobodata* [sic]. The artistic part consisted of *Vrapche*, followed by music solos, recitations and choral songs; the crown of every event was the performance of the drama group *Pettoimeniot Gjore*. The dance *Teshkoto* was performed together with the peasants... (ibid).

It is difficult to reconstruct the exact time and way in which the compositions are linked to the activities of the composers of the period. In the existing writings, Todor Skalovski stated that:

Firfov wrote his *First partisan's march for male choir*, Trajko Prokopiev [wrote] his first composition... inspired by the National Liberation War and the Revolution... Here, I wrote my first works, several marches, the cantata *11 Oktomvri* and the song *Goce* (ibid).

Probably Skalovski refers to his choral composition *11 Oktomvri* which is registered in the Zorikj's catalog (2007, 75), while in accordance to the list of works in the same monograph, the cantata *11 Oktomvri* is written in 1946 (Skalovski 2003, 202).

In Gorno Vranovci, *Mlad borec* published a small collection with arrangements of the popular resistance songs under the title *Mladinski poj*, with lyrics by Venko Markovski, Kole Chashule and Aco Shopov, edited by Todor Skalovski (Nikolovski 1986, 96; Kitan Ivanovska 2003, 41; Skalovski 2003, 201).

In the data given by Todor Skalovski, he states that he made the arrangements of *A bre, Makedonche, Aj shto mi e milo, em drago mlada partizanka da stanam, Vo borba, Od Makedonija glas se slusha, Ne odred, a vojska sme nie, Zora zori* and *So chest i gordost* (Kitan Ivanovska 2003, 44) and the compositions *Titovi sme pioneri, March of the Macedonian youth, March of the Yugoslavian youth, Ognot* (ibid, 43). One can also find a list of twelve other choral compositions written by Skalovski in this period (Kolovski 1993, 198; Skalovski 2003, 199, 201; Zorikj 2007, 75).

There are other controversial data about the transcription and the arrangement of the Macedonian national anthem *Denes nad Makedonija* given by Skalovski himself (Kitan Ivanovska 2003, 43–44). The question of the Macedonian anthem needs further meticulous research, particularly regarding the origin of the melody and the date of its introduction.

As far as Trajko Prokopiev is concerned, after the liberation of Skopje (November 13, 1944) he formed the Military Choir of the National Liberation War Headquarters in Macedonia with soldiers of the battalions in Skopje. The first performance was at the reception of the ASNOM delegates where together with the choir from the All-Girls High School they performed partisan and patriotic songs (Kostadinovski 1983, 42). The choir grew up to 80 members and had its rehearsals “in the former French school and later in the Music High School” (ibid). Prokopiev performed with this choir throughout Macedonia and Serbia and later on at the Srem front. This choir premiered his compositions *Karposh* (written in 1944, performed 1945) and *Dena* (written 1940–1941, performed 1945) (ibid, 42–43). Kostadinovski (ibid, 313–314) also lists the compositions *Vardare* for voice and piano (1944–45), *Rosa* for female choir (1945), *Pesna za sturceto* for children choir (1945) and again the music for the play *Pechalbari* (1945).

There are very rare data about Gajdov's activity. His name is mentioned in the newspaper *Nova Makedonija* (November 30, 1944) as a choral conductor performing the anthems

Hej Sloveni and *Izgrej zora* (cited in *Izgrej zora...* 2012). His name is also quoted regarding the concert on December 9, 1944 at the celebration of Sv. Kliment day by the new Ministry of Education formed by ASNOM: “during the music part, Stefan Gajdov and the choir from the All-Girls High School performed his choral compositions *Lele Jano, Shto mi e milo em drago* and *Se zapali odajcheto Treno, odajcheto*” (*Nova Makedonija*, December 12, 1944 cited in Todorchevska 2004b, 35). This is the best proof that this choir, which we have already met in the previous period, continued its activities.

During the period of our research (World War Two) there were several other Macedonian musicians who were active composers. Among them, the most quoted name is Panche Peshev (1915, Veles – 1944, Kushkuli, Plachkovica), an active member of the Yugoslav Communist Party before the war. He participated directly in the resistance against the German and Bulgarian occupation, was imprisoned in 1942, narrowly escaped execution and tragically died in combat in 1944. He was one of the first students at the Music School in Skopje in 1934, but he left the school (Burnazovski & Trajkovski 1984, 14–15). He was on numerous occasions mentioned as taking private lessons in composition with Josip Slavenski and Arbatsky and was the author of one of the first revolutionary songs *Klasje zeleno* in 1936 (ibid, 13–14, 29). Unfortunately the only accessible composition by Panche Peshev is the *March of the III Macedonian liberation brigade* (1944), with lyrics by Aco Shopov (ibid, 115–118).

