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University of Zagreb

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

Kristina Perkola

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DOCTORAL THESIS

Supervisor:

Prof. em. dr. sc. Stanislav Tuksar

Zagreb, 2024.



Sveučilište u Zagrebu

FILOZOFSKI FAKULTET

Kristina Perkola

**POVIJEST UMJETNIČKE GLAZBE I
MUZIKOLOGIJE NA KOSOVU OD 1945. DO
2020. GODINE**

DOKTORSKI RAD

Mentor:

Prof. em. dr.sc. Stanislav Tuksar

Zagreb, 2024.

MENTOR INFORMATION

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Publications: *Ideja nacionalnog u glazbi i njezin razvitak u hrvatskoj glazbenoj kulturi 19. stoljeća*, in: Tuksar, S.; Milković K.; Babić P., eds., *Bitka kod Sigeta i Nikola Šubić Zrinski u umjetnosti (glazba, likovne umjetnosti, književnost)*, Zagreb: Hrvatsko muzikološko društvo, 2018, pp. 65–78; *Misao o glazbi u autora podrijetlom iz hrvatskih povijesnih zemalja u tiskom objavljenim djelima 16. i 17. stoljeća*, *Filozofska istraživanja*, 2/36/142 (2016), pp. 273–287; *Inventing of Musical Illyrism*, *Musica disserenda*, XII/1 (2016), pp. 57–66; *Art Music in Croatia during the 20th Century: Strivings for an Equilibrium between Aesthetics, Ideologies and Politics*, in: Heister, H-W., ed., *Schichten, Geschichte, System: Geologische Metaphern und Denkformen in den Kunstwissenschaften*, Berlin: Weidler Buchverlag (Zwischen/Töne. Neue Folge – Bd. 6), 2016, pp. 139–160; *National Music History vs. History of Musical Regions and Centres: The Case of Croatia*, in: *Ars Musica and Its Contexts in Medieval and Early Modern Culture*, Festschrift for Elżbieta Witkowska-Zaremba, Paweł Gancarczyk, ed., Warsaw: Liber Pro Arte, 2016, pp. 467–483.

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Kristina Perkola

2024

SUMMARY

This doctoral dissertation presents a study of the history of art music and musicology in Kosovo between 1945 and 2020. Although the title implies a comprehensive scope, this dissertation offers data and content specifically related to the outlines of the social history of music development in Kosovo during this period. The art music in Kosovo which began developing later than other Southeast European countries due to social, cultural, and political circumstances, is presented here as a complex phenomenon emerging after 1945.

The end of the 1940s marked the beginning of an important chapter for art music in Kosovo because during this period both the preconditions and the forms of a professional musical tradition were created. This occurred because, firstly, new composers appeared in the musical life of the country who were the first creators in the genres and forms of art music as well as the main figures responsible for raising cultural awareness of art music. Secondly, an equally determining factor in this development of a musical tradition was the institutionalization of musical life, the opening of music schools, the establishment of Cultural Artistic Societies, ensembles, choirs, symphony orchestras, and music festivals. In the absence of a Music Academy in Kosovo before 1975, the first generations of professional composers were educated in various centers of the former Yugoslavia, and this also influenced the style and language of the compositions they created. This study covers three significant periods: 1945–1989, a time marked by the establishment of cultural and artistic societies, music schools, ensembles, and other institutions, culminating in the 1970s and 1980s with a flourishing era of musical composition and performance; 1990–1999, a dark era characterized by the cessation of Albanian cultural activities and the emergence of a parallel education system; and 2000–2020, a Renaissance period, during which modern musical culture experienced rapid development.

Until recently, historical musicology was very poorly developed in Kosovo. In addition to the research it presents, this dissertation seeks to contribute to the reinvigoration of the discipline in Kosovo, to provide a useful starting point for understanding the history of music in Kosovo, and to provide a starting point for comparative studies between Kosovo and other countries in the region.

Key words: Kosovo, politics, art music, music history, choirs, orchestras, festivals, composers, music institutionalization, musicology.

SAŽETAK

Ova doktorska disertacija bavi se temom “Povijest umjetničke glazbe i muzikologije na Kosovu od 1945. do 2020.”. Iako naslov implicira širok opseg, ova disertacija nudi podatke i sadržaj koji se specifično odnose na obrise društvene povijesti razvoja glazbe na Kosovu tijekom ovog razdoblja.

Glazbena kultura na Kosovu jedna je od kultura jugoistočne Europe koja je svoj puni vlastiti razvoj započela tek nakon Drugog svjetskog rata, a u usporedbi s drugim zemljama u regiji taj je proces započeo relativno kasno. Razlozi tome povezani su s društvenim, kulturnim i političkim prilikama, pa se razvoj umjetničke glazbe i muzikologije na Kosovu od 1945. nadalje prikazuje kao vrlo složen fenomen. Kraj 1940-ih označio je važno poglavlje za umjetničku glazbu na Kosovu jer su u tom razdoblju stvoreni prvi preduvjeti i oblici prave profesionalne glazbene kulture. Čimbenici za taj razvoj bili su institucionalizacija glazbenog života, osnivanje KUD-ova, otvaranje glazbenih škola, ansambala, zborova, simfonijskih orkestara i glazbenih festivala. Jednako odlučujuća su imena skladatelja koji su bili prvi stvaratelji u žanrovima i malim umjetničkim glazbenim formama te glavni promicatelji u podizanju kulturne svijesti. U nedostatku Muzičke akademije na Kosovu do 1975. godine, prve generacije profesionalnih skladatelja školovale su se u raznim središtima ondašnje Jugoslavije, pa je to također utjecalo na stilove i skladateljske tehnike skladbi koje su skladatelji koristili.

Disertacija obuhvaća tri važna razdoblja: 1945. – 1989., razdoblje obilježeno osnivanjem kulturno-umjetničkih društava, glazbenih škola, glazbenih formacija i drugih institucija, koje je kulminiralo 1970-ih i 1980-ih godina plodnim razdobljem na području skladanja i izvođenja; 1990. – 1999., razdoblje mračnih godina, prestanka albanskih kulturnih aktivnosti i uspostave paralelnog sustava obrazovanja; te 2000. – 2020., razdoblje renesanse, u kojem je došlo do brzog razvoja moderne glazbene kulture u novim društveno-političkim okolnostima.

Ova je disertacija doista prvo dublje i sustavnije istraživanje o općim glazbeno-umjetničkim kretanjima na Kosovu. Spoznaja da postoji vrlo malo istraživanja i publikacija u ovom području nadahnula me je da istražujem i da pišem na temelju činjenica o društvenim promjenama, kulturnim razvojima, te promjenama u glazbenom napretku, znajući da su od 1940-ih nadalje to glavne komponente u općem kulturnom krajoliku na Kosovu. Namjerno sam istraživala sve navedene aspekte glazbe jer sam ih smatrala najvažnijim pojavama u

koncipiranju i pisanju opće povijesti glazbe, pogotovo zbog nepostojanja prethodnih opsežnih studija, ali uzimajući u obzir neka manja već obavljena parcijalna istraživanja. Ova disertacija kao opsežna i kompleksna studija temelji se na dvjema osnovnim postavkama: pokušaju pronicanja u život i glazbeno djelovanje u četiri spomenuta razdoblja, te da je odabrani vremenski okvir za ovu studiju sadržajno najvažnije razdoblje nacionalne glazbene povijesti. Općenito gledano, valja naglasiti da je ovo doba bilo oblikovano mnogim suprotnostima, prije svega društveno-političkim, zatim suvremenim ideološkim, etničkim i kulturnim.

Na temelju svih određujućih komponenti, ova se studija temelji na tri elementa: amaterizmu, profesionalizmu i multikulturalizmu. Disertacija se sastoji od šest velikih poglavlja, koja predstavljaju međusobno povezane aktivnosti. Kako bih u potpunosti shvatila „zakašnjeli“ razvoj kosovske glazbe, morala sam najprije kontekstualizirati narativ u povijesnoj perspektivi. Stoga sam na samom početku ove studije pokušala prikazati značajne momente povijesno-kulturnih sastavnica, budući da su oni bili važni kao pozadinske komponente tradicije. Vrijednosti pojava i aktivnosti spomenutih u ovom dijelu rada važne su kako na povijesno-muzikološkoj tako i na povijesno-nacionalnoj razini jer se rad ne temelji na kriteriju nacionalnih podjela. Dakle, nije se uvažavala nikakva podjela između etničkih skupina (Albanci, Srbi i drugi), već se osnovna teza oslanja na opći društveni konstrukt, kulturni sadržaj, izazove, prednosti i nedostatke, te kulturni napredak. Smatram da su većina podataka prikazanih i dokumentiranih u ovom radu po prvi put, te da kao takvi predstavljaju vrlo važan (iako donekle zakašnjel) trenutak za povijest umjetničke glazbe na Kosovu.

Prvo poglavlje usredotočuje se na najvažniji razvoj koji je pridonio stvaranju linearnog i kontinuiranog glazbenog napretka: pojavu kulturnih umjetničkih društva (KUD-ovi). Osnivanje amaterskih kulturno-umjetničkih društava, glazbenih društava i folklornih ansambala pridonijelo je procesu izgradnje novih kulturnih modela i politika koje su doista bile emancipacijske u općem kulturnom krajoliku Kosova toga vremena. Institucionalizacija ovih kulturno-umjetničkih društava predstavljala je prvi značajniji primjer organiziranog kulturnog razvoja, posebice na području tradicijske glazbe. Mobilizacija i kulturni angažman prirodno su proizašli iz vizionarskih pojedinaca (glazbenika amatera) koji su bili pokretači cijelog procesa. Taj je kulturni pokret označio novu eru ‘zakašnjelog’ amaterskog, predprofesionalnog bavljenja glazbom, uključujući narodnu tradiciju i baštinu, popularnu glazbu, amaterizam, multinacionalnost, itd. Slični su fenomeni bili rijetki i malobrojni u prethodnim desetljećima, jer kulturne, a među njima i glazbene aktivnosti nisu imale kontinuiran i fluidan razvoj kakav će imati nakon Drugog svjetskog rata. Iz osobnih istraživanja proizlaze podaci da je između

1920-ih i 1990-ih godina na Kosovu djelovalo preko 200 kulturnih udruga. Međutim, njihova djelatnost ostaje ponajviše vezana uz folklornu podlogu i amaterska iskustva, ali su folklor i amaterizam bile ključne riječi svih proaktivnih nastojanja i pokušaja napretka u umjetničkoj glazbi.

Drugo, treće i četvrto poglavlje povezuje slični zbir aktivnosti vezanih uz oblike institucionalizacije glazbe. Tijekom 1940ih do 1960-ih osnovane su prve institucije kao što su: glazbene škole, zborovi/orkestri i festivali. To je poznato kao razdoblje 'profesionalnih glazbenih početaka'. U drugom poglavlju fokusira se na analitičko-narativni opis glazbenih škola kao prvih edukativnih središta budućih glazbenih profesionalaca. Treće poglavlje predstavlja najvažniji dio ove disertacije. U ovom poglavlju donosi se dugoročni pogled na kulturnu tranziciju koja je dovela do pojave stabilnih izvođačkih ansambala. Osnivanje glazbenih ansambala (zborova i orkestara) bio je jedan od glavnih ciljeva toga vremena na Kosovu. Istraživanje je pokazalo da je sve do 1940-ih jedina tradicija instrumentalnih i orkestralnih ansambala bila ona malih pučkih orkestara i mandolinskih sastava koji su djelovali u okviru kulturno-umjetničkih društava. Naime, nema podataka o postojanju ili djelovanju bilo kakvog ansambla tipa simfonijskog orkestra na Kosovu u godinama prije Drugog svjetskog rata. Tijekom druge polovice dvadesetog stoljeća, kada je kosovska glazbeno-umjetnička kultura razvijala svoj identitet u duhu europske klasične glazbe, pojava orkestralnih formacija (komornih ili simfonijskih orkestara) poluprofesionalne i/ili profesionalne razine značila je razvoj od velike povijesne vrijednosti. Do kraja 1940-ih umjetnička glazba na Kosovu bila je zastupljena s ukupno dva ili tri zbora i povremenim djelovanjem gudačkih orkestara i vojnih orkestara u nekoliko gradova. Do 1958. ova se djelatnost proširila na 20 pionirskih zborova, 14 zborova mladih i 9 sindikalnih zborova, 28 omladinskih (komornih) orkestara, 13 pionirskih orkestara i 8 gradskih orkestara. Od posebnog je značenja faktografija o sustavnom djelovanju Gradskog simfonijskog orkestra u Prištini – preteče današnje Filharmonije Kosova. Zbog znatnog nedostatka podataka dokumentiranje sustavnog djelovanja (uz povremene prekide) ovog orkestra pokazalo se jednim od najtežih zadataka i izazova za sadašnje, ali i za buduće istraživače. Narativna panorama o ovom orkestru (tj. voditeljima, članovima, repertoaru, transformacijama, izazovima i postignućima) po prvi put je predstavljena i objavljena u ovoj disertaciji. Osim toga, u ovom poglavlju prvi put se na vidjelo iznose opsežne deskriptivne informacije o tri druge važne glazbene formacije kao što su zborovi *Collegium Cantorum*, *Vatroslav Lisinski* i *Siparantum*, od kojih je svaki vrlo poseban, jedinstven i važan na svoj specifičan način.

Četvrto poglavlje počinje pregledom glazbenih festivala kao oblika kolektivnog glazbenog života. Smatram festivale vrlo značajnim točkama za istraživanje načinâ kojima su dostupna kulturna iskustva postupno napredovala u nacionalnom i međunarodnom kontekstu. Ovo poglavlje također ilustrira povećanje i diversifikaciju u vrstama i broju festivala koji su postali glavno uporište međunarodne aktivnosti i razmjene. Iz obavljene analize prethodno objavljenih priloga muzikološkog karaktera o takozvanoj 'tradiciji festivala na Kosovu', vidljivo je da je ova tema bila tek sporadično obrađivana i raspravljana u obliku novinskih članaka objavljenih u dnevnim novinama. Inače, u ovu disertaciju, kao treća važna karika u procesu institucionalizacije glazbe, uključeni su i glazbeni festivali (od kojih su dva tretirana neovisno), čija je učinkovitost bila specifičan način ulaganja u opću glazbenu kulturu na Kosovu.

Utemeljeno na skladateljskim oblicima i stilovima koje su prihvatili i izradili kosovski skladatelji, peto poglavlje fokusirano je na usporedni pregled između djela, trendova i skladateljskih tehnika skladatelja triju generacija kao konačne posljedice utjecaja mjesta gdje su studirali ili nekih drugih čimbenika utjecaja. Najvažniji među njima su: Lorenc Antoni (1909-1991), Rexho Mulliqi (1923-1982), Mark Kaçinari (1935-1985), Kristë Lekaj (1935-2021), Fahri Beqiri (1936-2021), Akil Koci (1936), Zeqirja Ballata (1943), Rauf Domi (1945), Rafet Rudi (1949), Mendi Mengjiqi (1958) i Baki Jashari (1960). Kroz njihov rad dolazi do ukazivanja na njihov osobni izraz s elementima nacionalne pozadine, kao njihov oblik za prikazivanje nacionalnog identiteta unutar multikulturalnog društva kako u ondašnjoj Jugoslaviji (do 1990-ih) tako i unutar multikulturalne globalizacije u suvremenom vremenu (2000-20). Djela skladatelja grupirana su po žanrovima (prezentirana u tablicama), kronološki poredana od najstarijih do najnovijih. 1990-te donijele su kao realitet potpunu suspenziju normalnosti društvenog života, prekid normalnog toka razvoja kulturnih aktivnosti i zabranu službene uporabe albanskog jezika, dok je od 2000. godine društveno-politička i kulturna stvarnost potpuno promijenjena i nosi pečat velikih kontrasta opisan kao razdoblje oporavka, renesanse i modernizacije.

Etnomuzikologija i muzikologija na Kosovu također su se oblikovale kao znanstvene discipline u drugoj polovici 20. stoljeća. Etnomuzikologija je nastala kroz pokušaje prvotnih glazbenika (npr. Lorenca Antonija) da istražuju albansku narodnu glazbu i rituale tradicionalnog života, dok je muzikologija nastala iz potreba da se glazbeno stvaralaštvo i djelovanje artikulira u znanstvenom obliku. Unatoč tome što su neki muzikolozi (npr. Engjëll Berisha) tvrdili da muzikologija na Kosovu nikada nije uspjela biti tako produktivna kao

kreativnost i umjetnička djelatnost, zadnje poglavlje ove disertacije kronološki obrađuje glavna postignuća u području etnomuzikologije i muzikologije, zastoje i perspektive za budućnost.

Glazba na Kosovu i svi umjetnički napori bili su prirodna manifestacija unutar kulturne i političke evolucije na ovom mjestu, u kojem su za relativno kratko vrijeme učinjene velike transformacije u ciljevima prema njezinoj europeizaciji i pozapadnjenju. Osobni poticaj za istraživanje različitih glazbenih aktivnosti, formacija i festivala nastao je kao rezultat ambicije da se detaljnije objasni glazbenu prošlost Kosova. Činjenica je da ova disertacija u svojem finalnom obliku sadrži vrlo važne premise za opću glazbenu povijest Kosova. U usporedbi s glazbenim i muzikološkim dostignućima u većini europskih zemalja te onih u široj regiji, ova disertacija može izgledati kao jednostavna studija, ali jest prvi i dosad najozbiljniji pokušaj dokumentiranja razvoja i napretka umjetničke glazbe na Kosovu, počevši od organiziranog amaterizma, postupne glazbene institucionalizacije, profesionalizma u stvaralačkim i izvođačkim aspektima sve do razvoja u znanstveno-muzikološkom aspektu.

Ključne riječi: umjetnička glazba, muzikologija, Kosovo, politika, povijest glazbe, institucionalizacija glazbe, zborovi, orkestri, glazbeni festivali, skladatelji.

ABBREVIATIONS

AVNOJ – Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia

ASHAK – Akademia e Shkencave dhe Arteve të Kosovës (English: Academy of Sciences and Arts of Kosovo)

CPY – Communist Party of Yugoslavia

JNA – Jugoslavenska Narodna Armija (English: Yugoslav People's Army)

IBT – Industria e Bashkuar e Tekstilit (English: United Textile Industry)

KSA e Kosovës – Krahina Socialiste Autonome e Kosovës (English: Autonomous Socialist Province of Kosovo)

KUD – Kulturno umetničko društvo (Cultural-artistic Society)

LNÇ – Lufta Nacional Çlirimtare (English: National Liberation War)

NATO – North Atlantic Treaty Organization

RP – Radio Prishtina

RTB – Radio Television of Belgrade

RTP – Radio Television of Prishtina

RTK – Radio Television of Kosovo

RTSH – Albanian Radio Television

SANU – Srpska akademija nauke i umetnosti

SAP of Kosovo - Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo

SCS – Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes

SFRY – Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia

SHKA – Shoqëria Kulturore Artistike (English: Cultural and Artistic Society)

SHKAA – Shoqëria Kulturore Artistike Akademike (English: Cultural, Artistic and Academic Society)

SHLP – Shkolla e Lartë Pedagogjike (English: Pedagogical Higher School)

NLM – National Liberation Movement

NKCF – The New Kosovo Curriculum Framework

UÇK – Ushtria Çlirimtare e Kosovës (English: Kosovo Liberation Army)

USSR – Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

WWI – World War I

WWII – World War II

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INTRODUCTION

The differences between cultural developments in Western and Eastern Europe have historically been considerable, especially when referring to the societies of the European South-east, which for centuries did not experience conditions favourable to the continuous development of the arts. In different societies, the arts have always been conditioned by different cultural and aesthetic experiences and their corresponding historical backgrounds. Focusing on specific cultural identities, social and political ideologies, cultural developments embracing amateurism and professionalism, forms of music institutionalization, and creative styles and taste, the chapters in this dissertation provide comprehensive narrative-analytical accounts of the general modalities and developments in the field of art music in Kosovo. This dissertation represents the first in-depth and systematic course of research on the development of art music in Kosovo. The lack of publications in historical musicology inspired me to embark on this research and to write about social changes, cultural developments and the progress of music in Kosovo since the 1940s. The dissertation which results augments the modest research which already exists with many new findings.

This research is founded on two basic premises: firstly, it is an attempt to cover and penetrate the musical life and activities of three important periods: a) after the Second World War, b) the decade of the 1990s and c) from 2000 onwards; secondly, it is an attempt to assist the development of Kosovan musicology by providing both a general narrative and an analytical and critical approach. The timeframe selected for this study is the most important period in national music history. From a general perspective, this era was shaped by many socio-political, ideological, ethnic and cultural contrasts. Ultimately, this study focuses on three elements: *amateurism*, *professionalism*, and *multiculturalism*.

This dissertation consists of six chapters. To fully grasp the delayed development of music in Kosovo, I first place the narrative in a historical perspective. The lack of musicological publications means that most of the data in this paper are documented and presented here for the first time, marking an important (and very belated) moment for the history of art music in Kosovo. In chapter one, the narrative description is mainly focused on the cultural reality of the 1940s and 1950s. Since then, many cultural associations, called Cultural-Artistic Societies (CAS), were the newest trend of cultural expression and artistic community-building. I

explored and researched these cultural associations, and most of them receive their first narrative description in this study. They were present in every city and village, corporation and special collective. My research has revealed that between the 1920s and the 1990s over 200 cultural associations were active in Kosovo. Their activities largely related to folklore and amateur musical practices, as folklore and amateurism were the keywords of all proactive attempts to make progress in art music.

Chapters two, three and four are connected through their focus on activities related to forms of music institutionalization. Between 1940 and the 1960s, basic institutions such as music schools, choirs and orchestras and festivals were established. This is known as the period of “professional musical beginnings”. In Chapter two, the focus falls on narrative and analytical descriptions of music schools as the first educational centers for future music professionals. Until the 1990s, music high schools in Prizren and Prishtina bore the main burden of raising the standard of professionalism in music.

Chapter three contains the most important part of this study and comprises a description of the systematic activity of the City Symphony Orchestra in Prishtina, the precursor of today’s Kosovo Philharmonic. Documenting the activity (with some temporary interruptions) of this orchestra was considered by some musicians (e.g., Rafet Rudi) as one of the most difficult challenges for future researchers. This is due to the considerable lack of facts and data. My research on the activities of this orchestra has uncovered a history, including new details of its leaders, members, repertoire, transformations, challenges and achievements. In addition, chapter three also presents the first published research on three other important ensembles: the choirs *Collegium Cantorum*, *Vatroslav Lisinski* and *Siparantum*, each very special, unique, and important in its own way.

Chapter four begins with a list of music festivals, which were forms of collective musical life. I situate festivals as very significant points for exploring the ways in which the available cultural experiences gradually progressed in both national and international contexts. This chapter also illustrates a surge and diversification in the types and number of festivals that became a mainstay of international activities and exchange. If we refer to the published contributions and the musicological discourse about the co-called ‘Festivals tradition in Kosovo’, it is clearly evident that this topic has been only sporadically treated and discussed (in the form of journalistic articles published in daily newspapers such as *Rilindja*, *Bujku*, *Fjala*, and *Zëri* by authors such as Rexhep Munishi, Engjëll Berisha, Zeqirja Ballata, Rafet Rudi, and

Sami Piraj), but never with sufficient depth, or as a research topic in its own right. Otherwise, in this study, Music Festivals are included as the third important link in the process of music institutionalization, the effectiveness of which has been the result of a specific type of investment within the general musical culture in Kosovo.

Focusing on the compositional forms and styles developed by Kosovan composers, chapter five presents a comparative overview of their works, trends and the compositional techniques. Containing elements of their national background, their works came to embody expressions of a form of national existence within multicultural society both in former Yugoslavia (until the 1990s) and within the world of contemporary multicultural globalization (2000-2020). All composers' works are grouped by genre (presented in tables) and arranged chronologically from the earliest to the most recent. The decade of the 1990s was synonymous with the total suspension of normality, the rupture of the normal flow of developments and cultural activities and the ban on official use of the Albanian language, while since 2000, socio-political and cultural reality has been totally transformed into an epoch of great contrasts described as a period of recovery, renaissance and modernization.

Ethnomusicology and musicology in Kosovo also took shape as scientific disciplines in the second half of the twentieth century. The former was born from the attempt of earlier figures, such as Lorenc Antoni, to research Albanian folk music and the rituals of traditional life, while the latter was born from the desire to examine musical creativity and activity in a scientific way. Considering that Kosovan musicological research has largely been unproductive, I consider it necessary to address in the last part of this dissertation the reasons why the scientific dimension of musical culture has lagged behind other dimensions such as composition, performance and institutionalization. It has been claimed by musicologists such as Engjëll Berisha that musicology in Kosovo has never managed to be as productive as creative and artistic activity, so the last chapter of this study examines chronologically the main achievements and publications in the field of ethnomusicology and musicology, as well as their prospects for the future.

Music in Kosovo and all artistic efforts were a natural manifestation within the broader cultural and political evolution of a region which, over a relatively short time, has witnessed major transformations in the tendencies toward Europeanization and Westernization. The personal impetus to research different musical activities, ensembles and festivals was born as a result of the ambition to shed light on a musical past which was full of life and which was gradually

sinking into oblivion. This oblivion came as a result of two key factors which would make any such research difficult. The first was the lack of basic data as a result of the disappearance or loss of archival documents during the conflict and war of 1999, and the second was related to the fading of memory of the musical activities of the past due to the lack of published writings on the one hand, and the post-war reluctance to research and write about musical activities and events that belonged to both Albanians and other nationalities (specifically Serbs) in Kosovo. My aim is that this study will serve as an impetus to revisit the musical history and historiography of Kosovo and open new lines of research on its musical culture and the effects which socio-political events have had on it in different periods of time.

1. Objective and Hypotheses: Methodology and Plan of Research

Art music in Kosovo has a history of less than one hundred years. On the historical-musicological level, unfortunately, that history has never been sufficiently documented. Musicological research and scientific publications are a very important part of the cultural heritage of any country. The lack of such works in Kosovo compared to the musicological achievements of other countries of the region, especially in Croatia, where I did my PhD studies, inspired me to undertake deep research to document (as much as I could) the unspoken and unwritten recent history of art music in Kosovo. The topic of cultural heritage has been prominent in international discourse in recent years, and I considered it necessary and very urgent to prepare a large-scale study about art music, musical practices of institutionalization and general output in musical art. In fact, the negative factors involved in the realization of this study were greater than the positive. The lack of writings, the damage to or loss of a significant part of the material heritage during the 1999 Kosovo War, and finally the realization that the generations of musicians who were part of this history were passing away, gave me a sense of the urgency of the task of finding a way to write and document the general history of musical developments in Kosovo between 1945 and 2020.

The primary goal of the research was to catalog and examine all articles written about music in the daily newspaper *Rilindja* [Renaissance] the first Albanian language newspaper to be published in the former Yugoslavia. Almost all newspapers published between 1945 and 1989 have served me in this research which was carried out between September 2019 and February

2021 in two main locations: the Archive of the City Library *Hivzi Sylejmani* in Prishtina, and the Kosovo State Archives Agency. This archival work helped to illuminate Kosovo's more than seventy-five-year musical past and to considerably enlarge the incomplete music historiographical puzzle of music in Kosovo. To be clear, *Rilindja* was not a scientific journal or newspaper dedicated only to the arts, but a daily newspaper. From this systematic research, I collected 2,076 published items about musical developments. The newspaper column titled *Jeta Kulturore* [Cultural Life] was a weekly section dedicated to developments in the field of culture (literature, theatre, music, etc.) in which weekly information was provided about activities and cultural achievements. From there, I extracted all data about the activities, events and concerts held, and the musical performances and repertoires of almost all the musical groups and institutions (CASs, choirs, orchestras, music schools, activities, festivals, etc.) which are presented in this study. However, to create a genuinely multidimensional study, research of the newspaper archives alone was not enough. So, I continued the research in other places such as the Archive of Radio Kosovo (ex RTP Media) where I researched all books containing information about all musical recordings made by Radio Television of Prishtina (RTP) Music Production between 1953 and 1998 (574 collected research items); in the State Archives Agency of Kosovo (129 collected items); in music schools in Prishtina, Prizren, and Mitrovica (52 items); in the National Library 'Pjetër Bogdani', (30 items); in the Albanological Institute, (67 items); and online and printed booklets of Music Festivals in Kosovo (145 items). The research goals were the analysis, classification and elaboration of all collected data, and their use for the development and writing of a general history of musical art in Kosovo, with particular reference to the impact of socio-political events on that history. The phase of the collection of research materials included research on different musicological publications, including local, regional and foreign publications: e.g., the literary journal *Jeta e Re* [New Life]; the scientific journals *Përparimi* [Progress], *Gjurmime Albanologjike – Folklor dhe Etnologji* [Albanological Research - Folklore and Ethnology], the books *Music in the Balkans* by Jim Samson (2013) and *Serbian Artistic Heritage in Kosovo and Metohija: Identity, Significance, Vulnerability*, published by the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (2017); the inclusion of entries about art music in Kosovo in encyclopedia dictionaries, e.g.: Krešimir Kovačević (ed.), *Leksikon jugoslavenske muzike*, [Encyclopedia of Yugoslav Music] vols. 1-2, published by Jugoslavenski leksikografski zavod "Miroslav Krleža", Zagreb, 1984; Mehmet Kraja (ed.) *Fjalori enciklopedik i Kosovës* [Encyclopedic Dictionary of Kosovo] vol. I-II, published by Academy of Sciences and Arts of Kosovo (2018), *Grove Music Online Dictionary*, and others.

I consider that this study contains very important insights into the general musical history of Kosovo. Compared to the musical and musicological achievements of both European and regional countries, this study may seem simple or basic, like an accumulation of pieces from previous writings. But this is not the case. I tried to represent one of the most serious attempts to document the development and advancement of music in Kosovo, starting from organized amateurism, gradual musical institutionalization, professionalism in creative trends and performing areas, and developments in the scientific-musicological domain. In short, this study brings to light a past that remained quite undocumented and unknown up to the present, an important basis for present and future musicological research.

The whole material presents a synthesis that rests on two pillars: professionalism and emotion. Over three years of systematic research and in the subsequent period of writing this dissertation, I gathered all my strength to bring to light this history that both for me and for my country is full of meaning. For two years, I stayed for hours in the library archive, searching and researching in the *Rilindja* newspaper sheets, browsing and living through every moment of that cultural past. I listened to hundreds of music pieces recorded on the tapes of the RTP Archive, and it seemed to me that I personally became part of that whole musical reality. Actually, I lived two lives in parallel: in the morning and afternoon I lived in the decades between the 1950s and 1990s, while in the evening I returned to the contemporary reality of my life. For all this experience I feel both happy and very proud. Viewed from an individual perspective, the positive side dominates – the personal pride for what I have accomplished with this research. Viewed from a socio-cultural and scientific perspective however, a feeling of regret prevails, reflecting the reality that, in spite of all, Kosovo has arrived quite late to the task of documenting its own musical past.

2. Republic of Kosovo: Historical and Cultural Overview

2.1. Historical Background

The differences between cultural developments in Western and Eastern Europe have historically been considerable, especially when referring to those geographical areas that for centuries had turbulent histories and experienced conditions which were not conducive to the linear development of the arts. I consider that no historical period can be properly studied in isolation because the developments that occur during a given period may have been conditioned by factors inherited from earlier periods. Historical, social and political conditions have been the dominant influences on the flow of artistic developments in South-East Europe. The peoples of the Balkans produce more history than they can consume, and the weight of their past lies oppressively on their present.¹ This region has been afflicted by many conflicts and wars from the Middle Ages through the Ottoman invasion, two world wars, and the Yugoslav wars of the 1990s. Thus, the region has had a long and turbulent history of cultural and religious differences, sometimes overtaken by hate and nationalism. The history and culture of Kosovo – a land where cultures both converge and collide – has its own artistic traditions, and its art and music should be presented as a complex, vibrant and eclectic mix of the influences of many civilizations.

Kosovo, officially the Republic of Kosovo, is a partially-recognized state and disputed territory in Southeastern Europe that on 17 February 2008 declared its independence from Serbia. Geographically comprising an area of 10,887 square kilometers, it is landlocked in the center of the Balkans and bordered by the territory of Serbia to the north and east, North Macedonia to the southeast, Albania to the southwest and Montenegro to the west. Kosovan territory has been continuously inhabited from prehistoric times and possesses traces of multilayered settlements that clearly reflect the continuity of life and culture throughout the centuries. The early traces documented in the territory of Kosovo belong to the Stone Age. *Goddess on the Throne*² is one of the most precious archaeological artifacts of Kosovo. The first concrete traces of music and musical instruments on the territory of present-day Kosovo date back to the

¹ ***: Arrest and Revival: The Capture of Ratko Mladic May Revive European Enlargement, *The Economist*, (published: 2 June 2011), <<https://www.economist.com/europe/2011/06/02/arrest-and-revival> > (accessed 20 Septemebr 2020).

² *Goddess on the Throne* (in Albanian: *Hyjnesha në Fron*) is a terracotta figurine found at the site of the Tjerrtorja spinning mill near Prishtina, in 1956. The figure is a well-preserved specimen of small Neolithic plastic Vinča culture (18.5 cm high), dated four millennia before Christ in the Vinča culture (also known as Turda culture or Turda-Vinča culture) and represents a female deity, reflecting the cult of the great mother idol.

Neolithic period, from which originates a very rare wind instrument, a baked clay *ocarina*³, found at Runik near Skenderaj in the region of Drenica.⁴ In antiquity, the area of Kosovo was part of Dardania, a name that comes from the *Dardani* (the Illyrian tribe that lived in the region and formed the Kingdom of Dardania in the fourth century BC). At the beginning of the first century BC this Kingdom fell under Roman rule and became part of the Roman Province of Moesia.⁵ These territories were in fact one of the first parts of Europe to encounter Christianity and they have a particularly long and diverse history with this faith. First to have preached the gospel in Illyria was Saint Paul himself, who states: “*So from Jerusalem all the way around to Illyricum, I have fully proclaimed the gospel of Christ*” (Romans 15:19), and by the fifth century Christianity had left recognizable traces throughout Illyria. One of the most urbanized centers in Dardania was the city of Ulpiana⁶ which had two Christian Basilicas, (a single aisled Basilica and an Episcopal Basilica) with an octagonal Christian Baptistery, and with other important monuments from the Roman Period and Late Antiquity, as complex evidence of early Christianity in these territories.⁷ Strabo and other ancient authors testify that Dardanians devoted a great deal of time to music and that they used wind and string instruments, which is corroborated by archeological finds throughout Kosovo.⁸ It is undeniable that in these territories the art of music must had been cultivated, maybe as an integral part of the rich Christian tradition. The Albanian period of the early Middle Ages is illuminated by a great musical personality *Niketë Dardani, St Nicetas from Remesiana*⁹ (335/340–414)¹⁰ born in

³ *Ocarina* is a Neolithic flute-like wind instrument, found in the Runik locality (6000-5000 BC) - named *Runik Ocarina*, handcrafted from baked clay, 8 cm in height with finger holes on the axles and a mouthpiece on the highest ax. Cf. Milot BERISHA: *Archaeological Guide of Kosovo*, Prishtina: Kosovo Archaeological Institute and Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports, 2012, 18.

⁴ Naser FERRI: *Muzika dhe veglat muzikore dhe kultet lidhur me muzikën gjatë parahistorisë dhe antikës në territorin e Kosovës së sotme*, [Music and Musical Instruments and Cults Related to Music During Prehistory and Antiquity in the Territory of Today's Kosovo], *Gjurmime Albanologjike - Folklor dhe etnologji*, No. 39 (2009), 211.

⁵ Naser FERRI: *Monumentet ushtarake të periudhës romake në Mezi të Epërme*, [Military Monuments of the Roman Period in Upper Moesia], Pejë, 2001, 55.

⁶ *Ulpiana*, also known as *Justiniana Secunda*, is a cultural heritage monument in Kosovo, a Roman city founded in the early second century in the time of Emperor Trajan (AD 98-117). At the end of the third century and the beginning of the fourth it was turned into an important administrative, economic, political, cultural and Episcopal center, and enjoyed the epithet of the great city (*urbus splendidissima*). The city was urbanized with a road network according to the orthogonal system, a water supply, residential buildings, and sacred, profane and utilitarian buildings. Cf. Dedë PALOKAJ: *Dritë prej dritës, Misteri i botës së padukshme. Të vërteta arkeologjike dhe biblike. Religjion, përshpirtëri, meditime dhe dëshmi*, [Light from Light, Mystery of the Invisible World. Archaeological and Biblical Truths], Prishtinë: Drita, 2015, 353; Emil ČERŠKOV: *Rimljani na Kosovu i Metohiji* [Romans in Kosovo and Metohija], Beograd: Arheološko Društvo Jugoslavije, 1969, 37.

⁷ Dedë PALOKAJ: *Dritë prej dritës*, 352.

⁸ Naser FERRI: *Muzika dhe veglat muzikore dhe kultet lidhur me muzikën gjatë parahistorisë dhe antikës në territorin e Kosovës së sotme*, 55.

⁹ Matthew BRITT: *The hymns of the Breviary and Missal*, ed. with introduction and notes by Rev. Matthew Britt, O.S.B St Martin's Abbey, Lacey, Wash, New York: Benzinger Brothers, 1922, 359.

¹⁰ Ramadan SOKOLI: *16 Shekuj* [16 Centuries], Tiranë: Eurolindja, 1995, 12.

Remesiana in Dardania (Illyria), an erudite and studious man with literary and musical dispositions, a theologian and Bishop of Remesiana from 366 until his death. The greatest work attributed to St Niceta is the famous hymn *Te Deum Laudamus*, traditionally attributed to St Ambrose and St Augustine.

In the history of Kosovo, migrations have accompanied all of the stormy events dating from the first centuries to the start of the second millennium. According to the historic sources, Slavic migrations took place in the Balkan Peninsula between the sixth and seventh centuries, a long and difficult process characterized by wars, conquests, the destruction of cities and resettlement of autochthonous populations. Over time the ethnic composition of the Balkan territories underwent significant modifications and consequently culture also underwent changes and transformations. Throughout the Middle Ages the territory of present-day Kosovo was the epicenter of great historical events that played an extremely important role not only in the history of the Albanian and Slavic people but also in the whole of the Balkans.¹¹ From the division of the Roman Empire into Eastern and Western Empires (395) until the end of the twentieth century, Kosovo was successively under the rule of Byzantium and Bulgaria, later becoming the central province of the Serbian state. The zenith of Serbian power was reached in 1346 with the formation of the Serbian Empire (1346-1371) and during this time Kosovo became a political, cultural and religious center of the Serbian Kingdom, experiencing great progress.¹² After the Serbs were initially Christianized during the reign of Heraclius (610–641) and later fully Christianized by the Eastern Orthodox Missionaries Saints Cyril and Methodius around 869,¹³ culture certainly experienced a variety of traditional elements and modifications. The process of intense Byzantinization that occurred in Serbian culture under King Milutin left deep marks in art and architecture and, consequently, the majority of Serbian medieval churches in Kosovo should be assessed in the context of the development of contemporaneous Byzantine styles.¹⁴ The beginning of the Middle Ages is an obscure period for art and music

¹¹ Mihailo MALETIĆ (ed.): *KOCOBO nekad i danas, KOSOVA dikur e sot* [Kosovo Once and Today], Beograd: Ekonomska politika, 1973, 109.

¹² V. TADIĆ, I. KURTIŠI, P. BRAJNOVIĆ: *Kosovo-Socijalistička Autonomna Pokrajina Kosovo*, [Kosovo-Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo], Priština: Rilindja 1982, 93.

¹³ Michael D. ROBINSON: *Christianity: A Brief History*, United States: Cascade Books, 2019, 127.

¹⁴ Tatjana KATIĆ: Administrative Division, Settlements, and Demographics in the First Centuries of Ottoman Rule, In *Artistic Heritage of the Serbian People in Kosovo and Metohija. History, Identity, Vulnerability, Protection* D. VOJNOVIĆ, M. MARKOVIĆ (eds.), Belgrade: Serbian Academy of Science and Arts, (2017), 47.

throughout Europe, and even more so for Albanians, for whom the period is marked by non-linear developments compounded by a lack of data.¹⁵

In the transition of European civilization from the medieval to modern times, when the Renaissance brought changes in the sphere of culture, the territories of Southeastern Europe confronted a new threat, and were the target of invasion and cultural interference. After the battles of Kosovo (1389 and 1448) and the penetration of the Balkans by the Turks, the social and cultural situation of the multi-ethnic population in Kosovo was marked by destruction, occupation, war and migration. With the Turkish invasion in the fifteenth century, and especially after the death of the Albanian national hero Gjergj Kastrioti-Skënderbeu¹⁶ (known as the Patron of Christianity), the Albanian population entered a dark period in its national and cultural history. Throughout the early modern period, much of the Balkans was under Ottoman rule which lasted in some territories until the early twentieth century. The Ottomans brought Islam and most Albanians eventually adopted it, while most Serbs did not.¹⁷ The Ottoman occupation brought with it another cultural way of life, one which replaced the interests of European culture with those of the East. Therefore, the pre-Ottoman cultural heritage suffered defeat, was destroyed and even archeological excavations were forbidden. This prevented the flourishing of Humanist and Renaissance ideas, and resulted in the emigration of some of the Albanian intelligentsia, mainly to Italy, Greece and Croatia. They fled to avoid the obligation of military service, as well as religious discrimination or forced conversion to Islam.¹⁸ Many Albanian merchants, artists, musicians, and builders of musical instruments emigrated to different Mediterranean locations, mainly to Croatia. The Republic of Ragusa (in Croatian: Dubrovačka Republika) was an aristocratic maritime republic which reached its commercial peak in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and as such it became a well-known center on the international scene, with a dynamic and progressive life to which gravitated foreign citizens,

¹⁵ Vasil S. TOLE: *CLUSTER Muzikologji & Kompozicion*, [Cluster, Musicology and Composition], Tiranë: Uegen, 2004, 14.

¹⁶ Gjergj Kastrioti [in Latin: Georgius Castriota] (1405 – 1468), commonly known as Skanderbeg [in Albanian: Skënderbeu], was an Albanian feudal lord and military commander. The figure of Skanderbeg personifies an entire era of the national history of Albanians, the more than a century-long period of struggle and rebellion against the Ottomans (in what is today Albania, Macedonia, Greece, Kosovo, Montenegro, and Serbia), and his figure has been the subject of inspiration for many national and international creators. For example, Marin Barleti wrote *Historia de vita et gestis Scanderbegi*, Rome (1510); Antonio Vivaldi composed the opera *Scanderbeg*, Florence (1718); François Francoeur and François Rebel composed the opera *Scanderbeg*, Paris (1735); Martin Gjoka composed the symphony *Dy lule mbi vorrin e Sënderbeut* (1919); Kosta Manojlović composed *Songs of Skanderbeg's country* (1932-33); and Fahri Beqiri composed the dramatic poem *Skënderbeu* (1972).

¹⁷ Noel MALCOLM: *Kosovo: A Short History*, New York: University Press, 1998, 86.

¹⁸ Jana WILLER-GOLD, Tena GNJATOVIĆ, Daniela KATUNAR, Ranko MATASOVIĆ: *Multilingualism and Structural Borrowing in Arbanasi Albanian*. Language Documentation and Conservation 10: 2016, 105.

workers and artists, among whom were many Albanian musicians too. Filipus de Drivasto, Petrus Yspanus, Xristoforus de Dulcinjo, Colla de Durachio, Martinus Balesterus, and Zanetus Augustini were just some musicians of Albanian origin that lived and worked in Ragusa during the period 1322-1495.¹⁹ According to the Serbian sources, the first musician recorded in Serbian history was Dragan from Prizren (*Dragan Prizrenac*) who in 1335 played trumpet in Dubrovnik's streets and in 1346 performed music at the court of Emperor Dušan in Skopje.²⁰ Among the few pieces of archival evidence of medieval Albanian music, the musical texts of the liturgy that were preserved in Arbëresh²¹ colonies in Italy are of great interest.²² During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, uprisings against the Ottomans were frequent and reached their culmination during the Austro-Turkish wars.²³ These wars left deep and negative traces in religious relations of the Kosovo population, leading to reciprocal intolerance and national antagonism.²⁴ Towards the end of the Austro-Turkish War, a part of the Serbian Orthodox Christian population left the area of Kosovo and settled in the territory of the Habsburg Empire, while in the eighteenth century a series of unfortunate events for Serbs in the Ottoman Empire led to a major turnaround in Serbian life and culture.²⁵ It is common knowledge that the nineteenth century was a century of emerging national consciousness for all the peoples of Europe and especially for those peoples who suffered from oppression and occupation. Noel Malcolm argues that nineteenth-century Balkan history was extremely simple; it was a story of people struggling to be free on the one hand and an illiberal, autocratic Ottoman state trying to suppress them on the other.²⁶ Knowing the political position of the Ottoman occupiers in the so-called Vilayet of Kosovo, from the 1840s onwards, it is a historical

¹⁹ Cf. Jahja DRANÇOLLI: Muzikantët shqiptarë në Raguzë gjatë shekujve XIV-XV, [Albanian Musicians in Ragusa During XIV-XV Centuries], *Fjala*, (10 March 1985), 16.

²⁰ For more see: D. BUKVIĆ: Zvuci laute u atrijumu prizrenske crkve, *политик*, (published: 05 August 2017) <<https://www.politika.rs/sr/clanak/386331/Drustvo/Zvuci-laute-u-atrijumu-prizrenske-crkve>> (accessed 12 December 2021).

²¹ *Arbëreshë* (in Albanian: *Arbëreshët e Italisë*, in Italian: Albanesi d'Italia) are an Albanian ethnolinguistic group in southern Italy mostly concentrated in scattered villages in the region of Calabria, descendants of Albanian refugees who fled Albania, later joined by some from Morea, between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries following the Ottoman conquest of the Balkans. Cf. C. Dino MINNI & Anna Foschi CIAMPOLINI (eds.): *Writers in Transition: The Proceedings of the First National Conference of Italian-Canadian Writers*, Canada: Guernica Editions, (1990), 63-4.

²² An Arbëresh monk from Contessa Entellina and founder of the Scuola Melurgica of the Badia Greca, Lorenzo Tardo (1883 - 1967) wrote a long chapter to the Italo-Albanian chants titled "The Liturgical Byzantine Chants of the Greco-Albanian colonies of Italy. Cf. Tardo, Lorenzo. "L'Antica melurgia bizantina", Vol. 13 of *Collezione Meridionale*. Ser. 3., Scuola Tip. Italo-Orientale "S. Nilo", 1938, 110-129.

²³ Noel MALKOLM: *Kosovo: A Short History*, 86.

²⁴ V. TADIĆ, I. KURTIŠI, P. BRAJNOVIĆ: *Kosovo-Socijalistička Autonomna Pokrajina Kosovo*, 94.

²⁵ Nenad MAKULJEVIĆ: Between Migration and Struggle for Survival, In *Artistic Heritage of the Serbian People in Kosovo and Metohija. History, Identity, Vulnerability, Protection* D. VOJNOVIĆ, M. MARKOVIĆ (eds.), Belgrade: Serbian Academy of Science and Arts, (2017), 313.

²⁶ Noel MALKOLM: *Kosovo: A Short History*, 181.

fact that the Albanian population did not have sufficient freedom and rights to act, while the Serbs did. For Albanians, the period 1878-1912 represents the culmination of the efforts to achieve the goal of autonomy within the Ottoman Empire, and the Albanians embarked on what is historically known as the general uprising of 1912.²⁷ In general Albanian history, the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century have been characterized as a National Renaissance (1878-1912). After Albania's declaration of independence (28 November 1912), the delineation of the newly established Principality of Albania under the terms of the 1913 London Conference attended by the ambassadors of the six Great Powers (Great Britain, France, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Russia and Italy) left 30% - 40% of the Albanian population²⁸ and Albanian territory outside the new state borders. From that point on, political and cultural developments took separate directions in Kosovo and Albania. After World War I, Serbian army had taken over the territory of Kosovo, but the Albanian population, 'tired' by the war and its long-standing demand for autonomy and national liberation (from the Ottoman Empire), did not resist the Serbian and Montenegrin military regime. From 1918, the territory of Kosovo entered the new South-Slavic state, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (SCS), which in 1929 was renamed as the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.²⁹ In the period between the two World Wars (1918-1939), Kosovo continued to be marked by many difficulties and struggles for social and cultural survival. Even the little educational-cultural development that had begun to be realized in some Kosovan towns during the years of Austro-Hungarian rule between 1914 and 1918 began to be destroyed. The proponents of socialist ideas, in the post-World War I period, played a key role in the establishment of the first educational, humanitarian, and social organizations in Yugoslavia. Many of these individuals later aligned themselves with the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY), which emerged as a significant political force advocating for the equality of all nations within the Yugoslav federation.

²⁷ Shkëlzen GASHI: *KOSOVA 1912-2000 në tekstet mësimore të historisë të Kosovës, Shqipërisë dhe Serbisë*, [KOSOVA 1912-2000 in the History Textbooks of Kosovo, Albania and Serbia], Prishtina: KAHCR dhe KEC, 2012, 10.

²⁸ Robert ELSIE: *Historical Dictionary of Albania*, Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2010, 243.

²⁹ V. TADIĆ, I. KURTIŠI, P. BRAJNOVIĆ: *Kosovo-Socijalistička Autonomna Pokrajina Kosovo*, 94. "Kosovo remained Ottoman territory until it was conquered by Serbian forces in 1912. Serbs would say "liberated" but even their own estimates put the Orthodox Serb population at less than 25%. The majority of the population was Albanian, and did not welcome the Serbian rule, so "conquered" seems to be the right word. So legally, Kosovo was not incorporated into the Serbian kingdom in 1912; it remained occupied territory until some time after 1918. Then, finally, it was incorporated, not into a Serbian state, but into a Yugoslav one..." Cf. Noel MALCOLM: *Is Kosovo Serbia? The Guardian*, (Published: 26 February 2008), <<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2008/feb/26/kosovo.serbia>> (accessed 30 September 2021).

After the fascist occupation and the end of World War II, Yugoslavia became in 1946 a socialist federation of six republics: Croatia, Montenegro, Serbia, Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Macedonia and later adopted the name of Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY). After many sacrifices, human casualties and destruction (with the hope for better days, the period from 1949 to 1966) in Kosovo came to be known as the Ranković era, characterized as the period when the Serb minority in Kosovo dominated the province, supported by the notorious Yugoslav Minister of the Interior, Aleksandar Ranković. He ruled Kosovo with an iron fist and Albanians were the object of ruthless attacks which aimed to result in their eventual expulsion from these areas. After Ranković's political fall in 1966, the old Communist idea of 'brotherhood and unity'³⁰ was strengthened, the autonomous provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina were presented as constitutional categories, and national equality between nations was proclaimed to be the basic principle of coexistence and of economic and cultural development. This progressive aspiration for coexistence and harmony between peoples was present in Kosovo during the years when Kosovo was known as the *Autonomous Province of Kosovo and Metohija* (1963-1968), and continued even later when Kosovo gained the status of the *Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo* (SAPK), which it retained until its dissolution in 1989.

Table 1. Population in Kosovo according to the national census³¹

Population	1948.	1953.	1961.	1971.
Total Number	733.034	815.908	963.988	1.243.689
Albanians	498.573	524.559	646.631	916.167
Serbians	176.201	197.822	227.016	228.261
Montenegrins	28.085	31.366	37.588	31.555
Turks	-	35.171	25.764	12.244
Roma	-	-	-	14.593
Others	29.655	26.990	26.989	40.869

During the years of the socialist system, Kosovo made significant progress in many areas, especially in economic, social and cultural spheres. Energy, metallurgy, wood, textile, leather industries, agricultural production, livestock, construction and road infrastructure experienced great development and unprecedented successes. Even the dynamic development of education,

³⁰ "Brotherhood and Unity" (in Serbo-Croatian: "Bratstvo i jedinstvo") was a political slogan and a guiding principle of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The concept promoted by Josip Broz Tito (the leader of Yugoslavia), emphasized the idea of unity among the diverse ethnic groups within Yugoslavia, as a way to transcend ethnic and regional differences and build a collective identity based on socialist principles.

³¹ Mihailo MALETIĆ (ed.): *KOCOBO nekad i danas*, 256.

science and culture was closely linked to the overall social transformation. Educational activities were intended to alleviate inherited illiteracy and low levels of education and to improve the cultural level of the population.

Table 2. Participation of children in elementary schools (1945-71)³²

	1944/45	1958/59	1965/66	1970/71
Albanians	11.573	86.195	131.607	177.197
Serbians	15.427	47.550	67.719	61.923
Turks	-	3.404	3.188	2.413
Total	27.000	137.149	202.514	242.235

Developments in the cultural sphere resulted in the opening of many cultural and educational institutions (i.e., schools, scientific journals, museums, cultural and artistic societies, radio and TV stations, theaters, libraries, etc.). The year 1974 was the zenith of Kosovo's autonomous status because Kosovo gained equal status in most respects with Yugoslavia's six republics, with its own direct representation in the main federal Yugoslav governing bodies. Big changes in social and economic structure brought about changes in the field of culture, expanding the cultural network and promoting the qualitative growth of cultural and creative life. At this time, the University of Prishtina, the Academy of Sciences and Arts, and many other institutions were established, influencing further development of social relations. Creativity and engagements in the arts were intense (e.g., professional choirs, orchestras, and music festivals were established). The decades of the 1970s and 1980s are considered to be the 'silver age' in the history of Kosovan culture, which, however, in the 1990s took a completely different direction.³³ The post-war period (2000 onwards) witnessed political, social and cultural

³² Ibid., 554.

³³ After the death of President Josip Broz Tito in 1980 and the coming to power of the new Serbian Communist Party leader Slobodan Milošević, Serbian national policy led to changes in geostrategic and geopolitical aims in the former Yugoslavia and eventually to its dissolution. After the abolition of Kosovo's autonomy after Milošević's speech on June 28 1989 in Gazimestan (the place where the Battle of Kosovo took place in 1389, an event considered important in Serbian mythology), the deterioration of inter-ethnic relations in Kosovo began. The 1990s marked one of the most difficult periods experienced by the Albanian people of Kosovo, a period when Serbian nationalism was an ever-increasing phenomenon. The Serbian idea of turning Yugoslavia (after 45 years of existence) into a greater Serbia triggered expressions of intolerance between the Serbs and other nations, so in the last decade of the twentieth century Kosovo and other Balkan countries went through wars of independence: the Slovenian War (1991), the Croatian war (1991-95), the Bosnian War (1992-95), and the Kosovo War (1998-99). Understanding the Serbian national goals, during these years the Albanian people of Kosovo in various forms expressed their indignation and disagreement with the regime through strikes (the hunger strike and isolation of miners in the Trepça Mine 20-28 February 1989), the demonstrations of 1981 and the following years, and peaceful marches (the week of the great Kosovar march 17-22 November 1988). The Albanian population began to experience imprisonment, persecution, murder, raids, forcible dismissal of thousands of Albanian workers, eviction from homes, etc. (which was the reason for the mass exodus in the 1990s of the Albanian population to Europe, the USA, and elsewhere). The restriction of the use of the Albanian language and symbols in public

reorganization on completely new ideological premises and developments were oriented towards new organizational practices, detached from experiences of the system in the former Yugoslavia. Influenced by the experiences and the consequences of the 1999 Kosovo war, nationalism became a characteristic phenomenon for most of these processes.

2.2.Cultural Background: The End of the Nineteenth Century and the Beginning of the Twentieth Century

Due to its position as both a bridgehead and a crossroads of Eastern and Western cultures, historical and political turbulence has almost constantly affected the nations of the Balkan Peninsula. During the twentieth century, the economic, social and cultural achievements in Kosovo were not in the same level as elsewhere in the Balkans or in Western Europe. Historical circumstances and other complex and determining phenomena were also reflected in the arts and failed to embrace in real time the trends evident in European cultural developments. The role of culture in national integration is evident since the nineteenth century in most European areas, forming part of the rise of national consciousness which led to the founding of national schools and the growth of nationalism in general. The same happened to the peoples of the Balkans, and the role of arts, especially literature, served the same purposes.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, under the rule of the Ottoman Empire, all inhabitants were known as Ottoman citizens and census data, educational arrangements and cultural expressions were classified and conducted according to religious affiliation (Muslim, Orthodox, Catholic, and Jewish). During that time, there was a great difference between the socio-cultural status of the Albanians and that of the Serbs in Kosovo because the Turkish occupiers offered greater autonomy to the Serbian population and to Orthodox Churches than they did to the Albanian population. Serbian people enjoyed more power to act and, influenced by established nationalist ideas, had more opportunities and greater influence in the press and in cultural and scientific activities. With the permission of the Ottoman Empire, the non-Muslim population (mainly Orthodox-Serbian, with a smaller number of Catholic-Albanian) established their own high schools so that between 1898 and 1903, seventeen non-Muslim

institutions, the banning of the Albanian-language education system and other political events took a dramatic direction and increased the desire among Albanians for separation-liberation from Serbia, culminating in the war between the Kosovo Liberation Army – KLA (Ushtria Çlirimtare e Kosovës – UÇK) and Serbian forces which ended on 11 June 1999 after international support from NATO from 24 March 1999.

schools existed in the Kosovo Province.³⁴ In May 1871 the Serbian merchant Sima Andrejević founded the Orthodox theological school the Serbian Orthodox Seminary of Saints Cyril and Methodius, known as the Prizren Seminary (in Serbian: *Srpska Bogoslovija*). The school soon became the cell of the first university in Kosovo, and this enabled the Orthodox, Serb population to advance educationally and culturally at a time when Albanians were unable to access education, except for some Quran schools in Turkish, which were only open to boys.³⁵ In addition to its role in the educational sphere, this school also played an important role in the cultural sphere because within it were established two cultural societies – *Car Urosh* and *Sveta Nedelja* – and the newspaper *Prizren*, published since 1871 in the Turkish and Serbian languages (and which was the official information organ of the Vilayet of Kosovo in the late nineteenth century).³⁶ This newspaper, popular with the Serb community, lasted until 1874.³⁷ Another secular musical society founded in 1906 in Prishtina was the singing society *Kosovo*, which also belonged to those of Serbian ethnicity.³⁸ There was also a printing house which published newspapers between 1898 and 1903.³⁹ On the other hand, the cultural and educational situation of the Albanian population in Kosovo was at a lower level because their cultural expression was forbidden in the public sphere. The education of the Albanian population in their own language and the development of the arts were the main goals of the Albanian intellectual elite who were mainly priests, politicians, and individuals educated in foreign countries. In 1870, the Catholic Cathedral of Our Lady of Perpetual Succor was built in Prizren, and since then a line of new educational and musical opportunities opened up. The first important moment in Albanian religious practices related to this church and choral singing activity dates to 1870 when the St Cecilia Choir was established, representing the earliest documented trace of Albanian choral singing in Kosovo. In the beginning this choir consisted only of male members (who sang liturgical songs in Latin). Later, female members joined the choir, and the liturgy was translated into Albanian.⁴⁰ In 1889, near the Cathedral, the Albanian

³⁴ Togay S. BIRBUDAK, B. AKBABA: Education life in the Kosovo province in the early part of twentieth century, *International Journal of Academic Research* (Part B), Vol. 5 No.4, (2013), 258.

³⁵ Robert ELSIE: *Historical Dictionary of Kosova*, Lanham, Md: Scarecrow Press, 2010.

³⁶ Cf. "Prizren", in Krešimir KOVAČEVIĆ (Ed.) *Leksikon jugoslavenske muzike 2 Me-Ž*, [Lexicon of Yugoslav Music 2 Me-Ž], Zagreb: Jugoslavenski leksikografski zavod "Miroslav Krleža", (1984), 182.

³⁷ Robert ELSIE: *Historical Dictionary of Kosova*, p. XXXII.

³⁸ Togay S. BIRBUDAK, B. AKBABA: Education Life in the Kosovo Province in the Early Part of Twentieth Century, 258.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 259.

⁴⁰ As for musical creativity and forms of music-making within religious communities (i.e., Catholic, Orthodox, Muslim), their musical activity has never been adequately addressed and has not occupied its rightful place in the general history of music in Kosovo after 1945. This may have been a reflection of the general aspirations of communist ideology and practice, within which the influence of religious communities in society was quite limited. On the other hand, in Kosovo this phenomenon should have been even more pronounced because socio-

secular school was opened by two professional teachers – Mati Logoreci and Lazër Lumezi – who made great contributions to education and culture in Kosovo (especially in Prizren, which until the second half of the twentieth century was the most important center of culture and art in Kosovo.)



Figure 1. The St Cecilia Choir in Prizren (1974)⁴¹

At the beginning of the twentieth century the fate and history of Kosovo continued to be turbulent. The structure of occupation during World War I was complex: Serbian territories (including Kosovo) were divided in two occupation zones. The Bulgarian army occupied the eastern regions (i.e., Podujeva and Prishtina), while the Austro-Hungarian occupied the western ones (i.e., Mitrovica, Vushtrria, Drenica, Peja, Istog and Gjakova). The position of the Albanian people in the Austro-Hungarian zone was more favorable because in these territories the Austro-Hungarian military administration implemented partially affirmative policies, appointed Albanians to administrative positions, and aimed to improve the socio-political status of Albanians with the aim of preparing them for future self-government under Austria-Hungary.⁴² They allowed the opening of more than 300 Albanian language schools in an effort

cultural processes there manifested a strongly secular pluralism, a result of multi-religious and multi-ethnic coexistence.

⁴¹ *Kori Katedral* [Cathedral Choir], A short documentary film. Directed by Ilir Memaj, published 2021. <https://vimeo.com/video/659658556> (accessed: 26 October 2022).

⁴² Fitim RIFATI: Features of Austro-Hungarian Occupation and Administration in Peja (1915-1918), *Journal of History and Future*, (2022), Vol. 8, Issue 1, 272.

to diminish the Serbian presence in the region.⁴³ They surveyed the country, introduced ‘modern’ administrative, military, and judicial systems, improved agriculture as well as industry, and built ‘modern’ transportation, communication, educational, welfare, and healthcare structures from scratch.⁴⁴ Hoping for a brighter future, visionary intellectuals such as Hasan Prishtina, Bajram Curri and many others were strongly committed to the promotion of educational and cultural activities. As a prominent Albanian diplomatic figure, Hasan Prishtina had very good relations with Austria-Hungary.⁴⁵ Counting on the positive attitude of Austria-Hungary towards the Albanian issue and its important status in international politics and diplomacy, he submitted to Leopold Berchtold⁴⁶ a political and cultural-educational project for Kosovo and the Albanians, who constituted the majority of the population of the region.⁴⁷ The purpose of this project was to lobby and encourage Austro-Hungarian diplomats to provide Kosovan Albanians with a degree of political and cultural-educational independence, and also to provide for the education in Austria-Hungary of forty to fifty boys from the Albanian ruling classes.⁴⁸ In this way, in general, Austro-Hungarian authorities aimed at the implementation of an educational and cultural policy and at the rapid development of the school system after the Western cultural model.⁴⁹ Thus the aspirations and efforts to open schools in the Albanian language had begun to take on a new physiognomy. Under such circumstances an Albanian school was founded in Vushtrri in 1915, and another in Peja. Some of the first students of the school in Vushtrri were Emin Badivuku, Ferat Ahmet Pika, Sylejman Popova, Maksut Xhafer Muharremi, Hyzejr Hoti, Naim Jahja Bylykemi, Abdullah Begu, Besim Zejnullah Begu, Izet Badivuku, Jakup Hafuz Maxhuni, Alush Begu, Bahtijar Begu, Ilijaz Badivuku, Hamdi Zajmi, Qazim Ali Riza, Haki Guxha, Sherif Isuf Gara, and Ibush Fanda.⁵⁰ One of the earliest traces of a wind orchestra ensemble in Kosovo is related to the same circle of intellectuals and students.

⁴³ Sylë UKSHINI: Kosovo: From the Ottoman Empire through Yugoslavia, to Independence, *Journal of Balkan and Black Sea Studies*, (2021) 4, Issue 6, 252.

⁴⁴ Heiko BRENDEL: Hasty Observations? - Geographical field research and intercultural encounters in the Austro-Hungarian occupied Western Balkans, 1916 – 1918, *First World War Studies*, (2018) 9:2, 188.

⁴⁵ At the Conference of Ambassadors of the Great Powers in 1913, Austro-Hungary was known as a supporter of the national interests of Albanians.

⁴⁶ Leopold, Graf von Berchtold - Count von Berchtold (1863 - 1942) was an Austro-Hungarian politician, diplomat and statesman who served as Imperial Foreign Minister at the outbreak of World War I.

⁴⁷ Fitim RIFATI: Qëndrimi i Austro-Hungarisë ndaj një projekti vizionar të Hasan Prishtinës më 1913, [Austro-Hungary's Attitude to a Visionary Project of Hasan Prishtina in 1913], *Kosova*, 42 (2017), 60-61.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 61.

⁴⁹ Beqir META: Ndikimi i Luftës I Botërore në procesin e konsolidimit të kombit shqiptar, [The Impact of World War I on the Consolidation Process of the Albanian Nation], *Studime shoqërore*, No.2 (2015), Prishtinë: ASHAK, 195.

⁵⁰ Fahri BUÇINCA: Shkolla shqipe në Vushtrri (1915-1918), [School in Albanian Language in Vushtrri 1915-1918], *Rilindja* (30 October 1979), 6.

Under the initiative and financial support of Hasan Prishtina himself, and with the same students listed above, the School Wind Orchestra named *Hasan Prishtina* was founded in 1916.



Figure 2. Wind orchestra members, Vushtrri (1916)⁵¹

In the following years two other wind orchestras were founded: The *Wind Orchestra* in Gjakova (1917) and the *Wind Orchestra* in Peja (1918/19).⁵² As mentioned, the Wind Orchestra '*Hasan Prishtina*' was founded by Hasan Prishtina, Izet Badivuku (an intellectual who was committed to education, culture and national issues), and Emin Hoti (a contributor to

⁵¹ Photograph extracted from a Facebook post by Vushtrri Antike: Banda Muzikore Frymore Hasan Prishtina, 1916-19 [Wind orchestra Hasan Prishtina 1916-19], *Facebook*, published in 2023, <https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=626058424151978&set=pb.100068608694458.-2207520000> (accessed: 6 September 2023).

⁵² In the absence of written documentation and with only rare photographic documents, the cultural and artistic life of the first part of the twentieth century did not bequeath any solid sources that would easily facilitate the construction of a factual narrative of the cultural developments of that period. From research conducted by some Kosovar historians, archaeologists, musicians and intellectuals (e.g., Jahja Drançolli, Behar Arllati, Fahri Buçinca, Abdylkader Galica, Hajrullah Koliqi, etc.) important data about the existence of those wind orchestral formations are mentioned for the first time. In the absence of sufficient data, their existence remained "in the shadows". However, this period remains attractive, and although its musical developments were not manifold, they are important in both in historical and musicological terms. Thus, an attempt to explore musical activity and the development of art during the first part of the twentieth century represents one of the most important tasks of historical musicology in Kosovo today.

education and culture).⁵³ It consisted of approximately 23 members and was led by Shefqet Haliti, who was the only connoisseur of music theory and notation, and as such had the privilege of leading this orchestra.⁵⁴ It is said that the orchestra members often marched in the town's main streets or performed music during certain occasions in the city and the surrounding villages — for example, in cases of special guest visits.⁵⁵ In 1917, another Albanian language school and another wind orchestra were established in Gjakova. Palokë Kurti was invited by Bajram Curri to create the *Bandën Muzikore të qytetit* [City Wind Orchestra] in the town of Gjakova.⁵⁶ When the orchestra marched in the streets of Gjakova, performing well-known patriotic songs, all the citizens would emerge to see it, and the day was considered a festive one for the town.⁵⁷ The composition *Lamtumirë mori Jakovë* [Goodbye Jakovë] was composed by Palokë Kurti specially for this orchestra.⁵⁸ A similar orchestra was created in Peja in 1917-18. Its lifespan was even shorter than that of the two mentioned orchestras because, unfortunately, after the defeat of Austria-Hungary in World War I, and the reconquest of Kosovo by Serbia in 1918, no data exist about their activity, or even their existence.

It was very difficult to provide accurate data that would document where and how these individuals learned to play the instruments as it is clear that they did not have access to music education. In the socio-political environment and circumstances in which Kosovo found itself at that time, it is also interesting to ask how those instruments were brought to Kosovo. One of the most important events in the chronicle of Albanian historical and cultural development was the founding in 1909 of the Elbasan Normalja,⁵⁹ the first institution for teacher's education in Albania. Since its inception, the *Normalja* was attended by about 140 students from different Albanian-speaking areas with a large number of them from Kosovo. The school became a

⁵³ Abdylkadër GALICA: *Veprimtaria Kulturoro-artistike në Vushtrri (1916-18 / 1941-44 / 1949-2007)* [Cultural-Artistic Activity in Vushtrri (1916-18 / 1941-44 / 1949-2007)], Vushtrri, 2010, 65.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 73-74.

⁵⁶ Nestor KRAJA: *Historia e Muzikës Shqiptare*, [History of Albanian Musci], Tiranë, 2021, 19.

⁵⁷ Behar ARLLATI: Palok Kurti në historinë e Gjakovës [Palok Kurti in Gjakova History], *Radi and Radi* (published: 8 January 2021), <http://www.radiandradi.com/palok-kurti-ne-historine-e-gjakoves-nga-behar-arllati/> (accessed 16 November 2021).

⁵⁸ Behar ARLLATI: *Tradita muzikore në Gjakovë, vol. I & II*, [Music Tradition in Gjakova] Gjakovë: Ura, (2014), 118.; Cf. Behar ARLLATI: Palok Kurti në historinë e Gjakovës [Palok Kurti in Gjakova History], *Radi and Radi* (published: 8 January 2021), <http://www.radiandradi.com/palok-kurti-ne-historine-e-gjakoves-nga-behar-arllati/> (accessed 16 November 2021).

⁵⁹ *Normalja e Elbasanit* [Elbasan's Normal School] - the first Albanian-language National High School was established on December 1, 1909, in the town of Elbasan, with Luigj Gurakuqi serving as its inaugural director. As the first institution dedicated to teacher education in the Albanian language, it attracted students from all Albanian-speaking regions. Normalja was not merely a high school; it became a vital educational and cultural institution that illuminated the path of knowledge and laid the foundations for the development of Albanian scientific and artistic thought.

center of knowledge and culture, a temple of values and a place where teachers trained in mathematics, language, culture, art, music, etc. Together with the commitment of Hasan Prishtina to national, educational and cultural issues, it is understandable that the intellectuals and teachers who were involved in the educational and cultural activities in Kosovo were students of Normalja. Furthermore, on the one hand, Kosovan Albanians were motivated by the model of similar societies and ensembles established in Albania proper,⁶⁰ and on the other hand the major incentive for positive perspectives on cultural development was the collaboration with the ruling Austro-Hungarian authorities. According to Fahri Buçinca (an intellectual from Vushtrri), the purchase of musical instruments might had been carried out in Vienna, Austria, and financed by Hasan Prishtina himself.⁶¹ It should be pointed out that music was sometimes associated with wars, armed forces and the rise of nationalism. Thus, in this context, the formation of the three orchestras should be understood as something that happened naturally in the flow of socio-political developments of that time. Also, their status remains somewhat unclear: they functioned as a kind of city orchestra and, at the same time, as a military band, because their creation may be seen in the context of the model of the *Militärkapelle* — the so-called *Bandas* within the Austro-Hungarian Army (very famous regimental bands). After the proclamation of the so-called Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in 1918 (within which, unfortunately, Kosovo was included), no great progress was reflected in the social and cultural strata. Serbian authorities closed all the Albanian language schools which had been opened by the Austro-Hungarian Empire during the First World War.⁶² Also, the three above-mentioned orchestras ceased to exist. According to Abdylkadër Galica, it is said that some of the instruments were confiscated by the new regime, some instruments perhaps remained with the individuals, but many instrumentalists were also executed.⁶³ After 1918, nations that made up the new Kingdom of Southern Slavs did not have the same level of cultural development. The balanced multiethnic coexistence between Serbs and Albanians in Kosovo, already disrupted due to the crisis in the Turkish Empire, began to break down. The Albanian population was no longer served by Albanian-language cultural institutions, and even in public administrative life the official language was Serbian. A large part of the Albanian

⁶⁰ The creation of three wind orchestras in Kosovo (1916-1918) was part of a broader musical panorama in Albania where similar ensembles had already been established. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, many music societies and orchestras had been founded in Albania e.g., *Banda e lirisë* in 1908 – Korçë; Music society *Afërdita* in 1909 – Elbasan; Music society *Rozafa* – 1918, *Banda muzikore e klubit të katolikeve* in 1912 – Skopje; etc.

⁶¹ Abdylkadër GALICA: *Veprimtaria Kulturoro-artistike në Vushtrri (1916-18 / 1941-44 / 1949-2007)*, 73.

⁶² Henry H. PERRITT Jr: *The Road to Independence for Kosovo: A Chronicle of the Ahtisaari Plan*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010, 18.

⁶³ Abdylkadër GALICA: *Veprimtaria Kulturoro-artistike në Vushtrri (1916-18 / 1941-44 / 1949-2007)*, 74.

population was illiterate, while the Serbian population experienced new progress in the areas of architecture and urbanization and later in terms of education and art. Cultural-educational policies in the period between the two world wars remained completely dependent on the interests and policies of the Serbian middle class.

In any case, the historical facts show that in these years cultural developments were organized, pursued and represented through musical practices related to folk music, religious music (practiced in Albanian Catholic churches or Serbian Orthodox churches and monasteries), cultural artistic societies, amateurism and nationalism, all of this occurring separately on a national basis. Documentation of those activities still remains one of the biggest challenges for musicology in Kosovo, so that every piece of writing or photograph belonging to that time is precious in the effort to document musical practices effectuated before the 1940s.

Various Serbian associations and cultural-artistic societies, supported by the authorities of the time, were active since the last decades of the nineteenth century. For example, *Sveta Nedelja* (Prizren, 1880s), *Napredak*, *Jedinstvo*, *Sokolovi* (in Prizren); *Abrašević*⁶⁴ (1925) and *Trepča* (1937) in Mitrovica; and *Devet Jugovića*, *12 Apostola*, *Sokolići* and *Razvitak*, established during the 1930s in Gjilan (about their activity I did not find any document or information), were just some of the Serbian associations which had been created and were functioning in Kosovo.⁶⁵ However, efforts to keep alive the Albanian patriotic spirit were boosted during the 1920s when the sparks of amateur cultural activities began to appear. In the years 1921-22 in Krumë (in Albania proper), the educational and cultural society *Shkëlzeni* was established which consisted mainly of Kosovan teachers and students from Gjakova, Peja, Prizren and Gjilan, and Skopje, in order to master the playing of musical instruments and the performing of the Albanian national anthem and patriotic songs.

⁶⁴ From 1945 on, the cultural artistic society *Abrašević* was named *Jedinstvo*, then from 1970 *Boro and Ramiz*, and later *Kosovski Božuri*.

⁶⁵ Cf. Reshat RAMADANI: *Veprimtaria e SHKA-ve në Gjilan, 'Gjilani me rrethinë'* [CAS Activity in Gjilan, 'Gjilan with the Surroundings'], Gjilan: 2012, 393.



Figure 3. Students from Kosovo in the *Shkëlzeni* music society (1923)⁶⁶

Between the two world wars, the town of Prizren was one of the most developed centers and offered opportunities for developments in cultural fields. The cultural life of Albanians took place mostly in the framework of folk and epic music, which served as the source of identity. This can be described as an urge to establish or re-establish a heroic past in the form of heroic songs as part of the cultural tradition and identity.⁶⁷ Music was one of the preferred forms of cultural expression and in the form of folk and civic songs, music found its place in family circles, parties, weddings and various family events, characterized with traditional indigenous nuances of lyrical content dedicated to life, beauty and youthful love. Rare cultural activities were organized in an almost illegal manner. The Catholic Youth Society (which was close to the Cathedral of Prizren since 1918) was among the first religious societies to cultivate choral music. The association *Shoqnija e Zembrës Krishitit* [Society of the Sacred Heart] organized events in the Albanian language and operated a small Tambourine orchestra and Choir (singing

⁶⁶ Photograph is taken from Nexhat ÇOÇAJ: PowerPoint presentation, UBT Lecture in Master Program of Department of Modern Music Digital Production and Management, Topic: *Music Development in Kosovo* (28 March 2022).

⁶⁷ See: Vilmos VOIGT: Primus Inter Pares: Why Was Vuk Karadžić the Most Influential Folklore Scholar in South-Eastern Europe in the Nineteenth Century, *The Uses of Tradition: A Comparative Enquiry into the Nature, Uses and Functions of Oral Poetry in the Balkans, the Baltic, and Africa*, ed. Michael Branch and Celia Hawkesworth, London–Helsinki: School of Slavonic and East European Studies – Finnish Literature Society, 1994, 183.

in Latin, Albanian and Croatian).⁶⁸ Other cultural societies established during the 1920s and 1930s were *Sharri*⁶⁹ (Prizren, 1925-1928); *Bajram Curri*⁷⁰ (Gjilan, 1925); *Gajreti* (Gjakova, 1926); *Aksioni Katolik* (Prizren); *Karajfilat e Kuq* (Prizren); the music group *Ymer Riza* (Gjakova, 1930); *Merhameti* (Prizren, 1933); *Zoja Ndihtare* (Prizren, 1939); and *Përparimi* (Peja, 1939). All those cultural organizations had the function of keeping alive the Albanian language, culture and national feeling. In the 1930s, however, the activities of most of them were stopped by the Serbian government.⁷¹



Figure 4. Some members of *Gajreti* (1930s): Murteza Pula, Zija Pula, Isa Pula, Myhedin Hoxha, Ymer Tullumi, Haki Mejzini, Sadik Tafarshiku, Rasim Dyla, and others.⁷²

⁶⁸ Imer Trajo BRIZANI: *Uka Brizani: glasbeni genij: življenje in delo mojega očeta*, [Uka Brizani: Musical Genius: The Life and Work of My Father], Celovec: Mohorjeva, 2019, 19.

⁶⁹ According to the available data, the Cultural society *Sharri* consisted of about 17 members. Some of the members were: Shani Ymer Grazhda (leader of the orchestra), Mahmut Rrotulla (violin), Qamil Hyrshyt Vrenezi (violin), Sylejman Vrenezi (mandolin), Abdylhadi Jakup Paçarizi (mandolin), Nuri Gjurgjealo (double bass), Shefqet Adem Bojaxhiu, Hysen Alush Nush, Rasim Abedin Gota, Sinan Nezir Maliqi, Ismet Mehmet Paçarizi, Hilmi Paçarizi, Reshit Llausha, and Zenel Çeko. These data were taken from: Nexhat ÇOÇAJ: UBT Lecture in MA of Modern Music Digital Production and Management, Topic: *Music development in Kosovo* (28 March 2022).

⁷⁰ In 1925 a group of dancers led by brothers Azem and Fazli Guri is said to have participated in folk art meetings (artistic meetings of that time. This folk group was the core of the society Bajram Curri established in 1952.; Cf. Hasan BUNJAKU: Bajram Curri i Shurdhanit [Bajram Curri from Shurdhan], *Rilindja* (6 August 1974), 10.

⁷¹ Sokol CENA: *Rrethanat kulturore-arsimore dhe kolonizimi në Prizren ndërmjet dy lffrave botërore*, [Cultural-Educational Circumstances and Colonization in Prizren Between the Two World Wars], Prizren, 2013, 228.

⁷² *Ibid.*

In terms of musical developments, it was only after the 1940s that a phase of fundamental transformation occurred. So, after long periods of turbulent socio-political practices and the non-linear nature of the development of music, a new chapter for music began in Kosovo for the first time during and after the Second World War. Until the late 1940s, cultural and educational developments had been influenced by the climate of general social progress. For centuries, the conditions of class society had not been favorable to the development of arts and science because of the decisive differences in social structure and the turbulent historical experiences. Publishing activity (especially in the Albanian language) was one of the most important elements to be accomplished. Important milestones were the publication of the newspaper *Jedinstvo* [Unity] in the Serbian language, from December 1944; the publication of the first Albanian newspaper representing Albanians in Yugoslavia *Rilindja* [Rebirth] in 1945; the establishment of the National Theatre of Kosovo in 1946; the establishment of the first music school *Josip Slavenski* in Prizren in 1948; the publication of literary journals in the Albanian language *Jeta e Re* [New Life] on 17 July, 1949 and *Përparimi* [Progress] in May 1955; *Stremljenja* [Aspirations], was published in 1960; and later, the newspapers *Tan* in 1969 and *Çevren* in 1973, were published in Turkish. The publishing company *Përparimi* [Progress] took over the publishing activity in Kosovo, publishing books only for educational needs and the normal course of education in Kosovo. The publishing house *Mustafa Bakija* (founded in 1948), later called *Miladin Popović*, carried out valuable activities in cultural development. Between 1948 and 1957 the publishing house *Miladin Popović* published about 160 different literary publications in Albanian, including Marxist literature, scientific-popular and pedagogical books.⁷³

In general, the history and politics of the twentieth century provided the world ‘the worst things’ which had happened to humanity (two World Wars) and ‘the best things’ in art, science and technology (avantgarde art and mass-media). In European musical culture, the twentieth century is known as the “age of musical diversity”, i.e., composers created completely new musical techniques and forms never known in the past. Contemporary creativity and musical variety were greater than ever before. For this reason, music in the twentieth century was not homogeneous in terms of stylistic orientation. While in Europe (and beyond), the most contemporary trends were applied to musical culture, in Kosovo, in terms of musical creativity (based on music styles of the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries), the foundation of art

⁷³ R. K.: Veprimtari e pasun në gjuhën shqipe [Rich Activities in Albanian Language], *Rilindja* (21 January 1958), 6.

music institutions and practices had not been laid. For many reasons, continuous music development did not occur either in some of the other countries of the Balkan region (e.g., in Albania, (Northern) Macedonia, Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina). So, if we were to compare different cultural and scientific developments among states and provinces within the former Yugoslavia, the differences might be summarized as follows:

Table 3. Establishment of Cultural and Musical Institutions in Republics and Autonomous Provinces of the SFRY

Cultural Institutions	Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY)							
	Socialist Republics						Autonomous provinces	
	Slovenia	Croatia	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Serbia	Montenegro	Macedonia	Vojvodina	Kosovo
Museums	The National Museum of Slovenia 1883	Croatian Natural History Museum 1846	National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina 1888	National Museum in Belgrade 1844	National Museum of Montenegro 1896	Museum of the Republic of North Macedonia 1924	Museum of Vojvodina 1847	National Museum 1949
Theatres	Slovenian National Theatre Drama 1867	Croatian National Theatre 1860	Sarajevo National Theatre 1921	National Theatre in Belgrade 1868	Montenegrin National Theatre 1953	Macedonian National Theater 1945	Serbian National Theatre in Novi Sad 1861	The National Theatre 1946
Academies of Science and Arts	Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts 1938	South-Slavic (Croatian) Academy of Sciences and Arts, 1866	Academy of Sciences and Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina 1951	Serbian Royal Academy 1886	Montenegrin Academy of Sciences and Arts 1973	Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts 1967	Academy of Sciences and Arts (branch in Novi Sad) 1979	Academy of Sciences and Arts 1975
Institutes of Musicology	Institute of Musicology 1962	Institute of Musicology – Academy of Music 1967; Institute for Musicological Research – Academy of Sciences 1980	Institute of Musicology 2003	Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts – Institute of Musicology 1948	/	/	/	/
Folklore Institutes	Folklore Institute 1934	Institute for Folk Art 1948	The Institute for the Study of Folklore 1947	Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research 1948	/	Institute for Folklore 1950	/	Albanological Institute 1953

THE FIRST ISSUES OF MUSIC INSTITUTIONALIZATION: SOCIO-CULTURAL PROGRESS THROUGH CULTURAL- ARTISTIC SOCIETIES AND AMATEUR ACTIVITY

It has been established that the main elements that shape a tradition are continuity, variation and selection.⁷⁴ At the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries, music at large manifested a great complexity of stylistic alternatives, while Albanian culture in general was considered to be a Romanticist culture.⁷⁵ After long periods of socio-political turbulence in Kosovo a new chapter in the history of music began after World War II. The musical reality of this period was characterized by ‘multiculturalism’,⁷⁶ yet the lack of music professionals represented a significant obstacle to the development of art music. For this reason, courses for the teaching of music theory were organized from time to time in several towns. For example, in 1954, a group of music professionals from Vojvodina came to towns in Kosovo and held music courses for primary school teachers.

This chapter focuses on the most important development that contributed to the creation of linear and continuous musical progress: the emergence of cultural organizations known as *Shoqëritë Kulturore Artistike* (SHKA), or Cultural and Artistic Societies (CAS). The establishment of amateur Cultural-Artistic Societies, Music Societies, and Folk Ensembles contributed to the process of building ‘new’ cultural models and policies that were quite emancipatory in the general cultural landscape of the time. Cultural reflection on and continuation of the inherited musical tradition for the first time proceeded in a more organized manner. The institutionalization⁷⁷ through these Cultural-Artistic Societies represented the first

⁷⁴ Vinko ŽGANEC: *Okolje definicije folklor* [About the Definition of Folklore], *Zvuk*, (1962) 52, 148.

⁷⁵ Vasil S. TOLE: *Cluster Muzikologji & Kompozicion* [Cluster Musicology & Composition]. Tiranë: Uegen, 2004, 44.

⁷⁶ The term *multiculturalism* is used because until the 1990s, Kosovo was home to a multinational population (mostly Albanian, then Serbian, Turkish, Bosnian, and Roma). In such circumstances, in a time of artistic coexistence between groups of different ethnicities, cultural expressions could not be merged into a common identity. Artistic activity was characterized by dynamics related to ethnic factors. The spirit of ‘brotherhood and union’ aimed to reflect ‘mixed’ values in programmatic policy, yet in this regard folk music trends, especially Albanian patriotic ones, did not dare to express heroism against the Slavs. Thus, Albanian music in Kosovo necessarily had to find a balanced form of existence between the ‘desirable’ influences from the music of the Albanian state (Albania), and the ‘compulsory’ coexistence of Albanian and Slavic music. The ethnic composition of the majority of cultural-artistic societies depended on the ethnic makeup of the population of the various territorial regions of Kosovo. Some of them consisted only of Albanians, some only of Serbs, Turks, or Roma, but some of them were composed of members of different ethnic groups.

⁷⁷ Although the term ‘institutionalization’ is used here to describe the existence and activities of these ‘Cultural Collectives,’ the question arises: can they truly be regarded as the first institutions in the realm of music? My

important example of organized cultural development, particularly in the field of folk and traditional music. Mobilization and cultural engagement came naturally to the visionary individuals (amateur musicians) who were the driving force behind the whole process. Albanian, Serbian, Turkish and Roma members took seriously the issue of massification of the so-called *cultural movement*, orienting and extending the network of amateur musical activities both in cities and villages. This ‘cultural movement’ marked the new era of ‘belated’ amateur, pre-professional and professional musical practices, including tradition, folk heritage, popular music, amateurism, multinationalism, etc. Similar phenomena were rare and few in number in previous decades. Except for the short sequences of cultural/musical activities mentioned above, cultural activities did not have the continuous and fluid development that they would come to have after World War II. Since the early 1940s only two or three choirs, as well as folk orchestras and several military orchestras, were active in some cities in Kosovo, but in a short time the number of musical ensembles had increased significantly. In 1945, there were eight cultural and artistic societies with 750 active members of which only 160 were Albanians.⁷⁸ At the end of the 1940s, eighteen cultural and artistic societies were active in Kosovo, twelve of which were formed in 1948.⁷⁹ A decade later, in 1958, about twenty (amateur) choirs, and town orchestras and about thirty small orchestral ensembles (brass bands, mandolin orchestras, string quartets, etc.) were active.⁸⁰

Amateurism was the constituent element in almost every culturally creative effort, and the phenomenon of ‘amateurism’ was directly related to existing cultural and educational possibilities. Despite the struggle and hard work to eradicate inherited illiteracy in this period,

response to this question is twofold. On one hand, these collectives may be considered the earliest musical institutions insofar as they embody the aspirations of musically inclined, talented amateurs who gathered to form groups—cultural societies—based on shared predispositions and a collective desire to engage in music-making. As they were officially registered as cultural organizations, they can, in certain respects, be seen as the first ‘amateur musical institutions.’ On the other hand, their amateur nature precludes them from being seen as fully institutionalized entities in the domain of art music. This distinction holds especially true when considering the majority of these groups, with the exception of a few, such as *Agimi* in Prizren, and *Stevan Mokranjac* in Prishtina, which represented the earliest cultural societies engaged in musical practices that were predominantly oriented towards European art music traditions. Therefore, while these societies laid the groundwork for institutionalized music culture, they do not fully meet the criteria of formal music institutionalization as understood in the context of professional art music.

⁷⁸ Sinan HASANI: Jeta kulturore, kontribuon në zhvillimin e karakteristikës positive nacionale të të gjithë popujve të Krahinës, [Cultural Life Contributes to the Development of the Positive National Characteristic of all the Peoples of the Province], *Rilindja* (15 September 1960), 9.

⁷⁹ ***: Nga garat e seksioneve dramatike të shoqërive-kulturore artistike të Krahinës sonë, Vendin e parë e fituen në gara për rezultatet më të mira dy shoqnit kulturore artistike të Pejës, [From the Competitions of the Dramatic Sections of the Cultural-Artistic Societies of our Region, the First Place Was Won by the Two Cultural-Artistic Societies from Peja], *Rilindja* No. 23. (1949), 8.

⁸⁰ ***: Krijimtaria muzikore në krahinën tonë, [Music Creativity in Our Province], *Rilindja* (13 March 1958), 10.

music reality was characterized by the emergence of *organized musical amateurism*. These organized forms of musical practice were manifested through:

- a) *Rural amateurism*, dominated by folk music (songs and melodies mainly accompanied by traditional music instruments such as *lahuta*, *çiftelia*, *sharkia*⁸¹, *fyelli*, *defi*, *tupani*, etc.) that suited the possibilities, requirements and ideo-aesthetic tastes of the villages (e.g., Folk Ensemble *Emin Duraku* in Zhur, Folk Ensemble *Rugova* in the Rugova Mountains, etc.), and
- b) *Urban amateurism*, characterized by those types of melodies belonging to the so-called ‘tempered’ European music system which enabled the use of musical instruments such as the mandolin, violin, accordion, etc. (e.g., Cultural-Artistic Society *Agimi* in Prizren, *Radnički* in Prishtina, *Ramiz Sadiku* in Peja, *Hajdar Dushi* in Gjakova, etc.)

