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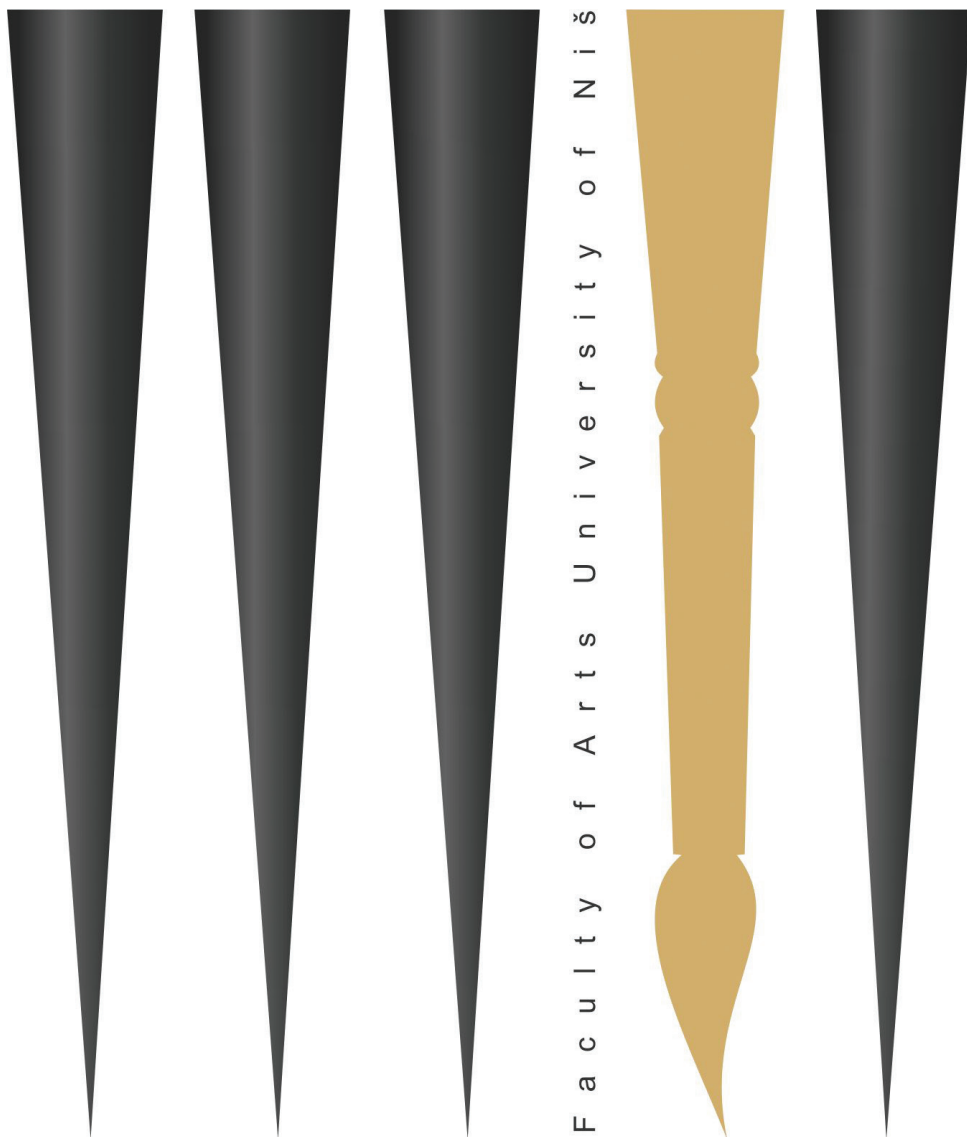
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3. Mikić, V., (2014), "Old/New Music Media: Some Thoughts on Remediation in/of Music", In: Veselinović-Hofman, M. at al. (ed.), *Music Identities on Paper and Screen*, Proceedings of the Eleventh International Conference of the Department of Musicology,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

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MUSIC AND SUSTAINABILITY: ŠKOFJA LOKA, A PASSION PLAY IN AN INTERRELIGIOUS CONTEXT

UDC 784.4 (497.4 Škofja Loka)

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Abstract. *The rudimentary beginnings of the Škofja Loka Passion Play (ŠLPP) can be found in Slovene Lenten songs. Each year's procession of the ŠLPP, was seen on Good Friday or at the end of the time of fasting within the frame of the church calendar. The repertoire of Slovene folk and art songs is very rich, therefore it is not strange that the author, Father Romuald Štandreški,, a Capuchin, (1715–1721) was to be the author of the ŠLPP who would be familiar to the Slovene folk songs.*

Key words: *Slovene Lenten songs, procession, Father Romuald of St. Andrea*

INTRODUCTION

The *passion* has unitary significance among the three most widespread European or at least Slavic religions (Christianity, Protestantism and Orthodoxy). Besides the *passion* and the suffering, we know that there is always art, drama, music, and/or literature of passion as well as an oratorio, i.e. the vocal-instrumental music form or a piece of music of the Gospel texts of the Passions of Christ. Passion is about the suffering (Lat. *passio*) and in the Western Christian liturgy it means writing down Jesus' (Christ) passion and his death in the four gospels, i.e. the great news of victory on the battle-field. Christianity itself is about the special arrival of the Redeemer and the New Testament writings of Jesus of Nazareth, about his life and works in the 1st century. There are four Gospels all together and Evangelism or Jesus-Christ lesson about the imminent arrival of God's kingship. All of them are read and/or played during the Passion Week before Easter. A wider significance is all about Christianity described as the life, the passion and the work of a person who is sacred and glorious in a particular religion.

The passions took place in ancient Egypt in the 2nd century before Christ. They are about the life and work of Osiris, the Egyptian God of death. Later the passions appeared

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in Islam, too. There we can find out about the passion of the prophet Hussein that took place on the 10th day in month Muharram. It was named Ashura and it is their central holiday in the ritual year, and in Christianity it is about the Christian Holy Scripture.

THE PASSIONS AND ŠKOFJA LOKA PASSION PLAY (ŠLPP)

The *passion* was developed from the liturgical drama, one of a variety of religious dramas in the 10th century. It is divided into a ceremony and a play, both of them performed in church. It was separated and removed from the church by the end of the 14th century. Besides the passion there are the passion processions, the mystery, the miracle and the morality. The ceremonies, i.e. the short dialogue in Latin between angel and the Marias who found the empty tomb, were developed in Italy after the year 660 and they spread in France and onward in Spain, England and Germany, and then among Czechs and Poles. The ceremonies at the tomb included new characters and new scenes which were not in the Gospels. They contained elements of common folk language and thus they came up in the Easter (liturgical) plays. They could also contain comical elements with improperly dressed actors eating to excess in the scene of the Last Supper and provoking the audiences. The ceremony was first the part of the mass which later transformed into the Laud before mass. Between the 13th and the 15th century the liturgical drama gradually moved itself from the church to the church entrance. Singing was beginning to replace speaking in church discourse. The plays increased in mass, and there were more spectators as there were actors and other co-workers. They would count from one hundred to two hundred and increased the passion processions.

Events of the kind were organized from the 15th century onward but most of them were performed during the 17th and in the 18th centuries. The play was transferred to various stages in the city squares, in front of important houses ... Latin was removed. The passion procession was not just performed under the directions of the members of the church. There were also the handcraft guilds and the special associations of the laymen. In the beginning women were not amongst the actors and their parts were performed by young men. The dumb processions of only still life scenes, the processions where scenes were interpreted, the processions with the correct dramatic spectacles and so on were developed. The most significant processions of that time are still preserved today, like the passions of Erl in Tyrol and Oberammergau in Bavaria. The latter goes back to 1622 with some intervals. The Prague passions indicated evident connections with the processions in Ljubljana and Škofja Loka. In all of them examples are in the background and in key stages the fraternities and the Capuchins. Passion processions were in Slovenia in Kranj, Novo mesto, Tržič, Ruše, Carinthia ... The first recitations flowed in the form of a solemn recitation of the Gospel's text in the melodic forms of the West Christian liturgy. During the 16th and the 17th century the singular recitation changed into the plural choir singing. In the Baroque the passion developed into great vocal-instrumental composition of choruses, arias and recitals, especially Johann Sebastian Bach (four Passions) and Georg Philipp Telemann. In Slovenia the first was Iacobus Handl Gallus (three motets' passions), and after him are the Slovene composers Stanko Premrl, Alojzij Mav, Franc Kimovec, Matija Tomc, Jože Trošt and others.

Škofja Loka Passion Play (ŠLPP) is one of the most important dramatic works in Slovenian. It is the oldest well kept dramatic text. It was mainly performed in the 18th century (1715–1768), and several times until today. After a long time the ŠLPP emerged

again as, “a phoenix from the ashes”, in 1936 when (Škofja) Loka’s Tine Debeljak put it on stage. In its original form the ŠLPP was performed in 1999 in Škofja Lokas’ streets and squares and repeated in 2000, 2009 and 2015. The producer in 1999/2000 was Marijan Kokalj, in 2009 Borut Gartner and the last time (2015) Milan Golob.