Among other activities, he was one of the founders of the illegal newspaper *Dedo Ivan* in 1941, written in Kumanovo dialect (ibid, 70). In the second issue he published the article “Pejachki hor” (“Singing choir”) as a reaction to Bulgarian propaganda in Kumanovo:

The Bulgarians “through their AGENT Bojan... try to make us traitors of our class and our people. To increase his influence he promises that he will organize a trip for the singers to Sofia... Do not go to Sofia! This is not a time for that. Forward in the struggle against fascism! (ibid, 71–72)

Taki Hrisik (1920, Krushevo – 1983, Skopje) is undoubtedly the composer that deserves to be included in the review of the period. Among the very rare data about his works and his life, we find that he was taking music lessons with the Austrian composer and conductor Albert Hrasche (Kolovski 1993, 229) who used to work in Krushevo and Prilep in the 1930s (Dzimrevski 2005, 238). Karakash (1970, 61); that he was a participant in the resistance against the occupation of Macedonia; that in 1941 he translated the words from *L'Internationale* into the Vlach language, and he wrote the songs *Na noze, Krevajte se rabotnici* and *Partizani*. Kolovski's list (1983, 230) of Hrisik compositions includes: *Rabotnichki marsh* (1940), *Partizanski marsh* (1942), *Partizanska himna* (1944) and *Svechena pesna za brakata Kiril i Metodij* (1945). Among his works, surprisingly, there are two orchestral pieces: *Vo mrakot* – a phantasy for orchestra, written in 1943, and *Razdelba* – suite for orchestra, written in 1944 (Karakash 1970, 62; Kolovski 1983, 229). One can be sure that Taki Hrisik focused on writing the so-called *mass songs*, evident through the award received at the anonymous competition of the Association of Composers in Yugoslavia for a Yugoslav anthem in 1969, for his composition *Svechena pesna* (Karakash 1970, 61; Kolovski 1993, 229).

We would also like to mention Asparuh Hadzinikolov (1909, Skopje – 1980, Skopje) whose music education is unclear. The existing data point out that he was enrolled in a high school in Leipzig (Karakash 1970, 36; Kolovski 1993, 226) and returned to Belgrade “when Hitler took the power in Germany in 1933” and, in the same year he finished the

Music School in 1934 (Kolovski 1993, 226). From 1934 he became a music teacher in different cities in Serbia and in Skopje where he also worked as choral conductor. An additional study of his compositional activities should be undertaken as thirteen choral compositions are listed in Zorikj's catalog (2007, 23).

The complete survey of the compositional activities of the period cannot avoid the discussion about the group of amateur composers who created the repertoire of the partisan songs (see for example Ortakov 1977, 13–14; Nikolovski 1986, 96). Among them we should mention Kiro Gligorov (the first president of the independent Republic of Macedonia) with his composition *Lenka*, and Vlado Maleski, the author of the Macedonian anthem *Denes nad Makedonija*. Despite the numerous references in different papers, we assume that this data would be revisited and reviewed, as well.

In conclusion, we accept the opinion that revisiting events from the music history can always contribute to a better understanding of the music of the past, as well as bring light to it from a more objective and realistic perspective.

SUMMARY

The pilot research about the activities of the Macedonian composers during World War Two confirmed the need for careful and meticulous review of all existing written data and artifacts in order to avoid copying of statements not based on solid facts. A high level of criticism will help clearing missing or contradictory data, and particularly, misinterpretations which could be a result of the biased political, ideological, cultural or ethnic attitudes.

The review of the activities of the four composers who are considered as founders of contemporary Macedonian music culture, Stefan Gajdov, Zhivko Firfov, Trajko Prokopiev and Todor Skalovski, confirmed the continuity of their pre and post World War Two activities and their crucial role in Macedonian music life and culture. Also the pilot research proved the need for an extensive project that includes other composers such as Panche Peshev, Taki Hrisik and Asparuh Hadzinikolov.