The distinction between the terms ‘amateur’ and ‘professional’ is normally explained by establishing a hierarchical relationship between the terms. In this case, however, the term ‘amateur’ or ‘amateurism’ instead represents all the artists who did not have the opportunity to attend a professional school, but had the talent and ability to express themselves in music and overcome the obstacles toward success in a hard-working music industry. When referring to urban amateurism, enormous credit is due to individual musicians whose activities laid the foundation for the first musical developments (in the form of art music-making practices) and who, intentionally or not, found themselves living and operating in an environment such as Kosovo. Most of them were musicians who belonged to military circles (part of the ‘Bandas’ in Yugoslav military Garrisons), or they were individuals paid exclusively by the Yugoslav government to contribute to general cultural progress in Kosovo which, at the time, was the most backward province in Yugoslavia. This was the cultural panorama of the 1950s and 1960s, although cultural activities (including cultural-artistic societies and other associations and formations) in subsequent decades were larger and more diverse. After the 1970s, there was at least one cultural and artistic society (amateur or semi-professional) in every town or village in Kosovo. From the data and records of the Cultural and Educational Community (published in *Rilindja* newspaper) in 1984, 320 amateur collectives (CAS) were active in Kosovo, consisting of about twenty-two thousand active amateurs within the municipal levels

⁸¹ Lahuta (the lute) is a one-stringed chordophone musical instrument played using the range of a fifth. It is used in the region of the Balkans (Albania, Kosovo, Serbia, Bosnia and Hercegovina, Montenegro). Lahuta is used by the Gheg Albanians of northernmost Albania, and in the mountain regions of Kosovo for singing epic songs. The Çiftelia is a plucked string instrument with only two strings, played mainly by the Albanians of northern and central Albania, Kosovo, southern Montenegro and some parts of Northern Macedonia. Sharkia is a popular musical instrument with five to twelve strings. Together with lahuta and çiftelia, it is one of loveliest and most popular instruments in Albanian folk music tradition.

(e.g., in Prishina 33 collectives, in Gjakova 31, in Prizren 28, in Ferizaj 27, in Mitrovica 26, in Gjilan 19, in Vushtrri 17, in Peja 16, in Klina 15, in Drenas 13, in Leposavić 12, in Rahovec 10, in Podujeva 7, in Vitia 7, in Kaçanik 7, in Istog 7, in Suhareka 7, in Lipjan 6, in Dragaš 6, in Sërbica 3 and in Kamenica 3).⁸² According to data from 1986, 122 cultural and artistic societies existed in Kosovo together with 202 groups of amateurs who carried out their activity in local communities and work institutions and/or organizations.⁸³

Cultural-artistic societies played an important role in the musical history of Kosovo and were a critical presence which illuminated inner cultural life and boosted creativity and imagination in people. So, we remain gravitationally attracted to those cultural societies because their activity remains central to the writing of the history of music in Kosovo. The initial impetus to research this topic was the lack of information because until recently very little was written about their activities and their socio-cultural relevance. With the exception of a few monographs,⁸⁴ no comprehensive research has been carried out on these cultural collectives, encompassing their individual profiles and their general importance in preserving and presenting Kosovo's musical achievements over the years.

The focal point of this chapter was to find narrative information about individual cultural-artistic societies and their activities. The information provided below represents a narrative on the general activities of the initiators, founders — both amateur and professional individuals — and their role and commitment in preserving and cultivating music. The narrative presented here is a result of a balanced combination of archival research and the incorporation of the accounts written in the *Rilindja* newspaper until 1989. In order to partly evaluate these phenomena, I focused my research on some of the most prominent and active amateur and semi-professional ensembles (Cultural-Artistic Societies) that were founded in Kosovo after World War II.

⁸² The executive council of the assembly of KSA Kosovo (5 January 1984) reviewed and approved the material “Development of Cultural and Artistic Amateurism of KSA Kosovo” published in *Rilindja* (2 February 1984), pp. 5-6.

⁸³ Sh. GALICA: Pak jepet për amatorizëm [Very Little is Given for Amateurism], *Rilindja* (10 December 1986), 13.

⁸⁴ Monographic publications on the activity of some cultural and artistic societies in Kosovo are: E. BERISHA & K. B. SHIROKA, *Gjysem shekulli jetë dhe veprimtarie të SHKA Agimi*, [Half a Century of Life and Activity of SHKA Agimi] (2004); *Veprimtaria e SHKA-ve në Gjilan, 'Gjilani me rrethinë*, [The Activity of SHKAs in Gjilan], monographic study by a group of authors, (2012); A. GËRGURI, *Shota, muze në lëvizje*, [Shota, Museum in Motion], (2015); Ç. BYTYQI, *Ansambli etno-kulturor i Hoçës së qytetit*, [The Ethno-Cultural Ensemble of Hoça] (2016); H. HODAJ, *SHKA Malësori & Festivali folklorik Hasi Jehon* [CAS Malësori & Folk Festival Hasi Jehon], (2019) etc.

1.1. Some Cultural-Artistic Societies: Between Amateurism and Semi-Professionalism, Folk and Art Music

The interest in founding cultural and artistic societies (both in urban and rural areas) was a growing phenomenon during the 1940s, although folklore continued to be the prevailing musical preference. Some cultural societies established during the 1940s were: *Stari Trg* [Old Square] in Zvečan (1940), *Hasan Prishtina* in Vushtrri (1941), *Agimi* [Sunrise] in Prizren (1944), *Radnički* in Prishtina (1945), *Vlado Četković* in Mitrovica (1946), *Ramiz Sadiku* in Prishtina (1947), *Drita* [Light] in Gjilan (1947), *Bajtam Curri* in Gjakova (1947), *Zenel Hajdini* and *Meto Bajraktari* in Mitrovica (1948), *Emin Duraku* in Zhur (1948), *Rashid Deda* in Vushtrri (1949), and *Miladin Popović* in Mitrovica (1949). The youthful enthusiasm of these societies and their desire for a brighter cultural future attracted great attention because they provided hope for the emergence of a significant cultural turn which would lead to a renaissance of the arts. Almost all towns and villages in Kosovo were marked by these emancipatory movements in the educational and cultural spheres. Thus, in Kosovo there was no town or village that did not have at least one cultural-artistic society. The differences between them were numerous in both structure and content. Their activities were pursued in separate areas: while the main focus was folklore, individual groups within the societies were dedicated to drama, music, painting and recitation. This was a kind of syncretic form of arts development, pointing toward trends which would emerge in the future. ‘More developed’ centers (in this case towns) offered alternatives for diverse and inclusive activities, having therefore a greater number of members, and their activities were more numerous and diversified. In more rural centers positive initiatives and the enthusiasm of the young were mainly oriented toward dances and folk songs.

1.1.1. The Cultural Artistic Society *Përparimi* in Peja

The Cultural Artistic Society *Përparimi* [Progress] in the town of Peja was established during the early 1930s but was officially registered as a cultural institution only in 1939.⁸⁵ *Përparimi* was distinguished as one of the most active and successful societies of that time. In the late

⁸⁵ Nata e SHKA Përparimi, Emisioni *Qejfe qejfe kjo dynja* [Night of CAS Përparimi, TV Show] created by Visar Peja, Show No. 30 (published: 19 December 2021) RTV 21, <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xQr31necSsE>> (accessed 20 December 2021).

1940s it had about 370 active members.⁸⁶ According to texts published in *Rilindja*, the most active part was the instrumental music group and the choir, led by Stevo Batalović.⁸⁷ However, the most meritorious figure related to *Përparimi* was Franjo Vaculin.⁸⁸ After his arrival in Peja in 1952, the activity of *Përparimi* was significantly intensified and expanded. He made an important contribution to the music education of *Përparimi* members. He first taught the instrumentalists music theory and later wind instrument performance (e.g., flute, clarinet, saxophone, trumpet, trombone, tube, etc.).



Figure 5. Some members of SHKA *Përparimi* (1950s)⁸⁹

⁸⁶ R. K: Nga veprimtaria e shoqërisë kulturore artistike Përparimi në Pejë [From the Activity of the Cultural-Artistic Society Përparimi in Peja], *Rilindja*, (1949), 3.

⁸⁷ I have found no data about his life and activity. It is only known that he was a high school teacher in Peja, the first leader of the musical section of the *Përparimi* cultural-artistic society, and conductor of the first Town Orchestra in Peja (with twenty members), founded in 1951. See: G.Q: Në Pejë u formue orkestra e qytetit, [In Peja is Founded City Orchestra], *Rilindja* No. 11 (1951), 9.

⁸⁸ There is not much data about his life and education. It is known that he was a professional musician from Czechoslovakia who initially worked as the conductor/bandmaster of the State Orchestra of King Ahmet Zogu in Albania (in the years 1928-1939). Then, during the 1940s, F. Vaculin (with his family) was transferred to Pljevlja (Montenegro). In 1949, he was appointed director of a music school, and in September of the same year, a Women's Mandolin Orchestra was founded in the school. See: Pljevaljska muzička razglednica, [Pljeval Musical Postcard], *Pljevaljski Portal*, (published: 10 November 2018), <<https://pvportal.me/2018/11/pljevaljska-muzicka-razglednica/>> (accessed 20 December 2021).

⁸⁹ Photo extracted from a Facebook post by *Peja e Vjetër*. SHKA Përparimi, Vitet e 60-ta. *Facebook*, 2015. <<https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=916307195125206&id=335296046559660&set=a.335303653225566>> (Accessed: 4 November 2022).

Along with a wind orchestra, a string orchestra, a folk orchestra and a jazz orchestra, Vaculin founded the famous Female Mandolin Orchestra (with 38 female members).⁹⁰ Here, the role and position of women as musicians, instrumentalists and singers is significant as it was not a very common occurrence in those years. The members of the Mandolin Orchestra were Gjejljon Bukleta, Gita Çiflaku, Nexhmije Krasniqi, Drita Rugova, Hasibe Syka, Nagjije Luta, Samka Luta, Vilma Gashi, Zekije Budima, Sabernaz Bojku, Sytkije Turjaka, Saide Gashi, Qamile Sahatciu, Feride Gashi, Gjemile Kyqykrama, Atifet Malushaga, Vilma Antoni, Atije Drançolli, Resmije Begolli, Bukurie Taraku, and others.⁹¹



Figure 6. The Female Mandolin Orchestra in Peja (1958)⁹²

Përparimi developed into a powerful organization in art activities which, in addition to music, included theater and drama under its umbrella. In its early years, the tour in Macedonia in 1954 occupies an important place. During the tour Ivan Zajc's *Finale* from the opera *Nikola Šubić*

⁹⁰ According to some sources, during 1950s various cultural activities were organized in Peja, one of which was the *Ball - Dancing Evening* (usually held on Saturdays).

⁹¹ ***: Gratë e Orkestrës së Mandolinave në Pejë, në vitin 1952 [Women of the Mandolin Orchestra in Peja, in 1952], *KultPlus*, (published: 27 May 2021), <https://lajme.org/grate-e-orkestres-se-mandolinave-ne-peje-ne-vitin-1952/> (accessed 4 September 2021).

⁹² *Ibid.*

Zrinjski was performed by the Town Orchestra, the *Albanian Melody* composed by Bogoljub Vojnović and the collections of Kosovo songs arranged by Franjo Vaculin were interpreted by the Female Mandolin Orchestra.⁹³ Vaculin also established violin lessons in Peja.



Figure 7. The Female Mandolin Orchestra with Franjo Vaculin (above), and with Muhamet Belegu (below)⁹⁴

⁹³ ***: Shoqniija kulturore artistike Përparimi do të baj një turne në Maqedoni, [CAS Përparimi Will Do a Tour in Macedonia], *Rilindja* (2 February 1954), 6.

⁹⁴ Photographs in Figure 7. are unpublished photographs provided by Mrs. Samka Luta, ex-member of the orchestra, personal communication (22 October 2022).

After Vaculin's departure in 1958 his place was taken by Muhamet Belegu and Halit Kasapolli. In the same year, the cultural-artistic societies *Përparimi* and *Bratstvo* joined forces with the society *Ramiz Sadiku*. So, after 1958, three cultural societies were united under the name 'Ramiz Sadiku'. This was done to encourage the development of a sense of 'fraternity' and also to engender greater cultural progress, new 'directions' and successes, and the affirmation of a genuine music society.⁹⁵ With the union of three societies into one, its activity became wider and more diverse (including music courses for children aged 10-15, and lessons for piano, violin, guitar and accordion).⁹⁶ The increasing enthusiasm of amateur members and their musical repertoire were the two main pillars of the *Ramiz Sadiku* success story. In 1958 the Female Mandolin Orchestra (with conductor Muhamet Belegu) participated in the First Festival of Amateur Music Activities.⁹⁷ Two years later, in 1960, at the Second Festival of Amateur Orchestras of Serbia, held in Palić, the orchestra of *Ramiz Sadiku* was awarded the first prize.⁹⁸ In 1970s and 1980s *Ramiz Sadiku* was at the height of its activities and achieved great popularity.



Figure 8. Choir of CAS *Ramiz Sadiku*, Peja (1977)⁹⁹

⁹⁵ A. SHKRELI: SHKA Ramiz Sadiku në rrugën e sukseseve të reja, [CAS Ramiz Sadiku on the Road for New Successes], *Rilindja* (6 Aug 1960), 12.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Association of Music Societies of Serbia: *I Фестивал аматерске музичке дјелатности* [First Festival of Amateur Music Orchestras]: Mitrovica, 21-22 June 1958, Choirs: Niš 5-7 July 1958 (Festival Catalogue). Fund No. XIX, Box: 4, Years: 1958-60. See: State Archives of the Republic of Kosovo, Prishtina.

⁹⁸ Association of Music Societies of Serbia: *II Festival Amaterskih Orkestara Srbije* [Second Festival of Amateur Orchestras of Serbia], Palić, 4-7 July 1960 (Festival Catalogue). Fund No. XIX, Box: 5, Years: 1960-62. See: State Archives of the Republic of Kosovo, Prishtina.

⁹⁹ Hajdar MEKAJ: Rezultate të arritura me angazhim të vetmohueshëm [Results achieved through selfless dedication], *Rilindja* (21 February 1977), 16.

During 1970s, several ensembles were active within the framework of the society such as the Children's Choir, the Town Choir, Folk and Entertainment music groups, accordion, mandolin, violin and wind orchestras, and the Folklore Section.

The indigenous ensemble *Rugova* from the Rugova Mountains was incorporated into Ramiz Sadiku. The autochthonous Folk Ensemble *Rugova* was founded in 1947 and was one of the oldest folk ensembles that managed to cultivate, affirm and preserve the rich Kosovo folklore heritage. This ensemble was unique both in terms of longevity and in staging songs, dances and original costumes from the territory of Rugova. In the beginning it was formed with only five members while in the late 1970s it became an ensemble with more than 240 active members, participating in over 30 Yugoslav and International festivals and was awarded many times with special prizes, diplomas and various other recognitions.¹⁰⁰ Some of its most successful achievements included the 1st prize at the Folklore Festival in London (1963) and the 1st prize in three disciplines of folk dances at the 6th International Folklore Festival held in Zagreb on 25-31 July 1971.¹⁰¹



Figure 9 The ensemble Rugova (1975)¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ Rexhep RIFATI: 73 vjet veprimtari të Ansambilit Folklorik Autokton 'RUGOVA', [73 Years of Activity of the Indigenous Folk Ensemble Rugova], *Prointegra.ch*, (published: 15 June 2020) <<https://prointegra.ch/73-vjet-veprimtari-te-ansambilit-folklorik-autokton-rugova/>> (accessed 11 January 2022).

¹⁰¹ R. M: Ansambli Rugova triumfoi në Zagreb [Ensemble Rugova Triumphs in Zagreb], *Rilindja* (30 August 1971), 9.

¹⁰² Photograph taken from Album cover: Ansambli Autokton Rugova, *Jugoton*, LPY-63013, Vinyl, LP, Yugoslavia, 1974, <https://www.discogs.com/release/16510950-Ansambilit-Autokton-Rugova-Rugova>.

Some of most prominent members of the cultural artistic society *Ramiz Sadiku* (1939-1989) were Stevo Batalović, Franjo Vaculin, Borivoje Nikolić, Hysen Kelmendi, Qazim Qavolli, Hamdi Qavolli, Emin Valla, Ejup Valla, Adem Mullarama, Skender Gruda, Fizë Drançolli, Jahja Sapunxhiu, Riza Sapunxhiu, Adem Ejupi, Sherif Krasniqi, Hivzi Bicaku, Gonxhe Gashi, Gjejlane Broçi, Milica Radojčić, Make Sadiku, Xhevat Nallbani, Bukurije Taraku, Vezire Taraku, Muhamet Shala, Musa Gutiqi, Shahindere Bërlajolli, Shyqyrie Spahiu, Lajde Ukshini, Miodrag Bajević, Riza Qavolli, Nexhat Bardhi, Nazmi Muhaxheri, Muhamet Belegu, Ramadan Basha, Marjan Nulleshi, Ranko Popović, Mazllum Haxhi Agolli, Muhamet Bakraqi, Çesk Çivlaku, Syl Osmani, Qazim Buçuku, Blagica Joksimović, Lila Đukić, and Aleksander Novaković.¹⁰³

1.1.2. The Cultural-Artistic Society *Agimi* in Prizren

In the general development of culture, art, education, music, politics and society in Kosovo, Prizren remains the city of many 'firsts' (i.e., Prizren was the home of Kosovo's first mentioned musician Dragan Prizrenac (1335); of the first Albanian (church) choral formation (1870); of the first cultural society *Car Uroš* (1871); of the League of Prizren (1878); the first Albanian-language school (1889); the first music school (1948), the first city orchestra (1950), etc.) This town is one of the oldest settlements in Kosovo, being traditionally one of the main centers where cultures and civilizations came together contributing to cultural development over the centuries. Thus, social and political circumstances led Prizren to be an important economic and cultural center throughout its history. This town traditionally produced great historical values and inherited cultural and religious monuments because it is a place where different centuries-old civilizations and cultures are intertwined. In the field of music, the name Prizren is mentioned in Serbian music history since the late Middle Ages. Old Serbian writings reveal that the first known Serbian medieval musician was Dragan from Prizren or *Dragan Prizrenac*, who lived in Dubrovnik from 1335 and played music in the square. He also played trumpet at the coronation of Emperor Dušan on 16 April 1346 in Skopje.¹⁰⁴ Then from 1871 in Prizren existed the Serbian cultural society *Car Uroš* and the newspaper *Prizren* was published in the Serbian and Turkish languages. After the end of World War I in rare written sources it is

¹⁰³ Zenun ÇELAJ: Tri Kohët e SHKA Ramiz Sadiku të Pejës, [Three Periods of CAS Ramiz Sadiku in Peja], *Rilindja* (23 March 1963), 9.

¹⁰⁴ M. S: Muzički Festival u Prizrenu, [Music Festival in Prizren], *Politika*, (published: 1 October 2020), <<https://www.politika.rs/sr/clanak/463648/Kultura/Muzicki-festival-u-Prizrenu>> (accessed 16 November 2021).

mentioned that in Kosovo there were several societies, foundations or cultural organizations. *Rebap* was one of the first societies founded in Prizren in 1920 together with the society *Gayret* in 1922-23.¹⁰⁵

The town of Prizren was historically known as a crossroads of religions, cultures and civilizations. In this city in 1944 was founded *Agimi*, the most important cultural and artistic society which played a fundamental role for the musical future of the country.¹⁰⁶ Prizren at that time was an administrative and educational-cultural center for the whole of Kosovo, a city with an Episcopal Residence which historically played an important role in raising culture and education.¹⁰⁷ The first cultural and artistic activities in Prizren were public literary musical performances organized in the second part of November of 1944 by 'The Cultural Team' which at the beginning of 1945 was named *The Cultural Team of the Albanian Committee*.¹⁰⁸ As the intellectual elite of the time, Anton Qetta (chairman) and Zekerija Rexha (honorary chairman) were elected leaders of this society. The first programs had an eclectic character because they consisted of choral songs, recitations and folk songs.¹⁰⁹ Anton Lumezi initially worked with the choir.

In the ancient city, in the snow of November 1944, on the banks of the river Bistrica, the people were singing to victory ... the flags waved ... On the second day of the liberation of Prizren, I remember my friends saying: Anton, you will gather and organize the young talents, you know those people, you will form a musical society for them. For two days I searched and found young and talented people, so this is how the first choir of SHKA *Agimi* was formed, led in the very beginning by me.¹¹⁰

The first public performance took place on 29 November 1944, and some of the songs performed were *Hej Sloveni* (National Anthem of Yugoslavia), *Hej, Tovariši* (Partisan song) *Malet me blerim mbuluar*, *Nëpër pyje*, *fusha e male*, etc.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁵ Zeynel BEKSAÇ: Prizren'deki Doğru Yol Derneği 65 Yaşında, [65th Anniversary of The Right Way Association in Prizren], *Yeni New Balkan*, <<http://www.yenibalkan.com/tr/kultur/prizrendeki-dogru-yol-dernegi-65-yasinda>> (accessed 19 January 2022).

¹⁰⁶ In the period 1941-1944 throughout Kosovo a brighter cultural and artistic life started to emerge, while Prizren remained the most active center of that time. Prizren was also the seat of the first radio station in Kosovo, which was later moved to Prishtina for political reasons. Also, the first symphony orchestra (1950) was formed in Prizren, which was later followed by orchestras in other cities.

¹⁰⁷ Engjëll BERISHA, Kolë Biter SHIROKA: *Gjysëm shekulli jetë dhe veprimtarie të SHKA "Agimi" 1944-1994*, [Half a Century of Life and Activity of CAS Agimi 1944-1994], Prizren: Vertigo, 1994, 13.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ N. HALIMI: Po kjo fotografi? [And this Photo?], *Rilindja* (21 September 1984), 11.

¹¹¹ N. HALIMI: Urat e afrisë krijuese [Bridge of Artistic Creativity], *Rilindja* (25 November 1984), 14.



Figure 10. First performance of the Agimi Choir (1944)¹¹²

After A. Lumezi, the choir was led by Nuri Sherifi and after a few years by Lorenc Antoni himself. With his arrival an important phase began for *Agimi*, especially regarding the contents and interpretative aspects of music programs, because Antoni transformed the choir from an amateur group to a very high quality and successful choral formation. The mixed choir accounted for the great difference which this society had in comparison with other amateur cultural and artistic societies because under Antoni's leadership it achieved the highest level of quality among choral ensembles in Kosovo during the 1940s and 1950s. It was especially during the first decades of its activities that *Agimi* gathered many enthusiast "artists and musicians", singers, instrumentalists and dancers who successfully cultivated the musical tradition. From the first decade, *Agimi* numbered seven sections: choir, folklore, drama, music, painting, literary-recitative and technical section.¹¹³

¹¹² See footnote 110.

¹¹³ *** Shoqnis *Agimi* i duhet ndihmë e gjithanshme [CAS Agimi Needs all Kinds of Help], *Rilindja* (4 November 1954), 6.



Figure 11. First members of the Agimi Orchestra (1944)¹¹⁴

On its 15th anniversary *Agimi* had a choir of 60 members, a folk orchestra of 10 members, a folklore group of 24 members, an entertainment orchestra as well as members of the sections in other arts. The jubilee of the twenty-year activity of *Agimi* as a cultural emancipatory society was marked by a series of solemn manifestations. During the period 1944-1994 the members of this society (over 2,500 in all) performed for local and foreign audiences more than 3,120 times.¹¹⁵

Table 4. SHKA Agimi: Music section & leaders (1944-1994)¹¹⁶

Music Section	Leaders
Mixed Choir	Nuri Sherifi (XI-XII 1944), Anton Lumezi (I-IV 1945), Lorenc Antoni (1945-56), Rexho Mulliqi (1956-57), Veronika Mjeda (1957-58), Engjëll Berisha (1958-61), Mark Kaçinari (1961-63), Xheladin Kastrati (1964-69), Engjëll Berisha (1969-74), Dashnor Xërxa (1975-94).
Folk Orchestra	Anton Lumezi (1944-72), Petrit Nushi (1973-84), Xheladin Kastrati (1984-88), Luan Spahiu (1988-90), Rahmi Ymeri (1990-94)
Entertaining Orchestra	Xhemil Doda, Anton Lumezi, Gazmend Zajmi, Valentin Kurti, Petrit Nushi, Aziz Basha, Bujar Gota, Menan Kiseri, Jashar Hajdari

¹¹⁴ E. BERISHA, K. B. SHIROKA: *Gjysëm shekulli jetë dhe veprimtarie të SHKA Agimi, 1944-1994*, 23.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 94.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 50-51.

Mandolin Orchestra	Gani Luboteni, Nuri Sherifi, Xhemil Doda
Chamber Orchestra	Lorenc Antoni and Nuri Sherifi
Rhapsodic orchestra	Shemsedin Fanaj
Tambourine orchestra	Kolë Gjoni and Adolf Tirjug
Ensembles of folk dances	Veronika Vuçaj, Feriha Shporta, Hadije Maloku, Izet Bilurdagu, Gani Demiri, Belkize Rugova, Shaban Krusha, Enver Futko, Alajdin Bojaxhiu



Figure 12. Choir of *Agimi* on the 40th anniversary of its establishment (conductor: Engjëll Berisha)¹¹⁷

As the largest cultural artistic society in Kosovo, *Agimi* was the most important association in terms of the scope of its impact. It was the cornerstone of professional choral singing through which many conductors and other professionals took their first steps. It was the best promoter of Albanian musical heritage beyond the provincial borders of Kosovo because it was systematically presented in different places of the former Yugoslavia. Already by 1964 the choir of *Agimi* had performed in Belgrade, Sarajevo, Skopje, Ljubljana, Zadar, Niš, and in some other cities in Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia.

¹¹⁷ ***: ShKA 'Agimi' shënon 75 vjetorin e themelimit [The Cultural and Artistic Society 'Agimi' marks its 75th anniversary], *PrizrenPress* (published: 23 November 2019), <<https://prizrenpress.com/shka-agimi-shenon-75-vjetorin-e-themelimit/>> (accessed: 20 February 2020).

1.1.3. Some Cultural and Artistic Societies in the Capital of Prishtina

Rapid urban and cultural development in Prishtina occurred after World War II following the model of other cities in socialist Yugoslavia. It was declared the capital of Kosovo in 1947 and since then has gone through major demographic, urban and cultural changes. However, almost nothing at all is known and written about the life and cultural activities of the years before World War II. As part of the general developments that characterized Kosovo of those years, central and municipal governing bodies were increasingly supportive of educational and cultural initiatives which culminated in the late 1970s and early 1980s. In the year 1980 alone, for example, twenty-two cultural and artistic societies of the Prishtina municipality had realized a total of about 380 artistic programs.¹¹⁸ The oldest evidence of cultural-artistic societies established in Prishtina in terms similar to that of *Agimi* in Prizren were *Radnički* (1945) and *Ramiz Sadiku* (1947). These emergence of these two cultural-artistic societies represent an important development and created a new path for musical practices in the capital in a period when opportunities for musical advancement were practically minimal because professional musicians who could be engaged in cultural activities were very few in number. The most important personalities who since the 1940s had contributed to general musical activities (including music education, organization and performing) were foreign (mostly Serbian) musicians and intellectuals who participated in laying the foundations of art music in the capital. They were Bogoljub Vojnović, Todor Petronje, Oliver Ristić, and some others.

The cultural and artistic society *Radnički* [Workers] was the first music society founded in Prishtina after World War II. Like the other cultural societies in Kosovo, *Radnički* had several sections: drama, painting and music. The music section was known under the name *Music Society - Stevan Mokranjac* and was the most developed and active section within *Radnički*. It consisted of the following groups: the *Choir* led by Bogoljub Vojnović (bandmaster) in 1945-1961 and Boža Vojinović in 1962-?, the *Folklore Section* led by Xhemajli Toplica and the *Entertaining Music Section* (including: two mandolin orchestras, a jazz orchestra, an accordion group and a small folk orchestra) led by Nikola Bunjin, Oliver Ristić and Vaclav Kreštan.¹¹⁹ The Choir contained 59 members (Serbians 39, Albanians 15, others 5), the Folklore Section

¹¹⁸ Skender ZOGAJ: Zhvillimi i sukseshëm i amatorizmit [Successful Development of Amateuism], *Rilindja* (16 April 1981), 10.

¹¹⁹ Dragoljub MORAČIĆ: Prijava Muzičkog Društva za učešće na Opštinskoj smotri, [Application of the Music Association for Participation in the Municipal Review], 17 March 1960. See: State Archives of the Republic of Kosovo (No. of fund XIX, Years: 1960-63, Box: 5), Prishtina.

16 members (Serbian 8, Albanian 3, others 5) and the Entertaining Music Section comprised 66 members (Serbian 33, Albanian 17, others 16).¹²⁰

Table 5. Member of Music Society *Stevan Mokranjac* in Prishtina¹²¹

The choir members	Marija Đorđević, Dobrila Kujundžić, Verica Paunović, Branka Mitić, Kristina Vaceva, Ljubica Janičijević, Aferdita Fehmiu, Danica Uzelac, Jelisaveta Lazić, Vukica Orlović, Sofija Tomićević, Shpresa Fehmiu, Olga Andrić, Olga Kostari, Živka Vasić, Mirjana Aleksić, Jagoda Aleksandrić, Vera Nikolić, Nada Delić, Zorica Đurić, Emijan Shala, Desanka Kadrić, Borjanka Babović, Radomir Stojković, Petar Mirić, Dragutin Obradović, Zdravko Butorac, Ljubomir Mijatović, Tomislav Grbić, Jusuf Prapashtica, Ljubomir Rajković, Živojin Milić, Đorđe Đorđević, Sefedin Shala, Sergije Suhoruhov, Janićije Simić, Dimitrije Delić, Slobodan Đorđević, Branislav Dikić, Panta Đorđević, Rashid Krasniqi, Kadri Qehaja, Sadri Hoxha, Rexhep Gashi etc.	
The folklore ensemble Members	Slavko Kvasenski, Shefqet Kačaniku, Jelica Radosavljević, Srbinka Kostić, Desa Čalović, Milica Rastador, Dodrila Tomić, Mileva Stojković, Mikica Đorđević, Elza Tupeci, Leze Qena, Melihate Qena, Hatixhe Tupeci, Ahmet Goleshi, Tomislav Nešić, Mile Jovanović, Mehmet Durmishi, Shaqir Ajdini, Abdurrahman Rifati, Emin Toplica, Xhemail Toplica, Latif Ajdazi, Slobodan Delibašić, Fuad Kurteshi, Zef Tupeci, Memin Jashari, Jashar Bubi, Ramadan Shukrija, Sušica Malić, Destan Nikolla, Mefail Shushica, Emin Jashko, Isak Shabani, Rahman Sylejmani, Nehat Qena, Muharrem Qena, Katica Vinš, Divna Zaić, Desa Kadić, Mirjana Aleksić, Gita Sopi, Maria Tupeci, Jelica Kostić etc.	
Members of the mandolin orchestra 1	Radomir Vičić, Abaz Oruçi, Tahir Muslija, Hamdi Henci, Osman Zhitia, Fejzullah Krasniqi, Shemsi Jusufi, Bujar Zariqi, Murteza Kasabaçi, Uka Brizani, Dušanka Vasović, Miroslav Canić, Latif Bunjaku, Dibran Zeqiri, Jetullah Krasniqi, Vesel Latifi, Ivan Denisenko, Tihomir Krstić, Milan Božić, Xhevat Krasniqi, Sylejman Shushica, Hamid Jashari, Rashid Hasani, Omer Keçi.	Elez Shaqiri, Sima Cvetković, Dragan Tomićević, Sejdi Betiçe, Rexhep Ibrahim, Halil Bajrami, Ramadan Ramadani, Miroslav Ćosić, Haki Imerovci, Shefqet Kurtesh, Nexhat Pula, Radmila Sekulić, Dragan Petrović, Zize Sefa, Milan Mančetić, Josip Tomašević, Hajrush Latifi, Vesel Latifi, Hazize Sejfa, Hanife Stanca, Zvonimir Vasić, Spasoje Vučić, Xhafer Ejupi, Predrag Radosavljević etc.
Members of the mandolin orchestra 2	Nikola Bunjin, Flutra Qavolli, Nada Pantić, Zlatko Janičijević, Vladimir Ristić, Milan Lončar, Ramiz Bunjaku, Draško Miljković, Jovan Radovanović, Aleksander Gashi, Marija Ristović, Emika Vengrin, Milica Aksentijević, Verica Sojević, Limon Gashi, Nataša Tomašević, Svetlana Jovanović, Momčilo, Perunović, Branislav Spasić, Slavica Rudović, Ljutica Predrag, Momir Đukić, Sonja Abdyli.	
Members of the jazz orchestra	Vasilije Nedović, Kadri Dauti, Abdurrahman Mumini, Branko Lukić, Ahmet Mehmeti, Muharrem Osmani, Dragoslav Pejčinović, Nadežda Pejčinović, Predrag Radolaljević, Siniša Jakićijević.	

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

¹²¹ The data related to the information placed in the table are taken from various administrative documents (lists of fees, lists of participants in rehearsals, work reports, requests for financial support, etc.) See: State Archives of the Republic of Kosovo (No. of fund XIX, Years: 1947-63, Boxes: 1-5), Prishtina.

In 1947, another cultural-artistic society, *Ramiz Sadiku*, was established in Prishtina. Unfortunately, I could find very little data on the activity and work of this cultural society. Due to numerous technical and professional deficiencies, for some years (until 1950) it developed its activities only intermittently.¹²² Wider activities began to revive in 1951-52 when the society's drama and music sections were reactivated and especially when the female mandolin orchestra, male mandolin orchestra and the guitar orchestra were formed (under the leadership of Nikola Bunjin).¹²³ This was the first *Ramiz Sadiku* music society in Prishtina, known as *Ramiz Sadiku of KNI* – Kombinati Ndërtimor Industrial [Industrial Construction Combine]. In October 1962 another artistic society of the same name was formed. This society had the status of Cultural, Artistic and Academic Society (abbreviated in Albanian as SHKAA). It numbered about 40-50 regular members divided into four sections: Drama, Folklore, Music and Recitation. The music section had the Choir, Folk and Entertaining orchestra. For many years, an artistic leader in the music section was the composer Musa Piperku, who also worked as the editor of entertainment music at Radio Prishtina.

In 1954, the Cultural and Artistic Society *Miqt' e muzikës* [Music friends] was established in Prishtina. The activity of this society was dominated by lecture-courses and trainings organized for high school students and citizens (amateurs) who were members of various cultural associations. These courses were focused on learning the basic elements of music theory as well as mandolin and accordion lessons, etc. Professional musicians from other places e.g., Serbia, Vojvodina, Skopje, etc., were invited to carry out those activities and they helped a lot to overcome the elementary amateurism. The cultural and artistic society *Bajram Curri* was established in 1966. Its activity was realized through a folk song and dance group, a Folk Orchestra (led by Sedat Kuçi and Jetullah Beqiri), an Entertainment Orchestra (led by Naim Abazaga), a Choir, along with drama and painting sections.¹²⁴ By 1969 it had become one of the most successful cultural-artistic societies in Prishtina. However, due to insufficient funding and inadequate working conditions, it temporarily stopped its activity and was reactivated only in 1978.¹²⁵ The activity of cultural-artistic societies during the 1950s and 1960s was related to and conditioned by various technical and economic difficulties. For this reason, at the plenary

¹²² ***: A ka pasë kushte shoqëria kulturore artistike “Ramiz Sadiku” në Prishtinë për një punë të suksesshme, [Does Cultural and Artistic Society Ramiz Sadiku in Prishtina Have Conditions for a Successful Work], *Rilindja* No. 11 (1951), 9.

¹²³ Zenun ÇELAJ: Edhe një SH.K.A Ramiz Sadik [Another CAS Ramiz Sadik], *Rilindja* (24 October 1963), 7.

¹²⁴ Sh. GALICA: Vlera që kënaqën spektatorët [Value that Pleas'd the Spectators], *Rilindja* (30 March 1986), 16.

¹²⁵ Sh. GALICA: Në atmosferën e vullnetit dhe të entuziazmit [In the Atmosphere of Will and Enthusiasm], *Rilindja* (5 May 1986), 17.

meeting of the City Council in 1954 the recommendation was made to unite three major artistic societies, *Ramiz Sadiku*, *Radnički* and *Yeni Hayat* (Turkish CAS) into one association. However, it never happened.¹²⁶

Following the trend of establishing song and dance ensembles in other countries in former Yugoslavia (e.g., *Kolo* in Belgrade, 1948; *Lado* in Zagreb, 1949; and *Tanec* in Skopje, 1949), the National Ensemble of Songs and Dances *Shota* was founded on 30 September 1950, in Kosovo. The purpose of this ensemble was to deliver stage presentations of the musical folklore of all nationalities living in Kosovo.¹²⁷ In 1948 the foundations of *Shota* were laid, initially as a cultural-artistic society, from the core of which the ensemble was created in 1950.¹²⁸



Figure 13. Members of *Shota* Ensemble (1971)¹²⁹

¹²⁶ ***: *Rilindja*, (9 September 1954), 7.

¹²⁷ Xhevdet GASHI: Ansambli Kombëtar i Këngëve dhe Valleve 'Shota', *Fjalori Enciklopedik i Kosovës I (A-K)*, Mehmet Kraja (ed.), [The Encyclopedic Dictionary of Kosovo I, A-K], Prishtinë: ASHAK, (2018), 53.

¹²⁸ Agron GËRGURI: *Shota, muze në lëvizje* [Shota, Museum in Motion], Prishtinë, 2015, 17.

¹²⁹ Bajram SEFAJ: Në djepin e Ansambleve të njohura, [In the Cradle of Well-known Ensembles], *Rilindja* (3 August 1971), 9.

As a result of political and social circumstances, the ensemble *Shota* ceased its activities twice, the first time between 1954 and 1964 and the second during the 1990s.¹³⁰ After a ten-year break, in March 1964 the conditions for the reestablishment of *Shota* were created again, and by a decision of the Assembly of Kosovo the ensemble was reactivated and renamed *The State Ensemble Shota*. By its activities *Shota* presented the miraculous richness and diversity of the musical folklore of Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Turks and other peoples living in Yugoslavia.¹³¹ It managed to affirm multinational cultural values through authentic and original melodies, traditional rhythms, autochthonous instruments and the originality of folk costumes. Throughout its life, *Shota* brought together the most famous Serbian and later Albanian choreographers and music arrangers and developed an impressive choreographic and musical repertoire with over 50 choreographies, vocal, instrumental and vocal-instrumental numbers inspired by folk music, and held over 7,500 concerts in Kosovo, the former Yugoslavia, Europe, America, Africa, Asia and Australia. The first choreographer of *Shota* was Vjačeslav Slavko Kvasnevski who came from Belgrade and worked as the first artistic director of the Ensemble.¹³² Kvansevski was *Shota*'s choreographer until 1973, after which this task was taken up by Xhemajli Berisha (the first Albanian leader).¹³³ Also, well-known musicians (e.g., Fahri Beqiri, Akil Koci, Severin, Kajtazi, Sevime Gjinali, Nexhmije Pagarusha, Xhejlane Koci, Gani Sadiku, Hava Memishi, Çun Lajçi, Ismet Bogujevci, Liljana Qavolli, Riza Bytyqi, etc.) contributed a lot to the creation of the unique history and identity of this ensemble. Some veteran dancers in the *Shota* ensemble were Elza Tupeci, Zef Tupeci, Afërdita Tupeci, Marsel Tupeci, Hazbije Kovaçi, Ahmet Goleshi, Abdush Spanca, Shkëlzen Zhubi, Bashkim Loshi, Toma Nešić, Jordan Nikolić, Mustafa Sherifi, Florie Goranci, Ali Rrahmani, Nail Koro, Nada Gajić, Hylkije Dibrani Sadiku, Vera Bradić, Haki Shkreli, Drita Mujaku, Nazmi Demaj, Haki Mulliqi, Sebahat Shaqiri, Shpend Rudi, Sylejman Shala, Besnik Berisha, Fatmire Kajtazi, and Besnik Grajčevci.¹³⁴ Among the first presentations in former Yugoslavia was the concert given

¹³⁰ Due to difficult circumstances, *Shota* ceased its activities between 1954 and 1964; its members were obliged to disband the ensemble and they joined other cultural and artistic societies. Most of them were transferred to the cultural and artistic society *Gerçek*.

¹³¹ "Shota" in Krešimir KOVAČEVIĆ (Ed.) *Leksikon jugoslavenske muzike 2 Me-Ž*, 290.

¹³² Nataša ANĐELKOVIĆ: *Kosovo i folklor: kako se kroz ansamble Šota i Venac oslikavaju burna istorija i politika* [Kosovo and Folklore: How Stormy History and Politics are Portrayed Through the Ensembles Shota and Venac], (published: 21 May 2021) <<https://www.bbc.com/serbian/lat/balkan-57003892>> (accessed 20 September 2021).

¹³³ Many choreographers contributed to the affirmation and professionalism of *Shota* over the 70 years of its existence (e.g., Desanka Đorđević, Dobrivoje Putnik, Panajot Kanaçi, Xhemajli Berisha, Besim Jazexhiu, Sylejman Shala, Fehmi Shaqiri, Haki Mulliqi, Genc Kastrati, Dilaver Kryeziu, and others.)

¹³⁴ Rashid KRASNIQI: Program solid i Ansmablit folkloristik, [Solid Program of Folk Ensemble], *Rilindja* (17 May 1964), 12.; Bajram SEFAJ: Në djepin e Ansambleve të njohura, [In the Cradle of Well-known Ensembles] *Rilindja* (3 August 1971), 9.; Agron GËRGURI: *Shota muze në lëvizje*, pp. 29-30, 51, 63.

at the Istria Summer Performances, Pula, Croatia (July 1964),¹³⁵ followed by concerts held in Belgrade (1965), and Switzerland, France and Belgium (in 1966). Participation at the Geneva International Folklore Festival (in 1966) was received with great interest. Newspapers in Switzerland published articles on *Shota's* performance:

The concert was noted as a great success, especially the resounding choir of Shota with melodies and dance full of rhythm, liveliness, cheerfulness and oriental elements that made the performance very special, where the ‘Rugova dance’ was the culminating performance. (*Journale de Geneve*); This was a spectacle to be recorded as a documentary. (*La Suisse*); Unforgettable spectacle on the first evening of the festival, presented by the ensemble ‘Shota’ from Yugoslavia. (*La Corriere*); The grace and choreography of the dances were a magnificent spectacle. (*La tribune de Geneve*)¹³⁶

Table 6. Some important *Shota* performances between 1950 and 1990.

Year	Place	Festival	Prize
1951	Opatija	International festival	
1965	Sarajevo	The 5th festival of folk songs and dances	
1966	Czechoslovakia, France, Switzerland, Belgium tour (July – November 1966)		
1966	Switzerland	Geneva International Folklore Festival	
1967	Benelux Countries	Tour	
1969	Tunisia	Carthage 5th Folklore Festival	
1969	Libya Tour		
1969	Slovenia Tour (August – September 1969)		
1969	Belgrade	International Folklore Festival	
1970-1977	Tour of Germany (Concerts held in Magdeburg, Erfurt, Eberswalde), USSR, Montenegro, Bosnia and Hercegovina, Serbia, Croatia, Albania, and Baku, Azerbaijan		
1974-77, 1982	Dubrovnik Summer Festival		
1987	Dijon – France	World Folklore Festival	2nd prize
1987	USA Tour (New York, Chicago)		

After the breakdown of relations between Albanians and Serbians, it was inevitable that the ensemble and the repertoire would be divided on a national basis. As a result of the socio-political problems, the artistic work done by the Albanian part was very modest. In contrast, under the influence of ever-increasing nationalism, the Serbian part first of all changed the

¹³⁵ R. NEDELJKOVIĆ: ‘Shota’ korri sukses të madh në arenën e Puljës [Shota Was Very Successful in Pula], *Rilindja* (20 July 1964), 9.

¹³⁶ Akil KOCI: Në ritmin e hovit rinor, shtypi i Genevës për koncertet e Shotës [Press of Geneva for Shota Concerts], *Rilindja* (31 July 1966), 9.

name of the ensemble from *Shota* into *Venac* and continued the work (until 1999) in the same institutional spaces, with activities based only on Serbian culture and art. After the end of the War in Kosovo, *Shota* returned to its home to continue the successful journey, while *Venac* operated for few years in exile in Niš (1999 – 2003), and since 2008 is stationed in the town of Gračanica.

1.1.4. Some (other) Important Cultural-Artistic Societies in Other Towns

The cultural-artistic society *Hasan Prishtina* (1941) was founded in Vushtrri by the following people: Avni Zajmi, Vehbi Bajraktari (chairman), Nebih Hoda (secretary), Mustafë Venhari, Mehmet Bivolaku, Nazmi Mustafa, Shefqet Karakashi, Burhan Badivuku and Isak Buçinca.¹³⁷ This society had an active Drama section, Music section (led by Kadër Myftiu) and Recitation Section. The most important element of the music section was a folk orchestra with the following members: Kadër Myftiu, Rasim Salihu, Rashid Boshnjaku, Slavujko Elezović, Hilat Badivuku, Mehmet Gorani, Rasim Gorani, Ryzhdi Mejzini and Xhevat Banjska.¹³⁸ In Vushtrri, in 1949, another cultural-artistic society, *Rashid Deda*, was founded. Cultural activity was very intensive in all sections of this society: Drama, Folklore, Music, and Recitation. Its members¹³⁹ belonged to all nationalities that lived in Kosovo, and so, until 1955 it was distinguished in that region as a very active artistic society which operated in the Albanian, Serbian and Turkish languages. Until the end of the 1950s, only amateur instrumentalists performed in this orchestra, while from 1961 the orchestra was joined by the first professionals in Vushtrri who had graduated at *Josip Slavenski* Music School in Prizren: Shemsedin Drejta (clarinet), Bedri Drejta (guitar) and later Hysen Badivuku and Xhevat Korllaku (violin). In 1953, in the town of Gjakova the cultural artistic society *Gajreti* was founded (this cultural and artistic society is not identical to *Gajreti* of 1923-1929). A few years later, it was named *Bajram Curri*.

The music society *Gajreti* was founded in 1953 and after a few years it was named *Bajram Curri* and later renamed as *Kosova*. Among all of the other groups (literary and dramatic), the music group was the

¹³⁷ Abdylkadër GALICA: *Veprimtaria Kulturoro-artistike në Vushtrri*, 55.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 82.

¹³⁹ Among the members were: Boško Đorđević (director), Zejno Maxhuni (chairman), Burhan Badivuku (secretary), Kadër Myftiu (music section leader), Shefqet Karakashi (drama section leader), Hylkie Abdullahu (folklore section leader) and Mustafë Venhari (recitative section leader), Isak Buçinca, Kasëm Caka, Branko Derikravić, Rudolf Čebašek, Bosa Ristić and Dragica Elezović etc. Some members in the period 1961-1970 were: Nesim Sunguri (drums); singers: Selvete Tërstena, Lidie Pasoma, Shahzade Pasoma, Miradie Hysa, Nuredin Gubetini, Haki Mikullovc, Faruk Sunguri and Fevzi Sunguri; Nashit Drejta (accordion); Rexhep Bytyqi and Luan Myftiu (drums), etc. Cf. Abdylkadër GALICA: 55, 99.

most successful. Following a reasonable request by the amateurs, it was decided that some distinguished sections of this society become independent, so that in 1960 the music section started an independent amateur journey with the new name *Hajdar Dushi*.¹⁴⁰

In scientific publications, the exact founding year of *Hajdar Dushi* is inconsistently given.

The music society *Hajdar Dushi* was formed in 1962.¹⁴¹ The cultural-artistic society Hajdar Dushi in Gjakova was founded in 1960.¹⁴²

The many transformations witnessed in the organizational and cultural spheres may have influenced the lack of continuity of *Hadar Dushi*. However, the society *Hajdar Dushi* was a continuation of the music activities of the same cultural and artistic society (i.e., *Gajreti*, *Bajram Curri*, *Kosova*). This is proven by the article published in *Rilindja* newspaper on the occasion of the celebration of the 30th anniversary of its foundation.



Figure 14. Article in the newspaper *Rilindja* about SHKA *Hajdar Dushi* (1983)¹⁴³

¹⁴⁰ Skender ZOGAJ: Entuziazmi që nuk di të shterret, [Enthusiasm that Never Ends], *Rilindja* (4 November 1983), 10.

¹⁴¹ Behar ARLLATI: *Tradita muzikore në Gjakovë*, vëllimi I- II, [Music Tradition in Gjakova, vol. I-II] Prishtinë: Ura, 2014, 82.

¹⁴² Krenar DOLI: Shoqëria kulturore-artistike Hajdar Dushi në Gjakovë [Cultural-Artistic Society Hajdar Dushi in Gjakova], *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Kosova*, Prishtina: ASHAK, 2018, p.1609.

¹⁴³ See footnote 140.

From 1953, its members were: Ahmet Pylla, Met Hereçi, Ismet Canhasi, Blagoje Stojanović, Cane Mihajlović, Vaso Vasić, Hysen Haza, Gjergj Gashi, Dima & Jordan Gligoriević, Neshet Mullatahiri, Minir Canhasi, Faik Shala, Xhevat Koshi, Hajrullah Zherka, and many others.¹⁴⁴ The first chairman of this CAS was Musa Efendia, and the artistic directors were Ismet Peja and Zekria Çarkaxhiu.¹⁴⁵ The folk orchestra was the most active section. It consisted of 10-12 instrumentalists and a group of soloists, e.g.: Zekri Çarkaxhiu (leader), Asllan Kryeziu, Bardhosh Rudi, Bashkim Dulatahu, Xhavid Lota, Sabah Bytyqi, Rauf Dhomi, Idriz Dhomi, Besim Tabaku, Besim Peni, Sabah Bytyqi soloists Ismet Peja, Mazllum Myezini, Njazi Nikolić, Serbeze Këpuska, Fehmi Këpuska, Gonxhe Çaushi, Borëbardha Riza, Lumturije Rexha, Hazbije Dautaga, Sadete Kupa, Besa Arllati, Mandushe Abazaga, Fitnete Rexha, Litafete Komoni, Margarita Pjetri, etc.¹⁴⁶ The need for musical activities as well as for music recordings was essential, so *Hajdar Dushi* was among the first to record music on gramophone records. The first three gramophone records of the singers *Qamili i Vogël Muhaxhiri*, *Hashim Shala* and *Tahir Drenica* were realized in Zagreb in the first part of 1960s.¹⁴⁷ During 1968 alone, the singers of *Hajdar Dushi* recorded fifty Albanian folk songs in Radio Prishtina,¹⁴⁸ while between 1966 and 1968 they performed in about 77 musical performances or artistic programs.¹⁴⁹

Gjilan was another town distinguished for its early activities through the cultural-artistic societies. A great contribution to the cultural life of this town was made by many teachers who came to Gjilan from Albania during World War II, and by some teachers and intellectuals from Gjilan and other towns of Kosovo: Halil Bejta – Lila, Abdyrrahman Hafuzi – Durra, Kurbi Shehu, Behxhet Arapi, Ibrahim Qerimi, Mark Kaçinari, Melihate Nura, Masar Kadiu, Isa Mula, Tahir Ibrani, Ali Buhiqi, Hasan Bunjaku, Zymryte Tali, Ramiz Ajvazi, Enver Bekteshi, Muharrem Bajra, Jakup Karajashari, Arif Pajaziti-Klaiçi, Reshat Ramadani, Adush Ramadani, Hajredin Gashi, Shukri Sllamniku, Rexhep Maksuti, Enver Shahini, Nehat Sherifi, Makfire

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Krenar DOLI: *Shoqëria Kulturore-artistike Hajdar Dushi - Gjakovë*, 1609.

¹⁴⁶ D. K: Dy koncerte që entuziazmuën publikun, [Two Concerts that Excited the Public], *Rilindja* (6 February 1965), 13.; B. SHKRELI: Hajdar Dushi – Burim këngëtarësh të rinj, [Hajdar Dushi – Source of Young Singers], *Rilindja* (2 February 1965), 10.; ***: Hajdar Dushi - në turne nëpër Maqedoni, [Hajdar Dushi Tour in Macedonia], *Rilindja* (12 July 1966), 9.

¹⁴⁷ ***: Duel edhe pllaka e tretë e Qamilit të Vogël [The Third Gramophone Record of Qamili i Vogël is Published], *Rilindja* (12 August 1965), 7.

¹⁴⁸ Jusuf BUXHOVI: Inçizime të reja të muizkës popullore [New Recording of Popular Music], *Rilindja* (16 July 1968), 8.

¹⁴⁹ M. KURSANI: Për tri vjet 77 koncerte para afër 30 mijë shikuesve [In Three Years 77 Concerts in Front of Thirty Thousand People], *Rilindja* (28 January 1969), 10.

Osmani, Mejreme Malisheva, and Makfire Deda.¹⁵⁰ In spring of 1947 the cultural-artistic society *Drita* [Light] was established in Gjilan (alongside the other cultural societies such as *Bratstvo*, *Veselin Masleša*, *Jeni Hayat*, etc). Isa Iliazi from Gjilan, a well-known activist of the time, was elected the first chairman of *Drita*. After Isa Iliazi, Tahir Ibrani from Gjakova, the prosecutor of the District Prosecutor's Office in Gjilan was elected to the position.¹⁵¹ In 1967 a group of enthusiasts, namely Rexhep Maksuti, Hana Hasani, Adush Ramadani, Zenelabedin Mustafa – Abedushi, Reshat Ramadani, etc., reformed *Drita* and converted it into a multiethnic music society. Albanian, Serbian, Roma and Turkish music was performed by its members, organized in sections consisting of a group of folk song soloists, a vocal-instrumental ensemble for entertaining music, and a folk-dance ensemble, all led by Isa Jakupi and Reshat Ramadani.¹⁵²

Ferizaj is one of the newest towns in Kosovo. The earliest cultural-artistic trace evidenced in this city was the cultural-artistic society *Mustafa Bakija* established in May 1950. It numbered about 90 active members (including a folk orchestra and a group of singers).¹⁵³ Some early members were Qazim Metahysa (leader) Noc Deda, Minush Lipoveci, Nijazi Halili, Hilmije Shllaku, Katarina Josipi, Antoneta Karahisani, and Matej Serreçi.¹⁵⁴ Two important moments related to this town were the establishment of the music-literary society *Kastriotët* [Kastriots] (in 1967) and the establishment of the festival *Kosovarja këndon* [Kosovan Women Sings] (in 1972).¹⁵⁵ Initially it was founded as a literary-musical society, later as a Cultural and Artistic Society, and after 1999 it became known as the Ensemble of Songs and Dances *Kastriotët* The

¹⁵⁰ Reshat RAMADANI: *Veprimtaria e SHKA-ve në Gjilan*, 395.; Cf. R.M: Puna don edhe mirëkuptim, [Work Also Needs Understanding], *Rilindja* (21 March 1973), 11.

¹⁵¹ Reshat RAMADANI: *Veprimtaria e SHKA-ve në Gjilan*, 395.

¹⁵² The members of *Drita* were mainly pupils and teachers of the local elementary schools and a small number of professional individuals who had completed *Josip Slavenski* Music School in Prizren or the High Pedagogical School in Prishtina. Some of its members were: Isa Jakupi, Reshat Ramadani, Xhevat Ismajli, Rexhep Munishi, Izet Kallaba, Esat Shkodra, Bajram Osmani, Bajram Behluli, Adush Ramadani, Rrustem Jashari, Fevzi Ramadani, Bajram Osmani, Basri Biçku, Muzafer Gjinolli, Rexhep Maksuti, Zenelabedin Mustafa, Sabit Demiri, Fehime Matoshi, Islam Hasi, Pajazit Bektashi, Hamide Kallaba, Esat Shkodra, Metush Idrizi, Ekrem Veseli, Jahja Arifi, Miftar Miftari, Rifat Shabani, Shyhrete Ymeri, Gjylie Maloku, Bahrie Halimi, Naxhie Selimi, Sebahate Hasani, Lumturije Ibrahim, and Hajrie Morina. Cf. Reshat RAMADANI: *Veprimtaria e SHKA-ve në Gjilan, Gjilani me rrethinë* [Gjilan and the surrounding area], monograph study by a group of authors, Gjilan, 2012, 397-398. Cf. H. BUNJAKU: Abrashević – befasi e këndshme [Abrashević – Pleasant Surprise] *Rilindja* (6 June 1976), 12.

¹⁵³ Ali MULA: Vjeti 1951-52 kanë qenë ma të frytshmet për shoqinë kulturore artistike *Mustafa Bakija* në Ferizaj, [The Years 1951-52 Were More Fruitful for CAS Mustafa Bakija Than for the Other Cultural Societies], *Rilindja* (15 April 1954), 7.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ The festival *Kosovarja këndon* [Kosovan Woman Sings] was founded in 1972 and is considered a unique activity in the musical tradition of Kosovo, because its main purpose is the emancipation and unfolding of the cultural values of Albanian women. (For more see: Albulena NUREDINI, *Vështrim historik mbi rrugëtimin 40-vjeçar të festivalit Kosovarja këndon*, [Historical Overview of the 40-year Journey of the **Kosovan Woman Sings** Festival], Prizren, 2015.

first orchestra members were Hysen Demjaha (accordion), Bislim Kastrati (clarinet), Baki Kastrati (prim), Fehmi Zeqiri (mandolin), Adem Bilalli and Kamer Avdiu (guitar), Jakup Bunjaku (violin), Gani Selimi (cello) and Shabi Sejdiu (tambourine), while the first soloists were Nol Berisha, Hivzi Fazliu, Qamil Bytyqi, Zyrafete Fazliu, Ismet Topalli and Feim Jupa.¹⁵⁶ In general, the activity of this ensemble is divided into three periods: the 1967-77 period known for rich musical activities (until 1977, *Kastriotët* performed in over 236 concerts in Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia¹⁵⁷); the 1981-99 period was characterized by many difficulties and challenges (in those years *Kastriotët* was almost non-existent); and the period from 2000 onwards which can be labelled as the period of the renaissance of this ensemble.¹⁵⁸ One of the most prominent contributors responsible for raising and advancing this ensemble was the composer Fahri Beqiri, who managed to elevate the ensemble to the status of a national folk orchestra, (i.e., in 2020 it was proclaimed one of the best folk orchestras in Kosovo).

1.1.5. Turkish Cultural-Artistic Societies Established in the 1950s

The years after World War II were a time of many 'firsts' in Turkish culture and art in Kosovo: the first magazines were published, the first compositions and television programs were created, and the creations of Kosovo-Turkish culture was presented at international festivals.¹⁵⁹ During the 1950s several Turkish cultural artistic societies were established in Kosovo such as, for example, *Doğru Yol Türk Kültür Sanat Derneği* [Doğru Yol Turkish Culture and Art Association], in Prizren, *Birlik* [Unity] in Mitrovica, *Jeni Hayat* [New Life] in Gjilan and *Jeni Hayat* in Prishtina, all of which established in 1951. *Doğru Yol Türk Kültür Sanat Derneği* [Doğru Yol Turkish Culture and Art Association], was founded by some artists, actors, merchants, musicians, businessmen, doctors, educators and civil servants from Prizren and aimed to cultivate the traditions and folklore of the Turkish nation in Kosovo. This amateur society was turned into an enthusiastic center for songs and dances and it ranked among the most active cultural and artistic societies in Kosovo. By 1986, the society had about 600

¹⁵⁶ Zeynel BEKSAÇ: Prizren'deki Doğru Yol Derneği 65 Yaşında, [Doğru Yol Association in Prizren on the 65th Anniversary] *Yeni New Balkan*, <<http://www.yenibalkan.com/tr/kultur/prizrendeki-dogru-yol-dernegi-65-yasinda>> (accessed 19 January 2022).

¹⁵⁷ Rafet RUDI: Çerdhe e kultivimit të artit muzikor, [Nursery of the Cultivation of Musical Art], *Rilindja* (24 May 1977), 12.

¹⁵⁸ Sami PIRAJ: Anasambli i Këngëve dhe Valleve *Kastriotët* Ferizaj, [Ensemble of Songs and Dances Kastriotët in Ferizaj], *Fjalori Enciklopedik i Kosovës*, Vol. I, Prishtina: ASHAK, 2018, 53.

¹⁵⁹ Zeynel BEKSAÇ: Prizren'deki Doğru Yol Derneği 65 Yaşında.

members and had given over 2,500 public presentations.¹⁶⁰ The cultural programs of this society included the musical repertoire of all communities that lived in Kosovo, and their performances, which were given in the Albanian, Serbian and Turkish languages, were distinguished by their multicultural diversity. Performances with folk music, especially Turkish music, were frequent. The *Rilindja* reported that this society very often organized two concerts per month.¹⁶¹ *Doğru Yol* numbered more than eighty active members who operated in different sections: the music section included Turkish art music, Turkish folk music – *Sazlar*¹⁶², a folk dance ensemble, an entertaining music section, a choir section, a theatre and drama section, a literature section and a children's group.¹⁶³ Some of the members of the music section were: Ziya Şishko, Reşat Şinik, Aziz Buş, Başkim Chabrat, Faik Emruş, Izet Kiser, Melek Tamnik, Tahir Virmiça, Raif Virmiça, Fadil Shala, Nevzat Şundo, Irfan Şekerci, Hysein Kazaz, Vesel Morina, Kader Tamnik, Sheki Hoxha, Rushit Kryeziu, Reşit İsmet, and many others. *Yeni Hayat* was a well-known cultural-artistic society established in Prishtina in 1951. After 1969, *Yeni Hayat* changed its name to *Gerçek* [The truth].¹⁶⁴ Following a decision of the Executive Council in the same year the Turkish Orchestra was established, led by Rasim Salih and his friends Bayram Kırveş, Adem Macula and Bedri Tumbak.¹⁶⁵ During the 1950s and 1960s the activity of this society was quite extensive and it numbered about 113 active members including the choir, two groups of singers, group of mandolinists, the drama section and the dance group.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁰ Qerkin BYTYQI: Vatër entuziastësh, SHKA Dogru Yol, [Home of Enthusiasm CAS Dogru Yol], *Rilindja* (16 January 1986), 10.

¹⁶¹ A. DEMA: Kontribut i mië i popullarizimit të amatorëve tanë [Good Contribution of Our Amateur's Fame] *Rilindja*, (25 July 1963), 9.; Ruzhdi SHUSHA: Një a dy koncerte në muaj, [One or Two Concerts in One Month], *Rilindja* (18 February 1974), 9.

¹⁶² A folk orchestra with the Turkish instrument the *saz*. The term *saz* refers to a family of plucked string instruments used in Turkish folk and art music. The phenomenon of *Saze* or *Music with saze* in Albanian music is related to the performing of folk music with well-tempered instruments such as violin, clarinet, accordion, etc., which became part of civic folk music especially in the central and southern parts of Albania in the second half of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth.

¹⁶³ A. DEMA: Kontribut i mië i popullarizimit të amatorëve tanë, 9.

¹⁶⁴ Interview with Münir Curi (7 April 2019), *Oral History Kosovo*, (PDF Download) <<https://oralhistorykosovo.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/M%C3%BCnir-Curi-Eng.pdf>> (accessed 19 October 2021).

¹⁶⁵ Qerkin BYTYQI: Vatër entuziastësh, SHKA Dogru Yol, [Home of Enthusiasm is CAS Dogru Yol], *Rilindja* (16 January 1986), 10.

¹⁶⁶ ***: SHKA Jeni Hajat e Prishtinës mendon me e zgjanue punën e vet, [CAS Jeni Hajat Tries to Expand Its Work], *Rilindja* (3 October 1954), 5.

Cultural-artistic societies (as centers where all forms of art were practiced) existed everywhere (in towns, villages, working collectives, etc.). Realizing a human need for artistic expression, they became an inseparable part of life, especially in a period when the possibilities for the development of art were not multidimensional. Their role was powerful in the process of creating an all-inclusive cultural space which included popular music and amateurism. Regarding the forms of music-making in the European art music tradition, the trajectory of progress remains especially connected with larger urban centers (e.g., Prizren, Prishtina, Mitrovica, Peja, Gjakova, etc.) because they offered wider opportunities for music education, institutionalization and various forms of music-making.

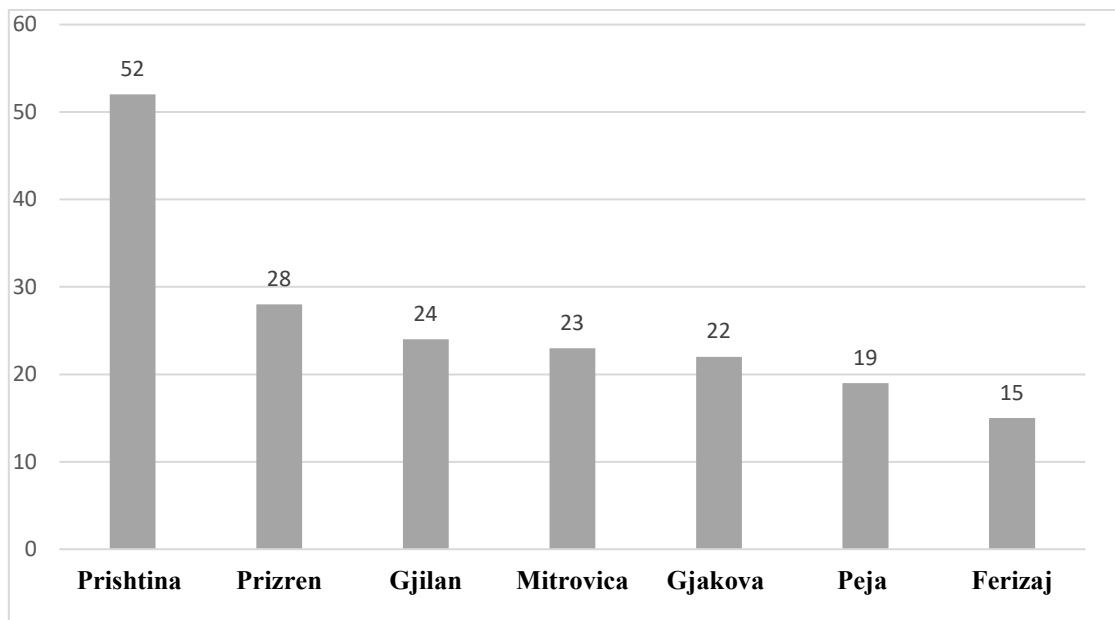


Figure 15. The number of Cultural-Artistic Societies according to regions

In Figure 21. the distribution of Cultural-Artistic Societies (CASs) according to the regional division of Kosovo is depicted, while Appendix 1. provides a chronological listing of CASs established primarily from the 1940s until 1989. The subsequent activities (1990s onwards) of these societies are not elaborated upon in this study for two main reasons. Firstly, the political circumstances of the 1990s introduced a radically different environment compared to the preceding decades, leading to significant cultural shifts marked by fragmentation and diminished activity within the cultural sector. Secondly, the new conditions that emerged after 1999 brought about a transformation in the cultural landscape. The focus shifted towards art

music and the professionalization of music. Consequently, many old and newly formed CASs continued operating on an amateur or semi-professional basis. However, in my view, their continued existence no longer played a crucial role in the development of the general history of art music in Kosovo. Therefore, this chapter provides significant insights into the activities of CASs up to 1989, contributing to a comprehensive understanding of their impact on the cultural and artistic development in Kosovo.

MUSIC INSTITUTIONALIZATION THROUGH THE ORGANIZATION OF MUSIC EDUCATION

General music institutionalization in Kosovo was carried out in line with the established arts politics of the other regions of former Yugoslavia and led to the gradual production of similar institutions and aesthetic standards. This process was part of a complex evolution influenced by socio-cultural transformations and prevailing perspectives on the relationship between art and cultural politics. It marked the beginning of a clear distinction between amateurism and professionalism, as well as between traditional music practices and classical forms. From 1948 onwards, the foundations of music education in Kosovo were established for the first time, setting the stage for music-making practices that were distinct from traditional amateur approaches.

In general, the phenomenon of institutionalization as a regulator of musical life was related to two different moments in time and two different socio-political environments, namely the periods before and after 1999. Not coincidentally, progressive cultural changes and developments tend to occur after major social disturbances and wars, and it was precisely with the end of World War II and the Kosovo War of 1999 that the concrete forms of music institutionalization emerged, especially in terms of education. This process started after 1945 and was realized under the influence of the circumstances of the time which supported the improvement of cultural and artistic life. In contrast, the second set of developments occurred after the war in Kosovo (1999), under completely different circumstances.

In general, this chapter takes into consideration specific developments which occurred following the permanent institutionalization of music education in Kosovo. The year 1948 represents the beginning of this process, as that was the year in which the first music school *Josip Slavenski* (now Lorenc Antoni) in Prizren was established, followed in 1949 by *Stevan Mokranjac* (now Prenk Jakova) in Prishtina. The institutionalization of music was a mandatory precondition for sustainable cultural and social development and it had a profound effect on the trajectory of musical and cultural developments in the 1950s and 1960s. Music schools were the main generators in the production of music professionals who were involved in every aspect of musical productivity. In the two aforementioned schools the professional training of the entire musical community (including composers, conductors, instrumentalists, and pedagogues) was carried out. The interest in learning music grew because the demand for music

professionals was high. In addition, between the 1950s and 1990, many primary music schools were opened in other towns such as Mitrovica (1954), Gjakova (1970), Peja (1976), Gračanica (1976), Gjilan (1978), Ferizaj (1996) and Stanišor (1997). After the 2000s, two other primary music schools were established in Vushtrri (2011) and in Rahovec (2012). The foundation of the Higher Pedagogical School with a department for music education (formed in 1963) and the Music Academy in Prishtina in 1975, served as the cornerstone of an important and multidimensional chapter of the history of music in Kosovo. After the interruption between 1990 and 1999, music education embarked on a new and challenging chapter, detached from the old institutional forms, employing new curricula, and undergoing adaptation to a new social reality and the new demands of the market. According to Besa Luzha (who holds a PhD in music education), after 1945 music education was developed in several different political contexts, each with its own specifics: a) Music education as a basic right (1945-1968); b) Music education as emancipation (1968-1980); c) Music education as struggle (1980-1990); d) Music education as survival (1990-1999); and e) Music education in a post-war context (2000 to the present).¹⁶⁷ In general, music education is an unstoppable process which has occurred despite many challenges. However, in terms of historical importance, it represents the cornerstone of all professional musical developments in Kosovo.

2.1 The Music Secondary Schools: *Josip Slavenski* (now Lorenc Antoni) and *Stevan Mokranjac* (now Prenk Jakova): Their Role in Creating Professionalism in Music

2.1.1. Josip Slavenski Music School

The process of institutionalization and the systematic progress that resulted was influenced by two main factors. Initially, there were the intensive initiatives of individuals such as Lorenc Antoni and Rexho Mulliqi (and especially L. Antoni), who were equipped with professional musical knowledge and emerged into artistic life as complex personalities who contributed to musical creativity, organization and education. In reality, they had become the driving force of the entire process. The second factor (no less important and equally determining for this new development) was the very institutionalization of musical life and the establishment of a

¹⁶⁷ See: Besa LUZHA: *Music Education in Post-War Kosovo, Generalist and Specialist Teachers' Identities, Beliefs and Practices*, (Doctoral Thesis), UCL Institute of Education, 2015, 31.

musical education system in the country, which is the key aspect of this whole process. Music schools in Kosovo appeared as part of the general spirit of developments in the 1940s. Seen from the perspective of music educational developments in other places in former Yugoslavia, it is obvious that the emergence of music schools in Kosovo was an especially slow and delayed process. In this regard, the year 1948 was decisive.

At the request of the Kosovo Provincial Council for Culture and Education, in 1948 the Ministry of Science and Culture in Belgrade sent its representative, the prominent composer and professor at the Academy of Music in Belgrade, Josip Štolcer-Slavenski, to assess the feasibility of opening the first music school in the Province of Kosovo.¹⁶⁸ After Slavenski gave his unequivocal support and following the approval of the Provincial Council and the Ministry of Science and Culture in Belgrade, and above all upon the great initiative of Lorenc Antoni (to whom belongs the credit for the founding of this school), in September 1948, by decree No. 48799-48, the first music school in Kosovo was founded. After an audition for the entrance exam, which 48 students passed and were admitted, lecturing began on 20 October 1948.¹⁶⁹ The first students enrolled in the primary music school in the school year 1948/49 were: Severin Kajtazi, Žarko Milojković, Vilma Antoni, Maria Antoni, Regjina Shiroka, Afërdita Fehmiu, Age Çupërijani, Nusrete Morina, Nashide Shporta, Sevime Kabashi, Biserka Stojnović, Olgica Stefanović, Olivera Đorđević, Elza Shiroka, Veronika Mjeda, Gordana Jovanog, Biserka Popović, Karolina Vuçaj, Albina Bashota, Olgica Stojković, Matej Lumezi, Sebahate Jabllanica, and some others.¹⁷⁰ These students received lessons in three sections: *piano* with professor Nela Jakić, *violin* with professor Lorenc Antoni, and *trumpet* and *wind instruments* with professor Josip Barišić who had been a military musician-conductor in the Prizren military garrison since 1931.

¹⁶⁸ Lorenc ANTONI: *Njëzet vjet të shkollës së muzikës Josip Slavenski në Prizren* [Twenty Years of the Music school Josip Slavenski in Prizren], Prizren: Ramiz Sadiku, 1968, 3.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 5.

¹⁷⁰ *30 vite të shkollës së muzikës Josip Slavenski 1948-1978*, [30 Years of the Josip Slavenski Music School, 1948-1978], Prizren: 1978, 25.



Figure 16. Photographs from the Music School *Josip Slavenski* in Prizren between 1948 and 1958.¹⁷¹

In the first year, the Music School *Josip Slavenski* operated only as a music primary school, and from 1949 as a music secondary school. The first group of students to graduate in the theoretical section in 1953 were Engjëll Berisha, Zita Bashota, Shefqet Kazazi, Marije Antoni, Krist Lekaj, Mark Kaçinari, Nashide Shporta, Nadire Vraniqi, Matej Lumezi, and Borivoje Popović.¹⁷² With the increase of the number of students, the need also grew for professional teaching cadres. Thus, during the 1950s many new professors joined the school: in **1949**: Aleksander Petrović (from Novi Sad) – violin; in **1950**: Jovica Marinković (from Belgrade) – piano, Olga Nastić (from Novi Sad) – piano and Nuri Sherifi from Gjakova – violin; in **1951**: Branislav Milošević (from Belgrade) – theoretical subjects and singing; in **1952**: Radojica Milosavljević (from Aleksinac) and Milivoje Krstić – theoretical subjects. In addition to these professors, some other professionals who worked at the school in the first decades were Petar

¹⁷¹ Photographs in Figures 16. 17. 18. are unpublished photographs found in *Lorenc Antoni* Music School's Archive in Prizren, (specifically in a box with old photos), during my personal research, conducted in year 2021.

¹⁷² *30 vite të shkollës së muzikës Josip Slavenski 1948-1978*, 26.

Dorđević, Dušan Borzanović, Tomislav Stojković, Miloš Čuparević, Vekoslav Ristić, Beqir Dervishi, Hanelora Dervishi, Ibish Gashi, Jovan Šutaković, Petar Martinović, Engjëll Berisha, Xhemil Doda, and Shefqet Kazazi.¹⁷³ In 1951/52 the first orchestra led by Lorenc Antoni was founded, while the choir started in 1949/50.



Figure 17. The first school orchestra, 1951/52, conductors: Lorenc Antoni (above) and Radojica Milosavljević (below)

¹⁷³ 30 vite të shkollës së muzikës Josip Slavenski 1948-1978, pp.12-13.

During the first years of activity, the choir, orchestra and soloists (on different instruments) were presented in various competitions organized at the Provincial or Federal level. In 1958, the mixed choir took part in a music competition in Niš, and was described by Mihajlo Vukdragović, at that time the President of the Federation of Music Societies of Serbia, as “a brilliant choir – a true discovery”.¹⁷⁴ By the late 1950s about 250 professional musicians (music teachers) had graduated from this school and tens of them went on to graduate from the Academy of Music in Belgrade.¹⁷⁵



Figure 18. Concert on the Occasion of the 25th Anniversary of the Founding of the School in 1973 (Conductor: Tomislav Stojković)

2.1.2. *Stevan Mokranjac* Music School

Until 1961/62, *Josip Slavenski* in Prizren was the only Music Secondary School in Kosovo. The need to open another music school, this time in the capital, was clear. At the session of the Regional People's Committee, held on 21 September 1949, it was decided to establish the primary Music School *Stevan Mokranjac* in Prishtina, which would gather all talented children

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁵ Ali DEMA: Po shtohet nevoja për kuadrin e kualifikuem të muzikës [The Need for Qualified Music Staff is Increasing], *Rilindja* (21 February 1961), 9.

and youths. In the beginning the school was located in a building near the Old Post Office, then a few years later the school was transferred to a small building (near the elementary school Vuk Karadžić, now Elena Gjika).¹⁷⁶ In the period 1949-1962 the school operated only as a primary music school in the framework of the Secondary School *Miladin Popović*.¹⁷⁷ With the decision of the Executive Council of the Municipal Assembly of Prishtina according to the Act No. 01-16382, it was officially established as a Music Secondary School on 28 August 1963.¹⁷⁸

The school's activities faced difficult conditions in terms of the lack of musical instruments, the professional cadres, and the school facility itself. Great contributions were made by foreign musicians. Dimitrij Perlić (a violinist, concertmaster in the City Symphony Orchestra in Prishtina and a violin pedagogue in music schools in Prishtina, Prizren and Mitrovica¹⁷⁹) and his wife Vilma Čermak Perlić were transferred from the music school in Zrenjanin (Serbia) to Prishtina, and they brought with them their concert piano.¹⁸⁰ In addition, many pianos and other musical instruments were brought from Novi Sad as a practical support for the new music-educational institutions formed in Kosovo. Among the first teachers were: Venceslav Apt, Ivan Ban, Karlo Mrekut, Maria Galun, Jože Parinski, Borivoje Popović, Momir Ivanović, Vlada Marjanović, Petar Petrović, Olga Janković, Gabriela Kiš, Vitomir Dimić, Marjan Miloš, Ivan Vanja, Oliver Ristić, Nikola Bunjin, and others. The first Albanian teacher to work in this music school was Shefqet Pllana who during the years 1951-53 worked in Prishtina Gymnasium and only part-time in the music school where he was engaged for solfeggio and music theory. Some of his very first students were Imran Shala, Vera Gjevori, Marija Staka, and Isak Muçolli.¹⁸¹ Among the other first Albanian teachers were Hadije Gjinali, Afërdita Fehmiu, Qazim Oruqi, Pasionaria Gjinali, Bahri Çela, Selim Ballata, Veronika Mjeda, Letafete Ballata, Besa Zajmi, and Bajar Berisha. Also, the brothers Dragoljub and Ratomir Moračić (for many years the

¹⁷⁶ The school building had in total four classrooms, an assembly hall, the principal's office, secretary's office, a small concert hall, as well as some auxiliary buildings (barracks) with very small classrooms (for individual learning). At first it was a military building, later a Hospital, Surgery Department, then a carpet factory and finally a music school. The school operated in the aforementioned location until 2013 when, with the promise of a new one, the old school building was demolished and the school moved first to a new location in the former Economy school building, and then in 2016 to the building of the Medical School *Dr. Ali Sokoli*. Since the school year 1991/92 the school was named after the Serbian composer Stevan Mokranjac, while on 20 June 1992 with the decision of the Ministry of Education and Science (in exile), Act no. 01.16382 the school (Albanian part) was named Prenk Jakova.

¹⁷⁷ *Provincial Secretariat for Education, Culture and Science*, Fund no. 219, Box: 16, Years 1954-64. See: State Archives of the Republic of Kosovo, Prishtina.

¹⁷⁸ *Shkolla e Muzikës Prenk Jakova: 70 Vjet Edukim* [70 Years of Education] Booklet. Prishtinë: 2019, pp.4-5.

¹⁷⁹ "Perlić Dimitrije" in Křešimir KOVAČEVIĆ (Ed.) *Leksikon jugoslavenske muzike 2 Me-Ž*, 161.

¹⁸⁰ *Osnovna Muzička Škola Stevan Mokranjac, Priština-Gračanica 1949-2009*, Booklet. Gračanica: 2009, 3.

¹⁸¹ 30 vite të shkollës së muzikës 'Stevan Mokranjac' 1949-1979, [30 Years of the Music School Stevan Mokranjac 1949-1979], Prishtina, 1979, 16.

school director) were influential individuals in the capital who politically supported music schools and the general development of art music in Kosovo. The first generation of students, in the Music Secondary School in Prishtina numbered 15 (9 Albanian and 6 Serbian).¹⁸² In 1964/65 only two of them, Pasionaria Gjinali and Filomena Stojanović graduated,¹⁸³ while the first pupils who graduated the primary level in this school were Ljubinka Borjanović, Ildika Vengrin, Verica Jović, Paraskeva Aksentijević, Tatjana Karadžić, Ivan Denisenko, Nexhmedin Brizani, Dobrila Lakičević and Snežana Tanević.¹⁸⁴



Figure 19. Students of the first generation, registered in the music school in Prishtina in the year 1961/62. ¹⁸⁵

Until the academic year 1969/70, when classes were divided according to nationality (Albanian/Serbian), teaching in the secondary school was conducted only through the Serbian language. Later the Music Secondary School gave parallel instruction, with separate classes for the Albanian students and the Serbian students.

¹⁸² Bajram SHATRI: *Arsimi dhe shkollat e mesme në Kosovë në shekullin XX* [Education and High Schools in Kosovo in the 20th Century], Prishtinë: Libri shkollor, 2019, 239.

¹⁸³ Opštinska Samoupravna Interesna Zajednica Obrazovanja i Vaspitanja, *30 Godina Muzičke Škole Stevan Mokranjac 1949-1979*, [30 Year of the Music School Stevan Mokranjac 1949-1979], Booklet, Prishtina: Rilindja, 1979, 29.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 28.

¹⁸⁵ Shkolla e Muzikës Prenk Jakova: *70 Vjet Edukim*, 4.



Figure 20. The first generation of students from the parallel Albanian class (1969)¹⁸⁶

Musical education had constantly faced many challenges – from technical to substantive ones; however, from the 1960s almost all those who formed part of the musical world passed through these two music schools. Their contribution is most valuable because the above-mentioned music schools were important cornerstones of the overall progress of music.

Table 7. Number of students who graduated from Prizren and Prishtina Music High Schools (1952-1974)

Students who graduated in the period (1952-1962) from the <i>Music High School Josip Slavenski – Prizren</i>											
Year	1952/53	1953/54	1954/55	1955/56	1956/57	1957/58	1958/59	1959/60	1960/61	1961/62	Total
No	10	12	4	18	20	16	17	24	16	10	147
Students who graduated in the period (1964-1974) from the <i>Music High School Stevan Mokranjac – Prishtina</i>											
Year	1964/65	1965/66	1966/67	1967/68	1968/69	1969/70	1970/71	1971/72	1972/73	1973/74	Total
No.	2	9	12	13	9	25	27	23	17	21	158

During the late 1980s, general cultural, artistic and educational developments began to advance while political circumstances started to deteriorate. While general musical activity (including education) was being consolidated, the political situation began to change the course of

¹⁸⁶ Unpublished photograph provided by Mrs. Selvete Ismaili, former student of this class, personal communication (18 January 2021).

progress, leading education in Kosovo down a challenging and dangerous path in the years 1990-1999.

During the 1970s and 1980s, the educational system in Kosovo was characterized by the division of students into parallel classes based on their ethnic backgrounds. Specifically, there were separate classes for Albanian-speaking students and Serbian-speaking students. This marked a shift from the practices in the previous decades as 1940s and 1950s, when classrooms were integrated with students of different ethnicities, such as Albanians, Serbs and others, and were educated together without segregation based on national or ethnic lines. During the integrated multinational classes, instruction was conducted in Serbo-Croatian language. The national-based segregation was further intensified in the 1990s, culminating in the complete expulsion of Albanian students and teachers from school premises and institutions, including high schools and universities, (until the liberation of Kosovo, in 1999) marking one of the most challenging decades in the modern history of Kosovo. (For more see subchapter 4.2: Deinstitutionalization in Education and Cultural life Between 1990 and 1999: The Impact of Political Crisis and the War of 1999).¹⁸⁷

In 2000 the newly formed institutions introduced general educational reforms which were independent of the oppressive, former Communist and Serbian constraints.¹⁸⁸ The New Kosovo Curriculum Framework (NKCF) – which dealt with pre-university education, finalized as a White paper in 2001 by the Ministry of Education, Sport and Technology (MEST) and which was based on the European model – introduced new perspectives in the hopes that all Kosovo children should benefit from those free and democratic education policies having as a consequence the change in aims, content and methodology of education.¹⁸⁹ The goals of the NKCF are related to the creation of favorable conditions for modern teaching, both in terms of quality and infrastructure. This process has not passed without challenges, difficulties and deficiencies and the main focus still falls on the imperative of drafting the new professional curriculum. For example, in many professional subjects, books by Serbian authors such as Jela Kršić for piano and Borivoje Popović for solfeggio, are still used, while for many other subjects unofficial manuscripts, brochures or privately published texts are used (e.g. in the areas of

¹⁸⁷ After the breakdown of Albanian-Serbian relations, from 20 June 1992, with Act No. 01.16382 of the Ministry of Education and Science (in exile), the Albanian part of the Music School *Stevan Mokranjac* was renamed *Prenk Jakova*, whereas the Serbian part of the school continued still to be called *Stevan Mokranjac* (recently located in Gračanica).

¹⁸⁸ Besa LUZHA: *Music Education in Post-War Kosovo, Generalist and Specialist Teachers' Identities, Beliefs and Practices*, 43.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

Music Theory, Harmony, Musical Forms, and Polyphony). In terms of infrastructure some factors that could positively influence continuous progress are the opening of new schools (in all towns), new instrumental departments as well as governmental support for building new school premises for modern learning. The presence of music in human life as a fundamental component of culture and behavior makes music education an important and determining aspect of social and cultural development. So, in this context, the number of music educational institutions (primary and high music schools) should increase, with the aim of making this process a regular, unstoppable and ever-growing system. In addition to public music schools, in recent years the number of courses and private schools for learning music in different forms – singing, playing instruments, ballet, etc. – has brought a new spirit which offers multidimensional opportunities in artistic education, raising professional and creative capacities and enabling greater involvement of young people in the world of the arts.

Table 8. (Public) Primary and Secondary Music Schools in Kosovo

City	Year	Primary / High School	School name before the 1990s	School name after the 1990s
Prizren	1948	Primary music school	Josip Slavenski	Lorenc Antoni
	1949	Secondary music school		
Prishtina	1949	Primary music school	Stevan Mokranjac	Prenk Jakova – Prishtina Stevan Mokranjac – Gračanica
	1962	Secondary music school		
Mitrovica	1954	Primary music school	Jovanka Radivojević Kica	Miodrag Vasiljević – North Mitrovica Tefta Tashko – South Mitrovica
	2005	Secondary music school		
Gjakova	1970	Primary music school	Music school	Prenk Jakova
	2010	Secondary music school		
Peja	1976	Primary music school	Music school	Halit Kasapolli
	2008	Secondary music school		
Gračanica	1976	Primary music school	J.U. OŠ Hasan Kikić	
Gjilan	1978	Primary music School	Music school*	Music School – Gjilan Stevan Hristić – Stanišor (Serbian language)
	1997	Secondary music School		
Ferizaj	1996	Primary music school	Music school	Çesk Zadeja
	1998	Secondary music school		

* In the town of Kamenica, the music primary school, which operates as a branch (subsidiary) of the music school in Gjilan, was opened in 2021.

Vushtrri	2011	Primary music school	Tefta Tashko
Rahovec	2012	Primary music school	Faik Sylka

2.2. Historical Background of Higher Music Education: The Higher Pedagogical School and the Faculty of Arts (Department of Music) in Prishtina

The interest in opening new (higher) educational institutions emerged in 1956/57 when at the meeting of the ‘Elders for Education in Kosovo’ the opening of a Pedagogical Higher School in Prishtina was proposed. The attempt to resolve the issue of the lack of qualified teachers in many subjects eventually led to the establishment of the Institution called *Shkolla e Lartë Pedagogjike* – SHLP [Higher Pedagogical School – HPS] through Act, No. 378 of 21 November 1957. By 1970, the following Higher Pedagogical Schools and Branches had been established in Kosovo:

Table 9. Higher Pedagogical Schools in Kosovo

Year	School	City	Branches in Prishtina HPS:
1958	Higher Pedagogical School	Prishtina	1958/59: Albanian Language and Literature, Serbo-Croatian, Language and Literature, Basic Education Engineering and Physics, Mathematics and Physics, Biology and Chemistry.
1959	Higher Administration School	Prishtina	
1960	Higher Economic-Commercial School Higher Agricultural School	Peja Prishtina	1959/60: Basis of Technical Education and Physics. 1960/61: Russian language and Literature, English language and Literature.
1962	Higher Engineering School Higher Engineering School Higher Pedagogical School <i>Xhevdet Doda</i>	Prishtina Mitrovica Prizren	
1967	Higher Pedagogical School <i>Bajram Curri</i>	Gjakova	
1975	Higher Pedagogical School <i>Skenderbeu</i>	Gjilan	1962/63: Figurative Art, Musical Art , Physical and Health Education.
1976	Higher Engineering School	Ferizaj	*Prishtina HPS established a Centre for part-time studies in 1962 in Novi Pazar. ¹⁹⁰

The High Pedagogical School (HPS) began to operate in 1958 as a specialized institution for the education of future professional cadres. In 1958/59 alone, the first year of studies, ninety-

¹⁹⁰ Destan HALIMI (ed.): *Universiteti i Prishtinës 1970-2005* [University of Prishtina 1970-2005], Prishtina: University of Prishtina, 2005, 10.

three full-time and fifty-five part-time students were enrolled.¹⁹¹ In October 1962, studies in three departments were established for the first time: visual art, musical art and physical education. The first music professors/teachers engaged in the HPS were Engjëll Berisha (music history), Mark Kaçinari (solfeggio), Vinçenc Gjini (harmony), Muhamet Belegu (mandolin, accordion), Bahri Çela (conducting, choir and orchestra), Sevime Kabashi and Marko Savić (piano), Draško Čolić (violin), and Kristë Lekaj (musical forms, knowledge of instruments). Between 1963 and 1968 forty-five students graduated: Mihajlo Čemerkić, Stojan Zravkovski, Vilma Antoni, Verica Jović, Hajrie Ruben, Katarina Lukić, Olga Čemerikić, Milorad Geriš, Mirolub Pešić, Pavle Palić, Lucija Štern, Anton Andonov, Shyqri Imeri, Radivoje Terzić, Sabri Kelmendi, Radislav Petrović, Olivera Anđelković, Dobrila Milovanović, Živadin Živković, Slobodan Tadić, Svetislav Minić, Viktorija Ludvig, Živadinka Gvozdrenović, Milosava Lekić, Olga Glavić, Slavka Kujačić, Desanka Mirčević, Vaclav Kreštan, Živadin Milovanović, Nadežda Pejčinović, Severin Kajtazi, Veronika Mjeda, Lajde Mjeda, Ljubinka Radojković, Josip Bauer, Ilirja Radojković, Dragomir Kocić, Sebahate Çavolli, Judit Kišferenc, Marija Černaj, Petar Panić, Danica Jakšić, Marija Gogić, Vesna Mulliqi and Petar Daloš.¹⁹²

Table 10. Graduates of the HPS between 1965 and 1974

Graduates in the period 1965-1974 in the branch of Music Education in HPS in Prishtina											
Year	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	Total
No.	9	5	14	17	43	38	15	25	19	21	206

From the 1970s the number of musical possibilities increased and the demands of the cultural market in Kosovo were rapidly growing. In the course of the gradual establishment of musical institutions (e.g., Radio Television of Prishtina - Music Production, Orchestras, Choirs, Festivals, etc.) which offered a stable flow of activities within the general music landscape the need for professionals in various fields was great. This created an urgent imperative to increase the potential of professional musicians. The expansion of professionalism in music (in terms of music education) was an essential aspect of this imperative. In cultural terms it was a historic moment, but in comparison with other countries in region it was also a belated moment. From the early 1970s, the artistic community considered that the conditions for professionalism in

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² Bardhyl ZAIMI (ed.): *Dhjetë vitet e punës së shkollës së lartë pedagogjike (1958-68)* [Ten Years Work of the Higher Pedagogical School 1958-68], Mitrovicë: Progres, 1968, 94-95.

music had been sufficiently created, so they seemed to insist that this had to become reality. At the meeting of the Executive Council of the Provincial Education Community, held on 22 September 1972, the request for the opening of the Faculty of Arts was finally approved.¹⁹³ This decision became reality when the Kosovo Assembly approved the law on the establishment of the *Academy of Fine Arts* (which from 1986/87 became the *Faculty of Arts*). On 31 July 1973 the Council of the University approved this act, so on 21 September 1973 the Department of Visual Arts officially opened.¹⁹⁴ The Department of Musical Arts was opened in October 1975,¹⁹⁵ and from the academic year 1989/90 also the Department for Dramatic Arts (initially with a focus on acting and directing).¹⁹⁶ The establishment of the Academy (Faculty) of Arts was the crown of the long and successful efforts of the creators of the fine arts, musical arts and dramatic arts sections which had operated in the HPS since 1958.¹⁹⁷ The Department of Musical Art has continued to operate in six areas: Composing, Conducting, Solo Singing, Piano, String Instruments, Wind Instruments and General Music Pedagogy. By 1972 a total of twenty-three musicians had completed Music studies, (two of them had also completed postgraduate studies: V. Gjini and Z. Ballata), ten of them worked in the HPS, ten in Music Schools and three in Radio Prishtina.¹⁹⁸ After the opening of the Faculty of Arts this number rapidly increased. Between 1975 and 2000, about 131 Albanian students graduated from the Department of Music, (87 graduated before the expulsion of Albanians from educational institutions, while during the years of work in home-schools only 44 Albanian students graduated).