The ŠLPP has an exceptional cultural and historical value. This was confirmed by inscribing the ŠLPP into the register of life heritage by the Ministrstvo za kulturo RS/The Ministry for Culture of RS, in 2008. The ŠLPP was written as the first unit in this register. In 2016 it was inscribed into the UNESCO Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity as the first element of the intangible cultural heritage of Slovenia.

The dramatic text and the procession of the ŠLPP by the Capuchin monk Romuald Marušič from 1721 is accompanied by music: from its original and from the first installations of the ŠLPP which are less provable and is hypothetical. From the repertoire of the Slovene Lenten songs we can find the *Tolminski rožar/The Rosary of Tolmin* as one of the possible probable “basis” for the ŠLPP. There is music as additions by Josip Čerin, Niko Kuret and Stanko Premrl and music contributed for the last and modern Škofja Loka procession renewals of the ŠLPP Andrej Misson and Tone Potočnik, for the static arrangement of the ŠLPP in the Drama SNG/The Drama Slovene National Theatre in Ljubljana (2000) contributed folk singer Ljoba Jenče and the Slovene composer Aldo Kumar (b. 1954). There is a new composition of the ŠLPP in Ljubljana and Škofja Loka (2002) by the Slovenian composer Alojz Srebotnjak (1931–2010). The text is unitary: a diplomatic copy, simple phonetic transcription with translation of non Slovenian parts of texts of the Capuchin monk Romuald Marušič, based on all mentions of (new and modern) performances of music of the ŠLPP.

The image shows a handwritten musical score titled "Rožar" (Rosary) and "Litanije žalostne M. B." (Litanies of the Most Blessed). The score is written on a single staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The tempo is marked "Adagio". The lyrics are in Slovene, with English translations provided in parentheses. The lyrics include: "Križe eleison (Grieved, comfort us now)", "Križe eleison (Grieved, comfort us now)", "Križe eleison (Grieved, comfort us now)", "Križe sliši nas", "Križe usliši nas". Below this, there are three numbered stanzas: "1. Sv. Marija, Ti žalostna Mati", "2. Marija, ki v Betlehemu o svojem porodu nisi bila nikjer pod streho vzeta.", and "3. Marija, ki si videla svojega Sina v obvezovanju hči preliti." The score ends with the lyrics "Ma-ri-ja, o ti žalostna Mati, pravi bogova mati".

Fig. 1 *The Rosary of Tolmin (Tolminski rožar)* about the 15th century (copy from the *Tolmin Religious Journal*, No. 2, March 1982, p. 1)

THE PEDIGREE – A REPERTORY OF THE SLOVENE FAST SONGS

Lent (from Ash-Wednesday to the beginning of the mass of the Last Supper on Maundy Thursday) begins with the significant ceremony of sprinkling with ashes, according to these serious words: “To do penitence and let you believe in the Gospel!” or: “Remember man, that you are dust and to dust you will return!” The worship of God during Lent is preparing for the administering of the Holy Communion of the Easter mystery to catechists as to believers. At this time it transforms our spirit to the supernatural, spiritual worth. It is a time of grace and saving. Lent is not so much the time of the conferment of life than the time of deep life when we intend to hearken more and to give up more to the spurs of the Holy Spirit, to be more responsible and closer to the grace of God. The expiation and Christian life are closely linked together. Conviction of this comes from some facts of our past: by the end of the 9th century the Salzburg synod asks the priests to provide for dignified folk singing and the worshiping of God, to Primož Trubar. In an introduction to his one book of songs from the year 1567 Trubar wrote about the importance of singing plays in the religious life. Singing, if correctly and religiously performed inclines the human heart to piety and to true pleasure: people become more pious and focus on prayer to listen to God’s word and the receiving of the sacraments. Most of the merit for the (Slovene) church music goes to the bishops Tomaž Hren, Anton Martin Slomšek and Anton Jeglič, and *Cerkveni glasbenik/Church Musician* (1878–1945; repeatedly after 1976 →), among the composers then Franc Kimovec and Stanko Premrl. This enthusiasm for church music and the recommendation of folk singing would not have been successful if the Slovenes had not had a considerable number of composers whose spirit created true Christian and Slovene songs. As singing made the solemnity, the worship of God-s choir introduces us deeply into the secret of redemption and so on. In church music, that is in the folk or art music, we know vocal and vocal-instrumental compositions from the Bible – liturgical and other religious texts and the only church instrument, organ’s music.

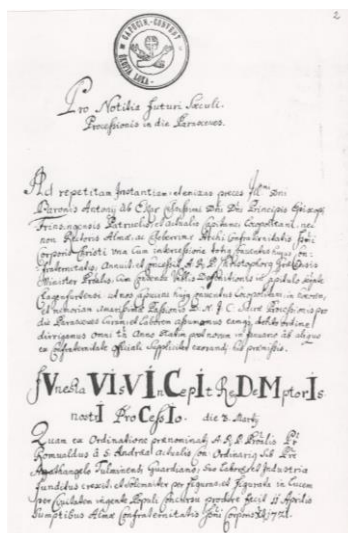


Fig. 2 The title page – the second numbered page of the ŠLPP, the dramatic text from the year 1721

TOLMINSKI ROŽAR/THE ROSARY OF TOLMIN

It is only one of the “local” old Lenten universe and according to the title, it is closely, connected and processed from and kept in Tolmin. It is in the north-western region of Slovenia where the closed life and career of the Capuchin monk father Romuald Marušič (1676–1748), author of the first complete written and performed dramatic text of the ŠLPP began and ended. There are clearly defined (outside music) connections between Škofja Loka and Tolmin. It is in the secondary musicological, i.e. history of arts’ parallels. These we can see in the mention of Tolmin in 1063 (Škofja Loka, 973), when in the 14th century the earls of Gorizia took possession. These parallels can be found in the figural keystones of the forms of St. Ulric and St. Martin in the Carniolian-Škofja Loka’s group of the stone-cutting decoration of the presbytery as the best example of this type of monument in Slovene architectonic plastic art in the 10th century in the branch establishment church St. Ulric in the churchyard under Tolmin. They keep fragments of frescos in the nave belonging to the first half of the 13th century, but the altar’s part was painted by the scheme of the Carniolian presbytery in year 1472 in northern style Middle Ages late Gothic art realism. For Tolmin alone there are significant other cultural and historical particularities of rich archeological history of art and ethnologic heritage. There is built The parochial church of St. Maria Assumption which is historically younger than Tolmin was built there in the 15th century and it was known as a pilgrimage church. It was from this church that the prayer of Passion Week (on Monday-Thursday and Good Friday), *rosar*, for the pious Folk emerged.

This was the way to *passion* i.e. the art represented the passion of Christ or to the Golgotha-the part of the Gospel, which is described in liturgy on the way – perhaps then to Romuald Štandreški in the year 1721 in the ŠLPP is not far.



Fig. 3 The ŠLPP of author Boris Kobe, 1967, the canvas. It’s saved in the Slovene Theatre Institut (Slovenski gledališki inštitut) in Ljubljana (in the Photothek of the Škofja Loka Museum/Loški muzej)

... AND AGAIN THE ŠKOFJA LOKA PASSION PLAY

The ŠLPP in Romuald's significant procession after 1782 (the prohibition of Maria Theresa) did not appear in the streets and squares of Škofja Loka. Therefore the ŠLPP "just" appeared in 1930 on the then Ljubljana Radio, on Palm-Sunday, one of its first electronic media created by Niko Kuret. For this occasion (still more for the following stage performances in Kranj, in the years 1932 and 1934) he alone, together with the composer and organist Stanko Premrl arranged and issued in print the text and the music pieces for the ŠLPP: the prologue, introduction, fourteen images and the final choir the Slovene-the ŠLPP (by the full dramaturgy, scenery, costume design, the directors' instructions and the preface words on page 62; Niko Kuret, *Slovenski pasijon/The Slovene Passion*, Kranj 1934) and *Glasbeni vložki/The Musical Pieces* (for the Slovene Passion on the 12 page; Stanko Premrl, *Glasbeni vložki/The Musical Pieces*, Kranj 1934). As it can be noticed in Kuret's introduction, in this case there are some examples of foreign models of the same procession elsewhere in the world. They kept differentiating the ŠLPP as up to that time period of development in degrees of music theatre (from 18th century up to beginning of the 21st century). In this context we can refer at least to the Easter play in Klostenburg (Austria), the passions in Alsfeld, Redentin, Trier and Freiburg (all Germany), and that which is the most referred to both of them (Niko Kuret and Tine Debeljak) and his collaborators, fellow-passengers and continuators of the various references statistical performance of the ŠLPP: in Oberammergau (Germany). Kuret and Premrl did not even elude the *Passion of Jesus Christ* from the year 1818, the work of Carinthian and Slovenian Andrej Šuster Drabosnjak: thus after the radio (electronic) premiere of the ŠLPP (on Palm-Sunday 1930) in Ljubljana were of main importance and demanded four stage performances in Kranj: March, 12, 13, 18 and 20, 1932. That is why in the Premrl's *Glasbeni vložki/The Musical Pieces* appeared the various titles of songs, the instrumental pieces, some of them new, others actually already known as Slovene church songs.