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MAKEDONSKI KOMPOZITORI TOKOM DRUGOG SVETSKOG RATA, PONOVO RAZMATRANJE

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Ključne reči: *makedonska muzika, kompozitori, Drugi svetski rat*

ONE OLD GEORGIAN MUSICAL TERM

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Abstract. *In old Georgian written monuments (XI–XII c.), the musical term ‘Mortuleba’ has a double meaning. Having the same meaning as the older Greek term ‘Harmony’ it points to the systematic nature of horizontal pitch connections. Translations and comments of written monuments of antiquity speak of it when concerned with the ancient Greek music theory. However, the same term in old Georgian writings (Ioane Petritsi) has a different semantic understanding, where it corresponds to the modern meaning of the term ‘Harmony’ (as mentioned in Medieval Latin Treatises). Here it expresses the vertical combinations of tones and, thus, indicates to the polyphony of musical works.*

Key words: *Old Georgian musical terms, ancient Greek music theory, polyphony of church chants.*

Out of the musical terms attested in Medieval Georgian written sources, a special attention is attached to *mortuleba* (“harmony”).¹ The term is polysemantic and occurs in various branches of Georgian literature (theological and philosophical exegetics, hagiography), as well as in the field of church music.

The 12th century scholar’s work Ioane Petritsi’s, *Commentary on the Philosophy of Proclus Diadochus and Plato* contains particularly important evidence for the interpretation of the term under study.

Opinions differ as to the essence of *mortuleba* and its varieties (*mosartavi*, *rtvai*, *narti*, *tsartuli*, *shertuli*). From the philosophical point of view, *mortulebai*, denoting “harmony, pattern, order” is duly discussed in scholarly literature (Nemesius of Emesa 1914; Ioane Petritsi 1999). The musicologist N. Pirtskhalava focused his attention on the aesthetic aspect of the concept *mortuleba* (“beauty”), in addition to the philosophical one (Pirtsckhalava 1993, 94–95).

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¹ The present article is the English translation of a part of the author’s study *For Explanation of Some Old Georgian Musical Terms*, published in the Georgian language (see Sukhiashvili 2002).

As already known from the studies of S. Gorgadze, D. Melikishvili and M. Rapava, *mortuleba* is an equivalent of Greek polysemantic term *ἁρμονία* (see: Nemesius of Emesa 1914; Ioane Petritsi 1999; Ammonius Hermiae 1983). The above-mentioned gives us reason to think that it (like Greek “harmony”), along with the philosophical and aesthetic content, also has a relatively narrow musical-theoretical meaning (Sukhiashvili 2001, 51; 2002, 38–45).

In the process of identification of the special musical-theoretical meaning of the term *mortuleba*, the translation method of the medieval Georgian authors (in particular, Ioane Petritsi, the translator of works by Ammonius, Arsen Iqaltoeli XI–XII c., and others) should be taken into account when those texts contain the term under study. As already known, this translation method implies accurate translation from the Greek language, rendering the original text with absolute accuracy.

Therefore, in the word formation of representatives of the Gelati literary school – Ioane Petritsi and translator of Ammonius, the concept *mortuleba* must be used with the musical-theoretical meaning, corresponding to Greek “harmony”.

We have already mentioned that in Greek music theory, the term *ἁρμονία* “harmony” denoted the regularity of combination of tones in a mode, four-tone modes² and more developed mode structures resulting from the combination of tetrachords (Bershadskaia 1986, 8; Gertsman 1986, 156). According to ancient terminology, pitch aspects of music study are “harmonic” aspects (Gertsman 1988).

It should be noted that from the second half of the eleventh century on, interest in Byzantium increased in ancient musical culture. It is especially interesting, against this background, to find out how and with what meaning the terms borrowed from Greek were used by Georgian figures engaged in translation and furnishing commentary for the philosophical literature of the ancient period (by the way, they had been educated in Byzantium).

First of all, let us discuss the work by Ioane Petritsi *Commentary* on the treatise *Elements of Theology* by Proclus.

In the second chapter of his work, dealing with consisting elements, the author resorts to the example of analogy from the field of music and draws the listeners' attention to *mortulta guarini* (“species of modes”): “If you resort to music *rtvas* (tone or tetrachord combinations), you will see among them the one, as how you combine voice and instrument tones, you will obtain the corresponding species”. Here *mortva* – (Greek *ἁρμόζω, ἁρμόττω*) denotes harmonic joint, agreement, concord, their subordination to pitch system. The resulting species of mode – *guari* is dependent as to which mode the tones are subordinated. Ioane Petritsi distinguishes *guaris* of modes (*mortulebas*) according to one or another attitude, mode (ethos). Some of them arouse compassion, some are stimulating, some are accompanying or destroying moral fortitude, etc. It is beyond any doubt that when discussing *mortulebas*, Ioane Petritsi implies that the meaning of “harmony” is the one accepted in Greek music theory. This viewpoint is also substantiated by the circumstance that, meanwhile, the philosopher mentions ancient Greek teaching on music and discusses ancient musical-cosmological views concerning the relation of modes (*mortulta guarini*) to planets – “According to musical teaching, voices and *mortulebas* (harmonies – M. S) of some species are regarded as belonging to the Sun, Cronus and Aphrodite” (Petritsi 1937, 22).