¹⁹³ M. D.: Akademi e Arteve, por vetëm me dy grupe, [Academy of Arts with Only Two Groups], *Rilindja* (23 September 1972), 6.

¹⁹⁴ Destan HALIMI (ed.): *Universiteti i Prishtinës 1970 – 2005*, 186.

¹⁹⁵ Engjëll BERISHA: *Studime dhe vështrime për muzikën* [Studies and Opinions on Music], Prishtinë: ASHAK, 2004, 122.

¹⁹⁶ Destan HALIMI (ed.): *Universiteti i Prishtinës 1970 – 2005*, 187.

¹⁹⁷ Deans of the Faculty of Arts were: (1974-2007) Muslim Mulliqi; (1974-1976) Engjëll Berisha; (1976-1978) Svetomir Arsić; (1978-1980) Zeqirja Ballata; (1980-1982) Fatmir Krypa; (1982-1984) Mark Kaçinari; (1984-1986) Sevime Gjinali, Bashkim Shehu; (1986-1988) Zoran Karlajić; (1988-1990) Shqyri Nimani; (1990-1992) Kadrush Rama; (1992-1996) Fadil Hysaj; (1996-2000) Hivzi Muharremi; (2000-2002) Nebi Islami; (2002-2007) Hivzi Muharremi; (2007-2016) Adem Rusinovci; (2016-2020) Agim Selimi; (2020-) Hazir Haziri.

¹⁹⁸ Sylë OSMANAJ: Të kemi një kuadër të lartë muzikantësh, [We Must Have Musicians of Quality], *Rilindja* (28 April 1972), 11.

Table 11. Albanian students who graduated from the Faculty of Arts

Graduated students in Faculty of Arts (Music Department) - (1975-1999)*						
Branches	Music Pedagogy	Piano	Flute	Violin	Viola	Cello
No.	76	16	5	4	2	3
Branches	Clarinet	Harp	Singing	Conducting	Composition	Total
No.	3	2	16	2	2	131

After the year 2000, higher music education evolved considerably and in various directions, mainly as a consequence of rapid changes in social and educational contexts. After the Senate of the University of Prishtina adopted the curricula of the Faculty of Arts based on the Bologna Declaration (in 2001), from 2009 the curriculum of Master Studies was adopted in the Department of Musical Art (in other Departments Master Studies had been adopted since 2004). With a focus on Western art music, it holds a leading position within music education as a whole, particularly by offering studies in practical disciplines such as music pedagogy, performance, composition and conducting. However, a similar line of development is not reflected in other areas such as ethnomusicology, musicology, modern music, and jazz. Recently, the increasing prevalence of complex careers across the music market has influenced higher music education, and is reflected in the demand for new study and research directions. Unlike two Higher Education Institutions: the Music Department at Faculty of Arts in AAB College (2008) and Music Department in Faculty of Arts at the Haxhi Zeka University in Peja (2012), since 2019, the Department for Modern Music, Digital Production, and Management within the UBT – Higher Educational Institution has been established as a forward-looking alternative, embracing modern trends that extend beyond traditional practices of art music, offering a comprehensive education that reflects the evolving landscape of the music industry. Based on new general trends of (music) globalization, I think that an educational reform in Kosovo is essential. Influenced by the internet era, by mass-media, social media and

* In Table 11. only Albanian graduates are included. This is because after the war of 1999, the definitive division of the University of Prishtina along Albanian/Serbian ethnic lines was realized. Parallel to the Albanian entity bearing the name of the University of Prishtina with headquarters in Prishtina, the University of Prishtina headquartered in North Mitrovica is the Serbian entity which had been displaced from the city of Prishtina in 1999, and which conducts education in the Serbian language and is backed by the Government of Serbia. With this displacement, the majority (90%) of the archival material of the faculty was taken to the town of Northern Mitrovica. Therefore, in the absence of archival material in Prishtina, I did not extract statistics for Serbian graduate students in the years 1990-1999. In other statistical data in the tables, individuals from all ethnicities are included.

technology, colleges and universities must advance by meeting the needs of basic and aesthetic education in this new era.

Table 12. Higher Educational Institutions of Music (1962-2020)

Place	Year	Institution
Prishtina	1962/63	Higher Pedagogical School, Musical Section
Prishtina	1975	University <i>Hasan Prishtina</i> in Prishtina, Faculty of Arts – Department of Music
Zvečan	1999 2001	University of Prishtina, Faculty of Arts (in Varvarin temporarily then located in Zvečan,) in Serbian language
Peja	2012	University <i>Haxhi Zeka</i> in Peja, Faculty of Arts
Private Colleges		
Prishtina	2008	AAB College – Faculty of Arts (Department of Music)
Prishtina	2019	UBT – Higher Educational Institution (Modern Music, Digital Production and Management)

MUSIC INSTITUTIONALISATION THROUGH PERFORMANCE INSTITUTIONS (CHOIRS AND ORCHESTRAS)

An important step in the process of music institutionalization was taken through performance institutions (semi-professional and professional choirs and orchestral ensembles). This chapter presents a long-term view of the cultural transition leading to the emergence of stable performing ensembles. The establishment of musical ensembles (choirs and orchestras) was one of the main goals of the time. It seems that until the 1940s the only preexisting tradition of instrumental and orchestral ensembles was that of small folk orchestras and mandolin bands that operated in the framework of cultural-artistic societies. There is no data about the existence or activity of any symphony orchestra-type ensemble in Kosovo in the years before the Second World War. Exceptions to this are the military orchestras which existed in some towns such as Prizren, Mitrovica, and Prishtina, although they exclusively served military and non-artistic needs. The *First symphonic concert in Mitrovica* was an article in the newspaper *Južna Tribuna*¹⁹⁹ (Saturday, 1 March 1936) that describes a musical performance held in Mitrovica by a combined orchestra of forty-five musicians of the 24th and 31st regiments of the military infantry under the direction of conductor Z. Bušić.²⁰⁰

...The concert marked a moral success that has not so far been seen in Kosovo. The audience followed the concert with great interest and the sense of pleasure was clearly visible in the audience. It should be noted that in the program of this concert were performed fragments from the works of composers L. V. Beethoven, B. Smetana and P. I. Tchaikovsky... (*Južna Tribuna*, 2 March 1936)²⁰¹

In the context of the presence of art music in the years before World War II, this above-mentioned concert is one of the rare musical events about which I found data, because classical-musical activities still remain a mystery. I consider that multi-dimensional musical developments did not exist in those years, but within the framework of the military activities of the ruling Yugoslav regime wind orchestra regiments (military bands) certainly operated, through which contact with European art music was realized in a modest way.

¹⁹⁹ In Mitrovica city the newspaper *Južna Tribuna* was published until 1936, and then from 1937 the newspaper *Osvit*.

²⁰⁰ A. P.: Koncerti i parë simfonik në Mitrovicë - Nga faqet e shtëpive të paraluftës [First Symphonic Concert in Mitrovica, from the Time Before War], *Rilindja* (10 February 1965), 13.

²⁰¹ Ibid.

During the second half of the twentieth century, when Kosovo music culture was developing its identity in the spirit of European art music, the emergence of orchestral formations (chamber or symphony orchestras) of semi-professional and/or professional level represent a development of a historical value. Until the late 1940s, art music in Kosovo was represented by a total of two or three choirs and the temporary activities of some string orchestras and military orchestras in several towns, while according to the writings in the newspaper *Rilindja*, in 1955, in Kosovo 26 choirs with about 1,500 Albanian, Serbian and Turkish members, about 20 amateur (chamber) orchestras, 4 music bands and 3 town orchestras (in Prishtina, Prizren and Peja) were active.²⁰² By 1958 this activity had expanded to include 20 Pioneers' Choirs, 14 Youth Choirs and 9 Union Choirs, 28 Youth (chamber) Orchestras, 13 Pioneer Orchestras and 8 City Orchestras, with about 4 thousand amateur members in all, in addition to a large number of singers and other ensembles of folk music.²⁰³

When we refer to the publications in this field, it is noticeable that the discourse on music practices and ensembles was never considered a 'priority'. As a result, research in historical musicology still remains conditioned by the lack of writings and documented facts, and this chapter bears witness to such a situation. Thus, this study may seem to be incomplete, but from the historical perspective it contains two basic premises. Firstly, it is an initial attempt to document music history and art production through the establishment of 'performance' institutions that were a product of general cultural emancipation. Secondly, it intends to show that the history of music cannot be written only within the historical framework of creative activities (composers and their output), but must offer a balanced treatment of the interaction between creativity, performance activities and cultural institutional structures. The process of institutionalization was part of a wider trajectory aimed towards emancipation and artistic 'modernity'. Such cultural dynamics were institutionalized in two parallel forms: in *choral formations* (founded entirely on local initiatives) and *orchestral formations* (supported by foreign musicians). Choral music had more favorable opportunities for development and was an easier medium in terms of performance. Therefore, since the 1940s, both choral works and choirs were much more developed than instrumental and orchestral music. In the early absence of professional instrumentalists, orchestral music and symphonic formations date back only to the 1950s. For example, symphony orchestras were established in five towns: in Prizren and

²⁰² Ç. F: Meritë e madhe për zhvillimin e jetës muzikore ndër njerzit punuesa u takon amaterve - intervistë me Ratko Moračić [Great Merits for Music Developments Belong to Amateurs - Interview with Ratko Moračić], *Rilindja* (17 October 1956), 7.

²⁰³ ***: Krijimtaria muzikore në krahinë tonë [Music Creativity in our Province], *Rilindja* (17 March 1958), 10.

Prishtina (1950), in Peja (1951), in Mitrovica (1955), and in Gjakova (1950s). Knowing the musical possibilities and practices of those years, this explains the reason why ensembles in most cases were of the mixed type, their base mainly consisting of wind instrumentalists (who were part of the town military garrisons). From the other point of view, closer familiarity with the wind and brass instruments of military orchestras could also have aroused peoples' interest and encouraged them to learn how to play those instruments. For example, in Peja, the greatest contribution in this direction was made by Franjo Vaculin, Muhamet Belegu, Halit Kasapolli and Vlado Radović. Thus, F. Vaculin gave lessons to many young boys in wind instruments: e.g., Ramadan Basha, Hysen Kelmendi (clarinet), Çesk Çivlaku (saxophone), Muhamet Bakraqi, Qazim Buçuku (trumpet), Sylë Osmani (trombone), Marjan Nulleshi (baritone horn), etc.²⁰⁴ Similarly, an orchestra was created in Mitrovica (conducted by Franjo Stern and Adolf Tirjung) where wind instruments also dominated, e.g., Ali Solidi (clarinet), Ergin Koroglu (saxophone), Erhan Koroglu (trumpet), and Skender Ymeri (trombone).²⁰⁵

In Prizren, a Garrison of Yugoslav People's Army wind orchestra was active since the late 1940s, conducted by Nikola Bunjin. In 1949/50 this orchestra joined forces with some members of the cultural and artistic society *Agimi*, and some teachers who came to work in the newly formed music school established the Town Symphony Orchestra (of the Chamber Orchestra type) in 1950, led by Josip Barišić, Lorenc Antoni and Radojica Milosavljević. After the graduation of the first generations of the *Josip Slavenski* Music School, some of the most talented students became members of this orchestra (e.g.: Matej Lumezi, Kristë Lekaj – trumpet; Engjëll Berisha – violin, viola; Severin Kajtazi, Veronika Mjeda, Nora Šlezinger – violin; Fahri Beqiri – violoncello, Dragolub Nešić - piano etc.²⁰⁶). In E. Berisha's book *Studime dhe vështrime për muzikën*, some of the works performed by this ensemble are mentioned: François-Adrien Boieldieu *Le calife de Bagdad* (The Caliph of Baghdad), Franz Schubert's *Unfinished Symphony*, fragments from the opera *Martha* by Friedrich von Flotow, instrumental fragments from the opera *Troubadour* by Giuseppe Verdi, and other works by W. A. Mozart, Brahms, L. Antoni, etc.²⁰⁷ According to *Rilindja* writings, in 1960 this orchestra performed at the 2nd Festival of Amateur Orchestras in Serbia (held in Palić, 4-7 July, 1960) with a program consisting of Henry Purcell's overture from *King Arthur* and Beethoven's

²⁰⁴Arsim KELMENDI: Orkestrat dhe formacionet e para frymore në Kosovë [The First Orchestras and Wind Ensembles in Kosovo], *CRC-Journal*, 2/3-4 (2015), 353.

²⁰⁵ Ibid. 354.

²⁰⁶ See: Engjëll BERISHA: *Studime dhe vështrime për muzikën*, 137.

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

Minuet in G, conducted by Radojica Milosavljević.²⁰⁸ Certainly, this orchestra also performed at various other concerts, events and festivals organized in Kosovo and in former Yugoslavia until the late 1960s when it was eventually disbanded.²⁰⁹



Figure 21. Diploma - Prizren Orchestra (1960)²¹⁰

The Prishtina City Symphony Orchestra represents the orchestral formation of greatest interest for music history in Kosovo. Emerging from state cultural policies, it was the first Symphony Orchestra considered to be an official musical (performing) institution. Since its foundation until today, the orchestra has represented a form of music making that in turn represents the first serious signs of a separation from traditional contexts, and this was related to the ideological aspirations and musical activities of the urban art elite of the capital. In the absence of local professional musicians, the only support for musical advancement in the capital were some foreign musicians who for various reasons lived and worked in Kosovo after World War

²⁰⁸ Festival Brochure: *II Festival Amaterskih Orkestra Srbije (Palić, 4-7 jula 1960. godine)*. See: State Archives of the Republic of Kosovo, Fund no: XIX, Muzičko Društvo Stevan Mokranjac, Years: 1960-63, Box: 5, Prishtina.

²⁰⁹ Engjëll BERISHA: *Keni thënë me një rast, ç'mendon tash?* [You Said Once, What Do You Think Now], *Rilindja* (7 November 1988), 10.

²¹⁰ Diploma in Figure 21. is unpublished source found in the Lorenc Antoni Music School's archive in Prizren during personal research conducted in 2021.

II (e.g., Bogoljub Vojnović, Oliver Ristić, Nikola Bunjin, Karlo Bermel, and others), and who contributed greatly to the development and establishment of art music institutions.

In the general network of music institutions, in addition to the educational institutions and performing ensembles, an important role was played by media institutions: Radio Televizioni i Prishtinës RTP (Radio Television of Prishtina – RTP) and music associations such as the Composers Association of Kosovo and the Association of Music Teachers. The RTP was a leading cultural institution and the main umbrella for almost all musical activities since 1945. In general, communication and mass media play an important role in the development of civilization and aspirations for social progress. Since the 1930s developments in Kosovo were characterized by accelerated electrification, industrialization, urbanization, and the growing presence of mass media, and accordingly culture, art and education also received a great impetus.²¹¹ In the general effort of finding the 'contemporary' form for radio broadcast development, in January 1945 preliminary tests were carried out and on 5 February 1945 *Radio Prizren* was established, which in 1946 was transferred to Prishtina and continued under the name *Radio Prishtina* (RP).²¹² Radio Prishtina was the best promoter of Albanian and Serbian music.²¹³ With the arrival of professional musicians in the music editorial office of the Radio in 1953/54 (e.g., Rexho Mulliqi, Lorenc Antoni, Karlo Bermel, Dimitrije Perlić, Bogoljub Vojnović, Kolë Bala, and others) music performance gradually began to exceed the limits of amateurism. In 1954 Rexho Mulliqi was elected the head of Music Production (as a basic unit

²¹¹ According to various sources, in the years between the two World Wars, loudspeaker radio stations existed in some towns in Kosovo (e.g., in Gjakova, Peja, Gjiilan, Rahovec, Mitrovica, etc.), while local radio stations appeared only after World War II. Their main functions were to broadcast proclamations for military-political purposes, as well as to play military music-marches. In 1941 *Radio Prizren* was established (with a power of 200 watts) with programs mainly in Albanian, but also in Turkish and Romani. Live music and folk songs were broadcast, and the voices of Tefta Tashko, Zyhra Mula, Anton Lumezi, SHKA Agimi were heard. In 1942, *Radio Kosova* was established in Prishtina (with a power of 500 watts), located in the *Sami Frasheri* gymnasium building. This radio station was staffed mainly by professors of the gymnasium, among whom were Vasil Andoni, Masar Begolli, Eftim Dherri, and Kolë Parubi. This radio had its own choir and folk orchestra, and the choir and folk orchestra of *Sami Frasheri* gymnasium led by Eftim Dherri sometimes participated in various programs. Cf. Qemajl SOKOLI: *Radio-Televizioni i Prishtinës 1945-1995*, [Radio Television of Prishtina 1945-1995], Prishtinë: As, 1996, 22-23.

²¹² Qemajl SOKOLI: *Radio Televizioni i Prishtinës 1945-1995*, 18.

²¹³ Following the ideas of equality between the nations that lived in Kosovo, Radio Prishtina broadcast news and music programs in three languages: Albanian, Serbian and Turkish. All of the Albanian and Turkish folk music was performed by local amateur musicians, while Serbian folk music was broadcast mainly through music discs received from Radio Belgrade. After the relocation of the radio station to Prishtina, new goals were established and the number of shows was increased, the programs (including music programs) were expanded, and the number of radio employees also increased. Ljubomir Jašarević (violin), Rexhep Shukriu (clarinet), Budimir Savić (guitar), Vojislav Savić (bass guitar), and the singers Melihate Hasani, Mesrete Çavolli, Dušanka Labor, and Daca Topalović were among the musicians who worked in Radio Prishtina until 1950, while later many other musicians joined who would lay the foundations of the Radio Prishtina Orchestras, e.g. the Drums Orchestra (1945), the Radio Popular Orchestra (1949) the String Orchestra (1950s).

it became independent only in 1979), and since then the first attempts to form the Great Radio Orchestra were made. After Skender Gjinali was elected head of the music editorial office, in 1956 the RP Radio Choir (with 24 members) was formed, conducted by Lorenc Antoni.²¹⁴ While Antoni worked with the choir, Mulliqi was more engaged in the processing and elaboration of Albanian folk songs. Within a short time about one hundred songs were recorded on Radio Prishtina with the soloists Nexhmije Pagarusha, Sanije Shala, Zef Tupeci, Petrit Dushi, Kolë B. Shiroka, and others. In 1956, the Folk Orchestra of RP with soloists Nexhmije Pagarusha and Vera Shahta (led by R. Mulliqi) took part at the First Festival of Popular Music of Yugoslav Radio Stations (held in Cetinje), and this was the first presentation of musicians from Kosovo outside the provincial borders of Kosovo. In 1957 RP organized the first Festival of Popular/Entertaining Music with melodies by Albanian authors.²¹⁵

The oldest orchestras that operated within Radio Prishtina were: the *Drums Orchestra* (formed in 1945) led by Nino Kalanjc, the *Radio Popular Orchestra* (formed in 1949) led by Ljubomir Jašarević, Nikola Balić, Kolë Bala, Isak Muçolli, etc., the *String Orchestra* (formed in the 1953) led by Ante Grujić and the *Turkish Orchestra* (formed in 1951), led by Rasim Salih. In 1961, the Radio music sector was reformatted and the work was organized into two units consisting of the *Music Program* unit (including all the newsrooms that dealt with the planning and realization of daily and weekly music shows) and the *Music Production* unit (including all musical ensembles of the Radio).²¹⁶ Perhaps the most significant indicator for the considerable space that was reserved for folk, civic and art music during the 1960s comes from the data of Radio Prishtina. For example, only in 1961 about 130 compositions were recorded (3 of art music, 47 entertaining, about 70 folk songs and 7 children songs), while by 1963, 10,680 minutes of art music, 6,120 minutes of entertaining music, 19,140 minutes of popular music, 725 minutes of music for children and 780 minutes of partisan songs were broadcast.²¹⁷

After the transformation of Radio Prishtina into Radio Television of Prishtina (RTP) on 10 May 1973,²¹⁸ further steps were taken in the overall development and organization of music.

²¹⁴ Qemajl SOKOLI: *Radio Televizioni i Prishtinës 1945-1995*, 114.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 115.

²¹⁶ Rafet RUDI: Jeta muzikore dhe Radio-Televizioni i Prishtinës (RTP) 1975-1990 [Music Life and Radio Television of Prishtina (RTP) 1975-1990], *Facebook* (published: 6 October 2021) <<https://www.facebook.com/rudirafet/posts/pfbid0mhrJ9jZJDzoNg9gcdaEM39EddpGHXLdqdvPsUe9SWRdzowSQyAWBGHAAPukkUxyQl>> (accessed: 6 October 2021).

²¹⁷ Qemajl SOKOLI: *Radio Televizioni i Prishtinës 1945-1995*, 45.

²¹⁸ Radio Television of Prishtina was an institution registered at the Commercial Court of the District of Prishtina, No. Fi-1062/78 and was an equal member of the Yugoslav Radio Television (RTJ) through which it was also a member of other European and World Associations. The RTP programs were produced in Albanian, Serbo-Croatian and Turkish, and from 1986 programs in the Roma language were added. The programming sector

The most significant pillar was the Music Production unit (MP), which was the basic generator for producing and promoting music.²¹⁹ Under the umbrella of the RTP Media House, the three most important musical ensembles were, from 1974, the RTP Symphony Orchestra, which was a new form of the already existing Prishtina Symphony Orchestra (led by Bahri Çela, Bajar Berisha), the RTP Professional Choir, established in 1980 (led by Rafet Rudi), and the RTP Children's Choir, established in 1976 (led by Ildioko Juniku 1976-80 and Ramadan Ramadani 1981-90).

A contribution to music institutionalization was made by the following music associations which had a dominant role in the organization and development of musical activities: *Shoqata e Kompozitorëve të Kosovës* [Composers' Association of Kosovo] established in 1969, *Shoqata e Artistëve Muzikor* [Association of Music Artists] and *Shoqata e Pedagogëve Muzikor* [Association of Music Pedagogues]. During my review of many archival documents, I found proof that the Composers' Association of Kosovo, the so-called *Rinia muzikore e Kosovës* [Musical Youth of Kosovo], was the first musical association established in 1966 in the capital. This organization was headed by the composer Zeqirja Ballata with the main purpose of establishing wider musical cooperation between Kosovo and other Yugoslav republics and Europe, to promote local cultural-musical resources and to influence general aesthetic taste by organizing musical events and holding lectures with a focus on music discourse. In 1973 the organization was updated and its name changed to *Musical Youth of Prishtina*.

Wider activities were systematically undertaken by the Composers' Association of Kosovo, notably in terms of publishing musical scores, initiating and supporting music events, festivals and musicological discussions. Even during the 1990s, the Association's facility served as a venue for holding lectures and concerts for Albanian students excluded from official

consisted of the following programs: Albanian, Serbo-Croatian, Turkish and Roma Language Programs, Documentaries, Music, Cultural-artistic, Educational, Agricultural programs and joint program services.

²¹⁹ The Music Production unit of the Radio Television of Prishtina was the initiator, organizer and carrier of the main musical activities in Kosovo, including the organization of many musical events and festivals such as: *The Microphone Is Yours* (one of the first and most successful music shows), *Youth Festival* (1957), *Akordet e Kosovës* Festival (1963), etc. The RTP music ensembles also participated in some festivals and events in former Yugoslavia such as the Festival of Entertainment Orchestras, Yugoslav Broadcasting Music Competition, the Tribune of Yugoslav Musical Creativity in Opatija, Dubrovnik Summer Festival, Choral meetings in Niš, etc. The Radio Sound Archive was a very important unit that served as a permanent source of material for use in Radio and TV Programs. Until 1990 it possessed about 7,265 micro discs and 340 ordinary discs and magnetic tapes (all recorded by its own ensembles) with music recorded in the RTP music studio or with music recorded from live shows and festivals (e.g., *Akordet e Kosovës*, *Skena muzikore e Prishtinës*, *Ditët e muzikë Kosovare*, etc.). Unfortunately, after the violent measures introduced in 1990, including the dismissal of Albanian workers and the cessation of programs in the Albanian language, the work in RTP took a completely different direction. As a result of that period, which culminated in the War of 1999, a large part of the RTP Archive materials disappeared, probably damaged or destroyed. See: Qemajl SOKOLI: *Radio Televizioni i Prishtinës 1945-1995*, 33-49, 110-123.

institutions. In the beginning, within the framework of the Composers' Association of Serbia, the Section of Kosovo composers was formed which had the status of a 'section' because according to the regulation of the Association, the presence of fifteen recognized composers was required to be awarded the status of an association independent from that of Serbia. From 1969 until 1972 it consisted only of five members (Lorenc Antoni, Esat Rizvanolli, Akil Koci, Fahri Beqiri and Severin Kajtazi). In 1972, two regular members joined, Dobrivoje Baskić and Rauf Dhomi, and Mark Kaçinari, Kristë Lekaj and Vinçenc Gjini were accepted as new members.²²⁰ So, on 17 May 1972 the status of the Composers' Association of Kosovo was officially achieved with Lorenc Antoni as chairman, Zeqirja Ballata as vice chairman and Fahri Beqiri as secretary.²²¹ Over the years the Association was joined by dozens of other composers and musicians. Its activities provided an organized force that would protect the moral and material interests of the Kosovo music community and its members, to secure an appropriate position for them in society, to organize music events, and to promote the works of Kosovan composers through the publication of musical scores. Almost all scores published before the 1990s in Kosovo are published with the stamp of the Composers' Association of Kosovo. Until the 1990s, it basically operated across a broad spectrum as a kind of regulator of musical life. In the period when state institutions were forbidden for Albanians (1990-1999), it served as a setting for music lessons and as a venue for musical events and performances.

Table 13. Vocal/Choral compositions published between the 1960s and 1980s (most of them published by the Composers' Association of Kosovo)

Composer	Works
Lorenc Antoni	<i>Opojanja</i> (1961); <i>Tri këngë nga Opoja</i> (1971); <i>Në shendin Ulqinak</i> (1980); <i>Skenderbeu ngadhënjimtar</i> (1971); <i>Kah na erdhen këta partisan</i> (1974); <i>Kanga e një Majit</i> (1979).
Rexho Mulliqi	<i>Vjeshta</i> (1971); <i>Një lule</i> (1987).
Petar Đorđević	<i>Shade mori shade</i> (1971); <i>Fustanin me pika</i> ; <i>Aromë portokalli</i> ; <i>Kur më del në derë</i> (1987); <i>Po vijnë krushqit</i> ; <i>Shamia e ushtarit</i> (1987); <i>Gjitha shoqet</i> .
Fahri Beqiri	<i>Erdh Misiti</i> (1963); <i>Këndej kaloi armiku</i> (1971); <i>Shkoj e vij flutrim si zogu</i> (1973), <i>Moj e mira</i> .
Vinçenc Gjini	<i>Zogut</i> (1966); <i>Blegëron delja në male</i> (1971); <i>Dola në bahçe</i> (1971); <i>Vajta n'Elbasan</i> (1971); <i>Si dukat i vogël je</i> (1972); Three solo songs: <i>Letrat</i> (1973); <i>Hijet</i> (1974); <i>O fyell këndo - Thirrja në lojë</i> (1975); <i>Kënga ime</i> (1976); <i>Liria</i> (1980); <i>Rritu vendi im</i> (1982); <i>Nokturne pranverore</i>

²²⁰ H. N: U formua Shoqata e Kompozitorëve të Kosovës [Composers' Association of Kosovo is Founded], *Rilindja* (19 May 1972), 10.

²²¹ *Ibid.*

	(1983); <i>Cantata Ramiz o vëlla</i> (1983); <i>Vendlindjes</i> (1984); <i>O fyell këndo</i> (1984); <i>Me lule të bukura</i> (1987); <i>Lutje</i> (1988).
Mark Kaçinari	<i>Zogu i Ohrit</i> (1966); <i>Vendlindja ime</i> (1971); Choral suite <i>Shamikuqja</i> (1971); <i>Cantata acappella Bijtë e shqipes</i> (1971); <i>Drandofilja e vogël</i> (1972); <i>Serenata</i> (1983).
Kristë Lekaj	<i>Trualli betohet</i> (1962); <i>Choir Suite</i> (1971); <i>Oj Kosovë</i> (1984).
Esat Rizvanolli	<i>N'mjedis të ballit</i> ; <i>Shtigjet tona</i> (1984).
Akil Koci	<i>Macja e vogël</i> (1955), <i>Vashës</i> (1956), <i>Pa titull</i> (1971); <i>Popullit tim</i> (1971), <i>Kaltërsirat</i> (1975); <i>Ty që je liria jonë</i> (1981).
Zeqirja Ballata	<i>Ndarja</i> (1965); <i>Aman o syri i zi</i> (1967); <i>Doli Skënderbeu</i> (1969); <i>Andrrimi i fëmijës</i> (1969), <i>Bisedë me tokën</i> ; <i>Oj Kosovë</i> (1984); <i>Ku e kam vajzën, ku e kam djalin</i> (1984); <i>Fryn era</i> .
Rauf Dhomi	<i>Pogradeci</i> .
Rafet Rudi	<i>Lagjia e varfër</i> (1972); <i>Ishin dy kunata</i> (1982); <i>Varri i pionierit trim</i> (1984); <i>Zogu i Diellit</i> (1987).
Gjon Gjevelekaj	<i>Flamujt e paqës</i> (1984);
Baki Jashari	<i>Agimi</i> (1979); <i>Dimri</i> (1979); <i>Një lule</i> (1982); <i>Pakëz në ëndërr, pakës në zhgëndërr</i> (1986).

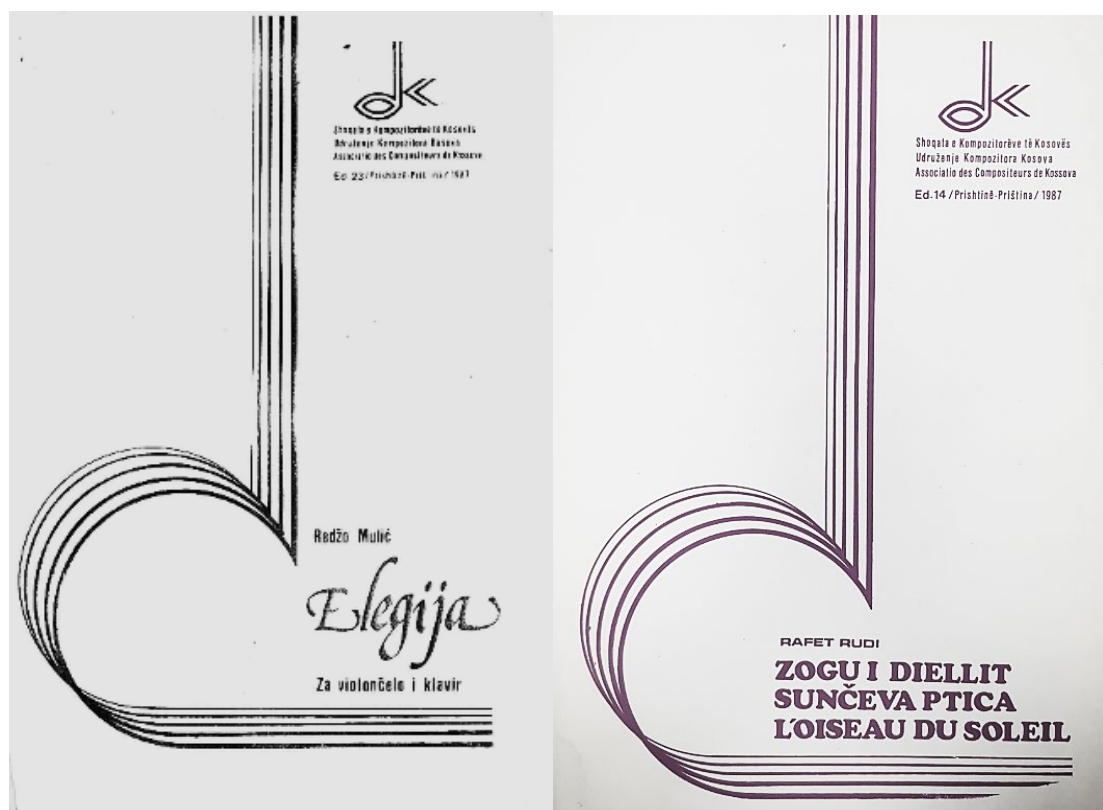


Figure 22. Example of music scores published by the Composers' Association of Kosovo

3.1. Three Lives of the City Symphony Orchestra in Prishtina

The years during which the City Symphony Orchestra was formed were years of attempted change, with a particular focus on the issue of cultural progress. The decade of the 1950s revealed the first signs of detachment from traditional contexts and the decade ultimately served as the axis around which the promotion of art music emerged in an environment where the cultural development of music had been marked by traditional music and amateurism. However, the effort to uncover data about musical activities since the late 1940s encounters many challenges. The attempt to penetrate into the musical activities of the years after World War II, even in the absence of descriptive resources about music, still remains the main paradigm of Kosovar historical musicology. Essentially, the lack of narrative writings about art music ensembles and their activities and the organizational transformation of institutions due to the destruction of archives and the loss of documents and materials in different cultural institutions in Kosovo (notably during the years 1998-99), have made difficult the process of scientific research. In addition, the existence of various ensembles was often jeopardized by the impact of dynamic socio-cultural and political changes and, more recently, by the possibility of fading forever from collective memory. For this reason, this study has important descriptive-narrative premises (covered by the umbrella of historical musicology), particularly regarding those musical formations, such as the Prishtina Symphony Orchestra and the *Collegium Cantorum* choir, that have not yet been written about in such a format. The City Symphony Orchestra in Prishtina, the precursor of today's Kosovo Philharmonic, was transformed several times: from a military orchestra in the 1940s to a City Orchestra in 1950, before becoming the Radio Television of Prishtina Orchestra in 1974 and, finally, the Kosovo Philharmonic in 2000. These transformations made it more difficult to research systematically the evolution of this ensemble. Given the fact that the evidence and data on the activity of the City Symphony Orchestra were almost non-existent, the effort to recover the history of this ensemble has been one of the most difficult tasks in the broader effort to shed light on the history of performing groups in Kosovo. The narrative provided here is developed from data obtained from the State Agency of Kosovo Archives, writings in the newspaper *Rilindja* (1945-1989), the monograph on Radio Television of Prishtina (published in 1993), and on the oral data provided by musicians and individuals who were involved in various cultural processes before the 1990s. These data will pave the way for deeper research in the future.

The search for traces of the musical life of the not-so-distant past, with which we remain closely connected, inevitably leads us to consider the activities of the most important musical formation in the country – the City Symphony Orchestra of the capital. As a pioneer of classical art, it was the musical ensemble with the most promising aspirations. It was the basic embryo of the RTP Symphony Orchestra and, together with the Professional Choir of Radio Television formed one of only two professional ensembles in the field of art music during the 1970s and 1980s. The history of the orchestra can be divided into three important phases: the City Symphony Orchestra in Prishtina (1950-1973); the RTP Symphony Orchestra (1974-1990) and the Choir and Philharmonic of Kosovo (from 2000 onwards).

3.1.1. The City Symphony Orchestra in Prishtina (1950-1973)

A general preliminary study of the history of this orchestra requires an overview of its establishment, its members, and its repertoire. Aiming for the development of a stronger cultural and artistic life, on 4 May 1950 the City Committee and the Commission for Education and National Culture decided to form a City Orchestra in the capital of Prishtina.

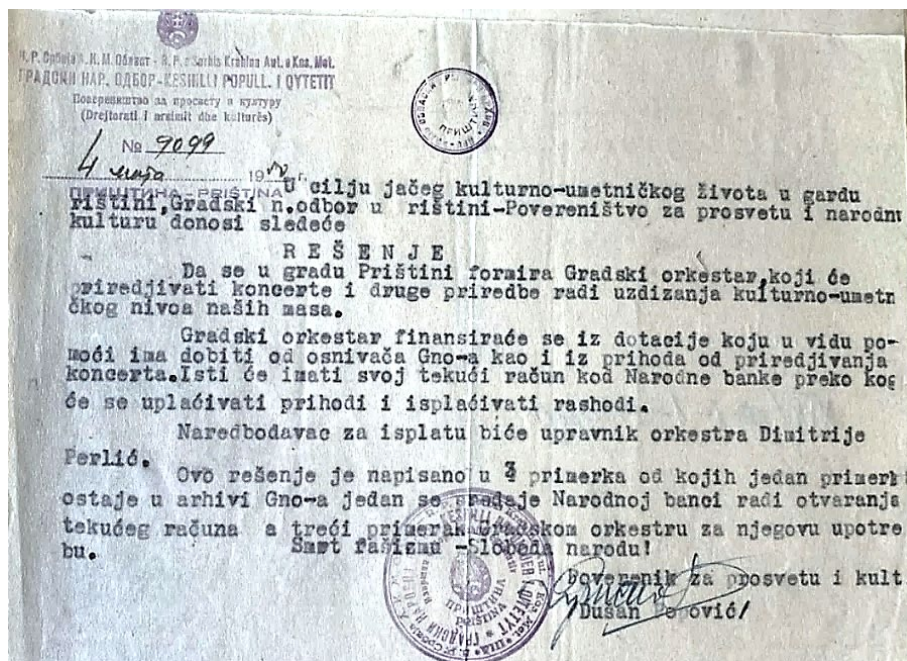


Figure 23. The decision to establish the city orchestra (1950)²²²

²²² Figures 23. – 29. are unpublished documents accessed during personal research in: *Gradski Simfonijski Orkestar Prishtina* [City Symphony Orchestra in Prishtina], Boxes 1 and 2: *Dokumenti i partiture* [Documents and Music Scores], Fund no. XVII, Years: 1950-58, State Archives of the Republic of Kosovo, Prishtina.

With the goal of a stronger cultural and artistic life in the city of Prishtina, the City Board for Education and Culture announces the following Decision – to found a city orchestra in Prishtina, which will organize concerts and other events in order to elevate cultural and artistic life. The city orchestra will be financed from the grant that the G.N.O. receives in the form of assistance, as well as from the income from organizing concerts. It will have its own bank account through which income and expenses will be paid. The person responsible for the payments will be the manager of this orchestra, Dimitrije Perlić.²²³

The initiative to found this orchestra was the result of broader administrative policy decisions which aimed to establish many cultural institutions. However, the main difficulty was the insufficient number of local musicians. This was the basic reason for the large-scale admission of foreign musicians, especially those from military bands.



Figure 24. Orchestra members with the conductor Bogoljub Vojnović (1950)

In the history of the music of European nations, the migration of musicians was a phenomenon deeply connected to political, ideological and sociological issues, as well as questions of personal, professional and aesthetic advancement. In this way, the cultural activities in Kosovo

²²³ *Rešenje* (4 May 1950). See: State Archives of the Republic of Kosovo, No. of fund XVIII, Year: 1950, Box: 3, Prishtina.

of the 1950s were developed, mediated and negotiated through the ‘migration’ of many foreign musicians (where the term migration is used here as a synonym for all types of mobility). The phenomenon of migrating military musicians was known everywhere because they used to follow their regiments and, as civilians well-trained in music, they made music after their military service too. This mobility was the most significant feature of their presence and was welcomed in less developed parts of the former Yugoslavia, such as Kosovo. The state itself organized, supported, and paid professionals from different countries to come and work in Kosovo.²²⁴

The City Symphony Orchestra in Prishtina at first operated in unstable conditions, because the distinction between the Orchestra and the Military Orchestra of the Prishtina Garrison seemed unclear. It is mentioned that a brass band existed in the city (led by Miodrag Crnobrnja), which in all probability took part in City Orchestra events. This is because most of the orchestra members (27-30 in all) were the same musicians in both music-making formations. The City Symphony Orchestra members were: Bogoljub Vojnović (conductor, the most meritorious musician to contribute to this orchestra), Dimitrije Perlić (concertmaster), Venceslav Apt, Ivan Ban, Nikola Bakalar, Dušan Boda, Ivan Vanja, Vitomir Dimić, Mario Domić, Milan Zajc, Aleksandar Lukić, Živojin Lukić, Karlo Mrekut, Ratomir Moračić, Dragoljub Moračić, Ivan Miličević, Marjan Miloš, Luka Ogorelac, Stjepan Pomper, Janko Prelog, Vandjel Stojanovski, Mate Sušac, Jene Rac, Vladimir Štrbac, Rade Cvijić, Miljenko Červar, and Momir Ivanović.²²⁵ Regarding the artistic activity and musical repertoire of the orchestra in the year 1950, not many data have been found. According to archival findings, the first evidence of an event held in collaboration with the elementary music school in Prishtina was the concert held in June 1950 in the town of Mitrovica. A document dated 12 August 1950, a receipt for the purchase of 14 musical scores in Belgrade, is testimony to the musical repertoire that may have been performed in the following months or years.

²²⁴ Even in subsequent decades the participation of local professionals was very limited. So, according to my conversation with individuals who are familiar with the developments of those years (especially the period from the 1960s to the 1980s), foreign musicians came to Prishtina (from Serbia, Macedonia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, etc.) and worked in the City Orchestra, the RTP orchestras, etc. Some foreign musicians/instrumentalists who between the 1950s and the 1980s contributed to this Orchestra, and to the general development of art music in Kosovo were: Josip Barišić (Croatian, Wind Orchestra musician), Nela Jakić (Croatian, pianist), Đoko Nikolovski (Macedonian, violinist), Karlo Bermel (Hungarian, violoncellist), Maria Galun (Polish, pianist), Ildiko Juniku (Hungarian, pianist), Marjan Macijewski (Polish, violinist), Mihailo Dokuzov and Slobodan Kusturski (Macedonian, hornists), Franek Bojakowski (Polish, guitarist), and many others.

²²⁵ *Spisak isplaćenog honorara osoblju Gradskog Orkestra u Prištini za mesec Januar 1951 godine* [List of fees paid to the staff of the City Orchestra in Prishtina for the month of January 1951]. See: State Archives of the Republic of Kosovo (No. of fund XVIII, Year: 1951, Box: 1), Prishtina.

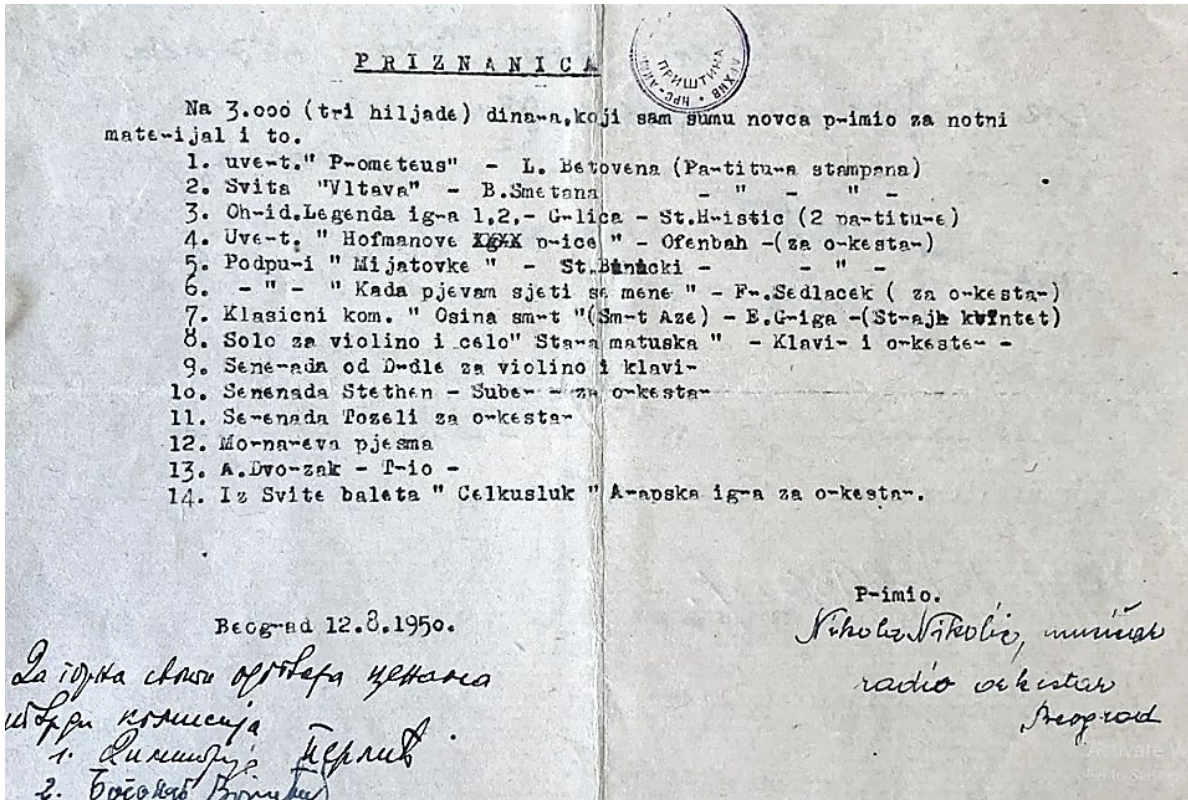


Figure 25. Request for musical scores in Belgrade (1950)

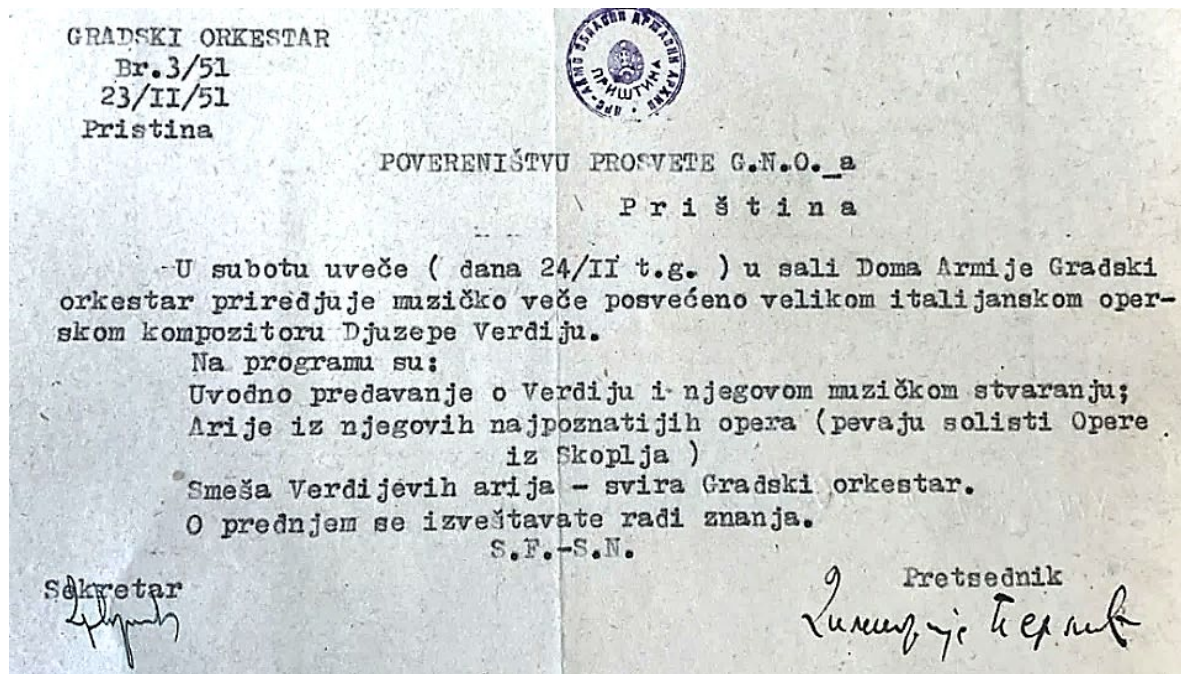


Figure 26. Announcement for concert in honour of Giuseppe Verdi (1951)

The first documented public concert given on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the death of the composer Giuseppe Verdi (also the earliest performance with an operatic program), was organized on 24 February 1951 in the Hall named the *Dom Armije* (the Cinema of the Yugoslav Army, now called the *Kino Armata*).

On Saturday evening (24 February 1951), in the hall named *Dom Armije*, the city orchestra organizes a musical evening for the great Italian opera composer Giuseppe Verdi. On the program are: Introductory lecture on G. Verdi and his music output; Arias from his most famous operas (sung by opera soloists from Skopje); and a potpourri of Verdi's arias – played by city orchestra.²²⁶

Градски симфониски оркестар
Бр. 12/51
31/III/51
Приштина

РАДИО-СТАНИЦИ
ПРИШТИНА

Градски симфониски оркестар приређује на дан 2/IV т.г. свој први симфониски концерт у сали Народнoг позоришта. Да би што више популарисали ову прву музичку приредбу овакве врсте у Приштини и уопште на Космету, молимо Вас да на дан 1 и 2/IV т.г. објавите у међувремену између емисија програм овог нашег концерта, који Вам у прилогу достављамо. У нади да ћете изаћи у сусрет нашој молби, другарска Вас поздрављамо.

С.Ф.-С.Н.

Секретар,
Др. Милић

ГРАДСКИ СИМФОНИСКИ ОРКЕСТАР
Приштина

СИМФОНИСКИ КОНЦЕРТ

Година 1951

П Р О Г Р А М

1. Бетовен:	Увертира „Прометеус“
2. Хајдн:	Симфонија D-dur
	Ставови: Allegro Andante Menuet Allegro spiritoso
	О Д М О Р
3. Христић:	Свита из балета „Охрид легенда“
4. Моцарт:	Менует изводи гудачки квартет. I виолина: Перлић Димитрије II виолина: Прелог Јанко Виола: Апт Венцеслав Виолончело: Помпер Стјепан
5. Војновић:	„Седам години“ - симфониско коло
	Диригент: БОГОЉУБ ВОЈНОВИЋ

Figure 27. The symphony concert program (1951)

²²⁶ Povereništvu Prosvete G.N.O.a Priština [Board for Education of the G.N.O. of Prishtina]. See: State Archives of the Republic of Kosovo (No. of fund XVIII, Year: 1951, Box: 1), Prishtina.

The first symphonic concert, conducted by Bogoljub Vojnović, was given on 2 April 1951 in the National Theatre. The repertoire of the concert consisted of: Beethoven – Overture *Prometheus*; Haydn – *Symphony in D major*; S. Hristić – Suite from the ballet *The Legend of Ohrid*; W. A. Mozart – *Minuet* (interpreted by a string quartet); and B. Vojnović – *Seven Years* (symphonic dance).²²⁷

Another important public performance held in Prishtina in 1951 was a concert with the participation of two well-known Yugoslav musicians: *Žarko Cvejić* (1907-1994), one of the most outstanding Serbian singers and the distinguished pianist *Andrija Preger* (1912-2015).²²⁸

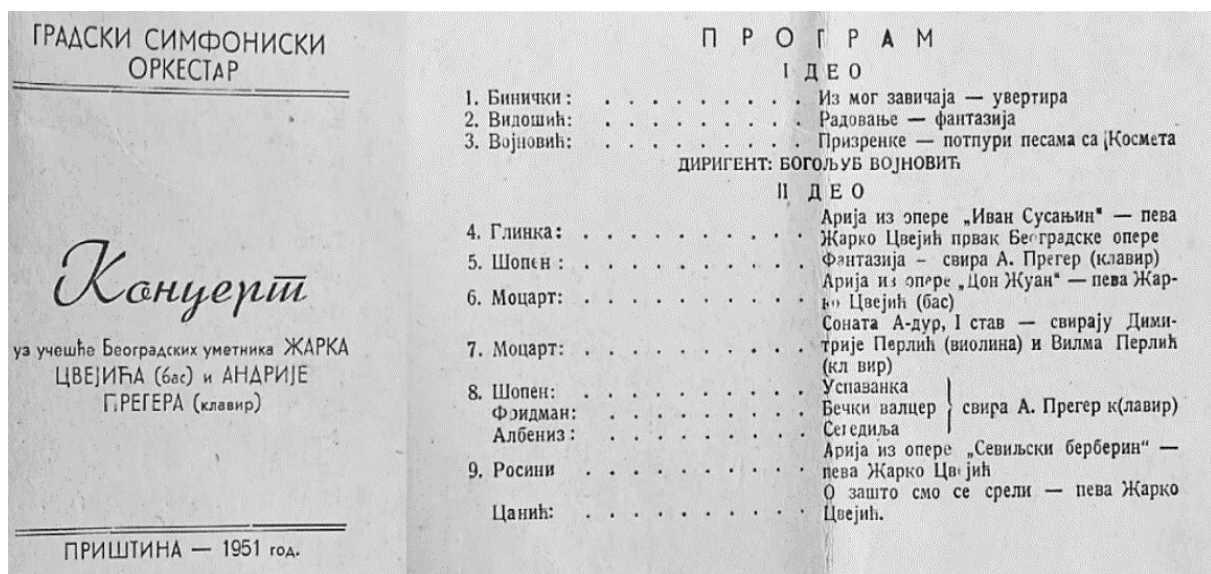


Figure 28. The concert program with the participation of Žarko Cvejić and Andrija Preger (1951)

From 1954, this orchestra occasionally performed according to the needs of Radio Prishtina, and it was known under the name *The Great Radio Orchestra*, led by Todor Petronje.²²⁹ The

²²⁷ Gradski Simfonijski Orkestar Prishtina, *I simfonijski koncert* [City Symphony Orchestra – First Symphonic Concert]. See: State Archives of the Republic of Kosovo (No. of fund XVIII, Year: 1951, Box: 1), Prishtina.

²²⁸ Andrija (later known as Andreja) Preger was an Austro-Hungarian-born Jewish-Serbian pianist. He survived the Holocaust and joined the Yugoslav partisans during the Nazi German occupation of Yugoslavia. He became a noted concert pianist and piano teacher after WWII. See: Andreja Preger, Jewish anti-Nazi partisan, dies at 104, *The Times of Israel*, (published: 21 December 2015), <<https://www.timesofisrael.com/andreja-preger-jewish-anti-nazi-partisan-dies-at-104/>> (accessed 10 October 2022)

²²⁹ This makes the factual evidence more difficult to establish regarding the City Symphony Orchestra and the RTP Entertainment Orchestra, because these orchestras sometimes appear as two different formations, and sometimes as one.

issue of artistic repertoire (which in the beginning seems to have been ‘modest’) belonged to the moment when opportunities and desires did not correspond with each other. Compositions almost always had to be adapted for this ensemble because it was not structured in a fixed way and really did not have the full formation of a regular symphony orchestra. Until the emergence of works by Albanian composers (Lorenc Antoni and Rexho Mulliqi), the so-called ‘national’ orientation was only supported through works of Yugoslav composers (as the only national possibility), while the European orientation focused on the works of great classical composers such as Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven. The important moment in terms of the musical repertoire (including Albanian compositions) was the Jubilee Concert organized on the 5th anniversary of the orchestra’s foundation. On this occasion a work by an Albanian composer, Rexho Mulliqi’s *Symphony No.1* (unfinished), was performed for the first time. This Jubilee Concert represents a historic moment in two respects: firstly, this symphony is the first symphonic work of an Albanian composer in Kosovo, and secondly, this was the first concert event in which the City Symphony Orchestra interpreted a work by an Albanian composer.



Figure 29. Program of the Jubilee Concert in 1955

Two years later Lorenc Antoni’s Albanian Suite *Opojanja*, was performed. It was the period when both Antoni and Mulliqi had begun to intensively contribute to the art music idiom with the so-called ‘stylized music’ consisting of popular songs adapted and orchestrated for

orchestral formations. One of the most important moments was a concert held on the occasion of the 200th anniversary of the birth of W. A. Mozart. This may seem today as an unremarkable, but for that period it was a big event. The concert was opened by Dragutin Moračić, director of the City Symphony Orchestra, with a biographical lecture on Mozart's oeuvre and the importance of this celebration for the city of Prishtina.²³⁰

In the years following the departure of Bogoljub Vojnović in July 1960, the Orchestra struggled to maintain stable and continuous musical activities partly due to the high rate of turnover of the members of the orchestra and its leaders (i.e., Todor Petronje and Oliver Ristić). Thus, during the 1960s, the Orchestra practically almost ceased to function. In that time, the continuous efforts of the young conductor Bahri Çela became known and his name and general commitment to music came to represent a new chapter for the Orchestra. Until the Orchestra officially received a new status, its activity was carried out only occasionally within the framework of the RTP Media activities (e.g., Festival *Akordet e Kosovës*, some music programs, etc.) and in small formations of the Chamber Orchestra type. Consistent with the statement “*in the performing arts, crisis is apparently a way of life*”,²³¹ after many years of crisis and inactivity a critical moment arrived in which to find new strategies for re-organizing and re-starting the Orchestra's musical activities.

We formed it once and it died. Now it is time to take concrete steps towards the formation of a real symphony orchestra.²³² (Hasan Mekuli, Editor-in-chief of the literary journal *Jeta e Re*).

²³⁰ ***: Koncert solemn me rastin e 200 vjetorit të lindjes së Mozartit, [Solemn Concert on the Occasion of the 200th Anniversary of Mozart's birth], *Rilindja* (19 April 1956), 5.

²³¹ Ljiljana KRISTL: review of the book *The Performing Arts: The Economic Dilemma*, by W. J. Baumol & W. G. Bowen, *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, 4/1 (1973), 137–139, here 137.

²³² Mitalip ÇOÇA: Orkestra Simfonike më se e nevojshme [Symphony Orchestra More Than Necessary], *Rilindja* (31 March 1968), 10.

Table 14. The City Symphony Orchestra in Prishtina – Concerts and Performances (1950-1966)²³³

Year	Repertoire
1950	Concert in the town of Mitrovica – Repertoire – unknown. Conductor: Bogoljub Vojnović
1951	<p>24 Feb – Concert on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the death of the Italian composer Guiseppe Verdi 7 Mar – Concert in honor of the elections for the National Assembly 22 Mar – Concert for members of Cultural and Artistic Societies 2 Apr – Concert in Prishtina 26 May – Concert in Prizren 10 Oct – Concert with a lecture on the representatives of classicism 21 Oct – Concert with the participation of the pioneers of the Belgrade Opera 27 Oct – Concert in Peja City 20 Dec – Concert with the participation of Olga and Pavle Janković from Belgrade</p> <p>Repertoire: L. van Beethoven – <i>Prometheus Overture</i>; W. A. Mozart – <i>Piano Concerto No. 20 in D minor, K. 466, Minuet</i>; J. Haydn – <i>Symphony No.104 in D major</i>; G. Verdi – <i>Fantasy on the themes from the operas Rigoletto and Troubadour</i>; F. Schubert – <i>Symphony No. 8 in B minor, D. 759 (Unfinished Symphony)</i>; P. Konjović – A play from the opera <i>Koštana</i>; L. Bošnjaković – <i>Moravka Overture</i>; S. Binički – <i>From my homeland, Overture</i>; D. Jenko – <i>Overture Kosovo</i>; S. Hristić – suite from the ballet <i>The Legend of Ohrid</i>; B. Vojnović – <i>Seven Years</i> (based on Macedonian folk motifs), <i>Prizrenke</i> (potpourri of songs from Kosovo), etc.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Conductor: Bogoljub Vojnović</p>
1954	Louis Auguste Florimond Ronger – Operetta <i>Mam'zelle Nitouche</i> <p style="text-align: right;">Conductor: Bogoljub Vojnović</p>
1955	<p>25 Aug – Vlado Milošević – <i>Krajiška rapsodija</i> (RTP Archive 38/A-9) 27 Oct – Jakov Gotovac – A dance from the opera <i>Ero the Joker</i> <p style="text-align: right;">Conductor: Todor Petronje</p> 5 Nov – Jubilee Concert, Repertoire: B. Trudić – <i>Prizren Suite</i>; J. Haydn – <i>Symphony No. 2 in C major</i>; R. Mulliqi – <i>Symphony no.1</i> (unfinished); J. Gotovac – kolo from the opera <i>Ero the Joker</i> (literally <i>Ero from the other World</i>) – (6 Nov – replay of concert).</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Conductor: Bogoljub Vojnović & Todor Petronje</p>

²³³ All data related to the concert dates and repertoire performed during the 1950s and 1960s were found in various administrative documents: official requests, annual work reports, salary lists of instrumentalists, lists of concert trips, orders for buying music scores from Belgrade, concert flyers, etc. They were researched in the State Archives of the Republic of Kosovo (City Symphony Orchestra in Prishtina, No. of fund: XVII, Years: 1950-58, Boxes: 2), Prishtina; in Radio Kosova Archive [Ex-RTP Archive], *Libri I & II i regjistirmeve të muzikës serioze*, [Book I & II - Recordings of Music] Recording Data: Inventory Numbers: A-858, A-832, A-814, A-107, A-226, A-464, A-147, A-6228, 67/B-468, 61/B-411, 80/B-485, 160/AF-409, 191/A-801, 289/A-1109, 322/112; Archive of Library *Hivzi Sylejmani* in Prishtina – *Rilindja* newspaper (1945-1989).

	<p>19 Nov – Concert at the ceremonial academy on the occasion of the anniversary of the liberation of Prishtina: B. Trudić – <i>Prizren</i> orchestral suite; B. Vojnović – <i>In Taukbashçe</i>; R. Mulliqi - <i>Symphony no.1</i> (unfinished). Conductor: Bogoljub Vojnović</p> <p>22 Dec – Davorin Jenko – <i>Overture Kosovo</i> Conductor: Todor Petronje</p>
1956	<p>11 Feb – Concert: Ch. W. Gluck – Overture from <i>Iphigeneia in Aulis</i>; L. van Beethoven – <i>Symphony No. 1 in C major, Op. 21</i>; S. Hristić – overture from <i>Čučuk Stana</i>; J. Gotovac – <i>Symphonic Dance</i></p> <p>4 Mar – Josip Slavenski – <i>Balkan Suite</i></p> <p>23 Mar – B. Smetana – <i>The Bartered Bride</i>, Choir from Act I; C. M. von Weber – fantasy from the opera <i>Der Freischütz</i>; P. Mascagni – fantasy from the opera <i>Cavalleria rusticana</i>; Arias from the operas: G. Verdi - <i>Traviata</i> and <i>Rigoletto</i>; G. Puccini - <i>Tosca</i>; E. Kálmán – <i>Silva</i> and I. Tijardović – <i>Little Floramye</i> (in Croatian: <i>Mala Floramye</i>). Soloists: Vera Čirković (sopran) and Aleksandar Ugrinov (tenor).</p> <p>18 Apr – Solemn concert on the occasion of 200th anniversary of the birth of W. A. Mozart. Overture from Mozart's opera <i>Abduction from the Seraglio</i>, <i>Violin Concerto No. 3</i> in G major K. 216 and <i>Symphony No. 40</i> in G minor, K. 550.</p> <p>17 May – Concert: Leo Fall – <i>The Rose of Stamboul</i></p> <p>5 -7 July – Orchestral concert in association with music societies <i>Radnički</i>, <i>Ramiz Sadiku</i> and <i>Yeni Hayat</i>; D. Jenko – <i>Overture Kosovo</i>; Bedřich Smetana – Choir from the opera <i>The Bartered Bride</i>; Bogoljub Vojnović – <i>Mix of partisan songs</i>.</p> <p>28 Nov – Concert: Solemn Academy on the occasion of the Republic Day: I. Zajc – overture from the opera <i>Mislav</i>; L. Antoni – Albanian Suite <i>Opojanja</i>; B. Vojnović – <i>Mix of partisan songs</i>. Conductor: Todor Petronje</p>
1957	<p>1 Feb – Blagoje Bersa – <i>Po načinu starih 'Airs de ballet'</i>: Nos. 1, 2, 3 (Tape record from RTP Archive 13/71) Conductor: Todor Petronje</p> <p>8 Feb – P. I. Tchaikovsky - <i>Solemn Overture</i>, Op. 49 (1812 Overture) Conductor: Bogoljub Vojnović</p> <p>13 Oct – Lorenc Antoni – <i>Opojanja Suite</i> (RTP Archive 100/A-240)</p> <p>17 Oct – Ilija Todorovski – <i>Sounds from Kosmeta i Makedonije</i> Conductor: Ilija Todorovski</p>
1958	<p>17 Jan – L. van Beethoven – <i>Symphony No.3 (Eroica)</i>, 4th Movement – Finale (RTP Archive 109/B-75)</p> <p>24 Oct – Lorenc Antoni – <i>Opojanja Suite</i></p> <p>22 Oct - Svetomir Nastasijević – <i>Balkan Rapsody</i></p>

	Conductor: Bogoljub Vojnović and Ilija Todorovski
1959	<p>15 Aug – Rexho Mulliqi – <i>Poem for Them</i>, cantata for soloist, choir and orchestra; Nexhmije Pagarusha (soprano), Kolë Shiroka (tenor), Shaban Gashi (reciter) Conductor: Bogoljub Vojnović</p>
1960	<p>25 Mar – Luka Sorkočević – <i>Symphony No. 3</i> in D Major; L. Antoni – <i>Malësorja</i></p> <p>28 Mar – I. Brkanović – <i>Concertino for string orchestra</i></p> <p>13 Apr – Rexho Mulliqi – <i>Poema për ata</i> Prishtina Symphony orchestra and Choir of Josip Slavenski music school; Soloists: Nexhmije Pagarusha and Kolë Shiroka; Reciter: Fatmir Fehmiu</p> <p>5 May – T. Zografski – <i>Suite for string orchestra</i> Conductor: Oliver Ristić</p>
1961	<p>14 Feb – Vatroslav Lisinski – Overture from opera <i>Porin</i>; and the orchestral idyll <i>The Evening</i></p> <p>28 June – W. A. Mozart – <i>A Little Night Music</i> Conductor: Oliver Ristić</p>
1965	<p>1 Oct – Solemn Concert: L. van Beethoven - <i>Symphony No. 1</i> in C major, Op. 21; F. Mendelssohn – Concert overture <i>The Hebrides</i>; J. Brahms – <i>Hungarian dances</i> no. 5 and 6 Conductor: Oliver Ristić</p>
1966	<p>15 Mar – Solemn Concert of the Symphony orchestra in Prishtina: Carl Maria von Weber – <i>Der Freischütz</i>, Overture; L. V. Beethoven – <i>Ah! Perfido</i>, Op. 65; A. Dvořák – <i>Symphony No. 5</i> in F major, Op. 76, B. 54.</p> <p>20 July – G. H. Handel – <i>Ch'io mai vi possa</i>; A. Scarlatti – <i>Ninetta</i>; soloist Nexhmije Pagarusha Conductor: Oliver Ristić</p> <p>8 Dec – W. A. Mozart - <i>Piano Concerto No. 20</i> in D minor, K. 466 (soloist: Olga Janković); G. F. Handel – <i>Water Music</i>; J. Haydn - <i>Symphony No. 94</i> in G major Conductor: Radojica Milosavljević</p>
1970	<p>7 Mar - I. Lhotka Kalinski – <i>Albanian Suite</i> Conductor: Bahri Çela</p>

3.1.2. The RTP Symphony Orchestra between 1974 and 1990 (including the RTP Professional Choir)

The period after the 1970s was a period of general progress which included the establishment of stable music institutions and broader musical ‘Europeanization’. In 1973, the increased role of the RTP Media House in social and cultural life was an important moment in the further development of music alternatives. In 1974, the City Symphony Orchestra in Prishtina was officially placed under the umbrella of RTP Media, and was known under a new name, the *RTP Symphony Orchestra* (initially it had the status of a chamber orchestra). The RTP Symphony Orchestra was a fragile institution intended to be able to adapt to the demands of society, balancing its duties as a service provider for RTP media with its activity as a prominent, independent ensemble for art music.

With the decision to transform the City Orchestra into the Orchestra of the Radio and Television, an important step was taken on the path towards new musical and cultural advancements. An important milestone in that journey was the concert of 5 June 1974 in the music studio of Radio Prishtina. In October of the same year the orchestra was presented at another concert which demonstrated to the audience the perseverance, dedication, will, skills and aesthetic-professional values of a promising ensemble.²³⁴ The efforts to reactivate the Symphony Orchestra were due to Bahri Çela who as a young musician with visionary ideas and experiences gained during his studies wanted to put his personal skills to use in the effort to catch up with ‘lost time’. So, from the late 1960s Çela was intensively involved, with all the idealism of a young and ambitious personality, in the effort to (re)form the first cells of the RTP Symphony Orchestra.²³⁵ He was at that time the most influential conductor in Kosovo and an ambitious, disciplined and demanding leader. His arrival (as the first local professional conductor) marks a historic moment. As mentioned, in previous decades the City Orchestra operated in unstable and discontinuous circumstances (and was continuously led by foreign conductors, as mentioned above), so Çela’s arrival initiated both a new era of success for the Orchestra and affirmation in Kosovo and beyond. With his idealistic intentions and his authority as a conductor and pedagogue, Çela managed to reform the orchestra into a genuine

²³⁴ Jusuf GËRVALLA: Çast i rëndësishëm për muzikën artistike, [Important Moment for Art Music], *Rilindja* (5 October 1974), 10.

²³⁵ Rafet RUDI: *Bahri Çela – misionar i paepur i një kohe të shëmtuar* [Bahri Çela – Indomitable Missionary of an Ugly Time], (published: 24 May 2021), <<https://rafetrudi.com/2021/05/24/bahri-cela-misionar-i-paepur-i-nje-kohe-te-shemtuar/>> (accessed 4 January 2022).

and successful orchestra in Kosovo. Ultimately, Bahri Çela, Bajar Berisha and Rafet Rudi eventually laid the foundations of conducting in Kosovo.



Figure 30. Conductors Bahri Çela, Bajar Berisha and Rafet Rudi (from left to right)

The multinational makeup of the orchestra was already a familiar fact and still a necessity. In fact, the orchestra systematically collaborated with orchestras and instrumentalists from Skopje, Niš and Belgrade, who often supplemented the RTP orchestra's needs. It may have been noted that no artistic collaborations with Albania have so far been mentioned in this study. This is because from the end of the Second World War until the 1970s, and as a consequence of the nature of Albanian-Yugoslav political and diplomatic relations, no such collaborations were possible. After 1970, political relations between Yugoslavia and Albania somewhat improved, so the conditions were created for direct relations between the Albanian state and Kosovo (including initiatives in cultural, educational, scientific and other spheres of political and economic life). The first cultural collaborations between the RTP Symphony orchestra and the Radio Televizioni Shqiptar (Abbreviated: RTSH), were carried out in the 1970s. The archive of RTP recordings provide many data about the Albanian works and ensembles which performed in Kosovo. For example, for the years 1974, 1980, 1981 the RTP archive contain data about many radio recordings of the RTSH orchestra (conductors: Mustafa Kranjta, Ferdinand Deda and Eno Koço), and the orchestra of the Opera House (conductors: Rifat Teqja and Rozmari Jorgangji), with the repertoire interpreted by Çesk Zadeja, Tish Daija, Nikolla Zoraqi, Aleksander Peçi, Limoz Dizdari, and others.²³⁶

²³⁶ Cf. Radio Kosova (Ex-RTP) Archive: Inventory numbers: 1013/6197, 1014/6198, 1144/A-6182, 1341-1344 etc.

One concert given at the end of 1978 testified to the quality and growing opportunities of the Orchestra, because it was the first concert performed entirely with Kosovo performers without the help of instrumentalists from Skopje and Niš. Under the direction of Bahri Çela, the following repertoire was performed: H. Kasapolli – *Unfinished suite*, L. Cherubini – *Sonata for Horn and String Orchestra* No.2 in F Major, A. Vivaldi – *Concert for flute and Orchestra*, op. 10, and J. Haydn – *Symphony No. 50* in C Major.²³⁷

In the early 1980s, the RTP aimed to structure itself according to the organizational conceptions existing in other centers of Yugoslavia (i.e., Ljubljana, Zagreb, Belgrade, etc.). Thus, in 1980 and 1981, under the umbrella of the RTP Music Production, both the Mixed Choir (1980) and the Children's Choir (1981) were established.²³⁸ With the establishment of these two units, the active scope of the RTP's Music Production was expanded, offering a more complex spectrum of artistic activities. The RTP Choir had the status of a chamber ensemble (the same as the RTP Symphony Orchestra, the *Collegium Cantorum* Choir and the *Shota* ensemble).

During the 1970s the number of musicians who graduated from music secondary schools, music academies (e.g., in Belgrade, Sarajevo, etc.) was growing, so for almost all of them the RTP Media was the institution where they could find employment as music professionals.²³⁹ After the first generations of students graduated from the Faculty of Arts (Music Department), the number of local professional musicians grew. Thus, the RTP Choir represented the first cell of a complete professional choir consisting mainly of young graduate musicians and former students of this higher institution. There were between 36-50 members in full employment, led by the composer and conductor Rafet Rudi, a personality who has contributed a lot to the continuous success of this choir, while the orchestra had about 50 members (domestic and some

²³⁷ ***: Për herë të parë me forcat tona dhe me sukses [For the First Time With its Own Forces and With Success], *Rilindja* (5 January 1979), 14.

²³⁸ The professional choir founded in 1980 was the continuation of earlier efforts to establish the choir of this Institution (which had been periodically active since 1956 under the direction of composers Lorenc Antoni and Rexho Mulliqi).

²³⁹ Many of them were supported with scholarships by Radio Prishtina, for example, Severin Kajrazi, Kristë Lekaj, Sevime Kabashi-Gjinali, Vinçenc Gjini, Akil Koci, Esat Rizvanolli, Qazim Oruqi, Isak Muçolli, Hysen Badivuku, Shaqir Hoti, Lajde Berisha, Jordan Nikolić, Mile Jovanović, Veljko Vojnović, Afërdita Fehmiu, Gjergj Kaçinari, etc.). Moreover, in parallel with the activities of the Orchestra, some other small chamber ensembles created by the same members of the symphony orchestra were also established in Prishtina. Thus, in 1976 the first Women's string quartet *Kosova* was formed with members Edit Makedonska & Dijana Makedonska - violin, Neven Vidović – viola, and Lupka Pejić – cello; the Quintet *Dardania* with members Đoko Nikolovski and Isak Muçolli – violin, Ljupčo Sokolov – viola, Karlo Bermel – cello and Tatjana Šopova – harp or piano, etc. Cf. Jusuf GËRVALLA: Diçka po ecën përpara [Something is Moving Forward], *Rilindja* (30 April – 2 May 1976), 10; Të mos shuhet Dardania [Not to Extinguish the Dardania], *Rilindja* (6 June 1976), 9.

‘foreign’ instrumentalists), led by Bahri Çela and Bajar Berisha. That meant in total about 80-100 members (singers, instrumentalists and conductors).

Table 15. Some RTP Symphony Orchestra members in 1980s.

Orchestra Members in the 1980s	Žarko Milojković, Đoko Nikolovski, Isak Muçolli, Edit Makedonska, Dijana Makedonska, Ljubomir Jašarević, Ibrahim Shaqiri, Valbon Haxhibeqiri; Lupčo Sokolov, Neven Vidović, Dragan Radonić; Karlo Bermel, Srećko Pejić, Ljupka Pejić; Mendi Mengjiqi, Uvill Ballata; Tatjana Šopova; Mile Kaçinari, Shaqir Hoti, Venera Mehmetagaj; Anđelko Karaferić, Vasil Anastasov, Veljko Vojnović, Ante Gruić, Qazim Bobaj, Shemsedin Fanaj, Luigj Gomilla, Ljubiša Zlatanović, Mihailo Dokuzov, Slobodan Kosturski, Simon Lumezi, Shemsi Canolli, Besim Gashi, Miroslav Stamenković, etc.
Conductors	Bahri Çela, Bajar Berisha, Silviu Pantiru, etc.

Table 16. The RTP Choir members between 1980 and 1985. ²⁴⁰

Soprano	Nezafete Shala, Shpresa Gashi-Bala, Mira Zlatanović, Drita Krasniqi-Lekaj, Jasmina Omeragić, Selvije Xhemshiti-Marteti, Taibe Bunjaku, Lajde Mjeda, Nushe Demiri, Merita Juniku.		
Alto	Lutfije Berisha, Anđelka Zečević, Drita Arifi, Drita Demjaha-Rudi, Vesna Mulić, Nedime Shala, Flutura Basha, Drita Mustafa.		
Tenor	Xhelal Bakraçi, Bektesh Qalaj, Ramadan Sopi, Besim Balaj, Efraim Kastrati, Namikqemajl Hamzaj, Naim Krasniqi, Kenan Hasani, Agim Kasumi.		
Bass	Živorad Mladenović, Qenan Shuku, Bahri Mulliqi, Haki Krasniqi, Xhemail Rexhepi, Qazim Dushku, Hanifi Simnica, Rustem Muslijaj, Bibë Berisha, Hysen Tasimi.		
External collaborators:	Gani Myftari, Zoran Ristić, Ildiko Juniku, Sebiha Ramadani, Jovica Pešic, Bajar Berisha, Bernardina Mjeda, Dragan Nikolić, Ahmet Dërguti, Tynde Gajdoš, Mirzijana Brizani, Shaban Kelmendi, Shpend Gaxherri, Violeta Kurshumliu, Ismet Hoti, Vera Xërxa, Vesel Morina, Hysri Tasholli, Rozelita Muharremi, Fatmire Shala, Agim Pirkuçi, Vilma Bejtullahu, Xhevdet Sahatçiu.		
Conductor	Rafet Rudi	Referent	Vojo Savić
Accompanist	Bashkim Paçuku	Editor	Hermine Lekaj

²⁴⁰ The data are taken from a small catalogue published in 1985 by the RTP Music Production in Prishtina.



Figure 31. The RTP Choir with conductor Rafet Rudi (1985)²⁴¹

The first joint public concert of the RTP Choir and Symphony Orchestra was held on 15 October 1981 in the Red Hall of the Youth and Sport Center (formerly *Boro and Ramizi*).²⁴² The success of the orchestra was confirmed especially with the performance of great works such as the ballet *Sokoli e Mirusha*, the opera *Goca e Kaçanikut*, and the first Albanian symphony composed by Çesk Zadeja. In 1982 alone, the Symphony Orchestra performed 17 concerts of which 13 included premieres.²⁴³

Alongside the RTP Symphony Orchestra and the Choir, as the two main music-making ensembles, the third department of this ‘performing music academy’ was the Children’s Choir, established in 1981. It was a big choir, consisting of 60 talented children from different primary schools in Prishtina. Under the leadership of Ramadan Ramadani this choir managed to realize a large number of choral works in a short period, and also participated in many performances (e.g., a joint performance with the *Colegium Cantorum*, including the concert premiere of the opera *Dasma Arbëreshe* [Arbëresh Wedding] by Rauf Dhomi in 1990) and at local festivals (e.g., the festivals *Days of Kosovo Music*, *Akordet e Kosovës*, etc.). The Dubrovnik Summer

²⁴¹ Photograph taken from *Oral History Kosovo*, posted on Facebook (11 January 2024) <<https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=693475146226977&set=pcb.693475756226916>> (accessed: 15 January 2024).

²⁴² Murat OSMANI: Prezentim i sukseshëm i korit të RTP-së [Successful Presentation of RTP Choir], *Rilindja* (24 October 1981), 12.

²⁴³ Mehmet EMËRLLAHU: Realizime që nuk kaluan pa u hetuar [Achievements That Did Not Pass Without Being Seen], *Rilindja* (24 March 1983), 11.

Festival,²⁴⁴ which was one of the most important art events promoting and connecting tradition and modernity and showcasing local, national and international creativity, generally served as a spiritual and cultural center attracting many musicians from all around Yugoslavia, including those from Kosovo. Until 1974, Kosovo was represented only five times at the Dubrovnik Summer Festival: by the Children's Choir *Vatroslav Lisinski* from Janjevo in 1970 (the first participation ever); and by the Song and Dance Ensemble *Shota* in the years 1974-77.²⁴⁵ The most successful presentations of Kosovan music at this festival were from 1979 onwards. In 1979 the choir *Collegium Cantorum* participated; in 1981 – the RTP Symphony Orchestra; in 1982 – the RTP Choir; in 1984 – the RTP Symphony Orchestra, etc. These three ensembles were the most important organizations in all musical events. There was no event (concert event or festival) that in some form did not experience the presence of at least one of these ensembles. Each served an imperative need to advance in the performing sphere, the 1980s being a culminating moment in terms of development, inclusiveness and idealism for the future.

As a consequence of later socio-political circumstances, the status of these three ensembles was substantially changed in the year 1990. With the live performance of the opera *Dasma Arbëreshe* [Arbëresh Wedding] on 22 June 1990 (which failed to be recorded in the RTP Music Production Studio, on 5 July 1990), the joint history of these formations ended forever.²⁴⁶ In general terms, art and culture, as well as the socio-cultural atmosphere of the 1990s, would suffer heavy blows which were widely felt. However, after the difficult decade of the 1990s, the situation took a new turn, and after 1999 a new spirit of cultural change, in a terrain full of suffering, came into being. The former symphony orchestra and the choir of the RTP were born again, but under a new institutional umbrella, the Kosovo Philharmonic.

²⁴⁴ The Dubrovnik Summer Festival (in Croatian: *Dubrovačke ljetne igre*) is an annually-held summer festival founded in 1950 in the Gothic-Renaissance-Baroque city of Dubrovnik, Croatia. It is one of the most prestigious summer festivals of its kind in Croatia, held every year between 10 July and 25 August, with rich repertoires of art music, theatre, opera and dance performances. In the 1980s, the Dubrovnik Summer Festival was the largest and most famous musical event in the former Yugoslavia and served as a kind of 'property' of all nationalities, and – at least in my opinion – the best expression of the 'brotherhood & union' ideal of coexistence, and of multiculturalism in the Balkans and beyond.

²⁴⁵ *Dubrovačke ljetne igre 1950 – 1979*, Dubrovnik: Dubrovačke ljetne igre, 1979, <https://www.google.com/books/edition/Dubrova%C4%8Dke_Ljetne_Igre/GFQqAQAIAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&dq=Dubrovnik+festival+:+Dubrova%C4%8Dke+ljetne+igre+1950++1979++google+books&pg=PP7&printsec=frontcover> (accessed 30 June 2020).

²⁴⁶ After the transformation of RTP into RTK (Radio Television of Kosovo) in June 1999, a new modern kind of ensemble, the RTK Band, was established for the needs of this media house.

Table 17. Some concerts/performances/recordings of RTP Choir & Symphony Orchestra, 1974-1990.