The new music for the new editions of the ŠLPP and the performances in the years 1999–2000, 2009 and 2015 were contributed by the composer and music pedagogue Andrej Misson (b. 1960) and the organist and music pedagogue Tone Potočnik (b. 1951) who were locals.

Furthermore we can mention two dramatic i.e. music treatments of the ŠLPP in Slovenia: after the original the *Processione Locopolitana in die Parasceves* performed as a premiere in Drama Slovenskega narodnega gledališča/the Drama of the Slovenian National Theatre in Ljubljana on December 16 2000: the author of transcription Jože Faganel, the director and author of scenarist Meta Hočevar, the costume designer Jasna Vastl, the dramatist Igor Lampret, the folk singer Ljuba Jenče (b. 1960), the composer Aldo Kumar (b. 1954), the choreograph Tanja Zgonc and others.¹ There is a "new" score by Slovene composer Alojz Srebotnjak *Škofjeloški pasijon/The ŠLPP* for (four) solo voices, the mixed choir and orchestra (1999–2000).² This new music piece as an oratorio

¹ Video holder of Drama Slovenskega narodnega gledališča in Ljubljana; the recording of the stage, December 23 2000 (duration: 76 min).

² The original and copies of score in four copies see in Društvo slovenskih skladateljev, committer (OE Glasbena produkcija RTV Slovenija, for Simfoniki RTV Slovenija) and composer A. Srebotnjak as a co-proprietor then score as the choir score and parts for all referred performers. Video cassette of the first performance is property of Arhiv RTV Slovenija-Televizija Slovenija i.e. it's Uredništvo za resno glasbo in balet; the work for them recorded (Ljubljana, Cankarjev dom, March 8 2002) director: Dušan Hren, TV-

type of music form performed for the first time in Ljubljana on March 8, 2002 in Gallusova dvorana/The Gallus Hall of Cankarjev dome, repeated in Mestni trg in Škofja Loka (June 29 2002). Nowadays the performances of the ŠLPP demanded or provoked quite a new, modern art language we can notice in the drama performance of Meta Hočevar only for the dramatic part (not for the music) and not for the other the contemporary music of Alojz Srebotnjak in his “church cantata,” the ŠLPP. It is also normal that the composer used the new symphonic speech with the contemporary instrumentation and archaic views for the vocal parts of the soloists and the choir. For the first and for the second music we can establish that they become more and more integral part and constituent of the drama performance. In Srebotnjak’s case they are then purely the main part, the main challenge and those are its results, too.

Quite new, now as a modern discography result which means the issue of Srebotnjak’s musical work, the ŠLPP as a modern digital and permanent sound keeper, CDs i.e. by relative long music, score on two discs (CD; Škofja Loka/Ljubljana, Občina Šk. Loka/Radio Slovenija/Založba kaset in plošč RTV Slovenija, 2004).³ The ŠLPP issued together with composer’s youthful work from the year 1965, *Ekstaza smrti/The Ectasy of Death* to the text of Srečko Kosovel.



Fig. 4 The document about the inscription of the ŠLPP on the UNESCO Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity

redactor and producer Nada Marošek Tomažinčič, music producer Žiga Stanič, sound engineers Rado Cedilnik and Aljoša Ertl with co-workers; commentator Daniel Celarec.

³ Franc Križnar: the text by the promotion cit. CDs (Škofja Loka, Log in Poljanska dolina, May 22 2004, unpublished) by the title *Škofja Loka Passion Play today*.

CONCLUSION

In the frame of mutual relations and the development of the ŠLPP we showed here not only the (very) beginnings of it in the Slovene Lenten songs but also the yearly procession of the ŠLPP expected on Good Friday or at the end of the Lent within the frame of the church year. The repertory of the Slovene folk and art songs is very rich. It is not amazing that the author of the ŠLPP father Romuald Štandreški, the Capucin monk who was later (1715–21) the author of the ŠLPP, did not know them. In the same sense “the scene music” or others in the ŠLPP would not be used. We do not have any evidence for that, i.e. litany singing in the ŠLPP. Even then the music and folk singing in the ŠLPP were present because this proved then that Romuald’s drama text of the ŠLPP as instructions to performers – yearly Easter procession. The church music then had already been present in Slovenia before the 18th century. The church alone for all these centuries added to the development of festive, the worship of God choir and singing such as announcing deep secrets of the redemption. One of them most certainly is the *Tolminski rožar*. Today it can be found in Tolmin as a reminder of the litany, church Lenten songs. The author of the ŠLPP father Romuald Štandreški, the Capucin monk would know because he proceeded from then St. Andrea (in Gorizia, Italia) and returned again from Celje, Škofja Loka by the end of his own life and career to Gorizia Capucin cloister. Immediate union between the Tolminski rožar and the ŠLPP has not been proved. That does not mean that one or the other were influenced by the music dramaturgy of the ŠLPP. Romuald Štandreški (Lovrenc Marusič or Marusig) lived and worked in St. Andrea, Gorizia, Celje, Škofje Loka and Gorizia from 1676 to 1748 in the same places, in the Capucin cloisters in Slovenia. Therefore in these frames the manuscript text of the ŠLPP as the most worthy work of the Slovene Barock literature even in that respect. We can add to this all other stage elements with the music as one of the most significant and the most emphatic. It is true that this influenced firstly the widespread taste of (folk) crowds, who collaborated as a whole representative or assisted the ŠLPP. This is the importance of the ŠLPP at the time of Slovene (dramatic, music, literature and so on) Baroque.

Slovene passion presents the Bible from Adam and Eve and their expulsion from paradise through various Bible scenes to the passion of Christ and Holy Sepulchre. From the modern music writings for the arrangement of the ŠLPP in 2000 and 2002 (both of them in Ljubljana), for the static, drama stage the ŠLPP in the Drama SNG (Meta Hočevar) as for the music “cantata” of Alojz Srebotnjak the treatment and unity of text are significant for the ŠLPP, as we know today from the diplomatic copy (simple phonetic transcription with translation non-Slovene texts). This means that the “music” suggestions based on the Marušič original from 1721, by today’s modern transcriptions of text. After that there are the units of various (contemporary) music, as the drama stage as the “church cantata” – passion at the end. As the drama stage for that i.e. the drama – has not encroached and not shortened the text in the whole version – (the original and some years later added) the musical pieces are now as secondary significance. On the contrary they are removed from significance and meaning, duration and finally from direct connection to music and text, which in the Srebotnjak case is quite different. Then, the composer uses the Marušič text, keeping to the whole (giving up some text and even whole scenes, images), in the form and content as we know in today’s modern transcription (the text). When the composer decides that he by the text annexes and his own music text, the cantata, he does not quite give up and then he was in the opposition.

It is true then all of installations and by the own attitude of images, the pictures in the whole 13 (numbers) are kept in all these examples only by continuance numbers of images and its titles, if not other. For both or all of the “music” works is important to notice the harshness, which is the same in all of them: sad, gloomy as from this text we expect. (The original) text of the ŠLPP refers to the number of musical instruments and the musicians, the playing (instruments) and singing. In all the further performances the ŠLPP as a static (dramatic), the procession and/or the radiophone performances is the same, therefore the music, announces each time differently.



Fig. 5 The title page of the *Passionis Annuarium* (Škofja Loka, 2017)

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**MUZIKA I PATNJA: PRIMER PASIJE IZ ŠKOFJE LOKE.
PASIJA IZ ŠKOFJE LOKE
U SAVREMENOM MEĐURELIGIJSKOM KONTEKSTU**

Nastanak Pasije iz Škofje Loke vezuje se za pesme koje su se pevale tokom velikog posta. Svake godine procesija prilikom izvođenja Pasije iz Škofje Loke odvijala na Veliki petak ili na kraju uskršnjeg posta. Repertoar slovenačkih narodnih i umetničkih pesama koje su se pevale za vreme velikog posta bio je veoma raznovrstan, ali je moguće da ih autor Pasije iz Škofje Loke, kapucinski monah otac Romuald Marušič (1715–1721) rodom iz Sant Andrea (Goricija, Italija), nije poznavao.

