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THE FORMATION OF THE ETHNOGRAPHIC COLLECTION OF SERBIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES AND ARTS ARCHIVES BETWEEN ENCHANTMENT AND DISENCHANTMENT

Abstract: In this paper, the disenchantment of the world (*Entzauberung der Welt*) is taken as a metaphor for the fear of the vanishing of folklore (perceived as the oral lore of rural communities) due to modernization and technological progress—the model of thinking that was predominant during the 19th and the first decades of the 20th century and affected the history of folkloristics. First, the similarities between the disenchantment and conceptualization of folklore as a vanishing object are discussed, based on the possibility of expanding Weber's theory to the other domains in the humanities, direct influences that came from the Romantic era and the 20th-century orality/literacy theories that deal with how technological progress affects oral culture. Weber's ideas are applied to a point in the history of Serbian folkloristics, analyzing the case of formation of the Ethnographic collection of SASA[1] Archives. Stojan Novaković, who initiated the idea of the Ethnographic collection and was one of the most prominent figures of his time, warned about folklore being endangered and the necessity of it being collected. In contrast, folklore collectors responded by offering large amounts of material. The discrepancy between their stands is reviewed in the context of social and historical circumstances in Serbia and the Western world, as well as literary, cultural, and scientific influences that shaped Novaković, his role in Serbian culture, folklore collectors' will, interests, competency, resourcefulness, and even personal agenda. Some of the indications of this research are that the insiders' perspective of the collectors coincides with the stance that at the time, no significant changes in mentality took place; that sometimes the very means of overcoming disenchantment turned out to be the symptoms of this process; and that collecting practice was used for both national goals and personal gain.

Keywords: Max Weber, enchantment/disenchantment, *Verzauberung/ Entzauberung der Welt*, Romanticism, the vanishing of folklore, folklore collectors, Serbian folklore, Stojan Novaković, the Ethnographic Collection of SASA Archives

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[1] The name Serbian Royal Academy (SRA) is used in the paper instead of today's Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (SASA), in diachronic context.

1. THE DISENCHANTMENT OF THE WORLD AS VANISHING "ORALITY"

1.1. Max Weber's Concept of Disenchantment and Its Intellectual Roots

In this paper, the term *disenchantment* is taken as the idea of the vanishing of folklore with the advent of a more rational and modernized world. Although the term is not used in this context in Weberian sociology, this argument is based first of all on the ambiguity of Weber's concept of disenchantment, which he used as a metaphor in different fields of study. The idea was presented for the first time in his 1917 speech *Science as a Vocation (Wissenschaft als Beruf)*, which was published in 1919: " … the world is disenchanted. One need no longer have recourse to magical means in order to master or implore the spirits, as did the savage, for whom such mysterious powers existed. Technical means and calculations perform the service. This above all is what intellectualization means" (Weber 1946: 139). He also noted: "The fate of our times is characterized by rationalization and intellectualization and, above all, by the 'disenchantment of the world'" (ibid.: 155).

In the revised version of *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1919), he used the term in a somewhat changed context that considered religion only—to show how "[t]hat great historical process in the development of religions, the elimination of magic from the world which had begun with the old Hebrew prophets and, in conjunction with Hellenistic scientific thought, had repudiated all magical means to salvation as superstition and sin, came here to its logical conclusion" (Weber 2005: 61). The bibliography of works on Max Weber is at the very least extensive and contains about 4,600 items in English only (Sica 2003). This fact can be taken as an indicator of the comprehensiveness of Weber's thought. It would be difficult to produce this amount of work related to Weber's sociology if his concepts and ideas were not adapted or even upgraded. This also confirms the vitality of Weber's postulates. Thanks to this, disenchantment/re-enchantment is studied today as a broader concept—within the comprehensive theories of modernity—that applies not only to magic as the means of salvation in a religious context but also to different forms of media discourse, political speech, or everyday life, in the altered, post-secular world. The disenchantment of the world is no longer associated with sacral only, but also with different types of fantastic, irrational, supernatural, and occult; being charmed or captivated by something, in the context of the sociology of religion, philosophy, media, and

culture as well, especially when it comes to re-enchantment theories.[2] Weber's idea was the product of its time (at the turn of the 20th century the process of establishing sociology as an academic discipline was followed by the growing scholarly interest in the questions of rationalization and modernization) and as such it was often challenged or even dismissed. Without assessing the accuracy of Weber's postulates, the diachronic approach is used to apply Weber's metaphor to a point in the history of Serbian folkloristics that was taking place almost simultaneously and shared some similar assumptions with Weber's ideas.