Year	Concert	Repertoire
June 1974	Concert	Girolamo Frescobaldi – <i>Aria con Variazioni</i> Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach – <i>Symphony in C major</i> Béla Bartók – <i>Hungarian Dances</i> (four dances) Akil Koci – <i>Siluetat</i> Jean-Paul-Égide Martini – <i>Plaisir d'amour</i> (soloist Nexhmije Pagarusha) Conductor: Bahri Çela
October 1974	Concert	Antonio Vivaldi <i>Concerto for strings in (?)</i> Domenico Zipoli – <i>Elevazione</i> Rexho Mulliqi – <i>Fugue for string orchestra</i> Esat Rizvanolli – <i>Elegy for string orchestra dedicated to Halit Kasapolli</i> , as well as the works of composers G. F. Teleman, H. Purcell, A. Koci etc. Soloists: Đoko Nikolovski – violin, Velko Todevski – contrabass and Žarko Milojković – concertmaster (from Skopje).
1975	Participation at the Festival <i>Skena muzikore e Prishtinës</i>	Esat Rizvanolli – <i>Adagio & Scherzo</i> Rafet Rudi – <i>Largo</i> Mihovil Logar – <i>Minuetto</i> Carl Maria von Weber – <i>Concertino for Clarinet in E-flat major, Op. 26</i> (soloist Shemsedin Fanaj) Ludwig van Beethoven – <i>Coriolan Overture, Op. 62.</i> Conductor: Bajar Berisha
1976	Concert	Milenko Živković – <i>Classical Suite</i> Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart - <i>Divertimento in F major, K.138</i> Karl Ditters von Dittersdorf – <i>Symphony Concertante in D major, K.127</i> Franz Schubert – <i>Symphony No. 8 in B minor, D. 759.</i> Conductor: Bajar Berisha
1976	Concert	Lorenc Antoni – <i>Valle shqiptare no.1</i> Akil Koci – <i>Dialogue for contrabass and orchestra</i> Rexho Mulliqi – Scene from the ballet <i>Nita</i> Conductor: Bajar Berisha
21 January 1976	RTP Archive Recording data 895/6855, 891/6892	Carl Maria von Weber – <i>Concertino for Clarinet in E-flat major, Op. 26</i> Soloist: Shemsedin Fanaj Ludwig van Beethoven – <i>Coriolan Overture</i> Esat Rizvanolli – <i>Elegy</i> Rafet Rudi – <i>Largo</i> Conductor: Bajar Berisha
7 May 1976	RTP Archive Recording data 901/7022	Halit Kasapolli – <i>Vajza Shqiptare</i> Esat Rizvanolli – <i>Adagio and Scherzo</i> Antonio Vivaldi – <i>Cello Concerto in E minor</i> soloist: Srećko Pejić

		Conductor: Bajar Berisha
10 Nov 1976	RTP Archive Recording data 906/7182	Božidar Vojnović – <i>U Tauk Bašti</i> Conductor: Bajar Berisha
24 Feb 1977	RTP Archive Recording data 910/7374, 911/7449	Mark Kaçinari – <i>Suita Ilire</i> Rauf Dhomi – Overture from opera <i>Goca e Kaçanikut</i> Conductor: Bahri Çela
8 Apr 1977	RTP Archive Recording data 913/7410, 914/7409	Lorenc Antoni – <i>Rapsodia Shqiptare</i> no.1; <i>Valle Shqiptare</i> no. 1; <i>Në Prizrenin e vjetër</i> Conductor: Bajar Berisha and Bahri Çela
June 1977	Event <i>Days of Culture – Days of Jubilee</i> . On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the coming to power of the Communist Party and the 85th anniversary of the birth of J. B. Tito	RTP Symphony Orchestra + Collegium Cantorum Choir Esat Rizvanolli – Symphonic Poem <i>Rezistenca 1943</i> Rexho Mulliqi – Cantata <i>Poema për ata</i> Conductor: Mark Kaçinari
28 February 1978	Concert with the Serbian soloist Jovan Kolundžija (violin)	W. A. Mozart – Overture, <i>The Abduction from the Seraglio</i> ; <i>Violin Concerto</i> No.4 in D major, K.218; <i>Symphony No. 40</i> in G minor, K. 550; Guest Conductor from Skopje
19 December 1978	RTP Archive Recording data 1051	W. A. Mozart – <i>Flute Concerto</i> in D Major No.2 K.314 soloist: Mila Kaçinari Conductor: Bahri Çela
10 January 1979	RTP Archive Recording data 1056	Antonio Vivaldi – <i>Il Gardellino</i> , Op. 10 No. 3; <i>Concerto for flute and orchestra</i> soloist: Venera Mehmetagaj Conductor: Bahri Çela
February 1979	Concert On the occasion of the 34th anniversary of the founding of the Radio Television of Prishtina	Ivo Lhotka-Kalinski – <i>Albanska pesma</i> George Frideric Handel – <i>Concert for violin and orchestra</i> in B minor (soloist Dragan Radonić) Rexho Mulliqi – fragment from the ballet <i>Nita</i> W. A. Mozart – <i>Divertimento</i> in D major. Conductor: Bahri Çela
4 March 1979	Concert Collaboration between RTP and RTSH Orchestra	Nikolla Zoraqi – <i>Overture</i> Lorenc Antoni – <i>Malësorja</i> Rexho Mulliqi – <i>Baresha</i> Ferdinand Deda – <i>Symphonic Dance</i> No.1 Mark Kaçinari – <i>Ilirian Suite</i> Feim Ibrahimimi – Variations Guest Conductor: Ferdinand Deda
24 May 1979	RTP Archive Recording data 1108, 1109, 1110	W. A. Mozart – <i>Divertimento</i> in D Major Conductor: Bahri Çela
16 July 1979	RTP Archive Recording data	G. F. Handel – <i>Concerto for Viola and Orchestra</i> in B minor soloist: Dragan Radonić

	1105	Conductor: Bahri Çela
10 January 1980	RTP Archive Recording data 1057, 1106	Rauf Dhomi – <i>Opera Goca e Kaçanikut</i> Çesk Zadeja – <i>Symphonic suite</i> Conductor: Bahri Çela
21 Mar 1980	RTP Archive Recording data 1219, 1236, 1240, 1241	L. V. Beethoven – <i>Symphony No. 1</i> Pjetër Gaci – <i>Symphonic Dance</i> Akil Koci – <i>Marginalia for orchestra</i> Zeqirja Ballata – <i>Suite for string orchestra</i> Vinçenc Gjini – <i>Symphony</i> Luka Sorkočević – <i>Symphony in D major</i> RTP Symphony Orchestra and choir Collegium Cantorum Esat Rizvanolli – <i>Rezistenca 43</i> Conductor: Bahri Çela and Bajar Berisha
April 1980	Concert	Franz Schubert – <i>Symphony no.5</i> in B major Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart – <i>Concerto for flute and orchestra</i> (soloist Venera Mehmetagaj) Rexho Mulliqi – <i>Pastoralja dhe loja</i> Feim Ibrahim – <i>Rapsodia shqiptare no.2</i> Krešimir Baranović – Suite from the ballet <i>Licitarско srce</i> Guest conductor: Živojin Zdravković
26 November 1980	Participation in the Festival ‘Skena Muzikore e Prishtinës’	Jakov Gotovac – <i>Symphonic Dance</i> Joseph Haydn – <i>Cello Concerto No. 2</i> in D Major (soloist Valter Dešpalj); Vinçenc Gjini – <i>Symphony no. 1</i> (Adagio molto, Scherzo, Allegretto) Conductor: Mark Kaçinari
18 February 1981	Concert RTP Symphony Orchestra in collaboration with the Albanian Radio and Television (RTSH) Orchestra	Vinçenc Gjini – <i>Suitë e vogël orkestrale</i> Limoz Dizdari – <i>Peisazhi</i> Thoma Nassi – <i>Albanian rapshody no.1</i> Camille Saint-Saëns – <i>Mon cœur s'ouvre à ta voix</i> from the opera <i>Samson and Delilah</i> , soloist Hermina Lekaj Albert Papparisto – <i>Romance for oboe and orchestra</i> (soloist Viktor Shiroka) Fahri Beqiri – Dramatic poem <i>Skënderbeu</i> Ludwig van Beethoven – <i>Symphony no. 5.</i> Guest conductor: Ermir Krantja
9 March 1981	RTP Archive Recording data 1340, 1342, 1343	RTP Choir: Shime Dešpalj – <i>Lenës</i> Rauf Dhomi – <i>Podradeci</i> O. D. Lasso – <i>Io ti voria</i> Çesk Zadeja – <i>Rritu moj Bajame</i> Petar Đorđević – <i>Aromë portokalli</i> Fahri Beqiri – <i>Këndeje kaloi armiku</i> Vinçenc Gjini – <i>Lirisë</i>

		Conductor: Rafet Rudi
22 July 1981	Performance at the <i>Dubrovnik Summer Festival</i>	Mihovil Logar – A section from the ballet <i>Golden Fish</i> Ludwig van Beethoven – <i>Concert for piano and orchestra no.4</i> in G major, op.58 (soloist Lejla Haxhiu) Rexho Mulliqi – <i>Pastoralja dhe loja</i> Esat Rizvanolli – <i>Adagio and scherzo</i> Rafet Rudi – <i>Simfonia në dy blloqe</i> Conductor: Bajzar Berisha
29 October 1981	RTP Archive Recording data 1273, 1374	RTP Choir Lorenc Antoni – <i>Mirëmbrema</i> Esat Rizvanolli – <i>Xehtari; Marshi i paqës</i> Conductor: Rafet Rudi
December 1981	RTP Choir and Symphony Orchestra Solemn Concert on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the uprising of the nations of Yugoslavia	Oskar Danon – <i>With Marshal Tito</i> Bashkim Shehu – <i>Të betuar në diell</i> Vinçenc Gjini – <i>Flamuj shekujsh</i> Gjon Gjevelekaj – <i>Nëna Partizane</i> Tomor Berisha – <i>Toka e vëllazërimit, toka e lirisë</i> Akil Koci – <i>Ty që je liria jonë</i> Bashkim Shehu – <i>Reptoksia</i> , Cantata for reciter and symphony orchestra. Conductor: Bahri Çela & Rafet Rudi
30 March 1982	RTP Archive Recording data 1413, 1414	Vinçenc Gjini – <i>Flamur shekujsh</i> Tomor Berisha – <i>Zemlja bratstva, zemlja sloboda</i> Bashkim Shehu – <i>Të betuar në diell</i> Zeqirja Ballata – <i>Quarteto Breviate</i> Conductor: Bahri Çela
24 May 1982	RTP Archive Recording data 1419, 1420	Boris Papandopulo – <i>Variations on a popular Croatian theme</i> Guiseppe Verdi – <i>Prelude</i> from the opera <i>La Traviata</i> Gioachino Rossini – <i>Overture</i> from the opera <i>The Barber of Seville</i> Conductor: Bahri Çela and Mark Kaçinari
6 August 1982	RTP Choir Performance at the <i>Dubrovnik Summer Festival</i>	Choral songs from: Orlando di Lasso, F. Azzaiolo, J. S. Bach, J. Haydn, C. Debussy, B. Britten, J. Hairston, R. Mulliqi, L. Antoni, V. Kostić, S. Hristić, E. Rizvanolli, F. Beqiri, Z. Ballata, R. Rudi etc. Conductor: Rafet Rudi
4 October 1982	RTP Archive Recording data 1484	Rexho Mulliqi – <i>Akuarelet e Prizrenit</i> Bashkim Shehu – <i>Skica simfonike</i> Conductor: Silvu Pantiru
10 February 1983	RTP Choir and Symphony Orchestra Concert on the occasion of the 1st anniversary of the death of the	Rexho Mulliqi's works: <i>Vendi im; Pastoralja dhe vallja; Akuarelet e Prizrenit</i> , fragment from the ballet <i>Nita</i> . Guest conductor: Ciril Cvetko from Ljubljana

	composer Rexho Mulliqi	
31 Mar 22 Apr 1983	RTP Archive Recording data 1188, 1189, 1191, 1192, 1488, 1489	RTP Choir Vinçenc Gjini – <i>Hijet; Ti me sy të zi; Ditëlindja e shokut Tito;</i> Halit Kasapolli – <i>Folk Songs Suite</i> Fahri Beqiri – <i>Shkoj e vij flutrim si zogu</i> Rexho Mulliqi – <i>Vendi im</i> Tomor Berisha – <i>Ani moj Hatixhe</i> Conductor: Rafet Rudi RTP Orchestra Zeqirja Ballata – <i>Pasakalja</i> Lorenc Antoni – <i>Albanian Dance</i> J. Haydn – <i>Flute Concerto</i> in D major, soloist: Mila Kaçinari Emil Cossetto – <i>Adagio and Tarantella</i> J. S. Bach – <i>Orchestral Suite No. 2</i> in B minor Ch. W. Gluck – <i>Ballet Suite no. 1</i> Conductor: Silviru Pantiru
27 August 1983	RTP Archive Recording data 1503	Kristë Lekaj – <i>Symphonic Poem Trualli betohet</i> Conductor: Silviru Pantiru
30 September 1983	RTP Archive recording data 1506	Gjon Gjevelekaj – <i>Symphonic Variations</i> Bogoljub Vojnović – <i>Albanian Rhapsody</i> Conductor: Silviru Pantiru
13 October 1983	Concert	P. I. Tchaikovsky – <i>Fragment from ballet Swan Lake</i> Rauf Dhomi – <i>Scerco</i> G. F. Telemann – <i>Overture</i> J. Haydn – <i>Symphony no.92.</i> in G Major (Oxford) Conductor: Silviru Pantiru
9 January 1984	RTP Archive recording data 1514, 1515, 1516, 1518	G. Ph. Telemann – <i>Concerto for 2 Flutes and Violin; Overture in F</i> Rauf Dhomi – <i>Scherzo</i> Bogoljub Vojnović – <i>Lindō</i> Conductor: Silviru Pantiru
February 1984	Concert	Franz Schubert – <i>Symphony No. 8</i> in B minor Édouard Lalo – <i>Symphonie espagnole</i> in D minor Op. 21 Baki Jashari – <i>Passacaglia for string orchestra</i> (soloist Sihana Badivuku) Conductor: Silviu Pantiru
27 March 1984	RTP Archive recording data 1537	J. Haydn – <i>Symphony No .4</i> Conductor: Silviu Pantiru
22 August 1983	RTP Archive recording data	Bashkim Shehu – <i>Ballet in 2 acts 'Besa'</i>
5 August 1984		Rexho Mulliqi – <i>Fragment from ballet Nita</i> Rafet Rudi – <i>Largo</i> Johann Joachim Quantz – <i>Concerto for Flute and Orchestra</i> (soloist Venera Mehmetagaj);

	Performance at the <i>Dubrovnik Summer Festival</i>	Luka Sorkočević – <i>Symphony No. 6</i> in D Major Joseph Haydn – <i>Symphony No. 4</i> in D major Conductor: Silviu Pantiru
15 August 1984	RTP Archive Recording data 1559, 1560, 1561	Vinçenc Gjini – <i>Moment musicale</i> Bahri Mulliqi – <i>Four Bagatellas</i> Conductor: Vančo Čavdarski Akil Koci – <i>Concert for Viola and Orchestra</i> (soloist Franc Avsenek) Conductor: Silviu Pantiru
26 March 1985	RTP Archive Recording data 1573	RTP Choir: Choral songs from: Zeqirja Ballata, Esat Rizvanolli, Rauf Dhomi, Gjergj Kaçinari etc. Conductor: Rafet Rudi
28 October 1985	RTP Archive Recording data 1588, 1589, 1593	Antonin Dvořák – <i>Humoresque</i> Domenico Cimarosa – <i>Concert for two flutes and orchestra</i> Conductor: Severin Kajtazi Gjon Gjevelekaj – <i>Suites no. 1, 2, 3</i> from cantata <i>Nënës së Dëshmorëve të LNÇ</i> Conductor: Aleksander Leskovski
18 November 1985	Performance at the Festival <i>Skena muzikore e Prishtinës</i>	Petar Konjović – <i>The Great Chocek Dance</i> from the opera <i>Koštana</i> ; Vinçenc Gjini – <i>Symphony No. 3</i> Sergei Rachmaninoff – <i>Piano concerto No.2 Op.18</i> ; soloist Lejla Haxhiu-Pula Conductor: Stanko Šepić
23 December 1985	Solemn concert On the occasion of the 5th anniversary of the founding of the RTP Choir	W. A. Mozart – <i>Missa brevis</i> in D major, KV. 194 Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina Murray Schafer – <i>Epitaph for Moonlight</i> Fahri Beqiri – <i>Këndejej kaloj armiku</i> Soloists: Soprano – Mira Tasevska, Alto – Hermina Lekaj, Tenor – Bashkim Paçuku, Bas – Miomir Tasić. Conductor: Rafet Rudi.
28 February 1986	Concert (In collaboration with guests from Zagreb) (RTP Archive recording data 1603-07)	W. A. Mozart – <i>Don Giovanni Overture</i> Ludwig van Beethoven – <i>Piano Concerto No.4</i> soloist Robert Stingl Ludwig van Beethoven – <i>Symphony no. 2</i> ; <i>Symphony no. 3</i> ; <i>Symphony no. 7</i> . Guest conductors: Dražena Bubalo and Stanko Šepić
21 March 1986	Concert (In collaboration with guests from Belgrade)	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart – <i>Overture, The Abduction from the Seraglio</i> ; <i>Clarinet concerto A dur</i> (soloist: Predrag Stefanović); <i>Symphony in C major KV.426</i> . Guest conductor: Vanco Cavdarski
18 April 1986	Concert	Ludwig van Beethoven – <i>Missa solemnis</i> and <i>Symphony No.8</i> Conductor: Vanco Cavdarski

27 June 1986	RTP Archive Recording data 1595, 1596	Vinçenc Gjini – <i>Udhëkryqet e jetës</i> Gjon Gjevelekaj – <i>Imagination no. 12</i> Conductor: Lesław Sałacki
30 July 1987	RTP Archive Recording data 1615	RTP Choir (acapella) Xhevdet Gashi – <i>Tri gota; Soon all will be done</i> Mark Kaçinari – <i>Kënga jonë; Mori drandofilja e vogël</i> Conductor: Rafet Rudi
2 February 1987	Concert Days of Radio Television of Prishtina	Felix Mendelssohn – Concert overture <i>The Hebrides</i> Carl Maria von Weber <i>Concertino for Clarinet</i> in E major Op. 26 (soloist Emir Nuhanović) Mihailo Vukdragović – <i>Vezilja slobode</i> , cantata for solo soprano, mixed choir and symphony orchestra (soloist Nezafete Shala). Conductor: Lesław Sałacki & Rafet Rudi.
27 February 1987	Concert On the 5th anniversary of the death of composer Rexho Mulliqi	Rexho Mulliqi – <i>Vendi im; Një lule; Vjeshta</i> (soloist Shpresa Gashi); <i>Elegjia</i> për violonçel dhe piano (soloist: Adrian Juniku-cello and Jehona Zajmi-piano); <i>Pastoralja dhe loja</i> ; Scenes from Act I from ballet <i>Nita; Suita e vogël</i> for choir and orchestra (soloist; Shpresa Gashi, Lutfije Berisha, Agim Kasumi and Rustem Musliaj). Conductor: Bajar Berisha and Lesław Sałacki
2 June 1987	RTP Archive Recording data 1636, 1637, 1638, 1641	Rauf Dhomi – <i>E bukura more</i> , ballet in three acts Conductor: Lesław Sałacki RTP Choir: Rexho Mulliqi – <i>Një lule; Vjeshta</i> Petar Đorđević – <i>Shade mori Shade</i> Stevan Mokranjac – <i>8th Garland</i> Conductor: Bajar Berisha
11 June 1987	Concert	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart – <i>A Little Night Music</i> ; Joseph Haydn <i>Symphony no.104</i> in D major; Édouard Lalo <i>Cello concerto in d minor</i> ; (soloist Antonio Gashi); Conductor: Jehona Zajmi, Emir Nuhanović and Lesław Sałacki.
6 October 1987	Concert	Ludwig van Beethoven – <i>Coriolan Overture</i> , Op. 62 Giuseppe Verdi – <i>Rigoletto, Act II, Ducas Aria</i> (soloist Bashkim Paçuku) Giacomo Puccini – <i>Aria Manon</i> from the opera <i>Manon Lescaut</i> (soloist Jasmina Omeragić) Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart – <i>Symphony No. 40</i> in G minor Conductor: Bajar Berisha
28 October 1987	Concert On the occasion of the 200th anniversary of the	Bashkim Shehu – <i>Stage Oratorio</i> for soloist, choir, orchestra, reciter and dancer, first performance.

	birth of Vuk Stefanović Karadžić	Conductor Bajar Berisha, Baki Jashari.
30 August 1988	RTP Archive Recording data 1677	Baki Jashari – <i>Pakëz ëndërr, pakës në zhgëndërr</i> Conductor: Baki Jashari
11 October 1988	RTP Archive Recording data 1691, 1692	Gjon Gjevelekaj – Symphonic poem <i>Qëndresa është fitore</i>
23 November 1988	Participation at the Festival <i>Skena muzikore e Prishtinës</i>	Carl Maria von Weber – <i>Concertino for Clarinet</i> in E major Op. 26 (soloist Ernest Ačkun) <i>Zeqirja Ballata – Suita për harqe</i> Lugwig van Beethoven – <i>Symphony No. 3</i> in E flat major, Op. 55 Conductor: Bajar Berisha
21 February 1989	RTP Archive Recording data 1695, 1696	W. A. Mozart – <i>Requiem</i> , soloists: Jasmina Omeragić (soprano), Hermina Lekaj (alto), Xhelal Bakraçi (tenor), Ahmet Dërguti (bas) Conductor: Bajar Berisha
22 February 1989	RTP Archive Recording data 1701, 1702, 1703	Gjon Gjevelekaj – Film music <i>Rojet e mjegullës</i>
19 May 1989	Concert	Christoph Willibald Gluck – Overture <i>Alceste</i> François Devienne – <i>Flute Concerto No. 7</i> in E minor, Antonin Dvořák – <i>Symphony No. 9</i> in E minor, <i>From the New World</i> Conductor: Jehona Zajmi (Graduation Concert in Conducting)
12 June 1989	RTP Archive recording data 1705	Alexander Scriabin – <i>Piano Concerto</i> in F sharp minor, Op. 20, soloist Lejla Haxhiu-Pula Severin Kajtazi – Orchestral piece <i>Loja e fluturave</i> L. V. Beethoven – <i>Symphony No. 3</i> in E flat major, Op. 55. Conductor: Bajar Berisha
24 October 1989	Participation at the Festival <i>Days of Kosovo music</i> in Gjakova	Rauf Dhomi – Aria from opera <i>Dasma Arbëreshe</i> , soloist Xhelal Bakraçi; Rexho Mulliqi – <i>Baresha</i> (arranged for violin and orchestra), soloist Isak Muçolli Lorenc Antoni – <i>Vallja malësore</i> Halit Kasapolli – <i>Pranvera</i> Bogoljub Vojnović – <i>Lingja</i> Severin Kajtazi – <i>Lojë dasme</i> Conductor: Bajar Berisha
12 December 1989	Concert	Josip Slavenski – <i>String Quartet</i> No.1, Op. 3 George Gershwin – <i>Rhapsody in Blue</i> (soloist: Valton Beqiri) Bahri Mulliqi – <i>Diptik Simfonik</i> Conductor: Bajar Berisha

30 January 1990	RTP Archive Recording data 1724, 1725	Bahri Mulliqi – <i>Diptik Simfonik</i> George Gershwin – <i>Rhapsody in Blue</i> Conductor: Bajar Berisha
22 May 1990	RTP Archive recording data 1734, 1735	Gjon Gjevelekaj – <i>Concerto for piano and Orchestra</i> ; soloist: Valton Beqiri Conductor: Bajar Berisha
20 June 1990	Concert	Rauf Dhomi – opera <i>Dasma Arbëreshe</i> Conductor: Bajar Berisha

3.1.3. Choir and Philharmonic of Kosovo (2000 onwards)

The value of this institution is of historic importance, because it has always maintained a unique and outstanding position founded on European musical forms and values. From humble beginnings it has firmly established itself as an ambitious orchestra in terms of its ability to perform orchestral works from classical to contemporary and innovative compositions, with a focus on promoting national cultural identity. It must always be pointed out that the Philharmonic of Kosovo is the continuation of two previous institutions, the RTP Symphony Orchestra (1974) and the Prishtina City Symphony (1950). Despite continuous existential nonlinearity, the Kosovo Philharmonic (with its two predecessor institutions) remains the formation that is the most consistent in terms of art music-making. Institutional and compositional transformations have come about as a result of various cultural and political changes, and therefore it might often seem difficult to systematically trace the chronological prehistory of the Philharmonic. Its consistency is reflected in a deep sustainable commitment to both human and musical values, because the process of supporting the orchestra has involved challenges on many levels including its membership, leadership, funding policies, venue restraints, the absence of a concert hall, etc. Often influenced by issues of Albanian nationalism, the organic connection with the predecessor institution, the RTP Symphony orchestra, is stressed in the very few writings related to the chronological path of this institution, but the disconnection with the even older institution of the City Symphony Orchestra, founded in 1950, is notable. This may have represented the desire for a separation, or a kind of “distancing” from the early joint multi-ethnic Albanian-Serbian practices (dominated by professional Serbian musicians), which is evident in many areas of the historical documentation. I say this because in the few musicological articles published after the year 2000 in Kosovo, the phenomenon of documenting the musical past is considered only in terms

of Albanian national relations and achievements. However, it is impossible to be completely detached from the common (multi-ethnic) past of the second half of the twentieth century, because it was the socio-political reality in which the foundations of almost all cultural developments were laid. As political and social developments affected the normal cultural course, especially the breakdown of ethnic Albanian-Serbian relations of the 1990s, it was not unexpected that in the period of deinstitutionalization the work of the RTP Symphony Orchestra was interrupted, and then resumed after a decade of turbulence.

The process of general musical development and institutionalization after the Kosovo War of 1999 has to be understood as a particularly important historical epoch in the cultural development of modern Kosovo. After the conflict (including the period 1990-99, and the NATO bombing of the time), the restructuring of all socio-political processes, carried out under the leadership of the UN peacekeeping forces, was a fundamentally important precondition for a sustainable development process in all fields. The resumption of cultural life, or the reactivation of normal processes after a decade of deinstitutionalization, was neither a quick nor an easy process. The recovery of the population from the trauma of the 1990s has been a long and complex process, particularly as it related to the resumption of normal life. The task of building or re-building a culture was perceived to be of vital importance right from the start.²⁴⁷ Socio-cultural life had to aim for normalization, so it was necessary to form, (re)form or (re)actualize various cultural institutions. The energy and enthusiasm of musical artists in Kosovo effected a major turn in the arts which would overcome the memory of the previous decade. The desire to make up for the ‘cultural gap’ of the 1990s and to lay the foundations of ‘new’ institutions united the efforts of all musicians who remained in Kosovo, or who had returned from their temporary migration in Europe. The first concert to be put on after the Kosovo War was organized by Besa Luzha on 28 November 1999 with a program ranging from Bach to Copland, and with several players brought in from Albania.²⁴⁸ Several months later, Mozart’s *Requiem* was performed by students of the Faculty of Arts. The symbolic dimensions of these concerts can be imagined fairly easily.²⁴⁹

Certainly, an ambition to develop new artistic content on the part of individuals was needed. In this respect, there was no lack of energy and commitment, but there was an absence of individuals. For example, at the first concert events of art music in Prishtina, the number of

²⁴⁷ Jim SAMSON: *Music in the Balkans*, Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013, 657.

²⁴⁸ Cf. *ibid.*

²⁴⁹ Cf. *ibid.*

participants (both in terms of performers and the audience) was very small. In order to proceed, a powerful initiative was needed which, perhaps by coincidence, once again came from the same individual who had been the strongest voice in the foundation of the RTP Symphony orchestra in 1974. With the commitment of the conductor Bahri Çela and the archaeologist Edi Shukriu (who at that time, during the period of the UNMIK temporary government, was responsible for the re-actualization of cultural institutions), the musical institution the Philharmonic of Kosovo was officially founded in September 2000. The first concert, given by a Chamber Orchestra, occurred on 23 September 2000. So, under a general strategy of supporting art music in the circumstances of the new political and social climate, the new institution, the Philharmonic of Kosovo, was formed. The Philharmonic is the most prestigious musical institution in the Republic of Kosovo and is overseen by the Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports.²⁵⁰ Since its founding, it is a basic pillar and a living organism of art music and culture in Kosovo. Between the years 2000 and 2020, the Philharmonic of Kosovo has had only three directors: Antonio Gashi (cellist), 2000-2003; Rauf Dhoni (composer), 2003-2006 and Baki Jashari (composer and conductor), 2006-2024.

The brief period after the war witnessed the third moment in the history of Kosovo in which performing ensembles could not realize their existence without the assistance of ‘migrating’ foreign musicians. This mobility was essential for the initial concerts, which were realized with many imported musicians (mainly wind instrumentalists) from Albania and Macedonia. Also, in the early stages, some military musicians from the KFOR Military Forces were included in the ranks of the Orchestra. Continued success is attributed to the ability to maintain a continuity of musical experience which has enabled the choir and orchestra’s ongoing sustainability. From 2003, it has comprised two units: the Symphony Orchestra and the Philharmonic Choir, with about 120 members in total.²⁵¹

²⁵⁰ The Philharmonic, Opera and Ballet in Kosovo, operate according to the Law No. 02/L-59 approved by the Assembly of Kosovo, Pursuant to Chapter 5.1 (g) and 9.1.26 of the Constitutional Framework for Provisional Self-Government in Kosovo (UNMIK Regulation nr. 2001/9 from the 15 May 2001), *Statute of Kosovo Philharmonic*, Article 5.4. <<https://gzk.rks-gov.net/ActDocumentDetail.aspx?ActID=2448>> (accessed 7 November 2022).

²⁵¹ *Filharmonia e Kosovës* <<https://filharmoniaekosoves.com/>> (accessed 31 August 2021).

Table 18. The Kosovo Philharmonic members

Some Orchestra Members in the Philharmonic of Kosovo between 2000 and 2020
<p>Violin I: Sihana Badivuku, Visar Kuçi, Festim Fanaj, Gëzim Latifi, Avni Thaqi, Mrika Hoxha, Arsim Mustafa, Liridon Ballata, Arion Ballata, Ron Bakalli, Vlora Çitaku. Violin II: Valbon Haxhibeqiri, Erlinda Gashi, Erza Devaja, Blerta Halimi, Shqipe Bajraktari, Muhamet Bojaxhiu, Fortesa Fejza. Viola: Blerim Grubi, Arianit Shehu, Lumnije Osmani, Vjosa Hoxha, Yllza Ballata, Ardian Shala, Lutfi Hoxha, Genta Bislumi. Violoncello: Pjetër Guralumi, Antonio Gashi, Amanda Istrefi, Adorel Haxhiaj, Vjosa Berisha, Arian Zherka, Narta Zeqiri, Fjolla Asllanaj. Contrabass: Mendi Mengjiqi, Fraim Gashi, Shkodran Osmanaj, Lulzim Lushtaku, Feriz Feka. Flute: Venera Mehmetagaj, Enkelejda Zajmi Gorani, Kaltrina Krasniqi. Oboe: Albin Abazi, Ilir Gjoka. Clarinet: Astrit Mustafa, Shkumbin Bajraktari, Uran Bllaca. Fagot: Fatos Jaho, Meriton Ferizi, Yllzim Bytyqi. Horn: Bledar Bujupi, Besmir Behluli, Fitim Halimi, Ardita Ibrahimimi. Trumpet: Avni Krasniqi, Ardit Pira. Trombone: Betim Krasniqi, Rejhan Rexha, Ilir Livoreka. Tuba: Meriton Ferati. Timpani: Mojca Sedeu, Patris Berisha. Percussion: Asim Gashi, Meriton Zajmi, Kenan Bytyqi, Aurora Spahiu. Conductor: Bahri Çela, Bajar Berisha, Baki Jashari, Toshio Yanagisawa, Gregory Charette, Boian Videnoff and many other guest conductors.</p>
Choir Members
<p>Soprano: Merita Sopi, Valbona Vitia, Shpresa Gashi, Selvije Marteti, Lindita Hakaj, Adelina Thaqi, Donika Ukshini, Shkurtë Hykaj, Kaltrina Myftari, Arta Jashari, Hana Kelmendi, Adelina Paloja, Taibe Tmava, Elida Kryeziu, Ilvije Dragusha, Fjolla Gashi, Ardita Ukaj, Saranda Ademi. Alto: Nezafete Shala, Sihana Bunjaku, Elikona Hysaj, Blerta Ballata, Besa Krasniqi, Diellza Sylejmani, Ardiana Bytyqi, Albana Piperku, Arstina Kadiu, Mimoza Morina, Violeta Kurshumliu, Donjeta Krasniqi, Flutura Basha, Fjolla Retkoceri, Dea Xhemajli, Donika Rushiti. Tenor: Luan Durmishi, Liridon Sadriu, Kujtim Pula, Granit Musliu, Nijazi Shala, Alban Feka, Mal Sopi, Lirim Thaqi, Sokol Latifi, Agron Tufa. Bass: Artan Baruti, Nikoll Gjini, Arlind Gjyshinca, Safet Berisha, Halil Piraj, Besart Halilaj, Shaban Behramaj, Endrit Rexhepi. Conductor: Rafet Rudi</p>

Within its general activity, including annual concert seasons which consist of approximately 30 concerts, the Kosovo Philharmonic as the umbrella institution of art music brings together musical styles and performers, conductors, and well-known musicians (national and international), who contribute a lot to the musical culture in Kosovo. Both the choir and the orchestra have demonstrated a firm commitment to performing diverse repertoire from Medieval and Renaissance to contemporary music, with a focus in recent years on the promotion of works by living, mainly local, composers. As the dominant presence in the local art music market, the Philharmonic operates according to the model of the typical western symphony orchestra, with special emphasis placed on interdisciplinary activity and collaboration with other music institutions and individuals. The collaborations with conductors Toshio Yanagisawa and Gregory Charette remain two of the most fruitful collaborations in the modern history of this institution. For over twenty years, this ensemble has built a sense of

identity and purpose, while the value of the national cultural heritage is even greater when it performs as an institution that enthusiastically and systematically promotes classical and modern music. In conclusion, the history of the Kosovo Philharmonic together with its two preceding formations, from humble beginnings has witnessed plenty of highs and lows, remaining however in all social and artistic contexts important and progressive. It endured a colorful and turbulent history, gradually building up its artistic strength and identity and has become an indispensable national asset.



Figure 32. The Choir and Philharmonic of Kosovo (2017)²⁵²

²⁵² Photo sourced from the official website of the Kosovo Philharmonic https://filharmoniaekosoves.com/?page_id=566 (accessed 2 September 2022).

3.2. Some Music-making Ensembles: The Role of Choirs in Historical Experience

The art of choral singing, as a collective endeavor with extraordinary socio-cultural opportunities, was the primary model which was drawn upon in the challenge of creating professional integrity and the conditions for musical advancement. Choral music and singing in Kosovo has had a long history and tradition which, unfortunately, in the absence of historical documentation testifying to it, is difficult to recover. From the second half of the nineteenth century, choral ensembles have been the most common form of music making in many Balkan countries including Albania and Kosovo. Choral activity was pursued through both religious and secular practices (following the example of musical developments in neighboring areas). The choral singing tradition of Prizren has been acclaimed in Prizren since the nineteenth century, with the St Cecilia Choir established in 1870. Choral music in Kosovo (both in terms of musical creativity and musical interpretation) had sustained support, especially in the period after the 1940s. This was a period when choral music was most widely developed. Cultural-artistic societies, as important associations, vitalized artistic life and contributed to the improvement of the interpretative qualities of choral singing (see chapter 1). On the other hand, after the 1960s, the dynamics of cultural progress were realized in more favorable conditions than those of the previous years. During the 1960s and 1970s, choral music underwent more intensive developments. Choral activity became the most powerful industry of musical interpretation and promotion, e.g., *Kori i Burrave* [Men's Choir] – 1965 in Gjakova (led by the academician Rauf Dhomi); *Collegium Cantorum* – 1969 in Prishtina (led by Mark Kaçinari); The Children's Choir *Emin Duraku* in Prishtina – 1969 (led by Syrja Berisha); the Children's Choir *Vatroslav Lisinski* – 1969 in Janjeva (led by Josip Perčinlić); the Children's Choir *Fëmijët e gëzuar* [Happy Kids] – 1974 in Ferizaj (led by Ramadan Ramadani); the *RTP Choir* – 1974 (led by Rafet Rudi); and the choral formations of the various cultural-artistic societies such as *Agimi*, *Stevan Mokranjac*, *Përparimi*, and many others. A similar model of activity was applied in the years after 2000 in which emerged ensembles such as the Women's Choir *Lira* – 2000 in Gjakova (led by Valire Buza); the Men's Choir *Okteti plus* [Octet plus] – 2005 in Prishtina (led by Ylber Asllanaj); *New Born Choir* – 2009 in Prishtina (led by Ylber Asllanaj); the Children's Choir *Okarina* – 2014 in Prishtina (led by Elikona Hysaj Shala); the Women's Choir *Nexhmije Pagarusha* – 2016 in Prishtina (led by Nazlije Sadiku); the Mixed Choir *Siparantum* – 2016 in Peja (led by Memli Kelmendi), and others.

3.2.1 The Choir *Collegium Cantorum* (1969-2004)



Figure 33. The *Collegium Cantorum* Choir (1979)²⁵³



Figure 34. Conductors: Mark (left) & Gjergj Kaçinari (right)

²⁵³ Figure 33. the right side of Figure 34. Figures 36. and 39. are unpublished photographs provided by Klorinda Kaçinari, Gjergj Kacinari's daughter. These photographs were sourced from the Kaçinari family albums and were provided to me during personal communication on 7 March 2022. Additionally, the photograph of Mark Kaçinari (in Figure 34.) is sourced from: Mark Kacinari, Korifeu i Muzikës Shqiptare, *Albëmigrant*, <https://albemigrant2011.wordpress.com/2016/03/24/mark-kacinari-korifeu-i-muzikes-shqiptare/> (accessed: 12 March 2022).

In the late 1960s, with the implementation of policies reflected in economic, political and cultural terms, in the great development of art and culture and the expansion of the network of semi-professional music-making formations, the choir *Collegium Cantorum* was established, becoming one of the most important choral ensembles between 1970 and the 1980s. With the initiative, promotion and leadership of Mark Kaçinari (as founder and conductor) and several other musicians, the *Collegium Cantorum* was formed as a sixty-member choral ensemble composed of musicians, workers, professors, economists, lawyers, doctors, engineers and students from Kosovo. It was formed in September 1969 in Prishtina under the direction of the composer Mark Kaçinari and the chairman Kolë B. Shiroka.²⁵⁴ Shiroka was responsible for all administrative and financial issues. In a short time, the choir became very-well known throughout Kosovo as a result of the work and commitment of its leaders and members, gaining a special status. It had its own venue for holding rehearsals (today the facility of the Kosovo Philharmonic) and was financed by the provincial (Kosovo) budget. The names *Collegium Cantorum* and M. Kaçinari became synonymous.

“From poverty he created artistic wealth, from limits he created success, and from obstacles he created space. He was the man who took the Albanian choral music out of paper scores and put it on stage, he took the music out of the 'cobblestones' of Kosovo and put it on stages on European level — outside Kosovo. Such was Mark Kaçinari, an innovator in art music, a creative volcano that erupted where it was not expected.”²⁵⁵

In the network of music institutionalization, *Collegium Cantorum* was the symbol of the continuity of choral singing, following the traces of amateur choral singing at the Cathedral of Prizren and the choirs of cultural-artistic societies *Agimi* and *Stevan Mokranjac*. From its very first performance the choir was well received. During 1969 alone nine performances in front of the local audience were given, while in June 1970 it gave its first concerts in Belgrade and Niš.²⁵⁶ For ten years (1969-79), 352 members had passed through this ensemble and about 296 concerts had been held.²⁵⁷ While music-making formations in Kosovo were mainly related to the traditional and amateur practices of SHKA's activity, the establishment and operation of *Collegium Cantorum* laid the foundations of a musical culture which offered the worthiest signs

²⁵⁴ M. RAMADANI: Kori Collegium Cantorum në Beograd [Choir Collegium Cantorum in Belgrade], *Rilindja* (6 June 1970), 7.

²⁵⁵ Harry DUKAGJINI: Sot e takova Mark Kaçinarin – Albumi Akordet e Kosovës [Today I Met Mark Kaçinari – Akordet e Kosovës Album], *Facebook* (published: 23 February 2014) <<https://www.facebook.com/page/242856665844931/search/?q=harry%20dukagjini>> (accessed 10 January 2021).

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁷ M. EMËRLLAHU: Në repertor, më shumë vepra të kompozitorëve tanë [In repertoire, more works of local composers], *Rilindja* (11 February 1980), 12.

of detachment from amateur contexts. Unfortunately, almost all traces of documentation (including photos, concerts flyers, lists of participation in rehearsals, awards, etc.) are lost, and secondly a serious attempt was never made to create a professional monographic study on the life and work of the conductors Mark and Gjergj Kaçinari, or about the activity of the choir. Given the absence of artifacts and other historical evidence, I spoke with many former members of the *Collegium Cantorum* choir including Greta Kaçinari, Klorinda Kaçinari, Lekë Sokoli, Diana Muhaxheri, and Selvete Krasniqi Ismaili. Their memories and stories of their time in the choir were filled with nostalgia and strong subjective feelings. During the course of my research, I was not able to secure any document with the names of the choir members but Gjergj Kaçinari's daughter, Klorinda Kaçinari (to whom I am very grateful), Dijana Muhaxhiri, and Selvete Krasniqi Ismaili provided me with some old photographs from their personal family archives. With the help of these photos most members of the choir were identified one by one. Between the years 1969 and 1990 the following people participated in the *Collegium Cantorum*: Hermina Lekaj, Veronika Mjeda, Shpresa Gashi, Nezafete Shala, Jasmina Omeragić, Bernardina Mjeda, Taibe Bunjaku, Lajde Mjeda, Merita Halili, Merita Juniku, Drita Demjaha, Shqipe Muhaxhiri, Dijana Muhaxhiri-Ahmeti, Flutura Krasniqi, Selvete Krasniqi Ismaili, Drita Mustafa, Irma Juniku, Budimka Gavrilović, Drita Hashimi, Justina Shiroka-Pula, Behixhe Sylejmani Lleshi, Violeta Berisha Hasani, Violeta Dizdarević, Snežana Nedeljković, Kimete Murtishi, Zana Gashi, Minire Kastrati, Shpresa Bylykbashi, Olivera Stefanović, Behixhe Sylejmani Lleshi, Perihane Zeqiri, Pasionaria Nimani, Valire Spahia Buza, Sevdije Reznici, Lila Đorđević, Fatime Hashani, Nedime Dragidella, Bashkim Paçuku, Jordan Nikolić, Zef Tupeci, Hilmi Obërtinca, Akil Koci, Vinçenc Gjini, Gjergj Kaçinari, Severin Kajtazi, Luigj Gomilla, Skender Oroshi, Gani Miftari, Qazim Mengjqi, Shefqet Hoxha, Qazim Dushku, Marsel Tupeci, Lazër Krasniqi, Metë Nimani, Namik Hoti, Lekë Sokoli, Rrustem Muslijaj, Imer Traja Brizani, Faton Krasniqi, and many others.

The *Collegium Cantorum* was the main forum for the performance of music of the European tradition, promoting autochthonous choral works, and presenting Kosovo in the national and international arena. At the time, Kosovo was experiencing a situation of cultural isolation and the *Collegium Cantorum* was the first choir from Kosovo which crossed regional borders and gained international fame and prestige. It was the first choral formation to present Kosovo on the Yugoslav and international stage at a time when the republics of the former Yugoslavia and countries beyond them knew Kosovo almost only through the National Ensemble of Songs and Dances *Shota*. The participation in Yugoslav Choral Ceremonies was the greatest opportunity

for the affirmation of the musical culture of all nations within the former Yugoslavia. The participation of the *Collegium Cantorum* in this event in 1970 and its ranking alongside the best participants from Yugoslavia and abroad was a powerful contribution to the affirmation of Kosovan choral music.

“... the Collegium Cantorum choir was a pleasant surprise that enthused the audience with its culture, singing technique and musical repertoire. (Oskar Danon, conductor of the Belgrade Opera, 1970) ... The choir from Kosovo was at a high artistic level. It is surprising that within nine months of work, such a success has been achieved ... (Emil Cossetto, the *Joža Vlahović* choir conductor, Zagreb, 1970).”²⁵⁸

By breaking the ‘stereotypes’ of Kosovan music culture, the choir had already gained a special reputation during the second decade of its existence not only in Kosovo but also abroad. This choir achieved fame not only for its performance of music from Kosovo, but for making Kosovo known through its musical and cultural activity.²⁵⁹ After penetrating the local and Yugoslav scene, *Collegium Cantorum* was presented in even more distant destinations. Its participation in the international competition in Llangollen, Wales, in 1972, at the *International Musical Eisteddfod*, as the only representative from Yugoslavia, has a historic meaning for Kosovo. The importance of this participation is even more valuable when the result achieved in this competition is taken into account: 3rd place in the Choir Category.



Figure 35. *Collegium Cantorum* in Llangollen, 1972.²⁶⁰

²⁵⁸ Kolë B. SHIROKA: Kori juaj ishte befasi e këndshme [Your Choir Was a Big Surprise], *Rilindja* (12 July 1970), 9.

²⁵⁹ Ibid.

²⁶⁰ Vinçenc GJINI: *Unë jam Vinçenc Gjini* [I am Vinçenc Gjini], Velika Gorica: Council of the Albanian National Minority of the City of Zagreb, 2012, 242.

LLANGOLLEN
EISTEDDFOD INTERNATIONES
Collegium Cantorum, Pristina.

M.C.M.L.



X.X.L.L.

Testimonium

RERUM CUM LAUDE GESTARUM

GENUS CERTAMINIS

Mixed Choirs.
3rd

ORDO

RECTOR MUSICAE

H. J. [Signature]
PRAESES DELECTORUM

SCRIBA(E)

Figure 36. Third Place in Choir Category (1972)

During a five-year period of intense activity, the choir performed in over 130 concerts inside and outside the country and achieved enviable results in the Yugoslav music world. Participation in the Yugoslav Choral Ceremonies (held in Niš, in 1977), was another opportunity for the recognition and affirmation of this choir. For its outstanding artistic profile and program, the professional jury of this cultural event gave a special award to the choir from Prishtina as one of the three best Yugoslav choirs.²⁶¹ In the same year, in honor of both the 40th anniversary of the coming to power of the Communist Party and the 85th birthday of Josip Broz Tito, a large number of cultural events and activities were organized in Kosovo. The *Days of Culture & Days of Jubilee* was the biggest event and it included the integration of the most important performing institutions such as the RTP Choir and the Symphony Orchestra, and the *Collegium Cantorum* choir. In the years 1978-79 there were also two significant moments in the general history of the choir. In 1978 the choir premiered the first Kosovo national opera, something that added even more historical value to it. The interpretation of the opera *Goca e Kaçanikut* (the first Kosovo national opera, composed by Rauf Dhomi) and the choir's participation in the Dubrovnik Summer Festival in 1979 represented two culminating musical achievements of the late 1970s. The biggest and most spectacular project of the RTP Music Production (apart from the systematic organization of the *Akordet e Kosovës* Festival) was the concert realization of the first Kosovo national opera in 1978.

In the book *Goca e Kaçanikut - The First National Opera in Kosovo*, published in 2018, the musicologist Rreze Kryeziu-Breznica states that the premiere of this opera was given on 21 June 1979 in Tirana, by the Opera and Ballet of the theater of this city.²⁶² However, according to *Rilindja* newspaper articles, the 1979 performance was in fact the second time that this opera had been performed (although it was the first performance in the full stage format). *Goca e Kaçanikut* was presented for the first time at a concert performance on 5 June 1978 in Prizren, within the framework of the celebrations of the 100th anniversary of the League of Prizren (in Albanian: *Lidhja e Prizrenit*).²⁶³ With the engagement of a wide range of musicians including the *Collegium Cantorum* Choir and the RTP Symphony Orchestra (augmented by several guest instrumentalists from Niš) under the direction of Mark Kaçinari the premiere included the following soloists: *Goca e Kaçanikut*: Lajde Mjeda – soprano; *Pafika*: Shpresa Gashi –

²⁶¹ Ratko MORAIĆ: Kontribut për njohjen e kulturës ndër popuj [Contribution for Culture Between People], *Rilindja* (10 July 1976), 12.

²⁶² Rreze KRYEZIU-BREZNICA: *Goca e Kaçanikut* [Girl from Kaçanik], Prishtinë: Pema, 2018, 40.

²⁶³ Mehmet EMËRLLAHU: Goca e Kaçanikut ngjarje e madhe kulturore [Goca e Kaçanikut, a Great Cultural Event], *Rilindja* (16 June 1978), 13. Cf. Qemajl SOKOLI: *Radio-Televizioni i Prishtinës 1945-1995*, 119.

soprano; *Trimori*: Bashkim Paçuku and Gani Miftari – tenor; *Rus Bashi*: Kosta Tripkov – bariton; *Pafika's mother*: Hermina Delhysal-Lekaj, Olivera Stefanović – alt; *Pafika's father*: Rrustem Musliaj – bas; *Fiqali*: Jordan Nikolić – tenor; *A turk*: Hilmi Obërtinca – tenor; *Kasneç (the messenger)*: Namik Hoti – bariton; and choir – representing People.²⁶⁴



Figure 37. Premiere (in a concert performance) of the first national opera *Goca e Kaçanikut* in Prizren, (1978)²⁶⁵



Figure 38. Soloists of the opera *Goca e Kaçanikut* (1978)

²⁶⁴ Qemajl SOKOLI: *Radio Televizioni i Prishtinës 1945-1995*, 119-20.

²⁶⁵ Figure 38. and 39. are taken from: Mehmet EMËRLLAHU: *Goca e Kaçanikut ngjarje e madhe kulturore [Goca e Kaçanikut, a Great Cultural Event]*, *Rilindja* (16 June 1978), 13.

Another important moment in the artistic activity of this choir was its participation in the Split Summer Festival in 1978 and in the Dubrovnik Summer Festival, with the latter performance of Mozart's *Requiem* taking place on the tenth anniversary of the founding of the choir in 1979:

Listening to the Collegium Cantorum amazed the Dubrovnik audience with the quality and interpretive emotions of a semi-professional troupe that managed to interpret Mozart. (Pajazit Nushi, the Kosovo Academician)²⁶⁶



Figure 39. Collegium Cantorum in Split Summer Festival (1978)

The choir was consistently rewarded with the best prizes in Kosovo and Yugoslavia such as the *December Award*, *Annual Award* and *November Award*, among others. At the culmination of this period of activity and in the midst of preparations for further success, the leader Mark Kaçinari unexpectedly passed away at the age of fifty after his last rehearsal with the choir on 18 November 1985. After his death, the leadership of the choir, until the final dissolution, was continued by his successor Gjergj Kaçinari. Analyzed from a socio-cultural point of view, the choir leadership of Gjergj Kaçinari began at a not quite favorable moment for two reasons. Firstly, due to the establishment of the RTP professional choir (1980), almost all the best professional singers moved to the RTP, while secondly, the political situation had already begun to show the sparks of tension between Albanians and Serbs. The choir was reorganized

²⁶⁶ Rexhep RIFATI: Mark Kaçinari - një emër i shquar i muzikës shqiptare, [Mark Kaçinari - A Prominent Name of Albanian Music], *Prointegra.ch* (published: 16 February 2020), <<https://prointegra.ch/mark-kacinari-nje-emeri-shquar-i-muzikes-shqiptare/>> (accessed 12 December 2021).

and given a new structure and had a total of 120 members. In 1987, the *Collegium Cantorum* participated in the Festival of the Socialist Republic of Serbia in Leskovac and won the first prize, while a year later it went on a tour to Vojvodina.

From a musicological point of view, the choir could be understood as a musical phenomenon whose artistic output represented different realities, times and dimensions. The three basic pillars of the choir's rather dynamic activity were the cultivation of Albanian art music with European colors, the creation of basic standards for the performance of choral music, and the promotion of Kosovan music outside its territorial borders. With all the complexity of the circumstances of different political realities, the *Collegium Cantorum* managed to realize its mission across many artistic parameters and within a multi-layered musical market. The musical repertoire was the most important element, chosen with understanding and taste by both leaders. It represented the balanced combination of the pearls of the world's choral repertoire and works of autochthonous composers, always representing multiculturalism through a variety of styles. Songs with motifs from Albanian folk melodies had the greatest weight because through them the social features and feelings of the people could be highlighted, creating emotions that directly affected the audience. Another important element was the powerful stylistic and innovative dimension, developed in a dynamic interaction between demands and possibilities.

The choir experienced the same fate as all those who experienced the political situation of the 1990s. During the 1990s, the choir struggled in vain to survive. After the war (between the months of September and December) attempts were made to reactivate it and were crowned with a solemn concert held in December 1999. However, the lack of financial support from the new Kosovan governmental institutions increased the difficulty of sustaining continuous musical activity. The final blow came with the takeover of the building where the choir had been rehearsing since its establishment (St. Sylejman Vokshi 19, 10000 Prishtinë) by the newly founded institution the Kosovo Philharmonic. This led to the end of the *Collegium Cantorum*.

“...They who extinguished the Collegium Cantorum choir were driven by the low passions of jealousy and professional pride, by stopping the funding and later appropriating its premises... I led Collegium Cantorum from 1985 until 2004, when “my Albanians” removed me from there with the police. During the years 1990-1999 we all experienced the violence of the occupier, while I experienced expulsion by “my brothers and friends” in freedom. Albanians fired me in 2004, burned down my house in Prizren,

and destroyed three busts of the conductor Mark Kaçinari, trying to erase every trace of the history that Mark and I have left in Kosovo choral culture...” (Gjergj Kaçinari)²⁶⁷

The choir repertoire included significant vocal-instrumental works from Renaissance and Baroque to Classicism and Romanticism, as well as music composed by Albanian and Yugoslav composers (mainly compositions inspired by autochthonous folklore).

Table 19. The *Collegium Cantorum* Concerts and Repertoire between 1970 and 1990.

Date/place	Repertoire
10 June 1970 Duro Salaj, Beograd	Lorenc Antoni – <i>Shkojti çika</i> Fahri Beqiri – <i>Erdh misiti</i> Rexho Mulliqi – <i>Vjeshta</i> Vinçenc Gjini – <i>Blegëron delja</i> Mark Kaçinari – <i>Shamikuqja</i> , Stevan Mokranjac – <i>3rd Garland</i> , Claudio Monteverdi – <i>Quel augellin che canta</i> L. V. Beethoven – <i>Song of sacrifice</i> Conductor: M. Kaçinari
2-7 July 1970 Yugoslav International choral ceremonies, Niš	Jacques Arcadelt – <i>Ave Maria</i> Claudio Monteverdi – <i>Quel augellin che canta</i> Stevan Mokranjac – <i>3rd Garland</i> Rexho Mulliqi – <i>Vjeshta</i> Fahri Beqiri – <i>Moj e mira</i> Conductor: M. Kaçinari
18 January 1973 (RTP Archive Recording data 813/5745, 814/5752)	Lorenc Antoni – <i>Shkojti çika</i> Fahri Beqiri – <i>Erdh misiti</i> and <i>Moj e mira</i> ; Vinçenc Gjini – <i>Blegëron delja</i> Mark Kaçinari – <i>Shamikuqja</i> Rexho Mulliqi – <i>Vendi im</i> Conductor: M. Kaçinari
1972 International World Festival, Llangollen, Wales	Rexho Mulliqi – <i>Vjeshta</i> The Choir won the third prize in the category of choirs, and the first prize in the category of best song. Conductor: M. Kaçinari
20 January 1975	Orlando di Lasso – <i>Madonna mia cara</i> Orlando Gibbons – <i>The Silver Swan</i> Giuseppe Verdi – <i>Nabucodonosor</i> Bedřich Smetana – <i>The Bartered Bride</i>

²⁶⁷ The three busts of composer Mark Kaçinari (made by Agim Çavdarbasha) had been placed in three locations. The first bust was located in the building where the choir rehearsed (on 8 May 1987), now the building of the Kosovo Philharmonic, while the other two busts (made by the same sculptor) were placed in the building of the Composers' Association of Kosovo and at the composer's grave. I had the privilege and pleasure to work with the composer Gjergj Kaçinari during our systematic cooperation (2009-2019) leading the Saint Mother Teresa Cathedral Choir in Prishtina. In the last years of his life, Kaçinari almost never spoke about his past, but his despair due to the bitter reality of the fate of his career was often obvious. Cf. Akil M. KOCI: *Vibracione të shqiptar* [Vibrations of Albanian Soul], Budapest: Librarium Haemus, 2008, 89-90.

Concert - on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the founding of RP	Stevan Mokranjac – <i>2nd Garland</i> Lorenc Antoni – <i>Kënga e Rexhës; Shkojti qika</i> Fahri Beqiri – <i>Moj e mira</i> etc. Conductor: M. Kaçinari
6 July 1976 Participation in choral ceremonies in Niš	Anton Bruckner – <i>Graduale-Hymnus</i> Maurice Ravel – <i>Nicolette</i> Marko Tajčević – (?) Lorenc Antoni – <i>Kënga e Rexhës</i> Todor Skalovski – <i>Makedonska Humoreska</i> Carl Orff – <i>Catulli Carmina</i> Conductor: M. Kaçinari
August 1976 Albania	Tour in Albania Conductor: M. Kaçinari
November 1976 Valjevo	Yugoslav meetings of amateurs Abrašević in Valjevo <i>Collegium Cantorum</i> from Prishtina won the first prize Conductor: M. Kaçinari
16 August 1977 Prishtina	RTP orchestra and Choir <i>Collegium Cantorum</i> Pierre De Geyter: <i>The Internationale</i> (translated in Albanian and Serbian languages). Conductor: M. Kaçinari
September 1977 Negotin	<i>Mokranjac's Days</i> Conductor: M. Kaçinari
18 November 1977 (RTP Archive Recording data 1151 A-7707)	RTP orchestra and Choir <i>Collegium Cantorum</i> Akil Koci – <i>You who are our freedom</i> Conductor: M. Kaçinari
25 November 1977 Prishtina	RTP orchestra and Choir <i>Collegium Cantorum</i> Rexho Mulliqi – <i>Cantata Poema për ata</i> , soloists: Lajde Mjeda (soprano), Gani Miftari (tenor), Istref Begolli (reciter). Conductor: M. Kaçinari
June 1978 Prizren	RTP symphony orchestra and <i>Collegium Cantorum</i> Choir Rauf Dhomi – <i>Opera Goca e Kaçanikut</i> , soloists: Lajde Mjeda – soprano; Shpresa Gashi – soprano; Hermina Delhysa-Lekaj, Olivera Stefanović – alto; Bashkim Paçuku, Jordan Nikolić, Hilmi Obërtinca and Gani Miftari – tenor; Namik Hoti and Kosta Tripkov – bariton; Rrustem Musliaj – bass. Conductor: M. Kaçinari
20 July 1978 Dubrovnik	Dubrovnik Summer Festival Choral songs by Albanian composers Conductor: M. Kaçinari
28 July 1978 Split	Split Summer Festival Conductor: M. Kaçinari
28 April 1979 Prishtina	Premiere of Mozarts <i>Requiem</i> Conductor: M. Kaçinari
May 1979 Romania	Days of Culture in SFRY The choir presented the choral works of Orlande de Lassus, Jacob Arcadelt, Claudio Monteverdi, Maurice Ravel, Stevan Mokranjac, Lorenc Antoni, Rexho Mulliqi, Çesk Zadeja etc. Conductor: M. Kaçinari
1979	Dubrovnik Summer Festival

Dubrovnik	W. A. Mozart – <i>Requiem</i> M. Kaçinari	Conductor:
26 November 1980	Rauf Dhomi, cantata <i>Vatra e urtësisë</i> , soloists: Nezafete Shala (soprano), Bashkim Paçuku (tenor).	Conductor: M. Kaçinari
30 March 1982	Collegium Cantorum and RTP Orchestra Rexho Mulliqi – cantata <i>Yugoslavia</i>	Conductor: M. Kaçinari
24 May 1982	Collegium Cantorum and RTP Orchestra Bedrich Smetana – parts from the opera <i>The Bartered Bride</i> Jakov Gotovac – parts from the opera <i>Ero the Joker</i>	Conductor: M. Kaçinari
24 December 1983	Jacob Arcadelt – <i>Ave Maria; Il bianco el dolce cigno</i> Claudio Monteverdi – <i>Quel augellin che canta; Lasciatemi morire</i> Antonin Bruckner – <i>Vexilla Regis Hymnus</i> Maurice Ravel – <i>Nicolette</i> Stevan Mokranjac – <i>The eighth Garland</i> Lorenc Antoni – <i>Kënga e Rexhës</i> Rexho Mulliqi – <i>Vjeshta</i> Todor Skalovski – <i>Macedonian Humoresque</i> Çesk Zadeja – <i>Shkojti qika</i> Mark Kaçinari – <i>Shamikuqja</i> Conductor: M. Kaçinari	
May 1984 Yugoslav Choir Meetings, Niš	W. A. Mozart – <i>Ave verum corpus</i> C. Monteverdi – <i>Quarto libro de madrigali - Io me son Giovinetta, SV 86</i> A. Obradović – <i>Mala Horska Svita</i> R. Rudi – <i>Ishin dy kunata</i> M. Kaçinari – <i>Serenata</i> M. Kaçinari	Conductor:
13 June 1987 Leskovac	<i>Collegium Cantorum</i> – 1st place, Choir Festival of The Socialist Republic of Serbia, held in Leskovac.	Conductor: Gj. Kaçinari

3.2.2. The Children's Choirs: *Emin Duraku* and *Vatroslav Lisinski*

Choral and little orchestral formations within schools have always been considered as the best and easy way of exercising artistic activities. Since the 1960s every school (primary, secondary, and professional music schools) had at least one choir and/or a little orchestral ensemble with recorder, accordion or mandolin. The initiative to establish choral ensembles within school institutions had priority because school choirs have shown to be the best and early promoters of musical achievements in Kosovo. Thus, in 1960, the choir of the music school *Josip*

Slavenski in Prizren participated in a Choir Festival held in Slovenia.²⁶⁸ Following the same model of choral activity (within music schools) choir activity was manifest in all concepts of learning and music-making practices. In this context, two highly successful choral formations were formed in 1969 alone: *Emin Duraku* choir in the primary school *Emin Duraku* in Prishtina, and *Vatroslav Lisinski* from Janjevo.²⁶⁹ Both choirs managed to become the most successful choral formations of the 1970s. The *Emin Duraku* choir was formed after the initiative of the young and enthusiastic musician Syrja Berisha. It consisted of more than eighty talented school children selected by their music teacher.



Figure 40. Syrja Berisha and choir *Emin Duraku* (1980s)²⁷⁰

²⁶⁸ D. B.: Kori i shkollës së mesme u ftue në Slloveni [High School Choir Is Invited in Slovenia], *Rilindja* (16 March 1960), 12.

²⁶⁹ *Janjevo* (in Albanian: *Janjevë*) is a village or small town in the Lipjan municipality, the oldest enclave of Dubrovnik and the Croatian diaspora in Kosovo, mentioned first in 1303 in a letter from Pope Benedict XI. It is a settlement with a long history, inhabited by a Croatian majority, who have lived there continuously since the fourteenth century. These descendants of the people of Dubrovnik were never assimilated into the local community, they preserved the memory of their Dubrovnik history, numerous customs, and the Croatian language, and are known by their demonym as *Janjevci*. During the period of the Ottoman occupation, when education in the Albanian language was banned, schools near the Catholic assemblies, such as the school in Janjevo in 1665, were among the first schools in Kosovo. After the war of 1999 in Kosovo, the Janjevci left en masse for Croatia, so in recent years a very small number of Croats have remained in Janjevo. See also: <<https://hkm.hr/put-pod-noge/sedam-stoljeca-hrvatske-kulture-nakosovu/>> (accessed 25 August 2019)

²⁷⁰ *Revista shkollore Fluturat* [Fluturat School Magazine], SHMU Emin Duraku Prishtinë, published: 14 November 2023, No. 5, https://fliphtml5.com/hdsrj/paoq/Fotografite nga fb per reviste_07.11.2023/ (accessed 5 December 2023).

The choir achieved many successes by performing and winning prizes in many festivals such as, for example, *Akordet e Kosovës* (1969), the choir competitions in Kosovo (1970-71), in Yugoslavia (1972), etc. At the competition of primary school choirs held in Prishtina (10 May 1970) among many choirs from various towns of Kosovo, (e.g.: *Aca Marović* – conductor Vilma Antoni; *Vladimir Nazor* – conductor Lajde Mjeda; *Boro Vukmirović* - conductor Tihomir Petković; *Emin Duraku* – conductor Syrja Berisha; *Vëllezërit Mihailović* – conductor Ana Gjokaj; and *Vatroslav Lisinski* – conductor Josip Perčinlić²⁷¹), *Emin Duraku* and *Vatroslav Lisinski* were the best choirs. *Emin Duraku* was selected to represent Kosovo in the Republican Children's Choir Festival held in Šabac.²⁷² In 1972 *Emin Duraku* choir did not win any prize, while in 1973, again in Šabac, won the third prize.²⁷³



Figure 41. Choir *Emin Duraku* at the Republican Choir Festival in Šabac (1972)²⁷⁴

²⁷¹ Akil KOCI: Më i miri kori V. Lisinski nga Janjeva [V. Lisinski the Best Choir], *Rilindja* (16 May 1970), 13.

²⁷² Y. BYTYQI: Kori V. Lisinski më i miri [V. Lisinski the Best Choir], *Rilindja* (12 May 1970), 16.

²⁷³ Rashid KRASNIQI: Bronzi i Artë [Golden Bronze], *Rilindja*, (24 May 1973), 10.

²⁷⁴ Rashid KRASNIQI: Kur juria s'është mirënjohëse [When the jury is not appreciative], *Rilindja*, (31 May 1972), 11.

On the other hand, the Children's Choir *Vatroslav Lisinski* from Janjevo, known as *Bijeli anđeli* [White Angels], is considered to be a unique phenomenon in the history of Croats in Kosovo. The history of the choir was a special 'success story' of about one hundred kids from a "forgotten town". The most challenging part might have been the selection of appropriate choral materials and methods for teaching songs in a musically meaningful and stimulating way for the children who did not even know how to read music, but knew how to interpret with love and emotion. The *White Angels* was Janjevo Parish Children's Choir, founded in 1969 during the time of the parish priest Don Anto Baković (official founder of the choir) and was very active until the departure of the pastor in 1973. Although a small village, during the 1970s and 1980s Janjevo was noted for the positive vibrancy of the Croatian children and youth, who were very large in number. It is said that on Sundays about one thousand Croatian children took part in the Holy Mass. This must have prompted the parish priest A. Baković to organize or create something attractive with talented and motivated children. His idea and research went as far as Zagreb, where the man who would lead this choir was finally found. The most important person related to the phenomenon of the *White Angels* was the professor and conductor *Josip Perčinlić*.



Figure 42. The Children's Choir *Vatroslav Lisinski* from Janjevo²⁷⁵

²⁷⁵ Photographs in Figure 42. and 43. are taken from the album cover of *Bijeli Anđeli Janjeva - Duhovne Hrvatske Pučke Pjesme 17*, sourced from *Discogs*, <https://www.discogs.com/release/3214774-Bijeli-An%C4%91eli-Janjeva-Duhovne-Hrvatske-Pu%C4%8Dke-Pjesme-17/image/SW1hZ2U6NTkzNDgwOA==> (accessed: 12 May 2022).



Figure 43. Josip Perčinlić (left), & Don Anto Baković (right)

After graduating at the Music Academy in Zagreb, Perčinlić received an offer to lead a big mixed choir. He did not imagine that it was in Janjeva, an experience which in fact would completely change his life and the path of his success:

I expected it to be somewhere nearby. When I heard that it was Janjevo, in Kosovo, I said it was out of the question. Where am I going? To Janjevo!?! However, after a sleepless night, I agreed. (Josip Perčinlić)²⁷⁶

Like any young man graduating and aiming for further success, for the young Perčinlić life appeared to be "harsh" because he did not see his future in a distant and unknown place like Janjevo, working with a Children's Choir. However, that would actually be the key to his future success and fame. After his arrival in Janjevo, he was surprised by the liveliness and enthusiasm of the hundreds of children in the small village of Janjevo. With intensive work and dedication, and with the continued support of the parish priest Baković, within a year the choir had gained great popularity in Kosovo, followed by success in the former Yugoslavia and later in Europe.

²⁷⁶ Mirna ŠUMBERAC: Čudo iz Janjeva: Bijeli anđeli oduševili i papu Pavla VI [Miracle from Janjevo: White Angels Also Delighted Pope Paul VI] *Novilist.hr*, (published: 2 July 2020) <https://www.novilist.hr/novosti/hrvatska/cudo-iz-janjeva-bijeli-andeli-odusevili-i-papu-pavla-vi/?meta_refresh=true> (accessed 25. 11. 2021)

The first choir performance was at the St Nicholas Church in Janjevo on 12 October 1969.²⁷⁷ More than three thousand children from Janjevo passed through this choir, a real school of church songs, but above all of the voluminous works of the classical repertoire of composers such as Mozart and Beethoven. Comprised of 80 to 85 children with a wonderful musical repertoire, it was noticed that the prospects of this choir might be bright. The masterpiece of their repertoire was the composition *Ćaće moj* by the Croatian composer Ivan Matetić Ronjgov.²⁷⁸ Their musical repertoire also included works of great composers such as Beethoven, Mozart, and J. Arcadelt, as well as those from Kosovo such as L. Antoni, V. Gjini, and M. Kačinari. Being a parish choir, the Croatian gospel songs were included in most of their musical repertoire and by 1973 twelve series of gramophone records had been published, entitled *Croatian Gospel Folk Songs* [Hrvatske duhovne pučke pjesme].

The choir (with the conductor Perčinlić) achieved the pinnacle of success, especially after participating in the Dubrovnik Summer Festival (1970), at a concert in Skopje, broadcast live by Macedonian Radio Television – MRT (1970); at the Zagreb Summer Festival (1971); at the Marija Bistrica International Marian Congress (1971), etc. At that time a large part of the Croatian public had not even heard of Janjevo or of the history of the Croatian community living there, so the appearance on stage of the children's choir *White Angels* was a surprising phenomenon that according to art critics was comparable to the *Wiener Sängerknaben* choir. Over four years, the choir performed in thirty cities of the former Yugoslavia and forty-seven cities in different European countries, i.e., in the Vatican, Italy, Austria, Belgium, Germany, Switzerland, and France, and was the first children's choir of Croatian nationality to perform in front of Pope Paul VI (in his summer residence in Castel Gandolfo, Italy).

²⁷⁷ Ibid. Cf. Josip Perčinlić, Zvonimir Ancić, predstavljanje obljetnice Bijelih anđela HTV, *YouTube*, <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ke9VB6GMBHY>> (accessed 10 August 2021).

²⁷⁸ *Ćaće moj* is a classic choral work, thematically a lament, written for two soloists (soprano and alto) and children's choir. The work memorializes an accident that took place in the Hrasnik coal mine in the Trbovlje, in the neighboring Slovenia (where many children were left without their parents).



Figure 44. The *Vatroslav Lisinski* Choir at the Dubrovnik Summer Festival (1970)²⁷⁹

3.2.3. The Choirs *Okarina* and *Siparantum*: between Tradition and Modernity

In Eastern Europe the art of music in general has been profoundly affected by the major changes that occurred after the revolutions in the former Communist countries. As a result of the many factors mentioned in previous chapters, the socio-cultural circumstances in Kosovo changed after the year 2000; therefore, the music network and the music-making market also changed. The appearance of new choirs was a bridge between the past and present, tradition and modernity. In the context of current changes in the social, technological, cultural and contemporary music environment, the *Okarina* Children's Choir and the *Siparantum* Mixed Choir represent a 'new' phenomenon in choral singing in the terms of modern history. The Children's Choir *Ocarina* was founded by the musician Elikon Hysaj Shala in March of 2014, initially under the name *Sound-dance*, while in 2015 it officially adopted the name *Ocarina*

²⁷⁹ *Bjeli Anđeli - Film o dečjem zboru Vatroslav Lisinski iz Janjeva na Kosovu* [White Angels - Film about the Children's Choir Vatroslav Lisinski from Janjevo in Kosovo], directed by Eduard Galić, (1970) minute 2:47, *YouTube*, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Kx0fmJAHNMk> (accessed 11 August 2021).

Choir. For a very short period, this choir gained a special position in musical developments, becoming one of the most successful children's choral formations of recent years. This is evidenced by the members (numbering 60-80 kids) and the collaborations with higher institutions and outstanding music personalities. The collaboration with the Kosovo Philharmonic produced a performance of the work *Carmina Burana* by Carl Orff in a large project with about 300 musicians on stage in the Skenderbeu Square in 2021; the gala concert with the famous world tenor Ramë Lahaj & Friends on 31 July 2022; the concert for the Opera Day organized by the Kosovo Opera, etc., are the best indicators that show the sparks of gradual building up of its musical capacities, and of the current atmosphere of good will to build a firm foundation for the choir's future. Based on its success and its positive influence in the artistic sphere, in 2022 the ensemble advanced to another level by establishing the Ocarina Women's Choir, whose work and results are expected to be seen in the coming years.



Figure 45. The choir *Okarina* (2021)²⁸⁰

On the other side, the *Siparantum* choir established in 2016 by the conductor Memli Kelemendi became 'a new image' of choral singing and one of the most vital mechanisms for the promotion of Kosovo on international level. Characterized by an expressivity that stems from the spirit of

²⁸⁰ Lirije HAXHIAJ: Okarina, kori i fëmijëve me suksese të njëpasnjëshme [Okarina, the Children's Choir with Continuous Successes], *Dukagjini*, (published: 12 August 2022), photo credits: Arben Llapashtica, <<https://www.dukagjini.com/okarina-kori-i-femijeve-me-suksese-te-njepasnjeshme/>> (accessed: 15 August 2022).

motivated and united young people and by their talents and the desire to express it through music, it is one of the most successful choral formations in the modern musical history of Kosovo. On 17 February 2017, a 50-member choral ensemble made its first public performance in the town of Peja. The members of the choir were students of different backgrounds who shared the same dream and commitment: the joy of singing, collaboration and friendship, with the sole aim of representing Kosovo's rich culture throughout the world.²⁸¹ The choir was soon followed by a Chamber Orchestra and the children's choir called *Siparantum Kids*.

Following the tendency to establish a special choir tradition in times of modernity and contemporary art developments, *Siparantum* offers some bold innovative ideas as a synthesis in artistic performances. The ideas and motto of these performances are based on a trend called 'modern interpretation', a musical phenomenon which is largely presented in the current world market of performance. Acting, including facial expressions, palms, movements and dances, foot-stomping and the like, create a special atmosphere during the performance. The combination of musical repertoire taken from different stylistic periods (from Renaissance to contemporary music) and the interpretation of works in both simple and unique forms, has made the choir a very beloved and famous musical phenomenon in the country. Most of the songs interpreted are arranged especially for the choir, sung chorally with occasional solo performances and accompanied by piano and other instruments. Since its inception in 2016, the *Siparantum* choir has made over 100 appearances (among them about twenty-eight international appearances), including at some of the most prestigious choral festivals all over Europe.²⁸² Moreover, in 2021, it officially entered the world ranking of the best choirs in the world, being placed 460 out of 1000 choirs.²⁸³

²⁸¹ Siparantum Choir: The Journey of a Young Choir to a Big Stage, *Interkultur*, <<https://www.interkultur.com/it/notizie/world-of-voices/details/news/siparantum-choir-the-journey-of-a-young-choir-to-a-big-stage/>>The *Siparantum* choir website <<https://siparantumchoir.com/biography/>> (accessed 20 July 2022).

²⁸² Ibid.

²⁸³ See: Interkultur "World Rankings: Top 1000." <<https://www.interkultur.com/world->> (accessed 23 July 2022).

Table 20. Some Important Presentations on International Level (2018-2022)

Year	Place	Event
20 October 2018	Zagreb, Croatia	Concert at the Croatian Music Institute
10 May 2018	Nancy, France	NANCY Voix du Monde – International Choir Festival
4-6 October 2019	Limburg, Netherland	International Choir Contest Flanders
16 October 2021	Tuhelj, Croatia	International Choir Competition: <i>The Golden Lime of Tuhelj</i> Winner of Golden Lime of Tuhelj
18-19 December 2021	Berlin, Germany	Choral Space Winter Festival Concerts held in St Matthäus Kirche, Heilig Kreuz Kirche and Paul-Gerhardt Kirche
6 November 2021	Flanders, Belgium	11th Edition - World Choir Games <i>1st prize winner in the category, The Open Competition - Musica Contemporanea</i>
6 Mach 2022	Berlin, Germany	Choral Celebrations with Simon Carrington (Berliner Philharmoniker)
29 Apr - 2 May 2022	Neerpelt, Belgium	EMJ – European Music Festival for Young People

Table 21. Siparantum Leaders/Members in 2020

Leaders:	President: Tomorr Avdyli (2020); Fatmir Bajraktari (2017-2020); Board President: Burim Kasapolli; Artistic Director & Conductor: Memli Kelmendi; Event Coordinator: Reisa Sallabegolli; Music Consultant: Anton Çivlaku; Social-media/Development: Agron Shujaku, Reisa Sallabegolli, Vullnet Gusia.
Members:	Sopranos: Aurela Krasniqi, Anjeza Rrustemaj, Fllanza Tarku, Urta Haziraj, Diellza Halimi, Djellza Dedushi, Reisa Sallabegolli, Flutura Beqiraj, Elona Sadiku, Arbërie Krasniqi, Kujtesa Nimanaj, Elvira Mazhiqi. Altos: Marigo Kelmendi, Diana Mehmetaj, Valentina Hyseni, Eriona Rama, Loreta Musliu, Aurela Muriqi, Agneta Radoniqi, Erëza Morina, Filiza Mahmutaj, Vesa Tafili, Arbresha Gjokaj, Donika Rushiti, Andra Rexhepi. Tenors: Rizah Jahaj, Fidan Strumcaku, Leutrim Gërvalla, Armend Krasniqi, Etrit Nura, Anton Çivlaku, Skender Hyseni, Arianit Lukaj, Erion Palucaj. Basses: Arbër Maliqi, Burim Kasapolli, Drilon Çuni, Arti Lekaj, Tomorr Avdyli, Redon Hajdari, Ari Haxhiajdini, Artan Durmishi, Rigon Begolli, Shaban Behramaj, Dren Loxha; Klea Dina and Matej Karaqi – vocalists , Agron Shujaku – pianist .



Figure 46. The *Siparantum* Choir Pejë (2016), photograph by Blerim Mulhaxha²⁸⁴

²⁸⁴ *Siparantum Choir*, <https://siparantumchoir.com/> (accessed 10 July 2024).

MUSIC INSTITUTIONALIZATION THROUGH MUSIC FESTIVALS (1940s-1980s)

Historically, festivals have been important forms of social and cultural participation, occasions on which shared values and ideologies are articulated and communicated. As multifaceted phenomena expressing diversity in terms of aesthetic and intercultural communication, festivals are one of the major tools for the promotion of art music. Regardless of the situation, they contribute to the evolution of music by providing opportunities for communication between artists, enabling cultural transfers and, above all, serve as occasions for the promotion of universal and national musical experiences. The tradition of music festivals has been common in German cities since the nineteenth century: for example, the Bayreuth Festival was inaugurated by the German composer Richard Wagner in 1876, and in Salzburg, Austria, the first Mozart Festival was held in 1877. In the twentieth century contemporary music festivals began to appear such as ISCM World Music Days (1923) organized by the International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM), the Venice Festival of Contemporary Music (1930) and many other similar events. Historically, festival events were influenced by and associated with the musical events taking place in international festival landscapes, mainly with influences from Western culture. In terms of contemporary popular culture, Western cultural influences were embraced in former Yugoslavia as early as the 1950s. These influences emerged through the development of radio programs and festivals and became the main popular music imports.²⁸⁵ The *Dubrovnik Summer Festival* (1950), *Ljubljana Festival* (1953), *Music Biennale Zagreb* (1961), *Ohrid Summer Festival* (1961), *Jugoslavenska muzička tribina* (1963), and *BEMUS Belgrade Music Festival* (1969), etc.,²⁸⁶ are examples of how the trend was followed. The same form of popular music emerged in Kosovan culture during the early 1960s. However, local models of music festivals (as small cultural events) appeared already since the late 1940s and represented important events in a local sense, both in terms of number, function, interpretation and performance, as well as in the context of artistic progress.

²⁸⁵ See: Dean VULETIĆ: *Swinging Between East and West: Yugoslav Communism and the Dilemmas of Popular Music, Youth and Rock in the Soviet Bloc*, William Jay Risch (ed.), Lanham: Lexington Books, 2015, 25–41.

²⁸⁶ In Albania, the first festivals of music appeared during the 1960s: *Festivali i Këngës në RTSH* (RTSH Song Festival) (1962), *May Concerts* (1967), *Days of New Albanian Music* (1991), etc.

This chapter takes into consideration the network of music festivals (as the third moment of the general process of music institutionalization) which was based on the models of neighboring countries. They represent a third important step in the process of musical institutionalization both in terms of 'music making' and 'music competition'. As cultural manifestations with a direct social impact in artistic milieus, festivals in Kosovo represent musical heritage and the legitimation of tradition, identity and collective consciousness. Festivals in Kosovo emerged in the same years as when art music rapidly began to flourish. Based on the tradition of festivals and the musical experiences of some other republics of the former Yugoslavia (as the key models of festivals and/or as the main points of reference), the institutionalization of music through festivals in Kosovo was seen as representing the need of the musical community for promotion, communication and deeper cultural development. The first important festival of art music, *Skena muzikore e Prishtinës* [Music Scene of Prishtina], was founded in 1974 and festivals like this were also developed as a way of establishing a kind of general musical network. The transformative potency of music institutionalization was great and multidimensional. Musical institutions also enabled general social transformation. Institutionalization through Music Competitions (or Festivals) was undertaken in parallel with all other cultural developments. Ranked chronologically, outlined by form (local/provincial events) and by genre (entertaining, folk or classical), music festivals in Kosovo can be categorized in three main groups: *competitive, promotional and multicultural*.

a) Competitive Music Festivals were festivals organized on an amateur or semi-professional level mainly during the 1950s and 1960s. The first type of festival was characterized by competitive miscellaneous content in terms of musical genres e.g.: the Provincial Festival of Amateur Orchestras, the Republican Competitions of Young Musicians, etc. These festivals were an attempt to develop opportunities for the performance of music, and as an incentive for promoting quality and competition between participants (i.e., cultural-artistic societies, choirs, orchestras and individuals). The *Akordet e Kosovës* [Kosovo Chords] festival was the greatest phenomenon of the 1970s and 1980s. To date, there has been no serious attempt to produce any in-depth analytical study of *Akordet e Kosovës*, so its narrative history and the musical reality produced by this festival will be presented here for the first time.

b) Promotional Music Festivals were festivals dedicated exclusively to art music such as *Skena Muzikore e Prishtinës* [Music Scene of Prishtina] and *Ditët e Muzikës Kosovare* [Days of Kosovo Music]. They appeared as a positive attempt at drawing a distinction between

musical genres (classical, folk, entertaining, jazz, etc.) with the main focus on promoting art music composers and compositions from Kosovo.

c) International Music Festivals (established after the year 2000) represent a new trend and are founded in a particular socio-cultural environment characterized by emancipatory politics and various musical practices, dominated by native expression, and cultural exchange.

4.1 Festival Tradition between the 1940s and the 1980s

Against the background of amateurism and the activity of cultural-artistic societies the earliest festivals which took the form of competitive presentations, began to appear in the late 1940s. They were festivals catering to an amateur level and were known as *Rivistat e shoqërive kulturore* [Revue of Cultural Societies], which at that time were few in number. From my research in the *Rilindja* newspaper, the earliest trace of a competitive festival dates back to the year 1948:

Over four days, eight cultural and artistic societies (i.e., SHKA *Radnički* from Prishina, *Budučnost* from Prizren, *Stari Trg* from Zvečan, *Jedinstvo* from Ferizaj, *Veselin Masleša* from Gjilan, *Vllaznija-Bratstvo* from Peja, and the choir of the cultural and artistic group of the Albanian Committee from Prizren) presented various choral-musical performances, recitations, folk dances and drama shows.²⁸⁷

Amateur musical performances with a competitive character represent the first phase of festivals (in the 1940s and 1950s). In 1953 the Provincial Festival of National Culture was held in Prishtina, known as the Festival of Folk Songs and Dances. In 1954 the Festival of Cultural and Artistic Societies was held in which only the activities of the Dramatic Sections were presented, while in 1955 the Festival of Choirs, Orchestras and soloists was held with various participants including choirs, folk orchestras, mandolin orchestras and groups of singers.²⁸⁸ A competitive festival of larger dimensions, the First Provincial Music Festival, was held in 1956 in honor of Josip Broz Tito's 64th birthday and the 100th anniversary of the birth of the great Serbian composer Stevan Mokranjac. In that festival, which lasted three days (25-27 May), about 2000 performers participated among whom were six pioneer choirs, two youth choirs, six choirs of Cultural and Artistic Societies, fifteen town orchestras, the Prishtina Symphony

²⁸⁷ ***: Nga paraqitja madheshtore e shoqnive kulturo-artistike të Krahinës sonë [From the Great Presentation of the Cultural-Artistic Societies of Our Province], *Rilindja* No. 98 (1948), 6.

²⁸⁸ ***: *Rilindja* (September 1955), 8.

Orchestra, as well as many soloists and instrumentalists of Albanian, Serbian and Turkish nationalities.²⁸⁹

Table 22. First Edition of the Provincial Festival of Amateur Orchestras (1956)²⁹⁰

No	Participants	Music Repertoire
1	Choir and orchestra, SHKA <i>Stevan Mokranjac</i> , Prishtina	Rexho Mulliqi – Choral song <i>Vendi im</i> ; Stevan Mokranjac – <i>Choral songs</i>
2	Mandolin Orchestra from Music Society <i>Stevan Mokranjac</i> , Prishtina	Jacques Offenbach – Barcarolle <i>Tales of Hoffmann</i>
3	Mandolin Orchestra from <i>SHKA Budućnost</i> , Prishtina	Folk songs collection for LNM
4	City Symphony Orchestra & Choir of Music Society <i>Stevan Mokranjac</i> , Prishtina	Jakov Gotovac – <i>Simfonijsko kolo</i> ; Mihailo Vukdragović – <i>Vezilja slobode</i> cantata for soprano solo, mixed choir and orchestra, (soloist Vera Ćirković) Conductor: Todor Petronja
6	Choir of SHKA <i>Budućnost</i> , Prizren	Ivo Tijardović – <i>Kao grad iz bajke</i> ; Stevan Mokranjac – Choir songs
7	Choir of SHKA <i>Agimi</i> , Prizren	Lorenc Antoni – <i>Çorapet e burrit</i> Conductor: Lorenc Antoni
8	Choir of the Music School <i>Josip Slavenski</i> , Prizren	Stevan Mokranjac – <i>Choral songs</i> Conductor: Lorenc Antoni
9	Choir of SHKA <i>Përparimi</i> , Peja	Albanian folk songs arranged by Muhamet Belegu Conductor: Muhamet Belegu
10	Peja Town Orchestra	Ivan Zajc – Finale from the opera <i>Nikola Šubić Zrinski</i>
11	Choir of SHKA <i>Bratstvo</i> , Peja	Choral songs by Stevan Mokranjac Conductor: Vladimir Vlada Radović
12	Female mandolin orchestra from SHKA <i>Përparimi</i> , Peja	Johann Strauss – The <i>Vienna Blood</i> waltz op. 354
13	Choir and mandolin orchestra from Zvečan	Songs from Petar Đordjević
14	Choir of SHKA <i>Vlado Ćetković</i> , Zvečan	Krešimir Baranović – <i>Pesma prvog Maja</i> ; Stevan Mokranjac – <i>Choral songs</i>
15	Mitrovica Town Orchestra	Franz von Suppé – <i>Boccaccio March</i>
16	Female Choir of <i>SHKA Bratstvo</i> , Gjilan	Stojan Andrić – <i>Three choral songs</i>

²⁸⁹ D. M.: Festivali muzikuer i krahines fillon neser [Music Festival of Province Starts Tomorrow], *Rilindja* (24 May 1956), 10.

²⁹⁰ ***: Sukses i madh i festivalit të parë muzikuer të Krahinës sonë, Rivista e zhvillimit të hovshëm të kulturës muzikore [Great Success of Our Province, Festival of Musical Development], *Rilindja* (31 May 1956), 5.

The next great music festival, held in Mitrovica in 1958, was organized under the patronage of the president of the National Assembly of Serbia, and was the largest festival ever held in Kosovo. On the evening of the orchestra performances alone (21-22 June 1958) fourteen orchestras participated including both amateur and Philharmonic orchestras from Kosovo, Vojvodina and Serbia. These included the Mandolin Orchestra from the Music Society in Prishtina; the Female Mandolin Orchestra of SHKA *Ramiz Sadiku* from Peja; the Novi Sad Youth Philharmonic; the Symphonic Orchestra from Zrenjanin; the Orchestra of CAS *Abrašević* from Smederevska Palanka, etc.²⁹¹

According to Ratko Moračić, (at that time chairman of the Provincial Association of Music Societies), choirs and orchestras from cultural artistic societies from Prishtina, Prizren, Peja and Mitrovica were the most prominent ensembles participating in the festival. The performance of the Mandolin orchestra conveyed to the jury and the public the impression, liveliness, feeling, art and values that stemmed from the artistic spirit of all amateur instrumentalists. It failed to win any award, although its participation was of great importance, because for the first time (outside the provincial borders of Kosovo) pioneering steps towards cultural emancipation were taken in the direction of Europeanization. As a result of this, the professional jury with delegates from the League of Music Societies in Serbia, including Dušan Skovran from Belgrade, elected the Mandolin Orchestra from Pristina to represent Kosovo at the first Yugoslav Amateur Orchestra Festival (held in Ohrid, 13-19 July 1958).²⁹²

Provincial Festivals of Music had turned into annual gatherings of amateur and professional musicians, in which participants tried to express national or modern identity. National identity is understood in terms of the relationship created between tradition, culture and society. Modern identity is mentioned in the sense of ‘desired modernity’ because cultural progress was in an advanced moment in relation to the past, but delayed in relation to developments in other countries. On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of this festival, Ratko Moračić as the president of the Provincial Association of Music Societies in Kosovo, comprehended that an event such as the Provincial Festival of Music was a motivating activity for all amateur and professional musicians, with a large impact on growing and widening musical achievements outside of the provincial borders.²⁹³

²⁹¹ Rafael SOPI: Dy ditë muzikë orkestrale, Nga festivali i parë i orkestrave amatore të Serbisë në Mitrovicë [Two Days of Orchestral Music, From the First Festival of Amateur Orchestras of Serbia, Held in Mitrovica], *Rilindja* (26 June 1958), 9.

²⁹² M. D.: Suksesi i Mandolinatës së Prishtinës, Nga festivali i parë i orkestrave amatore të Jugosllavisë, [Success of the Mandolin Orchestra in Prishtina, From the First Festival of Amateur Orchestras of Yugoslavia], *Rilindja* (24 July 1958), 5.

²⁹³ The success achieved in provincial festivals began to be a motivating activity for amateur and/or professional musicians and the engagement in music began to show sparks outside the provincial borders. At the Republican Festival of amateur orchestras of Serbia, held in 1960 in Palić, Subotica, the orchestra of SHKA *Ramiz Sadiku*

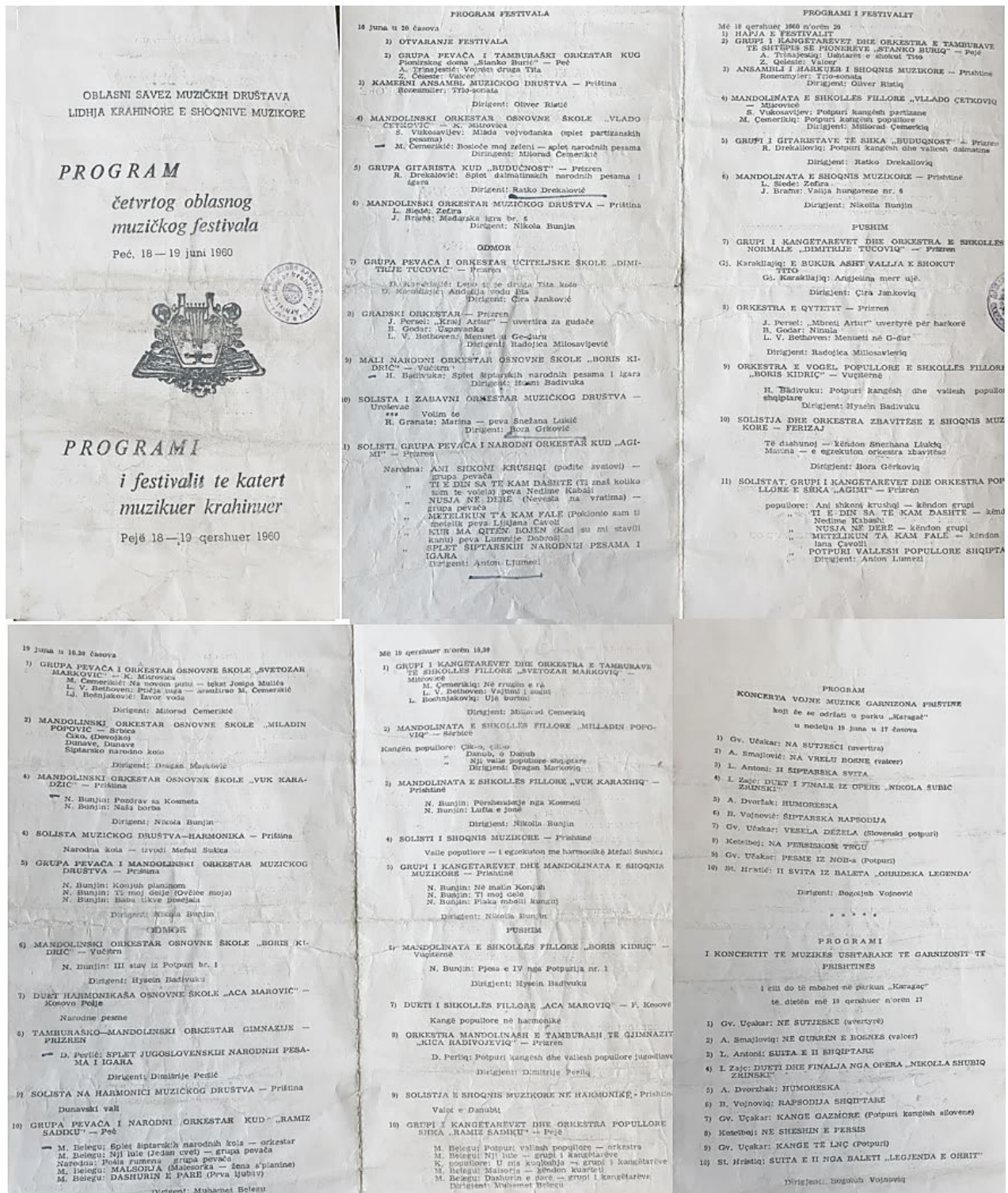


Figure 47. Program of the 4th Provincial Festival (1960)²⁹⁴

from Peja, won the first prize. In 1962, orchestras, soloists, groups of singers and dancers of the cultural societies *Agimi*, *Budučnost* and *Dogri Yol* from Prizren and members of the Music Society *Stevan Mokranjac* from Prishtina had joined forces forming the Ensemble of Songs and Folk dances of Kosovo, and participated in the festival of folk songs and dances of Yugoslavia 'Ohrid 1962'. See: A SHKRELI: SHKA Ramiz Sadiku në rugën e sukseseve të reja [CAS Ramiz Sadiku on the Way to the New Successes], *Rilindja* (6 August 1960), 10.

²⁹⁴ Unpublished document found in: *KUD Radnički - Prishtina*, [CAS Radnički - Prishtina] Fund XIX: Box 4; Years: 1960-63, State Archives of the Republic of Kosovo, Prishtina.

Table 23. Festivals established between 1950-60s

Year	Town	Festival's name
1955-1960s	Different Towns	<i>Rivista muzikore e shoqërive kulturore artistike</i> [Revue of Amateur Cultural and Artistic Societies]
1956-1966	Different Towns	<i>Rivista muzikore Krahinore e orkestrave amatore</i> [Provincial Revue of Amateur Orchestras]
1950-60s	Different towns	<i>Rivista Krahinore e orkestrave ushtarake</i> [Provincial Revue of Military Orchestras]
1961/62-	Gllgovc	Festivali folklorik Gllgovci [Provincial Folklore Festival Gllgovci]
1964-1980s	Different Towns	<i>Rivista muzikore e ansambleve muzikore të shkollave fillore të Kosovës dhe Metohisë</i> [Music Revue of Ensembles and Music Groups of Primary Schools from Kosovo and Metohija]
1965-1980s	Prishtina	<i>Rivista Republikane e muzikanteve të vegjël</i> [Republican Revue of Young Musicians]
1963-1996	Prishtina	Festival <i>Akordet muzikore</i> or <i>Akordet e Kosovës</i> [Kosovo Chords Festival]
1967-1980s	Prizren	<i>Rivista e muzikës argëtuese</i> , [Revue of Entertainment Music]

The cultural landscape of the 1960s, as a model, was not characterized by very complex dynamics of cultural activities; however, the organizational structures belonged to the same cultural system framed by the leading policies of former Yugoslavia. Kosovo continued to be one of the most underdeveloped provinces of Yugoslavia in economic, educational and cultural terms. Therefore, any investment in the socio-cultural sphere was vital, necessary and welcomed. In the years 1961-63, two of the most famous music events were founded, the Folk Provincial Folklore Festival *Gllgovci* (1961) and the Popular²⁹⁵ Music Festival *Akordet e Kosovës* (1963), fundamentally different in their origin, music orientation and aesthetic form. Festival *Gllgovci* was established during the course of activities developed under the folklore umbrella, the most productive form of music-making. On the other hand, in early 1963 the first festival appeared based on similar trends imported from the practices of other popular music festivals in former Yugoslavia. When referring to popular music, it remains as an example of cultural diversity in the popular culture of Kosovo, part of general blossoming of cultural life, and as a reflection of similar models in the region. Musical practices in popular music were represented by original songs, composed by local authors (mainly for festivals *Akordet e*

²⁹⁵ The term *Popular music* (in Albanian: *Muzikë Argëtuese* or *muzikë e lehtë*, lit. “entertainment”- “light” music), is used in order to distinguish entertainment music from *muzikë serioze* - art music; lit. “serious” and *muzikë popullore* - folk music.