Ključne reči: slovenačke pesme u vreme velikog posta, procesija, otac Romuald iz Sant Andrea

ART THROUGH THE PRISM OF *CULTURAL NEWS PROGRAM*

UDC 659.3/4:7 RTS

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Abstract. *Public broadcasters have the professional responsibility and legal obligation to report on topics of public interest, including topics related to culture and, more specifically, arts, in order to meet communication needs of people, as reflected in the three main roles of the media: information, education and entertainment. In this paper, the authors investigated whether and to what an extent the Cultural News Program of Serbian Radio and Television reports on different types of arts, the achievements of artists and their works, the cultural policy of Serbia, and whether this program meets one of the basic objectives of journalism – education. The results of the monitoring clearly indicated that diverse and different types of art were reported on, but they also showed that there was marginalization of topics related to cultural policy.*

Key words: *art, culture, Cultural News, Radio-Television of Serbia, public broadcasters, media*

INTRODUCTION

Since television is still the most influential electronic medium when it comes to shaping and influencing public opinion, this medium is without any doubt of immense importance for the presentation of cultural news. As television is direct and visual, it brings forth works of art by means of news analysis and criticism, as well as culture closer to viewers. The final third of newscasts is usually reserved for culture-related news, or special programs dedicated only to culture.

When it comes to commercial television stations in Serbia, as well as worldwide, culture and arts tend to be marginalized, suppressed and replaced by reality TV shows and other entertainment formats due to competing for the highest ratings and the most expensive advertising slots. However, public broadcasters have a professional responsibility and legal

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obligation to report on topics of public interest, including topics related to culture and, more specifically, arts, in order to meet communication needs of people, as reflected in three main roles of the public media: information, education and entertainment. Cultural topics, broad in content and form, aim at covering these three roles. Namely, one of the basic needs of the audience (well-informed, educated and critically-minded people) is to be informed about cultural and art-related events. In order for the viewers to be simply informed, it would be enough to have only detailed and exhaustive reports, or brief news. However, in order to educate the audience as well, public broadcasters should offer an analytical approach to these topics by using serious criticism. Moreover, wrongly perceived as intended only for the most educated group of viewers, culture and art topics do not need to include only professional essays and reviews. They can also be fun depending on journalists' creative approach.

In this context, culture and the fields it includes cannot be observed and discussed in a simple and monotonous way. Cultural topics need to be discussed from a much wider and more meaningful aspect. Frank J. Lechner and John Boli regard culture as "socially constructed and socially shared symbolism" (Lechner and Boli 2006, 44). These authors believe that culture has an important role in the creation of cultural forms that have a dynamic of their own, which then create the common elements shared within a society. These elements become important for a society or community "primarily through the work of institutions that carry abstract ideas into practice" (Lechner and Boli 2006, 44). In that sense, we can say that television is an indispensable link between art, artists, institutions and the general public.

"The splendour of theatre premieres, the grandeur of spiritual music concerts, the glamour of film festivals, the dedicated silence of national libraries... in one word – culture. Yet culture is not only about these things. Culture also includes devoted fieldwork by archaeologists and interpreters of ancient manuscripts, but also the efforts to attract visitors and readers to see valuable works of art in libraries and museums. Therefore, culture includes superb works of art created by great thinkers and artists, but also the efforts that culture reaches the largest possible audience in the form of books and thousands of their copies. Thus, culture also includes advertisements which, via press, radio and television, invite people to promotions, exhibitions, theatres" (Dragičević-Šešić and Stojković 2007, 7).

Hence, culture by itself, as well as everything that it involves ceases to be reserved only to the upper classes of society. Culture is also intended for "ordinary people". In one word, it is intended for everyone. Mass media have made it easily accessible. The language of journalists adapted and brought closer the most abstract artistic ventures to the audiences, to the broadest audience possible. This audience is not homogeneous and professional, it is a heterogeneous group of different types of people. It is not easy for a professional journalist to use simple language to explain very complex and abstract works of art – only the best can manage to do this successfully. Therefore, culture is intended for everyone, it makes a society connected and compact. Culture is also important for preserving a nation's tradition. Jacques Dugast says that "A nation's culture includes characteristics of different traditions" (Dugast 2007, 12). By reporting on culture (different arts and cultural policy), television encourages the creation of the cultural patterns of citizens, as well as the preservation of national culture and tradition. Similar to religion, science, and philosophy, arts belongs to culture, and out of the culture itself we can neither understand nor observe art. At the same time, arts define culture more closely. Encyclopaedia Britannica¹ defines the concept of the arts as "modes of expression that use skill or imagination in the creation of aesthetic

¹ <https://www.britannica.com/>

objects, environments, or experiences that can be shared with others”. Art is complex and diverse in its genres and forms, while at the same time each new era brings about the development of some new type of art. Arts include: literature, painting, sculpture, drawing, graphic design, photography, printing, ceramics, digital art, music (classical, pop, rock, folk, etc.), game design, ballet, opera, installation art, poetry, film, theatre, architecture, cartoons, graphite, origami, mosaic, email art, media, advertisements, comic books, etc. In this paper, the authors will investigate whether and to what an extent the *Cultural News* program of Radio Television Serbia reports on different types of arts, the achievements of artists and their works, the cultural policy of Serbia, and whether this program meets one of the basic objectives of journalism – education.

Serbian authors have not so often dealt with this topic, so the number of studies on the connection between television and arts, that is, on specialized television shows and arts is small. One such example is the monitoring conducted by Rade Veljanovski and Dubravka Valić-Nedeljković (2015², 2016³). Their publications, the monitoring of the National Public Broadcaster in Serbia and the Public Broadcaster in Vojvodina, also include findings on the reporting by the *Cultural News Program* of Radio Television Serbia. Their results indicated that the communication needs of viewers with regards to cultural information were met. “Among the values promoted, one of the most prominent values is fostering national culture and creativity, which is in accordance with the supposed role and legal obligation of public broadcasters. However, other universal values promoted by global and European culture, as well as the culture of the region were not ignored either” (Veljanovski and Valić-Nedeljković 2016, 7). Still, their studies do not include a specific analysis of art-related topics, that is, the level of representation and manner of reporting on different types of arts. This is where we aim this research to make a significant contribution.

1. RESEARCH

In February 2014, a specialized thematic program called *Cultural News* started to be broadcast as part of the informative program of the National Public Broadcaster in Serbia. It is a daily broadcast after the *Late-night news*, while the rerun is the following day after the *Morning News*. *Cultural News* program usually has a 15-minute time slot; however, depending on the daily events, it often lasts longer. The topics covered in *Cultural News* are mostly important events regarding national culture, the art work of our cultural workers, artists, cultural events from around the globe, as well as pop culture, popular music, etc. By respecting its professional role and legal obligations, *Cultural News* promotes values that foster and nurture national culture and creativity, as well as other universal cultural values. This television show primarily covers daily reports of current events; however, a critical review of current events is also present. The techniques used are diverse, but like any other informative television show, the most common techniques used are reports, news package, news and interviews. Besides the National Public Broadcaster Internet page⁴, the *Cultural News* program is also available on YouTube⁵.

² See: <http://www.novinarska-skola.org.rs/sr/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/Izvestaj-o-monitoringu-programskih-sema-Radio-televizije-Vojvodine-i-Radio-televizije-Srbije-oktobar-2015.pdf>, viewed on 27/7/2018.

³ See: <http://www.novinarska-skola.org.rs/sr/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/FR4.pdf>, viewed on 27/7/2018.

⁴ See: <http://www.rts.rs/page/tv/sr/series/20/rts-1/4200/kultumi-dnevnik.html>, viewed on 26/7/2018.

⁵ See: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HQGLb9lsWc>, viewed on 26/7/2018.

The overall goal of this research was to analyse the coverage of and reporting on art-related topics in the *Cultural News*. The coding sheet used for the purposes of this research classified all *Cultural News* episodes based on the type of art they reported on. Our goal was to identify the types of art which were most frequently spoken about, as well as those which were marginalized. Therefore, the specific goals of this research were to:

1. Identify the extent to which art is reported on in the *Cultural News*
2. Identify the types of art most frequently spoken about in the *Cultural News*
3. Identify the topics which were marginal or ignored in the *Cultural News*.

1.1. Sample

For the purposes of this research, we conducted monitoring of the *Cultural News* program in May 2018 (from May 1 to May 31). This month was selected since many cultural events are organized in several cities in Serbia, which, based on the evaluation criteria are not only of local, but also of national significance. Since *Cultural News* is an informative television show prepared by the RTS Public Broadcaster which presents culture-related topics only, it is expected to include cultural events of national importance in its program as well. A total of 23 *Cultural News* television shows were analysed, which included 170 TV features.

1.2. Method

The coding sheet was created for the purposes of this research and it was used to obtain research results which were further analysed using standard methods. We used quantitative and qualitative content analysis, while the unit of analysis was each individual TV feature.

1.3. Results and discussion

Based on the research goals set, the monitoring we conducted between May 1 and May 31, 2018 indicated that diversity was present with regards to reporting on different types of art (See Fig. 1).