² According to Plato, “All harmonies (denoting “mode”) are formed of four tones” (Gertsman 1986, 77).

Another noteworthy term in Petritsi's word formation is *guari* (species) which corresponds to Greek εἶδος ("species, type") (Melikishvili 1999, 217–219). As is known, in ancient Greece, developed mode forms (resulting from combination of tetrachords) were called octave "eidoses" or "harmonies" (Kholopov 1974, 305; Gertsman 1986, 159). Cleonides names seven "eidoses" of an octave – Mixolydian, Lydian, Phrygian, Dorian, etc. („διὰ πασῶν εἰδῆ") (Gertsman 1986, 69). In Petritsi's word formation, *mortulta guarni* ("species of modes") must refer to exactly the above-mentioned mode "eidoses".³

Thus, the reasoning of Ioane Petritsi on *mortulta guarni* – "And consider combinations from hypate to nete as elements, what they in fact are, and their unions – as species" (Petritsi 1937, 22) must be interpreted as follows: "Consider tone combinations (here intervals or tetrachord structures may be implied) as elements, and their unions – as species, or types.

K. Rosebashvili also arrived at the conclusion that in this example of analogy mode is implied, however, identification of musical-theoretical meaning of the term *rtva* was not the object of the research (Rosebashvili 1988, 48–49).

The fact that *mortuleba* and *mortulta guari* are used in a number of specimens of Georgian literature as correlated concepts corresponding to Greek musical "harmony" (in the sense of mode) is also obvious from the Georgian translation of the work by Ammonius Hermiae, a Byzantine philosopher, founder of Neo-Platonic school of Alexandria (5th c.), namely, in the commentary on the well-known work by Porphyry *Introduction to Aristotle's Categories*, which is made by a representative of the Gelati monastic literary school (Ammonius Hermiae 1983, 098).⁴

According to the reasoning offered in the work (Ammonius Hermiae 1883, 15), arithmetic is a science on numbers existing by themselves, independently, whereas the object of music is the interrelation of numbers, which is reflected in the union of interdependent tones, and their combination. The combination of interrelated tones results in *mortuleba*, i.e. mode.

In Old Georgian translations, the term *ketilmortuleba* also occurs. E.g. in Ephrem Mtsire's (XI c.) translation of the Homily of St. John Chrysostom (11th c.), in which the vision of Prophet Isaiah is explained (Isaiah 6, 1–3), God-given "*ketilmortuleba*" (euphony, harmony) of church chant moods is noted: "the modes have God-given *ketilmortuleba* (euphony)" (see A-162, *Metaphrastic collection*, 180r). It has become evident from the Greek text of the Homily that *ketilmortuleba* corresponds to the Greek *εὐρυθμία* (see: John Chrysostom G 1839, 97–98). The latter is a synonym of *ἀρμονία* and denotes "euphony", "beauty", "harmony". In the work of St. John Chrysostom, it has a purely aesthetic, semantic function and indicates euphony, harmony of church modes.

A variety of *mortuli* is *shertuli*, which is attested in the *Homily on Miracles of Martyr Theodore* by Chrysippus of Jerusalem (the identity of the Georgian translator is unknown) (H-341, Hagographic collection, 198).

Chrysippus of Jerusalem compares the sound of the strings of an instrument to his homily about the miracles of St. Theodore, whereas the praise of the martyr is compared to the *shertuli* chant – to the understanding of these words by listeners.

³ If *guari* is a variety of mood, so *guarni chrehtani* may be interpreted as "species" or types of modes (naturally, mood as intonation category is implied).

⁴ There is difference of opinion in scholarly literature about the translator of the work: According to K. Kekelidze, the work was translated by Ioane Tarichidze; S. Gorgadze and I. Lolashvili suggest that the translation must belong to Ioane Petritsi (Ammonius Hermiae 1983, 046).