Kosovës and *Zambaku i Prizrenit*) and characterized by simple melodies and lyrics based on love stories. A phenomenon demonstrated in the popular music repertoire of 'star' singers was the adaptation of foreign melodies and hits with lyrics translated into Albanian or Serbo-Croatian (e.g., Luan Hajra – *Campanera* by Joselito; *Solenzara* by Enrico Macias, etc.)

The 1970s are known as a second period of important momentum in the terms of growth, importance, market dynamics and evolution of music events in Kosovo in general. The festival *Skena Muzikore e Prishtinës* (founded in 1974) and the *Days of Kosovo Music* (founded in 1979) remain synonymous for the greatest achievements of that time and with significant impact on the general cultural landscape.

Table 24. Festivals established in the 1970s and 1980s

Year	Town	Festival's name
1972	Ferizaj	<i>Kosovarja Këndon</i> [Kosovo Woman Sings]
1972-80s	Prishtina	<i>Takimet e talentëve të rinj</i> [Festival of the New Talents]
1974-1988	Prishtina	<i>Skena muzikore e Prishtinës</i> [Music Scene of Prishtina]
1975-80s	Various towns	<i>Festivali i këngës revolucionare</i> [Revolutionary Song Festival]
1976	Has	Folk Festival <i>Hasi Jehon</i>
1977-80s	Gjilan	Festivali i SHKA-ve <i>Takimet e Majit</i> [Festival of CASes May Meetings]
1978	Kaçanik	<i>Festivali i Shoqërive Kulturore Artistike</i> [Festival of Cultural and Artistic Societies]
1979	Gjakova/ Prishina	<i>Ditët e muzikës Kosovare</i> [Days of Kosovo Music]
1986	Prizren	Festivali i muzikës argëtuese <i>Zambaku i Prizrenit</i> [Entertainment Music Festival Lily of Prizren]
1988	Ferizaj	Festivali për fëmijë <i>Fëmijët e gëzuar</i> [Children's Festival Happy Kids]
1989	Mitrovica	<i>Jazz Festival</i> , from 2003 called <i>North City Jazz & Blues International Festival</i>

Collaboration between institutions and cultural exchanges through mutual visits between Kosovo and other places was part of the Yugoslav Communist ideology of so-called 'Brotherhood and Unity'. It was under these conditions that all foundations of cultural and educational policies that existed in the general network of music institutions within former Yugoslavia were built, which also required them to produce 'uniqueness' and compete with each other at the same time. Conversely, it was not until the early 1970s that establishing contacts between the Albanian state and Kosovo became feasible, as Albanian-Yugoslav

relations at that time permitted such cooperation, as previously noted. The visit of the state ensemble of songs and dances from Albania (Prishtina, 14 July 1971), including well-known participants of the Albanian scene (i.e., Milto Vako, Çesk Zadeja, Agim Krajka, Panajot Kanaçi, Ibrahim Tukiçi, Avni Mula, Gëzim Kaceli, etc.) was among the first artistic visits from Albania to Kosovo.²⁹⁶

The beginning of ‘the maturity’ of the festival tradition (the third phase of cultural momentum) was consolidated only after the year 2000. The effects of great social changes which occurred after the 1999 war in Kosovo ultimately recast the old discourse about Festivals. The issue of institutionalization through festival events had the particular objective of developing a new approach based on both national identity and tradition, along with the idea of contemporary trends. In new circumstances, the intellectual elite that was struggling for detachment from the old alternatives was oriented towards the contemporary spirit of art music festivals. So, festivals were founded in a cultural terrain that embodied both the burden of the past and the present, and the spirit of the future. Namely, on the one hand, they were founded on the premise of the articulation of national identity (which had been banned for a long time), and on the other they contributed to shaping the modern history of Kosovan music. The global expansion of festivals and their ever-growing influence in the socio-economic and cultural spheres turned them into a phenomenon with multifunctional complexity ranging from the affirmation of new expressions, the intertwining of cultures and the encouragement of intercultural communication. In this sense, festivals can be seen and analyzed as terrains where different cultural, aesthetic and political patterns and values temporarily converge and/or clash, constantly creating, stabilizing, and/or redefining the setting of festival interaction. In doing so, they stressed the problems raised by the multiple articulation of global cultural flows, local life and spatiality.²⁹⁷

²⁹⁶ Rashid KRASNIQI: Vërtetim i shkallës kulminative, kreative, interpretuese [Attestation of Creative and Performing level], *Rilindja* (15 July 1971), 9.

²⁹⁷ Jasper CHALCRAFT, Paolo MAGAUDDA: ‘Space is the Place’: The Global Localities of the Sònar and Womad Music Festivals, *Festivals and the Cultural Public Sphere*, Gerard Delanty, Liana Giorgi and Monica Sassatelli (eds.), London: Routledge, 2011, 174.

4.1.1. The Festival *Akordet e Kosovës* (1963 – 1996)

The socio-cultural development which had been bolstered during the 1950s with little signs of progress made in institutional infrastructure such as Radio Prishtina Media and the RP Music Production (as a ‘record company’) made possible the development of popular music promoted through a festival mostly dedicated to the so-called ‘entertainment’ music. Thus, following the trend of European festivals such as *San Remo* (founded in 1951 in Italy), music events in the form of song contests with award ceremonies began to emerge in former Yugoslav republics, e.g., *Zagrebački festival* [Zagreb Festival] (1953), *Dani jugoslavenske zabavne muzike*, commonly known as *Opatijski festival* (1958), *Festival zabavne glazbe Split*, commonly known as *Splitski festival* (1960), *Beogradsko proleće* [Belgrade Spring] (1961), *Slovenska popevka* [Slovenian Song] (1962), etc.²⁹⁸ Also, in Albania the *Festivali i Këngës në RTSH* [Festival of Song in RTSH], organized by the national broadcaster Albanian Radio Television (abbreviated: RTSH), was established in 1962.

Being part of Yugoslavia and driven by the same influences, Kosovan artists felt the need to demonstrate their cultural existence through the same festival form. The musical community in Kosovo was determined to establish a festival similar to the others in former Yugoslavia, and this desire was realized in 1963. The first festival of popular music was officially named *Akordet Muzikore* [Musical Chords], later becoming known as *Akordet e Kosovës* [Kosovo Chords]. In the series of performances held in honor of *The Youth Day* (and in honor of the birthday of Yugoslav President Josip Broz Tito) a new music event appeared as an important manifestation of popular music.²⁹⁹ The first edition was held on 24 May 1963 in the hall of the Provincial National Theater and broadcast live on TV Belgrade.³⁰⁰ For Kosovo of the 1960s, this festival represented a culminating achievement which soon found an echo beyond its provincial borders. Through the waves of Radio Prishtina, which was the official broadcaster, songs of the festival were heard throughout broader Yugoslavia. During the festival days, Prishtina was a festive city, a music center, and the citizens always welcomed and enjoyed this musical event. Very soon it became the largest festival organized in Kosovo, with a popularity that transcended geographical boundaries. This festival succeeded in presenting Kosovo music

²⁹⁸ During the 1960s the following festivals were founded: *Vaš šlager sezone* [Your Schlager of the Season] in 1967 in Sarajevo, *Skopje fest* in 1969 in Macedonia, etc.

²⁹⁹ Rashid KRASNIQI: *Akordet muzikore 63, të Kosovës e Metohisë*, [Music Chords 63, in Kosovo and Metohija], *Rilindja* (20 April 1963), 8.

³⁰⁰ Q. SOKOLI: *Radiotelevizioni i Prishinës*, 45.

identity among the multinational citizenry of former Yugoslavia, and symbolically it was said that *Akordet e Kosovës* was the *Albanian San Remo*.³⁰¹



Figure 48. Festival Akordet e Kosovës (1974)³⁰²

“Kosovo people benefit a lot from this festival. We probably do not know what cultural significance this manifestation has. This festival promotes our beautiful melody and in the future the voice of this festival will be heard for years.” (Severin Kajtazi, *Rilindja*, 10 July 1971).

The festival had its own organizational and artistic body, all under the umbrella of the RTP media house. It operated under the leadership of the Provincial Cultural Community, and had its own leadership, the *Artistic Council* (some members over the years were: Severin Kajtazi, Qazim Oruqi, Akil Koci, Fahri Beqiri, Jordan Nikolić, Sevime Gjinali, Isak Muçolli, and Bahri Çela). The leadership consisted of two representatives from the Community of Culture, two from Radio Prishtina, one from the Bank of Kosovo, one from the newspaper *Rilindja*, one from the Composers’ Association of Kosovo, one from the Television Editorial Office and one from the Cultural Sector in the Municipality. With the approval of the Executive Council of

³⁰¹ Albumi Akordet e Kosovës, *Akordet e Kosovës – Simbol i një kohe* (published: 6 May 2018) https://m.facebook.com/242856665844931/photos/akordet-e-kosoves-simbol-i-nje-kohe-festivali-m%C3%AB-i-madh-dhe-m%C3%AB-i-vjet%C3%ABr-muzikor-/1210684499062138/#_ (accessed 21 September 2021).

³⁰² Jeta ZYMBERI: Rikthehet festivali ‘Akordet e Kosovës’, Sefedini dhe Bytyçi: Synojmë të parandalojmë rrezikun e harresës [The ‘Akordet e Kosovës’ Festival Returns, Sefedini and Bytyçi: We Aim to Prevent the Risk of Being Forgotten], *KultPlus*, (published: 11 August 2023), <https://www.kultplus.com/tag/akordet-e-kosoves/> (accessed: 24 November 2023).

the Provincial Community for Culture in Kosovo, the festival officially gained an institutional status in 1971.³⁰³ Until 1972 the director of the festival was composer Kristë Lekaj — in 1973 this position was taken by Akil Koci and in 1974 by Severin Kajtazi. From the 1970s, a booklet was published by *Rilindja* after each edition which included all data about participants, songs, scores and composers. Unfortunately, a very small number of these booklets still exist because most of them are lost.

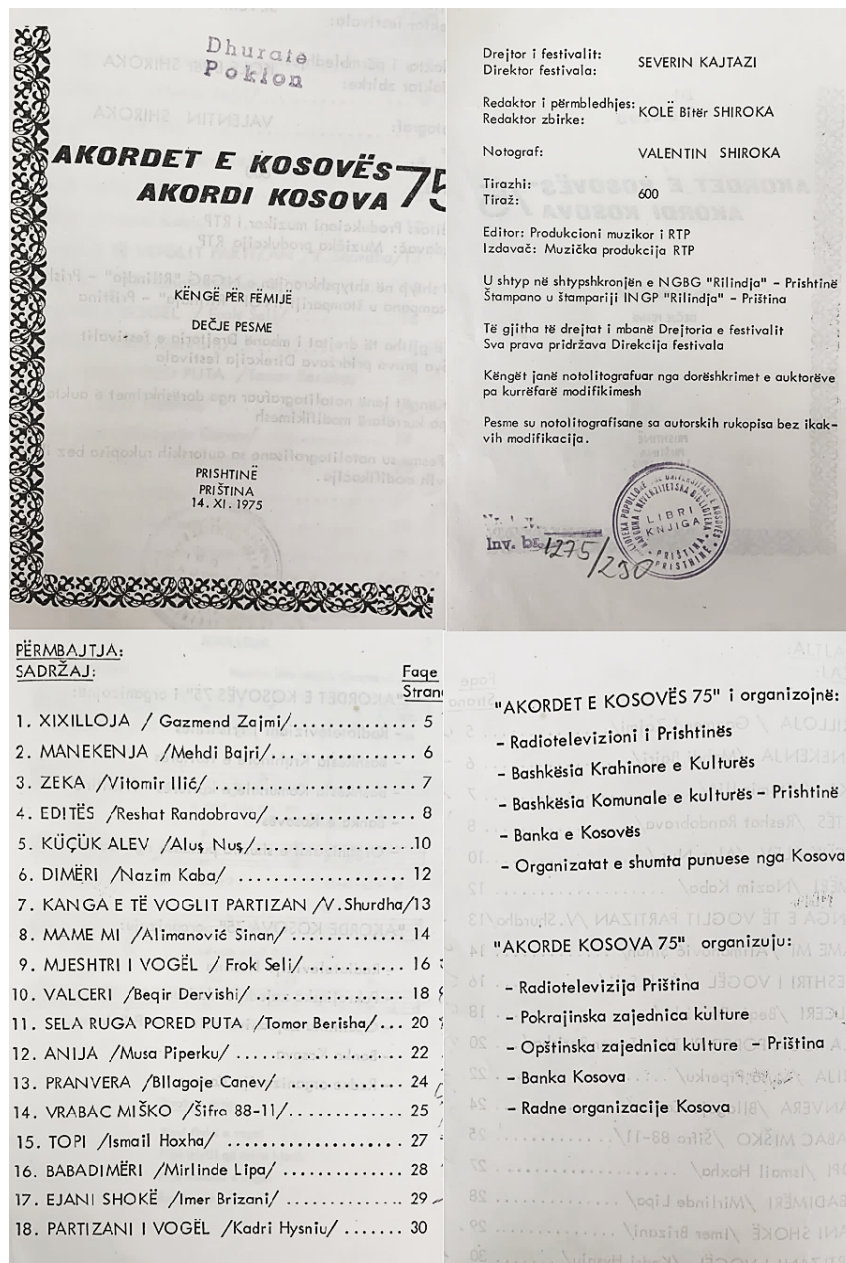


Figure 49. *Akordet e Kosovës* Booklet (1975)

³⁰³ Vehap SHITA: Akordet Muzikore 70 megjithatë do të mbahen [Musical Chords, Will be Held], *Rilindja* (4 October 1970), 8.

The festival contest was divided into three music categories: a) children's songs, b) folk songs and c) popular songs. Due to the growing popularity of the festival, the interest in participation exceeded all expectations and organizational possibilities, so the organizational body decided to expand its scope from three to four or five nights of performances:

- 1st evening with children melodies
- 2nd evening with folk melodies
- 3rd evening with popular melodies³⁰⁴
- Last evening – Awarding ceremony.

On several occasions the festival went through organizational transformations and changes to its program structure with the aim of improving its organizational and productive quality. Until the 1980s, different music evenings were held at widely spread intervals. For example, the evening of children's melodies was usually held in the Spring (in May), while evenings of folk and entertainment melodies were held at the end of the year (usually in December). From 1981 onwards, all of the music evenings were held within the same week, and it was traditionally known as *Java e Akordeve* [Chords Week].

In the early editions of the festival songs were accompanied by the City Symphony Orchestra in Prishtina in cooperation with the Radio Prishtina popular orchestra. Later, this place was taken by the RTP Symphony Orchestra. The festival process was organized in several stages. Due to the large number of applications to the festival, particularly after 1970, the first stage was the selection of competing melodies. The next phase included the distribution of songs to music arrangers, including many rehearsals before the live shows. At this stage a wide network of musicians including arrangers, conductors and instrumentalists was mobilized. The TV spectacle (broadcast live on RTP since 1973)³⁰⁵ was the culminating moment of the festival — a *live event* with the largest audience and popularity ever. Following the model and practices of similar festivals (e.g., in Opatija, Zagreb, Split and Belgrade), since 1986 the *Akordet e Kosovës* has been realized in playback version.

³⁰⁴ Due to the large number of participants (in the years when the interest for participation surpassed every record), sometimes the category of popular melodies was divided in two evenings: the 1st evening with performers from Kosovo and the 2nd evening with performers from Vojvodina and Serbia, as well as (sometimes) from other countries such as Albania, Greece, Bulgaria, Turkey, etc. In each category about 18 songs were usually accepted, approximately 54 melodies in total. See: Mehmet EMËRLLAHU: Propozime për fizionomi të re të Akordeve të Kosovës [Proposals for a New Physiognomy of Kosovo Chords], *Rilindja* (29 January 1981), 10.; Sami PIRAJ: Mbahen Akordet e Kosovës 86 [Kosovo Chords 86 Are Held], *Rilindja* (27 October 1986), 16.

³⁰⁵ Before the establishment of the Television (RTP), the festival was broadcast live on Radio Prishtina (RP).

An important element of the festival was the Award Ceremony. Under the umbrella of the festival was included a series of awards for the winners of the three music categories. The list of awards included:

- *Three main awards* (1st, 2nd, 3rd prizes) – awarded by the professional juries for each song category (children, folk, popular);
- *Golden Ocarina* (best song) – awarded by the public;
- *Golden Plaque* (best song) – awarded by the jury of the Union of Composers of Yugoslavia;
- *Golden Pen* (prize for the best lyric) – awarded by the *Rilindja* newspaper Editorial office;
- *Gratitude* (for the first places in the three participating categories) – given by the Composers' Association of Kosovo;
- *Monetary Reward* of 1,500 Yugoslav Dinars and the *Traditional Statue* for the best song – awarded by the Belgrade daily *Večernje novosti*.

From the 23rd edition (in 1984), two more awards were added: the *Award for the best song arrangement* and the *Award for the best debutant*.³⁰⁶

During the golden age of *Akordet e Kosovës* in the 1970s and 1980s the growth of popular music increased. However, the festival became an institution that expanded beyond its provincial borders. *Akordet e Kosovës* was the largest Kosovan festival in the Balkans and garnered wide popularity. It was also broadcast many times by RTV Belgrade and other radio and television houses in Skopje, Sarajevo, Zagreb, Ljubljana, etc. Thus, as a result of its popularity some famous Yugoslav popular music stars participated in the festival in 1970: Gabi Novak, Đorđe Marjanović, Krunoslav Slabinac, Miki Jevremović, Leo Martin, and Saška Petkovska, all accompanied by the RTB orchestra.³⁰⁷ On the other hand, the festival was never broadcast on the RTSH Media in Albania.

The most prolific in terms of musical creativity were Severin Kajtazi, Musa Piperku, Gjergj Kaçinari, Tomor Berisha, Reshat Randobrava, and some other composers. *Severin Kajtazi* (1936) was one of the most prolific Albanian composers of entertainment music in Yugoslavia.³⁰⁸ By the late 1980s, his oeuvre numbered about forty children's songs and about

³⁰⁶ Sami PIRAJ: *Në tri mbrëmje, pesedhjetë e katër melodi* [In Three Evenings, Fifty-four Melodies], *Rilindja* (10 November 1984), 17.

³⁰⁷ Bajram SEFAJ: *Akordet 70 edhe në Televizion*, [Chords 70, Also on TV], *Rilindja* (2 November 1970), 8.

³⁰⁸ Cf. "Kajtazi Seferin" in Krešimir KOVAČEVIĆ (Ed.) *Leksikon jugoslavenske muzike 1 A-Ma*, 404.

seventy entertainment melodies for festivals in Kosovo, and for the *Belgrade Spring, Opatija Festival, Army Festival in Belgrade, and Radio Festival in Tirana*. Also, *Gjergj Kaçinari* (1947 – 2019) had always shown compositional relevance in almost all categories of the festival. The song *Syri yt, ai qiell me shi* (1975), sung by Besnik Krajku, made it to the final of the *Opatija Festival* in 1975 — unfortunately, the song’s score and record were lost during the 1990s. Kaçinari was one of the few Albanian composers to compose for outstanding Yugoslav artists (e.g. Dragan Mijalkovski) and for famous festivals in former Yugoslavia. Also, *Musa Piperku* (1945 – 2005) composed the largest number of festival songs in three categories of the festival.³⁰⁹ The most successful Turkish musician was Hüseyin Kazaz. His pop songs (e.g., *A Night Without You, Your Place is Empty in My Lap, Do Not Come*) were heard for months on radio stations in Prishtina, Belgrade and Zagreb. Also, Dobrivoje Baskić, Gazmend Zajmi, Vitomir Ilić, Imer Brizani and Sinan Alimanović were closely involved with *Akordet e Kosovës*.

Until the 1970s, *Sevime Kabashi-Gjinali* (1937) and *Pranvera Badivuku* (1945) were the only two female composers who made a great contribution to *Akordet e Kosovës*.³¹⁰ Sevime Kabashi-Gjinali is the first Kosovo Albanian female composer to obtain a university degree in Belgrade (1958) in the field of music theory. She composed many popular songs, children's choral compositions, piano miniatures played by students of music schools, and later published a *Solfege Book* in 2010. From 1967, Pranvera Badivuku (who worked as editor of Children’s Music in the RTP Music Production, until 1990) composed many songs and hits for the *Akordet e Kosovës* festival. Since the late 1980s few other female composers such as Selvete Ismaili, Ilirijana Kuriu and others have composed for *Akordet e Kosovës*.

Table 25. Some Hit Songs from the Festival *Akordet e Kosovës*

Composer	Songs (Years)
Severin Kajtazi	<i>Kaptina e fundit e romanit</i> (1970), <i>Babi çka mke blerë</i> (1971), <i>Frikacaku</i> (1973), <i>Një pikë vesë</i> (1973), <i>Ku është qendra e botës</i> (1976).

³⁰⁹ Short biographies of several individuals who contributed to the *Akordet e Kosovës* festival are listed in Appendix 4. of this dissertation.

³¹⁰ See: Alma BEJTULLAHU: *Sodobne skladateljice na Kosovu: od kod prihajajo in kam gredo?* [Contemporary Composers in Kosovo: Where Do They Come from and Where Do They Go?], *Ženskost v glasbi skladateljic po 1918 - Pogledi nekaterih manjših glasbenih kultur Evrope* [Femininity in Female Music Since 1918 - Views of Some Smaller Musical Cultures in Europe], Leon Stefanija and Katarina Bogunović Hočevar (eds.), Ljubljana: Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani, 2018, 93-94.

Gjergj Kaçinari	<i>Arabela (1972), Vëlla e motër (1973), Sa fort të dashuroj (1973), Krizantema (1973), Ma ka blerë nëna një kukull (1974), Lulës sime (1974), Te shtegu ndala hapin (1974).</i>
Musa Piperku	<i>Sot ushtar po shkoj (1970), Mbremja e Matures (1971), Studenti pa dashuri (1972), Marshi i pionierëve (1972), Larg prej sysh por afër zemre (1972), Topi (1973), Në dimër (1974), Kënga e Rinisë (1974), Mikëpritja malsore (1974), Kush ta fali bukurinë (1976), Trimi i mëmës (1976), Ëmbëltori (1976), Barinjtë e Korbit (1976), Kënga shpirtin ma rrëmben (1977), Ëndërr pranverore (1978), Erdhi mami nga uzina (1980), Rosaku fëmijë (1981), Pëllumbi im (1986), Zemra jote mka harrue (1981), Eja lule trendelinë (1982), Vallja popullore (1983), Ti bilbil (1981), Pranvera në Prishtinë (1982), Doruntinë moj Doruntinë (1983).</i>
Dobrivoje Baskić	<i>Devojka proklinje sudbinu (1970), Za svoju sudbinu ne krivim nikoga (1972), Što je lepše (1976).</i>
Tomor Berisha	<i>Fluturo nga kafazi (1970), Kthehu Teuta (1973), Le të dridhet mali (1974).</i>
Hüseyin Kazaz	<i>Ellerin olme (1970), Kader (1972), Kimkime Benzer (1974), Bir gozleri surmeli, Gelme, (1976), Oldurme beni (1977), Sensiz bir gece (1978), Nerdesin (1983).</i>
Pranvera Badivuku	<i>Do te bëhem Pionere (1973), Nënës sime (1976), Dëshmorëve (1983), E kujtoj atë takim (1974), Kujtimi rinor (1981) Njëzet vjet të festivalit (1983).</i>
Gazmend Zajmi	<i>Motra e ndëgjueshme (1971), Smund të na ndaje asnji breg (1971), Po zbret vasha shpatit tmalit (1973), Silueta (1974), Xixillonja (1975), Koirilat u kthyen (1975).</i>
Vitomir Ilić	<i>Na hodanje Šadrvana (1975).</i>
Sinan Alimanović	<i>Hiroshima (1974), Mačka u školi (1976).</i>
Reshat Randobrava	<i>Ndamja (1971), Dashuria dhe guximi (1972), Editës (1975), Këngë Maji (1976).</i>

Akordet e Kosovës became a main center of networking for Albanian, Serbian and Turkish musicians (singers, songwriters, lyricists, arrangers, instrumentalists, conductors, broadcasters, etc.), and an important promotional platform for showcasing music and introducing new talents to the audience. In addition to song authors, the festival served to promote performing artists/singers. Nexhmije Pagarusha, Bashkim Paçuku, Luan Hajra, Liljana Çavolli, Shehendere Bërlajolli, Alush Nushi, Milica Milisavljević, Shpresa Gashi, Sabri Fejzullahu, Mirjana Pavlović, Xhelal Bakraçi, Riza Bytyqi, Ivana Vitalić, Besnik Krajku, Vera Oruçaj, etc., became well-known and artistically matured precisely through this festival.

Akordet e Kosovës remains the most productive festival in Kosovo because almost 2000 original songs were composed across the three categories of children's music, popular and entertainment music between 1963 and 1990s. The festival was also a place where musicians of all professions (composers, singers, instrumentalists, arrangers, conductors, etc.) were

promoted and through which they became well known. In scholarly and journalistic terms, the history of this festival has never been seriously and deeply treated. This is evident at both national and international levels.³¹¹ So, in the absence of previous publications about this festival, in Appendix 2. of this study are presented 70% of the data related to the songs, composers and singers who participated in most editions of the festival. However, due to an absence of information, the data are missing in some tables. I have not been able to provide information for festival editions in the years 1966, 1967, 1984, 1985, 1987, 1988, as well as for the few extraordinary editions held during the 1990s. In 1995, after a five-year break, the first attempt was made to organize the festival in the Palace of Youth and Sports (*ex-Boro e Ramiz*). The first night of the festival took place, while the other two nights were stopped by the police and Serbian regime. The following year, on 26 December 1996, a second attempt was made to revive the festival. On a very cold winter evening, in very unusual and extraordinary conditions, surrounded by large cordons of Serbian police, a musical event was realized in the Palace of Youth and Sports with songs (interpreted in playback) in three song categories, officially marking the final chapter of this festival.³¹²

4.1.2. *Skena muzikore e Prishtinës* [Prishtina Music Scene] – The First Festival of Art Music in Kosovo (1974-1988)

Music festivals in Kosovo have been an important social and cultural activity both for the expression of identity and for artistic practices. Until the 1970s, festivals were developed based on a general artistic polarization between amateurism and professionalism, classical and folk, and vocal and instrumental music. The establishment of an art music festival (with a tendency towards contemporary music) was the only activity that could systematically promote local art music. Contemporary music festivals had been established in Western countries earlier in the twentieth century, and dated back to the 1960s in the Balkan countries, while in Kosovo this became reality only decades later. Given this motive, in spring 1974, under the initiative of Akil Koci and Dragoljub Moračić, the Executive Council of the Municipal Community for Culture approved the proposal for the establishment of a festival of art music in Kosovo under the name *Tribuna Muzikore e Prishtinës* [Prishtina Music Tribune], to be held between 18 and

³¹¹ For example, in her overview of popular music festivals in Yugoslavia between 1950 and 1990, Jelena Arnautović makes no mention of *Akordet e Kosovës*. See: Jelena ARNAUTOVIĆ: Networking *Zabavna Muzika* - Singers, Festivals, and *Estrada*, in: *Made in Yugoslavia: Studies in Popular Music*, Danijela Š. Beard & Ljerka V. Rasmussen (eds.), New York: Routledge, 2020.

³¹² Selvete ISMAILI: Personal communication (18 January 2021).

28 November 1974.³¹³ Before this festival, which was later named *Skena muzikore e Prishtinës* [Musical Scene of Prishtina] (abbreviated: SMP) was established, there had been no regular musical event which served the needs and aspirations of classical tendencies of local creators.³¹⁴



Figure 50. First edition of *Music Scene of Prishtina*, Festival's poster (1974)³¹⁵

Immediately after its establishment, SMP became the most successful provincial festival in Yugoslavia (before the 1990s). Enjoying the position of a cultural event of special importance for the Kosovo Province, SMP was an important event not only in musical terms, but in the general intercultural sphere. The festival turned into an event of high artistic creativity, attracting all lovers of art music, including orchestras, ensembles, vocal and instrumental

³¹³ Jusuf GËRVALLA: Tribuna muzikore e Prishtinës [Music Tribune of Prishtina], *Rilindja* (29 November 1974), 11.; Cf. K. Kovačević (ed.): *Leksikon jugoslavenske muzike*, Vol. 1, Zagreb: Jugoslavenski leksikografski zavod "Miroslav Krleža", 1984, 41.

³¹⁴ In addition to *Skena muzikore e Prishtinës* some other festivals of art music were established in Kosovo. The festival *Ditët e muzikës Kosovare* [Days of Kosovo Music] founded in 1979 by the Composers' Association of Kosovo and the Provincial Cultural Community (of that time), was the second important art music festival in terms of importance and quality. This is the only art music festival that (with the same name) continued its existence in the years 2000-2019.

³¹⁵ Figures 50. and 51. present unpublished photographs provided by composer Rafet Rudi, who shared with me all the booklets from the festival *Music Scene of Prishtina* (editions 1974–1988) from his personal archive. Personal communication.

soloists from all parts of Yugoslavia and beyond. The SMP was primarily focused on the promotion of local artists and composers. In the context of each edition there were usually about ten to twelve musical evenings (concerts) that took place in the Youth and Sport Center (formerly the *Boro e Ramiz* center). Based on models and formats of similar festivals such as *BEMUS*, *The Yugoslav Musical Tribune*, *Music Biennale Zagreb*, *Opatija Music Tribune*, etc., this event aimed at promoting both the creativity of various composers, and the interpretive skills of various musical ensembles.

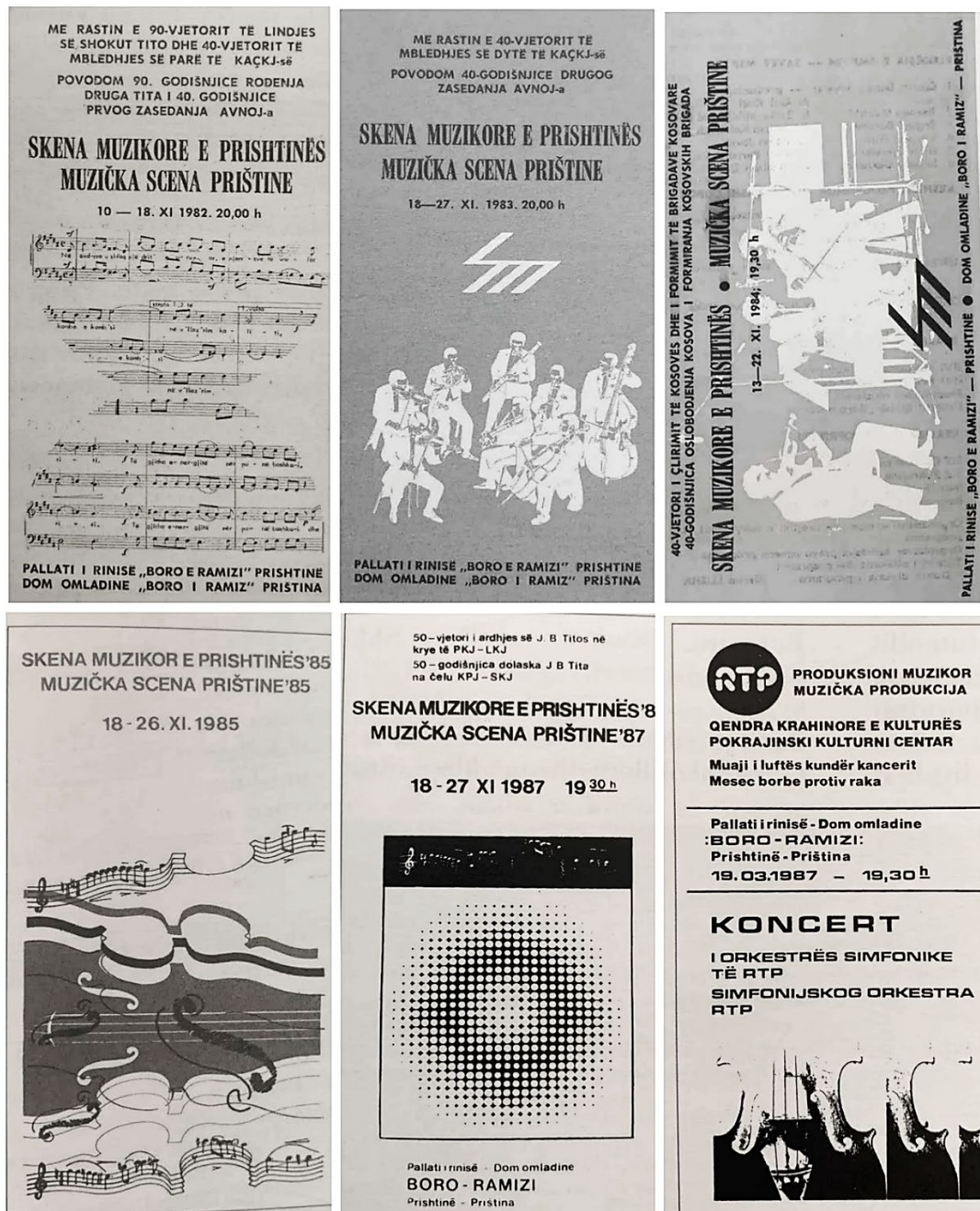


Figure 51. (Some) booklets from the festival *Skena Muzikore e Prishtinës*

Each festival edition was dedicated to some historical event or anniversary such as the 90th anniversary of the birth of Josip Broz Tito in 1982, the 40th anniversary of the Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ) in 1983, the 50th anniversary in 1983 of Tito's coming to power at the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, etc.

The main importance of this festival lay in the promotion of intercultural communication between the republics and provinces of former Yugoslavia. Most works by Kosovo composers such as Esat Rizvanolli, Vinçenc Gjini, Akil Koci, Bashkim Shehu and others, were premiered and promoted through the *Music Scene of Prishtina*. The festival also provided platforms for the conductors Bahri Çela, Bajar Berisha, and Rafet Rudi, and the instrumentalists/vocalists Shemsedin Fanaj, Hanelora Prate–Dërvishi, Mile Kaçinari, Lejla Pula, Hermina Lekaj, Ahmet Dërguti, and others. Other soloists, choirs, symphony orchestras and ensembles from various places of Yugoslavia and beyond also participated. E.g.: Choir *Svetomir Marković* and the Chamber Orchestra from Novi Sad; the Ballet from Macedonian National Theatre; the ensemble *Sv. Sofija* and the mixed choir of RTV Skopje; the Symphony Orchestra from Niš; the Yugoslav Peoples Army (JNA) Choir and orchestra; the Choir and Orchestra *Dušan Skovran* from Belgrade; the Radio Belgrade Jazz Orchestra; the Female Choir of *Collegium Musicum* from Belgrade; the *Trio Tartini* and *Trio Lorenz* from Ljubljana; the Sarajevo String Quartet; the Zagreb String Quartet; the Zagreb Wind Quintet; the Ljubljana Wind Quintet; the String Quartet from Podgorica, as well as many other well-known soloists.³¹⁶ Also, local musical formations such as the RTP Choir & Symphony Orchestra and the *Collegium Cantorum* were regular participants in every edition of the festival. By 1978 over forty-eight musical ensembles from the former Yugoslavia had participated at the SMP and around 373 solo, chamber, symphonic and scenic works had been performed, of which fifty-two were composed by Kosovo composers.³¹⁷ This musical manifestation had a multidimensional significance. Firstly, it was a platform for music stretching from art music to the avant-garde trends. Secondly, it was a festival that cultivated and affirmed musical creativity and at the same time promoted inter-provincial cultural collaborations.

³¹⁶ Jusuf GËRVALLA: Tribuna muzikore e Prishtinës [Music Tribune of Prishtina], *Rilindja* (29 November 1974), 11.

³¹⁷ Akil KOCI: Skena muzikore 78 e Prishtinës – Festival Ndërkombëtar [Musical Scene of Prishtina 78 – International Festival], *Rilindja* (14 October 1978), 12.

Table 26. Participants at the Festival *Skena muzikore e Prishtinës* (all editions 1974-1988).

Year	Participants
18-28 November 1974	RTP Symphony Orchestra, conductor: Bahri Çela; String Quartet from Belgrade; The Choir <i>Svetozar Marković</i> from Novi Sad, conductor: Lazar Buta; Duška Taseska (cello), Jasmina Čakar (piano) – Musicians from Macedonia; The Ballet Ensemble of the National Theater of Macedonia; Symphony Orchestra of Niš; Opera Artists from Belgrade: Milka Stojanović, Živan Saramandić, and Dobrila Bogošević; Ensemble <i>Trio Tartini</i> from Ljubljana; Flutists from Belgrade: Tahir Kulenović.
18-29 November 1975	RTP Symphony orchestra (conductor Bajar Berisha); JNA Symphony Orchestra – Belgrade with soloists: Mirjana Vukdragović, pianist from Belgrade and Marko Savić pianist from Kosovo. Zagreb Wind Quintet: Zoran Despot (flute), Georg Draušnik (oboe), Josi Nochta (clarinet), Prerad Detiček (horn), Marjan Kobetić (fagot). Recital Concert: Marko Savić & Zeqirja Ballata (piano). Concert: Choir <i>Collegium Cantorum</i> Concert with soloists from Belgrade: Milenko Stefanović (clarinet) & Zorica Dimitrijević (piano). Solo concert: Miroslav Čangalović (opera singer – one of greatest basses in Yugoslavia). Concert with students of Music Department from Faculty of Arts in Prishtina Ballet Troupe of Kosovo (choreographer Abdurrahman Nokshiqi).
18-29 November 1976	Concerts: 18. 11. – RTP Orchestra Concert; 19. 11. – Choir of RTV Beograd; 20. 11. – Belgrade string ensemble <i>Dušan Skovran</i> ; 21. 11. – Collegium Musicum from Belgrade; 22. 11. – String Quartet from Podgorica, soloists: Olga Milošević (soprano), Vlado Jovanović (bariton), Vili Ferdinandi (violin), Lidia Ferdinandi (piano), Milo Asić (flute), Petar Fatić (clarinet); 23. 11. – Choir Collegium Cantorum from Prishtina 24. 11. – Zagreb Wind Trio: Ivan Kos (oboe), Anđelko Ramušćak (clarinet), Zvonimir Stanislav (bassoon); 25. 11. – Duo concert with soloist from Ljubljana: Ciril Škerjanc (cello) & Aci Bertonec (piano); 26. 11. – Macedonian quintet; 27. 11. Concert with soloists from Prishtina & Sarajeva: Rajmund Likić (clarinet) & Izolda Ambrožić (piano), Hermina Lekaj (mezzosoprano) & Ahmet Dërguti (baritone), Dragutin & Nada Bogosavljević (violin & piano); 29. 11. – Choir <i>Vojislav Vučković</i> from Niš, (conductor Radoica Milosavljević). RTV Belgrade Choir (conductor Borivoje Simić).
	19. 11. – RTP Symphony Orchestra & Choir <i>Collegium Cantorum</i> ; 20. 11. – Piano Duo: E Korolov & Lj. Hađigeorgieva

19-26 November 1977	21. 11. – Trio Lorenz from Ljubljana: Tomaž Lorenz (violin), Matija Lorenz (cello), Primož Lorenz (piano); 22. 11. – Chamber Orchestra from Novi Sad; 23. 11. – Concert: Music talents from Kosovo; 24. 11. – Solo Concert: Dušan Trbojević (piano); 25. 11. - Duo Concert: Hanelore Prante-Dërvishi (flute) & Shemsedin Fanaj (clarinet); 26. 11. – Mixed Choir of RTV Skopje.
19 – November 1978	19. 11. – RTP Symphony Orchestra; 20. 11. – Solo Concert: Meri Stolkova (piano); 22. 11. – Concert with artists from Albania: Ibrahim Madhi (violin), Anita Tartari (piano), Muharrem Denizi and Gjergj Antoniu (cello). 23. 11. – Mihajlo Kelbli (clarinet) & Vera Tot-Horti (piano); 24. 11. - Trio Pro Musica 'Rara' from Ljubljana; 25. 11. – Duo: Josip Klima (violin) & Mira Fliz Šimatavić (piano); 26. 11. – Ensemble Sv. Sofija from Skopje;
18-26 November 1979	18. 11. – RTP Symphony Orchestra & choir <i>Collegium Cantorum</i> from Prishtina; 19. 11. – Symphony orchestra and mixed Choir of APJ Beograd; 20. 11 – Symphony Orchestra APJ Beograd; 21. 11. – Concert with students from Music Academy in Prishtina; 22. 11. – String Quartet from Belgrade; 23. 11. – Josip Klima (violin) & Mira Šimatović (piano) from Zagreb; 24. 11. - Collegium Musicum Ragusinum from Dubrovnik: Špiro Veselinović (flute), Mladen Glavinović (oboe), Cavaliere (clarinet), Sandy Cobenzl (violin), Paola Dražić (viola), Violeta Angelova (cello), Pietro Ivo Brandolica (cembalo); 25. 11. – Solo concert: Ehat Musa (guitar); 26. 11 – Solo concert: Jasmina Čakar (piano);
18-26 November 1980	JNA Orchestra from Niš; Concert with soloists: Milenko Stefanović (klarinet), Nada Kecmanović (piano) - Belgrade; Milica Šperović (piano) - Skopje; Meri Stoilkova (piano) - Prishtina; Youth Chamber Orchestra from Novi Sad; Titograd RTV Symphony Orchestra; RTP Symphony orchestra & Choir <i>Collegium Cantorum</i> ; Concert of young artists: Teuta Pllana, Nada Alimanović, Nenad Sekulić, Valbona Pula, Lejla Haxhiu, Venera Mehmetagaj, Qazim Bobaj, Valter Dešpalj.
18-26 November 1981	18. 11. – RTP Symphony Orchestra; 19. 11. – Meri Silkova (piano); 20. 11. – Mixed Choir and Children Choir of RTP; 21. 11. - Concert with students from music school <i>Stevan Mokranjac</i> in Prishina; 22. 11. – Solo concert: Zoran Milošević (guitar); 23. 11. – Duo concert: Ttripo Simonutti (violin) & Daniel Kirn (organ); 24. 11. - Concert with artists from Sarajevo; 25. 11. - String Quartet 'Stratik' from Zagreb; 26. 11. – Concert of the Slovenian octet from Ljubljana.
	10. 11. – Belgrade Philharmonic;

10-18 November 1982	11. 11. – Duo concert with musicians from Zagreb: Maja Dešpalj-Begović (violin) & Ljubomir Gašparović (piano); 12. 11. – String Quartet from Sarajevo; 13. 11. – Wind Quintet from Ljubljana; 14. 11. – The ensemble of old music, Subotica; 15. 11. – Solo concert: Ehat Musa (guitar); 16. 11. – RTP Choir concert; 17. 11. – Duo Concert with musicians from Skopje: Blagoja Nikolovski (tenor) & Jagoda Nuamova (piano); 18. 11. - RTP Symphony Orchestra;
18-27 November 1983	18. 11. - RTP Choir; 19. 11. – <i>Trio Novo</i> from Novi Sad: Vera Kovać-Vitkai (sopran), Nikola Srdić (clarinet), Srboslava Vuksan-Lopušanski (piano); 20. 11. – Duo concert with musicians from Belgrade: Francoaz Jakovčić (cello) & Olivera Đurđević (piano); 21. 11. – Duo concert with musicians from Zagreb: Vladimir Ruždjak (bariton) & Stela Krstanović (piano); 22. 11. – RTP Symphony orchestra; 23. 11. – Duo concert with musicians from Podgorica: Gertruda Munitić-Racković (soprano) & Stefana Kanev (piano); 24. 11. – Duo concert with musicians from Ljubljana: Dejan Bravničar (violin) & Aci Bertoncelej (piano); 25. 11. – Group <i>Masmantra</i> from Sarajevo: Rajmund Likić (clarinet), Izolda Ambrožić (piano), Mladen Miličević (folk instruments), Josip Magdić (synthesizer), Ekrem Taraku (reciter); 26. 11. – Trio from Skopje: Vasil Anastasov and Kiro Davidovski (oboe), Jagoda Naumova-Trenevska (piano); 27. 11. – Begreeade Philharmonic.
13-22 November 1984	13. 11. – Solo concert: Ehat Musa (guitar); 14. 11. – Duo concert with musicians from Skopje: Milan Firfov (bariton) & Dimitrije Bužarovski (piano); 15. 11. – Flute trio from Novi Sad: Laura Levai Aksin, Sonja Antunić, Radmila Rakin-Martinović; 16. 11. – Solo concert: Aleksandra Romanić (piano), from Sarajevo. 17. 11. – Octet from Ljubljana: D. Čadež, I. Zierfeld (tenor I), J Banić, P. Ambrož (tenor II), T. Tozon, P. Bedjanić (bariton), M. Štefanović, P. Čare (bass); 19. 11. - Wind Quintet from Belgrade: F. Grazelli (flute), E. Gotovald (oboe), E. Ačkun (clarinet), M. Bolfan (fagot), S. Rabuzin (horn); 20. 11. - Zagreb Quartet: Đorđe Trkulja & Marija Cobenzl (violin), Ante Živković (viola) and Josip Stojanović (violoncello); 22. 11. – RTP Symphony Orchestra: soloist: Burbuqe Ymeri (piano).
18-26 November 1985	RTP Symphony Orchestra: soloist Lejla Haxhiu (piano); Symphony Orchestra from Niš; Baroque trio from Sarajevo; Piano Duo from Podgorica: Tatjana Prelević & Jelena Dimovska; Chamber Orchestra of RTV Skopje; Mixed Choir and Symphony Orchestra of JNA Belgrade; Duo Concert: Dejan Bravničar & Aci Bertoncelej from Ljubljana.
	18. 11. – Taneyev Quartet from Leningrad;

<p>18-26 November 1986</p>	<p>19. 11. – Recital concert: Martin Berkovsky (piano) – USSR; 20. 11. – Duo concert with musicians from Novi Sad: Ištvan Varga (cello) & Gracijela Babi (piano); 21. 11. – Zagreb Wind Quintet; 22. 11. – Symphony Orchestra of the Faculty of Music in Belgrade; 23. 11. – Duo Concert with musicians from Ljubljana: Volodja Balzalorsky (violin) & Hinko Haas (piano); 24. 11. – Duo concert with soloists from Skopje: Nikola Anastasov (flute) & Jasmina Čakar (piano); 25. 11. – Solo concert: Ehat Musa (guitar); 26. 11. - RTP Symphony Orchestra & Niš Symphony Orchestra.</p>
<p>18-27 November 1987</p>	<p>18. 11. – RTP Symphony Orchestra; 19. 11. – Duo Concert: Sergej Kravčenko (violin) & I. Oleg (piano), from USSR; 21. 11. – Women's choir from Skopje; 22. 11. – Duo concert with musicians from Sarajevo: Brank Hutterer (cello) & Milica Šnajder (piano); 23. 11. – Trio Kosova: Bashkim Paçuku (tenor), Hanelore Prante-Dervishi (flaut), Qazim Bobaj (clarinet), Teuta Pllana (piano); 24. 11. – Symphony orchestra of HT Zagreb; 25. 11. – Duo concert with musicians from Ljubljana: Miloš Mlejnik (cello) & Janko Šetinc (piano); 26. 11. – Ensemble <i>Renesans</i> from Belgrade; 27. 11. – Ensemble <i>Acezantez</i> from Zagreb.</p>
<p>18-26 November 1988</p>	<p>18. 11. – Duo concert with muscians from Sarajevo; Osman Faruk Sijarić (violin) & Ljiljana Pećanac (piano); 19. 11. – Solo concert: Benjamin Saver (piano) from Ljubljana; 20. 11. – String quartet <i>Pro Arte</i> from Zagreb: Geza Balaž (violin I), Ludek Engler (violin II), Miroslav Miletić (viola), Željko Švaglič (cello), and Pietro Cavaliere (clarinet) from Dubrovnik; 21. 11. – Duo concert with musicians from Novi Sad: Nikola Srdić (clarinet) & Nada Kulundžija (piano); 22. 11. – Duo concert with musicians from Belgrade: Mileta Stanković (cello) & Jasmina Gavrilović (piano); 23. 11. - RTP Choir with soloists: Nezafete Shala (soprano), Xhelal Bakraçi (tenor) and Ana Rzepa (percussion); 24. 11. – RTP Symphony Orchestra, guest soloist: Ernest Ačkun (clarinet); 25. 11. – Duo Concerto with singers from Skopje: first part – Emilija Avramovska (soprano), second part – Milka Eftimova (alto), and Ljiljana Ivanova (piano); 26. 11. – RTV Titograd String Orchestra, soloist: Lela Savović (flute).</p>

4.2. Deinstitutionalization in Educational and Cultural Institutions: The Impact of Political Crisis and Challenges between 1989 and 1999

The suppression of Kosovo's autonomy in 1989 and the usurpation of legislative institutions put Kosovo at a crossroads in terms of its future. The death of Josip Broz Tito in 1980 and the Albanian student demonstrations of 1981 influenced the awakening and the open expression of Serbian nationalism, which had latently though powerlessly resisted as much as possible the decentralizing reforms which had been underway in Yugoslavia since 1965.³¹⁸ Serbian nationalists in the late 1980s and early 1990s fostered and exploited a historic sense of the repression and suffering of the Serbian people, at a time when the rest of the world was beginning to look upon the Serbs as the new Nazis, responsible for igniting the "powder keg of Europe" by fanning the flames of nationalist hatreds.³¹⁹ After the coming to power of Slobodan Milošević in 1987,³²⁰ the Balkans would once again become a place of conflict and war (including genocide and ethnic cleansing) which eventually led to fundamental changes in this part of Europe. After the abolition of Kosovo's autonomy by the Parliament of Serbia (28 March 1989), the following ten years are considered to be the calvary of suffering for Albanian people in Kosovo. The radical and repressive actions of the Serbian Government under the rule of Milošević, which introduced violent administrative measures in all institutions in Kosovo, had a negative impact on general social, educational and cultural events.³²¹ Because political and socio-cultural processes did not move in parallel, educational and cultural developments in general experienced the heaviest blow. Political developments had a great impact on music too and the music market was being shaped by issues that had to do more with politics than with music.

Until the 1980s schools had operated by applying a bilingual format in classes, using both the Albanian and Serbian languages. Since the beginning of the political turbulence, Serbian

³¹⁸ Sabit SYLA: Kur Kosova kërkonte pavarësi! Qëndrimi i faktorit ndërkombëtar ndaj kërkesave të shqiptarëve të Kosovës për pavarësi 1990-1999 (1) [When Kosovo Sought Independence! The Position of the International Factor Towards the Demands of Kosovo Albanians for Independence 1990-1999] *Koha*, (published : 22 February 2022), <<https://www.koha.mk/kur-kosova-kerkonte-pavaresi-qendrimi-i-faktorit-nderkombetar-ndaj-kerkesave-te-shqiptareve-te-kosoves-per-pavaresi-1990-1999-1/>> (9 May 2022).

³¹⁹ Cristina POSA: The Roots of Contemporary Serbian Nationalism, *Balkanistica*, 11 (1998), 70.

³²⁰ Slobodan Milošević emerged in 1987 as a force in Serbian politics after he declared support for Serbs in the Serbian autonomous province of Kosovo who claimed they were being oppressed by the provincial government which was dominated by Kosovo's majority Albanian ethnic group.

³²¹ The Serbian Parliament established government control over economic, social, political, educational and cultural areas. In these circumstances, the delegates of the Assembly of Kosovo did not accept in any way the decision of 1989, therefore on 2 July 1990 they adopted the Constitutional Declaration through which Kosovo was declared an equal unit with other units of the former Yugoslavia. After that, the Assembly of Serbia reacted immediately by increasing violence and political pressure in Kosovo.

educational institutions introduced a physical separation between Albanian and Serbian students in schools and in university, which was used as a way of poisoning thousands of Albanian pupils between 22 March and June of 1990.³²² Education in the Albanian language for Albanians was systematically jeopardized by the Serb regime until it was finally abolished in 1991.³²³ The Serbian intelligentsia was convinced that through the overthrow of education in the Albanian language the oppression against Albanians would deepen, so from 1991 all professors and students of Albanian nationality were forcibly expelled from high schools and university. On 26 November 1991, a session of the University of Prishtina Assembly was held where it was decided to continue the teaching process in the Albanian language outside the legal premises which were already occupied by the Serbian administration and police. In such a situation, education in the Albanian language was realized in a ‘underground system’, in the so-called Home-Schools, known officially as the Parallel Educational System. In this decade music education in the Albanian language experienced immense difficulties.

Table 27. Locations used for Education, Cultural and Academic Events (1990-1999)³²⁴

Institution	Owners who provided House spaces for Music Education
Secondary Music School <i>Lorenc Antoni</i> in Prizren	Agim Guri, Azem Hoxhaj, Behxhet Lleshi, Dashnor Xërxa, Fikrim Emra, Isuf Gashi, Indira Çipa, Halil Krasniqi, Hysen Tefekqiu, Hysni Kovaçi, Lulzim Bylurdagu, Myrvete Rekathati, Etem Rugova, Shani Shala, Shqipe Ponoshevc, Zita Bashota. Cultura-Artistic Society <i>Agimi</i> and Association of Doctors.
Secondary Music School <i>Prenk Jakova</i> in Prishtina	Ibrahim Gashi, Azem Ejupi, Bahtir Sheholli, Diana Muhaxhiri, Enver Muhaxhiri, Enver Stavileci, Agim Avdiu, Isak Shema, Limon Morina, Violeta Qerimi, Zijadin Munishi, Agron Dida.
Faculty of Arts	Ahmet Derguti, Agim Çavdarbasha, Agim Salihu, Agush Beqiri, Akil Koci, Besim Hasani, Fahri Beqiri, Fatmir Krypa, Fadil Dragaj, Fadil Hysaj, Hajdar Zeka, Halim Gashi, Hysni Krasniqi, Lejla Pula, Muslim Mulliqi, Rexhep Ferri, Sabit Gashi, Seniha Spahiu, Shyqri Nimani, Tahir Emra, Venera Mehmetagaj Kajtazi, Xhevdet Xhafa, Zenun Çelaj. Composers Association of Kosovo, Dodona Theatre, Primary Schools <i>Iliria</i> and <i>Asim Vokshi</i> .

³²² Zijadin GASHI: *Shtëpitë shkolla në fotografi* [Home Schools in Photographs], Prishtinë: Libri shkollor, 2017, 16.

³²³ Besa LUZHA: *Music Education in Post War Kosovo, Generalist and Specialist Teachers’ Identities, Beliefs and Practices*, 43.

³²⁴ Zijadin GASHI: *Shtëpitë shkolla në fotografi*, pp.187-189, 302-306; *Të dhënat për pronarët e shtëpive shkolla dhe objekteve tjera të lëshuara për arsim shqip gjate periudhës 1990-99* [Data About the Owners of Home-Schools and Other Facilities Issued for Albanian Education During the Period 1990-99], Document No.33/2020, Archive of Secondary Music School *Lorenc Antoni*, Prizren.

There were initially hundreds of Albanian professors and assistants who carried on their teaching and scientific activity in thirteen faculties of the University of Prishtina and seven Higher Pedagogical schools.³²⁵ For nine years (1990-99), all branches of the Faculty of Arts operated mainly in the Composers' Association of Kosovo. In the premises of this Association group lessons (sometimes also individual ones) took place, as well as activities and concerts; e.g.: a concert on the occasion of the 200th anniversary of Mozart's death, 5 December 1991; and in 1992 the festival *Days of Kosovo Music* was organized on the association's premises, followed by grandstands, various discussions, promotions, commemorative gatherings, etc.

...In those turbulent years, in extremely destabilized circumstances, sometimes strange situations were created... I remember, once, at the meeting of the Faculty Council of the three branches (scheduled for 12:00 hours – the usual time for these gatherings), the hall was full, unfortunately, on that very day, an incident had occurred in the city, so the policemen were agitated, nervous and aggressive. Since we were afraid that they would enter our building for some inspection or raid, we thought about how we should act if such a thing happened. We discussed it and came up with a plan: if the police entered the building, one of our colleagues, a pianist, would sit at the piano and play, acting like she is performing recital concert, and we, the members of the Faculty Council, in this case would be the audience....³²⁶

For the Serbian population in Kosovo, education continued to be carried out in an institutional setting, while cultural activities survived in unusual conditions, although in general the reality was not normal for anyone. On 5 July 1990, exactly at 14:45, when the news edition was being broadcast on the RTP Television screen (the last one in the Albanian language broadcast on the RTP), the building was violently occupied. At that moment, the whole musical team of the RTP (symphonic orchestra, choir and children's choir) were in the process of recording the opera *Dasma Arbëreshe* [Arbresh Wedding] by composer Rauf Dhomi.

I can never forget 5 July 1990, when the terrible scene of the occupation and the deportation of workers of Albanian nationality from RTP building took place. Any time when I remember that moment, my eyes are full of tears. At that moment, the children's choir, professional choir and orchestra were in the Music Studio of the RTP Music Production preparing to record the opera *Dasma Arbëreshe* by composer Rauf Dhomi. There were over 100 musicians there when the Serbian police entered and forcibly took us out. We did not understand, what mistake had we made?³²⁷ (Besim Gashi).

³²⁵ Destan HALIMI (ed.): *Universiteti i Prishtinës 1970-2005*, 24.

³²⁶ Rafet RUDI: Një foto dhe shumë kujtime, nëntë vjet punë të Fakultetit të Arteve [A photo and many memories, nine years of work at the Faculty of Arts], *KultPlus*, (published: 24 December 2020), <<https://www.kultplus.com/tag/shoqata-e-kompozitoreve-te-kosoves/>> (accessed 1 January 2021).

³²⁷ Besim Gashi (horn player, teacher at Secondary Music School *Prenk Jakova* in Prishtina) personal interview, (20 June 2021).

Fear, panic, running away from shouting, throwing instruments and chairs, and the scared faces of children who were crying from anxiety and uncertainty remain forever synonymous with the terrible panorama of the date 5 July 1990.³²⁸ (Drita Lekaj).

About 1300 Albanian workers of this media institution (including members of the choir and the orchestra) were removed from their jobs by force. Thus, the only TV Media for Albanians was officially closed. The *Concerto for piano and orchestra* by Gjon Gjevelekaj with soloist Valton Beqiri and conductor Bajar Berisha, recorded on 22 May 1990, remains the last work of an Albanian composer recorded in the RTP.³²⁹

With the absence of the excluded Albanians who had formed the absolute majority in all of RTP's mechanisms, it was impossible for RTP performance to continue in the same way. So, as a result of the destruction and degradation of this institution, as far as music programs are concerned, there only remained simple rebroadcasts of programs borrowed from RTV Belgrade. In these years not a single musical work of any Albanian composer was broadcast; moreover, most of the musical recordings were damaged or destroyed.

Libraries were also attacked resulting in the systematic damage of over sixty-five library buildings and thousands of books in the Albanian language.³³⁰ With the occupation of all cultural, educational and media institutions (i.e., schools, the University, the RTP Media House, the Academy of Sciences, etc.), everything that had been built over half a century was fading into oblivion. In 1989 the festival *Kosovo Chords* held its 27th and last (normal) edition, while a year later the following festivals temporarily suspended their activities: Provincial Folklore Festival *Gllgovci*, *Days of Kosovo Music*, *Kosovan Woman Sings*, *Lily of Prizren*, and the same happened to the majority of Albanian cultural-artistic societies. Some of them continued to survive through cultural activity divided along national lines. In this, Albanians were excluded from social collectives and banned from operating in public institutions, while Serbian nationality members continued to work under normal conditions. Some other cultural-artistic societies changed their names or locations while others were completely disbanded. The RTP Choir and Orchestra and the *Collegium Cantorum* choir were already disbanded.

³²⁸ Drita Lekaj (piano teacher at Secondary Music School *Prenk Jakova* in Prishtina) personal interview, (21 June 2021).

³²⁹ See: *Libri III i regjistrimeve të muzikës serioze* [Book III - Recordings of Art Music], RTK Archive, recording data, inventory numbers 1734-35, Prishtina.

³³⁰ Besa SHAHINI: Mësimet në Rezistencë; Sistemi Paralel i Arsimit në Kosovë në Vitet 90 [Lessons in Resistance; The Parallel Education System in Kosovo in the 1990s], *Gazeta JNK*, <<https://kallxo.com/rrefim/mesime-ne-rezistence-sistemi-paralel-arsimit-ne-kosove-ne-vitet-90/>> (12 April 2022).

The politics of the 1990s created new circumstances that not only did not spare science and art or education and sports, but above all, did not spare people's freedom and even their lives.³³¹ The political and economic crisis and the socio-cultural vacuum contributed to increased levels of migration; for example, Vinçenc Gjini, Bashkim Shehu, Lajde and Bernardina Mjeda, Merita Juniku, and Xhevdet Sahatçiu emigrated to Croatia; Zeqirja Ballata, Baki Jashari, and Fraim Gashi to Slovenia; Ramadan Ramadani, Antonio Gashi, and others to Germany; Gjon Gjevelekaj to France; Akil Koci to England; Bashkim Paçuku, Jehona Zajmi and others to the USA. Some of them never returned to live and work in Kosovo.

The struggle of Albanians for liberation and independence had been manifesto genre even through songs. Themes with large doses of patriotism were presented through the songs and activities of the cultural-artistic societies or artists who operated in extraordinary conditions, covertly or in exile, and who made their contribution to the preservation of history, and awakening of national consciousness. The negative reflection of these years was manifold. The artistic heritage that had been built with great effort up to that point faced its greatest crisis because the opportunities to live and act freely no longer existed. The path many young composers faced was not easy because the political situation which had come into being destroyed all the possibilities which they otherwise would have had. The artistic developments which characterized the 1990s in general appeared in the context of a new musical dynamics that represented a pronounced nationalization. Serbian extreme nationalism had become the musical reality of the wars in the 1990s. For example, newly founded TV Stations like *Pink* and *Palma* in Belgrade, began to broadcast so-called 'turbo-folk' music, offering a great and optimistic gloss to a harsh reality.³³² Meanwhile, for Kosovan Albanians, music became a 'national tool' in the peaceful war against the occupying system. In the absence of any basic precondition for qualitative and organized artistic activity, Albanian musicians in Kosovo oriented their musical activity towards entertaining music performed in cafes, which was seen as the only alternative possibility. Pop and rock music dominated mostly in the bars and clubs in towns, while folk-patriotic music dominated mostly in village *odas*.³³³ This was the way in

³³¹ Rexhep MUNISHI: *Identiteti muzikor*, [Music Identity], Prishtinë: GME, 2001, 9.

³³² Braden BJELLA: Crossing Borders Again, Balkan Music Reckons with Difficult Past, *Balkan Insight*, New York: BIRN, (published: 4 March 2021) <https://balkaninsight.com/2021/03/04/crossing-borders-again-balkan-music-reckons-with-difficult-past/> (accessed 14 June 2022).

³³³ *Oda* – is a typical large room in an Albanian traditional house used by the host to receive and entertain the guests.

which cultured music production (for Albanians) was moved from the institutional level to civil society, non-profit and/or artistic organizations.

The severance of friendly relations between Albanians and Serbs, which was already in ruins during the late 1980s but was totally broken during the 1990s, marked the end of a historic experience that took place in an environment where leading bureaucracies were a powerful tool in the general management of society and culture. With the political developments which followed the NATO bombings of Serbia (24 March 1999 – 12 June 1999) a long chapter of wars and suffering in this part of the Balkans eventually ended, while for Kosovo a new chapter of light and hope began.

A painful remembrance of 23 March 1999 in Pristina... (by Besa Luzha)

... and that day, I had piano lessons with my little student Dea G. Every time I went to her family home, which was near the Post Office Building, it was a real party. Not only Dea, who was learning piano, but her grandmother, parents and siblings, always welcomed me full of love. It was the music that connected us so emotionally. That day, after I finished lessons with Dea, we all went out to the garden together, because that day was also Dea's father's birthday. We all celebrated together, talked about the political situation, about what was expected to happen and discussed whether it was better to stay or leave the place. M. G. (Dea's father) was determined that whatever happens it is better to stay in our homes... We said goodbye to each other, with the hope to meet again at next piano lesson (something that never happened). The next day, 24 March 1999, everything changed. I did not hear and see them ever again... and on 7 April 1999, after the Post Office Building was bombed, M.G., D.G., D.G., R.G., and my beautiful 9-year-old Dea, passed away. I still remember Dea's small and soft fingers on the piano keyboard. March always brings back this memory to me, of my little pianist Dea... Today, piano sounds give me the strength to turn that pain into motivation, energy and passion to live life as a gift.³³⁴

³³⁴ Personal story of Besa Luzha, professor of music pedagogy at the Faculty of Arts, at the University of Prishtina. I have included this emotional story here with her permission.

GENRE AND STYLE IN THE WORKS OF KOSOVAN COMPOSERS (1950 – 2020)

After the end of World War II, in the midst of all the efforts to develop the fields of education, culture and art, Kosovo found itself at a historically important moment in terms of the future of music. The development of art music creativity in Kosovo should be understood as part of the general course of cultural progress. When other Western European nations had long ago realized their centuries-old musical heritage in different styles and were at a period when they were concluding the process of the emergence of traditional art music and were laying the foundations of contemporary music, art music in Kosovo was only beginning its systematic and professional advancement. Regarding Kosovo, it need hardly be said that the starting-point was late and that progress has been slow.³³⁵

This chapter presents an analytical discussion of the genres and styles developed in Kosovo between 1950 and 2020. The interrelationship between music opportunities, creativity, generations, and forms and trends, is treated from a socio-historical perspective. After the 1940s the musical repertoire began to be gradually supplemented by all of the ‘missing’ musical genres, (vocal, chamber, symphonic, and stage genres) in the form of compositions with a strong background in Kosovan folklore and traditional classical-romantic orientations, and only later opened to contemporary music and avantgarde expression. Musical genres with a European orientation were strongly encouraged by nationalist elements. In order to understand the creative course of composers, music folklore should be seen as a fundamental inspirer of all creative processes. The rich melodic and rhythmic characteristics of Albanian musical folklore was an attractive and interesting component for many musical works of non-Albanian composers as well.

The use of folklore (in works of Kosovan composers) as an important component of spiritual and material cultural heritage and taking into account the appropriate artistic and professional criteria, gave the art music a unique originality.³³⁶ The reasons for such an orientation were certainly multiple. First and perhaps most important was the emphasis on national identity

³³⁵ Jim SAMSON: *Music in the Balkans*, 494.

³³⁶ Denis BIZHGA: The Influence of Folklore on the Cultivated Albanian Music of the XX Century, *European Journal of Multidisciplinary Studies*, 5/3 (2020), 49.

(within former Yugoslavia), because Albanians never felt themselves part of the Yugoslav identity. The second reason may have been the impact of nineteenth-century nationalism, because a modern national music style was created in the nineteenth century in Russia, Poland, Czechia, Croatia and Serbia on the basis of national issues. During the 1970s and 1980s tendencies emerged in Kosovo which brought a positive effect and new spirit of musical creativity. The foundations of stages genres were laid in the years 1972-76 with creation of the first ballet and opera. In the 1990s this course was interrupted because of the turbulent socio-political events characterized by large demographic fluctuations and the disruption of the normal processes of life, education and arts, while after 2000 music witnesses a leap in development, opening new dimensions. The development of art music in Kosovo was generally conditioned by many factors, mainly socio-political in character, which resulted in permanent changes to its course, and which encompassed compositional issues too.

The issue relating to the characteristics and compositional styles of composers is specific and interesting. In the course of the period 1950-90, a great transformation is evident from the national musical language of Lorenc Antoni to the avant-garde expression of Akil Koci and Mendi Mengjiqi. Compositional methods and styles appear combined from multifaceted influences, where classic and romantic techniques were combined and coexisted with national and contemporary ones. This happened for many reasons. One of them was the absence of a locally inherited classical tradition from the past (in other European countries). Compositional models and tastes were shaped by external influences. For example, almost all composers during 1950s and the 1960s were educated in Belgrade, so they were influenced by the course of music development there, as well as by their teachers.

According to Engjëll Berisha, from 1945 until the 2000s the development of musical art in Kosovo is represented by three generations of composers: the *first generation* (Lorenc Antoni and Rexho Mulliqi); the *second generation* (Halit Kasapolli, Esat Rizvanolli, Fahri Beqiri, Petar Đorđević, Vinçenc Gjini, Mark Kaçinari, Akil Koci and Kristë Lekaj); and the *third generation* (Zeqirja Ballata, Rauf Dhomi, Rafet Rudi, Gjon Gjevelekaj, Bashkim Shehu, Mendi Mengjiqi, Baki Jashari, Valton Beqiri, and others).³³⁷ Berisha devised this 'generational division' based only on the years in which the composers were born.

³³⁷ See: Engjëll Berisha: *Studime dhe vështrime për muzikën*, pp.46-49; Rreze Kryeziu-Breznica: Art Music of Albanians in Kosovo: First steps towards initiation and development phase division, *Rast Musicology Journal*, 2023, 11(1), 1-29; Rreze Kryeziu-Breznica: Kompozitorët e muzikës artistike në Kosovë – Ndarja historike sipas muzikologjisë kosovare [Composers of art music in Kosovo – Historical division according to Kosovar Musicology] *Studime Shoqërore* 7(2020), pp. 207-229.

Table 28. Division of Composers by Generation (according to musicologist E. Berisha)

Composers		
First Generation		Lorenc Antoni (1909-1991); R Mulliqi (1923-1982).
Second Generation	1930s	Petar Đorđević (1934-?); Mark Kaçinari (1935-1985); Kristë Lekaj (1935-2021); Vinçenc Gjini (1935-2022); Esat Rizvanolli (1936-2006); Fahri Beqiri (1936-2021); Akil Koci (1936-); Halit Kasapolli (1937-1959).
Third Generation	1940s onward	Zeqirja Ballata (1943-); Rauf Dhomi (1945-); Rafet Rudi (1949-); Gjon Gjevelekaj (1951-); Bashkim Shehu (1952-); Mendi Mengjiqi (1958-); Baki Jashari (1960-); Valton Beqiri (1967-); Ilir Bajri (1969-), and others.

According to this, the first generation includes two initial composers: Lorenc Antoni and Rexho Mulliqi (regardless of the fact that they were born in different decades). However, only Antoni is treated as a representative of this generation, while Mulliqi was labeled as a transitional figure between Antoni and the others. For Berisha, such a division was imposed according to temporal criteria and not according to criteria of stylistic orientation, because in this respect there exist between them obvious differences. For example, Halit Kasapolli was born in 1937 (according to Berisha he belongs to the second generation) but he is the only composer who created at the same time and in the same trends as Antoni and Mulliqi. So, in terms of musical expression, he was closer to the initial composers than to the others who created in the later years (1960s onwards). Also, between Koci and his contemporaries there are few common components connecting them. The history of art music in Kosovo is a history of less than a century. So, in my opinion it is more productive to establish a division based on compositional styles and creative features:

a) *Composers who created in the second part of the twentieth century (1950-1999)*, with the main difference being between composers who employed a conservative musical language (with neoclassic or neoromantic orientations) such as L. Antoni, R. Mulliqi, E. Rizvanolli, F. Beqiri, V. Gjini, M. Kaçinari, K. Lekaj, and R. Dhomi, and composers who employed avantgarde tendencies such as Z. Ballata, A. Koci, R. Rudi, Gj. Gjevelekaj, M. Mengjiqi, and V. Beqiri.

b) *Composers creating in the first part of the twenty-first century (2000 onwards)* such as Trimor Dhomi, Kreshnik Aliçkaj, Dafina Zeqiri-Nushi, Korab Shaqiri, Liburn Jupolli, Donika Rudi, Drinor Zymberi, Fatbardh Dubovci and others.

Musical creativity began with choral compositions, initially arrangements and stylizations, later original compositions.³³⁸ This genre has proved to be enduring as there is almost no composer in Kosovo who has not composed at least one choral song in classical or modern form. Vocal and choral music was the basic form that preceded the larger forms of instrumental, orchestral and stage music. This was natural because between the 1940s and the 1960s it was not possible to stage works which required the inclusion of a wide musical and professional corpus. Antoni himself stated in many writings that choral music presented the most favorable opportunity to promote and spread art music in Kosovo because a piece for choir was the only form that could be realized easily and with a minimum of investment. This was the reason why he invested all his musical capital in choral music through which he promoted Kosovan music in former Yugoslavia. However, in this chapter, choral creativity does not occupy the central focus. This chapter's focus is oriented towards the more novel and interesting exploration of larger musical genres (orchestral and stage genres). In general, works composed since the 1960s had been influenced by: a) elements of national folklore and b) an orientation toward contemporary trends (influenced by developments in the region and in other European countries). Musical creations after the year 2000 represent a new chapter in the history of music in Kosovo, a momentum characterized by two different sides of musical expression: 'nationalism' and the 'new spirit'. Nationalism emerged as a reflection of a challenging past and as an expression of Albanians' desire to be recognized on their own terms, rather than as part of the "former Yugoslavia" identity. On the other hand, the 'new spirit' came as an attempt to break away from the old practices, naturally including general global developments in the field of art music.

5.1. Albanian Music Folklore in Some Compositions of Non-Albanian Composers

The first to use and affirm musical motifs of the Albanian people was the Croatian composer *Josip Štolcer Slavenski*.³³⁹ Some of his works such as the *Albanian Songs*, printed in Paris in 1936, incorporate elements of Albanian folk music. In the *Rilindja* newspaper of 30 January

³³⁸ Engjëll BERISHA: *Studime dhe vështrime për muzikën* [Studies and Opinions on Music], Prishtina: ASHAK, 2002, 35.

³³⁹ Engjëll BERISHA: *Temat e muzikës shqiptare në disa nga veprat e autorëve sllav.*, *Rilindja* (December 10, 1988), 12

1955 I found an interview with Slavenski, conducted after the premiere of his Concerto for Violin and Orchestra performed by the Belgrade Philharmonic. In the interview he said:

‘Tungjatjeta, o Shqiptar! (Greetings Albanians!) I’m glad you visited me and reminded me of my memories of Albanians in Kosovo, where I collected Albanian folk songs. While visiting Kosovo and Metohija [sic], I heard Albanian songs and dances at a wedding that I attended. I will never forget the year of 1933 when I heard an Albanian boy performing in *çifteli*.³⁴⁰ I composed the music for the film *The First Lights* in Istog, Peja region, in which the union and brotherhood between Albanians, Serbs and Montenegrins is presented... the film score is entirely composed using the Albanian folk melodies collected in Zhur.’³⁴¹

Also, his famous orchestral work *Balkanofonija*, in which every ethnic group of the Balkans are seen through their specific rhythmic and melodic elements, has a special movement called *Albanian Song* where the richness of Albanian folk melody is very successfully portrayed, contrasting two great themes in the poem itself.³⁴² Kosta Manojlović (1890 – 1949), a Serbian composer, started collecting and elaborating the Albanian Kosovo folklore, thus presenting choral works with motifs from Kosovo. He reached the sublime culmination of the folk melody in the polyphonic choral technique precisely in a collection of ten songs for mixed choir based on the Albanian folk melody titled with a romantic touch: *Këngët e vendit të Skënderbeut* [Songs of Skanderbeg’s Country], published in 1932-33 in two versions, in Albanian and Serbian.³⁴³ According to Vlastimir Peričić, Manojlović came into contact with Albanian folk music through Albanian students studying in Belgrade. He arranged the songs which he had recorded from them for mixed choir with two versions of the lyrics, one in Albanian and the other in Serbian.³⁴⁴ The choral works of the Serbian composer Svetomir Nastasijević, which comprise 16 suites composed with folk elements based on S. Mokranjac's “garlands”, also contain elements of Albanian musical folklore. Milan Vlajin (1912 – 1976), in addition to composing, studied folklore and was engaged in ethnomusicological studies and as a result composed the *Balkan Suite* during the 1950s, a cycle of six parts, each of which represents the music of one Balkan country, including Albanian popular melodies. Milenko Živković (1901

³⁴⁰ The *çifteli* is a traditional Albanian string instrument, often associated with folk music. It is a small, two-stringed instrument that is played with a pick or by plucking the strings with the fingers.

³⁴¹ Shefqet PLLANA: Nji të Diele me kompozitorin e njoftun Josip Slavenskin [One Sunday with the Well-known Composer Josip Slavenski], *Rilindja* (30 January 1955), 11.

³⁴² Akil KOCI: Elementi šiptarskog muzičkog folkloru u delima naših kompozitora., *Zbornik "Rad XIV kongresa Saveza folklorista Jugoslavije (Prizrenu 1967)"*, Beograd, 1974, <https://www.rastko.rs/rastko-al/umetnost/akoci-muzika_1.php> (accessed 9 December 2020).

³⁴³ Josip ANDREIS, Dragotin CVETKO & Stana ĐURIĆ-KLAJN: *Historijski razvoj muzičke kulture u Jugoslaviji* [Historical Development of Musical Culture in Yugoslavia], Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1962, 683.

³⁴⁴ Rexhep MUNISHI: *Krijimtaria korale shqipe në Jugosllavi* [Albanian Choral creativity in Yugoslavia], Prishtina: Instituti Albanologjik i Prishtinës & Shoqata e Kompozitorëve të Kosovës, 1988, 24.

- 1964) composed five choral suites entitled *Prizrenka* (1936). The most famous oeuvre is the orchestral suite *Rugova*, composed in 1957, also heavily based on Kosovo musical folklore. The song originating from the town of Korça, in Albania, *Njëzet e pesë gërsheta* [Twenty-five braids], was arranged and harmonized in two versions by the composer Borivoje Popović (1925 – 2016). The first version was realized in 1945 for female choir while the second version of 1954 was composed for mixed choir.³⁴⁵ Božidar Trudić (1911 – 1989) authored a rich and varied oeuvre, including two symphonies – *Balkanska* (symphony in one movement) and the suite *Prizren*, named after the town. Yuri Arbatsky (1911 - 1963), a composer and folklorist, composed a *Fantasy* for piano in 1938, while for choir he arranged two songs: *Sing the Nightingales* and *They Were Two Sisters-in-law*. Živko Firfov (1906 - 1984), a prominent Macedonian ethnomusicologist, arranged two Albanian choral songs. Composition was not the primary occupation of Petar Đorđević but his oeuvre includes seven choral compositions and some children's songs, almost all characterized by a strong reliance on Kosovo-Albanian folklore materials. The elaborations of choral songs such as *Shade mori Shade*, *Shamia e ushtarit*, *Aromë portokalli*, etc., represent some of his well-known choral compositions (in his creative opus there are no larger forms). Bogoljub Vojnović, who temporarily lived and worked in Prishtina, was intensively active in the field of art music as composer and conductor of the City Symphony Orchestra and some other ensembles. During his ten-year stay in Kosovo (1949-60) he composed over thirty compositions with Albanian themes, among which the choral and symphonic works *Albanian Rhapsody*, *The song and game of Kosovo*, *March of the Kosovo Brigades*, etc.³⁴⁶ In 1960, his orchestral compositions *Dance with mamuza* and *Po vijnë krushqit* were performed in the USA in Joliet, Illinois, by the Joliet Academic Symphony Orchestra conducted by Dušan Vojnović (Bogoljub's brother).³⁴⁷ *Po vijnë krushqit* is an orchestral work based on the folk song of the same name. Božidar Vojnović composed the symphonic work *U Tauk Bašti*, the subject of which is related to Albanian themes and motifs.³⁴⁸

³⁴⁵ Rexhep MUNISHI: *Krijimtaria korale shqipe në Jugosllavi*, 97.

³⁴⁶ “Vojnović Bogoljub” in Krešimir KOVAČEVIĆ (Ed.) *Leksikon jugoslavenske muzike 2 Me-Ž*, 513.

³⁴⁷ Shefqet PLLANA: Kompozimi “Po vijnë krushqit” do t’ekzekutohet në Amerikë [Work Po vijnë Krushqit Will Be Performed in USA], *Rilindja* (27 July 1960), 6.

³⁴⁸ RTP Archive, *Libri III i regjistirmeve të muzikës serioze* [Book III - Recordings of Art music], Recording Data: Inventory number 906-7182.

5.2. Compositions on Traditional European Models: Choral and Orchestral Works of the 1940s and 1950s

After World War II, art music began to be developed systematically and uninterruptedly and the 1940s remain the decisive years for musical life in many ways. These years marked the beginning of a new chapter for art music. The individuals present at the outset had taken the issue of cultural progress seriously and they contributed in various ways to achieving cultural progress in multiple dimensions: creativity, education and music making. In relation to historical and socio-political impacts, the metaphor of the river, by Alfred Uçi (Albanian aesthete and literary critic) closely reflects developments in musical creativity.

“Its general aesthetic bed remains for the same historical periods almost the same, while the waters that have flowed in it have always been as new as life itself.”³⁴⁹

Music composed during the 1940s and 1950s came as *fresh water* that changed the course of musical art for good. Works created since the late 1940s represent unique values, especially from a historical perspective. This moment appeared as a result of the efforts of two preeminent individuals who remain the most emblematic figures in the areas of musical creativity, institutional organization and music education. There is no other way to start without mentioning the name of Lorenc Antoni, who is seen as the father figure of Albanian art music in Kosovo. His very first composition was the two-voiced song *Në breg të liqenit* [On the Shore of the Lake], performed for the first time on 25 March 1928 by Age and Gonxhe Bojaxhiu (St Mother Teresa).³⁵⁰ Sisters Age and Gonxhe were members of the women's choir that Lorenc Antoni had founded in Skopje and presented for the first time on 4 April 1926.³⁵¹ His fire and enthusiasm for musical creativity found full expression after his displacement in Ferizaj (in 1941) and then in Prizren and Prishtina. In Kosovo he found a suitable base for work, research and musical creativity, and his dream of opening a music school (in Kosovo) with the help of the composer Josip Slavenski became true in 1948, where he remained director until 1956. Individuals with musical affinity, driven by their artistic inclinations, began to give shape to the first art music creations.

³⁴⁹ Alfred UÇI: Vendi i artit popullor në kulturën artistike socialiste [The place of popular art in the socialist artistic culture], *Çështje të folklorit shqiptar* [Issues of Albanian folklore], 1 (1982), 5-29, here 13.

³⁵⁰ Akil KOCI: *Lorenc Antoni - jeta dhe vepra* [Lorenc Antoni – Life and Work], Prishtina: Shoqata e Muzikologëve të Kosovës, 2011, 102.

³⁵¹ ***: Opus krijues voluminoz dhe i larmishëm [Voluminous and Varied Opus], *Rilindja* (5 November 1979), 15.



Figure 52. Lorenc Antoni (left) Rexho Mulliqi (right)

Lorenc Antoni and Rexho Mulliqi started to compose, relying entirely on various types of national folklore as a model from which to work in order to be closer to the tastes and interests of the environment for which they created. From the 1940s, Lorenc Antoni was intensively involved in music engagements and was the main initiator in many music processes. During the 1950s, Antoni considered choral music to be a genre that could be developed more easily and with less expense than orchestral music. Also, he considered it the most suitable genre for amateur and semi-professional musicians, and more accessible for the audience, and he therefore invested all his passion and musical knowledge in the creation of choral forms and in the development of choral singing. Antoni, an autodidact in music, was the first to compose choral pieces which reflected the reality and values of his time, expressed through the interweaving of elements of Albanian source music and musical expression.

The relationship between national folklore and music is a phenomenon that can be traced in the work of composers of other nations, as part of the establishment of the nineteenth-century European national schools. The same recourse to popular folklore (through harmonization or stylization of songs for choral formations) remains the basic element that characterized music in the 1940s and 1950s. During that period, art music was neither an easy form to understand nor to compose, so the reliance on folklore — through quotations, elaborations, stylizations or

simply the use of “folk spirit” — was important as it was appreciated by a wide circle of Kosovo society.

The first steps in the vitalization of musical life in Kosovo were taken by Lorenc Antoni who actively participated not only as a music teacher and folklore collector but also as composer of the first art music pieces. In this regard, Antoni's choral songs carry the weight of a historic moment, and belong to the period influenced by S. Mokranjac's “Garlands” and K. Manojlović's and M. Živković's choral songs, which served Antoni as a model for processing popular songs.³⁵² Throughout his life Antoni's main compositional orientation was the creation of choral pieces based on preexisting folklore material. The harmonization of such material was widely practiced, and was a means of creating a relationship between folk material and cultivated music, and was also a means of creating a sense of national spirit.³⁵³ For example, *Kënga e Rexhës*³⁵⁴ (1945), *Mirëmrama* (1946), *Hajde dalim kah pazari* (1946), *Shkojti qika* (1947) etc., were the first scores composed by Antoni to be published by *Prosveta* in Belgrade (1957) with the title *Koret shqiptare* [Albanian Choruses; in Serbian: Šiptarski Horovi].³⁵⁵ In 1958, he published the second collection of choral songs *Jehonat e zemrës* [Echsos of The Heart] which included the songs *Çorapet e burrit*, *Hypi cuca*, *Lan vasha*, *Hasimja trime*, *Na ka dale nusja e mirë*, and *Po vijnë krushqit*, while in 1961 *Opojanja* (for mixed choir) was published, one of the earliest choral works published in Kosovo by the Provincial Union of Music Societies – Prishtina.

Rexho Mulliqi composed during the same period but he did not take the same course as Antoni had. He created the first works based on classical European models, thus laying the foundations of instrumental, chamber, orchestral and vocal-instrumental music. Both Antoni and Mulliqi were closely involved with music production mostly as a result of their work at Radio Prishtina. Mulliqi differed from his contemporary Antoni, for whom choral songs took precedence. Choral forms, some of which were composed in the revolutionary song type, such as for example *Marshi i brigadës së parë sumluese kosovare* and *Marshi i divizionit VI shqiptar* (1944); *Demonstratat*; *27 Marsi*; *Mbajmë flamurin e lirisë*; *Republikës*; *Vendi im* (1957),

³⁵² Rexhep MUNISHI: *Krijimtaria korale shqipe në Jugosllavi*, 84.

³⁵³ BIZHGA Denis: The Influence of Folklore on the Cultivated Albanian Music of the XX Century, *European Journal of Multidisciplinary Studies*, 5/3 (2020), 49-50.

³⁵⁴ *Kënga e Rexhës* is one of the most famous choral songs in choral oeuvre of L. Antoni, which in February 1954 participated at the 2nd Radio Festival in Belgrade, performed by the Radio-Belgrade Choir, with the conductor Borivoje Simić.

³⁵⁵ Engjëll BERISHA: Gjurmet e muzikës artistike, arritjet muzikore që krijuan traditën që nuk ishte [The Traces of Art Music, the Musical Achievements that Created the Tradition], *Rilindja* (30 April – 2 May 1985), 19.

Vjeshita (1958), etc., are just some of the choral pieces composed by Mulliqi who is known first and foremost as a composer of instrumental and orchestral forms. Halit Kasapolli was among the first to compose during the 1950s, but died very early at the age of twenty-one. However, during his short life he managed to compose a few works in several genres. His choral songs composed before 1956, based on stylizations of folk music, such as *O Bjeshkë e male*, *O t'isha zog me fluturue*, *Bash Zemani i djalmërisë*, *O ç'kenke veshun me të bardha*, remain only in manuscript.

Although contemporaries, Antoni and Mulliqi were engaged in distinct forms of musical creativity: Antoni was entirely dedicated to choral creativity, while Mulliqi explored instrumental genres. Seen from another perspective, Antoni (as folklore collector) did not detach his compositional practice from its foundation in folklore and his musical creativity is grounded in a compositional practice in which musical folklore is interwoven with the compositional practices of the European tradition. On the other hand, in Mulliqi's choral pieces, the same trend is not much reflected, although he was also inspired by nature, history and the folklore of his people. According to E. Berisha, Mulliqi's *Vendi im* is considered to be the first *a capella* choral work that does not present elaborated folklore.³⁵⁶ The folkloric background and themes were characteristic elements for almost all Kosovan composers, and these elements remained present in their subsequent output. Before the 1990s choral compositions were the most published works in Kosovo.³⁵⁷ The publication of musical scores marked an important moment in promoting Kosovan music, and in the years 1970-73 alone over seventy musical works by Kosovan composers were published (see table 13).

The phenomenon of folkloristic quotations was present not only in vocal and choral music but also in other genres and in chamber, symphonic and stage music. In this context, among Kosovan composers, Mulliqi was the first to compose in many different genres including chamber, orchestral, vocal-instrumental, and film music. His first symphonic work, *Symphony No.1* was composed in 1953/54, and was performed for the first time by the Prishtina Symphony Orchestra in 1955 at the jubilee concert on the occasion of the 5th anniversary of the foundation of the orchestra.³⁵⁸ (see Figure 29.) In the same period, Mulliqi composed other orchestral works such as *Fantazia* (1954), *Pastoralja dhe loja* (1956), and the orchestral suite

³⁵⁶ Engjëll BERISHA: *Zhvillimi i stileve në veprat e kompozitorëve shqiptarë të Kosovës I*, 44.

³⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁸ *Gradski simfonijski orkestar Prishtina*, Jubilarni Koncert - Program (1955), Fund no. XVII, (Years: 1950-58), Box: *Dokumenti i partiture* [Documents and music scores], See: State Archives of the Republic of Kosovo, Prishtina.

Akuarelet e Prizrenit (1958). Mulliqi was also the first composer of chamber music works, two free-form compositions – one written for cello and piano, *Elegjia* [Elegy], in 1955, and the other for violin and piano, *Legjenda* [Legend], in 1956. Neither work makes any great musical claims but in their historical context, they represent the first initiatives in the field of chamber music in Kosovo. From an idea-aesthetic point of view, they are based on compositional procedures which combine the late Romantic style with popular characteristics.

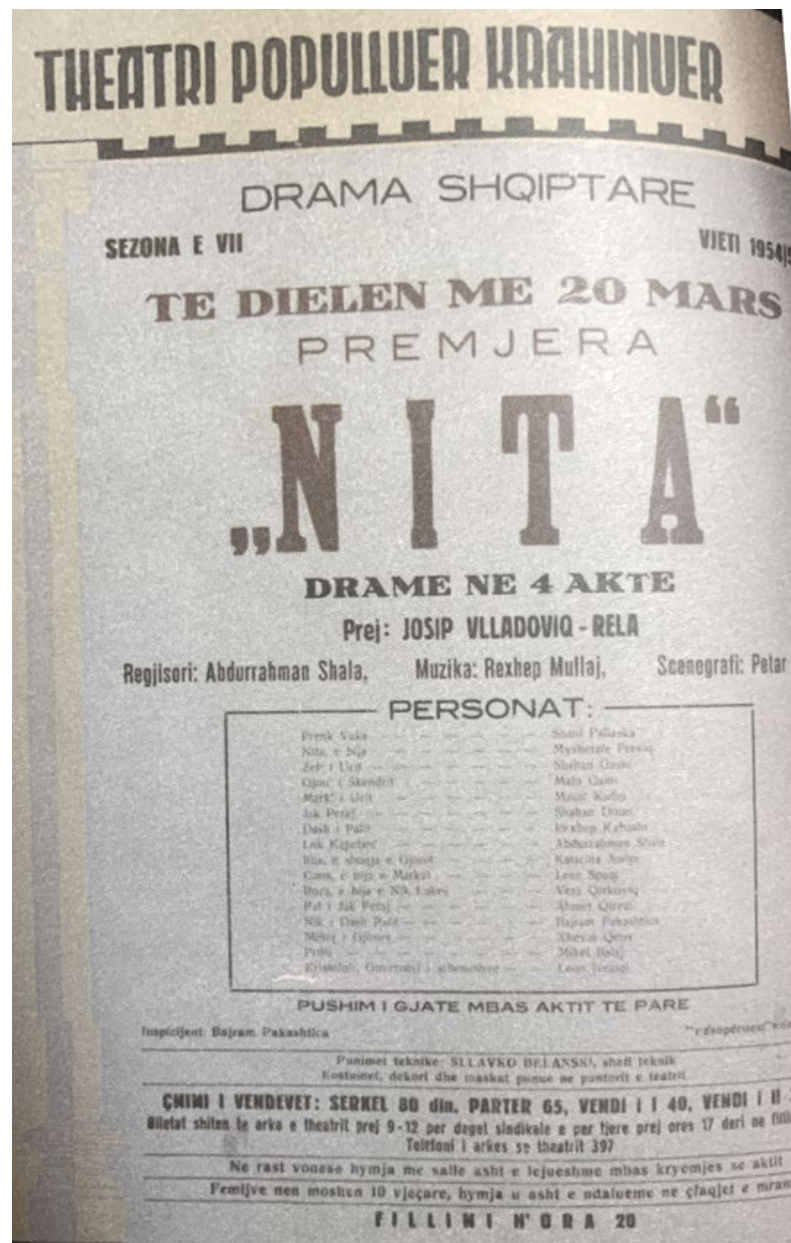


Figure 53. The poster of theatrical drama *Nita* in (1954)³⁵⁹

³⁵⁹ Qemajl SOKOLI: *Zhvillimi i teatrit kombëtar të Kosovës 1945-1995/2005*, n.p.