Books/ Literature	Painting	Theatre	Film	Classical music	Pop and rock music	Dance, ballet, opera
34	28	20	19	12	9	8
Architecture	Museums	Scientific conferences on culture and cultural policy	Sculpture	Fashion	Photography	Media
8	7	6	3	3	2	2
Comic books	Management of culture	Cultural policy	Protection and restoration of monuments	Ceramics	Origami	Installation art
1	1	1	1	1	1	1

Fig. 1 Quantitative overview of TV features shown in the *Cultural News* – based on art type

The most common topics were books-literature (34 features), painting (28), theatre (20) and film (19 features). As for classical music, there were 12 features shown, pop and rock music were presented in 9 features, while dance, ballet and opera were spoken about in a total of 8 TV features. These art types are also the most common ones in other media as well (Vulić 2017). Museums were spoken about in 7 TV features. We expected it since “the Night of Museums” event was traditionally organized in May in more than 70 towns and cities. With regards to this topic, we noticed that it was not presented frequently enough in the *Cultural News*, that is, museums located outside of Belgrade were not reported about sufficiently. For example, only one TV feature (out of seven) reported on “the Night of Museums” in other cities and towns in Serbia.

The International Architecture Week is traditionally celebrated in May as well, so this type of art was presented in eight TV features, which talked about the latest achievements in this field, both globally and in our country.

The viewers of *Cultural News* were able to watch three TV features which talked about sculpture exhibitions, as well as three more features which talked about fashion, while photographs and media (printed media and television) were covered by two features each. Six news reports talked about scientific conferences dealing with culture and cultural activities organized in Belgrade, while comic books, management of culture, cultural policy, protection of monuments, ceramics, origami and art installations were dedicated only one TV feature each.

Based on the monitoring of the *Cultural News* conducted in May, we can conclude that different types of art were truly reported on in this television show. Moreover, it can be clearly noticed which art types are marginalized. For example, photography was only dedicated two TV features, while comic books, although recognized as the “ninth art”, were spoken about only in one. This might have been the case since no events related to these types of art took place in May. On the other hand, we feel the need to emphasize the marginalization of cultural policy and management of culture topics. Is everything truly so perfect with regards to culture in Serbia, or is there simply no interest among *Cultural News* editorial staff to investigate these topics? It is, however, more likely that the editors decided to ignore the topics that require a search for answers which could solve the accumulated culture-related problems.

CONCLUSION

In an abundance of television shows characterized by kitsch and “art trash” broadcast on commercial television stations, the National Public Broadcaster of Serbia is the only source of culture and education-related topics for television audiences, and it is considered a type of balance between culture and kitsch. This kind of balance is very important. This concept is emphasized by Gladkova (2013) as well, and she claims that the effect of television watching on the perception of social reality cannot be underestimated by any means and at any moment. Todorović also says: “We learn about the world around us through images and sounds that surround us, and we also communicate with each other using sounds and images. We absorb these images and sounds with our eyesight and hearing sense, which are sensitive to certain frequencies that the eye-brain and ear-brain systems can decrypt and turn into cognitive observations” (Todorović 2009, 274).

The research we conducted has shown us that the *Cultural News* program helps to properly educate and inform the citizens of Serbia about achievements and activities related to different types of art and artists both from Serbia and around the world. The results clearly indicate that different types of art were reported about; however, we would like to emphasize that the *Cultural News* editors should report more on analytical topics related to cultural policy and accumulated problems in our national cultural institutions, as well as to indicate the need for the government to invest more in art projects and culture-related projects in general. Mere reports on art and culture become useless if they are not put into the appropriate context, which would imply the circumstances under which art is created and exists in a country.

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UMETNOST KROZ PRIZMU KULTURNOG DNEVNIKA

Javni servisi imaju profesionalnu i zakonsku obavezu da izveštavaju o temama od javnog interesa, među kojima su i teme iz oblasti kulture, i umetnosti, i na taj način ispune komunikacione potrebe građana, koje se ogledaju kroz tri osnovne uloge javnih servisa: informisanje, edukaciju i zabavu. U ovom radu autorke su istraživale da li i u kojoj meri Kulturni dnevnik Radio televizije Srbije izveštava o različitim vrstama umetnosti, dostignućima kulturnih poslenika – umetnicima i njihovim delima, kulturnoj politici Srbije kao i da li na taj način ispunjava jednu od osnovnih funkcija novinarstva – obrazovnu. Rezultati sprovedenog moitoringa jasno su ukazali na raznovrsnost, kada je reč o izveštavanju o različitim vrstama umetnosti, ali i na marginalizaciju tema koje se bave kulturnom politikom.

Ključne reči: *umetnost, kultura, Kulturni dnevnik, Radio televizija Srbije, javni servis*

Original scientific paper

CASE STUDY: READINGS OF CARL PHILIPP EMANUEL BACH'S WÜRTEMBERG SONATA NO. 3

UDC 781.1/24.082.2 K. F. E. Bah

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Abstract. *This paper will attempt to question the reliability of such primary elements of a note, which seem fixated—its pitch and duration. By analyzing the composer's musical language and his way of utilising the notation system we will attempt to bring to light the layer of the text that remains unwritten in the score. We will also try to clarify the extent to which the decisions of a performer are spontaneous or arbitrary.*

Key words: *historically informed performance, music notation, rhythm, ornamentation, Empfindsamkeit stil*

INTRODUCTION

Traditional musical notation remains the dominant way of writing a musical composition over a period of more than three hundred years. In its early form, the aim of any written music was to save it from going into oblivion, or to preserve a tradition (Popović-Mladenović 1998, 32). Thus, the performance of a piece became distinct from improvisation and, over time, reflected the sort of the planned activity of the composer which was beginning to become focused on paper with more precision (ibid, 34). Despite many attempts within the Western musical culture, especially during the second half of the twentieth century, to create a somewhat more perfect notation system, the traditional one remains inviolable. It has managed to adapt itself, in varying degrees of success, to composers' new demands and different styles over the centuries.

Shortages of the notation system are nevertheless evident no matter how detailed the instructions within the musical text are. Any fixed representation of a composer's idea is insufficient for its complete realisation in sound. Reading the musical text, the performer undoubtedly receives a multitude of information all of which fail to fill the “empty“ (ibid, 81), the unwritten space on paper that is to be rendered by an interpretation. This apparent

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void can be related to many decisions a performer needs to make regarding dynamics, agogics, pedal, character and atmosphere, tempo, articulation or any other element inherent in the music being prepared; as such it could also represent an ideal opportunity for artistic liberties and creativity. This viewpoint seems especially applicable to the repertoire of earlier musical styles the scores of which do not appear to contain many nuances which connect the musical elements into a clear performance plan and idea of the piece (ibid, 75). As musical styles changed, composers have used the notation system to adapt it to their own ideas, thus making it more complex. There is no surprise that scores of the nineteenth century were becoming increasingly more detailed compared to those of the Baroque and Classical eras. It brings us to the conclusion that composers were less tolerant to performance decisions brought about by different performers' whims. Even with more detailed instructions the relationship between a composer's idea and its text remains unadjusted which leaves it to the interpreter to bring the unwritten layer to life (ibid, 75).

Contrary to this undefined void within the musical text there are elements that should be considered invariable and unambiguous. Traditional notation, as a collection of abstract signs and symbols, numbers and words, offers mainly the primary elements of a note: its pitch and duration. The performer knows what to play or sing as well as the way of executing it (if such information exists in the score). The latter quality is also sometimes called the secondary element of a note (ibid, 87).

This paper will attempt to question the reliability of such primary elements of a note which seem fixed – its pitch and duration. By analyzing the composer's musical language and his way of utilising the notation system it will attempt to bring to light the layer of the text that remains unwritten in the score. It is also meant to try and clarify the extent to which the decisions of a performer are spontaneous or arbitrary.

1. DISCUSSION

Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach was famously described as the father of classical composers, a statement attributed to Mozart himself who, with these words, considered one of J. S. Bach's sons as one of the important predecessors of the Classical style (Mozart 2015, xxv). C. P. E. Bach was creating during the mid-eighteenth century, those confusing years that were to witness many musical styles brought about by the gap that was created between the Baroque period and Viennese classicism. His music most likely belongs to the *Empfindsamer stil*, in which the carriers of a musical idea were primarily feeling and affect with their quick successions having the aim to surprise and move the listener above all (Bach 1949, 16). With that in mind, the score of the *Württemberg Sonata No. 3* appears strangely destitute of emotion compared to twenty-first century standards, the lack of nuances more likely to resemble the score written by Carl's father than a style known for its expressiveness.

All movements bear a tempo marking (*Allegro*, *Adagio*, *Vivace*), information about the metre, the pitch and the length of each note as well as an occasional articulation marking (mostly ligatures that connect two notes or chords). Frequently present are the dynamic markings *forte* and *piano* which are always following each other in quick, beat-like, succession and oddly relate to not more than one or two bars. However, the dynamic markings for the majority of the music are absent. Of the many ornamentation symbols used throughout the period, three are noted in the piece as well as appoggiaturas that were slowly starting to be written in by composers as a smaller note in front of the main one.