It has become evident as a result of familiarization with the Greek original of the *Miracles* that *shertuli* is the Georgian translation of *συμφωνία* (Chrysippus of Jerusalem, Act. SS. IV, 55). The term *συμφωνία*, like *ευρυθμία*, is a synonym of *ἀρμονία*. It means: “agreement, concord of sounds, musical harmony”. Thus, in the Georgian translation of the work (circa 8th–9th cc.), the words: praise of the saint by “*shertuli sakhoiba*” must be understood as praise of the saint by “harmonious” chant.

It is obvious from the examples given above, that the term under study is a semantic equivalent of the Greek musical “harmony” (in some cases – of its synonymous lexemes “symphony” and “eurhythmy”) and it points to the horizontal pitch organization.

The term *mortuleba* in medieval Georgian literature is also used with another semantic function, with the contemporary sense of “harmony”.

It is also known that from about the 7th c. in the Roman church chanting schools, the concept “harmony” gradually lost its old meaning, derived from the ancient times, and became related to an entirely different phenomenon – the vertical combinations of tones. In the 7th c., there still co-existed two interpretations of “harmony”. On the one hand, according to the ancient teaching on music it implied horizontal pitch organization, and on the other one, simultaneous vertical combinations of voices.

In Bishop Isidore of Seville (7th c.) notes, “Harmonious music is voice modulation⁵, and means an agreement of several voices as well as their simultaneous combination” (Chevallier 1931, 9). In Western Europe, beginning with the 9th c., interpretation of the concept “harmony” was related to its new semantics.

It should be taken into account that all the achievements and novelties typical for the development of the theory and practice of the Roman church chanting (period before the Schism), were known at the Byzantine educational centers, where a number of Georgian figures were educated. Therefore, the use of the concept *mortuleba* by Georgian authors with a different meaning, contemporary to “harmony”, is quite regular. Examples are attested in the so-called *Afterword* of Ioane Petritsi’s *Commentary*.

In the *Afterword* Ioane Petritsi speaks about music *mortuli* by the Holy Spirit (Petritsi 1937, 217). He explains *mortuleba* as simultaneous sounding of three different voices, three phthongs (*mzakhri*, *zhiri* and *bami*), their vertical combination and unification (*sheqovleba*).

It is obvious from the above examples that Ioane Petritsi interprets the concept *mortuleba* in two ways: in the second chapter of the *Commentary* on Proclus’ work, the philosopher, guided by ancient music theory, links this term to the horizontal aspect of pitch system, and in the independent work entitled the *Afterword*, taking into consideration the contemporary (modified) meaning of the concept “harmony” and peculiarities of national musical thought, he uses the same term with another meaning as well, implying the vertical aspect of pitch organization. Therefore, *mortuleba* is an old Georgian term denoting “polyphony”.

The use of the term *mortuli* and its varieties (*mortva*, *mosartavi*, *tsartuli*) in medieval liturgical-hymnographic collections (*Iadgaris* – Sin, 1. Sin. 34, S 425, *Heirmoses and Theotokia* A-603, *Pentakostarion* Sin, 72, etc.) is also noteworthy. The terms identical as to their form, attested in different sources of one and the same period, must not be different from the semantic point of view either. The definition of *mortulias* as a term denoting polyphony, offered by Ioane Petritsi in the *Afterword*, suggests that in hymnographic texts it must denote polyphonic sounding of church chants.

⁵ Latin term *modulation* corresponds to Greek *ἀρμονία*. It denoted “mode” in the ancient as well as medieval period.

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STARI GRUZIJSKI MUZIČKI TERMIN

U starim gruzijskim pisanim izvorima (XI–XII v), muzički termin ‘mortuleba’ ima dvostruko značenje. Kao i stariji grčki termin ‘harmonija’, on ukazuje na horizontalni sled tonskih visina. Prevodi i komentari pisanih dela iz antičkog perioda svedoče da je razmatran u vezi sa muzičkom teorijom stare Grčke. Međutim, isti termin u izvorno gruzijskim teološkim i filozofskim spisima (prvenstveno raspravama gruzijskog filozofa neoplatoničara Ioane Petritsija iz XI–XII veka) ima drugačije značenje: odgovara terminu harmonija u modernom smislu, istom onom koji postoji i u srednjovekovnim latinskim raspravama. Ovde se termin ‘mortuleba’ odnosi na vertikalna tonska sazvučja i samim tim ukazuje na prisustvo višeglasja u gruzijskom crkvenom pojanju.

Ključne reči: *stari gruzijski muzički termin, muzička teorija antičke Grčke, višeglasno crkveno pojanje*

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