The epithet of being the first, for Mulliqi, did not end there. He was also the first composer to write music for a theatrical drama (*Nita*, composed in 1953 and staged in 1954/5), the first to compose a cantata (*Poema për ata* [Poem for Them] composed in 1955/6), and the first Albanian composer to write music for a Yugoslav film (*Kapetan Leši*³⁶⁰ in 1960).

In addition to Antoni and Mulliqi, Matej Lumezi, Marija Antoni and Halit Kasapolli were among the first students who graduated from the *Josip Slavenski* music school and who started to compose in the 1950s. Halit Kasapolli composed not only by processing folk songs (as E. Berisha claims³⁶¹), but also by creating, his first orchestral works, e.g.: *Albanian Girl; Spring; Overture Rugova*. Similarly, the non-local Serbian composer Bogoljub Vojnović, who at that time lived and worked in Kosovo, also created symphonic works using Albanian folk music motifs. He composed over thirty different compositions, ranging from choral to symphonic, with Albanian themes.

Table 29. Chamber and orchestral works composed in the 1950s

Composer	Works
Lorenc Antoni	Orchestral works: <i>Na ka dale nusja e mirë</i> – Orchestral Rhapsody (1950); <i>Në Prizrenin e bukur</i> (1952); <i>Në Prizrenin e vjetër</i> (1959).
Rexho Mulliqi	Orchestral works: <i>Ist symphony</i> – unfinished (1953/54); <i>Fantasy</i> – for orchestra (1954); <i>Pastoralja dhe loja</i> – for orchestra (1956) Chamber works: <i>Elegjia</i> – for violoncello & piano (1955); <i>Legjenda</i> for violin & piano (1956); <i>Akuarelet e Prizrenit</i> – Suite for String Orchestra (1958); Vocal-instrumental work: <i>Poema për ata</i> - cantata (1955).
Halit Kasapolli	Orchestral works: <i>Albanian Girl</i> – for Chamber Orchestra (1956); <i>Spring</i> – for Orchestra; <i>Overture Rugova</i> (remained unfinished); For choir and orchestra: <i>Suite of choral songs</i> – Vaj Zemani, Kur ma qiten bojen, Hasan aga (1957).

The musical creativity of all of the composers mentioned here was characterized by compositional techniques in which the total transformation of folklore motifs into artistic

³⁶⁰ *Kapetan Leši* [Captain Leshi] is a Yugoslav film directed by Žika Mitrović and regarded as one of the most popular and successful films of Yugoslav cinematography of the 1960s and 1970s. The action of the film takes place in Kosovo (and Metohija) before and immediately after the Second World War. Ramiz Leshi (a partisan captain) has the task of liquidating gangs from the National Fronts [ballistet], for whom his brother fights. The cast members are Aleksandar Gavrić (Kaptain Ramiz Lesi), Dimitar Kjostarov (Kosta), Petre Prličko (Sok) Elma Karlowa (Lola), Abdurahman Shala (Major Demir), Mirija Tocinovskij (Vida), Walter Breuer (Helmuth), Darko Damevski (Skender), Rainer Penkert (Ahmed), Dušan Tadić (Ibrahim), Shani Pallaska (representative of the national front), Istref Begolli (ballist), Muharrem Qena, Shaban Gashi, etc.

³⁶¹ Cf. Engjëll BERISHA: *Sudime dhe vështrime për muzikën*, pp. 55-56.

material had not yet been achieved. The melodies found in the works of Antoni, Mulliqi and Kasapolli were entirely tonal and fundamentally rooted in the elements of folk music.

How rarely did anyone know how to express in traditional musical languages the dense melodic lines of our folk music.³⁶²

From a technical-compositional point of view, Mulliqi's works are more advanced than those of Antoni because they represent the first efforts to move away from musical folklore.³⁶³ His works are unpretentious, constructed in clear ternary form with consonant harmonies and include discrete elements of popular idioms, and generally reflect a national romantic style. Such an orientation is less seen in the works of Antoni who was deeply engaged with choral music, and whose works are characterized by a typical formal clarity and a classical treatment of consonance and dissonance. However, Antoni, Mulliqi and Kasapolli composed in general with a pronounced orientation towards neo-classical and neo-romantic styles.

5.3. Composers and Forms, 1960s–1990s

a) 1960s

Musical creativity in the 1960s occurred in a more consolidated fashion than in previous years, and this was reflected in compositional creativity as well. The decade was characterized by the dynamics of music institutionalization, partly a result of the growing recognition of the need to invest in and cultivate higher levels of professionalism in music making. The intensive focus on musical progress characteristic of the 1960s seems to have been driven by the first generations of graduates who emerged from the first music schools in the mid-1950s. These music school graduates were generally keen to further their professional advancement in music studies. Composers Petar Đorđević, Vinçenc Giini, Mark Kaçinari, Kristë Lekaj, Esat Rizvanolli, Fahri Beqiri, Akil Koci, Zeqirja Ballata and Rafet Rudi created their first compositions in the 1960s, and this group may be understood as the first professionally trained

³⁶² Akil KOCI: Halit Kasapolli - Një talent që premtonte shumë, (Me rastin e 14 vjetorit të vdekjes se kompozitorit), [Halit Kasapolli - Promising Talent; On the Occasion of the 14th Anniversary of the Composer's Death], *Rilindja* (7 April 1973), 11.

³⁶³ Revolutionary or partisan songs were used often in art music instrumental compositions. For example, the popular song *Qenkan mbushur malet me borë* was used in compositions such as F. Beqiri's Dramatic Poem *Skënderbeu*, and R. Mulliqi's *Symphony no. 2 (Kosovare)* and the ballet *The legend of Triumph*, while the songs *Where Did These Partisans Come From?* and *The Song for Emin Duraku* were used by L. Antoni and E. Rizvanolli.

composers in Kosovo.³⁶⁴ In the absence of a Music Faculty in Kosovo all composers from Rexho Mulliqi to Baki Jashari had finished their higher music education in different places in former Yugoslavia.

Table 30. The classification of composers according to their place of study (1950s-1990s)

Music Academy	Composers
Belgrade ³⁶⁵	Rexho Mulliqi, Petar Đorđević, Kristë Lekaj, Esat Rizvanolli, Fahri Beqiri and Rafet Rudi
Belgrade and Skopje	Vinçenc Gjini, Mark Kaçinari
Sarajevo	Akil Koci, Rauf Dhomi, Bashkim Shehu
Ljubljana	Zeqirj Ballata, Baki Jashari
Zagreb	Gjon Gjevelekaj
Kraków	Mendi Mengjiqi
Prishtina	Bahri Mulliqi, Valton Beqiri, Ilir Bajri

Almost all of the above-mentioned composers studied outside Kosovo, a fact that may have been influential in the development of their language of musical expression. Most of them studied in Belgrade, because the Academy of Music in Belgrade was the most common place for Kosovo students to study. In contrast to the modern trends of the time, the composers who studied in Belgrade such as R. Mulliqi, P. Đorđević, K. Lekaj, E. Rizvanolli, and F. Beqiri all developed a ‘restrained’ form of musical expression. An exception is that of R. Rudi, who can be classified as an avantgarde composer. On the other hand, the composers who studied in Sarajevo and Ljubljana might have had more direct contact with the avantgarde and thus their expressive idiom appears in more explicit and contemporary forms (e.g., Zeqirja Ballata, Akil Koci, etc.)

The benefit of their *temporary migration* (in terms of mobility) was manifold. On the one hand it helped the advancement and increasing sophistication of compositional techniques by helping them to find a balance between national elements, classical tradition and innovative

³⁶⁴ Jim SAMSON: *Music in the Balkans*, 494.

³⁶⁵ Students from the province of Kosovo at the University of Belgrade in 1957 established the literary and musical association *Përpjekja* [Effort]. Initially it was just a literary association, but over the years with the growing number of students from Kosovo studying music in Belgrade, this association was turned into a literary-music association. The first members of this association were Isa Jakupi, Musa Piperku, Haxhere Kuçani, Bashkim Paloja, Litafete Komoni, Silvere Kryeziu, Antoneta Delhysa, Agim Rizvanolli, Osman Hoxha, Enver Berisha, and Prever Shehu. In 1960, the Albanian cultural association *Shkëndija* was founded in Zagreb, while in 1968 the Albanian cultural association was founded in Ljubljana.

music, and on the other hand their artistic strivings were dependent on possibilities which gradually advanced through new musical repertoire and performing practices. Equipped with professional knowledge, they became the creative and driving forces in cultural processes. In this regard, the issue related to their characteristics and compositional styles is specific and interesting.

The early 1960s were not multidimensional in terms of creativity, in the sense that large genres such as opera and ballet were absent. L. Antoni and R. Mulliqi remained the only local composers (excluding Bogoljub Vojnović and other foreign musicians) with the professional and intellectual maturity capable of creating large forms (such as chamber and orchestral works). In this decade the most prolific composers were: Lorenc Antoni, Esat Rizvanolli, Fahri Beqiri, Zeqirja Ballata and Rauf Dhomi. *Rapsodia shqiptare 1* [Albanian Rapsody no. 1] in 1961; *Valle shqiptare 1* [Albanian Dance no. 1] in 1962; *Valle shqiptare no. 2 and 3* [Albanian Dance no. 2 and 3] in 1965; *Ninula* [Lillaby] in 1963, are orchestral works composed by Lorenc Antoni. From the same group, Esat Rizvanolli, Fahri Beqiri and Zeqirja Ballata were also prolific. Esat Rizvanolli's *String Quartet*, for example, was composed in 1963 and was one of the first chamber works composed in a kind of expressive neo-classicism.

The String Quartet written by E. Rizvanolli (the piece that won the December Award in 1967 — the highest award given at that time, in Kosovo), represents a work that incorporates many characteristic elements, contrasting parts, agogic changes and expressive harmonies.³⁶⁶

His contemporary, Fahri Beqiri was one of the great contributors to musical culture in terms of the spectrum of his activities which included composition (neo-Baroque style), education and organization. The Symphonic poem *Skënderbeu*, composed in 1968 (on the occasion of the 500th anniversary of the death of the Albanian hero Gjergj Kastrioti), was premiered by the Belgrade Philharmonic (in December 1972) under the direction of Gaetano Delogu, and represented one of the culminations of early Kosovan musical creativity.³⁶⁷ During the 1960s, Zeqirja Ballata composed the *Suite for string orchestra* (1966), the *Passacaglia for orchestra* (1966), the *Capriccio Symphonico* (1967), and many other chamber, instrumental and choral works, most of which are written in neoclassical style (with modernist expression). Later,

³⁶⁶ Zeqirja BALLATA: Mbi Kuartetin harkor të Kompozitorit Esat Rizvanolli [About Esat Rizvanolli's String Quartet], *Iliria post* (4 November 2006); Cf. Shefqet HOXHA: *Esat Rizvanolli – Kompozitor* [Esat Rizvanolli - Composer], Prishtina, 2011, 71-4.

³⁶⁷ Rashid KRASNIQI: Një njohje e kulturës muzikore Kosovare, [An Introduction to Kosovo Musical Culture], *Rilindja* (12 December 1972), 12.

Ballata's compositions advanced in many parameters including form, expression, harmony, sonority, and above all in music notation.³⁶⁸

b) 1970s – 1990s

This period represented a *silver age* in terms of musical creativity in Kosovo. Compositional methods and styles appeared to be strictly combined. Multifaceted influences between classical and romantic techniques appeared combined with national and contemporary ones, so compositional models were shaped by indicators such as *tradition, opportunity* and *taste*. Between the 1970s and 1990s, works were composed in most major musical genres, including choral, vocal-instrumental, orchestral, and stage music.

The cantata was an artistic challenge for many composers, and there existed a constant desire to realize such a form, one with significant possibilities for the integration of national history, humanistic themes and folkloric musical elements. This form had been present in Kosovo since the late 1950s, when Rexho Mulliqi composed the first cantata titled the *Poema për ata* [Poem for Them], in 1955.³⁶⁹ Its text was written by the Albanian poet Fahredin Gunga in the form of a powerful elegy about the killing of young workers in the Trepça Mine by German soldiers during World War II (in 1942). Features of this poetic work surely motivated the composer to create the cantata, which primarily reflects a humanistic position and combines emotion mixed with colorful rhythms and melodies and a creative fantasy that remains unique both for that time and today. It was the only cantata to be composed in Kosovo in the 1950s. *Yugoslavia* was Mulliqi's second cantata, composed in 1978. It was interpreted by the RTP Choir and Symphony Orchestra in April 1986 on the occasion of the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the work of the Provincial Theater of Kosovo, with soloists Hermina Lekaj, Ankica

³⁶⁸ The composers Zeqirja Ballata, Rafet Rudi, Mendi Menxhiqi and Drinor Zymberi have been among the first to use new forms of notation in their compositions.

³⁶⁹ Regarding the exact year of composition of this work, in musicological publications, we are not always provided with correct data. According to the musicologists Engjëll Berisha and Rreze Kryeziu-Breznica, the cantata was composed in 1961. Cf: E. BERISHA: *Studies and Opinions on Music*, 61; Rreze KRYEZIU-BREZNICA: Rexho Mulliqi, *Fjalori Enciklopedik i Kosovës II* [Encyclopedic Dictionary of Kosovo], 1146. In my research in the RTP Archive, I found the recording data of this work which was recorded in RTP on 13 April 1960 and performed by the Choir of the Secondary Music School in Prizren with the soloists Nexhmije Pagarusha and Kolë Shiroka, and the reciter Fatmir Fehmiu. See: RTP Archive, *Libri I i regjistrimeve të muzikës serioze* [Book I - Recordings of Art music], Recording data: Inventory number 221/A-841. Also, in literary and scientific writings, there is evidence that this cantata was composed in the mid-1950s. For example, in the literary magazine *Jeta e Re*, 5 (1959), pp. 728-31, Shefqet Pllana published a poetic-musical analysis of R. Mulliqi's cantata, classifying it as a work with high artistic and aesthetic attributes. Also see: "Mulić Redžo" in Krešimir KOVAČEVIĆ (Ed.) *Leksikon jugoslavenske muzike 2 Me-Ž*, 37.

Milenković, Drita Krasniqi, Dibran Tahiri, etc. (guest conductor: Lesław Sałacki).³⁷⁰ Esat Rizvanolli's *Fjala e Skënderbeut* [Skanderbeg's Word] (1968) for reciter, baritone and string orchestra and Mark Kaçinari's *Bijtë e shqipes* [Albanian Sons] (1968) for acapella choir, were composed on the occasion of the 500th anniversary of the death of Gjergj Kastrioti. They remain among the first cantatas composed in Kosovo. *Vatra e urtësisë* [The Hearth of Wisdom], composed on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the founding of the University of Prishtina (1980), and *Uratë vajzave* [A Blessing for the Girls] composed in honor of the 100th anniversary of Albanian Girls' School in Korçë (1991) are two important cantatas composed by Rauf Dhomi. Compared to other composers, the vocal-instrumental creativity of Vinçenc Gjini's is considered to be the most significant (with 10 cantatas composed). Between 1959 and 2019 Kosovan composers had written twenty-five cantatas in total: (V. Gjini – 10; R. Mulliqi – 2; R. Dhomi – 2; E. Rizvanolli – 1; M. Kaçinari – 1; A. Koci – 1; B. Shehu – 1; Gj. Gjevelekaj – 1; R. Rudi – 1; M. Mengjiqi – 1; V. Beqiri – 1; K. Aličkaj – 1; D. Zymberi – 1; K. Shaqiri – 1).

At the forefront of the important orchestral works composed since the early 1970s stands the *Symphony no. 2* (named *Kosovare*) composed by Rexho Mulliqi, premiered by the Symphony Orchestra of the Radio Television of Ljubljana in 1972 under the direction of the Slovenian conductor and composer Samo Hubad. This three movement Symphony (*I – Allegro con fuoco, II – Andante, III – Allegro molto*) faithfully presents the basic expression of his late-Romantic compositional style, but in national colors.³⁷¹ This great musical work is thought to have been inspired by Rugova Gorge, one of the most picturesque mountains in the Balkans. In this symphony, Mulliqi synthesized all his efforts and compositional achievements up to that point, using a traditional symphonic idiom completely based on classical models both in terms of form and expression, intertwined with original motifs and folklore quotations. There is no doubt that this symphony represents his most significant and magnificent work.

...After creating a symphony and cantata, I do not 'treat' with pleasure the stylization of folk songs, but this does not mean that I have given up from this form of creativity at all...³⁷² I love big forms like the

³⁷⁰ M. RAMADANI, S. ZOGAJ: Tempull i plleshem i perendeshes Talia [Fruitful Temple of the Goddess Talia], *Rilindja* (27 April 1986), 7.

³⁷¹ Engjëll BERISHA: *Zhvillimi i stileve në veprat e kompozitorëve shqiptar të Kosovës I*, 110.

³⁷² Halil JUPA: Në largësitë e pafundshme të krijimtarisë nga biseda me kompozitorin tonë Rexhep Mullain, [Interview with Composer Rexhep Mullai], *Rilindja* (3 January, 1961), 6.

symphony. My second symphony *Kosovare* presents people with its temperament, joys, desires and sufferings, its bravery and its revolutionary spirit...³⁷³

The composers of the 1970s each composed in their own style. Vinçenc Gjini's first creative initiatives (simple elaborate folk compositions or those for small instrumental ensembles) date from between 1952 and 1954 and culminated with the solo song cycle *Letrat I, II, III* [Papers I, II, III], published in 1973, ten cantatas, the *Sinfonietta in D* (1977), four symphonies (during the 1980s), etc. In his works, Gjini has shown a great loyalty to classical tradition but with a high degree of stylization. He did not depart from classical forms but treated them in an original way incorporating elements of folk music. Kristë Lekaj's greatest orchestral works are the symphonic poem *Trualli betohet* [The Land Swears] (1980) and *Symphonic Impressions* for orchestra. *The Land Swears* was composed in two versions. The first was written in a kind of choral form (with the same title), performed in 1983/4 and recorded by the RTP Choir under the direction of Rexho Mulliqi, while the second version was written in orchestral form (as a symphonic poem) and performed in the 1980s. It was first performed and recorded (in RTP) by the RTSH Orchestra with conductor Eno Koço (12 March 1981), while on 27 August 1983 it was played by the RTP Symphony Orchestra with the conductor S. Pantiru.³⁷⁴ The composers Esat Rizvanolli, Mark Kaçinari, Vinçenc Gjini, and Kristë Lekaj remained faithful to classical forms with neo-classical and neo-romantic overtones.

Fahri Beqiri combined folk-based and neo-Baroque techniques, while Akil Koci, Zeqirja Balata, Rafet Rudi and Bashkim Shehu explored more avantgarde territories.³⁷⁵ Beqiri's *Wind Quintet*, a three movement piece for flute, oboe, clarinet, bassoon and horn, with rudimentary melodies, clear harmonies, and aggressive and sublime agogic dynamics, was performed by the Belgrade Wind Quintet at the Music Tribune of Opatija in 1967³⁷⁶, while Rafet Rudi's *Symphony in two blocks* was the first piece written by a Kosovo composer to win the third prize in *BEMUS* (one of the greatest festivals of art music in Yugoslavia), in 1974.³⁷⁷

If we take a comprehensive look at the musical output of the above-mentioned composers, it is notable that Akil Koci's musical language, with its pronounced affinity for modern and

³⁷³ Rashid KRASNIQI: Kompozitori ynë i frytshëm Rexho Mulliqi (intervistë), [Our Fruitful Composer Rexho Mulliqi - interview], *Rilindja* (30 December 1972), 9.

³⁷⁴ *Book II of Art Music*, Inventory no. 1354; 1503; See: RTP Archive, Prishtina.

³⁷⁵ Cf. Jim SAMSON: *Music in the Balkans*, 494.

³⁷⁶ Krešmir FRIBEC (ed.): *Dela domačih autora izvedena na Jugoslovenskoj muzičkoj tribini 1964-1972*, [Works by local authors performed at the Yugoslav Music Tribune 1964-1972], Savez Kompozitora Jugoslavije, 1973, 13.

³⁷⁷ Jusuf GËRVALLA: Rafet Rudi – shpërblimi i tretë [Rafet Rudi Won the Third Prize], *Rilindja* (14 November 1974), 10.

contemporary sound, distinguishes him as a composer. From the very beginning of his compositional career, he presented innovative and avantgarde ideas. From the 1960s, Koci composed dodecaphonic, aleatoric and electronic music.³⁷⁸ With wide and sensitive activity, which include composition and musicology, Koci has managed to give a modern physiognomy to the development of both compositional art and musicology (in which he published twelve books). *Koci as a composer* is one of the most productive paradigms of modern Kosovan music, while *as a musicologist* he is passionate about the history of national and European music, musical phenomena, and the relationship between art, philosophy and aesthetics. He has proved to be a composer in whose creativity local traditions, the past, innovative exploration and musical fantasy are perfectly united. He has always been attracted by the original sound of contemporary aleatoric music, so he was the first to start composing in both dodecaphonic and aleatoric styles in Kosovo. The work entitled *Three sketches for oboe solo*, composed in the early 1970s, was one of the first works composed in in dodecaphonic style with a free formal structure. In the same style Koci composed *Miniatures*, *Dodecaphonic suite* and *Quasi sentential*, all for piano. *Filigree I*, composed for nine musical instruments in 1971, was the first work on his path toward aleatoric music, composed of fragmentary structures and different sound colors which he dedicated to his three brothers who worked with filigree. This work was composed for the *Slavko Osterc Ensemble*³⁷⁹ and premiered at the Yugoslav Music Festival in Opatija in 1972.³⁸⁰ Encouraged by the success he had achieved in Opatija (1972), Koci composed *Filigree II* which is a continuation of *Filigree I* but with noticeable progress in aleatoric compositional technique (the first contemporary work of a composer from Kosovo to be presented in the international arena). With this work, Koci represented Kosovo at the Avantgarde Music Festival in Paris in May 1973 together with Jakob Jež, a representative from Ljubljana, and Igor Kuljerić, a representative from Zagreb. Also, in attendance were well-known avantgarde composers such as Stockhausen, Penderecki, Berio, Boulez, and others.³⁸¹ Akil Koci represents a musical art which is “destructive” of the old and “creative” of the new.³⁸² His work stands out with its advanced musical language, and Koci was the first composer to show a pronounced affinity for modern sound.

³⁷⁸ Albulena NUREDINI: *Akil Mark Koci pararojë e muzikës bashkëkohore shqiptare* [Akil Mark Koci, Vanguard of Contemporary Albanian Music], Prizren: Fidani, 2013, 74.

³⁷⁹ *Slavko Osterc Ensemble* was a Slovenian Chamber Orchestra, formed in 1962.

³⁸⁰ Lorenc ANTONI: Muzika avantgarde në Kosovë, [Avantgarde Music in Kosovo], *Rilindja* (12 May 1973), 14.

³⁸¹ H. N.: Filigranet e Akil Kocit në Paris, [Akil Koci's Filigree in Paris], *Rilindja* (4 May 1973), 9.

³⁸² Albulena NUREDINI: *Akil Mark Koci, pararojë e muzikës bashkëkohore shqiptare*, 49.

Zeqirja Ballata and Rafet Rudi also explored avantgarde trends. Their orientation towards avantgarde music was the result of their early contact with European musical literature, especially expressionist works. From the end of the 1960s, which coincides with his master's studies in Ljubljana, Z. Ballata emerged as a productive and innovative composer. On the other hand, in Rafet Rudi's early work elements of neoclassical style are evident. However, he later showed himself to be tempted by the avantgarde currents of mainly Polish and British composers such as Lutosławski, Penderecki, and Britten who had a great influence on him. *Concert Time* for Piano and Orchestra (1978) was one of the first of Rudi's works inspired by dodecaphonic music. Works such as *Concerto for Guitar and String Orchestra* (1986), the collection of works entitled *Arbresh Fresco* (composed mainly during the 1990s), etc., represent compositions which achieve a balance between the archaism of indigenous (Albanian) music and modernity, a path that led the composer to his later postmodern idiom.³⁸³ As composer, conductor, teacher and music critic, R. Rudi represents one of the most active and complex figures in Kosovan music of the twentieth century. As conductor of the Kosovo Philharmonic Choir, he has tried to break away from traditional compositions by promoting contemporary composers and forms. He also founded the *ReMusica Contemporary Music Festival* which since 2002 is one of the main pillars of cultural life in Kosovo, with a specific focus on classical/modern music and the cultural exchange between artists.

In addition to Vinçenc Gjini (music theory), Zeqirja Ballata (composition) and Bajar Berisha (conducting), Rauf Dhomi was the fourth musician in 1970s Kosovo with a master's degree. Although born in the same decade, R. Dhomi and the other composers such as Zeqirja Ballata, Rafet Rudi, Gjon Gjevelekaj, Bashkim Shehu, Mendi Mengjiqi, Baki Jashari and Valton Beqiri do not share any common stylistic or formal approaches to composition. R. Dhomi composed in almost all musical genres (choral, instrumental, chamber, vocal-instrumental and scenic forms), and in all his compositions the musical language appears to be original in musical expression while remaining faithful to classical forms, with an emphasis on national-romantic style. The themes of his works are derived from national idioms (where national identity is clearly felt), while musical, formal and aesthetic structures appear explicit but are restrained in relation to his contemporaries (Z. Ballata and R. Rudi). Dhomi did not manifest any avantgarde aspirations, so, unlike his contemporaries, he was oriented towards a form of musical expression characterized by lyrical and dramatic inspirations, presented through melodic-

³⁸³ See: Rafet Rudi - Composer & Conductor, *Rafet Rudi Official Website*, <<https://rafetrudi.com/en/biografia/>> (accessed 28 November 2021).

rhythmic lines within the boundaries of classical and romantic norms. Z. Ballata and R. Dhomi have both proved to be very attracted to the piano and they are the most prolific composers to write for the instrument: Ballata composed about thirty works for the piano, while Dhomi composed about sixty. The differences in their expressive and stylistic approach to the piano are significant and extreme. Ballata's piano works are full of innovations including notation, avantgarde forms and sound, as well as musical expressiveness. On the other hand, Dhomi's piano works are written in an idiom similar to his other works: they are more restrained (in relation to avantgarde expression), oriented towards tonal music, with interpretative technical requirements, and maintain a logical connection between didactic and artistic aspects.³⁸⁴

The group of composers who were born during the 1950s and began to compose intensively from the 1980s – Gjon Gjevelekaj, Bashkim Shehu, Mendi Mengjiqi and Bahri Mulliqi – is also characterized by elements of similarity and variation in their forms of expression. At the beginning of his career Gjon Gjevelekaj composed mainly in a late neo-romantic style, while after the 1990s he began to explore electro-acoustic music. One of his early great compositions was the cantata *Nënës së dëshmorëve të LNÇ-së* [To the Mother of the Martyrs of the National Liberation War] composed for soloist, choir, reciter and orchestra (in 1982) and premiered in Prishtina (27 February 1985) by the RTP professional choir and children's choir, accompanied by the symphony orchestra (soloists: Ahmet Dërguti – baritone, Hermina Lekaj – soprano; reciters: Igballe Qena, Ekrem Taraku; conductor: Aleksandar Lekovski).³⁸⁵ Bashkim Shehu was the first composer in Kosovo to be awarded the Golden Arena for the best soundtrack from the Pula Film Festival (1982) for his music for the film *Lepuri me pesë këmbë* [The Five-legged Rabbit], while Gjon Gjevelekaj won the same prize at the 35th edition of Pula Film Festival (in 1988) for his music for Isa Qosja's film *Rojet e mjegullës* [Guardians of the Mist].

Film has enabled me to focus on thematic musical expression, to choose the appropriate theme and harmonies that are close to the public, therefore the material is translucently orchestrated with full lyricism and traditional elements. – Bashkim Shehu.³⁸⁶

B. Shehu is the author of a series of successful compositions. In most of them he employs a concise form of indigenous musical expression. Some of his most successful works are *Trio*

³⁸⁴ Suzana JAKUPI: *Vepra pianistike e kompozitorit Rauf Dhomi – Analizë interpretative* [The Piano Work of the Composer Rauf Dhomi - Interpretive Analysis], paper presented in the 9th International Scientific Conference: The Magic of the Renaissance, Florence (2022).

³⁸⁵ Sami PIRAJ: Jam i kënaqur me realizimin e veprës (Bisedë me Gj. Gjevelekaj), [I am Glad With My Work Interpretation - Interview with Gj. Gjevelekaj], *Rilindja* (5 March 1985), 11.

³⁸⁶ A. KONUSHEVCI: Arena e Artë e Pulës – Mirënjohje për të gjithë, [Golden Arena from Pula - Gratitude to All], *Rilindja* (28 August 1982), 12.

Reflections (performed in Paris, Opatija and at the Zagreb Biennale in 1980); the cantata *Loja e eshtrave* [Bone's Game] (1981); *Swear to the Sun*, a poem for mezzo-soprano and symphony orchestra (1982); *Aproksimato* (presented at the 23rd forum for Yugoslav music creativity in 1986; *Black Box*, a poem for reciters, soloists, choir and orchestra (1986); *Stage Oratorio*³⁸⁷ (1987); and three ballets.³⁸⁸ In most of his musical creations, Shehu follows a musical spirit which we also encounter in the works of the composers R. Mulliqi and F. Beqiri, with elements of national romanticism and neoclassicism, but displayed with a unique compositional originality.

Bahri Mulliqi was one of the composers who tried to cross the boundaries of neo-romantic expressionism. His work *Epitaph* for vocal octet, tape recorder and dancer, reveals his affinity for modernism and represents one of his attempts to express himself through a musical language oriented toward the future. Of the four composers born in the 1950s, Mendi Mengjiqi is noted for composing contemporary music. In his music, the search for new and special musical expressions can be detected.³⁸⁹ He began his musical career by composing entertaining melodies (most of them for the *Akordet e Kosovës* festival) and choral songs (e.g.: *Çan vasha* for female choir — 1987; *Kënga e Sibilave* for female choir – 1988; and *Lamentation* (1987), *Dam-rrama-dam* (1988), *Oeia* (1991), and *Rainbow* (1995), all for mixed choir. Chamber music, vocal-instrumental works, symphonies, works for percussion groups and concertos comprise the most significant part of Mengjiqi's output. The first work which made him known internationally was *Dance* for five percussionists and piano, written in 1991, which the composer presented at many prestigious festivals in Finland, Poland and Slovakia.³⁹⁰ *Donum musicum*, composed in 1997 and dedicated to his professor Krzysztof Penderecki (performed by the Krakow Philharmonic), and the oratorio *Homage to Mother Teresa* composed in 1999,

³⁸⁷ *Stage Oratorio* (composed for soloist, choir, orchestra, reciter and dancer), directed by Selami Taraku, was premiered in Prishtina, on 28 October 1987, as part of events organized in honor of the 200th anniversary of the birth of Vuk Stefanović Karadžić (Serbian philologist, anthropologist and linguist).

³⁸⁸ His first ballet was *Besa*, composed in 1982/3. During my research, I was not able to confirm that this ballet was premiered by the Ballet Troupe of the National Theatre in Prishtina. His second ballet *The Game of Sisyphus* with choreography by Abdurrahman Nokshiqi and Elena Dončeva was premiered on 22 June 1989 by the Ballet Troupe in Prishtina. See: Qemajl SOKOLI: *Zhvillimi i teatrit kombëtar të Kosovës 1945-1995/2005* [Development of the National Theater of Kosovo 1945-1995/2005], Prishtina, 2006, 395. In the RTK Archive (ex-RTP) however, I found tape records of all the ballet music parts; for example, Fragment 1: *Doruntine's wedding preparation*; Fragment 2: *The wedding dance*; Fragment 3: *Presentation of the soldiers of death*; *The death of the Doruntine's brothers*; *Mother's monologue at her children's cemetery*; Fragment 4: *Doruntina and raven*; Fragment 5: *Raven's journey*; *Dialogue of Constantine*; *Raven's journey with Constantine*; and Fragment 6: *The meet of Doruntina with Constantine*. See: *Libri III i regjistimeve të muzikës serioze* [Book III - Recordings of Art Music], recording data: inventory number 1593, 1594, RTP Archive, Prishtina.

³⁸⁹ Lejla HALIMI-LUMANI: Mendi Mengjiqi, frymë shqiptare në muzikën e re evropiane, [Mendi Mengjiqi, Albanian Spirit in New European Music], *Kontrapunt* (Gazeta 55), 19 (2012), 16.

³⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

are considered his greatest and most impressive works. The first work stands out for its special orchestration and brilliant sound effects (the signaling of eagles), while the second work represents his principal sacred composition which glorifies the figure of the Albanian saint, Mother Teresa. In both works, the composer applied compositional techniques, stylistic and expressive diversity which officially represents the beginning of a new chapter of musical creativity in Kosovo. As a result of the influence of Polish composers (especially in the domain of sonority and aleatoric elements), he brought a new spirit to the art music of Kosovo after the 2000s. This had a great influence on new generations of Kosovan composers (most of whom were his students). Mengjiqi's music is known for its diversity of styles and wide aesthetic range, developed through a very individual style which blurs the boundaries between consonance and dissonance, tonal and atonal melody, traditional instrumentation and innovation.³⁹¹

Baki Jashari, Valton Beqiri and Ilir Bajri (all born during the 1960s) gravitate toward modernist expression, each in his own specific way. One of the most unique works of Baki Jashari is an *a capella* choral work with reciter titled *Pakëz në ëndërr, pakës në zhgëndërr* [A Little bit in Dream, a Little bit Awake], composed in 1985/6. It was created based on a personal experience of the composer and inspired by the political situation in Kosovo. In the musical context of the 1980s, and in relation to previous choral compositions, it is a rare example of a highly expressive compositional approach.

Composers who created before the 1990s followed a path by which they applied in their works everything they felt. The national foundation and folkloric themes remained the primary pillar of works created in a variety of styles, from neoclassical and neoromantic up to modernist and postmodern forms. Their music was characterized by a variety of styles which were reflected in their compositions as a combination of positive and 'possibly' negative lines of influence stemming from non-artistic domains such as the ideological and political elements which were the supreme determinants in the field of art music.³⁹²

³⁹¹ *Ibid.*

³⁹² Rafet RUDI: *Sprova Estetike, Muzika e Shekullit XX* [Aesthetic Trials, Music of the 20th Century], Pejë: Dukagjini, 2002, 156.

Table 31. Main chamber and symphonic forms composed between the 1970s and 1990s

Composer	Works
Rexho Mulliqi	<i>Symphony No. 2 Kosovare</i> (1972).
Mark Kaçinari	<i>Suita ilire</i> ³⁹³ [Illyrian Suite] for orchestra (1972);
Esat Rizvanolli	Symphonic Poem <i>Rezistenca 1943</i> ³⁹⁴ [Resistance 1943] (1973); <i>Adagio and Scherzo</i> for chamber orchestra (1975); <i>Musica Symphonica</i> (1977); <i>Concerto for violin and orchestra</i> (1985).
Vinçenc Gjini	<i>Sinfonietta in D</i> (1977); <i>Four Symphonies</i> (1979-85); <i>Idilë fshatare</i> [Rural Idyll] (1980);
Akil Koci	<i>Attimo</i> for string orchestra (1973); <i>Ab Aeterno</i> for symphonic orchestra (1976); <i>Pentalfa</i> for symphonic orchestra (1976); Cycle of works: <i>Filigree I</i> – for nine instruments, <i>Filigree II</i> – orchestral, <i>Filigree III</i> – orchestral, <i>Filigree IV</i> - orchestral (1970s); <i>Superstructures</i> (1975); <i>Marginalia</i> for orchestra (1979); <i>Symphonic Movement</i> (1989); <i>Concerto for piano and orchestra</i> (1990); <i>Scherzo and Salvatio</i> for orchestra (1991); <i>Simphonietta</i> for orchestra (1992); <i>Reflections</i> for clarinet and orchestra (1993).
Zeqirja Ballata	<i>Studio</i> for two pianos and chamber orchestra (1973); <i>Concerto stretto</i> for orchestra (1978); <i>Quarteto abbreviato No 1.</i> for chamber orchestra (1980); <i>Symphony 83</i> (1983); <i>Quarteto abbreviato No.2</i> for chamber orchestra (1989).
Rafet Rudi	<i>Simfonia në dy blloqe</i> [Symphony in two blocks] (1974); <i>Concerto time</i> for piano and orchestra (1978); <i>Largo</i> for string orchestra (1978); <i>Metamorphosis</i> for flute, piano, mezzosoprano and string orchestra (1979); <i>Concerto</i> for Guitar and String Orchestra (1986).
Kristë Lekaj	Symphonic Poem <i>Trualli betohet</i> [The Land swears] (1980); <i>Symphonic Impression</i> (?).
Gjon Gjevelekaj	<i>Impressions</i> for string orchestra (1983); Symphonic Poem <i>Qëndresa është fitore</i> [Resistance is Victory] (1988); <i>Symphony Albaneze</i> (1984); <i>Folk Concert</i> for piano and orchestra (1989).
Bashkim Shehu	<i>Wind Quintet</i> (1974); <i>Concertino</i> for piano and orchestra (1976); <i>Symphonic Sketches</i> (1978); <i>Approximato No. 2.</i> for accordion and symphony orchestra (1980); <i>Concerto drammatico</i> for orchestra (1988); <i>Reflections No. 3.</i> for accordion and orchestra (1991).
Severin Kajtazi	Children’s orchestral work <i>Loja e fluturave</i> [Butterflies game] (1989).
Mendi Mengjiqi	<i>Sonata interrotta</i> – trio for wind instruments (1987), <i>String quartet no.1</i> (1991); <i>Dance</i> for five percussions and piano (1991); <i>String quartet no.2</i> (1992); <i>Pashko Berisha</i> for string orchestra (1993); <i>Albaneza</i> for electronics and percussions (1993); <i>Tillagnad Gunnel o tage svensson</i> for string orchestra (1995); <i>Concerto</i> for oboe and symphonic orchestra (1996); <i>Peaniada Danca</i> for double-bass quartet (1996); <i>Dominum musicum</i> for symphony orchestra, dedication to K. Penderecki (1997); <i>Cantitum fastitum</i> for oboe and organ (1998).

³⁹³*Suita Ilire* was composed in two versions: one for piano and the another for orchestra.

³⁹⁴*Rezistenca 43* was commissioned by the Association of Composers of Yugoslavia on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the AVNOJ meeting.

Bahri Mulliqi	<i>Trio</i> for woodwind instruments (1984); <i>Four Bagatellas</i> (1984); <i>Symphonic diptych</i> (1989); <i>Insomnia</i> for choir (1988); <i>Variations</i> for two pianos; <i>Epitaph</i> for vocal octet, tape recorder and dancer (1994).
Baki Jashari	<i>Passacaglia</i> for string quartet (1980); <i>Symphonietta in due tempi</i> (1984); <i>Harp and string trio</i> ; <i>A fower</i> for mixed choir; <i>Miniature</i> for cello and piano.
Valton Beqiri	<i>String quartet</i> (1990); <i>Variations</i> for flute, clarinet and piano (1990); <i>Concertiono</i> for piano and orchestra (1991).

Table 32. Main vocal-instrumental forms

Year	Composer	Title of composition
1959	Rexho Mulliqi	Cantata <i>Poema për ata</i>
1968	Esat Rizvanolli	Cantata <i>Fjala e Skenderbeut</i>
1968	Mark Kaçinari	Cantata <i>Bijtë e shqipes</i>
1968	Rauf Dhomi	<i>Requiem</i> (unfinished)
1971	Rauf Dhomi	<i>Uvertura Solemne</i>
1973	Vinçenc Gjini	<i>Letrat I, II, III</i> – for tenor and orchestra
1977	Akil Koci	<i>Ti që je liria jonë</i> (vocal-instrumental)
1978	Vinçenc Gjini	Cantata <i>Rrita e dritës</i>
1978	Rexho Mulliqi	Cantata <i>Yugoslavia</i>
1978	Zeqirja Ballata	<i>Këmbë qëndrese</i> – for bass, reciter, choir, piano and percussion
1979	Vinçenc Gjini	<i>Yjet e lirisë</i> – for tenor and orchestra
1980	Vinçenc Gjini	Cantata <i>Vatra e urtësisë</i>
1980	Vinçenc Gjini	Cantata <i>Impresionet</i>
1981	Vinçenc Gjini	<i>Flamuj shekujsh</i> – for choir, reciter and orchestra
1981	Vinçenc Gjini	Cantata <i>Të duam liri</i>
1981	Zeqirja Ballata	<i>Bir i vendit trimëror</i> – for soloists, choir, reciter, and chamber orchestra
1981	Bashkim Shehu	Cantata <i>Loja e eshtrave</i>
1982	Gjon Gjevelekaj	Cantata <i>Nënës së martirëve të LNÇ</i>
1982	Bashkim Shehu	<i>Betohemi në diell</i> – poem for mezzo-soprano and symphony orchestra
1982	Vinçenc Gjini	Cantata <i>Baladë në gurë</i>
1982	Bashkim Shehu	Cantata <i>Reptoksia</i>
1982	Vinçenc Gjini	<i>Shtafeta e dashurisë</i> – for choir and orchestra
1983	Vinçenc Gjini	Cantata <i>Ramiz o vëlla</i>
1983	Rafet Rudi	Cantata <i>Flijimi</i>
1985	Vinçenc Gjini	Cantata <i>Udhëkryqet e jetës</i>
1985	Akil Koci	Cantata <i>Nënës së dhembjes</i>
1985	Vinçenc Gjini	Cantata <i>Vatra e urtësisë</i>
1986	Bashkim Shehu	<i>Kutija e zezë</i> – poem for reciter, soloists, choir and orchestra
1987	Zeqirja Ballata	<i>Pro memoria 1462</i> – for soloist, choir and chamber orchestra

1987	Bashkim Shehu	<i>Stage Oratorio</i>
1987	Mendi Mengji	<i>Mustafë Hoxha zemer luan</i> – for choir and orchestra
1988	Mendi Mengjiqi	<i>Unë biri yt Kosovë</i> – for soloist, choir and orchestra
1990	Rauf Dhomi	Cantata <i>Uratë vajzave</i>
1990	Gjon Gjevelekaj	<i>Missa Matris Tereisa</i> – for soloist, choir and orchestra
1993	Mendi Mengjiqi	<i>Schafëriada</i> – for soprano, oboe, violin, cello and piano
1994	Zeqirja Ballata	<i>Prova gjenerale</i> – for reciter, alto, contralto, three flutes, piano and percussions
1994	Mendi Mengjiqi	<i>Rondellus</i> – for soprano and string orchestra
1995	Zeqirja Ballata	<i>Acrostic</i> – for soprano, reciter, piano, woodwind instruments, string instruments and percussions
1997	Zeqirja Ballata	<i>Mater Teresia Sacral</i> – for mezzosoprano and chamber orchestra
1998	Vinçenc Gjini	Cantata <i>Dallëndyshja mirandjellëse</i>
1999	Mendi Mengjiqi	Oratorio <i>Homagium Matri Teresiae</i>
2003	Bashkim Shehu	<i>Lode a Dallapiccola</i> – for womens choir and symphony orchestra
2005	Zeqirja Ballata	<i>Ditë vjeshte</i> – for soprano, baritone, reciter, woodwind and string instruments, guitar, piano and electronics.
2008	Zeqirja Ballata	<i>Lacrimosa IX 2001</i> – for bass, choir, reciter, two pianos and percussion
2008	Zeqirja Ballata	<i>Musicus universalis</i> – for four soloists, piano, flute and percussion
2012	Mendi Mengjiqi	<i>O Flamur</i> – for soprano and orchestra
2013	Mendi Mengjiqi	Cantata <i>Princeps Pacis</i>
2013	Memli Kelmendi	<i>SePse</i> – for choir, orchestra and electronic music
2015	Drinor Zymberi	Cantata <i>Metamorphosis</i>
2016	Valton Beqiri	<i>Ballin lart</i> - for choir and orchestra
2016	Kreshnik Aliçkaj	Cantata <i>Mother Teresa</i>
2018	Valton Beqiri	<i>Blessed Kosovo</i> – for choir and orchestra
2019	Kristë Lekaj	<i>Requiem</i> – for choir and orchestra (his last composition)
2019	Valton Beqiri	<i>Rizgjimi</i> – for choir and orchestra
2019	Valton Beqiri	Cantata <i>Rrugëtimi</i>
2019	Korab Shaqiri	Cantata <i>I miri i motrës</i>

5.4. Scenic Forms: Opera and Ballet

Scenic forms (opera and ballet) represent a musical phenomenon in which the coexistence of many artistic elements is perfectly presented. The interpretation of such genres includes a wide network of artists (each in their own role), and performances are typically given in an opera house or musical theatre. However, even in the twenty-first century, Kosovo remains a country without an opera house building, while the opera troupe was established in 2021.³⁹⁵

The National Theatre of Kosovo officially established on 7 October 1945 (in Prizren), in the beginning was called the People's Provincial Theatre. It represented an important moment in the life of the performing arts. In 1946 it moved to Prishtina, and since then theatre building was used as an umbrella house for various artistic performances, including opera and especially ballet. Another place used for the performance of music was the hall *Dom Armije* – The House of the Yugoslav Army [now it is called *Kino Armata*] which in general played an important role in the promotion of music. Between the 1950s and the 1990s many concerts, musical activities and festivals were held there. The very first evidence of an operatic program being staged in Prishtina was the concert held on 23 February 1951, featuring well-known arias from G. Verdi interpreted by the City Symphony Orchestra in Prishtina and soloists from Skopje. (See Figure 26.) Another evidence of an operetta being staged in Prishtina was Louis Auguste Florimond Ronger's operetta *Mam'zell Nitouche*, performed on 31 January 1954 by the Serbian theatrical ensemble of the National Theatre, in collaboration with the City Symphony Orchestra and the Music Society *Stevan Mokranjac* in Prishtina (conductor Bogoljub Vojnović).³⁹⁶ In the artistic season 1955/56 the operetta *The Rose of Istanbul*, composed by Austrian composer Leo Fall was performed in the National Theater in Prishtina.³⁹⁷ In May 1958, the opera *Rigoletto*

³⁹⁵ Until 2021, Kosovo lacked an Opera as an Institution, which was officially established on 2 August 2021 (but with no building of its own) while the first concert was held on 1 November 2021 (with operatic arias performed in concert form). The initiatives for construction of the Opera and Ballet Theater building date back to 2003. Despite some concrete steps taken in 2006, for numerous reasons (legal, budgetary, etc.) the Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports in Kosovo still did not construct the building, the greatest wish of musicians that still remains only a dream. Luan Durmishi (Kosovan tenor) said: "Lyric singers (in Kosovo) are born without a 'mother' or rather without parents, knowing that in reality Kosovo does not have an opera house where singers should develop their profession. See: Kur do të kemi një shtëpi Opere në Kosovë? [When Will We Have an Opera House in Kosovo?], *Kontrapunkt* (25 October 2010), 20.

³⁹⁶ See: Qemajl SOKOLI: *Zhvillimi i teatrit kombëtar të Kosovës 1945-1995/2005*, 119.; ***: Themelatat profesionale kulturore artistike, [Professional Cultural-Artistic Foundations], *Rilindja* (2 March 1958), 6.

³⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

by Giuseppe Verdi, performed by the Macedonian Opera (under the direction of Jurislav Korenić and conducted by Trajko Prokopiev), was staged in Prishtina, Mitrovica and Zvečan.³⁹⁸

In general, the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s mark a complicated period in terms of music-making. Central to this was the unclear status of the City Symphony Orchestra in the capital, an ensemble which theoretically existed (in documents) but in practice was almost non-existent. In addition, the local professional cadres had not yet been formed and in the absence of performance possibilities, orchestral and stage forms were not composed until the 1970s. With the re-establishment of the Symphony Orchestra (1974) under the umbrella of the RTP Media, and the establishment of the National Ballet of Kosovo,³⁹⁹ cultural activities took on a new dimension. The children's operetta *Shtëpia e Iriqit* [House of the Hedgehog], composed by Severin Kajtazi in 1970/71 with lyrics by the poet Branko Ćopić and stage performance by Kole B. Shiroka, is the first operetta composed by a Kosovan composer. In an operetta there is a lot of spoken dialogue and comic songs and dances, so it was a well-known model to be imitated. In 1988/9, S. Kajtazi composed his second operetta *Agimi i bukur* [The Beautiful Sunrise] for soloists, choir and orchestra. However, the central figure in the opera genre remains the composer Rauf Dhomi. The historical significance of Dhomi's lies in his creation of the first national opera *Goca e Kaçanikut* [Girl from Kaçanik], an opera with two acts and three scenes, with a libretto written by Jusuf Buxhovi and Ajmone Dhomi after novels by Milto Sotir Gurra. In a concert form (without set design, costumes and theatrical interaction between singers), the opera was premiered in Prizren in 1978 (for more see subchapter 3.2.1 The Choir Collegium Cantorum (1969-2004), while in a complete scenic version it was staged one year later by the Opera and Ballet Theatre in Tirana, on 21 June 1979. It is written for eight soloists (soprano, alto, two tenors, three baritones, bass-baritone), mixed choir and a symphony orchestra. R. Dhomi composed this opera between 1973 and 1975 during his master's studies

³⁹⁸ ***: Rigoletto i Shkupit në Prishtinë [Rigoletto from Skopje in Prishtina], *Rilindja* (25 May 1958), 6.

³⁹⁹ The *National Ballet of Kosovo* is the only state institution for ballet, founded in 1972 within the framework of the National Theater of Kosovo (the former Provincial Theatre). The year 1968 was the decisive year for the future of this ensemble because the group of 25 individuals (19 males, 6 females), in the absence of institutions for education in this field, went to Skopje and graduated from the high school of ballet under the leadership of director Tatjana Petkovska (in 1972). The first ballet ensemble members were: Shqipe Hoxha, Esmâ Mulla, Gani Loshi, Januz Beqirja, Ahmet Brahimaj, Elez Nikçi, Enver Berisha, Rustem Metaj, Rustem Bajrami, Shaban Shabanaj, Selajdin Kiçe, Rustem Selca, Hysen Podrimçaku, Marsel Çollaku, Isa Bajraktari, Nexhip Veliu, Skender Domniku and Gani Shala. Sometime later the troupe was joined by Jashar Berisha, Nexhmije Selca, Snežana Kostova, Violeta Diskova, Salijeve Salë, Enver Elshani, Sabrie Spahiu, Liljana Vujović, Slavica Stefanova, Vjollca Curri, etc. In the absence of female dancers, the ballet ensemble was forced to periodically engage artists from different countries, e.g., from Belgrade, Romania, Poland, England, etc. Choreographers who worked in this institution were: Abdurrahman Nokshiqi, Olga Milosavljeva, Panajot Kanaçi, Dimitrije Palić, Milica Jovanović, and Ahmet Brahimaj. See: Naser SHATROLLI: *Baleti Kombëtar i Kosovës, 40 vjet* [National Ballet of Kosovo – 40 years], 2012. (Booklet).

at the Academy of Music in Sarajevo (in the class of Professor Miroslav Špiler). The musical style of the opera is based on the *verismo* model, and, according to the programmatic content, it is composed in the spirit of the Albanian folklore tradition.⁴⁰⁰

TEATRI I OPERES DHE I BALETIT
Dekoruar me Urðhrin e Punës Kl. I

E Shën. M. P. . . datë 22/6/1979 ora 11.00

Libreti: AJMONE DHOMI
JUSUF BUXHOVI
Muzika: RAUF DHOMI

GOCA E KAÇANIKUT

OPERA NË DY PJESE, TRE TABLLO
(Sipas noveles së Milto S. Gurrës)

Personazhet:	Interpretët
Plaku, fshatar	L. BESHO – P. KATROSHI
Plaka, e shoqja	R. CEKA – XH. DOKU
Pafika, e bija	E. GJATA – Z. SINA
Trimori, fshatar	G. ÇAKO – Artist i Popullit i RPSSH G.J. SULLOTI
Rus Bashi, fshatar i pasur	R. KOVAÇI – Artist i merituar i RPSSH B. SPAHIU
Fiqali, oficer turk	I. TUKIÇI – Artist i merituar i RPSSH V. KOSTA
Agjenti I	A. QUKU – P. REMBECI

Regjisor: KADRI METOHU
Mjeshtrë kori: ROZMARI JORGANKHI
Piktor: HYSEN DEVOLLI
Piktor i merituar i RPSSH

Dirigjent: RIFAT TEQJA
Artist i Popullit i RPSSH

Figure 54 Premiere of the opera *Goca e Kaçanikut* in Tirana (1979)⁴⁰¹

Dhomi’s creativity in scenic genres did not end with this opera. He composed a second three-act opera *Dasma Arbëreshe* [Arbresh Wedding], in 1982-83. The premiere (in concert form) took place on 22 June 1990 (in the Red Hall) performed by the soloists Merita Juniku, Hermina Lekaj, Xhelal Bakraçi, Ahmet Derguti, Rrustem Muslijaj, Gani Miftari, and reciter Safete Rugova, while the choir and orchestral parts were performed by the RTP Children’s Choir (prepared by Ramadan Ramadani), the RTP Professional Choir (prepared by Baki Jashari) and

⁴⁰⁰ Reze KRYEZIU BREZNICA: *Goca e Kaçanikut - Opera e parë nacionale në Kosovë* [Girl from Kaçanik – the First National Opera in Kosovo], Prishtina: Pema, 2018, 47.

⁴⁰¹ *Goca e Kaçanikut në Tiranë 1979* [Girl from Kaçanik in Tirana 1979], *Koha.net* (Culture Supplement), <https://www.koha.net/en/shtojca-kulture/410505/1979-goca-e-kacanikut-ne-tirane> (accessed: 26 February 2024).

the RTP Symphony Orchestra prepared and conducted by Bajar Berisha. The full stage performance of this opera was realized after twenty-five years, on the occasion of the 125th anniversary of the League of Prizren on 10 July 2003 in Prishtina, directed by Milto Kutali with choreography by Gjergj Prevazi, scenography and costumes by Agim Zajmi, and conducted by Arbër Dhomi (the composers's son). In both Dhomi's operas, Albanian national elements are present in every dimension: thematic, musical, textual, artistic and aesthetic. The professional musical mastery of the author is reflected both in terms of the rich orchestration and in the melodious arias with magical expressive power. A special emphasis falls on the second opera, which was performed in new circumstances with the great spiritual and artistic force generated after the War of 1999 in Kosovo.

Between 1971 and 2020, five operas and two operettas were composed in Kosovo, while two other operas remained unfinished (one by A. Koci and another by R. Dhomi). The operas composed recently by Trimor Dhomi (one opera) and Liburn Jupolli (two modern operas) represent a new momentum in Kosovan stage music. *The Last Breath*, an opera in one act, composed for soprano, alto, baritone and orchestral ensemble (flute, oboe, clarinet, bassoon, tubular bells, soprano metallophone, piano, violin, viola and violoncello), by Trimor Dhomi in 2019, is an opera dedicated to Syrian refugees, which was conceived after the composer read interviews with some Syrian refugees. Recalling his own experience as a Kosovo war refugee, Dhomi composed this opera in an artistic reflex elaborated into literary-musical content and set in two different time periods: two Albanian refugees from the Kosovo War 1999 (Dita and Drenusha) and a Syrian refugee (Abu). Its music is based on the sonorous colors of neo-romantic music with harmonic extension, mainly consonant, but also with powerful elements of contemporary sounds. Opera has never been staged in Kosovo, but it was premiered at the Vienna Summer Music Festival in June 2019.

“[In Kosovo] my project was not supported, not commented on, even not evaluated. To the contrary, my work has been understood as offensive...” (Trimor Dhomi)⁴⁰²

On 15 May 2019 the first contemporary opera was premiered in Prishtina with music and libretto written by the postmodernist composer Liburn Jupolli. The opera *GOF*, based on a drama with the same title by Anton Pashku, tells the story of the physical and virtual journey of three characters, and of human consciousness in circumstances of isolation. It is composed

⁴⁰² Die MORINA: Kosovo Opera Composer, ‘Ignored’ at Home, Offered Vienna Premiere, *Balkan Insight* (published: 1 May 2019), <https://balkaninsight.com/2019/05/01/kosovo-opera-composer-invited-in-vienna-after-offended-in-his-country/> (accessed 25 January 2020).

for tenor, baritone, dancer, synthesizer, electronic processing, *octo*,⁴⁰³ flute and ocarina. The music of the opera is fully colored by items of contemporary and postmodern music, imbued with elements of acoustic and electronic music, all reflecting the general postmodern orientation of its composer. The stage action is presented through two techniques: through characters on stage (movements and singing) and through a visual projector that presents actions based on words that are spoken in the original version of the work.⁴⁰⁴ In the same year, and in the same trend, L. Jupolli composed his second contemporary opera *MAL*, premiered in Tirana on 22 May 2019.

In the course of the same genre, ballet experienced its most positive moment when in 1968 an agreement was reached with Ballet High School in Skopje, and twenty-five Kosovo young people (nineteen men and six women) were registered there. After they finished the school in 1971/2, most of them returned and formed the first ballet ensemble under the umbrella of the Provincial National Theatre in Kosovo (see footnote 399). The first ballet to be put on stage was *Ritmet e zgjuara* [Brilliant Rhythms] in 1973, with music by Akil Koci and choreography by Abdurrahman Nokshiqi. However, it remained the composer's first attempt to find his voice in this musical genre.⁴⁰⁵ On the 30th anniversary of the establishment of the Kosovo Provincial (National) Theater, the first genuine Ballet *Sokoli and Mirusha* (in two acts) was premiered on 25 December 1976, composed by Akil Koci, with a libretto by Nuredin Loxha, and choreography by Slavko Pervan and Abdurrahman Nokshiqi. The ballet tells the love story of two young people named Sokoli and Mirusha who are of different religious faiths (Catholic and Muslim), a delicate and pitiful reality, at that time not easily accepted by Albanian society. Koci's ballet remains synonymous with the ballet *Romeo and Juliet*, but in an Albanian rendering, interwoven with elements of traditional, classical and contemporary music. For example, in a moment of special artistic expression, Koci applies overlapping motifs of two Albanian folk instruments with the famous motif from Beethoven's 5th Symphony (illustrated through tape recorder).

⁴⁰³ *Octo* is a musical instrument invented in 2010 by Liburn Jupolli in collaboration with Ari Lehtela (a luthier from the USA/Finland) with the following features: 8 strings, 43 microtonal frets and 8 separate outputs.

⁴⁰⁴ Fuqia e Anton Pashkut vjen edhe nëpërmjet operës, Gof shënon kthesë në jetën kulturore [The Power of Anton Pashku Also Comes Through the Opera, Gof Marks a Turning Point in Cultural Life], *Zëri* (published: 16 May 2019), <<https://zeri.info/kultura/260632/fuqia-e-anton-pashkut-vjen-edhe-nepermjet-operes-gof-shenon-kthesen-jeten-kulturore/>> (accessed 21 September 2021).

⁴⁰⁵ Albulena NUREDINI: *Akil Mark Koci Pararoje e muzikës bashkekohore shqiptare*, 79.



Figure 55. Gramophone record of ballet *Sokoli dhe Mirusha* (1977)⁴⁰⁶

Between 1976 and 1986, Koci composed four ballets in all. The ballets composed in 1983, *Kënga e Rexhës* [Song about Rexha] with libretto and choreography by Franjo Horvat (guest from Zagreb) and *Era dhe kolona* [The Wind and the Column], based on the story of Hivzi Sylejmani, with libretto, choreography and direction by Abdurrahman Nokshiqi, are considered to be ballets with a special sonority and an independent creative style. *Era dhe kolona* was premiered in Prishtina on 26 December 1983.⁴⁰⁷ In addition, on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Kosovo Provincial Theater, Koci's ballet *Zef Lush Marku* with choreography by Olga Milosavljević was premiered on 26 June 1986.

Ballet represented an attractive genre for many other composers such as Rexho Mulliqi, Rauf Dhomi, Bashkim Shehu, Gazmend Zajmi, and lately Korab Shaqiri and Donika Rudi. After *Sokoli e Mirusha*, the most successful ballets are: *Legjenda mbi ngjadhjimin* by Rexho Mulliqi, *Kënga e Rexhës* by Akil Koci, *Vallja Pranverore* by Gazmend Zajmi, *Besa* by Bashkim Shehu and *E bukura more* by Rauf Dhomi. Rauf Dhomi's creativity and musical individuality were expressed with powerful emotion, individual thoughts and feelings in his ballet *E bukura more*. After the premiere in Prishtina, on 30 May 1987, the ballet was staged

⁴⁰⁶ Sokoli e Mirusha (Ballet '76), composed by Akil Mark Koci and Nuredin Loxha, performed by the Symphonic Orchestra RTV Zagreb, conducted by Igor Kuljerić (Jugoton – LSY 63067, 1977), vinyl LP, <https://www.discogs.com/es/release/3090611-Akil-Mark-Koci-Nuredin-Loxha-Simfonijski-Orkestar-RTV-Zagreb-Igor-Kuljeri%C4%87-Sokoli-E-Mirusha-Sokolj-> (accessed 21 September 2021).

⁴⁰⁷ Skënder ZOGAJ: Premiera e baletit Era dhe kolona [The Premiere of Ballet the Wind and Column], *Rilindja* (26 December 1983), 11.

in the town of Peja, in the theater *Miladin Popović* (the first performance of a ballet in this city).⁴⁰⁸

The orchestral performance of all mentioned ballets was given by the RTP Symphony Orchestra, and some pieces were recorded by the RTP Music Production. Some ballets (in parts) were interpreted also by foreign musicians and ensembles, for example, *Sokoli and Mirusha* was performed by the RTV Zagreb Symphony Orchestra (conductors: Igor Kuljerić, Akil Koci) on 8 April 1977; *Symphonic Dance* from the unfinished ballet *Nita* was performed by the RTP Symphony Orchestra and recorded on 11 Nov 1980; *Suites no. 3 & 4* from the ballet *Vallja Panverore* by G. Zajmi were performed by the RTV Ljubljana Symphony Orchestra on 28 March 1983; fragments from the ballet *Besa* by B. Shehu were performed by the RTP Symphony Orchestra on 22 July 1983; and parts from the ballet *E bukura more* by R. Dhomi were also performed by the RTP Choir and Symphony Orchestra on 14 July 1987.⁴⁰⁹ These ballets are rooted in Albanian elements and contents, including Albanian folk instruments. The ballets composed by the youngest composers, e.g., Korab Shaqiri and Donika Rudi, represent a form of expression distinct from that of previous years. Rudi's contemporary ballet came as 'a big surprise' in relation to traditional ballet practices.

Table 33. List of operas composed between 1971 and 2019

Year	Composer	Name
1971	Severin Kajtazi	Childrens Operetta <i>Shtëpia e Iriqit</i> [House of the Hedgehog]
1978	Rauf Dhomi	First National Opera <i>Goca e Kaçanikut</i> [Girl from Kaçanik]
1978	Akil Koci	<i>Kthimi i Skenderbeut në Krujë</i> (unfinished)
1982	Rauf Dhomi	<i>Dasma Arbëreshe</i> [Arbresh Wedding]
1989	Severin Kajtazi	Operetta <i>Agimi i bukur</i> [The Beautiful Sunrise]
2005	Rauf Dhomi	<i>Muzat e Kalasë</i> [Muses of the Castle] (unfinished)
2019	Trimor Dhomi	<i>The Last Breath</i>
2019	Liburn Jupolli	<i>GOF</i>
2019	Liburn Jupolli	<i>MAL</i>

⁴⁰⁸ See: Sami PIRAJ: Semantika e përmbajtjes muzikore, Baleti: E bukura more [Semantics of Musical Content, Ballet: My Beautiful Morea], *Rilindja* (30 May 1987), 15.

⁴⁰⁹ *Libri I, II, III i regjistrimeve të muzikës serioze* [Book I, II, III - Recordings of Art Music], recording data: inventory numbers: 916 (742); SO-1583; 1525; 1593; 1594; 1636; 1637; 1638; See: Radio Kosova Archive (ex-RTP), Prishtina.

Table 34. List of ballets composed between 1973 and 2019

Composed/Premiere	Composer	Choreographer	Ballet Name
1973	Akil Koci	/	<i>Ritme të zgjuara</i>
1975	Rexho Mulliqi	/	<i>Nita</i> (unfinished)
25 Dec 1976	Akil Koci	Slavko Pervan and A. Nokshiqi	<i>Sokoli and Mirusha</i> (First genuine ballet)
26 June 1981	Gazmend Zajmi	O. Milosavljević	<i>Loja Pranverore</i>
3 Oct 1981	Rexho Mulliqi	O. Milosavljević & A. Nokshiqi	<i>Legjenda mbi ngadhjimin</i>
10 Dec 1982	L. Antoni, M. Kaçinari and R. Dhomi	O. Milosavljević & A. Nokshiqi	<i>Motive Kosovare</i>
24 June 1983	Akil Koci	Franjo Horvat	<i>Kënga e Rexhës</i>
26 Nov 1983	Akil Koci	A. Nokshiqi	<i>Era dhe kolona</i>
2 July 1983	Bashkim Shehu	Lejla Gluha-Buneta	<i>Besa</i>
26 June 1986	Akil Koci	O. Milosavljević	<i>Zef Lush Marku</i>
25 May 1987	Rauf Dhomi	A. Nokshiqi	<i>E bukura more</i>
22 June 1989	Bashkim Shehu	A. Nokshiqi	<i>Loja e Sizifit</i>
1990	Bashkim Shehu	/	<i>Thirrja e Djallit</i>
2007	Donika Rudi	Filibert Tologo	<i>Life in Slow Motion</i> Contemporary Ballet
Composed 2012	Korab Shaqiri	(Not staged)	<i>Teuta</i>
24 Jun 2014	Korab Shaqiri	Rudina Berdynaj	<i>New Born</i>
2018	Donika Rudi	Darrel Touron	<i>Juliet no Romeo</i>

Table 35. List of film music scores composed between 1960 and 2019

Year	Composer	Film's Name
1960	Rexho Mulliqi	<i>Kapetan Leshi</i>
1968	Rexho Mulliqi	<i>Uka i bjeshkëve të nemura</i>
1970	Fahri Beqiri	<i>Të ngjuarit</i>
1975	Rauf Dhomi	<i>Kur pranvera vonohet</i>
1976	Rauf Dhomi	<i>Gjurmë të bardha</i>
1977	Rauf Dhomi	<i>Buka e hidhur</i>
1978	Rexho Mulliqi	<i>Era dhe lisi</i>
1979	Rauf Dhomi	<i>Rruga pa kthim</i>
1979	Rauf Dhomi	<i>Njeriu prej dheu</i>

1980	Rauf Dhomi	<i>Tre vete kapercejne malin</i>
1982	Bashkim Shehu	<i>Lepuri me pesë këmbë</i>
1983	Akil Koci	<i>Përroi vërshues</i>
1984	Rauf Dhomi	<i>Njeriu prej dheu</i>
1985	Kristë Lekaj	<i>Proka</i>
1986	Bashkim Shehu	<i>Pikniku</i>
1988	Gjon Gjevelekaj	<i>Rojet e mjegullës</i>
1988	Gjon Gjevelekaj	<i>Lulpjeshkat e dashurisë</i>
2000	Rauf Dhomi	<i>Kur shpirti ndërron jetë</i>
2008	Memli Kelmendi	<i>Anarchy</i>
2009	Drinor Zymberi	<i>Liqeni</i>
2010	Trimor Dhomi	<i>In Memoriam</i>
2011	Valton Beqiri	<i>Kolona</i>
2011	Memli Kelmendi	<i>The Basement</i>
2012	Drinor Zymberi	<i>Knockdown</i>
2012	Drinor Zymberi	<i>Molla e kuqe</i>
2012	Korab Shaqiri	<i>The sleeping King</i>
2012	Korab Shaqiri	<i>Romeo & Juliet</i>
2013	Valton Beqiri	<i>Rrota</i>
2013	Trimor Dhomi	<i>Të mjerët</i>
2013	Memli Kelmendi	<i>Era</i>
2013	Korab Shaqiri	<i>Lisistrata</i>
2014	Korab Shaqiri	<i>Three Windows and a Hanging</i>
2014	Memli Kelmendi	<i>Daydream</i>
2014	Memli Kelmendi	<i>Little Red Riding Hood</i>
2014	Memli Kelmendi	<i>Traveling</i>
2014	Memli Kelmendi	<i>Liberation</i>
2015	Korab Shaqiri	<i>Azem Galica (original melody)</i>
2015	Trimor Dhomi	<i>If We Can Do It, We Will Do It</i>
2015	Memli Kelmendi	<i>Return</i>
2015	Memli Kelmendi	<i>The Eaters</i>
2015	Memli Kelmendi	<i>When</i>
2016	Valton Beqiri	<i>Fjala e dhënë</i>
2016	Trimor Dhomi	<i>SHOK (OSCAR nominated for Best Live Action Short Film)</i>
2016	Trimor Dhomi	<i>Zonjusha</i>
2016	Yllnor Kurti	<i>Cheating for papers (an original melody)</i>
2018	Trimor Dhomi	<i>Field of Blackbirds</i>

5.5. Musical Creativity and Practices in Post-War Kosovo (2000-2020)

The transition from the 1990s to the post-war period highlighted new dimensions in the social and cultural sphere in Kosovo. The phenomenon of modernity in general has significantly influenced the new so-called democratic society. Art and music in the two decades following the Kosovo War of 1999 showed both continuity and change, because changes in politics and society were reflected in the musical environment as well. The musical situation after 2000 witnessed completely new developments which aimed to break from previous practices and integrate quickly into new structures. When we refer to the contributions to musical creativity after the year 2000, dynamics appear which are no longer based on the old compositional models. As a result of the circumstances created in the late twentieth century, the twist in the meaning of nationalism or the “modern return to national music” arrived as a new moment in intellectual history. Moreover, the possibilities for general music production were transformed into multidimensional possibilities that appeared as result of global music trends and opportunities offered by science and technology. For this reason, I focus on the main innovations, opportunities, achievements and challenges. Pluralism of styles was generally the element that characterized the global course of the arts; on the other hand, stylistic homogeneity has never been a phenomenon characteristic of art music in Kosovo.

Immediately after the war youthful energy emerged. With clear goals and dedication, young talented musicians were engaged to build a new cultural identity detached from the previous system of practices. In fact, it is easier to single out the compositional music trends which had evolved between the 1970s and 1990s, than it is with those of the 2000s onward due to the highly diverse modernist and postmodernist compositional approaches which define the period. Today, it is very difficult to make a clear distinction between styles, because music has developed in multiple ways. If we create a general overview of compositional schools in Kosovo, it can be said that the most prominent and prolific composers (in terms of teaching young musicians) were Zeqirja Ballata, Rafet Rudi, and Mendi Mengjiqi. Since the 1980s, they represented the most avantgarde composers in Kosovo in terms of musical expression (including here A. Koci and some others who after the 1990s no longer lived and created in Kosovo). After 2000 the compositional momentum was driven by the composers who were born during the 1980s such as Arta Zeqiraj (1980); Kreshnik Aličkaj (1982); Donika Rudi (1982); Dafina Zeqiri-Nushi (1984); Kushtrim Gashi (1984); Lyra Kastrati (1985); Ardita Lubishtani (1985); Korab Shaqiri (1986); Memli Kelmendi (1986); Drinor Zymberi (1987);

Liburn Jupolli (1989); Fatbardh Dubovci (1994); and others. Many of them such as A. Zeqiraj, K. Aličkaj, D. Zeqiri-Nushi, L. Kastrati and D. Zymeri started and/or finished composition studies at the Faculty of Arts in Prishtina, in the class of prof. Mendi Mengjiqi, and they accomplished the goal: the good student follows the path of their teacher, in most cases even exceeds the teacher's success. The influence of their teacher M. Mengjiqi and the Polish composers with whom Mengjiqi studied was reflected and noted by some of them.

“... Being a student of professor M. Mengjiqi gave me the opportunity to study the greatest musical scores, the most influential world composers.... I believe that a good composer should master and embrace all the different styles and then he can play with them and create his own unique masterpieces. A good example of this is how the great Krzysztof Penderecki, the Polish composer, is able to embody both modern and classical influences in his work, resulting in true masterpieces....” (Kreshnik Aličkaj)⁴¹⁰

The composer Arta Zeqiraj has a relatively large opus, mainly music for children, some chamber works and two orchestral works (which have not yet been performed). Based on the repertoire performed in ReMusica editions between 2002 and 2006, Zeqiraj's works are stylistically dissimilar and contain elements of program music. Among her distinguished works is *Elongacion*, a string quartet composed in minimalist style. The expressive language of Kreshnik Aličkaj tends toward wide dissonances and atonality. The modernist structure of his works is stylistically diverse and the boundaries between neo-romanticism, neo-impressionism and the avantgarde sound sometimes clear, sometime blurred. Based on his analytical experiences of art music styles, from Medieval music to postmodern styles, he created his original style by mixing elements of art music with Balkan folk music. He is the first composer to use *lahuta*⁴¹¹ in his three symphonies and in the cantata for Mother Teresa's sanctification, premiered in the Vatican in 2016. K. Aličkaj has oriented all his creativity mainly towards symphonic and orchestral forms, with neo-classical and neo-romantic orientations, overlapping with elements of dodecaphonic and serial music but retaining a distinctive, essential identity based on national elements. His cantata *Mother Teresa* seems to have been influenced in melody by late Renaissance and early Baroque models, while in orchestration and harmony by Stravinsky-type sonorities with pure elements of Albanian music. His contemporaries Drinor Zymeri and Dafina Zeqiri-Nushi have composed along similar lines, but with a special focus on orchestration and timbral features. Zymeri's works in particular are characterized by

⁴¹⁰ ***: The Interview with Albanian Composer, Kreshnik Aličkaj, *The Balkanista* (published: 2 May 2019), <<https://thebalkanista.com/2019/05/02/an-interview-with-albanian-kosovar-composer-kreshnik-alickaj/>> (accessed 8 November 2021).

⁴¹¹ See footnote 81.

balanced and colorful orchestrations (e.g., *Sinfonietta*, *Moving Landscapes*, etc.) Generally, he creates mainly in modernist and postmodernist styles, especially in the field of timbre, which for him is a key compositional element.

“We as composers do not have to see a work from a harmonious and structural perspective, but through the orchestration of timbral nuances. (Drinor Zymberi)⁴¹²

Dafina Zeqiri-Nushi's avantgarde compositions are based on various themes which often introduce contrapuntal devices, modal harmony and series in various canonic operations.⁴¹³ In *Atmospheres*, for example, she explores in a unique form a whole imaginative story based on intuition and emotion. More specifically, she uses short and explicit themes which are developed and combined through the timbre and sonority of two performing instruments – piano and flute.

Inspired by Pierre Schaeffer, the pioneer of musique concrète, Donika Rudi, Liburn Jupolli and Memli Kelmendi explored electro-acoustic and acousmatic techniques in their music. Rudi's compositions manifest her affinity for experimentation with the musical qualities of sound. For example, in her composition *Emotion Machine* she uses the voice to explain all human emotions and memories from her past, present and future. Images that come and go stimulate emotion and encourage the sounds to be perceived as images and representations according to the axiom: *hearing eyes, seeing ears*. Liburn Jupolli, also explores similar compositional approaches. As a result of his specific interest in inventing new musical instruments, from 2009 he designed the instrument *octo*⁴¹⁴ which is often used in his electro-acousmatic compositions as a primary or secondary instrument. Although Memli Kelmendi's oeuvre includes choral, chamber, electroacoustic, film and theatre music, he is predominantly engaged in music production and conducting the renowned choir *Siparantum*.

The work of female composers did not take root in Kosovo until the twenty-first century; this was a result of interruptions, regressions, restarts — all part of the general instability regarding the creative possibilities for women in Kosovo.⁴¹⁵ Since the 1960s Sevime Gjinali, Marija

⁴¹² Arbër SELMANI: 'Moving Landscapes' e Drinor Zymberit gjen botimin dhe shkrihet në fjalët e MAGMUS, [Drinor Zymberi's 'Moving Landscapes' Finds the Publication and Melts in the Words of Magmus], *KultPlus*, (published: 12 December 2019), <<https://www.kultplus.com/muzika/moving-landscapes-e-drinor-zymberit-gjen-botimin-dhe-shkrihet-ne-fjalet-e-magmus/>> (accessed 10 January 2020).

⁴¹³Dafina ZEQRINI-NUSHI: Timbre as the music element of description (Essay) <https://www.academia.edu/27448064/Timbre_as_the_music_element_of_description_short_part_> (accessed 18 November 2022).

⁴¹⁴ See footnote 403.

⁴¹⁵ Alma BEJTULLAHU: Sodobne skladateljice na Kosovu: od kod prihajajo in kam grede, 91.

Antoni and Pranvera Badivuku were the first females engaged in composition. For various reasons, their artistic creativity remained only at the level of popular and children's music. While men were present in all musical professions, women were successful in *vocal and instrumental performance* – singers: Hermina Lekaj, Nexhmije Pagarusha, Lajde Mjeda, Shpresa Gashi, Nezafete Shala, Ivana Vitalić, Milica Milisavljević; pianists: Teuta Pllana, Valbona Petrovci-Pula, Lejla Haxhiu-Pula; in *music pedagogy* – Seniha Spahiu, and as *choir leaders or conductors* – Jehona Zajmi, Veronika Mjeda, and Lirije Koshi-Halili.⁴¹⁶ Only after the year 2000, female composers strongly proved their creative compositional ability. In addition to the above-mentioned female composers, other (female) musicians have developed profiles as composers too: for example, Ermira Çitaku (flautist), Gresa Broqi (violoncellist), Ilire Avdiu (clarinetist), and others.

Table 36. List of the main choral, chamber and orchestral works composed by Kosovan composers after the year 2000.

Composer	Main Works
Zeqirja Ballata	<i>Motetus scolasticus</i> - for choir (2000); <i>Dyptichon</i> – for four flutes, violin, viola and piano (2000); <i>Tre terzetti</i> – for clarinet in Es, in B, and bass clarinet (2004); <i>Sarabanda</i> – for soprano, bass and two pianos (2006); <i>Symposion</i> – for chamber orchestra (2009); <i>A tre</i> – for piccolo, viola and piano (2012).
Bashkim Shehu	<i>Three Elegies</i> – symphonic work (2006); <i>Dolce Suono</i> (2007); <i>Aproximato 5</i> – for accordion chamber orchestra (2010); <i>Allegro Barbaro</i> – for piano, achordion and orchestra (2012).
Mendi Mengjiqi	<i>Longing for mother</i> – for string orchestra (2000); <i>Ex adverso</i> – for mixed choir (2003) <i>Concert for guitar and orchestra</i> homage for M. Ravel (2003); <i>Albanian Suite</i> – for chamber orchestra (2003); <i>Music in the cycle</i> – choral work (2007); <i>National Anthem</i> (2008); <i>Pax Matri Teresiae</i> – for soprano and piano (2009); <i>Symphony</i> (2017); <i>Symphonic pain</i> – orchestral work (2019); <i>Breath again</i> – for string orchestra, dedicated to Pandemic Covid-19 (2020).
Valton Beqiri	<i>Folk Dance</i> – for two saxophones and piano (2003); <i>744S</i> saxophone quartet (2003); <i>Variations</i> – for string trio (2004); <i>Concert for saxophone, orchestra and percussion</i> (2005); <i>Sound travel</i> – for male octet, violin and piano (2007); <i>The spirit of tradition</i> – for string orchestra and percussions (2011); <i>Formers</i> – for guitars quartet (2014); <i>Tik-Tak</i> – for clarinets quartet (2016).

⁴¹⁶ Ibid., 96.

Trimor Dhomi	<i>Melody Through Spacetime</i> – symphonic work (2015); <i>Into a Dream</i> – symphonic work (2016); <i>Dance of the Dragons</i> – for acoustic guitar, string orchestra and piano (2018).
Arta Zeqiraj	<i>Dialogue with Contradiction</i> – for violin, flute cello and piano (2001); <i>Three sketches</i> – for flute and piano (2002); <i>Elongacion</i> – for string orchestra (2003); <i>Piece</i> – for accordion orchestra (2005); <i>Disappointment</i> – for oboe, piano, viola and double bass (2006); Two Symphonic works (not performed yet); Some piano miniatures, etc.
Kreshnik Aliçkaj	<i>Symphony no.1</i> (2009); <i>Symphony no.2</i> (2012); <i>Dardania Sacra</i> string quartet (2012); <i>String Trio</i> (2012); <i>Symphony no.3</i> (2014); <i>Piano Quintet</i> (2015); <i>Cantata Mother Teresa</i> (2016); <i>Siparantum</i> – choral work (2017); <i>Concerto</i> – for violin, piano and orchestra (2017); <i>Concert</i> – for clarinet and orchestra (2019); <i>Concerto</i> – for trombone and orchestra; <i>Concert</i> – for guitar and orchestra etc.
Donika Rudi	<i>Sauts</i> – string quartet (2002); <i>Epitaph</i> – for mixed choir (2003); <i>Move</i> – for mezzo-soprano, flute, clarinet, violin and piano (2006); <i>Au-delà du rêve</i> – for mixed choir, soprano and ocarina (2008); <i>Colors</i> (2004); <i>Naissance</i> (2006); <i>Defiance</i> (2009); <i>Grumble</i> (2009); <i>Disturbia</i> (2009); <i>Aura</i> – for clarinet, piano, violin, viola, mezzosoprano, soprano, percussion and electronics (2009); <i>Nine</i> – for amplified Trombone and Tape (2010); <i>Sophies world</i> (2010); <i>Nuit Bleue</i> (inspired by Frederic Chopins <i>Prelude</i> in E minor, (2010); <i>Unspoken</i> – acousmatic piece (2012); <i>Emotion machine</i> – acousmatic piece (2012); <i>Ode to life</i> – acousmatic piece in public space (2019).
Dafina Zeqiri-Nushi	<i>Atmospheres</i> – for flute and piano (2005); <i>Five</i> – for string orchestra (2007); <i>The story about Mary</i> – for actor, flute, violin, guitar and piano (2010); <i>Momentto</i> – for violin and symphony orchestra (2010); <i>Variations</i> – for symphonic orchestra (2011); <i>Echo and Narcissus</i> – for chamber orchestra (2014); <i>Duaj</i> – for mixed choir (2015); <i>Concert</i> – for piano and orchestra (2017); <i>Flowing</i> – for flute and harp (2019).
Kushtrim Gashi	<i>Reflections</i> – for violin and piano (2005); <i>Folk dance</i> – for piano (2009); <i>Polimorfi</i> – for string quartet (2009); <i>Wind Quartet</i> – for flute, clarinet, saxophone and bass clarinet (2009); <i>Trio</i> – for flute, oboe, fagot (2010); <i>Music Funebre</i> – for string quartet (2010); <i>Salve Regina</i> – for choir and piano (2010); <i>Atmosphere</i> – for symphonic orchestra (2010); <i>Dialog</i> – for violin and orchestra (2011); <i>Symphonic Poem</i> (2015);
Lyra Kastrati	Four choral/sacral works: <i>Jesus</i> (2009); <i>Our Father; Mother; The Waters Saw You; A Night of Indigo</i> – for soprano and piano (2009); <i>Entreacte</i> – trio for flute, cello and piano (2014); <i>Daydream I, II, III</i> – for piano; <i>Over these fields</i> (version I: for orchestra, version II: for orchestra and electronics); <i>Echos of the Past</i> – for trumpet and electronics; <i>Light of these days</i> – electro-acoustic piece; <i>Bringer of Night</i> – electro-acoustic piece.
Ardita Lubishtani	<i>Trio Neoclassico</i> – for violin, viola, chello (2009); <i>Adagio</i> – for flute and piano (2011).
Korab Shaqiri	<i>Duble Quintet</i> – for 10 instruments (2008); <i>Dances Suite</i> – symphonic work (2012); <i>Shputa e zjarhtë</i> – quartet (2017); <i>Waltz of Independence</i> – orchestral work (2018); <i>Symphony – Last Night</i> .
Memli Kelmendi	<i>Passage Through the life</i> – for voice and electronic music (2009); <i>Another Noise</i> – for flute and electronic music (2009); <i>OhridSomnia</i> (2011); <i>Silent Dream</i> – electronic music (2011); <i>Thunderstorm in D</i> – electronic music

	(2014); <i>Black&White</i> – dedicated to DAM Festival (2014); <i>When I was you</i> – for choir (2014); <i>Agnus Dei</i> – for choir (2015).
Drinor Zymberi	<i>Triumphal</i> – for chamber orchestra (2006); <i>Lento</i> – for chamber orchestra (2007); <i>Poem of the Waves</i> – for chamber orchestra (2007); <i>Alauda arvensis</i> – for chamber orchestra (2008); <i>Te Deum</i> – for string orchestra (2008); <i>Concert</i> – for orchestra (2009); <i>Cantus no.1, 2, 3</i> – for chamber orchestra (2009-10); <i>Ecstasy</i> – for flute and string orchestra (2011); <i>Epitaph</i> – for trombone, percussions and piano (2011); <i>Lux Aeterna</i> – for mixed choir (2012); <i>Symphony</i> (2012); <i>Moving Landscapes</i> – for string orchestra (2017); <i>Symphonietta</i> – for string orchestra (2017); <i>Concert</i> – for piano and orchestra (2014); <i>Fast (e)motion</i> – for wind quintet (2018); <i>Trance</i> – for string orchestra (2019).
Liburn Jupolli	<i>In Memoriam</i> – for piano (2006); <i>Eta Carinae</i> – for violin (2006); <i>Sight of a Crypt</i> – for piano (2007); <i>Dead Circus</i> – for piano (2007); Three Dadaist Dances – for string trio (2009); <i>A world of Abel Dereck Black</i> – electroacoustic (2011); <i>Svens first dream</i> – electroacoustic (2012); <i>Malangt</i> – electroacoustic (2015); <i>Micro-suite en blanc et noir</i> – for piano (2015); <i>Mali me vesh</i> – for Octo (2015).
Fatbardh Dubovci	<i>Toccata</i> – for piano (2018); <i>Suite</i> – for piano (2018); <i>Miniartet</i> – for string quartet (2019); <i>AdaPre</i> – for string quartet (2019); <i>Aria II</i> – for soprano and piano (2019); <i>Due Onde: Lux and Quando corpus morietur</i> – for piano (2020); etc.

Despite significant general achievements in the compositional sphere, since 2000 the music environment in Kosovo continued to be unsecure and full of challenges. Trends and relationships created between culture and society were characterized by dynamics similar to societies in transition, where traditional and contemporary trends sometimes coexisted, sometimes clashed; consequently, it will take time for processes and sustainable practices to be followed normally and continuously. An important role was played by the establishment of festivals (the most favorable investment for local creativity and the promotion of new artists). Festivals represent the most productive events in the recent history of music in Kosovo. They are the only activity that creates new opportunities for the development of music, that promotes new music in a programmatic and systematic way, and are the only manifestation that can restore the lost space.⁴¹⁷ The foundation of music festivals was the most important momentum in the development of musical art in line with global trends. From the International Festival of Chamber Music (founded in 2000) to the Sunny Hill Festival (founded in 2018), a considerable growth has been seen in the number of music events and competitions (classical, jazz, rock,

⁴¹⁷ Rafet RUDI: Muzičko stvaralaštvo Kosova /1990-2010/ kroz prizmu festivala savremene muzike [Musical Creativity of Kosovo /1990-2010/ Through the Prism of Contemporary Music Festivals], *Scientific Meeting at the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Montenegro* (January 2013), < <https://rafetrudi.com/promocija-savremenog-muzickog-stvaralastva-putem-festivala/>> (accessed 12 November 2022).

pop, folk, etc.). The festivals *ReMusica*, *DAM Festival* and *Chopin Piano Fest* remain until today the three major international festivals of art music in Kosovo. Each is different in its form and conceptual underpinning. The *ReMusica Festival* (founded in 2002 by composer Rafet Rudi) came as an attempt to revive the pre-war Festival *Skena Muzikore e Prishtinës* (SMP), so in its three first editions (23-27 April 2002; 23-26 April 2003; 12-16 May 2004;) the festival was named Prishtina International Contemporary Music Festival *Skena e Re Muzikore e Prishtinës* [Prishtina New Music Scene]. In 2005 the festival eventually took the name *ReMusica*.⁴¹⁸ It is the main pillar for the promotion of contemporary music, with a specific focus on classical and modern sound. On the other hand, the *DAM Festival* (the name comes from *Departamenti i Artit Muzikor* [Department of Art Music] within the Faculty of Arts in Prishtina), was initiated by the very students of this Department. *DAM* (The International Festival of Young Musicians) started its initial mission in 2006 by Dardan Selimaj, focused on gathering and promoting young and talented national and international musicians from all over the world. In 2010, another festival, the *Chopin Piano Fest Prishtina*, a festival dedicated to the mastery of piano performance, was added to the Prishtina music scene. Initially, it was established on the occasion of the 200th anniversary of Fryderyk/Frédéric Chopin by Besa Luzha and Lejla Haxhiu-Pula, then became an annual festival event.

In addition to the above-mentioned events, other type of festivals should be pointed out, specifically the competitive ones, which in Kosovo have a historically longer tradition. The most notable examples of such festivals are: *Ars Kosova Music Competition for Youth*, founded in 2003 (also a part of EMCY – European Union of Music Competition for Youth); International Piano Competition *Pianisti i Ri* [The Young Pianist], founded in 2008; and *Peja International Guitar Festival*, founded in 2014. The complexity of functions that music festivals perform, and the benefits they bring are manifold and include artistic, aesthetic, cultural, economic and political dimensions. Present-day festivals are based on a series of music performances offered to audiences as multimedia events in line with their major program orientations.⁴¹⁹ Considerations of nationalism sometimes go beyond the field of music itself. For nations that were once at war, any cultural exchange was for decades unimaginable, and from a nationalist perspective such tendencies appeared very anti-national. Censorship and

⁴¹⁸ See: Festivali Ndërkombëtar i Muzikës Bashkohore – Skena Muzikore e Prishtinës [International Festival of Avantgarde Music – Music Scene of Prishtina] Booklets: (2002 -2005), *ReMusica Festival*, <<https://remusicafestival.com/>> (accessed 15 January 2023).