With so many clues missing from the score, the performer might have the impression that this music welcomes artistic liberties. However, Carl Philipp was an experienced and revered cembalist, fortepianist and pedagogue who wrote, during his lifetime, a treatise which describes the performance practice of the time and that is of great value today. These instructions number some four hundred pages in modern print and had initially appeared in two parts, in 1753 and 1762 respectively, under the title „Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen“. In it there are numerous, detailed instructions regarding fingering, the application of ornaments, figured bass, ensemble playing and improvisation as well as general advice on successful public performance.

1.1. Ornamentation and its influence on primary elements of the note

Judging by the sheer volume of the treatise, with detailed explanations and various contexts of musical examples, the chapter on ornaments gives an idea of the importance and actuality the issue carried in the eighteenth century as well as Carl Philipp's desire to be pain-stakingly precise about his ornaments' classification. It cannot be overemphasized that Carl Philipp's rules on ornamentation were not universal in his time by any means. Many composers carried on the previous practice by using one and the same symbol for different kinds of ornaments while others (namely Quantz), had had their own specific set of rules and symbols with some other meaning. In any case, one could say with some degree of certainty that ornaments in C. P. E. Bach's works, should be executed according to the treatise' recommendations, at least on historical keyboard instruments. Following this train of thought it can be concluded that: a) these recommendations were obviously often disregarded by performers who were inserting notes of their own choice, thus following the practice of Italian style ornate decoration, b) Carl Philipp did not want to leave ornamentation to chance, and c) the composer wished for more precision from the performer when reading the text.

Faced with the task of determining the pitch values of an ornament as well as notes' individual duration, the result of the performer's reading had a very different sound realisation when he/she did not take into account the composer's explanations. In case he did, he would know not to take all ornament symbols at face value as many of Carl Philipp's rules alter at least two elements of the main note: its duration and its quality (which answers how it should be performed). The first bar of the first movement in *Württemberg Sonata* has an appoggiatura *b* on the third beat, written in small type before its main note *a* (Figure 1). Carl Philipp was one of the rare composers who advocated that appoggiaturas should be written in their real-time duration (in contrast to customary practice of the eighteenth century whereby the appoggiatura was usually a quaver or a semiquaver) (ibid, 87) and for its duration to be no less than half of the main note's value, or even two thirds in triple metre (ibid, 90) (Figure 2). However, if the main note is tied to a following note of the same pitch, the main note is prolonged and the duration of the small appoggiatura sign extends with it (ibid, 90).² In practice, this would now look like Figure 3.

² See examples in figure 74, p. 90.



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3

1.2. Dotted rhythm

In the previous examples it is clear that the duration of the note as it appears in the text has been compromised. To confirm how flexible an element it was in eighteenth century music it suffices to describe another common practice of the time. C. P. E. Bach and Quantz both agreed that dotting a note was seen as a means to extend it to its maximum duration rather than count it in mathematically precise smaller values. The note after the dot would therefore sound shorter than its written value (*ibid*, 104). In other words a dot signified the minimal value of the dotted note while in practice it was common to play it longer, or even as a double dot. This practice applies equally to the short note that follows it or a group of short notes: in both cases they are to be played in smaller values than the written ones, and in the latter C. P. E. Bach even recommends the fastest execution possible regardless of the overall tempo of the work (Quantz 2001, 67).

Both instructions illustrated above can be applied to the first bar of the sonata. The right hand has a crotchet tied to a dotted quaver which is followed by a group of four demisemiquavers. Similarly, the last note in the right hand is a semiquaver which follows the main note *a* with the appoggiatura already discussed. In Figure 4 the text is altered rhythmically again and shows how the first bar should sound according to the composer:



Fig. 4

Similar modifications should be made in the fourth bar of the first movement or in some ornaments in the second movement. In the first case, third beat appoggiatura *e* decorates its main note *d* #. The fact that it is followed by a rest means that the main note *lengthens*, the appoggiatura becoming a crotchet while the rest disappears (Figure 5). The trills (*tr*) in the second movement, should always start on the top note according to the composer's description. Still, if the trill is preceded by a note of the same pitch as the top triller note, in practice it is tied to the main note of the trill. This way it sounds as if the trill begins on the bottom note even if slightly later than written (Figure 6). There are many examples in the piece which should be treated in the same way. The ones presented here are not to be considered a rarity or an exception but rather as part of a performance practice and style that was so widespread and common (at least in North Germany) that writing it down seemed unnecessary. A modern performer who is unaware of the historical developments could not possibly contemplate altering the score in a similar way and would probably adopt the conventions of the later Classical style which would be inappropriate.



Fig. 5



Fig. 6



Fig. 7

1.3. Dynamic markings

What is to be said about the secondary layer of the musical score that might or might not be written down? The apparent frequency of dynamic markings *forte* and *piano* seem like useful instructions to a performer on a modern piano (Figure 7). From a historical practice point of view, the conclusions are more complex than performing these bars in contrasting sound volumes. The first step is to determine for which instrument the composer was writing and more specifically, which one suited this particular sonata best.

Carl Philipp had three instruments at his disposal: a harpsichord, a clavichord, and later, a fortepiano. Six *Württemberg Sonatas* were written around 1743 when the author was twenty nine and are considered his earlier works. The dynamic contrast marked in the score is achievable on a double manual harpsichord, by using the top keyboard (a little bit inconvenient in fast tempo) or on a clavichord. The title page gives no clues to which was the preferred instrument for the cycle, probably because the industrious, self-publisher Carl Philipp wanted his music to be widely disseminated among clavier players. His personal instrument of choice however was a clavichord made by Silbermann (Bach 1949, 16). When writing for clavichord he would add dynamic changes in quick succession just as they appear in the score. If the third sonata was written on a clavichord it makes sense to envisage Bach making many other dynamic nuances that this instrument was capable of (unlike the harpsichord) and which are not written down. The composer was apparently an inspirational performer, many colleagues and contemporaries witnessing his strong expression and imagination (ibid, 15) at the keyboard which correlates to the quick changes of affect typical of *Empfindsamer stil*. The clavichord seems like a more suitable instrument to this particular sonata as it was able to respond to the composer's artistic demands. If this is true, it gives answers to some questions of the modern performer: the fact that dynamic markings are not in the score throughout the piece does not call for flat or terraced dynamics!

CONCLUSION

Traditional notation and its symbols were not always used in the same way or for the same purpose. This paper expresses our hope to show that not even the primary layers of a note (its height and duration) can be taken for granted in the music of this period. Even though the same symbols and signs (appoggiaturas, rests, dots etc.) were used, their meaning was different from the accepted norm of today. To read the score with proper

understanding and create an interpretation, the performer needs to be aware of these discrepancies: it is like adopting new rules to an old game. In addition, it is also about discovering past performance practices that were left unwritten in the score. Studying historical sources will not only be an aid in learning „how to read“ the score belonging to a particular style but also to a particular composer who had created an individual style partly by using the notation to suit his own needs and ideas. However, an informed performer can only be so if in tandem with music score publishers and editors. They similarly need to make certain decisions regarding the modification of older texts where many elements of style are invisible to a modern performer. By resolving all of these issues in print, many potential interpretation dilemmas are avoided but the downside is that the performer's understanding of the style remains uninformed. It is idealistic to presume that composers' ideas and conditions could (or should) be precisely reconstructed in modern day performances even with all the knowledge acquired from available sources. It is likely that similar questions and problems would have arisen in the eighteenth century too: musicians were usually proficient in one particular style belonging to the place where they worked and/or to a specific school. The period was characterised by many national tendencies (and «dialects» within each style) that did not necessarily aspire to a mutual goal, one that would later be named Viennese Classicism. It is questionable how familiar these musicians were with any music outside their expertise. How else to describe the reason behind C. P. E. Bach's effort spreading over four hundred written pages?

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STUDIJA SLUČAJA: ČITANJE VIRTEMBERŠKE SONATE BR. 3 KARLA FILIPA EMANUELA BAH

U radu ćemo pokušati da ispitamo pouzdanost primarnih elemenata tona – visinu i trajanje – koji deluju fiksirani u partituri. Analiziramo kompozitorovog muzičkog jezika, istorijske izvođačke prakse i načina korišćenja notnog pisma, takođe ćemo pokušati da rasvetlimo onaj sloj partiture koji je ostao nezapisan. Na taj način će se objasniti u kojoj meri su zapravo odluke koje izvođač donosi spontane i proizvoljne.

Ključne reči: *istorijska izvođačka praksa, notno pismo, ritam, ukrasi, osećajni stil, K. F. E. Bah*

Original scientific paper

KONAK IN GORNJA CRNUCA: THE COURT OF PRINCE MILOS OBRENOVIC

UDC 728.81(497.11 GORNJA CRNUCA)

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Abstract. *The process of founding and shaping a capital proved to be one of the key issues within the representative culture in any era. This was of particular importance when it came to the 19th century societies in the Balkans due to the emergence of national consciousness and the creation of nation-states on what had been Ottoman territory for quite a long time. Despite the lack of independence and extreme political circumstances, the Serbian community was aware of contemporary European phenomena in creating and disseminating the ruler's image as an important part of enhancing the sense of national identity. The heart of Serbia under the reign of Milos Obrenovic was a princely court in Gornja Crnuca that, in spite of its structural simplicity, was an unmistakable expression of the highest state authorities.*

Key words: *Gornja Crnuca, Prince Milos Obrenovic, princely court, dynastic topos, ruler, capital*

INTRODUCTION

After the failure of the First Serbian Uprising led by Karadjordje in 1813, another peasant revolutionary, Milos Obrenovic, slowly but surely, took over the leadership of Serbian struggle for independence and emancipation from the Ottoman Empire. The period between the collapse of the initial phase of the Serbian Revolution in 1813 and the consolidation of Milos Obrenovic as the hereditary prince of Serbia in 1817 that would set the roots for the eventual sovereignty and independence of the Serbian state was a phase of overwhelming uncertainty and instability. In this period, therefore, one could not expect a continuation of those intense architectural activities that had been so evident in revolutionary Serbia by the beginning of the 19th century (Vujović 1986, 91–100). Former Karadjordje's fellow insurgent and Duke of Rujan and Rudnik (Fig. 1) in the area, proved to be a patient, yet determined diplomat, so the Turks recognized Milos'

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position as the Serbian leader granting him the status of a *knez* (prince) of three central Serbian districts: Rudnik, Pozega, and Kragujevac (Milićević 1876, 325).

One of the crucial issues of the newly elected Serbian leader was the choice of a proper place to set up his capital and court. Here, we should highlight that Milos chose diplomacy as a means to conduct extended negotiations with the Turks, therefore to act from the position of a politically active member of the Ottoman Empire. This implied that he appropriated and imitated life practices, behavioral models and communication patterns of the Ottoman elite members which had a significant effect on the Serbian ruler's identity, both, in terms of the appearance, and the structure of his princely court. By the same time Europe witnessed a boom of the absolutist imperial programs wherein the Christomimetic character of the emperor and the concept of his unrestricted power reached its climax (Kuljić 2009, 260–265). These ideas and phenomena were transferred and appropriated by Serbia regardless of the extreme political circumstances. The struggle for independence was accompanied by the development of the representative ruler's image, the one who played a key role in shaping the court. This image was shaped by using elaborated mechanisms of glorification of rulers supported by many phenomena of visual culture that had been developed Europe-wide during the 19th-century framework (Borožan 2006, 66–95). Members of the Serbian political elite were well aware of them.

1. FOUNDING THE CAPITAL IN GORNJA CRNUCA

Aiming at proving his newly gained status, Milos Obrenovic founded his court and the capital of Serbia in a little village named Gornja Crnuca, on the slopes of Rudnik Mountain dominating the Sumadija region of the central part of Serbia. Gornja Crnuca was the capital of what Serbia used to be from 1814 until 1818. By that time it had been carefully chosen as an ideal center for the accomplishment of the project of national independence and the affirmation of Prince Milos as a national ruler. Having located his residential estate at a safe distance from the crowded roads, he secured his position of national leadership. Associated with the Ottoman authorities, even helping them in the suppression of a new revolt launched by Hadzi Prodan Gligorijevic in 1814, Milos Obrenovic eliminated all of his possible political rivals, thus ensuring his supreme authority. Moreover, he offered, there in Gornja Crnuca, safe refuge for all loyal leaders. The core of the rebellion had now been transferred from Topola to Gornja Crnuca. Consequently, having gathered his acknowledged followers he could begin his own uprising in 1815. After a series of quick military losses, the Ottomans granted a large degree of autonomy to Serbia and recognized undisputed rule to Prince Milos.

Consciously, Milos granted his estate structural simplicity and it was hardly different from other neighboring rural settlements. Nevertheless, the household with fertile fields, cultivated orchards, vineyards, active mills, and full barns reflected the material progress of a successful landlord. Alike Karadjordje's first seat in Topola (Borić 2014, 16–18), Milos' capital should have left the impression of a prosperous community led by a highly capable *paterfamilias* and a respectable head of the undisputed authority. The neatly maintained and carefully controlled household implied an undisputable allusion to successful management, independence and controlled security of everyday life. A household surrounded by the pastoral landscape and idealized nature was a manifesto of the idea of freedom, an Arcadian refuge from the existing reality of daily turmoil (Fig. 2).

2. MORPHOLOGY OF KONAK IN GORNJA CRNUCA

Milos Obrenovic's court was located within an isolated valley surrounded by thick forests near the river Gruza. The residence, a log house, and its immediate surroundings were shaped according to the local traditional building concept characteristic for countryside dwellings in the Takovo region (Vujović 1986, 127; Deroko 1940). The reduced range of colors of the natural materials used, further stresses the desired harmonious impression of the primordial power and the host's safe haven. The rustic log cabin has a characteristic high steep roof with shingles providing it with a protective appearance. It has a typical wooden chimney with a cap. The semi-story of the ground area is pressed against a slant (Fig. 3). Made out of the stone, it was used as a storage space for bulky goods and wine.

The upper part of Milos' konak was made out of wooden planks. It consisted of two usual parts – 'house' and 'room' (Kadijević 2006, 250). The so-called 'house' is a traditional space with a mandatory open fireplace that constantly burns, representing the real and symbolic center of the home and the gravitating focal point of all the household members. Here is the 'house' that usually has two oppositely placed entrances. The 'room' had an earthenware heater made out of clay pots, and this area was used for sleeping (Kojić 1958, 56; Milošević 2006, 158–159).

The building has a prominently covered porch that was used for family gatherings and for daily household chores and, during the summer season, it would be turned into a place for dining and sleeping. This functional and constructive expressiveness makes the porch a striking element of the façade.

In addition to the main building, there were several neat looking auxiliary buildings such as dairies, barns, wells, and horse stables. The entire complex was surrounded by cultivated orchards and fertile fields leaving an overall impression of well-being in those times. Felix Kanitz, a well known Austro-Hungarian ethnographer and anthropologist left us a precious, though later description of this place (Kanic 1985, 333). Touched by the modesty of this prominent prince's seat, he couldn't help but notice that despite the simplicity and reduced form, it carries the direct and unmistakable message that it was the seat of the local ruler within the real circumstances of a particular historical moment.

3. SPATIAL FEATURES AND USE OF THE KONAK IN GORNJA CRNUCA

The space inside the konak was used mostly during the winter season, and the use of this area was defined by well-established, deep-rooted and unspoken rules. The host used the place directly opposite the fireplace exclusively. His chair was singled out by its size and the position at the head of the table. Other male members of the community would have occupied positions around the table in relation to their importance within the community.

According to the mental geography of a rural community, the immediate environment of a house, such as the garden and the yard, represented a place of collective privacy and in a certain way an extended space of the house (Timotijević 2006, 165–244). A little bit further from the konak in Crnuca there was an apple tree "under which the audacious prince often met with his confidant supporters in 1814" (Kanic 1985, 333). The tree symbolically and functionally could be understood as space which primarily belongs to the leader (Timotijević 2006, 195). In 1815, on Palm Sunday, Prince Milos Obrenovic

ritually raised a banner in front of the konak, handing it to his closest staff member of the court of the Obrenovics, Sima Milosavljevic Pastrmac, and then addressed the gathered people announcing the Second Serbian Uprising (Kunibert 1901, 72; Marković 1938, 13). Since then it was Crnuca that was marked as the place where the uprising was initiated although, very soon, Takovo would be recognized as a stronger *topos* of patriotic religion and a very influential dynastic propaganda tool. That is why via conscious interventions Crnuca would be erased from the collective consciousness of the nation as a rising center (see: Timotijević 2012).

In Crnuca, we do not find the characteristic courtly awareness and understanding of the public and private sphere. Nonetheless, there had already been established a circle of chosen privileged individuals enjoying the royal grace who were granted direct access to the ruler within his residence. Also, there were a number of servants in Crnuca who served the prince and his family on a daily basis. Milan Dj. Milicevic, a Serbian biographer left an account about daily routine at konak in Crnuca in his Memoirs (Milićević 1888, 807):

“Milos' house, at that time, was very humble. Prince Milow and Princess Ljubica lived there with their children. Speaking about courtiers and servants there were only Dimitrije Djordjevic, a scribe, Lazar Arandjelovic (nicknamed Indja), a stable master, then Vule Glirgorijevic, a coffee chef, Arsa Andrejevic, a chef, and Petar Lazarevic whose duty was to light up the long-stemmed chibouk pipes and serve coffee. On top of all of them was Vuk Perisic, a boss who supervised everyone.