⁴¹⁹ See: Jelena GLIGORIJEVIĆ: *Contemporary Music Festivals as Micronational Spaces: Articulations of National Identity in Serbia's Exit and Guča Trumpet Festivals in the Post-Milošević Era* (doctoral dissertation, University of Turku, 2019), 70-72.

nationalism significantly shaped the musical landscape of Kosovo in the 2000s, creating a context where multiculturalism and cultural exchange, particularly with former Yugoslav countries, including Serbia, were virtually impossible, especially in terms of artist visits. In the musical events (concerts, festivals, etc.) organized in the five or six years after the war it was impossible to see in concert programs or flyers any name originating from Slavic roots, especially any Serbian surname with the suffix [ić], a phenomenon that gradually began to fade away.⁴²⁰ The first Serbian musician to participate in *ReMusica Festival*, (in the framework of the evening dedicated to Balkan Music) was the pianist Branka Parlić in 2007.⁴²¹ In the same year, under the initiative of Japanese conductor Toshio Yanagisawa and with the aim of developing interethnic co-prosperity in the Balkan Peninsula, the *Balkan Chamber Orchestra* was founded and performed at concerts in Skopje, Prishtina, Mitrovica, Tirana, Sarajevo, Belgrade, Vienna, Japan, etc. As sites of great potential on the music market, festivals eventually evolved into multicultural events, with a focus on creating new opportunities, updating cultural exchange, and promoting the universal values of art. So, in 2014 *Mirëdita – Dobar dan Festival* emerged on the artistic market as an event that merges art, culture, advocacy, and public debate by bringing together artists, human rights and peace activists and opinion makers from Kosovo and Serbia. This represented a promise of prosperity and mutual recognition between cultures and peoples.

Table 37. List of Festivals founded after year 2000⁴²²

Music Festivals established after year 2000		
Year	City/town	Festival's name
2000	Prishtina	Festival <i>Kosova Kamer Fest</i> [International Chamber Music Festival]
2001	Viti	Festival <i>Flakadani i Karadakut</i>
2002	Prishtina	<i>ReMusica</i> International Contemporary Music Festival
2005	Prishtina	<i>Ars Kosova</i> [International Competition of Young Musicians]
2005	Prishtina	<i>Prishtina Jazz Festival</i>
2006	Prishtina	<i>DAM</i> - International Festival of Music
2008	Different Towns	International Piano Competition <i>Pianisti i Ri</i> [The Young Pianist]

⁴²⁰ See: *ReMusica* Booklets: (2002 -2006), *ReMusica Festival*, <<https://remusicafestival.com/>> (accessed 20 January 2023).

⁴²¹ Branka PALIĆ: *Balkan Music (Piano Recital)*, concert on 19 May 2007, Catholic Church *Shën Ndou* Prishtina, 19:00h, *ReMusica Festival* (Booklet).

⁴²² After the year 2000, many Children's festivals were founded. They are not included in the table, e.g.: the Children's Dance festival *Ylberi i Prishtinës* (2003); *Lyra Fest Children Festival* in Gjakova (2007); Children's song festival *Lyra* in Gjilan (2009); *International Festival a-mol* in Ferizaj (2016); *Rising Star* International Festival in Gjilan (2018) etc.

2010	Prishtina	Festival <i>Chopin Piano Fest</i>
2011	Prizren	<i>NGOM Fest</i>
2012	Different towns	<i>Turkish Jazz Week</i>
2013	Prishtina	<i>Viluela Guitar Fest</i>
2016	Peja	<i>Peja International Guitar Festival</i>
2014	Prishtina/Belgrade	Festival <i>Mirëdita, Dobar dan</i>
2016	Komoran	<i>National Folk Festival</i>
2017	Prishtina	<i>Kosova Brass Festival</i>
2018	Prizren	<i>Medimus International Festival of Medieval Music</i>
2018	Prishtina	<i>Prishtina International Vocal Festival</i>
2018	Prishtina	<i>Sunny Hill Festival</i>
2018	Peja	<i>Folk Song Festival</i>
2019	Gračanica	<i>Etno Festival mladih stvaralaca</i> [Ethno Festival of Young Artists]

ETHNOMUSICOLOGY AND MUSICOLOGY IN KOSOVO: BACKGROUND, RESEARCH AND PUBLICATIONS

The main goal of this chapter is to illuminate the approaches of the pioneers in ethnomusicology and historical musicology in Kosovo. Ethnomusicology and musicology in Kosovo took shape as scientific disciplines only after the 1940s. In the socio-political circumstances of those years, the concerns of the disciplines were dictated by the multinational cultural goals and policies of the time. Albanian and Serbian ethnomusicological and musicological studies were conducted separately and in parallel, sometimes coexisting peacefully with each other and at other times trying to surmount socio-political crises. Ethnomusicology was integrated with the study of folklore within the Albanological Institute.⁴²³ Musicology as a discipline, on the other hand, never managed to be as ‘productive’ as ethnomusicology. This can be attributed to the fact that even today in Kosovo there is no department for musicology within the Albanological Institute or any independent institute of musicology. There was also a constant lack of educated scholars and musicologists due to the absence of a Department of Musicology within the Faculty of Arts in Prishtina. The attempt to penetrate the musical life and the development of the aforementioned scholarly disciplines is presented here only as a product of research based on descriptive narratives, books, and information published in different newspapers, books and journals.

6.1. Albanian Music and Musical Folklore in the Research of Non-Albanian Scholars

For centuries, the people of Kosovo have cherished the wealth of their spiritual expression in non-material form, because in this way the use of language, music and tradition could not easily be erased from the consciousness of Albanian people, an outcome many conquerors had sought to achieve. Popular tradition was passed down from generation to generation only in oral form. Some of the richest music of the Balkans — Ottoman art music, Orthodox Christian music,

⁴²³ The *Albanological Institute of Prishtina* was founded on 1 June 1953 but following a decision of the state authorities of that time it was closed in 1955. In the circumstances which emerged after 1966 (after the “Ranković era”), on 28 February 1967 the Institute was re-established, becoming an important center of scholarly research in all fields of Albanological studies, including folklore and ethnomusicology.

urban songs and traditional agrarian songs — had all relied heavily on oral transmission; and indeed, this was the norm not the exception in regional music history.⁴²⁴ Thus, Kosovan people have preserved with firm determination their reflections on difficult historical realities by means of oral literature, folk poetry, and musical folklore.⁴²⁵ Lyric and epic folk songs, as well as ballads, are considered to be among the most beautiful forms of musical folklore which is characterized by a variety of motifs with typical features of Balkan melodies and oriental colors. Kosovo is known for its rich musical folklore, and this was a result and an expression of the conditions in which its ethnically mixed population lived for centuries. Lyrical and epic folk songs and ballads are considered among the most beautiful products of both Kosovo Albanian and Serbian folklore.

Before Albanian scholars from Kosovo began their research on Kosovo folklore, the research of scholars from other regions had already been published. The interest in discovering more features about the rich Kosovan and Balkan cultural heritage began as early as the nineteenth century.⁴²⁶ Jernej Kopitar's interest and activity in the field of Albanology took place in the first part of the nineteenth century. In his scholarly Balkan activities, a special place is occupied by the language, folklore, literature and culture of the Albanian people of Kosovo.⁴²⁷ However, nearly all modern adaptations and popularizations of Kosovan themes in Serbia have their starting points in the work of Vuk Stefanović Karadžić (1787–1864) and Petar II Petrović-Njegoš (1813–1851).⁴²⁸ As an influential Serbian folklorist and linguist, Karadžić (inspired by J. Kopitar) published four volumes of *Serbian National Songs* between 1841 and 1862, including several songs and poems from Kosovo. In 1830, Karadžić introduced twelve Albanian folk songs (along with a translation of their texts into Serbian), three lyric songs and nine epic songs, which he recorded after hiring two local singers, one from Peja (?) and one from Gurrakoc (Dovica Obodović).⁴²⁹ In the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century

⁴²⁴ Jim SAMSON: *Music in the Balkans*, 31.

⁴²⁵ Cf. Shefqet PLLANA: Das Albanische Volkslied in Kosovo, *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, X/2 (1979), 215: “Spezielle historische und soziologische Faktoren haben bewirkt, daß sich Kosovo, im Zentralraum der Balkanhalbinsel gelegen, zu einem Gebiet mit außergewöhnlich reicher, bedeutender Folklore entwickelte”.

⁴²⁶ Shefqet PLLANA: *Studime në fushë të folklorit* [Studies in the Field of Folklore], Prishtina: University of Prishtina, 2004, 380. Cf. also Norbert JOKL: Vuk Karadžićs albanische Liedersammlung, in: *Zbornik filoloških i lingvističkih studija A. Beliću posvećen*, Belgrade: izdavač, 1921, 33-87.

⁴²⁷ Shefqet PLLANA: *Studime në fushë të folklorit*, 362.

⁴²⁸ Hilton Emil SAGGAU: Kosovo Crucified-Narratives in the Contemporary Serbian Orthodox Perception of Kosovo, *Religions* (published: 16 October 2019), <<https://www.mdpi.com/2077-1444/10/10/578>> (accessed 26 February 2022).

⁴²⁹ Shefqet PLLANA: *Studime në fushë të folklorit* [Studies in the Field of Folklore], Prishtina: University of Prishtina, 2004, 379-380. Cf. Norbert JOKL: Vuk Karadžićs albanische Liedersammlung, in: *Zbornik filoloških i lingvističkih studija A. Beliću posvećen*, Belgrade: Cvijanović, 1921, 33-87.

one of the earliest mentioned collectors of the folk tradition of Serbian people in Kosovo was Mladen Dene Debeljković (1858 – 1915), a Serbian priest and teacher, collector of oral treasure and folk artefacts of Serbian ethnicity in Kosovo. In general, Kosovan musical folklore gained popularity only when Serbian and other South Slavic musicians began to show an interest in this rich heritage. Among the first collectors was Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac, a Serbian composer and ethnomusicologist, known as the *father of Serbian music*. Folk melodies from Kosovo were initially recorded by Mokranjac during his field research in February 1896 in Kosovo with the aim of collecting materials for further artistic elaboration.⁴³⁰ During the process of finding adequate folk tunes, and motivated by the work of colleagues such as Kornelije Stanković (from Serbia) and Franjo Ksaver Kuhač (from Croatia), Mokranjac collected and took notes of several hundred folk songs from different regions of the Balkans, most of them from two geographic and ethnic regions, *Levač* and *Kosovo*. He collected about 160 Serbian folk melodies in Kosovo and about 300 folk melodies from different parts of Serbia which he recoded either as he knew them or based on the singing of various singers.⁴³¹ In Mokranjac's *Ethnomusicological Notations*, there is information for more than one hundred songs from Kosovo about the singer's place of origin as well as about the origin of the song.⁴³²

Kosovan folklore became attractive to other composers and musicians from the broader Balkan region who partially integrated this multicolored heritage into their works. One of them was the outstanding composer Josip Štolcer Slavenski.⁴³³ The most attractive genre that thrilled researchers was the Albanian heroic-epic songs known as the *Cycle of Kreshnik songs* sung by the highlanders of the Northern areas of Albania and Kosovo in the Gheg dialect of Northern Albania.⁴³⁴ Ethnomusicological studies were presented at irregular intervals by various authors who were mainly engaged in the collection and study of folk songs. Being part of multidisciplinary projects, the research and documentation of folk music as one of the main tasks of the newly founded Institute of Musicology in Belgrade in 1948, started with systematic research of the musical tradition of some regions in the province of Kosovo. During her

⁴³⁰ Marija DUMNIĆ: *Urban Music from Kosovo and Metohija in the Researches of Serbian Ethnomusicologists up to the Second Half of the Twentieth Century*, Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnography, Belgrade, LXI (2013) 2, 90.

⁴³¹ Dragoslav DEVIĆ: *Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac – Collector of Folk Songs and Ethnomusicologist*, 15. UDC 781.7 Mokranjac S., 18., September 2006 <<https://www.newsound.org.rs/pdf/en/ns28/2.%20D.%20Devic.pdf>> (accessed 16 September 2020).

⁴³² Ibid.

⁴³³ Josip Štolcer Slavenski (11 May 1896 – 30 November 1955) was a Croatian composer and professor at the Music Academy in Belgrade, one of the major composers from Southeastern Europe in the first half of the twentieth century.

⁴³⁴ Arbnora DUSHI: Approaches of the Albanian Folkloristic in Kosovo: Background, Researches, Publications, *Traditiones*, 48 (2019) 3, 76.

temporary visits in 1954–1957 to Prizren, Leposavić, Zvečan, etc., Milica Ilijin conducted field research on traditional dances where she recorded the music of the Serbs, Albanians, Turks and Gorani people, also mentioning some Roma performers, all in the already mentioned spirit of the official ideological motto of socialist Yugoslavia – ‘brotherhood and unity’.⁴³⁵ Petar Kolevski was one of the few Macedonian scholars who became interested in the common motifs and themes of Macedonian and Albanian ballads, songs and romances. At the XXXIII Congress of the *Yugoslav Folklore Associations* (held in 1986), Kolevski presented the topic *Common motifs in Macedonian and Albanian folk ballads and romances*, convincingly asserting that folklore motifs of the Balkan peoples are the inexhaustible musical heritage of those who shared the same historical destiny.⁴³⁶

The original features of Kosovan musical folklore attracted the attention of some foreign musicologists and ethnomusicologists who expressed interest in studying the autochthonous musical material originating from these regions. The American researchers Milman Parry and Albert Lord visited the Balkans in the 1930s in search of the Homeric epics and recorded Albanian epic songs.⁴³⁷ Later, in August 1959, Dr. Ernst Emsheimer from the Institute for Language and Folklore in Stockholm and the Danish scholar Birthe Trearup joined a group of European musicologists who visited Kosovo to collect, research and study the musical folklore of various nationalities from the region.⁴³⁸ In the later years of the 20th century and the early 21st century, scholarly efforts such as Felix Hoerburger and Thomas Emmerig's *Valle popullore: Tanz und Tanzmusik der Albaner im Kosovo und in Makedonien* (1994) and Svanibor Pettan's *Rom Musicians in Kosovo: Interactions in Creativity* (2002) have contributed valuable perspectives on the cultural and musical diversity of Kosovo.⁴³⁹ Hoerburger and Emmerig's *Valle popullore: Tanz und Tanzmusik der Albaner im Kosovo und in Makedonien* (1994) provides a detailed examination of Albanian folk dance and dance music in Kosovo and Macedonia, highlighting how traditional Albanian dances reflect cultural identity and historical continuity. The book offers an analysis of the structures, forms, and

⁴³⁵ Danka LAJIĆ MIHAJLOVIĆ & Jelena JOVANOVIĆ (eds.): *Kosovo and Metohija: A Musical Image of Multiculturalism in the 1950s and 1960s*, Belgrade: Muzikološki institut Srpske akademije nauka i umetnosti, 2018, 121.

⁴³⁶ Q. HASANI: Petar Kolevski i dashuruar në folklorin shqiptar, [Petar Kolevski in Love with Albanian Folklore] *Rilindja* (9 October 1986), 10.

⁴³⁷ Arbnora DUSHI: *Approaches of the Albanian Folkloristic in Kosovo*, 77.

⁴³⁸ Akil KOCI: Muzikologët e huej në Krahinë tonë, [Foreign Musicologists in Our Province] *Rilindja* (11 August 1959), 7.

⁴³⁹ See: Felix HOERBURGER– Thomas EMMERIG: *Valle popullore: Tanz und Tanzmusik der Albaner im Kosovo und in Makedonien*, Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 1994; Svanibor PETTAN: *Rom Musicians in Kosovo: Interactions in Creativity Roma Muszikusok Koszovoban: Kolcsonhatas es Kreativitas*, Institute for Musicology of the Hungarian Academy for Sciences, 2002.

performance practices that characterize the region's folk-dance traditions. Similarly, Svanibor Pettan's 2002 publication, *Rom Musicians in Kosovo: Interactions in Creativity (Roma Muszikusok Koszovoban: Kolcsonhatas es Kreativitas)*, brings different perspectives on the musical landscape of Kosovo, particularly regarding the intersection of cultures. S. Pettan sheds light on the role of Rom musicians in the region, and his work not only highlights Kosovo's cultural diversity but also serves as a crucial resource for understanding how various musical traditions, including those of the Rom community, influence music through processes of interaction and shared creativity.

The Balkans, with its mix of ethnicities and religions, increasingly became an interesting research area for scholars from abroad. Jim Samson's *Music in the Balkans* (2013), is one of the publications which examines the relations between ethnicities and religions, politics and musical practices, and traditional music and modern cultures. It is one of the publications that marked a significant turning point in western approaches to a global music historiography which includes Kosovo.⁴⁴⁰ It is also worth mentioning another history of music production in Yugoslavia, which could be named a survey in words and sound: five extensive series of Long Play recordings (105 in total) published by the Jugoton recording company in Zagreb, encompassing music from Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Kosovo, Macedonia, Slovenia, Serbia and Vojvodina.⁴⁴¹

6.2. Ethnomusicological Publications by Albanian Scholars from Kosovo: Beginnings and Orientations

Ethnomusicology and historical musicology in Kosovo were formed as scientific disciplines in the 1960s. Under the socio-political circumstances of those years, the interests of scholars were directed by the official multinational cultural goals and policies. As already mentioned, ethnomusicology was placed under the umbrella of the Folklore department of the Albanological Institute and therefore received greater institutional opportunities for development.

⁴⁴⁰ Katy ROMANOU: Serbian Music in Western Music Historiography, in: *Serbian Music: Yugoslav Contexts*, Melita Milin, Jim Samson (eds.), Belgrade: Institute of Musicology of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 2014, 17.

⁴⁴¹ Tatjana MARKOVIČ: Balkan Studies and Music Historiography, in: *(Self) Representation between »Authenticity« and Europeanization*, <http://www.kakanien-revisited.at/beitr/balkans/tmarkovic1.pdf> (accessed 2 March 2021).

Motivated by Croatian and Serbian ethnomusicologists such as Franjo Ksaver Kuhač (1834–1912) who was the founder of ethnomusicology in Croatia and the Serbian scholar Stevan Mokranjac (1856 – 1914), Lorenc Antoni seems to have been the pioneer of all proactive initiatives in the field of music which appeared from the 1940s on. In addition to being an autodidact composer, music teacher and promoter and organizer of musical events, he was also a collector and researcher of Albanian musical folklore. Consequently, he was the initiator of the first ethnomusicological studies in Kosovo. He is considered to be the *Albanian Stevan Mokranjac*, as he was one of the first who researched and published on Albanian cultural and musical heritage, and also used it as the source of inspiration for his own music. Many years before World War II, Antoni began to develop an intense interest in ethnomusicology, attracted by the traditional sounding characteristics of folk songs and rhythms. According to Antoni himself, he started his collection of folklore in 1927. His extended study was crowned with the publication between 1956 and 1977 of seven volumes of *Folklori Muzikor Shqiptar I-VII* [Albanian Musical Folklore I – VII], containing about 800 Albanian folk songs from various Albanian-inhabited areas.

Table 38. Albanian Musical Folklore - seven volumes by Lorenc Antoni (1956-1977) ⁴⁴²

ALBANIAN MUSICAL FOLKLORE			
Year	Publication	Content	Regional origin of songs
1956	<i>Folklori muzikor shqiptar I</i>	105 songs	Skopje, Prizren, Gjakova, Ferizaj (Kosovo, Macedonia)
1961	<i>Folklori muzikor shqiptar II</i>	106 songs	Opoja, Prizren, Ulcinj (Montenegro)
1964	<i>Folklori muzikor shqiptar III</i>	110 songs	Skopje, Tetovo, Kičevo, Gostivar, Debar, Kumanovo, Struga, Prespa (Macedonia)
1970	<i>Folklori muzikor shqiptar IV</i>	112 songs	Kamenica region (Kosovo)
1972	<i>Folklori muzikor shqiptar V</i>	122 songs	Various Albanian regions
1974	<i>Folklori muzikor shqiptar VI</i>	122 songs	Special edition (Kosovo, Serbia, Macedonia, Montenegro)
1977	<i>Folklori muzikor shqiptar VII</i>	93 songs	Special edition (Kosovo, Serbia, Macedonia, Montenegro)

He did systematic work on the representation of the songs by making textual and melo-rhythmic analyses according to the content and the way of singing. “Depending on what the rhapsode (singer) or personality mentioned in the song has gone through, the analysis of melody, rhythm, harmony, forms and folk poetics are beautifully ‘semantized’ as idioms of events and happenings often between the many realities of concrete and imaginary

⁴⁴² See: Lorenc ANTONI: *Folklori Muzikor Shqiptar* [Albanian Musical Folklore], Vols. I-VI, Prishtinë: Rilindja, 1956, 1961, 1964, 1970, 1972, 1974, 1977.

moments.”⁴⁴³ At the end of each song, the author noted some important data: the name of the singer, the ambitus of the melody, the meter marked with numbers, and the formal structure of the song marked in capital letters. During 1952-53 Vojislav Dančetočić, together with Anton Çetta and Kadri Halimi, collected the most valuable traditional songs in Albania and in the Dukagjin region of Kosovo and published them in three volumes entitled *Kangë popullore shqiptare të Kosovë-Metohis: legjenda dhe kangë kreshnike I, II, III* [Albanian Folk Songs of Kosovo-Metohija: Legends and Heroic songs I, II, III].⁴⁴⁴

Musicologists and ethnomusicologists have never been numerous in Kosovo and therefore some intellectuals, although they were not music professionals, were also engaged in this work and contributed greatly to the development of ethnomusicology. Shefqet Pllana was one of the first who was intensively engaged in collecting and studying musical folklore and was one of the earliest contributors to this field. He was the first participant from the province of Kosovo at the Sixth Congress of Yugoslav Folklorists held in Bled, Slovenia (14-17 September 1959), where he presented on the topic ‘Partisan and Revolutionary Albanian Musical Folklore’.⁴⁴⁵ As other countries of former Yugoslavia had very little information about Albanian folklore, the establishment of the typology and characteristics, and the tape recorder demonstration of some lyrical and epic songs, aroused particular interest among congressional musicologists. So, for Vinko Žganec, the Croatian ethnomusicologist, “*This musical material... for all of us was a big surprise and discovery*”.⁴⁴⁶ At the Congress of Yugoslav Folklorists in 1960 Pllana delivered a paper dedicated to the song *Kënga e Rexhës* (elaborated for choir by Antoni), and presented the genesis of the song in his study, together with its formal character and the musicological elements that characterize it. In 1979, Pllana also published an important article in German about Albanian folk songs from Kosovo in the Croatian musicological journal *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*.⁴⁴⁷ He researched systematically in the field of folklore, especially during his years of work in the Albanological Institute. His work resulted in many articles and books (e.g., Shefqet Pllana, *Südost-Europa, Jugoslawien,*

⁴⁴³ Akil M. KOCI: *Lorenc Antoni – jeta dhe vepra* [Lorenc Antoni – Life and Work], Prishtinë: Shoqata e Muzikologëve të Kosovës, 2011, 90.

⁴⁴⁴ Vojislav S. DANČETOVIĆ – Anton ÇETTA – Kadri HALIMI: *Kangë popullore shqiptare të Kosovë – Metohisë* [Albanian Folk Songs of Kosovo – Metohija], Vol. 2, Prishtina: Mustafa Bakija, 1952.

⁴⁴⁵ Rafael SOPI: Prof. Shefqet Pllana, përfaqësues i Krahinës në Kongresin e Folkloristëve Jugosllav [Prof. Shefqet Pllana, Representative of the Province in the Congress of Yugoslav Folklorists], *Rilindja* (12 November 1959), 10.

⁴⁴⁶ Akil M. KOCI: *Folklori muzikor shqiptar revolucionar zgjoi interesim të madh* [Revolutionary Albanian Musical Folklore Aroused Great Interest], *Rilindja* (19 September 1959), 10.

⁴⁴⁷ Shefqet PLLANA: *Das Albanische Volkslied in Kosovo*, *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, X/2 (1979), 215-236.

Kosovo städtische albanische Volkslieder aus Kosovo, dargeboten von Qamili i Vogël, Göttingen: Institut für den wissenschaftlichen Film, 1980; Karadžić, Vuk Stefanović, Vladimir Bovan, and Shefqet Pllana: *Srpske i albanske narodne pesme sa Kosova u zapisima Vuka Karadžića*, Prishtina: Jedinstvo, 1989; Pllana Shefqet: *Studime në fushë te Folklorit* [Studies in the Field of Folklore], Prishtina: Universiteti i Prishtines, Fakulteti i Filologjisë, 2004; etc.).

Among the Serbian intellectuals who lived and worked in Prishtina and contributed to Serbian ethnomusicology was Vladimir Bovan. From 1966 he began to engage intensively in scholarly studies related to the collection, research and study of popular artifacts of Serbian epic literature and Serbian folk songs in the region of Kosovo (e.g., Vladimir Bovan and Miloš S. Milojević: *Kosovsko-metohijske narodne pesme u zbirci M. S. Milojevića*, Prishtina: Jedinstvo, 1975; *Srpske narodne pesme sa Kosova i Metohije*, Prishtina: Jedinstvo, 1977; *Anthology of Serbo-Croatian Epic Folk Songs*, Prishtina: Jedinstvo, 1989; *Obredne narodne pesme: studentski zapisi srpskih narodnih umotvorina na Kosovu i Metohiji*. Priština: Institut za srpsku kulturu, 2000, etc.) In the absence of relevant institutions that would facilitate the publication of ethnomusicological articles, literature on music and especially musical folklore began to be published from the late 1940s in some scholarly literary and cultural journals which were willing to publish articles not dealing with the strictly literary field, such as, e.g., texts in ethnomusicology and historical musicology.⁴⁴⁸

Table 39. Ethnomusicological articles published in the journals *Jeta e Re*, *Përparimi* and *Stremljena* (1949-1959)

Journal/Year	Author and Topic
<i>Jeta e Re</i> 1 (1949)	Lorenc Antoni – Albanian Musical folklore
<i>Jeta e Re</i> 5-6 (1950)	Lorenc Antoni – Musical forms and instruments of the Albanian people (pp.351-375)
<i>Jeta e Re</i> 1 (1951)	Lorenc Antoni – Musical forms and instruments of the Albanian people (pp. 44-65)
<i>Jeta e Re</i> 2-3 (1951)	Lorenc Antoni – Musical score of the song: Kënga e Rexhës (pp.142-145)
<i>Jeta e Re</i> 4 (1951)	Lorenc Antoni – Musical score of the song: Na ka dale nusja e mire
<i>Jeta e Re</i> 1 (1952)	Lorenc Antoni – The rhythm of Albanian folk songs (pp.24-27)
<i>Përparimi</i> 11-12 (1958)	Lorenc Antoni – Tonal bases of Albanian folk songs
<i>Përparimi</i> 2-3 (1959)	Lorenc Antoni – Folk songs from Opoja
<i>Jeta e Re</i> 5 (1959)	Shefqet Pllana – Cantata <i>Poem for them</i> (pp.728-731)

⁴⁴⁸ The regular press in Kosovo began publication of the newspapers *Jedinstvo* (20 January 1945) and *Rilindja* (12 February 1945) which were the continuation of some temporary newspapers that had been published in Kosovo in the years before World War II: *Zani i popullit* (Glas Naroda); *Liria* (Sloboda), etc. From the late 1940s the literary journal *Jeta e Re* was published (17 July 1949), followed by the scientific journal *Përparimi* (May-June 1955), both in the Albanian language, *Stremljenja* – *Стремљења* (May 1960) in the Serbian language and *Çevren* in Turkish.

<i>Jeta e Re 4 (1960)</i>	Shefqet Pllana – Wedding sounds with saze (pp. 412-415)
<i>Jeta e Re 5 (1960)</i>	Shefqet Pllana – Songs from Prespa (pp. 547-549)
<i>Përparimi (1961)</i>	Lorenc Antoni – Two ways of singing by the Albanians of Montenegro
<i>Përparimi 10 (1961)</i>	Lorenc Antoni – Çiftelia, a plucked string instrument, with only two strings
<i>Jeta e Re 5 (1964)</i>	Shefqet Pllana – Five folk ballads (pp.730-738)
<i>Stremljenja 6 (1970)</i>	Vladimir Bovan – Folk songs from the Vranja district

The inauguration of the Ethnomusicology Sector (in 1970) in the Folklore Department of the Albanological Institute, created better opportunities for systematic research, and from that point ethnomusicology was placed under the umbrella of the Folklore Branch with Albanian and Serbian ethnomusicological studies conducted in parallel.⁴⁴⁹ From the late 1970s Bahtir Sheholli and Rexhep Munishi,⁴⁵⁰ both ethnomusicologists, were the most important personalities and were deeply engaged in the study of musical folklore. In most cases Sheholli's studies were based on traditional and contemporary elements of Albanian folk music:

Many Albanian songs contain elements of the old musical tradition pertaining to work, the calendar cycle, the farming tradition, the ballads, the legendary epic ones, the love songs, but they are also mixed with the influence of and elements from other countries like Turkish-Arab, Roma, Greek and Slavic music.⁴⁵¹

For thirty years, Munishi was engaged in ethnomusicological research through individual and group field work, recognizing the continuous musical heritage from different Albanian regions. In addition to field recordings, the public presentations of folk music (e.g., at folklore festivals such as the Provincial Folklore Festival *Gllgovci*; Folk Festival *Hasi Jehon*; Festival *Akordet e Kosovës*, etc.) helped him to collect the needed material, to analyze and define the characteristic phenomena of the songs, forms, ways of singing, singers and musical instruments. As a result of his research, Munishi published the following books: *Këndimi i femrave të Podgurit* [Podgur's Women Singing], Prishtina: Instituti Albanologjik i Prishtinës, 1979; *Këngët malësorçe shqiptare* [Albanian Highlander Songs], Prishtina: Instituti

⁴⁴⁹ Serbian intellectuals and scholars in Kosovo had considered necessary the establishment of a scientific research Institution that would study and collect material from the Serbian cultural and artistic heritage, so, in November 1987 the *Institute for the study of the culture of Serbs, Montenegrins, Croats and Muslims* was established which was the original name of today's *Institute for Serbian Culture – Priština*, (after the war of 1999, it was headquartered in Leposavić). Since 1991, this institute publishes *The Baština Journal* which is a multidisciplinary and scientific journal which covers literature, archeology, history, cultural history, art history, political science, ethnology, ethnomusicology and sociology.

⁴⁵⁰ In 1981 at the University of Paris, in the field of music aesthetics and comparative musicology, Munishi successfully defended his doctoral thesis: *Këngët malësorçe tek shqiptarët* [Les chants montagnards chez les Albanais].

⁴⁵¹ Bahtir SHEHOLLI: Traditional and Contemporary Elements in Albanian Folk Music, *Thesis Kosova* 1, (2008), 143.

Albanologjik i Prishtinës, 1987; *Probleme etnomuzikologjike* [Ethnomusicological Problems], Prishtina: Instituti Albanologjik i Prishtinës, 1997; *Identiteti muzikor* [Musical Identity], Prishtina: R. Munishi, 2001. Themes from Albanian folk music have been an inspiration for many Albanian and Serbian composers who incorporated those motifs into choral forms between 1933 and 1983. Based on this, Munishi published the book *Krijimtaria korale shqipe në Jugosllavi* [Albanian Choral Creativity in Yugoslavia], Prishtinë: Instituti Albanologjik i Prishtinës, 1988. He aimed to summarize as much data as possible in order to recognize the quantitative and qualitative values of choral forms, whereby the characteristic features and scientific analytical views of all the constituent elements of Albanian folklore are reflected. The book presents detailed musical analyses of approximately 51 songs from 23 authors (20 Albanian composers and 3 Serbian ones). By studying and analyzing this choral creativity the author crossed the line between ethnomusicology and musicology. These fields naturally tend to overlap – as they do in the work of Jim Samson – in the attempt to investigate the multiple musical traditions of the Balkans and to elucidate how music has contributed to the definition of national, regional, and social identities.⁴⁵²

The Albanological Institute still remains the only scholarly research institution that, in addition to research activities in the fields of linguistics, literature and history, operates with field research and publishes studies in the fields of folklore and ethnomusicology. The Institute has published the scientific journal *Gjurmime Albanologjike – Folklor dhe Etnologji* [Albanological Research – Folklore and Ethnology] since 1971, with ethnomusicological research and papers included. The review of what has been written up to 2018 remains relevant both at the historiographical and ethnomusicological levels.

Table 40. Some ethnomusicological papers published in the journal *Albanological Research Folklore and Ethnology* (1962-2018)

No./Year	Author	The title of article
1/(1962)	Shefqet Pllana	Puna në këngët popullore shqipe [Work in Albanian folk songs], pp. 149-198.
2/(1965)	Shefqet Pllana	Këngë shqiptare [Albanian songs] pp. 257-293.
2 (1965)	Shefqet Pllana	Këngët e motmotit ndër shqiptarë [Calendar songs of Albanians], pp. 257-293.

⁴⁵² See: Ivana MEDIC: Making a Case for Balkan Music Studies, *Arts*, 9 (2020), 99. <<https://doi.org/10.3390/arts9040099>> (9 April 2022).

2 (1972)	Lorenc Antoni	Trajtat polifonike të muzikës popullore vokale të Gegëve në Jugosllavi [Les formes polyphoniques de la musique populaire, vocale des Gegës en Yougoslavie], pp. 117-130.
2 (1972)	Lorenc Anton	Elementet polifonike në muzikën popullore të Opojës [Les elements polyphoniques de la musique populaire d 'Opoja], pp. 131-134.
5 (1975)	Lorenc Antoni	Mbi disa dukuri dhe mënyra të të kënduarit të këngëve popullore të përfshira në blejt I-VI të 'Folklorit muzikor shqiptar' [Particularités et interpretation des chansons populaires publiées dans les volumes I-VI du Folklore Musical albanais], pp. 119-143.
5 (1975)	Anton Çetta	Disa të dhëna mbi zhvillimin struktural të baladës shqipe [Données sur l'évolution structural de la ballade albanaise], pp. 79-99.
7 (1977)	Rexhep Munishi	Tri këngë popullore femrash për shokun Tito [Trois chansons populaires féminines dédiées au camarade Tito], pp. 19-24.
7 (1977)	Rexhep Munishi	Të kënduarit dyzërësh në disa fshatra të rrethit të Kaçanikut [Le chant bivocalique dans certains villages de Kaçanik], pp. 115-136.
5 (1979)	Shefqet Pllana	Folk Love Songs, pp. 49-68.
9 (1979)	Seniha Spahiu	Shfrytëzimi i folklorit në procesin e edukimit muzikor [The use of folklore in the process of music education], pp. 159-165.
10 (1980)	Shefqet Pllana	Tito në krijimtarinë tonë popullore [Titos dans le folklore Populaire Albanais], pp. 7-26.
11 (1981)	Bahtir Sheholli	Karakteristikat poetiko-muzikore në këngët shqiptare të dashurisë, [Poetic-musical characteristics in Albanian love songs], pp. 79-97.
14 (1984)	Shefqet Pllana	Veprimtaria e Jeronim de Radës në botimin e folklorit shqiptar [L'activite de Jeronim de Rada dans la publication du folklore Albanais], pp. 7-18.
15 (1985)	Vladimir Bovan	Index motiva narodnih pesama balkanskih Slovena [Index of motifs of folk songs of Balkan Slavs], pp. 239-243.
4 (1987)	Shefqet Pllana	Les chans de travail parmi les Albanais de Kosova, pp. 187-207.
17 (1987)	Rexhep Munishi	Për ndryshimet dhe ruajtjen e traditës popullore [Les changements et la maintien de la tradition musicale populaire], pp. 61-81.
19 (1989)	Rexhep Munishi	Për këndimin polifonik shqiptarë në Jugosllavi [Sur le chant polyphonique albanais en Yougoslavie], pp. 185-192.
20 (1990)	Shefqet Pllana	Le heros kosovien dans les chants populaires albanais sur la Lutte de Kosova, pp. 81-95.
21 (1991)	Rexhep Munishi	Mbi fenomenin e këngëve të reja [Sur le phenomene des nos nouveaux chants], pp. 79-95.
22 (1992)	Spiro Shituni	Përmbajtja ideo-emocionale e muzikës së eposit heroik legjendar [The ideo-emotional content of the music of the legendary epic], pp. 19-29
23 (1993)	Bahtir Sheholli	Tradita muzikore në regjionin e Llapit, [Music tradition in Llapi region], pp. 29-53.
23 (1993)	Shefqet Pllana	Interesimi i Jernej Kopitarit për këngën popullore shqiptare, [L'interet de Jernej Kopitar pour le chant folklorique Albanais], pp. 105-111.
24/1994	Bahtir Sheholli	Benjamin Kruta, studiues i pasionuar i polifonisë shqiptare, [Beniamin Kruta, passionate researcher of Albanian polyphony], pp. 21-31
24 (1994)	Rexhep Munishi	Mbi këngët e përmbledhjes Lyra Shqiptare [On the songs of the collection Lyra Shqiptare], pp. 89-105.
25 (1995)	Bahtir Sheholli	Festivali Folklorik Kombtar i Beratit, [Le Festival Folklorique National de Berati] pp. 95-111.
26 (1996)	Bahtir Sheholli	Këngët popullore, fuqizim i përhershëm i veprimtarisë patriotike të Isa Boletinit, [Les chansons populaires affermissement de l'activité patriotique d'Isa Boletini], pp. 7-28.

26 (1996)	Rexhep Munishi	Njoftime organologjike mbi Okarinën [Organological notices on 'Ocarina'], pp. 133-145.
27 (1997)	Rexhep Munishi	Mitet dhe kultet mbi muzikën përmes frazeologjive popullore [Myths and cults about music through popular phraseologies], pp. 43-56.
27 (1997)	Bahtir Sheholli	Mbi paraqitjen e folklorit muzikor shqiptar në skenë dhe disa dukuri aktuale dhe folklorike, [On the presentation of Albanian folklore on the scene and some contemporary elements], pp. 179-201.
28-29 (1998-9)	Bahtir Sheholli	Tradicionalja dhe bashkëkohorja në krijimtarinë tonë muzikore popullore [Traditional and contemporary elements in Albanian folk music], pp. 127-139
31 (2001)	Shefqet Pllana	Vajtimet shqiptare, [Albanian Lamentations], pp. 27-48.
33-34 (2003-4)	Shefqet Pllana	Këngë popullore të dashurisë [Folk love songs], pp. 49-68.
33-34 (2003-4)	Albin Sadiku	Prania e sharkisë në rrethin e Deçanit, [The presence of sharkia-string instrument in Deçani region], pp. 273-291.
35 (2005)	Faik Shkodra	Krijimtaria muzikore e Demir Krasniqit [Musical creative work by Demir Krasniqi], pp. 289-295.
37 (2008)	Rexhep Munishi	Karakteri i studimeve dhe i shkrimeve për veprimtarinë e Ramadan Sokolit, [The character of studies and writings on the activity of Ramadan Sokoli], pp. 45-64.
39 (2009)	Naser Ferri	Muzika, veglat muzikore dhe kultet lidhur me muzikën gjatë parahistorisë dhe antikës në territorin e Kosovës së sotme [Music, musical instruments and cults related to the music during prehistory and antiquity in the territory of today's Kosovo], pp. 211-228.
39 (2009)	Albin Sadiku	Historiku dhe funksioni i përdorimit të sharkisë në Kosovë [The background and usage of sharkia in Kosovo], pp. 229-247.
40 (2010)	Bahtir Sheholli	Mbi rëndësinë e blejve 'Folklori muzikor shqiptar' të Lorenc Antonit, [On the importance of the editions of 'Albanian Musical Folklore' by Lorenc Antoni], pp. 11-30.
40 (2010)	Albin Sadiku	Kontributi i Ramadan Sokolit për organologjinë shqiptare, [The contribution of Ramadan Sokoli on Albanian organology], pp. 71-76.
41-42 (2011)	Albin Sadiku	Roli i Etnomuzikologjisë në ruajtjen e identitetit kombëtar [The role of ethnomusicology in preserving national identity], pp. 297-306
44 (2014)	Visar Munishi	Karakteri muzikor dhe tekstor i një Kënge të Veçantë Popullore [The musical and textual character of a particular folk song], pp. 97-109.
44 (2014)	Albin Sadiku	Instrumentet muzikore të fëmijëve në Luginën e Preshevës [Children's musical instruments in Presheva valley], pp. 47-59.
45 (2015)	Visar Munishi	Mënyrat dhe Fazat e Punimit të Çiftelisë dhe Sharkisë në Kosovë [The ways and the stages of handcrafting musical instruments like sharkia and çiftelia in Kosovo], pp. 211-228.
45 (2015)	Visar Munishi	Monografi e denjë kushtuar një Virtuozit në Çifteli (për Ndue Shytin) [Monograph devoted to a virtuoso in playing the çifteli (Ndue Shyti)], pp. 251-256.
45 (2015)	Albin Sadiku	Këngët e dashurisë me përmbajtje erotike nga Presheva, Bujanoci dhe Medvegja [Love songs with erotic content from Preshevo, Bujanovac and Medvedja], pp. 229-237.
46 (2016)	Visar Munishi	Kronikë shkencore e aktiviteteve të Institutit Albanologjik – dega folklor dhe etnologji për vitin 2016, [Scientific chronicle of the activities of the Albanological Institute - Folklore and Ethnology for the year 2016], pp. 307-310.

47 (2017)	Visar Munishi, Dilaver Kryeziu	Disa karakteristika të valleve të Karadakut [Some features of Karadak's dances], pp. 127-146.
47 (2017)	Albin Sadiku	Disa rite dhe këngë ritual në në Presheve, Bujanovc dhe Medvegjë [Some rituals and ritual songs from Presheva, Bujanovc and Medvegja], pp. 165-174.
48 (2018)	Albin Sadiku	Elemente nga ritual të lashta pagane në krijimtarinë e fëmijëve [Elements from ancient pagan rituals in children's creativity], pp. 129-134.

6.3. Historico-musicological Research and Publications

Historical musicology, for many reasons, has never managed to be as 'productive' in Kosovo as ethnomusicology, composition, performance, and other musical activities. The absence of a university in Kosovo (until the University of Prishtina was founded in 1970) forced students to study at various universities in former Yugoslavia, so the first scholars completed their studies mainly in Skopje, Belgrade and Sarajevo, (e.g., Lorenc Antoni at the Faculty of Philosophy, Skopje; Shefqet Pllana at the Department of Albanian Studies, Belgrade; Bahtir Sheholli at the Department of Music History and Musical Folklore, Belgrade; Rexhep Munishi received his PhD in Ethnomusicology in Paris; and Engjëll Berisha studied at the Department of Musicology and Ethnomusicology, Sarajevo). Since art music in Kosovo established its own identity only after World War II, the path of historical musicology seems not to have kept pace with compositional creativity and artistic life. The publication of the first newspaper in the Albanian language, *Rilindja* (12 February 1945), marked a significant moment because it was both a publishing house, and a cultural and emancipatory center.⁴⁵³ For example, Akil Koci, Zeqirja Ballata, Rafet Rudi, Sami Piraj, Jusuf Gërvalla and some others began to pursue modest musicological work in the context of analytical research and journalism. They published music articles in the daily newspapers, mainly *Rilindja*, then in *Bujku*, *Zëri*, etc., as well as in literary or social journals such as *Jeta e re*, *Përparimi*, *Stremljenja* in Kosovo, *Zvuk* in Sarajevo and *Promusica* in Belgrade.

⁴⁵³ In the same year, a newspaper in the Serbian language *Jedinstvo* was established within the same publishing house.

Table 41. Akil Koci's and Zeqirja Ballata's papers published during the 1960s.

<i>Përparimi Journal</i>		
9-10/1966	A. Koci	Giuseppe Verdi and his last opera, pp. 863-868.
3/1967	A. Koci	J.S. Bach, Synthesis of Baroque music, pp. 383-385.
5/1967	A. Koci	F. Schubert and his masterpiece – Unfinished Symphony, pp. 650-653.
6/1967	A. Koci	Sergei Prokofiev, composer of irony, humor and grotesque, pp. 810-815.
8/1967	A. Koci	Music Education, curriculum goals, pp. 1070-1073.
3-4/1968	Z. Ballata	Claude Achille Debussy, on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of his death, pp. 471-480.

From the 1970s the greatest merits in this field go to Engjëll Berisha, the most respected figure in the discipline of musicology. Although he was the first professional musicologist, his contribution in terms of content could have been even bigger and more significant. Berisha himself has confirmed that compared to other fields, music criticism and musicology in Kosovo have never achieved very good results. This may also have been his failure.

“Our musicology has not followed step by step the creativity and musical activity, therefore it has not managed to be realized in the same way as other musical fields.”⁴⁵⁴

Knowing that science is, among other things, a competition, for Berisha, musicological research was both difficult and easy. As the sole professional musicologist in Kosovo at the time, I consider that he missed the historical opportunity to realize significant development in pursuing a comprehensive musicological mission. Due to his professional experience and the presence of the canonic models of his contemporaries in former Yugoslavia, he was in an ideal position to compile the first books about history of music in Kosovo. In Croatia, for example, this mission had been completed in the 1920s by Božidar Širola in his book *Pregled povijesti hrvatske muzike* (1922) and by Josip Andreis with *Razvoj muzičke umjetnosti u Hrvatskoj* (1962), *Povijest hrvatske glazbe* (1974, 1989), and two English editions of *Music in Croatia* (1974, 1982); in Serbia this work had been undertaken by Stana Djurić-Klajn in *Razvoj muzičke umjetnosti u Srbiji* (1962) and the English edition, *A Survey of Serbian Music Through the Ages* (1972), and by Roksanda Pejović in *Srpska muzika* (1998). Lastly, in Albania, *Historia e muzikës shqiptare*, Vols. I and II, were published by the High Institute of Arts in 1983 (ed.

⁴⁵⁴ Engjëll BERISHA: *Studime dhe vështrime për muzikën*, 7.

Gjergj Xhaçka).⁴⁵⁵ In contrast, such a body of work has not yet been created in Kosovo. Kosovan art music created its own identity only after World War II, especially in the field of musical composition and performance, but it is very surprising how little attention was paid to the compilation and publication of a book about general music history. I consider that the history of music in Kosovo could have been compiled either as a comprehensive history that does not distinguish between ethnic backgrounds, encompassing the musical achievements of all musicians and events in Kosovo, or as a national history focused solely on the contributions of Albanian musicians. The latter approach was taken by musicologist Rreze Kryeziu Breznica, who completed doctoral studies in Bern, in 2018 with a dissertation titled: *The History of Art Music of Albanians in Kosovo*, however, unfortunately this work still remains unpublished in Kosovo.

E. Berisha wrote many articles about music for different anniversaries of artists or musical events, and he presented in different local musicological meetings and at Yugoslav conferences. Over his career, he published some textbooks (about the general and national history of music, for high schools) as well as two scientific books. The first is titled *Zhvillimi i stileve në veprat e kompozitorëve shqiptarë të Kosovës I* [Development of Styles in the Works of Kosovo Albanian Composers I] – (Master Dissertation), was published in 1997 and contains musical analysis of eleven works created by Kosovan composers between 1945 and 1975. The second book is titled *Studime dhe vështrime për muzikën* [Studies and Opinions on Music], published in 2004, which is a collection of his own previously published articles from newspapers, periodicals and journals. In 1994 together with Kolë B. Shiroka he published the monograph about the *SHKA Agimi* (on the 50th anniversary of its establishment).

Musicological writings as well as music scores have many times been published by the Arts Section of the Academy of Science and Arts. From time to time, Berisha's music papers appeared in scientific journals such as *Studime* [Studies] and *Studime Shoqërore* [Social Studies] (miscellanea publications), published under the umbrella of this institution.

Table 42. (Some) Articles published in *Sudime* and *Studime Shoqërore* by Academy of Science and Arts of Kosovo

Journal	Author	Paper's name
<i>Studime</i> 1 (1994)	Z. Ballata	The musical creativity of Fan. S. Noli as a contribution to the Albanian autocephalous church, pp. 203-213.
<i>Studime</i> 1 (1994)	Z. Ballata	On some spiritual songs of F. Noli, pp. 203-213.

⁴⁵⁵ Engjëll Berisha left only a manuscript (Dispenca) about the history of European music until Classicism.

<i>Studime</i> 2 (1995)	E. Berisha	The influence of styles on the works of Kosovo Albanian composers
<i>Studime</i> 4 (1997)	E. Berisha	The creativity of academic Gazmend Zajmi in the field of music
<i>Studime</i> 4 (1997)	Z. Ballata	About National Anthem, pp. 461-469
<i>Studime</i> 3 (1998)	E. Berisha	Musical culture in Kosovo
<i>Studime</i> 10 (2003)	E. Berisha	Two valuable publications in musical creativity
<i>Studime</i> 11 (2004)	Z. Ballata	Pedagogue and music historian (on the 70th anniversary of the birth of prof. Engjëll Berisha), pp. 400-404
<i>Studime</i> 16-17 (2009-10)	Z. Ballata	Orchestral works composed by Lorenc Antoni, pp. 93-99
<i>Studime</i> 16-17 (2009-10)	B. Sheholli	On the value and importance of Lorenc Antoni's 'Albanian Musical Folklore', pp. 101-116
<i>Studime Shoqërore</i> 1 (2014)	Z. Ballata	The life and compositional journey of the composer Rexho Mulliqi, pp. 67-77.
<i>Studime Shoqërore</i> 2 (2015)	Z. Ballata	The speech of Zeqirja Ballata for the academician Engjëll Berisha. pp. 336-339.
<i>Studime Shoqërore</i> 7 (2020)	Rr. Kryeziu	Composers of art music in Kosovo – Historical division according to Kosovar Musicology, pp. 207-229.

Musicological discourse was supplemented by the research and publications of several musicians who were not musicologists but who authored valuable music articles and publications, and elaborated on individual composers and/or works of European and Kosovan music. Since the 1980s Zeqirja Ballata, Akil Koci and Rafet Rudi persistently researched, analyzed and evaluated the heritage of Albanian literature on music. Between 1971 and 2018, Akil Koci published twelve books, including monographs, miscellanea, and collections. Zeqirja Ballata authored two books: *Gjurmëve të muzës* [Traces of the Muse] in 1987 and *Veglat muzikore* [Musical Instruments] in 1990. He also contributed dozens of papers published in the journal *Dialogi* in Maribor. Rafet Rudi wrote *Sprova Estetike* [Aesthetic Trials] in 2002, along with numerous papers published on his personal website: rafetrudi.com. A. Koci and R. Rudi approached music criticism from personal experience because they were practically engaged in musical networking, while as RTP workers (in the 1970s and 1980s) they had easier access to historical documentation.

In general, art music in Kosovo has systematically lacked a critical musicological approach. The non-establishment of a Department of Musicology within the Faculty of Arts in Prishtina continues to have a negative effect for the progress of this scholarly discipline.⁴⁵⁶ Unfortunately in most cases musicological publications remain at the level of journalistic writings. In general, academic discourse has evolved by being mainly focused on monographic studies, or those of

⁴⁵⁶ This Department (which awarded a Bachelor's Degree) was opened in 2007 with only two candidates admitted: Reze Kryeziu-Breznica graduated in 2010 and Kristina Perkola in 2011. Then this Department was closed.

a general nature. So, growing interest in the work of specific composers, musicians or events has resulted in monographic publications with a special emphasis on artistic, aesthetic and historical trends.

Table 43. (Some) monographic books on music published in Kosovo (1994-2023)⁴⁵⁷

Year	Author	Monographic Books
1994	Engjëll Berisha & Kolë B. Shiroka	<i>Gjysem shekulli jetë dhe veprimtarie të SHKA Agimi</i> [Half a century of life and activity of SHKA Agimi]
1995	Shaqir Foniqi	<i>Nexhmije Pagarusha – Bilbili i Kosovës</i> [Nexhmije Pagarusha – The nightingale of Kosovo]
1996	Qemajl Sokoli	<i>RTP – Radio Televizioni i Prishtinës 1945-1995</i> [RTP Radio Television of Prishtina 1945-1995]
2005	Nikollë Kërhanaj	<i>SHKA Katarina Josipi 1970-2005</i> [CAS Katarina Josipi 1970-2005]
2006	Qemajl Sokoli	<i>Zhvillimi i teatrit Kombëtar të Kosovës, 1945-1995-2005</i> [The development of National Theatre in Kosovo 1945-1995-2005]
2010	Akil Koci	<i>Vinçenc Gjini – jeta dhe vepra</i> [Vinçenc Gjini, life and work]
2011	Akil Koci	<i>Lorenc Antoni – jeta dhe vepra</i> [Lorenc Antoni, life and work]
2011	Shefqet Hoxha	<i>Esat Rizvanolli Kompozitor</i> [Composer Esat Rizvanolli]
2012	Vinçenc Gjini	<i>Unë jam Vinçenc Gjini</i> [I am Vinçenc Gjini] – autobiographical book.
2012	Group of authors	<i>Veprimtaria e SHKA-ve në Gjilan, Gjilani me rrethinë</i> [The activity of CASs in Gjilan District]
2013	Albulena Nuredini	<i>Akil Mark Koci pararojë e muzikës bashkëkohore shqiptare</i> [Akil Mark Koci, vanguard of contemporary Albanian music]
2015	Albulena Nuredini	<i>Vështrimi historik mbi rrugëtimin 40 vjeçar të Festivalit Kosovarja Këndon</i> [Historical overview of the 40-year journey of the Kosovan Woman Sings Festival]
2015	Agron Gërguri	<i>Shota muze në lëvizje</i> [Shota – museum in motion]
2016	Çerkin Bytyqi	<i>Ansambli etno-kulturor i Hoçës së qytetit</i> [Ethno-cultural ensemble of Hoça]
2018	Rreze Kryeziu Breznica	<i>Goca e Kaçanikut – Opera e parë nacionale në Kosovë</i> [Girl from Kaçanik – first Kosovo national opera]
2019	Shaban Maxharraj Elvira Berisha	<i>Nexhmije Pagarusha</i>
2019	Haziz Hodaj	<i>SHKA Malësori & Festivali folklorik Hasi Jehon</i> [CAS Malësori & folk festival Hasi Jehon]
2021	Shefqet Hoxha	<i>Tomor Berisha – kompozitor, orkestrues, dirigjent dhe pianist</i> [Tomor Berisha – composer, arranger, conductor and pianist]
2022	Rreze Kryeziu Breznica	<i>Mes kërshtërisë dhe dashurisë për muzikën</i> [Between Curiosity and Love for Music], (In Shaqir Hoti's words: A guide on the construction and interpretation of folkloric instruments).
2022	Rreze Kryeziu Breznica	<i>Reshat Randobrava</i>
2023	Kristina Perkola	<i>Dy jetë për muzikë</i> [Two Lives for Music]

⁴⁵⁷ In addition to the monographs, it is worth mentioning some booklets published on the occasion of the anniversaries of some music schools, such as the Booklet on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the establishment of the Music School *Josip Slavenski* 1948-1978, Prizren 1978; the Booklet on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the establishment of the Music School *Stevan Mokranjac* 1949-1979, Prishtina, 1979; the Booklet on the occasion of 50th anniversary of the establishment of Music School *Tefta Tashko* 1954/5-2004/5, Mitrovica, 2005; the Booklet on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the establishment of the Music School *Stevan Mokranjac* 1949-2009, Gračanica 2009; and the Booklet *70 years of Education* published on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the establishment of the Music School *Prenk Jakova* in Prishtina.

6.4. Kosovan Music in Local, Balkan and Western Music Lexicography

Music in Kosovo had been included in European and Yugoslav encyclopedias and reference books before the subject was included in local (Albanian) publications. The early Yugoslav publication *Historijski razvoj muzičke kulture u Jugoslaviji* [Historical Development of Musical Culture in Yugoslavia] published in 1962 by Josip Andreis (Croatia), Dragotin Cvetko (Slovenia), and Stana Đurić-Klajn (Serbia) covers the history of music in only three republics of Yugoslavia (Croatia, Slovenia and Serbia). The reason why the other republics (Macedonia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina), as well as Kosovo, were not included, is explained in its Introduction by J. Andreis:

“The history of Yugoslav musical culture is a result of the efforts of Slovenians, Croats, and Serbs. So, the content of this book is dedicated to them... The other Yugoslav peoples and territories are experiencing their musical present... so, the Yugoslav peoples and regions which gained a richer and more intensive musical life only after World War II are not included.”⁴⁵⁸

The first representations of Kosovan music in Yugoslav encyclopedic dictionaries date to the 1970s. *Muzička enciklopedija* [Music Encyclopedia] in three volumes edited by Krešimir Kovačević and published by the Leksikografski zavod in Zagreb in 1971, 1974, and 1977 (second edition) included only a few entries about Kosovan music, e.g.: Vol. 1: *Albanian Music* – folk and art music (pp. 27-30); *Lorenc Antoni* (p. 59); *Zeqirja Ballata* (p. 127); *Fahri Beqiri* (p. 177), written by collaborators L. Antoni and A. Koci. The next publication *Leksikon jugoslavenske muzike* in two volumes, published by Leksikografski Zavod in Zagreb in 1984, edited by Krešimir Kovačević, provide a more satisfactory coverage of music and musicians from Kosovo, with entries focusing largely on composers, conductors, teachers, singers, and instrumentalists.⁴⁵⁹ The lexicon also includes entries on music schools, cultural-artistic societies (although very few), the festival *Skena Muzikore e Prishtines*, as well as information about Albanian folk music and folklore. In total, music in Kosovo is represented by about fifty biographical entries written by two Albanian collaborators, Lorenc Antoni and Engjëll Berisha.

⁴⁵⁸ Josip ANDREIS, Dragotin CVETKO, Stana ĐURIĆ-KLAJN: *Historijski razvoj muzičke kulture u Jugoslaviji*, [Historical Development of Musical Culture in Yugoslavia], Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1962, Uvod [Introduction].

⁴⁵⁹ *Leksikon Jugoslavenske Muzike*, [Encyclopedia of Yugoslav Music] Vol. I (A-Ma) includes: SHKA *Agimi*, Lorenc Antoni, Ballet ensemble, Zita Bashota, Fahri Beqiri, Engjëll Berisha, Syrja Berisha, Tomor Berisha, Bajar Berisha, Bahti Çela, SHKA *Emin Duraku*, Sabri Fejzullahu, Shpresa Gashi, Sevime Gjinali, Vinçenc Gjini, SHKA *Hajdar Dushi*, Mark Kaçinari, Halit Kasapolli, SHKA *Kastriotët*, Shefqet Kazazi, Popular music in Kosovo, Kristë Lekaj; Vol. II (Me-Ž) includes: Žarko Milojković, Veronika Mjeda, Lajde Mjeda, Isak Muçolli, Rexhep Munishi, *Festival Music Scene of Prishina*, Qazim Oruqi, Nexhmije Pagarusha, Skender Oroshi, Gazmend Pallaska, Esat Rizvanolli, Rafet Rudi, Folk Ensemble *Rugova*, Bahtir Sheholli, Nuri Sherifi, Kolë B. Shiroka, Ensemble *Shota*, Tomislav Stojković, SHKA *Zenel Hajdini*, Dashnor Zërxa, Prishtina, Prizren and Kosovo.

Regarding the study of Albanian culture, it is worth mentioning Robert Elsie, a specialist in Albanian literature and folklore and one of the foreign scholars who conducted research for many years in archives across Europe and beyond about the Albanian people and their history. His initial interest was focused on Albanian literature and he later expanded his attention to other aspects of Albanian culture including religion, arts and folklore. The *Historical Dictionary of Kosovo* (second edition) published in 2004, presents Kosovo in a broader framework, focusing on the country's rich culture and long history. The dictionary is conceived chronologically and comprises an introductory essay, an extensive bibliography, and over 475 dictionary entries on significant persons, places, and events (the majority are “person” entries) including individuals who have made notable contributions to art music: Lorenc Antoni, Rexho Mulliqi, Rauf Dhomi, Nexhmije Pagarusha, and some others.

Around the same time, 2015-16, Rreze Kryeziu-Breznica and Visar Munishi contributed the first entries on music in Kosovo to *Grove Music Online*, while Tatjana Marković published an extensive entry on the subject in *MGG Online* (Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart).⁴⁶⁰

Out of a total of twenty-one entries in *Grove Music Online*, three of them are related to traditional and art music while others are biographical entries on L. Antoni and R. Mulliqi, and on some composers who composed mainly before the 1990s (E. Rizvanolli, F. Beqiri, V. Gjini, M. Kaçinari, H. Kasapolli, Z. Ballata, A. Koci, R. Dhomi, Gj. Gjevelekaj, B. Shehu, R. Rudi, and M. Mengjiqi). Entries on a few modern young composers are also included (K. Aličkaj, K. Gashi, D. Zeqiri and D. Rudi). Many years earlier, in the 2001 printed edition of *The New Grove*, under the entry ‘Serbia’, the article on folk music, called ‘Traditional music’, is subdivided according to ethnicity, and includes discussion of traditional music in Serbia, Montenegro and Kosovo (including a short discussion of Albanian traditions).⁴⁶¹ When referring to *MGG Online* (Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart), Tatjana Marković's 2016 entry on Kosovo represents a resource on the region's musical heritage, organized into three main sections: Historical Overview, Music Institutions, and Musical Life.

⁴⁶⁰ See: Rreze KRYEZIU-BREZNICA, Visar MUNISHI: Kosovo, *Grove Music Online*, <https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/search?q=rreze+kryeziu&searchBtn=Search&isQuickSearch=true>; Tatjana MARKOVIĆ: Kosovo, *MGG Online*, 2024, <https://www.mgg-online.com/article?id=mgg20000&v=2.1&rs=mgg20000>.

⁴⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 25.

Music-historical dictionaries published in Albania also have earlier information on music than those in Kosovo. The first publication about music in Albania was Ramadan Sokoli's *Fjalori Etnomuzikologjik* [Ethnomusicological Dictionary], part of his book *Foklori Muzikor Shqiptar-Morfologjia* [Albanian Musical Folklore – Morphology] published in 1965. The dictionary is more of a comprehensive study of Albanian musical folklore but does not cover every region extensively, including Kosovo. *Enciklopedia e Muzikës Popullore Shqiptare* [Encyclopedia of Albanian Folk Music] by Vasil S. Tole from 2001 presents a broad overview of the field of folk music where musicians from Kosovo such as Lorenc Antoni, Bahtir Sheholli, Rexhep Munishi, Qamili i Vogël-Muhaxhiri are mentioned along with mentions of some cultural-artistic societies. On the other hand, it is interesting how in the *Enciklopedia e Muzikës Shqiptare* [Encyclopedia of Albanian Music], Vol. 1, published in 2002 by the researcher and composer Sokol Shupo, extensive information about the history and personalities of Albanian music is presented (in 184 entries), but not a single music personality from Kosovo is included.⁴⁶² The series *Art Music in the Balkans*, edited by Sokol Shupo and published in six volumes between 2001 and 2005, offers a comprehensive overview of various art music traditions in the Balkan region. However, it does not cover the entire Balkan region comprehensively and omits discussions on music from certain Balkan countries, including Kosovo. In addition to this series, the *Biographical Dictionary of Balkan Composers* (2005), also edited by Sokol Shupo, serves as a valuable resource. It provides detailed biographical information on composers from the Balkan countries, including those from Kosovo, making it an essential reference for understanding the contributions of Balkan composers.

The earliest local publication (after World War II) to address the cultural development of Kosovo in comprehensive terms was *Dymbëdhjetë vjet zhvillimi kulturuer i Kosovës dhe Metohisë* [Twelve Years of Cultural Development of Kosovo and Metohia], published in 1957 by the Provincial Council of the Socialist League of Kosovo and Metohija. Although the main focus of the publication was not the history of music, the book includes information on general cultural development in terms of education, amateur cultural artistic activities, professional cultural institutions (including music schools, town folk orchestras, music creativity, Lorenc Antoni, Rexho Mulliqi, and Bogoljub Vojnović, National Theatre, and Song and Dance Ensemble *Shota*), the development of visual arts, television, radio and scientific institutions. The first serious large scale publication in the form of a monograph on Kosovo was *Kosova*,

⁴⁶² See: Sokol SHUPO: *Enciklopedia e Muzikës Shqiptare* [Encyclopedia of Albanian Music], Volume 1. Tiranë: Asmus, 2002.

dikur dhe sot, Kosovo, nekad u danas [Kosovo Once and Today] edited by Mihajlo Maletić and published in Albanian and Serbian in 1973 on the 30th anniversary of the formation of the first National Liberation Council for Kosovo and Metohija (1943). This book represents a colossal achievement with work undertaken by sixty-six professional collaborators who present studies of Kosovo's geographical features (pp. 1-59), Kosovo throughout history (pp. 69-203), creativity and customs (pp. 229-479), Socialist Renaissance (pp. 493-613), and a monograph of municipalities (pp. 625-1005). Since the changed political situation in Kosovo after 1999, the representation of musical identity was oriented toward national self-representation. Thus, as a consequence of the political circumstances of the 1990s, former Yugoslav composers are almost totally excluded from Kosovan music historiography.⁴⁶³

Among the two most important publications published after the year 2000 in Kosovo are Bajar Berisha's *Fjalori Enciklopedik Muzikor* [Encyclopedic Music Dictionary], published in 2014 and *Fjalori Enciklopedik i Kosovës* [Encyclopedic Dictionary of Kosovo] in two volumes, edited by Mehmet Kraja and published in 2018 by the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Kosovo. The first book is completely unique and represents the first music encyclopedia published in the Albanian language, containing more than four thousand words and phrases related to music and art, including almost all professional and scholarly musical terminology with definitions and explanations. The second publication, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Kosovo* represents the largest and most important project of the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Kosovo of the last twenty years. This first encyclopedic project is published in two volumes (1,818 pages) with about 6,000 entries compiled by 506 authors in various fields of science and arts. In the entries on music, a wider contextualization of young and recent musicians and of new music events is evident, as is a kind of "discrimination" against eminent personalities who over the years contributed to different fields of art music; personalities such as Ramadan Ramadani, Syrja Berisha, Uka Brizani, Rasim Salih, Hysein Kazaz, Hadije Gjinali, Ildiko Juniku, Jehona Zajmi and many others. It is worth mentioning the encyclopedia's inclusion of the few Serbian musicians Bogoljub Vojnović and Petar Đorđević. The achievements of these volumes remain overall at a relatively satisfactory level and cover the entire musical artistic sphere in Kosovo.

⁴⁶³ This phenomenon is present in some (text)books by E. Berisha's publication. E.g.: *Kultura muzikore* [Musical Culture], where only short texts can be found about music in Slovenia and the composer Jacobus Gallus [Jakob Petelin Kranjski] (p. 49), the Baroque in Croatia, the composers Ivan Lukačić and Vinko Jelić (pp. 63-4), and an article about the Croatian composer Vatroslav Lisinski in the book *Studime dhe vështrime për muzikën* (pp. 159-62).

CONCLUSION

The conclusion of this dissertation synthesizes its findings, providing a comprehensive overview of the research conducted and its broader implications. Throughout this work, I have examined the general history of art music in Kosovo, outlined the social history, traced the key steps in the institutionalization of music, and explored the development of scientific disciplines such as musicology and ethnomusicology. This has been done with the aim of compiling a comprehensive account of the evolution of music in Kosovo from 1945 to 2020. So, this dissertation is the result of several years of research on the general history of art music in Kosovo, and I consider that this study is the first scholarly attempt to document the seventy-year history of musical achievements in Kosovo without making a distinction between ethnic and social differences.

As we know, culture is one of the primary factors that significantly influences the preservation of a nation's identity, autochthony, and long-term existence. As discussed in the introduction, Kosovan culture is a mosaic that embodies the indigenous Albanian heritage passed down from its ancestors, the Dardani, and has also been profoundly influenced and shaped by the numerous invading currents from the West and East (Roman, Ottoman and Slavic). Historically, special attention has been paid to the folk tradition, because theoretically this is the most important way of preserving cultural heritage. Folk songs have played an important role in cultural life because every event, every vital manifestation, victory or brave man was glorified through song. The use of folklore including songs, ballads, legends and myths about heroes and heroic battles, as well as other forms of material and spiritual culture, continue to be a central medium through which all ethnic groups in the Balkans claim their territory and their national identity.⁴⁶⁴

Great socio-cultural development in Kosovo began only after the Second World War. Progress manifested in music since the 1940s was the product of revolutionary thoughts and the result of creative work and love for what was valuable for society. Many non-musical factors were the main determinants in the process of creating musical identity. Albanians managed to advance in former Yugoslavia, thus proving that they were brave and knowledgeable, but nevertheless the strict rule was that art should not violate the ideals of Communism and the

⁴⁶⁴ Besa LUZHA: *Music Education in Post-War Kosovo*, p. 29.

ideology of “brotherhood and union” proclaimed by Tito's Yugoslavia.⁴⁶⁵ In such circumstances, realities developed in a paradoxical terrain where nationalism and multinationalism, the traditional and the contemporary, and amateurism and professionalism collided.

Through this study, the work of many amateur and professional musicians in many fields of music was highlighted in different phases. Each phase was marked by different tendencies either in the domain of creativity, performance, repertoire or competition. The steps towards music institutionalization were important components of the general process of developing a 'westernizing' orientation. Cultural-artistic societies were an important form of preserving national identity and the richness of cultural heritage. Their role and relevance was manifold and complex, because through them were laid the foundations of the musical future on which modern Kosovan cultural identity was constructed and confirmed. Educational institutions established since 1948 significantly contributed to the transition from amateurism to professionalism in the cultural and musical life of Kosovo. These institutions played a pivotal role in formalizing music education, which laid the groundwork for the development of professional musicians, composers, and scholars.

Music-making ensembles and festivals played a key role in the whole process and gave a strong impetus to this encouragement of cultural progress. Festivals in the 1970s and 1980s, helped to develop nationalist sentiment, and served to promote the music richness of many composers. The promotional strategies ranging from popular heritage and musical amateurism to the contributions of semi-professional and professional ensembles, as well as art music festivals and the creative works of Kosovo composers, demonstrate the depth and richness of Kosovo's artistic output during those years. Despite different challenges, ensembles like the RTP Choir and Symphony Orchestra, as well as other choral formations and individual composers were instrumental in presenting Kosovo's musical talent at prominent local and Yugoslav events and festivals. Reflecting on this period, it is evident that the musical exchanges and collaborations were important in defining Kosovo's cultural identity, because for the first time, artists and art music from Kosovo advanced within the former Yugoslavia, standing alongside the artistic achievements of other republics, and solidifying their place in the region's cultural history.

⁴⁶⁵ Shkodran HOTI: Kosovë-Shqipëri, muzika midis transformimeve ideologjike dhe historike: Tingujt e tranzicionit, [Kosovo-Albania, Music Between Ideological and Historical Transformations: Sounds of Transition], *Telegrafi* (published: 15 September 2020), <<https://tegrafi.com/kosove-shqiperi-muzika-midis-transformimeve-ideologjike-dhe-historike-tingujt-e-tranzicionit/>> (accessed 22 March 2022).

As a consequence of historical, political and socio-cultural circumstances, the trajectory of art music followed its own specific history in which music (in written form) was completely unknown until the twentieth century. Compared to Central and Western Europe, Kosovo remained closely associated with folk music and the authenticity of traditional musical practices for a long time. However, since the 1940s, the history of music in Kosovo has been closely linked with ideas of progress through the development of Yugoslav and, later, European models. The musical output of the years between 1945 and 2020 emerged from the context of a series of artistic parallels: choice vs. possibility, professionalism vs. amateurism, modern vs. traditional. With the gradual rise of musical professionalism, traditional folk and entertainment music gradually ceased to be the only practical form of musical performance because works inspired by European classical models were gradually developed. The first chamber and orchestral works composed in Kosovo did not follow the standard forms of the classical tradition but were mostly in free-composed form nuanced with romantic colors and rooted in Albanian folklore. The reliance on folkloric creativity figured as a stronghold not only in the early years, but continues today. Composers (who represent the central figure in the creation of music), have consistently used folkloric sound and motifs, making them closely follow the national spirit and popular (folk) character which is largely taken as an expression of national identity.

The formation of a professional musical tradition was a process closely related to the incorporation of traditional European models intertwined with local musical heritage. Between the 1940s and the 1980s, the compositional techniques applied in almost all musical forms (from choral to orchestral-symphonic ones) were based on the well-known standards of classical and romantic genres. After the 1990s, these techniques advanced in other dimensions. In terms of musical language (especially in large forms) musical expression was entirely based on traditional models in works of R. Mulliqi and V. Gjini, but gradually advanced in the works of A. Koci, Z. Ballata and M. Mengjiqi, and acquired characteristics of avantgarde expression in the works of K. Aličkaj and D. Zymberi.

Kosovan society has gone through a very specific political and social drama, moving from a society characterized by the forced friendship of different nationalities during the Yugoslav period, to a new state-forming society in the context of democratic pluralism.⁴⁶⁶ Analyzed from the socio-political point of view, Kosovo advanced on the cultural level within a multinational

⁴⁶⁶ Bardhoshi, N. & Canolli A., Kosova Antropologjike, *Antropologji Vëllimi*, 3/1 (2020), 115-153, here 116

environment. Musicians benefited from their education in various Yugoslavian countries and came into contact with the trends of European music through Yugoslav festivals. However, analyzed from the national point of view, Kosovan Albanians have felt a continuous emotional link with Albania, but for political reasons collaborative relations between the countries were frozen for decades. The most in-depth cooperation (in some fields) between the two Albanian countries of Kosovo and Albania was intensified only after the year 2000, although even in this direction music still remained to be "in the process" of creating an all-Albanian cultural space.

A phenomenon that was indirectly manifested in the course of art music after the year 2000 was a kind of 'distancing' from the history of the 'mutual' activities between Albanians and Serbs during the period of former Yugoslavia. This was evident also in the narrative writings and music publications in Kosovo after the year 2000, which are entirely dominated by data on Albanian musicians while very little or no mention is made about musicians of other nationalities who before the 1990s contributed to the development of art music in Kosovo. On the other hand, the contexts of music development began to include mixed trends between the old tradition and the new influences of technology and the digitalization of music. So, all these different elements manifested the tendency to erase from the collective memory everything dealing with the relations between Kosovo and the former Yugoslavia (because this is considered to be in some form 'anti-national'): in short – there has been a tendency to replace everything 'old' with everything that is perceived as 'new'.

From the second half of the twentieth century, musicological and ethnomusicological thought has not managed to establish and assert itself enough. This is proved by publications and studies which do not meet even half of the musicological needs in the field of traditional and professional music on national and international levels. Based on the cultural categorization of individuals contributing to society, which in the musical field would be composers, performers and researchers, I conclude that the third category remains behind in relation to the other two. While studies in the field of ethnomusicology (mainly within the Folklore Department of the Albanological Institute in Prishtina) have reached a certain level of quality, historical musicology failed to follow the course of the primary compositional and artistic activities. Consequently, it has never reached the same level as the other musical areas.

This research significantly enhances the general understanding of Kosovan musical culture in the latter half of the twentieth century and the early twenty-first century. Furthermore, this dissertation should be regarded as both a catalyst and a resource for future research in music

history and musicology in Kosovo. In conclusion, it is hoped that the work presented here will serve as a foundation upon which future scholars may build, continuing the journey of documenting and expanding the understanding of Kosovo's rich musical heritage.

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APPENDIX 1. Cultural-Artistic Societies in Kosovo: Ranked by Region and Year of Foundation up to the Late 1980s⁴⁶⁷

Cultural Artistic Societies in Prishtina Region

Year	Place	Name of Cultural Artistic Society
1906	Prishtina	Singing society Kosovo
1916	Vushtrri	Association of culture and art Hasan Prishtina
1945	Prishtina	SHKA Radnički
1947	Prishtina	SHKA Ramiz Sadiku
1947	Podujeva	SHKA Radnički
1948	Vushtrri	SHKA Kosova
1948	Prishtina	SHKA Progres
1949	Fushë Kosovë	SHKA Branko Medenica
1950	Prishtina	Ensemble Shota
1949/50	Vushtrri	SHKA Rashid Deda
1951	Vushtrri	SHKA Partizan
1951	Obiliq	SHKA Aca Marović
1951	Prishtina	SHKA Jeni Hayat - later named Gerçek (1969) (Turkish)
1961	Prishtina	SHKA Stevan Mokranjac
1962	Prishtina	SHKA Boro and Ramiz
1962/63	Prishtina	SHKAA Ramiz Sadiku
1964	Prishtina	SHKA Bajram Curri
1967	Prishtina	SHKA Kosovaret e gëzueshëm (Gypsy)
1967/68	Prishtina	SHKA Azem Bejta
1968	Prishtina	Folk ensemble Azem Bejta

⁴⁶⁷ Nearly all the data in the tables have been primarily sourced from articles published in the *Rilindja* newspaper (1945-1989), as referenced in the following sources: ***: *Rilindja*, (9 September 1954), 7; ***: *Rilindja*, (September 1955), 8; ***: Nga paraqitja madheshtore e shoqnive kulturo-artistike të Krahinës sonë [From the Great Presentation of the Cultural-artistic Societies of Our Province], *Rilindja* No.98 (1948), 6; ***: Themelatat profesionale kulturore artistike, [Professional Cultural Artistic Foundations], *Rilindja* (2 March 1958), 6; ***: Shoqnija K. A. “Jeni Hajat” e Prishtinës mendon me e zgjanue punën e vet, [CAS Jeni Hajat Tries to Expand the Work], *Rilindja* (3 October 1954), 5; ***: Shoqnis “Agimi” i duhet ndihmë e gjithanshme [Agimi Needs All Kinds of Help], *Rilindja* (4 November 1954), 6; ***: Nga garat e seksioneve dramatike te shoqerive-kulturore artistike të Krahinës sonë, *Rilindja* No.23. 1949, 8; ***: Shoqnija kulturore artistike ‘Përparimi’ do të baj një turne në Maqedoni, [CAS ‘Përparimi’ Will Do a Tour in Macedonia], *Rilindja* (2 February 1954), 6; Zenun ÇELAJ: Edhe një SHKA Ramiz Sadiku [Another CAS Ramiz Sadiku], *Rilindja* (24 October 1963), 7; Ç. F.: Meritë e madhe për zhvillimin e jetës muzikore ndër njerzit punuesa u takon amaterve, - intervistë me Ratko Moračić), [Great Merits for Music Developments Belong to Amateurs - Interview with Ratko Moračić], *Rilindja* (17 October 1956), 7; A. DEMA: Kontribut i mië i popullarizimit të amatorëve tanë, [Good Contribution of Our Amateur’s Fame] *Rilindja* (25 July 1963), 9; N. HALIMI: Po kjo fotografi? [And this photograph?], *Rilindja* (21 September 1984), 11; Ali MULA: Vjeti 1951-52 kanë qenë ma të frytshmet për shoqinë kulturore artistike ‘Mustafa Bakija’ në Ferizaj, [Years 1951-52 was More Fruitful for ‘Mustafa Bakija’ Than the Other Cultural Societies], *Rilindja* (15 April 1954), 7; R. NEDELKOVIĆ: ‘Shota’ korri sukses të madh në arenën e Puljës [Shota was Very Successful in Pula], *Rilindja* (20 July 1964), 9; M. RAMADANI: Jubileu i “Hajdar Dushit” [Hajdar Dushi Jubilee], *Rilindja* (25 July 1971), 9; R. K: Nga veprimtaria e shoqerisë kulturore artistike Përparimi në Pejë [From the Activity of Cultural-Artistic Society Përparimi in Peja], *Rilindja* (1949), 3; Bajram SEFAJ: Në djepin e Ansambleve të njohura, [In the Cradle of Well-known Ensembles], *Rilindja* (3 August 1971), 9; A. SHKRELI: SHKA “Ramiz Sadiku” në rrugën e sukseseve të reja, [CAS Ramiz Sadiku in the Road for New Successes], *Rilindja* (6 Aug 1960), 12; B. SHKRELI: Hajdar Dushi - Burim këngëtarësh të rinj, [Hajdar Dushi – Source of Young Singers], *Rilindja* (2 February 1965), 10; Skender ZOGAJ: Zhvillimi i sukseshëm i amatorizmit [Successful Development of Amateurism], *Rilindja* (16 April 1981), 10, etc.

1969	Gllgovc/Drenas	SHKA Shote Galica
1960s	Llaple Sello	SHKA Lubomir Nedelković
1970s	Bardh i Madh	SHKA Shkëndija
1970s	Kishnica	SHKA Minatori i Ri
1971	Podujeva	SHKA Zëri i artë
1973	Prishtina	SHKA Rilindja
1974	Prishtina	SHKA Kosova
1974	Vushtri	SHKA Ndërtimtari
1975	Graçanica	SHKA Živojin Jovanović
1977-78	Gadime	SHKA Shkëndija
1979	Pakashticë	SHKA Aksionisti
1970s	Podujeva	SHKA Josip S. Rela
1970s	Milosheva	SHKA Boro e Ramizi
1970s	Smrekonicë	SHKA Rilindja
1980	Hade	SHKA Ylli
1980	Ptishtina	SHKA Drejtësia
1983	Bardh i Madh	SHKA Veli Shala
1984	Drenoc	SHKA Vëllezërit Frashëri
1984	Kishnarekë	SHKA Migjeni
1980s	Komorani	SHKA Zëri i Rinisë
?	Obiliq	SHKA Novo Prokjenje
?	Studime	SHKA Ylli
?	Pantinë	SHKA Shëndija
?	Obiliq	SHKA Dëshmorët e Kombit
?	Barilevë	SHKA Barilët
?	Prishtina	SHKA Hivzi Sylejmani
?	Prishtina	SHKARom
?	Podujeva	SHKA Rreze Llapi
?	Llukar	SHKA Jehona e Rinisë
?	Keçekollë	SHKA Gollaku
?	Vragoli	SHKA Vëllezërit Frashëri
?	Gllgovc/Drenas	SHKA Feronikeli

Cultural Artistic Societies in Prizren Region

Year	Place	Name of cultural artistic society
1925	Prizren	Cultural-educational society Sharri
1926	Prizren	Gajreti
1920s-30s	Prizren	Albanian Cultural societies: Kosova; Aksioni Katolik; Karajfilat e Kuq; Merhameti; and Serbian Cultural societies: Sveta Nedelja; Napredak; Jedinstvo; Sokolovi.
1944	Prizren	SHKA Agimi
1945	Prizren	SHKA Budućnost
1947	Prizren	SHKA Ardhmëria
1948	Zhur	SHKA Emin Duraku
1948	Hoçë	SHKA Burimi from 1952 named SHKA Muharrem Bekteshi
1951	Prizren	SHKA Dogru Yol (Turkish)
1956	Ratkovc	SHKA Petko Tropačević
1963	Prizren	SHKA Printeks
1968	Prizren	SHKA Durmish Asllano (gypsy)
1970	Zym	SHKA Katarina Josipi
1975	Suhareka	SHKA Sythi i ri later called Jehona
1975	Has	SHKA Malësori
1975	Dragash	SHKA Emin Duraku
1976	Dushanova	SHKA Xhevdet Doda

1976	Suhareka	SHKA Dardanët
1977	Mushtisht	SHKA Ballkan
1978	Mushtisht	SHKA Afërdita
1978	Hoçë	SHKA Božidar Micić
1970s	Gjonaj	SHKA Ymer Prizreni
1980	Suharekë	SHKA Ibe Palikuqi
?	Prizren	SHKA Superloni
?	Malisheva	SHKA Drita
?	Malisheva	SHKA Vëllazëria
?	Bellobrad	SHKA Sezai Surroi
?	Mamushë	SHKA Ashik Ferki

Cultural Artistic Societies in Mitrovica Region

Year	Place	Name of cultural artistic society
1925	Mitrovica	CAS Abrašević from 1945 was named Jedinstvo, from 1970 Boro and Ramiz and later Kosovski Božuri
1937	Mitrovica	SHKA Trepça
1940	Zvečan	SHKA Stari Trg
1941	Vushtrri	SHKA Hasan Prishtina
1946	Zvečan	SHKA Vlado Četković
1948	Mitrovica	SHKA Zenel Hajdini
1948	Mitrovica	SHKA Meto Bajraktari
1948/49	Mitrovica	SHKA Miladin Popović
1950	Mitrovica	SHKA Qëndresa
1950	Mitrovica	Amateur folk ensemble Trepça
1950s	Mitrovica	SHKA Birlik (Turkish)
1960s	Mitrovica	SHKA Romi Ternipe (Gypsy)
1960s	Drenicë	SHKA Çiftelia
1960s	Zubin Potok	SHKA Mokra Gora
1967	Zvečan	SHKA Jedinstvo later named Trepça and later Zvečan
1967	Mitrovica	SHKA Rom (Gypsy)
1970	Skenderaj	SHKA Zëri i Drenicës
1973	Vllahi	SHKA Sadri Hajzeri
1982	Shupkove	SHKA Drita
?	Leposavić	SHKA Kopaonik
?	Zvečan	SHKA Mladost
?	Mitrovica	SHKA Mitrovica
?	Mitrovica	SHKA Akumulatori

Cultural Artistic Societies in Ferizaj Region

Year	Place	Name of cultural artistic society
1947	Kaçanik	SHKA Përparimi
1948	Ferizaj	SHKA Jedinstvo
1950	Ferizaj	SHKA Mustafa Bakija
1950	Shtërpce	SHKA Cvetko Grčić
1950s	Ferizaj	SHKA Bratstvo
1950s	Ferizaj	SHKA Rom-Nerodimka
1960s	Shtime	SHKA Emin Duraku
1967	Ferizaj	SHKA Kastriotet
1972	Komogllavë	SHKA Shtatë dëshmorët
1974	Shtërpce	SHKA Čedo Grbić

1975	Hani i Elezit	SHKA Sharri
1976	Ferizaj	SHKA Mladi Radnik
1978	Kaçanik	SHKA Rrezet e Sharrit
?	Stagovë	SHKA Tingujt e vendlindjes
?	Ferizaj	SHKA IMT- Tube factory

Cultural Artistic Societies in Gjilan Region

Year	Place	Name of cultural artistic society
1925	Shurdhan	SHKA Bajram Curri (officially form 1952)
1947	Gjilan	SHKA Drita
1948	Gjilan	SHKA Veselin Masleža
1949	Gjilan	SHKA Abrašević
1950	Gjilan	SHKA Zafer
1951	Gjilan	SHKA Jeni Hayat
1957/58	Gjilan	SHKA Bratstvo
1960s	Gjilan	SHKA Kham (Gypsy)
1967	Gjilan	SHKA Zenel Hajdini, later named Drita (1995)
1969	Pozhoran	SHKA Përparimi
1968	Gjilan	SHKA Punëtori (Textile factory Integj)
1970	Zhegër	SHKA Idriz Seferi
1970s	Pozhoran	SHKA Përparimi
1976	Shillovë	SHKA Abrašević
1976	Remnik	SHKA Rreze dielli
1977	Viti	SHKA Jonuz Ramadani
1979	Viti	SHKA Boro e Ramizi
1970s	Viti	SHKA Besa
1970s	Përlepnicë	SHKA Kosovarja
1981	Kamenicë	SHKA Rade Popović
?	Gjilan	SHKA Mic Sokoli
?	Koretishtë	SHKA Stojan Stošić
?	Kamenicë	SHKA Magnohrom
?	Gjilan	SHKA Integj

Cultural Artistic Societies in Peja Region

Year	Place	Name of cultural artistic society
1939	Peja	SHKA Përparimi
1945	Peja	SHKA Budućnost
1951	Gurrakoc	SHKA Dimitrije Tucović
1953	Istog	SHKA Drita e parë
1947	Peja	SHKA Bratstvo
1947	Peja	SHKA Vllaznija
1947	Rugovë	Folk Ensemble Rugova
1948	Peja	SHKA Ramiz Sadiku
1950	Rugovë	SHKA Drini
1956	Peja	SHKA Xhemajl Kada
1968	Istog	SHKA Rexhë Murati
1968	Klinë	SHKA Jehona e Dukagjinit
1968	Vrellë	SHKA Hysni Zajmi
1960s	Peja	SHKA Besa-Besë
1975	Zllakuqan	SHKA Fan S. Noli

1980	Cercë	SHKA Gurrat e bardha
1983	Klina	SHKA Boksisti
1986	Sverkë	SHKA Emin Duraku
?	Rugovë	SHKA Isa Boletini

Cultural Artistic Societies in Gjakova Region

Year	Place	Name of cultural artistic society
1930	Gjakova	SHKA Ymer Riza
1953	Gjakova	SHKA Gajreti later named SHKA Bajram Curri, then SHKA Kosova, and from 1960 SHKA Hajdar Dushi
1960	Brekoc	SHKA Ganimete Tërbeshi
1961	Gjakova	SHKA Ganimete Tërbeshi from IBT Emin Duraku
1969	Gjakova	SHKA Shote Galica
1960s	Gjakova	SHKA Skënderbeu
1970s	Isniq	SHKA Mehmet Riza
1973	Deçan	SHKA Shpresa
1975	Rahovec	SHKA Bajram Curri
1976	Cërmjan	SHKA Dushkaja
1974	Gjakova	SHKA Metaliku
1977	Xërxë	SHKA Ganimete Tërbeshi
1970s	Krusha e madhe	SHKA Bajram Curri
1970s	Gjinoc	SHKA Migjeni
1982	Gërgoc	SHKA Ferhat Binishi
1983	Prilep	SHKA Asim Vokshi
1983	Junik	SHKA Tafë Gacaferri
1983	Isniq	SHKA e Izniqit
1983	Carrabreg	SHKA e Carrabregut
1983	Ratkoc	SHKA Zëri i Rinisë
1984	Drenoc	SHKA Vëllezërit Frashëri
?	Rahovec	SHKA OPBI

APPENDIX 2. Festival *Akordet e Kosovës*, Editions from 1963 to 1989⁴⁶⁸

Akordet e Kosovës, editions from 1963 to 1969.