Petar once told me that in the room, on the floor, the mattress would be spread in the evening for Prince Milos and Princess Ljubica to sleep on. Under their feet Vule and Pera Cukic would lie down. In the morning, when the Prince was supposed to get up, he would shout and push Vule with his feet to wake him and make him get up. The Princess would do the same to Pera. Vule would then go to light up the fire and Pera would bring a hand basin and a pitcher of water offering the Prince to wash his face.”

From a humble record and a few other sources, we learn that Toma Vucic–Perisic who would become the most powerful Serbian politician in the middle of the 19th century started his political career at the court in Gornja Crnuca as the head of the prince's court and the court economy (Marković 1938, 15). Beside him, the Prince's man of trust was the above mentioned Dimitrije Djordjevic who held a position of the interpreter, scribe, and treasurer (Milićević 1876, 197).

The court in Crnuca was attended by many individuals that would eventually become members of Milos' complex and extensive governing and administrative apparatus. There often came the highly educated Jovan Miokovic, the first accountant who founded Milos' financial administration (Marković 1938, 14). Another frequent guest at the court in Crnuca was father Melentije Pavlovic, a prior of the renewed monastery of Vrcevsnica who was the cultural and political center of the entire region (Milićević 1876, 273). He would eventually become the first Metropolitan in restored Serbia. We have already mentioned Sima Milosavljevic Pastrmac who represented some kind of court advisor; in addition to him, Milos regularly hosted his personal secretaries Sima Urosevic, Nikola Nikolajevic and Avram Petronijevic (Milićević 1876, 197).

4. PRINCESS LJUBICA'S ROLE IN GORNJA CRNUCA

The political ambition of Prince Milos to reach the status of hereditary prince determined the life and behavioral patterns of all the members of the ruling family. Using his paternal authority Prince Milos fully controlled all aspects of family life and the distribution of financial resources. An important figure at Milos' court, who, to a lesser degree, took over the governmental duties in his physical absence becoming his representative, was Milos' wife Princess Ljubica (Fig. 4). Traditionally, the role of wife implied the home and family sphere, and that was primarily reflected within the framework of a proper housekeeping and appropriate children upbringing. Nevertheless, Princess Ljubica expressed an increased interest in public affairs and social engagement, and so, among other duties, that in the Prince's absence, she would take over. She was acting as official treasurer of the princely court in Crnuca (Marković 1938, 14–15). Otto Dubislav von Pirch who happened to take a trip to the Balkans in 1829 recorded how important was the role of Princess Ljubica when it comes to social activities and state affairs (Pirh 1899, 64):

“... Serbs appreciate their Princess and in case of her husband's accidental death, it is held that the public opinion would hand over the power to Mrs. Ljubica ...”

Princess Ljubica stood out from the usual patterns and conventional gender roles of that time. The war years influenced her skillful gun handling and horse riding that was proven by her active partaking at the battles of Ljubic and of Nikolje (Milićević 1876, 332). Apparently, the Prince and the Princess were not only an emotional couple. More than that, they were complementary partners in state affairs. Generally speaking, according to the conventional patriarchal norms, the concept of honor was deeply incorporated into the ruler's identity. As the issue of male honor was inseparable from a woman the moral image of the wife tended to be extremely important, as well as an influential social component. Furthermore, the ruling couple was considered a pillar of society and a national *exempla virtutis*. Therefore, Prince Milos and Princess Ljubica needed to reflect via their public appearance and deeds all those desirable standards of the patriarchal family hierarchy that understood male domination and female obedience (Vuletić 2006, 113–119; See also: Stolić 2006, 89–111). In this regard, we should read a record that in the presence of guests, the Princess acted as a guardian of the tradition serving them lunch and remained standing by the table (Pirh 1899, 66).

On the other hand, the konak in Crnuca was marked by an almost legendary story about the murder of the local beauty Petrija, whom besides the Turkish lady named Jelenka, was a long-time lady-in-waiting of Princess Ljubica and the Prince's mistress. The well-known Milos' affection for beautiful women and his “loose understandings in fulfilling his marital duties to his wife” led to an unpleasant and fatal incident when pregnant Princess Ljubica accidentally showed up in the konak in Crnuca and killed Petrija after catching her *in flagrante delicto* with her husband in their bed (Gavrilović 1909, 714–719).

CONCLUSION

The fact that the court complex in Crnuca was a household that was quickly set and that could be easily left if needed reveals that Prince Milos had a plan to raise and expand his court in regards to his rising role and growing rank within the society. At the beginning of his reign, until Serbia was proclaimed a Principality, Prince Milos focused to homogenize the state and to centralize his power. After the Second Uprising of 1815, the Prince traveled frequently, yet he always returned to his residence in Crnuca. Thanks to the achievements and merits gained in the Second Serbian Uprising, Prince Milos confirmed himself as the supreme national leader. The complex in Crnuca helped the constitution of this ideological image within the framework of the project of national liberation. Having built his residence that did not that obviously stood out from the common houses of the people at that time Prince Milos used it to identify himself as a national ruler originating from his own people. This concept of the common people origin of Prince Milos will be inserted as the basic concept of the dynastic program of the Obrenovic Dynasty (see: Borožan 2006).

Ever since the Uprising of 1815 until the adoption of the Constitution of the Principality of Serbia known as the Sretenje Constitution in 1835, people addressed Milos Obrenovic as my Lord with the addition of 'serene' ("My Serene, the Most Merciful Lord"), and he was signed for a long period as the Supreme Prince. This reveals much about his evident aspirations and the desired form of government he strove for in this period (Ljušić 1986, 119–120). It was at the court in Gornja Crnuca where the first rebellion assembly was held on December 19, 1815, when the budget of Serbia in the uprising was adopted, the members of the council were elected, and a decision was made on the obligation to keep tax records (Marković 1938, 14). It is worth mentioning that on that occasion the decision was made to officially proclaim Prince Milos the "supreme prince and ruler of the Serbian people", thus paving the way for the subsequent resolution of the Assembly held in Belgrade on November 6, 1817, where Milos' family was granted the title of hereditary prince (Ibid.).

Illustrations



Fig. 1 Prince Milos Obrenovic, a lithograph of an unknown author published in the book: K. N. Nenadovic *Život i dela velikog Đorđa Petrovića Kara-đorđa I*, Vienna (1883)

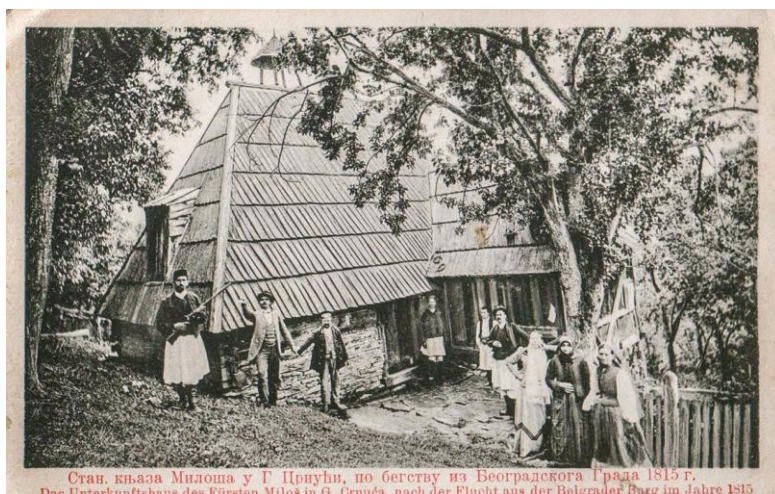


Fig. 2 Konak of Prince Milos in Gornja Crnuca, postcard published by Radojica Joksic, from the collection *Cacak in Old Postcards* of the City Library in Cacak available via digital collections of the National Library of Serbia



Fig. 3 Konak of Prince Milos in Gornja Crnuca in 2012, photo from a private collection.



Fig. 4 Princess Ljubica Obrenovic, portrait from the collection of the National Museum in Belgrade

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KONAK U GORNJOJ CRNUĆI – DVOR KNEZA MILOŠA OBRENOVIĆA

Proces zasnivanja i oblikovanja prestonice pokazao se ključnim pitanjem reprezentativne kulture svakog perioda. Ovo je bilo od posebne važnosti kada je reč o devetnaestovekovnim društvima na teritoriji Balkana s obzirom na buđenje nacionalne svesti i stvaranje nacionalnih država na teritoriji koja je dugo bila pod osmanskom vlašću. Uprkos nespotojanju državnosti i ekstremnim političkim okolnostima srpsko društvo pokazalo je zavidan stepen pozavanja evropskih fenomena kada je reč o stvaranju i odašiljanju vladarske slike kao važnog dela podsticanja svesti o nacionalnom identitetu. Srce Srbije pod ranom vladavinom Miloša Obrenovića bio je dvor u mestu Gornja Crnuca koje je uprkos svojoj strukturalnoj jednostavnosti bilo nepogrešivi odraz najvišeg državnog autoriteta.

Ključne reči: *Gornja Crnuća, knez Miloš Obrenović, dvor, dinastički topos, vladar, prestonica*

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