<i>Akordet Muzikore 63 (24 May 1963)</i>			
Evenings		Participants	
Children songs	24 Songs	Tonina Bala, Zlatko Stojanović, Muhamed Shala, Bilana Pleuraça, Nexhmije Pagarusha - <i>Mbi re</i> (1st prize), Gonxhe Gashi, Mile Jovanović, Liljana Çavolli, Vesna Mulliç, Antoneta Delhysa etc.	
Folk songs			
Entertaining songs			
<i>Akordet Muzikore 64 (12-14 June 1964)</i>			
Evenings		Participants	Composers
Children songs	27 songs	Nexhmije Pagarusha, Mile Jovanović, Hermina Delhysa, Jordan Nikolić, Valbone Nimani, Dashnor Xërxa, Semahat Kuçani, Shyqri Kurteshi, Tonina Bala, Aferdita Zatriqi, Bilana Pleuraça, Angjelina Antoni, Zlatko Stojanović etc.	Dobrivoje Baskiç, Severin Kajtazi Ismail Hoxha etc.
Folk songs			
Entertaining songs			
<i>Akordet Muzikore 65</i>			
Evenings		Participants	Composers
Children songs	32 songs	Nexhmije Pagarusha, Vesna Mulliç, Hermina Delhysa, Qazim Dushku etc.	Dobrivoje Baskiç, Severin Kajtazi Petrit Nushi, Aziz Muni, Isak Muçolli, Lorenc Antoni, Gazmend Zajmi, Musa Piperku etc.
Folk songs			
Entertaining songs			
<i>Akordet Muzikore 68</i>			
Evenings		Participants	Composers
Children songs		Nexhmije Pagarusha, Ermina Delhysa, Jordan Nikolić, Sabri Fezullahu etc.	Ismail Hoxha, Hysen Badivuku, Fahri Beqiri,
Folk songs			

⁴⁶⁸ Most of the data in the tables regarding the editions of the festival have been primarily sourced from articles published in the *Rilindja* newspaper. See: ***: Akordet muzikore 63, të Kosovës e Metohisë [Kosovo Chords of Kosovo and Metohija - 63], *Rilindja* (20 April 1963), 8.; Rashid KRASNIQI: Kompozimet argëtuese pa rezultate të dukshme [Entertaining Compositions with no Visible Results], *Rilindja* (14 June 1964), 10.; Rashid KRASNIQI: Filloi festivali Akordet 68 [Festival Chords 68 Has Started], *Rilindja* (9 December 1968), 7.; Rashid KRASNIQI: Deby i denjë në TV, Mbrëmja e fundit e Akordeve 69 [The Last Evening of Chords 69], *Rilindja* (29 December 1969), 10.; Bajram SEFAJ: Akordet 70 edhe në Televizion [Chords 70 Also in TV], *Rilindja* (2 November 1970), 8.; Rashid KRASNIQI: Këngë për një mbrëmje [Songs for an Evening], *Rilindja* (12 December 1970), 10. K.I: Mbrëmja e këngëve për fëmijë [Evening of Children' Songs], *Rilindja* (21 November 1971), 8.; Rashid KRASNIQI: Mbrëmja e dytë e Akordeve të Kosovës 72 [2nd Evening of Akordet 72], *Rilindja* (19 December 1972), 10.; Jusuf GËRVALLA: Akordet e Kosovës 73 [Kosovo Chords 73], *Rilindja* (6 January 1974), 10.; Jusuf GËRVALLA: Nivel i kualitetit përmbi mundësitë reale, [Quality Level Above Real Possibilities], *Rilindja* (23 December 1974), 12.; JUSUF GËRVALLA: Koncert thua ja i rëndomtë, [Simple Concert], *Rilindja* (28-30 November 1975), 13.; Jusuf GËRVALLA: Akordet e Kosovës 76 [Kosovo Chords 76], *Rilindja* (10 September 1976), 10.; Shyqri GALICA: Okarina e artë e kompozimit: Te rrëza e malit [Golden Ocarina for song: Near the Mountain], *Rilindja* (13 December 1978), 13.; Shyqri GALICA: Okarina e artë – Musa Piperkut, [Golden Ocarina for Musa Piperku], *Rilindja* (27 October 1979), 12.; Sami PIRAJ: Jehojnë tingujt e Akordeve të Kosovës 83 [The Sounds of Chords of Kosovo 83], *Rilindja* (12 December 1983), 12.; Sami PIRAJ: Dominoj rrjedha me kontraste të këngëve, [The Flow With Contrasts of the Songs], *Rilindja* (11 November 1986), 10.; Sami PIRAJ: Fillojnë Akordet e Kosovës 89 [Chords 89 Has Started], *Rilindja* (12 December 1989), 18.; Rashid KRASNIQI: Filloi festivali Akordet 68 [Chords 68 Has Started], *Rilindja* (9 December 1968), 7.

Entertaining songs	29 songs	1st prize - Nexhmije Pagarusha, <i>Lamtumirë vuajtje</i> composed by S. Ballata	Selim Ballata, Tomor Berisha, Lube Slavko, Ömer Keci, Akil Koci etc.
Akordet Muzikore 69			
Evenings		Participants	Composers
Children songs	? songs	Qazim Dushku, Selim Ballata, Sebiha Hydaverdi, Sabri Fejzullahu, Nexhmije Pagarusha, Hermina Delhysa, Jusuf Gërvalla, Antoneta Delhysa, Liliana Çavolli etc.	Aleksandar Aca Korać, Tomor Berisha, Musa Piperku, Selim Ballata, Shyqri Nimani, Dobrivoje Baskić etc.
Folk songs			
Entertaining songs			
		1st prize: Selim Ballata <i>Ti më je shumë larg</i>	

Akordet e Kosovës (1970)

	Singer	Song name	Composer
Children songs	Zora Gashi, Venera Mehmetagaj, Agata Leka, Lyra Zajmi, Merita Daci, Zoran Lekić, Selatin Ajeti etc.	<i>Tap tapa tap</i>	S. Kajtazi
		<i>Fli o bir i nënës</i>	S. Kajtazi
		<i>Zogut</i>	S. Gjinali
		<i>Nesër do të çelë pranvera</i>	T. Berisha
		/	A. Korać
		<i>Orkestrina</i>	M. Piperku
		<i>Lustraxhiu</i>	H. Badivuku
		<i>Novi šešir</i>	D. Baskić
Folk Songs	Singer	Song name	Composer
	/	<i>Fshatarja</i>	A. Koci
	/	<i>Hakmarra</i>	M. Piperku
	Adem Ejupi	<i>Kur të bashkohemi</i>	N. Kaba
	/	<i>Lulet e bareshës</i>	N. Kaba
	Gani Myftari	<i>Fluturo nga kafazi (1st prize)</i>	T. Berisha
	Nexhmije Pagarusha	<i>Eni dasmorë</i>	I. Muçolli
	Shehendere Bërlajolli	<i>Vaji i vashës</i>	Sh. Hoti
	/	<i>Në agim</i>	I. Muçolli
	Adem Ejupi & Rustem Gashi	<i>Tetovarja</i>	S. Gjinali
Ramiza Dalipa	<i>Devojka proklinje sudbinu</i>	D. Baskić	
Entertaining Songs	Singer	Song name	Composer
	Luan Hajra	<i>Mos më harro</i>	Gj. Kaçinari
	/	<i>Kur të kenë ikur korilat</i>	T. Berisha
	Slavko Perović	<i>Edhe malli, edhe ngjyrat</i>	Sh. Nimani
	/	<i>Ndritu natë</i>	Q. Dushku
	Nexhmije Pagarusha	<i>Kaptina e fundit e romanit</i>	S. Kajtazi
	Miki Jevremović	<i>Plaçi na ramenu mom</i>	A. Korać
	Krunoslav Slabinac	<i>Samo zbog ljubavi</i>	A. Korać
/	<i>Sot ushtar po shkoj</i>	M. Piperku	
In profesional jury were: Kristë Lekaj, Carlo Bermel, Lorenc Antoni, Rexho Mulliqi and Bahri Çelaj.			

Akordet e Kosovës (1971)

	Singer	Song name	Composer
Children songs	Emin Duraku School Choir	<i>Karnevali pranveror</i>	V. Gjini
	Vatroslav Lisinski Choir	<i>Kërmilli dhe karkaleci</i>	L. Antoni
	Veton Orana	<i>Ari shputa</i>	I. Hoxha
	Mirjana Mirčić	<i>Eci peci pec</i>	L. Petrović
	Lavdim Koshi	<i>Gjumi</i>	F. Beqiri
	Đustiana Palić	<i>Ç bejnë macat</i>	A. Korać
	Nderim Juniku	<i>Motra e ndëgjueshme</i>	G. Zajmi
	Ajla Shaban	<i>Gaglar</i>	D. Baskić
	Qazim Dushku	<i>Babi çka mke blerë</i>	S. Kajtazi
	Antonio Gashi	<i>Kam një qingj</i>	I. Hoxha
	Valton Beqiri	<i>Violinisti i vogël</i>	F. Beqiri
	Agata Lekaj	<i>Borëbardha</i>	A. Korać
Folk songs	/		
	Singer	Song name	Composer
Entertaining Songs	Hermine Lekaj, Liliana Petrović, Shyqri Nimani, Zafir Haxhimanov, Senka Veletanlić, Ismet Kushtova, Lola Novaković, Luan Hajra etc.	<i>Dashurine ma dhuro</i>	S. Kajtazi
		<i>Vetem per ty jetoj Teuta (2nd prize)</i>	T. Berisha
		<i>Hopa nina nai (1st prize)</i>	S. Kajtazi
		<i>Ajo se di</i>	Gj. Kaçinari
		<i>Smund të na ndaje asnji breg (3rd prize)</i>	G. Zajmi
		<i>Rrefimi mbi ushtarin dhe fluturen</i>	Sh. Nimani
		<i>Jetesa ne kujtime</i>	R. Dolaku
		<i>Ndamja</i>	R. Randobrava
		<i>Mbremja e Maturës</i>	M. Piperku
		<i>Unë vajtoj</i>	F. Beqiri
<i>Pse dashurine sma fale</i>	S. Ballata		
In professional jury were: Kristë Lekaj, Carlo Bermerl, Đoko Georgiev and Fahredin Gunga.			

Akordet e Kosovës (1972)

	Singer	Song name	Composer
Children songs	Lyra and Jehona Zajmi	<i>Erdhi Vjeshta</i>	I. Hoxha
	Arianit Koci	<i>Nëna ime</i>	A. Koci
	Valton Beqiri	<i>Festivali i fëmijëve</i>	R. Munishi
	Antoni and Zora Gashi	<i>Të këndojmë të gjithë</i>	T. Berisha
	Marija Šipić	<i>Kanarinat e gëzueshme</i>	/
	Emin Duraku' Choir	<i>Marshi i pionierëve</i>	M. Piperku
	Edmond Islami	<i>I mësojmë notat</i>	R. Randobrava
	Abdyl Grajçevci	<i>Koncerti</i>	S. Gjinali
	Ymer Keci	<i>Küçük bahçıvan, Köyümüz</i>	H. Kazaz

	Singer	Song name	Composer
Folk songs	Ensemble Azem Bejta	<i>Ah Hyrije</i>	Sh. Hoti
	Lilijana Çavolli	<i>Kam një mall, kam një zjarr</i>	S. Gjinali
	Haxhere Kuçani	<i>Borëbardhë, dashurinë ta dhurova</i>	R. Tahiri
	Gëzime Hajrullahu	<i>Larg prej sysh por afër zemre</i>	M. Piperku
	Dobrivoje Topalović	<i>Za svoju sudbinu ne krivim nikoga</i>	D. Baskić
	Mira Milovanović	<i>Vanka sije cvijeće by</i>	P. Đođević
	Rasim Salih	<i>Çiçekler takmış başına</i>	H. Kazaz;
	Duo Hoxha & Fetahu	<i>Prizreni im</i>	P. Shehu
	Nazmije Tolaj	<i>Eja në krahët e mij</i>	T. Berisha
	/	<i>Sylaroshe, moj bukuroshe</i>	V. Gjini
	Behram Hoti	<i>Sytë e mij kurrë ste harrojnë</i>	H. Badivuku;
Entertaining songs	Singer	Song name	Composer
	Gazmend Pallasa, Zoran Leković	<i>Kasollja</i>	A. Korać
	Faton Shala	<i>Mos e shiko askend tjetër</i>	H. Hegedušić
	Zoran Milivojević, Stevo Kaninski	<i>Zamira</i>	M. Živanović
	Saška Petrova, Qazim Dushku	<i>Vendi im</i>	Gj. Gjevelekaj
	Hysein Kazaz	<i>Son kadar</i>	H. Kazaz
	Daniela Pačetović	<i>Dashuria dhe guximi</i>	R. Randobrava;
	Antigona Qena	<i>Jeta është e bukur</i>	J. Adamov
	Luan Hajra	<i>Arabela (1st prize)</i>	Gj. Kaçinari
	Zdravko Čolić & Fitim Domi	<i>Ëndërron</i>	E. Arnautalić
	Sabri Fejzullahu	<i>Studenti pa dashuri</i>	M. Piperku
	Selim Ballata	<i>Kthehu në ëndërrime</i>	S. Ballata
	Lilijana Çavolli	<i>Vaji i palmave</i>	A. Koci
	Neira Reguto	<i>Lulkuqen ta dhuroj</i>	T. Berisha
/	<i>Lulet e zjarrit</i>	B. Shehu	
<i>Akordet Muzikore 72 were accompanied by folk and entertaining orchestra of RTV Prishtina and RTV Belgrade conducted by: Vojslav Simić, Ilija Genić, Bahri Çela, Severin Kajtazi and Syrja Berisha.</i>			

Akordet e Kosovës (1973)

	Singer	Song name	Composer
Children songs	/	<i>Flutura & Dita e pare e shkolles</i>	G. Zajmi
	?	<i>Bum, Bum, Bum</i>	T. Berisha
	?	<i>Do te behem Pionere</i>	P. Badivuku
	?	<i>Frikacaku</i>	S. Kajtazi
	?	<i>Fili hundegjate</i>	H. Badivuku
	?	<i>Vëlla e motër</i>	Gj. Kacinari
	?	<i>Cili qe ky piktor</i>	K. Hysniu
	?	<i>Per nje ore</i>	N. Kaba
	?	<i>Topi</i>	M. Piperku

	?	<i>Erdhi Cupa</i>	R. Randobrava
	?	<i>Aradha e blertë</i>	S. Kajtazi
Folk songs	Singer	Song name	Composer
	?	<i>Këndoj për ty</i>	V. Gjini
	?	<i>Kënga e Malit</i>	R. Munishi
	?	<i>Kur lulet kundërmojnë</i>	R. Tahiri
	?	<i>Eja, eja e bardha verë</i>	P. Badivuku
	?	<i>Se çfestonte Dibra</i>	M. Piperku
	?	<i>Vendlindjes</i>	K. Hyseni
	?	<i>Përmbas teje çperendon</i>	H. Badivuku
	?	<i>Po zbret vasha shpatit tmalit</i>	G. Zajmi
	Entertaining Songs	Singer	Song name
Luan Hajra		<i>Sa fort të dashuroj</i>	Gj. Kaçinari
Stevo Kaninski		<i>Balada</i>	G. Zajmi
Agron Berisha		<i>Majat e Sharrit</i>	G. Zajmi
/		<i>Të lumtur jemi</i>	S. Kajtazi
/		<i>Bukuroshja</i>	T. Berisha
Nexhmije Pagarusha		<i>Një pikë vesë (1st prize)</i>	S. Kajtazi
Mirjana Pavlović		<i>Le të rrojë dashuria (3rd prize)</i>	A. Korać
Shaban Kelmendi		<i>Eja të këndojmë</i>	B. Shehu
Liljana Çavolli		<i>Floriana (2nd prize)</i>	M. Piperku
Hermine Lekaj		<i>Krizantema</i>	Gj. Kaçinari
Robert Laçi		<i>Kthehu Teuta</i>	T. Berisha
/		<i>Shtegu i vetmuar</i>	R. Dolaku
/		<i>Struganes</i>	I. Hoxha
/	<i>Mos ma shqetësoni dashurinë</i>	R. Randobrava	
In this evening also participated: Qazim Dushku, Gazmend Pallaska, Hysein Kazaz, Mija Muratović, Milica Milisavljević, Shpresa Gashi, Besnik Krajku, etc			
Akordet Muzikore 73 were accompanied by RTV Belgrade Orchestra conducted by: Ilija Genić, Vojslav Simić, Bahri Çela and Severin Kajtazi. In profesional jury were: Mark Kaçinari, Vojslav Simić, Ibrahim Kadriu.			

Akordet e Kosovës (1974)

Children	Singer	Song name	Composer
	Edmond Isami	<i>Maqorri shkon në darsmë të miut</i>	I. Hoxha
	Lulzim Qela	<i>Karkaleci</i> composed	R. Munishi
	Klodina Antoni	<i>Ma ka blerë nëna një kukull</i>	Gj. Kaçinari
	Jehona&Lyra Zajmi	<i>Drenusha</i>	G. Zajmi
	Arianit Koci	<i>Eni në festival</i>	T. Berisha
	Leman Bylykbashi	<i>Kimkime Benzer</i>	H. Kazaz
	Robert Gjoni	<i>Aksionistët e vegjël</i>	K. Hysniu
	Zora Gashi	<i>Bretkocat</i>	V. Gjini
	Lidija Karaleiç	<i>Arithit të vogël</i>	I. Brizani

songs	Agron Rudari	<i>Gjeli i ri</i>	M. Bajri
	Genc Hisari	<i>Në dimër</i>	M. Piperku
	Lendita Alidemja	<i>Majlinda</i>	N. Kaba
	Ivana Vitalić	<i>Luhaja e marimangës</i>	D. Baskić
	Premton Gërvalla	<i>Zu zu zu</i>	H. Badivuku
	Zana Dobroshi	<i>Shoqet</i>	A. Koci
	/	<i>Malli</i>	I. Brizani
	/	<i>Ëndrra e Vlabonës</i>	Sh. Nimani
Folk Songs	Singer	Song name	Composer
	Demir Krasniqi	<i>Eni të këndojmë</i>	/
	Xhemali Berisha	<i>Lulet më të bukura</i>	H. Badivuku
	Shpresa Gashi	<i>Oh eja eja</i>	V Gjini
	Hanife Shehu	<i>Lules sime</i>	Gj. Kaçinari
	Duo Hoxha-Aqifi	<i>Me Pranverën erdhe</i>	G. Zajmi
	Marica Cveić	<i>Prošlo kako je ljeto prošlo</i>	M. Gerić
	Sylejman Borova	<i>Mikëpritja malsore</i>	M. Piperku
	Esat Bicurri	<i>E kujtoj atë takim</i>	P. Badivuku
	/	<i>Vallja malsore</i>	I. Hoxha
	/	<i>Baresha e udhëtari</i>	N. Kaba
	/	<i>Cuca e Dukagjinit</i>	M. Bajri
	/	<i>Mema</i>	I. Morina
Entertaining Songs	Singer	Song name	Composer
	Sabri Fejzullahu	<i>Kënga e Rinisë</i>	M. Piperku
	Rita Shporta	<i>Pri-li-li-li</i>	R. Randobrava
	Qazim Dushku	<i>Urat e Emonës</i>	R. Dolaku
	Robert Laçi	<i>Vullnetari i Spanjës</i>	M. Ramadani
	Nexhmije Pagarusha	<i>Le të dridhet mali (1st prize)</i>	T. Berisha
	Perihane Tuna	<i>Eja tek unë</i>	H. Badivuku
	Sinan Alimanović	<i>Hiroshima</i>	S. Alimanović
	Agon Berisha	<i>A të kujtohet</i>	A. Berisha
	Lunjazët (group)	<i>Loja e Dashurisë</i>	Nj. Bytyqi
	Luan Hajra	<i>Silueta</i>	G. Zajmi
	Group 'Ink'	<i>Edhe një herë për ta</i>	V. Marić
	Shaban Kelmendi	<i>Kënga e jetës sonë</i>	B. Shehu
	/	<i>Želim da si sa Mnom</i>	I. Brizani
/	<i>Kthimi nga mërgimi</i>	Sh. Nimani	
/	<i>Te shtegu ndala hapin</i>	Gj. Kaçinari	
Akordet muzikore 74 were accompanied by the RTP Symphony Orchestras, conducted by: Bahri Çela, Isak Muçolli, Severin Kajtazi and Vojslav Simić. In professional jury were: Rexho Mulliqi, Rauf Dhomi, Seniha Spahiu, Engjëll Berisha, Anđelko Karaferić, Karlo Bermel, Bedri Hysa.			

Akordet e Kosovës (1975)

	Singer	Song name	Composer
Children songs	/	<i>Xixillonja</i>	G. Zajmi
	/	<i>Editës</i>	R. Randobrava,
	/	<i>Manekenja</i>	M. Bajri
	/	<i>Kanga e të voglit Partizan</i>	V. Shurdha,
	/	<i>Zeka</i>	V. Ilić
	/	<i>Dimri</i>	N. Kaba
	/	<i>Anija</i>	M. Piperku
	/	<i>Topi</i>	I. Hoxha
	/	<i>Sela Ruga pored puta</i>	T. Berisha
	/	<i>Mjeshtri i vogel</i>	F. Seli
	/	<i>Valceri</i>	B. Dervishi
	/	<i>Partizani i vogël</i>	K. Hysniu
	/	<i>Küçük alev</i>	A. Nush
	/	<i>Ejani shokë</i>	I. Brizani
	/	<i>Babadimri</i>	M. Lipa
/	<i>Mame mi</i>	S. Alimanović	
Folk songs	Singer	Song name	Composer
	Bashkim Paçuku	<i>Barinjte e Korbit</i>	M. Piperku
	Shehendere Berljolli	<i>Një lule në Gostivar</i>	E. Stafaj
	Riza Bytyqi	<i>Vasha e re</i>	R. Munishi
	Alush Nuş	<i>I vuajtur me vjet</i>	A. Nuş
	Lilijana Çavolli	<i>E porosis atë zog</i>	H. Badivuku
	Nexhmije Sadiku	<i>Roja e dritës</i>	I. Jakupi
	Nataša Vladetić	<i>Na hodanje Šadrvana</i>	V. Ilić
Nexhmije Pagarusha	<i>Koirilat u kthyen</i>	G. Zajmi	
Entertaining songs	Singer	Song name	Composer
	Bedri Islami	<i>Vet ke mbet</i>	Gj. Kaçinari
/			
Akordet muzikore 75 were accompanied by the RTP Symphony Orchestra conducted by Bahri Çela, Severin Kajtazi and Vojsalav Simić & RTP Folk orchestra conducted by Isak Muçolli.			

Akordet e Kosovës (1976)

	Singer	Song name	Composer
	Arben Mashkulli	<i>Pranvera na gëzon</i>	Gj. Kaçinari
	Kadrije bajra	<i>Yjet e lirisë</i>	S. Bytyqi
	Ramadan Mariela	<i>Në fillim të viti shkollor</i>	R. Vaclav
	Violeta & Armend Rexhepagiq	<i>Karkaleci poet</i>	E. Stafaj
	Ivana Vitalić	<i>Mačka u školi</i>	S. Alimanović

Children Songs	Valbona Llausha	<i>Trimi i mëmës</i>	M. Piperku
	Premton Gërvalla	<i>Ëmbëltori</i>	M. Piperku
	Jehona Zajmi	<i>Zogu kompozitor</i>	G. Zajmi
	Lulzim Çela	<i>Dy maca</i>	Sh. Nimani
	Slavica Đurić & Branka Bogunović	<i>Što je lepše</i>	D. Baskić
	Naime Dragusha	<i>Çukapikthi</i>	A. Nuş
	Antonio Gashi	<i>Këngë Maji</i>	R. Randobrava
	Visare Gorani	<i>Behari</i>	H. Kazaz
	Uran Tuda	<i>Tapshi tapshi</i>	H. Badivuku
	Valton Beqiri	<i>Vali Kauboj</i>	F. Beqiri
	Liliana Qefani	<i>Gëzimi i ri</i>	F. Seli
	Jelena Vukičević	<i>Ku është qendra e botës</i>	Gj. Kaçinari
	Sihana Badivuku	<i>Nënës sime</i>	P. Badivuku
Folk Songs	Singer	Song name	Composer
	Luan Hajra	<i>Sa bukur te rrika, vashë libri në dorë</i>	G. Zajmi
	N. Pagarusha & S. Rashiti	<i>Çka ka dielli që loton mbi kreshtë</i>	E. Stafaj
	Nuri Karaxha	<i>Genlum gibi</i>	E. Mecihan
	Sylejman Borova	<i>Kosova</i>	D. Krasniqi
	Esat Bicurri	<i>Të dashuroj me besnikëri</i>	H. Badivuku
	Bashkim Paçuku	<i>Jehon kënga në ledinë</i>	B. Paçuku
Shaban Xhekaj	<i>Vashës sime</i>	I. Hoxha	
Entertaining songs	Singer	Song name	Composer
	Haki Misini & group MAK	<i>Dashuria e parë (1st prize)</i>	Xh. Gashi
	Sabri Fejzullahu	<i>Buzë liqenit</i>	R. Randobrava
	Marija Pavlović	<i>Vrati se lubavi</i>	L. Brandolica
	Perihane Tuna	<i>Dashuri e re</i>	H. Kazaz
	Agron Berisha	<i>Ylberi ynë</i>	G. Zajmi
	Shaban Kelmendi	<i>E mban mend moj Marë</i>	Q. Oruçi
	Milica Milisavljević	<i>Bëhu botë imja</i>	R. Randobrava & V. Vučković
	Hysein Kazaz	<i>Mos eja</i>	H. Kazaz
	Vera Oruçaj	<i>Dashurojmë</i>	I. Brizani
	Besnik Krajku	<i>Largohu sa sështë vonë</i>	Gj. Kaçinari & H. Krasniqi
	Agron Berisha	<i>Ylberi ynë</i>	G. Zajmi
	Branislav Petrović *	<i>Danas</i>	V. Marić
	Liljana Çavolli	<i>Kush ta fali bukurinë</i>	M. Piperku
Luan Hajra	<i>Një puhi fryen mbi det</i>	/	
<p><i>Akordet muzikore 76</i> were accompanied by the RTP Symphony Orchestra conducted by Bahri Çela, Severin Kajtazi and Vojsalav Simić, and RTP Folk Orchestra conducted by Isak Muçolli. In professional jury were: Akil Koci, Severin Kajtazi, Dragiša Petković, Rrahman Dedaj and Mehdi Bajri.</p>			

Akordet e Kosovës (1977)

Children songs		/	
Folk Songs	Singer	Song name	Composer
	Mirjana Pavlović	<i>Krenohem për birin e vdekur</i>	Gogić – Đorđević
	Nexhmije Pagarusha	<i>Çobani</i>	Therandos
	Bashkim Paçuku	<i>Lulekuqe</i>	/
	Agim Fisher	<i>Nuk do të thuash</i>	H. Kazaz
	Shahendere Berljolli & Enver Stafaj	<i>Luftëtarja</i>	E. Stafaj
Entertaining Songs	Singer	Song name	Composer
	Robert Lajçi	<i>Rrofsh sa mallet shoku Tito</i>	T. Berisha
	Mirjana Pavlović	<i>Këngë nënës së partizanit të vrarë</i>	L. Brandolic
	Luan Hajra	<i>Dashuria ime</i>	Gj. Kaçinari
	Antigona Qena	<i>Behar e lule</i>	R. Shukriu
	Bedri Islami	<i>Buzë Drinit</i>	S. Ballata
	Besnik Krajku	<i>Në vllug të këngës</i>	G. Zajmi
	Živorad Mladenović	<i>Iza sedam mora</i>	V. Vujkić
	Vera Oruçaj	<i>Trimat e Carralevës</i>	E. Stafaj
	Lunjazët	<i>Fluturat</i>	Nj. Bytyqi
	Liljana Çavolli	<i>Këndoju këngën tonë</i>	S. Kajtazi
	Jordan Nikolić	<i>Floriana</i>	J. Kodabašija
	Shpresa Gashi	<i>Kënga shpirtin ma rrëmben</i>	M. Piperku
	Bashkim Paçuku	<i>Jam zohu i shpresës</i>	G. Zajmi
	Nexhmije Pagarusha	<i>Ujvarat e Mirushës</i>	B. Adamić
	Hysein Kazaz	<i>Mos më vraj</i>	H. Kazaz
	Gazmend Pallaska	<i>Ganimete Ganimete</i>	H. Badivuku
	Esta Šabović & Kosovski Božuri	<i>E di, dua</i> composed by	S. Alimanović
	Haki Misini & Group MAK	<i>Zogjtë e dashurisë</i>	Xh. Gashi
Sabri Fejzullahu	<i>Ti me sytë e zi</i>	R. Randobrava	
<p><i>Akordet muzikore</i> 77 were accompanied by the RTP Symphony Orchestra, folk orchestra of RTP and turkish orchestra conducted by: Bajar Berisha, Isak Muçolli, Severin Kajtazi and Vojsalav Simić. In professional jury were: Rauf Dhomi, Mila Prodanović, Karlo Bermel, Mehdi Bajri and Din Mehmeti.</p>			

Akordet e Kosovës (1978)

	Singer	Song name	Composer
Children Songs	Violeta & Armend Rexhepagiq	<i>Pulla e gjoře</i> (1st prize)	Gj. Kaçinari
	Gjulijeta Xhemajli	<i>Atdheut</i> (2nd prize)	S. Kajtazi
	Slavolub Stojković	<i>Telegrami</i>	E. Gjergjeku
	Jehona Zajmi	<i>Beni, Mira dhe reçeli</i> (3rd prize)	T. Berisha
	Aida Jakupović	<i>Serçe</i>	H. Kazaz
<p>Songs were accompanied by the RTP orchestra conducted by: Gjergj Kaçinari, Syrja Berisha, Bahri Çela and Uka Brizani.</p>			
Folk songs	/		
	Singer	Song name	Composer

Entertaining songs	Haki Misini	<i>Dorën ta lëshova mbi flokë</i>	Xh. Gashi
	Besnik Krajku	<i>Ti je gabimi i rinisë sime</i>	Gj. Kaçinari
	Reshit Kryeziu	<i>Sevmek çunahemi</i>	R. Kryeziu
	Mirjana Pavlović	O gde si ti	L. Brandolic
	Shaban Kelmendi	<i>Fluturo dallëndyshe</i>	T. Berisha
	Robert Laçi	<i>Zogun e eka zënë gjumi</i>	Sh. Shehu
	Goran Despotović	<i>Severac</i>	V. Marić
	Vera Oruçaj	<i>Sot thurim kurorë</i>	E. Stafaj
	Venimin Lula	<i>Zemra të thërret</i>	Gj. Gjevelekaj
	Gazmend Pallaska	<i>Buzë liqenit (2nd prize)</i>	S. Kajtazi
	Živorad Mladenović	<i>Ljubav iz detinjstva</i>	B. Shehu
	Milica Milisavlević	<i>Dar proljeća (1st prize)</i>	S. Alimanović
	Bedri Islami	<i>Pranë teje</i>	S. Ballata
	Sabri Fejzullahu	<i>Drithma dashurie (2nd prize)</i>	R. Randobrava
	Shpresa Gashi	<i>Ëndërr pranverore</i>	M Piperku
	Bashkim Paçuku	<i>Te rrëza e malit</i>	M. Bajri
	Ismail Edeni	<i>Sensiz bir gece (3rd prize)</i>	H. Kazaz
	Liljana Çavolli	<i>Të thërres çdo natë</i>	J. Kođobašija
	In professional jury were: Kristë Lekaj, Nazmi Rrahmani, Dragiša Dukić.		

Akordet e Kosovës (1979)

Children songs	/		
Folk songs	/		
Entertainment songs	Singer	Song name	Composer
	Bashkim Paçuku	<i>Buzë kuqe si burbuqe (Golden Ocarina)</i>	M. Piperku
	Haki Misini	<i>Një yll nga qielli për ty e kam zënë</i>	Xh. Gashi
	Hyrmet Bahtijari	<i>I vetmuar kam mbetë</i>	Z. Hoxhallari
	Vera Oruçaj	<i>Oh sa fort të dua (2nd prize)</i>	Gj. Kaçinari
	Milica Milisavlević	<i>Këngës së krisur</i>	S. Alimanović
	Edmond Islami	<i>Te penxherja jote</i>	R. Randobrava
	Gazmend Pallaska	<i>Çupa të pret</i>	T. Berisha
	Shpresa Gashi	<i>Kot Pendohesh</i>	M. Mengjiqi
	Besnik Krajku	<i>Jam nje bohëm</i>	F. Beqiri
	Liljana Çavolli	<i>Ti je lulja më e bukur</i>	E. Stafaj
	Selim Ballata,	<i>Thuaj se me do</i>	S. Ballata
	/	<i>Mbremje Letrare</i>	B. Shehu
	/	<i>Këta zogj te shpirtit tim</i>	S. Zhuta
/	<i>Mbremje Letrare</i>	B. Shehu	
Professional Jury: Rexho Mulliqi, Sevime Gjinali, Enver Gjergjeku, Jordan Nikolić, Vesel Morina.			

Akordet e Kosovës (1980)

	Singer	Song name	Composer
Children Songs	Florije Beqaj	<i>Ëndrra e Florës</i>	Xh. Gashi
	Arbnore Ramadani	<i>Dy lule</i>	N. Kaba
	Marija Budimir	<i>Moja bolesna lutka</i>	B. Shehu
	Toska Doçiqi	<i>Këngë gazmore</i>	B. Baruti
	Eliza Hoxha	<i>O nënë e dashur</i>	Sh. Hoxha
	Eroll Morina	<i>Pionier mblillni fidane</i>	H. Kazaz
	Floriana Piperku	<i>Erdhi mami nga uzina</i>	M. Piperku
	Ruzhdi Sadiku	<i>Gruri</i>	M. Bytyqi
	Mirela Komadina	<i>Ditëlindja</i>	D. Hristovski
	Zana Badivuku	<i>Kori gazmor</i>	R. Randobrava
	Lumnije Mengjiqi	<i>Lule paqe jemi ne</i>	M. Mengjiqi
	Anita Koci	<i>Mbjellësi</i>	A. Koci
	Marija Jakupović	<i>Ispred ogledala</i>	I. Vitaljić
	Dhurata Bytyqi	<i>Pula e kuqe</i>	Gj. Gjevelekaj
	Valbon Beqiri	<i>Kali picimuli</i>	F. Beqiri
	Aida Jakupović	<i>Ky vend</i>	H. Badivuku
	Jehona Zajmi & Valbon Beqiri	<i>Kosova krenare</i>	T. Berisha
Slavoljub Stojković	<i>Pse i donte Tito fëmijët</i>	Gj. Kaçinari	
Folk songs	/		
Entertainment songs	Singer	Song name	Composer
	/	<i>Ekstaza pranverore</i>	M. Kelmendi
	/	<i>Nuk jetohehet në vetmi</i>	M. Mengjiqi
	/	<i>Me kot u gëzuan</i>	T. Berisha
	/	<i>Oh kur lemza të më marrë</i>	Sh. Kelmendi
	/	<i>Shpirti i shqetësuar;</i>	R. Munishi
	/	<i>Një kujtim</i>	B. Shehu
	/	<i>Lumi</i>	M. Bajri
	/	<i>Nema te</i>	R. Dolaku
	/	<i>Në qytetin legjendar</i>	N. Bytyqi
	/	<i>Ata sy si harroj</i>	S. Ballata
	/	<i>Eja moj në çati</i>	Gj. Gjevelekaj
	/	<i>Mbi det</i>	V. Berisha
	/	<i>Lulja në dritare</i>	M. Piperku

Akordet e Kosovës (1981)

	Singer	Song name	Composer
Children Songs	Floriana Piperku	<i>Rosaku fëmijë</i>	M. Piperku
	Lindita Isufi	/	M. Osmanaj
	Ilire Vinca	<i>Fili i sëmurë</i>	I. Vitaliç
	Toska Doçiçi	<i>Zilja</i>	Sh. Hoxha
	Arbnore Ramadani	<i>Treni (1st prize)</i>	I. Jakupi
	Aida Jakupović	<i>Abetare</i>	Sh. Kelmendi
	Melita Bytyçi	<i>Flutura (3rd prize)</i>	M. Shukri
	Slavolub Stojković	<i>Liria</i>	T. Berisha
	Meriton Berisha	<i>Trepça jonë (3rd prize)</i>	F. Beqiri
	Gjengiz Sungur	<i>Rruga e drejtë</i>	B. Baruti
	Anita Koci	<i>Partizani</i>	A. Koci
	Eliza Hoxha	<i>Një Korrik</i>	Sh. Hoxha
	Majlinda & Edon Rizvanolli	<i>Vajzë e sjellshme është Edlira</i>	E. Rizvanolli
	Sonja Dobričanin & Teuta Sadiku	<i>Ishte nder të jetosh me Titon</i>	M. Debelović
	Vlora Grajçevci & Jeton Hyseni	<i>Pionierët besnik të Titos (2nd prize)</i>	L. Halili
Children's songs were accompanied by Children's Choir and RTP orchestra with conductors Tomor Berisha, Uka Brizani, Ramadan Ramadani and Gjergj Kaçinari.			
Folk Songs	Singer	Song name	Composer
	Hajrie Kryeziu	<i>Zemra jote mka harrue</i>	M. Piperku
	Riza Bytyçi	<i>Të gjitha shpresat</i>	M. Osmanaj
	Dragan Pajević	<i>Nekada smo se sreli</i>	I. Petrović
	Liljana Çavolli	<i>Malësore moj mlësore</i>	M. Mengjiqi
	Xhelal Bakraçi	<i>Lule për ditëlindje (1st prize)</i>	M. Bajri
	Nazmije Hoxha	<i>Malli për pëllumbin e shkruar</i>	Sh. Hoxha
	Mira Milonovanić	<i>Nikan više composed by</i>	Z. Stojanović
	Shpresa Gashi	<i>Zogu troket në zemër</i>	K. Hysniu
	Alush Nuş	<i>Ben evlijim (2nd prize)</i>	A. Nuş
	Zymryt Pantina	<i>Eja pranë meje</i>	R. Shukri
	Mazllum Morina	<i>Vasha matan gjethi</i>	E. Rizvanolli
	Sabahate Bërlajolli	<i>Krenohu atdhe krenohu</i>	T. Berisha
	Selvetë Tërstena	<i>Hareja compsed by</i>	I. Jakupi
	Zoran Jovanović	<i>Ti rritesh në zemrën time (3rd prize)</i>	M. Alimanović
	Nazmie Hoxha	<i>Malli composed by</i>	Sh. Hoxha
	Jovan Perajlić	<i>Në rrugën tënde do të shkojmë</i>	F. Beqiri
	Moma Krajković	<i>Lubav u Marashu</i>	P. Đorđević
	Hermine Lekaj	<i>Kujtimi rinor (2nd prize)</i>	P. Badivuku
	Esat Bicurri	<i>Dallëndyshja shkoi (3rd prize)</i>	B. Shehu
Folk songs were accompanied by the RTP folk orchestra and the Turkish RP orchestra with conductors Isak Muçolli and Rasim Salih.			
	Singer	Song name	Composer
	Hilmi Obërtinca	<i>Njomza ime composed by</i>	M. Mengjiqi
	G. Despotović	<i>Doşao sam da tražim prijatelja</i>	A. Đambazov
	Sefedin Bajrami	<i>Senden uzak olmak zor</i>	M. Shukri
	Valentina Kelmendi	<i>Dashuria hodhi shtat (1st prize)</i>	Sh. Kelmendi

Entertaining Songs	Shaban Kelmendi	<i>Më vjen si ëngjëllushe</i>	B. Shehu
	Gordana Kostić	<i>Još jedan put</i>	I. Vitalić
	Vera Oruçaj	<i>Kalendari i dashurisë</i>	Gj. Kaçinari
	Edmond Islami	<i>Shoqja e studimeve</i>	R. Randobrava
	Fatmir Bajraktari	<i>Unë të kam besuar</i>	R. Dolaku
	Ivana Vitalić	<i>Igra</i>	V. Marić
	Mirjana Beširević	<i>Pesma mira composed by</i>	S. Kajtazi
	/	<i>Ti se ke shoqin (3rd prize)</i>	L. Rushiti
	Haki Misini	<i>Mëshirë</i>	F. Beqiri
	Gazmend Pallaska	<i>Porta e dashurisë</i>	Gj. Gjevelekaj
	Alen Slavica	<i>Ne žudi Jelenu</i>	Đ. Jusić
	Milica Milisavlević	<i>Pogrešan broj (2nd prize)</i>	M. Marković
	Bedri Islami	<i>Kujtimi i rinisë</i>	M. Bajri
	Sabri Fejzullahu	<i>Ti bilbil (3rd prize)</i>	M. Piperku

Akordet e Kosovës (1982)

	Singer	Song name	Composer
Children Songs	Meriton Berisha	<i>Tungjatjeta</i>	L. Halili
	Mimoza Zabërxha	<i>Nëna</i>	M. Mjengjiqi
	Mila Bogičević	<i>Duart e miqësië</i>	T. Berisha
	Nesrin Shileku	<i>Motrat tona</i>	M. Bajri
	Adhurim & Ilirjana Jakupi	<i>Iriqi nga Shahiqi</i>	I. Jakupi
	Ajfer Mehmet	<i>Vogëlushët</i>	B. Baruti
	Flora Beqaj	<i>Në cirk</i>	Xh. Gashi
	Jasna Patrašković	<i>Spavalica</i>	D. Hristovski
	Floriana Piperku & Anduena Carrabregu	<i>Kënga e mëngjesit</i>	M. Piperku
	Blerita Muçolli	<i>Drini</i>	S. Piraj
	RTP Children Choir	<i>Gradimo domovinu</i>	T. Bratić
	Florije Jakupi	<i>Bilbili</i>	E. Rizvanolli
	Vlora Grajçevci	<i>Kënga ime</i>	S. Kajtazi
	Zymrit Mynik	<i>Ditët tona Jugosllavi</i>	H. Kazaz
	Dejan Đurović	<i>Tik-tik-tak ovo je sat</i>	J. Škaro
	Arta & Zana Bajrami	<i>Ngutet motra, ngutem unë</i>	F. Beqiri
	Eliza Hoxha	<i>Treni</i>	Sh. Hoxha
Dhurata Bytyqi	<i>Rrëfim luftëtari</i>	Gj. Gjevelekaj	

Children's songs were accompanied by children's choir and RTP orchestra with conductors Tomor Berisha, Uka Brizani and Ramadan Ramadani.

	Singer	Song name	Composer
	Nezafete Shala	<i>Lule për të dashurën</i>	R. Ymeri
	Nexhmije Pagarusha & Ismet Bugujevci	<i>Kur ta fal njat tufë gërshetë</i>	P. Badivuku
	Afërdita Abdyli	<i>Marton nëna djalin o</i>	E. Stafaj
	Ramadan Krasniqi	<i>Pejë o lul e Dukagjinit</i>	M. Bajri
	Hazir Haziri	<i>Mirmëngjes mal</i>	H. Kamberi

Folk songs	Lidije Pasoma	<i>Fjala e heshtur</i>	A. Koci
	Šefqet Hamidović	<i>Ako ideš</i>	B. Milošević
	Islam Miftari	<i>Sa e bukur je</i>	E. Rizvanolli
	Nuri Karaxha	<i>Ke shkuar shumë larg</i>	Sh. Megjuani
	Shyhrete Behluli	<i>Malli i dashurisë</i>	I. Kallaba
	Merima Kurtish Njegomir	<i>O grad Prizrena</i>	R. Živković
	Emine Hasimi	<i>Sorkadhet</i>	T. Berisha
	Shahin Paçarada	<i>Eja lule trendelinë</i>	M. Piperku
	Dragan Rajević	<i>Vrati mi uspomene</i>	V. Ilić

Folk songs were accompanied by RTP folk Orchestra, Turkish orchestra and the folk orchestra of CAS Ramiz Sadiku with conductors Isak Muçolli, Rasim Salih and Fahri Beqiri.

	Singer	Song name	Composer
Entertaining songs	Fatmir Bajraktari	<i>Sytë e tu si rrushi i zi</i>	E. Rizvanolli
	Gazmend Pallaska	<i>Ty që mi ke sytë e zi</i>	Gj. Gjevelekaj
	Zlatko Stojanović	<i>Domovino draga domovino</i>	J. Škaro
	Ylber Limani	<i>Erdhe një ditë tetori</i>	E. Stafaj
	Shermin Zaim	<i>Dëshirat e vjetra</i>	Sh. Megjuani
	Hilmi Obërtinca	<i>Më lejo ta gjej fatin</i>	H. Obërtinca
	Afërdita Tupeci & Qazim Mengjiqi	<i>Le të ndihet ky fyell</i>	M. Mengjiqi
	Vera Oruçaj	<i>Ta bëj benë</i>	Gj. Kaçinari
	Milica Milisavlević	<i>Ja sam Sam</i>	T. Bratić
	Sabri Fejzullahu	<i>Pranvera në Prishtinë</i>	M. Piperku
	Nexhmije Pagarusha	<i>Kitara</i>	S. Kajtazi
	Bedri Islami	<i>Çobaneshë moj</i>	T. Berisha
	Ivana Vitalić	<i>Treba da znaš</i>	L. Brandolica
	Haki Misini	<i>Qetësi sdo të gjej</i>	Xh. Gashi
	Liljana Qavolli	<i>Kujtoj atë ditë</i>	M. Bajri
	Valentina & Shaban Kelmendi	<i>Ylli nën qepallë</i>	R. Randobrava

In professional jury were: Vinçenc Gjini, Kristë Lekaj, Bahtir Sheholli.

Akordet e Kosovës (1983)

	Singer	Song name	Composer
Children	Flora Beqaj	<i>Flutur, flutur</i>	Xh. Gashi
	RTP Children choir	<i>Çabratit tim</i>	R. Dhomi
	Arta Baruti & Lubomir Brandolica	<i>Karaleci dhe bubrreci</i>	R. Demiri
	Adelina Ismaili & Sabri Fejzullahu	<i>Këngë paqe</i>	Gj. Kaçinari
	Gjengiz Sungur	<i>Demir mallak</i>	/
	/	<i>Këndojmë në zemrat tona</i>	Sh. Kelmendi
	/	<i>Të punojmë si ora</i>	I. Jakupi
	/	<i>Medo</i>	V. Ilić
	/	<i>Tarzani</i>	V. Beqiri
	/	<i>Din din don</i>	B. Baruti

Songs	/	<i>Zhapini</i>	N. Krasniqi
	/	<i>Çthotë çukapiku</i>	V. Beqiri
	/	<i>Ljepo plavo more</i>	J. Škaro
	/	<i>Po këndon bilbili</i>	S. Kajtazi
	/	<i>Gruri</i>	K. Hysniu
	/	<i>Maji në zemër</i>	R. Ramadani
	/	<i>Pred spomenikom</i>	L. Brandolica
	/	<i>Heroina</i>	M. Piperku
	/	<i>Dëshmorëve</i>	P. Badivuku
	/	<i>Mi smo srećni</i>	T. Brotić
	/	<i>Ai – Titos</i>	B. Shehu
	/	<i>Rinia e vendit tim</i>	T. Berisha
Folk Songs	Singer	Song name	Composer
	Bashkim Paçuku	<i>Njëzet vjet të festivalit (1st prize)</i>	P. Badivuku
	Nazmije Hoxha	<i>Kënga ime</i>	Gj. Kaçinari
	Liljana Petrović	<i>Aprilske kiše</i>	S. Kajtazi
	Nexhmije Pagarusha	<i>Vallja popullore</i>	M. Piperku
	A. Fisher & Z. Munik	<i>Dunun muknicik kizimubu</i>	A. Nuş
	Ramadan Krasniqi & R. Berberi	<i>Idila rinore</i>	B. Shehu
	Okteti	<i>Menjtime</i>	M. Mengjiqi
	Afërdita Avdyli	<i>Iku lulja</i>	R. Ramadani
	/	<i>Katmer miriše</i>	V. Ilić
Lirije Krasniqi	<i>Sonte qielli stolisë</i>	M. Bajri	
Entertaining songs	Singer	Song name	Composer
	Ylli Ismajli	<i>Oj zogo</i>	V. Beqiri
	Antonio & Zora Gashi	<i>Dashuria</i>	A. Gashi
	Ž. Mladenović	<i>Janin ples</i>	M. Nardel
	Fatmir Bajraktari	<i>Pulëbardha ime</i>	Sh. Berisha
	Edmond Islami	<i>Të ëndërrova</i>	V. Gjikolli
	N. Kuqani	<i>Unë të kërkoj</i>	T. Berisha
	Liljana Çavolli	<i>Valsi</i>	R. Dhomi
	Hilmi Obërtinca & Merita Abdurrahmani	<i>Natë me shi</i>	N. Tahiri
	Bashkim Paçuku	<i>Këngë e pafundme (2nd prize)</i>	Gj. Kaçinari
	Kimete Kurtishi	<i>Harrimi fshiu çdo gjë</i> composed by	M. Bajri
	/	<i>Tamo pripadam ja</i> composed by	A. Đambazovit
	/	<i>Kimler seni uzdu</i>	L. Brandolica
	Qazim Mengjiqi	<i>‘Braktisja</i>	A. Macula
	Qazim Mengjiqi	<i>Një kopsht plot kujtime</i>	T. Berisha
	Ivana Vitalić	<i>To je to</i>	V. Vitalić
	E. Kastrati ‘	<i>Lumin që se harroi</i>	M. Mengjiqi
	Valentina Saraqini	<i>Pranverat që vijnë</i>	P. Dushi
	Shaban Kelmendi	<i>Këngë e dhembjes krenare</i>	S. Kajtazi
	Sabri Fejzullahu	<i>Doruntinë moj Doruntinë (1st prize)</i>	M. Piperku
	/	<i>Këngë për Emin Durakun</i>	A. Kadriu
	Vera Oruçaj & Besnik Krajku	<i>Bredhja (3rd prize)</i>	R. Randobrava

	Hysein Kazaz	<i>Nurdesin</i> (3rd prize)	H. Kazaz
	Milica Milisavljević	<i>Ne vračaj se kapitene</i> (2nd prize)	Z. Špišić
	Bedri Islami	<i>Nuk ka tjetër</i>	Gj. Kaçinari

Akordet e Kosovës (1984)

	Singer	Song name	Composer
Children songs	Venera Dyla	<i>Nëna ime</i>	Gj. Gjevelekaj
	Albana & Floriana Piperku	<i>O ju moj lule</i>	M. Piperku
	RTP Choir	<i>Këngë gishtore</i>	Gj. Kaçinari
	Mimoza Zabrxha	<i>Traktori</i>	M. Mengjiqi
	Flora Beqaj & Arta Baruti	<i>Lepuri ngadhjimitar</i>	N. Macula
	Almisa Shkodra-Adelina Bejta-Sandra Lekaj, Nesrin Shileku	<i>Nuk është zemra palagaçe</i>	N. Krasniqi
	Dije Zymberi	<i>Vjollcat për mëmën</i>	Gj. Gjevelekaj
	Adelina Ismajli & Sabri Fejzullahu	<i>Gjuetari</i>	S. Kajtazi
	Zana Bajrami	<i>Ylli</i>	T. Berisha
	Eliza Hoxha & Kids Group	<i>Viti i Ri</i>	Sh. Hoxha
Folk songs	/		
Entertainment songs	Singer	Song name	Composer
	Urim Koshi & group TNT	<i>Vetëm unë e ti</i>	N. Macula
	Lumnije & Qazim Mengjiqi	<i>Daullja</i>	M. Mengjiqi
	Men's Choir	<i>Isha vetëm tuj mendue</i>	V. Beqiri
	Antonio Gashi	<i>Lumi ynë</i>	A. Gashi
	Merita Korenica & Ilir Allajbegu	<i>Disco yjet</i>	T. Berisha
	Bedri Islami	<i>Përtrirje në sy të familjes</i>	P. Dushi
	Edmond Islami	<i>Më je guacë magjike</i>	Xh. Gashi
	Hilmi Obërtinca	<i>Lule zemra</i>	H. Obërtinca
	Fatmir Bajraktari	<i>Si të gjej</i>	M. Božinovski
	Vera Oruçaj & Sead Jakupi	<i>I tretur më je</i>	N. Macula
Sabri Fejzullahu	<i>Të fala nga Prishtina</i>	M. Piperku	

Akordet e Kosovës (1986)

	Singer	Song name	Composer
	Laura Nila	<i>Pika e shiut</i>	N. Krasniqi
	Albana Piperku & Teuta Grajçevci	<i>Pëllumbi im</i>	M. Piperku
	/	<i>Dashuri të ketë shumë</i>	A. Bejtullahu
	Tringa Gjickolli & Edona Llalloshi	/	Sh. Berisha
	Alban Halilaj	<i>Xhaxhi më blu violinë</i>	M. Bajri
	Donjeta Krasniqi	<i>Mollëkuqja</i>	S. Krasniqi

Children songs	RTP children choir & soloist Ivica Hrستیć	<i>Lule për nënën time</i>	D. Hristovski
	/	<i>Nesrin küçük</i>	O. Topko
	Ardit & Astrit Stafaj	<i>Dembelat e Stambollit</i>	N. Krasniqi
	Sihana Bunjaku	<i>Malli për gjyshen</i>	Xh. Kelmendi
	Maria Danisenko	<i>Fëmijët rriten</i>	B. Shehu
	Mimoza Zabërgja & Flora Beqaj	<i>Pranvera</i>	T. Berisha
	Some other participants: Arta Baruti, Donjeta Krasniqi, Leunora Rugova, Ajsel Duraku, Vullnet Sefaja, Irina & Ivana Karamarković, Nezahate Shala, Jelena Bojić etc.		
Folk Songs	Singer	Song name	Composer
	Shpresa Gashi	<i>Edhe një mot na erdhi</i>	A. Kodra
	Afërdita Avdyli	<i>Rruga që të mori</i>	R. Ramadani
	/	<i>Eja te unë sorkadhja ime</i>	V. Ilić
	Riza Bytyqi	<i>Kënga për Zef Lush Markun</i>	M. Piperku
	Sevim Baki	<i>Ta bëra me dorë</i>	/
	Nuri Karaxha	<i>U mërzhita nga loja jote</i>	/
	/	<i>Dy yje</i>	A. Kadriu
	Faton Bakolli & Bukurie Lamallari	<i>Erë mali lule fushe</i>	Xh. Gashi
	Xhemaili Berisha	<i>Falma atë shami</i>	I. Morina
	Lirie Meqa & Nexhat Suma	<i>Ishe si pranvera</i>	Sh. Berisha
	Qazim & Lumnie Mengjiqi	<i>Këngë e rritë</i>	/
	Besa Berberi & Ramadan Krasniqi	<i>Në muzgjet e Prizrenit</i>	I. Morina.
	Emine Hasimi	<i>Ylberi i dashurisë</i>	P. Badivuku
	/	<i>Më takon vetëm mua</i>	P. Đorđević
Entertaining songs	Singer	Song name	Composer
	Qazim Mengjiqi	<i>Askush nuk është i përkryer</i>	/
	Fatmir Bajraktari	<i>Fuqia e dashurisë</i>	/
	Shpresa Berisha & Maria Lukovac	<i>Ndalu</i>	D. Hristovski
	Antonio Gashi	<i>Dashuria jonë</i>	A. Gashi
	Valentina Saraçini	<i>Të kujtoj si përherë</i>	T. Berisha
	Nuri Karaxha	<i>Një lule dhe një flutur</i>	Sh. Mexhuani
	Shkumbin Kryeziu	<i>Jetoje rininë</i>	Sh. Kryeziu
	Vera Oruçaj	<i>Të dy</i>	F. Emra
	Zlatko Stojanović	<i>Memoari</i>	Z. Stojanović
	Toska Doçiçi	<i>Mëngjeset e harruara</i>	Gj. Gjevelekaj
	Valdete Meqa & Kamuran Goranci	<i>Balluket e mia</i>	S. Krasniqi
	Milica Milisavlević	<i>Crvena jabuka</i>	/
	Sabri Fejzullahu	<i>Cuca e Malësisë</i> composed by	R. Randobrava
	Bedri Islami	<i>Përmallimi</i>	Sh. Mexhuani
	Armend Rexhepagiq	<i>Teuta (1st prize)</i>	A. Rexhepagiq
	Goran Despotović	<i>Igrica iz detinjstva</i>	B. Blača
	Merita Korenica	<i>Marioneta</i>	Xh. Gashi
Edmond Islami	<i>Si të shuaj etjen</i>	N. Macula	

Akordet e Kosovës (1989)

	Singer	Song name	Composer
Children Songs	Edmond, Artemida, Teuta, Elida	<i>Mëngjesi në qerdhe</i>	Sh. Shehu
	Njomza Shehu	<i>Piramida</i> composed by	M. Mengjiqi
	Ivan Spasić	<i>E dua një vogëlushe</i>	J. Škaro
	Donjeta Krasniqi	<i>Burbuqe fytyrëshur</i>	S. Krasniqi
	Group of children	<i>Kush ka thënë</i>	A. Nuş
	Duo Mita-Krasniqi	<i>Alo Beni Beni</i>	A. Daci
	Flutura Gërmizaj & Diellza Kolgeci	<i>Era</i>	S. Piraj
	Ivan Stojanović	<i>Kënga e tretë III</i> composed by	Z. Stojanović
	Visare Morina	<i>Taango ça ça ça</i> (3rd prize)	I. Kuriu
	Shpëtim Salihu & choir	<i>Ujk dhëmbëmadhi</i>	Xh. Gashi
	Maja Stefanović	<i>Çka kërcasin këpucët</i>	M. Beljani
	Labinot Bejtullahu	<i>Kur dy rrota bëhen njëmijë</i>	A. Bejtullahu
	Adelina Ismajli	<i>Tavolina e gjorë</i> (1st prize)	N. Krasniqi
	Abdylkadir Halaq	<i>U dashurua në fëmijëri</i>	M. Shukriu
	Irina Karamarković	<i>Zeka nga hendeku</i>	P. Đordević
	Mimoza Mikullovc	<i>Jeta e re</i>	R. Randobrava
	Lavdi Bunjaku	<i>Shoku ynë në festival</i>	P. Bađivuku
	Tamara Spasić	<i>Himni i fëmijëve</i>	T. Bratić
	Monika Seli	<i>Bla bla</i> (2nd prize)	D. Kaçinari
	Alma Piperku	<i>Mimoza</i>	M. Piperku
Folk songs	/		
Entertaining songs	Singer	Song name	Composer
	Group 'Rona'	<i>Kush është ai</i>	I. Berani
	Maja Jakupović	<i>Vala e epsheve</i>	P. Rakić
	Sevim Baki	<i>Edhe pse smë do</i>	Sh. Mexhuani
	Dardan Shkreli	<i>Unë këndoj ye ye</i>	D. Shkreli
	Group Engjujt	<i>Parajsa e engjellushave</i>	E. Qarri
	Group Irida	<i>Rock my baby kosovare</i>	M. Piperku
Alma Bektashi	<i>Qyteti i ëndrrave</i>	V. Jonuzi	

APPENDIX 3. Short Biographies About Personalities/musicians Mentioned in the Dissertation Text⁴⁶⁹

ALIÇKAJ, Kreshnik (1982) is a composer. He studied at the Academy of Music, Department of general musical pedagogy (2005), then later studied music composition (2009) in the class of Professor Mendi Mengjiqi at the University of Prishtina. In 2011 he finished postgraduate studies in composition. His works are mainly symphonic, orchestral and vocal-instrumental forms with a unique personal form of expressionism.

ANDREJEVIĆ, Sima (1804 – 1882), known as Sima Igumanov, was a Serbian merchant from Prizren who made a fortune in the tobacco trade and invested his fortune in building educational institutions such as a teacher's theological school in Prizren which in turn produced a great number of theological students and teachers.

ANTONI, Lorenc (1909 – 1991) was an Albanian composer, conductor, and ethnomusicologist. He was born and raised in Skopje but from 1941 lived and worked in Kosovo, and contributed to general music developments. He studied music privately in Skopje and Belgrade, and composed over 200 compositions (mainly vocal/choral pieces) heavily inspired by Albanian folk music. Antoni was the first musician in Kosovo who actively collected Albanian musical folklore, and published seven collections titled *Folklori Muzikor Shqiptar* [Albanian Musical Folklore], in the period between 1956 and 1977.

BALLATA, Zeqirja (1943) is a composer and member of the Academy. He studied music in Prizren and Ljubljana. In 1969, he finished his master's studies in composition in Ljubljana with mentors Matija Bravničar and Lucijan Marija Škerjanc. Between 1965 and 1969 he studied musicology at the Faculty of Philosophy of Ljubljana University, while during the 1970s he attended various specializations in Venice, Siena and Rome. Over the more than fifty years of activity in composition his musical language remained both contemporary and very unique.

⁴⁶⁹ This appendix includes brief biographies of notable music personalities (in Kosovo), compiled using sources: KOVAČEVIĆ, Krešmir (ed.): *Leksikon jugoslavenske muzike 1 A-Ma* [Lexicon of Yugoslav Music 1 A-Ma] and *Leksikon jugoslavenske muzike 2 Me-Ž* [Lexicon of Yugoslav Music 2 Me-Ž], Zagreb: Jugoslavenski leksikografski zavod "Miroslav Krleža", 1984; KRAJA, Mehmet (ed.): *Fjalori enciklopedik i Kosovës I (A-K)*, [Encyclopedic Dictionary of Kosovo I (A-K)] and *Fjalori enciklopedik i Kosovës II (L-Zh)*, [Encyclopedic Dictionary of Kosovo II (L-Zh)], Prishtinë: Akademia e Shkencave dhe e Arteve e Kosovës, 2018.

BELEGU, Muhamet (1927 – 2014) was an Albanian musician from Peja. He completed studies in music education in HPS in Zagreb (1951-54), and later completed studies at the Academy of Music in Sarajevo (1971) and finally achieved a doctorate in pedagogy with a thesis titled “The role of the Solfeggio in music education” in Moscow, becoming the first specialist in this field in Kosovo. He also conducted various orchestras (e.g., SHKA *Ramiz Sadiku* in Peja, SHKAA *Ramiz Sadiku* in Prishtina, etc.). For many years he worked as a music teacher in HPS in Prishtina.

BERISHA, Bajar (1950 – 2024) was a conductor. He finished his conducting studies at the Academy of Music in Belgrade, then later completed specializations in Sarajevo and Berlin (1982). For many years he conducted the RTP Symphonic Orchestra and Choir, but also conducted many other ensembles such as the Yugoslav People's Army Orchestra, the Niš Symphony Orchestra, the Belgrade Philharmonic, the Croatian Zagreb National Theater Orchestra, etc. For many years he worked as professor of conducting at the Faculty of Arts in Prishtina; in 2014 Berisha also published the first musical-terminological dictionary in the Albanian language.

BERISHA, Engjëll (1934 – 2015) was an academician and professor of music history at the Pedagogical High School and later at the Faculty of Arts in Prishtina. He studied at the Academy of Music in Belgrade, specializing in the Theoretical Department (1958), and continued his studies in musicology in Ljubljana. In 1981, he obtained a master's degree in musicology from the Academy of Music in Sarajevo. Throughout his career, Berisha published several significant musicological works, including books and textbooks that explored both general music history and the history of national music.

BERISHA, Syrja (1945) is a musician who studied music at the Pedagogical High School in Prishtina. During the 1970s and 1980s he contributed especially to music education, becoming known as an enthusiastic leader who established and conducted the Children's choir *Emin Duraku*, successfully presenting the province of Kosovo at Festivals of Children's Choirs on the Yugoslav level. After 1980, he collaborated with Ramadan Ramadani to lead the RTP Children's Choir.

BEQIRI, Fahri (1936 – 2021) attended the music secondary school in Prizren (1958) and later studied composition at the Academy of Music in Belgrade under the guidance of the eminent Serbian composer Enriko Josif (1970). His artistic and professional career was distinguished by two significant avenues: as a composer and as a pedagogue/professor. Beqiri also served as a leader of musical ensembles and was an organizer of numerous

musical activities, leaving a profound impact on the cultural and educational landscape of Kosovo.

BEQIRI, Valton (1967) is a pianist and composer. He studied both piano and composition at the Faculty of Music in Prishtina, under the guidance of Professor Rafet Rudi. Since 1990, he has been a professor at the Faculty of Arts in Prishtina. He began his career in a rather difficult period when the political situation was not moving in parallel with the artistic course, and his work was mainly promoted after the year 2000. In addition to his compositional work, Beqiri served as Minister of Culture, Youth, and Sports from 2008 to 2010.

BOVAN, Vladimir (1927 – 2017) was a historian of literature and a university professor. After he graduated in Yugoslav literature at the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje, he earned his PhD in folk literature at the Faculty of Philology in Belgrade. Then he pursued his professional career at the Faculty of Philosophy in Prishtina.

BRIZANI Uka (1936 – 2017) was a distinguished trumpet player from Prishtina of Roma origin. Renowned for his versatility, Uka performed a wide range of music, including Roma, Turkish, Albanian, Serbian, and jazz. In 1954, he became a member of the Radio Prishtina Small Orchestra. By 1961, he had established the RP Entertainment Orchestra, which he led for many years. Due to health issues, Uka was compelled to cease playing the trumpet, subsequently dedicating himself to conducting and arranging music, with a notable focus on the 'Akordet e Kosovës' festival.

CHARLETTE, Gregory (1987) is a conductor from Los Angeles, deeply engaged in the interpretation and promotion of contemporary music. His engagement includes concerts and collaborations with the Askō|Schönberg ensemble, the Dutch Chamber Orchestra, the Netherlands Philharmonic Orchestra, the Britten-Pears Orchestra, the Kosovo Philharmonic Orchestra, etc.

ÇETTA, Anton (1920 – 1995) was an Albanian folklorist, university professor, and collector of folklore from all regions of Kosovo (including fairy tales, myths, ballads, legends, songs etc.), with more than 16 books published.

ÇELA, Bahri (1941 – 2018) was the first professional conductor from Kosovo who in the late 1960s graduated in conducting at the Music Academy in Belgrade in the class of prof. Mihajlo Vukdragović. Some years later he continued his specialization at the St Petersburg State Conservatory in Russia, and then in France. From 1974 he was

conductor of the RTP Symphony Orchestra, and after the year 1999 he was the main figure behind the establishment of the Philharmonic of Kosovo.

CURRI, Bajram (1862 – 1925) was a hero of the Albanian people, politician and activist who fought for the independence of Albania.

DANČETOVIĆ, Vojislav (1905-1974) was a Serbian linguist and folklorist from Kosovo. From 1948-49 he was professor of Albanian language and literature at the University of Belgrade.

DHOMI, Rauf (1945) is a composer. In 1965 he graduated from the music secondary school in Prizren and then studied composition and conducting in the class of Professor Miroslav Špiler at the Music Academy in Sarajevo. He completed his postgraduate studies in 1972 and in the same year composed the first national opera: *Goca e Kaçanikut* [Girl from Kaçanik]. In the following years, Dhomi composed several scenic works including operas and ballets. From 1996 he is a regular member of Academy of Sciences and Arts of Kosovo.

DHOMI, Trimor (1976), a composer. He studied composition in Tirana, then pursued master's studies in Skopje. He composes film music, vocal, vocal-instrumental, chamber, orchestral and scenic forms.

DORĐEVIĆ, Petar (1934) is a Serbian composer from Prizren. He was the only Serbian composer to be active there during the 1960 and 1970s. After graduating from the music school in Prizren, he continued his studies at the Academy of Music in Belgrade (Theoretical Department) and from 1960 worked as a professor at the *Josip Slavenski* Music School in Prizren.

GJEVELEKAJ, Gjon (1951) is a composer and professor at the Academy of Music in Grasse. After graduating from the secondary music school in Prizren (1970), he completed his music studies in Zagreb (1972), Sarajevo (1974) and Skopje (1986). During 1980s and 1990s, he specialized for several years at the Paris *Ecole Normale de Musique Alfred CORTOT* (with professors Jacques Casterede, Laurent Petitgirard Michel Fusté Lambezat, and Christian Eloy) in composition, film music and electronic music. In the 1980s he was the only Albanian composer who specialized in symphonic and film music. From 1978 to 1990 he worked as editor-producer and artistic director of the RTP Symphony Orchestra, until he moved first to Croatia and then to France.

GJINALI, Hadije (1934 – 2022) was the first piano teacher of Albanian nationality who worked in the music school in Prishtina. Immediately after her graduation from the secondary music in Prizren (1956/57) she was employed in the music school in Prishtina where she worked until 1999. Gjinali was my first piano teacher (1993-99), to whom belongs all the credit for my motivation and who deeply implanted in me the love for music.

GJINI, Vinçenc (1935 – 2022) was a composer and pedagogue. He attended the music secondary school in Prizren in 1953/54, then finished studies in the Department of Music Theory at the Academy of Music in Belgrade. He continued postgraduate studies (theory and polyphony), becoming the first master of music sciences in Kosovo in 1961. He composed many works (from vocal/choral to orchestral ones) in both neo-classical and neo-romantic styles.

HALIMI, Kadri (1921 – 2001) was the first Albanian ethnologist from Kosovo who graduated in ethnological sciences.

HYSAJ-SHALA, Elikonë (1982) learned solo singing at the Music Secondary School *Prenk Jakova* in Prishtina and then completed BA studies at the Academy of Fine Arts in Tirana in the field of solo singing, and MA studies at the Academy of Arts *Kiril i Metodij* in Skopje. Since 2005 she has been member of the Choir of Kosovo Philharmonic and since 2007 has contributed as music teacher in different educational institutions.

JAKIĆ, Ana (Nela) (1911 – 2007) was an islander from Rab in Croatia and was married to Dragutin Jakić (a renowned lawyer and descendant of an old Serbian family). In the period between the two World Wars, they became residents of Prizren (in Kosovo), where their two daughters Biserka and Ivanka were born. Her life story is related to her actions during the Second World War when she hid and protected Raul Teltelbaum and his (Jewish) family for which in 2001 Ana Jakić was awarded the "Righteous of All Nations" medal by Yad Vashem.⁴⁷⁰

JASHARI, Baki (1960) is a composer and conductor. He completed composition studies in Ljubljana (1980-84), and after graduation returned to Prishtina. He worked for a while

⁴⁷⁰ See: Milan FOGEL, Milan RISTOVIĆ, Milan KOLJANIN: *Righteous Among the Nations Serbia*, Zemun: Jewish Community, 2010, pp.194-96.

in the The RTP Media (as a choir conductor), while after political situation of the 1990s, Jashari returned to Ljubljana. In the year 2000 he returned to Prishtina, and since 2007 he is director of the Choir and Philharmonic of Kosovo. He is a composer of many works, from choral to orchestral ones.

JUPOLLI, Liburn (1989) is a composer, multi-instrumentalist, inventor and producer. He studied composition in the class of Professor Zeqiria Ballata (2015-2018), then later studied composition in Paris at the Jacques Ibert Conservatory in the class of Stephane de Gerando, and electroacoustic composition at the CRR de Paris in the class of Denis Dufour. Since 2004 he has written music for theater, film, animation, visual and conceptual productions.

KAÇINARI, Gjergj (1947 – 2019) was a composer and conductor. During the 1960s he graduated from the Music Academy in Belgrade (Theoretical Department). From the late 1960s until the 1980s he worked in the RTP Music Production. Kaçinari composed over 600 popular music melodies (entertainment songs), and was one of the most active and successful composers, arrangers and conductors of the festival *Akordet e Kosovës*. As an admirer of old civic songs, he published the book *Pearls of the Old Albanian Civic Music*. He composed a large number of ecclesiastical songs too, for example, Psalms, Hymns, and Masses which are regularly sung in the Cathedral of Saint Mother Teresa in Prishtina. He led the church Choir in Prishtina from the 1990s until 2017.

KAÇINARI, Mark (1935 – 1985) was a Kosovo composer and conductor. Between 1973 and 1975 he studied composition at the Faculty of Music in Skopje and between 1977 and 1979 he completed postgraduate studies in conducting in Belgrade. In 1969, he founded and led the choir *Collegium Cantorum*. As composer, Kaçinari was a figure of considerable interest but composition was not his exclusive profession. He composed mainly in those genres that he knew best, choral forms and piano pieces.

KASAPOLLI, Halit (1937 – 1959) was an Albanian musician from Peja. In 1958, he finished music high school and began studies at the Academy of Music in Belgrade. He didn't finish even the first year of his studies because he died in 1959 at the very young age of 21. In a short musical career, Kasapolli composed several choral works and several works for orchestra.

KAJTAZI, Severin (1936) is a composer. For some time he was a violinist in the City Symphony Orchestra and then worked in the RTP Music Production. Kajtazi was one

of the biggest contributors to entertainment music in the 1970s and 1980s. He composed about 30 songs for children, and 60 entertaining songs presented at different festivals in Yugoslavia. In 1970s and 80s he composed his first children's operetta, a children's musical scene *Muzicentët e vegjël* [Little Musicians], recorded in Radio Tirana in 1971, a children's orchestral piece: *Loja e fluturave* [Butterflies Game], and *Lojë darsme* [Wedding Game].

KAZAZ, Hüseyin (1949) from Prizren, is a Turkish composer in Kosovo, with over 250 song compositions performed in different concerts and especially at festivals *Akordet e Kosovës*, *Zambaku i Prizrenit* and other events in Belgrade, Zagreb and Turkey. Although, he did not study music (he graduated from the Faculty of Economics), he began to compose songs in the 1960s. In addition to the original compositions, he is also very fond of Turkish melodies and folklore.

KELMENDI, Memli (1986) is a composer, conductor and producer. He graduated from AAB College in 2010, then later obtained an MA Degree in Skopje in Music Production/Sound Engineering, in the class of prof. Valentino Skenderovski, and another MA Degree in Conducting at the University of Prishtina, in the class of the conductor Professor Bajar Berisha. He composed many works, but recently is more engaged in conducting the well-known choir *Siparantum*.

KOCI, Akil (1936) is a composer and musicologist. After graduating from music school in Prizren, he finished studies in composition at the Music Academy in Sarajevo (in 1962). He later studied at the Music Academy in Skopje (in the class of Toma Prošev), while later attending specialization at one of the oldest conservatories in Germany (Staatliche Hochschule für Musik und Darstellende Kunst, Stuttgart) with the noted composer Milko Kelemen. Koci has been a significant figure in the domain of composition (with markedly contemporary music language) and in musicology (in which he has published twelve books including monographs, works on music philosophy and aesthetics, miscellanea etc.)

KOPITAR, Jernej (1780 – 1844) was a Slovenian linguist and philologist, born in the small Carniolan village of Repnje near Vodice, in what was then the Habsburg monarchy (now in Slovenia). In 1808, he moved to Vienna, where he studied law and at the same time he developed an interest in the comparative analysis of the Slavic languages. He is best known for his role in the Serbian language reform started by Vuk Stefanović

Karadžić, where he played a vital role in supporting the reform by using his reputation and influence as a Slavic philologist.

KURTI, Palokë (1858 – 1920) was an Albanian composer from Shkodra, a musical amateur who composed the march *Bashkimi i Shqipnis* [Unity of Albania] in 1881. Later, he composed several marches, polkas and mazurkas in the European tradition. However, the compositions related to national music are the ones that would make him important in the history of the music of Albania.

LEKAJ, Kristë (1935 – 2021) was a composer. He attended the secondary music school in Prizren, then graduated from the Department of Music Theory at the Academy of Music in Belgrade. For many years, he worked in the RTP. It is interesting that in my systematic research I found no musicological writing about the life and musical creativity of K. Lekaj.

LOGORECI, Mati (1867 – 1941) was an Albanian teacher, publicist and intellectual from Shkodra. He spoke several languages and had knowledge of trade and economics. Following his studies in France, and seeing the lack of language teachers, he together with his brother became a language teacher. They settled in Prizren and Gjakova in 1889. Mati Logoreci was one of the first implementers of the educational goals of the Albanian National Renaissance and drafted textbooks and tutors to help teachers. He also authored children's texts and briefly published the newspaper *Dashamiri* (1907-1908).

LUMEZI, Anton (1923 – 1986) was an amateur musician, the first leader of *Agimi's* choir.

LUMEZI, Lazër (1870 – 1941), from Prizren, was an educational activist and a teacher at the Albanian School in the city of Prizren, as well as an ethnographer, folklorist and poet. He was a major contributor to the spread of the Albanian alphabet, and to the formation of the *Besa-Besë* society in Peja city. He also did some research on folklore and collected folk songs.

MENGJIQI, Mendi (1958) is a composer and professor. After he finished music school in Prishtina (1974–78), he continued studies in music pedagogy (1978-82) and composition in the class of Professor Zeqirja Ballata (1982-86) in Prishtina, then moved to Poland to study composition in the Kraków Conservatorium and postgraduate studies with composer Krzysztof Penderecki (1996–99). He is the author of large number of compositions including the national anthem of the Republic of Kosovo (2008).

MILOSAVLJEVIĆ, Radojica (1926 – 2000) worked temporarily during the 1950s as conductor of the Prizren City Orchestra and as teacher and director (1958-61) of the music school in Prizren, while between 1965 and 1968 he was transferred to Prishtina music school. From 1968 he worked at *Dr Vojislav Vučković* Music School in Niš.

MULLIQI, Bahri (1959) is a composer. After completing his secondary music education, he studied music pedagogy (1979-82) and composition (1982-88) at the Faculty of Music in Prishtina, under the mentorship of Professor Zeqirja Ballata. He worked for several years as an assistant in music harmony before emigrating to the United States in 1994.

MULLIQI, Rexho (1923 – 1982) was an Albanian composer, born in Gusinje, (Montenegro). During 1940s he studied music in Belgrade with professor M. Tajčević, while from 1950s on he lived and worked in Kosovo. His musical opus includes a variety of musical works, ranging from vocal, choral, chamber, symphonic to scenic and film music.

MUHAXHIRI, Qamil (i Vogël) (1923 – 1991) began his contribution in music when he was very young, initially being a member of various CASs in Gjakova. From the 1950s onwards he worked in the publishing company *Rilindja* in Prishtina and was a regular singer in the programs of Radio Prishtina. From 1957 to 1978 he published eleven collections of folk songs, including about 88 folk songs which he had composed himself, while in 1967 he was a producer and executive representative for Kosovo in the record company *Jugoton* in Zagreb, from where dozens of gramophone records were published, providing a great contribution to the development of the Albanian folk discography.

NUSHI-ZEQIRI, Dafina (1984) is a composer. In 2007 she graduated in composition at the Faculty of Arts in Prishtina in the class of Professor Mendi Mengjiqi. In 2011 she obtained a master's degree, while in 2019 she finished PhD Studies at the New Bulgarian University in Bulgaria. Many of her compositions have been awarded national and international prizes.

PLLANA, Shefqet (1918 – 1994) was an Albanian ethnographer and scholar from Kosovo, and the author of more than 140 articles about Albanian folk music.

PETRONJE, Todor (1919 – ?) was a Serbian conductor. He graduated from the Academy of Music in Belgrade in 1949. As a conductor he worked at the Popular Theater in Pančevo and during 1950s and 1960s he was the conductor of the orchestra at Radio Prishtina, and from 1971 conductor of the folk orchestra of RTV Novi Sad.

PRISHTINA, Hasan (1873 – 1933), [Turkish: Priştineli Hasan Bey], originally known as Hasan Berisha was an Albanian and Ottoman politician, who served as the 8th Prime Minister of Albania (December 1921), one of the brightest figures of the Albanian democratic movement and apostle of education in the Albanian language.

RAMADANI, Ramadan (1953) studied at the Faculty of Arts in Prishtina. From the year 1974 he worked with the Children's Choir *Happy Kids* in the town of Ferizaj, while from 1980 he worked in the RTP Prishtina with the RTP Children's Choir. Between 1981 and 1994 he was the leader of the choir in *Stevan Mokranjac* [Prek Jakova] Music Secondary School. In 1994 he emigrated to Germany.

RANKOVIĆ, Aleksandar (1909 – 1983) was a Yugoslav communist politician, considered to be the third most powerful man in Yugoslavia after Josip Broz Tito and Edvard Kardelj.

RIZVANOLLI, Esat (1936 – 2006) was a Kosovo composer. After graduating from the music school in Prizren (in 1954), he completed studies at the Academy of Music in Belgrade (1957-1964) in the class of Professor Milenko Živković, and started to compose.

RUDI, Donika (1982) is a composer. She studied composition at the Geneva Conservatory, Departemnt of instrumental and electroacoustic music.

RUDI, Rafet (1949) studied at the Music Academy in Belgrade, and graduated in conducting (1973) and composition (1974). After his return to Prishtina, he worked in the RTP as a producer and choir conductor while from 1976 until his retirement in 2014 he worked as Professor of Analysis of Music and Compositional Forms at the Academy of Music in Prishtina. Early in his career he composed in a national music and neo-classical style while later, after becoming familiar with avantgarde currents, he explored atonal, dodecaphonic and serial music.

RISTIĆ, Oliver (?) lived and worked in Kosovo until the late 1960s. He was also one of the first musicians to represent professionalism in the musical life of Kosovo. He was the conductor of the Symphony Orchestra of the city of Prishtina and for many years was music editor at Radio Prishtina.⁴⁷¹

⁴⁷¹ See: Krešimir KOVAČEVIĆ (Ed.) *Leksikon jugoslavenske muzike 2 Me-Ž*, 166.

SALIH, Rasim (? – 1994) was a musician and a central figure in the cultural development of the Turkish community living in Kosovo. Salih was a master of Turkish music and played the violin and the *oud* (a lute-type, pear shaped, fretless stringed instrument of Arab origin usually with 11-13 strings grouped in six or seven courses). He began his music career as autodidact during the 1930s. In 1951, Rasim Salih together with Bayram Kırveş, Adem Macula, Bedri Tumbak etc. were instrumental in the establishment of the Turkish orchestra within Radio Prishtina. There he started to learn music theory from his colleague, the composer Rexho Mulliqi. From that time, Salih was a very active musician in both Radio Prishtina and in the cultural and artistic society *Gerçek*.

SHAQIRI, Korab (1986) is a composer. He studied composition in Tirana, in the class of Zaig Hacharian (2008), and Aleksandër Peçi (2012). In 2019 he obtained a PhD Degree in Skopje.

SHEHU, Bashkim (1952) is a composer and professor. After finishing the music school in Prizren, he studied composition and conducting at the Academy of Music in Sarajevo (Professor Miroslav Špiler), then later specialized in composition, musical forms and orchestration at the National Conservatory in Paris. He worked at the Academy of Music in Prishtina until 1991. Later he moved to Croatia where he works as full professor in Academy of Music in Pula. He is the founder of the Pula Summer Festival.

SHERIFI, Nuri (1912 – 1977) was a music pedagogue and one of the first Albanian choir leaders in Kosovo. He graduated from *Elbasan Normalja* (Albania) and from 1944 was the choir leader at *Agimi* and later became violin teacher at *Josip Slavenski* Music School in Prizren.

SLAVENSKI, Josip Štolcer (1896 – 1955) was a Croatian composer and professor at the Music Academy in Belgrade, one of the major composers from Southeastern Europe in the first half of the twentieth century. Slavenski's work is noted for its innovative fusion of folk elements from the Balkans with modernist techniques. He composed symphonies, chamber music, and vocal works, often incorporating traditional melodies and rhythms into complex, modern structures. His teaching and compositional contributions left a lasting impact on the musical landscape of the region.

VOJNOVIĆ, Bogoljub (1906 – 1976) was a Serbian composer and conductor. He completed his music education in Prague and worked as a conductor for several military orchestras

in Niš, Kragujec and Belgrade. From 1949 until 1960 he lived and worked in Prishtina where he was highly active. He conducted the CAS *Radnički* choir and was the leader of the city symphony orchestra in Prishtina (founded in 1950), with which he prepared and performed a wide musical repertoire including several operas. As a composer he composed several works with themes based on Albanian folk melodies.⁴⁷²

YANAGISAWA, Toshio (1971) is renowned Japanese conductor. Between 2005 and 2007, Yanagisawa was the permanent conductor of the Opera and Ballet Theater in Macedonia, and from 2007 he was the permanent conductor of the Kosovo Philharmonic. In the same year he founded the Balkan Chamber Orchestra, which he presented in various concerts and tours all around the world (e.g., in Kosovo, Albania, Macedonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Austria, USA, Japan, etc.).

ZEQIRAJ, Arta (1980) is a composer and producer. She studied composition (BA and MA) at the Faculty of Arts in the class of Professor Mendi Mengjiri and Rafet Rudi.

ZYMBERI, Drinor (1987) is a composer. In 2009 he obtained BA Degree in Composition, and in 2011 he finished MA studies in composition in the class of Professor Mendi Mengjiri. From 2012 he works at the Faculty of Arts as professor of composition and analysis. For his compositions he has won various national and international awards.

⁴⁷² See: Krešimir KOVAČEVIĆ (Ed.) *Leksikon jugoslavenske muzike 2 Me-Ž*, 513.

APPENDIX 4. Photographs Taken from *Rilindja* Newspapers (1950s-1980s)⁴⁷³



Figure 56 Mandolin Orchestra – Rehearsals (1958)



Figure 57. City Orchestra in Mitrovica (1960s)

⁴⁷³ All photographs included in Appendix 4 are sourced from *Rilindja* newspaper (1945-1989). In no instance is the author of the photographs identified, as they were not credited in the original publications.



Figure 58. CAS *Dogru Yol* (1970s)



Figure 59. Folk Ensemble of CAS *Kham* (1970s)

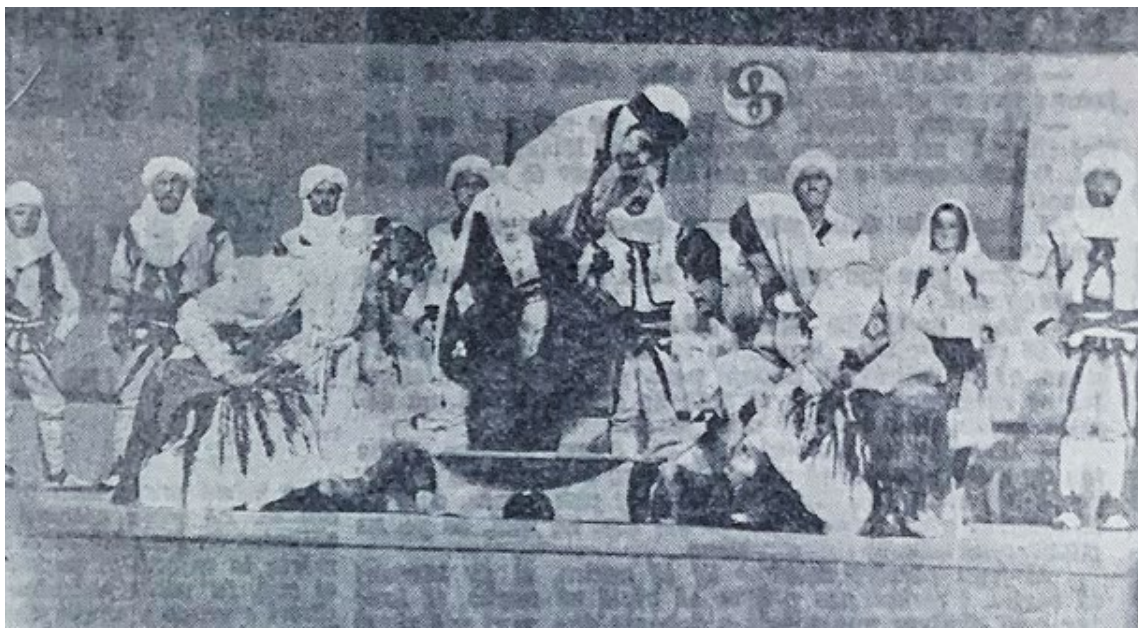


Figure 60. Ensemble *Rugova* in Vatroslav Lisinski Hall in Zagreb (1975)

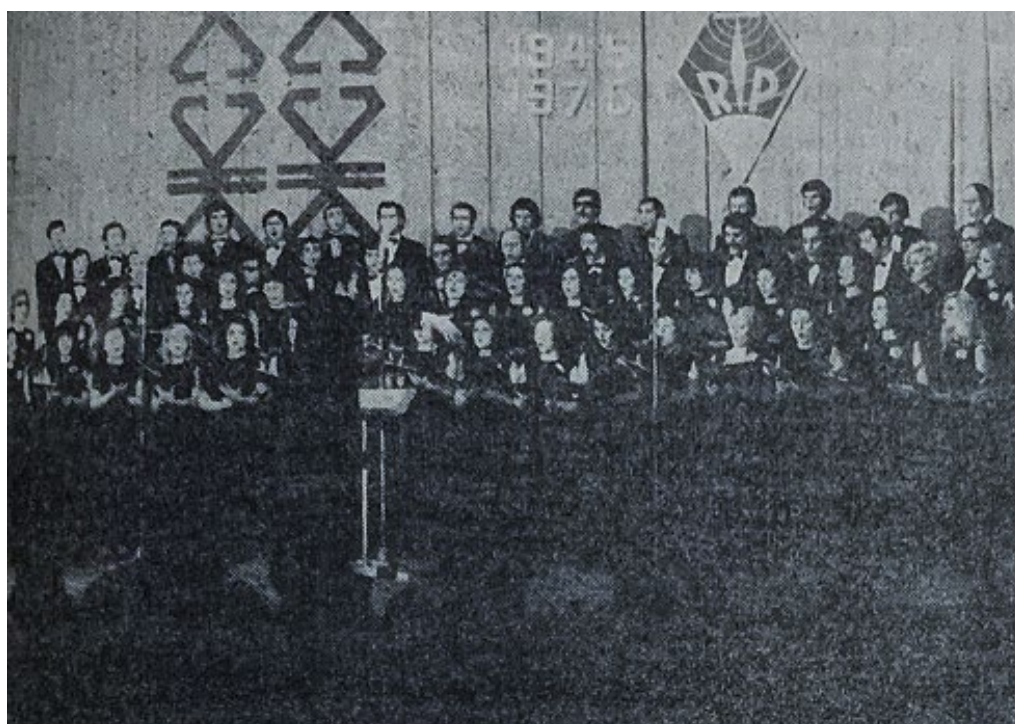


Figure 61. Choir Collegium Cantorum on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the foundation of Radio Prishtina (1975)



Figure 62. Choir of CAS *Ramiz Sadiku* in Peja (1977)



Figure 63. The Shota Ensemble in USSR Tour (1977)



Figure 64. RTP Symphony Orchestra (1980)



Figure 65. RTP Choir (1981)



Figure 66. City Choir in Peja (1983)



Figure 67. RTP Children Choir (1984)



Figure 68. Choir of Faculty of Arts, conductor Bajar Berisha (1985)

Biography of the author

Kristina Perkola graduated in Music Education in 2009 (BA), Musicology in 2011 (BA), and Music Education in 2013 (MA) from the Faculty of Arts in Prishtina, Republic of Kosovo. In 2017, she enrolled in the postgraduate doctoral study program in literature, teatrology, dramatology, filmology, musicology, and cultural studies at the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Zagreb, with Dr. Sc. Stanislav Tuksar as her mentor. Since 2011, she has been working at the Music School *Prenk Jakova* in Prishtina, while from 2016 she works as a lecturer in AAB College (2016-2020), UBT – Higher Educational Institution, Department of Modern Music, Digital Production, and Management (2020-). As co-author with Violeta Krasniqi, in 2022 she published the book: *Solfeggio fillestare* [Solfeggio for Beginners], while in 2023 she published her first monographic book entitled: *Dy jetë për muzikë* [Two Lives for Music] dedicated to Rexho Mulliqi and Nexhmije Pagarusha on the occasion of their 100th and 90th birth anniversaries.

Published papers:

Music and Politics in Kosovo: Three Lives of the City Symphony Orchestra in Prishtina, 1950-2020, *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 54 (2023) 2: 323-356.; Narrative observation about music institutionalization through music educational institutions in Kosovo (1948-2020), *RAST Musicological Journal* 2023, 11(4) 529-547.; The Beginning of Research on Ethnomusicology and Historical Musicology in Kosovo: Background, Research and main Publications*, *Arti Musices* 53/1, 2022 129-143.; Hrvatski skladatelj Vatroslav Lisinski u albanskoj literaturi i na glazbenoj sceni Kosova, *Music, Arts and Politics: Revolutions and Restorations in Europe and Croatia 1815-1860*, Zagreb, (2022), 253-261.; Musical activity of some musicians of Albanian origin in Mediterranean cultures between 14th – 19th century, *Between central Europe and the Mediterranean; music literature and the performing arts*, Ivana Tomić Ferić and Antonela Marić (eds.), Split, 2021, pp. 373-381.; Modern music nationalism and relation between music and politics, *Knowledge International Journal* Vol.32 (2019), Skopje, 503-506.; Author of the texts about 27 entries for *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Kosovo* I and II, published by ASHAK in Prishtina.