Secondly, the fear of vanishing "oral culture" is interpreted as a form of disenchantment based on similarities between the ideas that originated from the Romantic era and Weber's ideas that were partly rooted in Romanticism. Weber thought of disenchantment as a consequence of rationalization, which led to a new, more rational way of thinking, resulting in the negative effects which the Romanticists feared. Weber is seen as an "advocate" of Romanticism, in contrast to the French literary critic and historian Hippolyte Taine, as a proponent of sociological positivism too (Ghia 2012). Disenchantment and the fear of vanishing "oral culture" are both tied to the Romantic era as one of many possible influences on Weber's theoretical work and as the birthplace of folklore collecting practice. There are several common points between Romanticism and Weber's theory that can be found in (1) the origin of the term, (2) viewing the traditional values of lower strata in opposition to modernity, (3) self-understanding of the 19th-century socio-economic dynamics as driven towards the modernization and rationalization, (4) the new dimension to the meaning of the term when translated into English. The most common claim is that the term "disenchantment" was borrowed from the German poet and writer Friedrich Schiller (Jenkins 2000: 11). Karl Jaspers (psychiatrist and philosopher, but also Weber's friend) was the first to suggest this (González García 2011: 268; Coeckelbergh 2017: 72), although "Weber did not literally quote Schiller. Schiller wrote about a nature without gods, a de-divinized nature (*Entgötterung*)" (Coeckelbergh 2017: 72). H. Lehmann went a step further in problematizing this claim discovering that it came from Maurice Berman (1981: 69), who "transforms

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[2] Jenkins recognizes two linked tendencies in modern (re)enchantment: " … the first encompasses everyday explanatory frameworks of luck and fate; long-established or 'traditional' spiritual beliefs; 'alternative' or 'new age' beliefs; and 'weird science'. The second, more diverse, includes collective attachments such as ethnicity; sexualities; intoxications and ecstasies; the escapism of television, computer games, and the internet; and consumerist cultural hedonism" (2000: 12–13).

the adjective 'entgöttert' into a noun 'Entgötterung', thus bringing Schiller's text closer to Weber's term 'Entzauberung'" (2009: 13). By doing so Berman did indeed bring two ideas closer, even defining them as "equal telling expression(s)" (ibid.), but he never said Weber quoted or paraphrased Schiller as it was implied in Coeckelbergh 2017. However, J. G. Herder wrote "a poem entitled precisely *The Disenchantment. Doctrine of the Brahmins (Die Entzauberung. Lehre der Brahmins*)" (González García 2011: 268). It was also noticed that "the understanding that mystery and sacredness was (sic!) disappearing from a world increasingly dominated by industry, science, and technology had its intellectual roots in German Romanticism, where it had found expression in the works of Novalis and Friedrich Hölderlin" (Asprem 2018: 17). The early Romanticists were the first to be connected with the process of disenchantment as they attempted to "redress a seemingly disenchanted world through the imagination" (Saler 2004: 140). Weber did not use the same typically Romantic (Rousseauvian) concepts to describe the enchanted world as uncorrupted, traditional, pure, authentic, often rural and illiterate (or barely literate). However, he did consider that traditionalism was "magically motivated" (1993: 77) and shared the Romantic era views of the peasants as "strongly tied to nature," "dependent on organic processes and natural events," and "economically so little oriented to rational systematization" (ibid.: 79). In the above-cited excerpt from the paper *Science as a Vocation*, Weber attributed "magical means" to "the savage," which was a standard term for describing archaic societies in the humanities at the time, but also one of the cornerstones of the Romantic primitivism as the idea of a man uncorrupted by civilization. Referring to Leo Tolstoy, he also opposes the civilized man to "some peasant of the past," whose life is satiated and therefore, his death has a meaning. The aspect of literacy was not one of his concerns, but it was important for the interpretation of his ideas and will be discussed below.

Many possible sources that influenced Weber remain unclarified due to his tendency to intentionally "blur" them (Kippenberg 1995: 129). He relied on scholars of religion such as Cornelis Tiele and Max Müller, whose evolutionist views he shared (Kippenberg 1995). Müller's work in comparative mythology, imbued with Enlightenment and Romanticism (Kokjara 1984b: 11) made him an important figure in the history of European folkloristics. He supported the theory that folktales were the remains of Indo-European myths in the manner of the Brothers Grimm (ibid.: 19–21). German Romanticism was recognized as one of the influences on Weber's philosophy by some researchers as the abovementioned Jenkins 2000, Saler 2004, Asprem 2018.

It is well known that Romanticism largely influenced the formation of folklore studies through calls for collecting folklore made by prominent figures like J. H. Herder and practices carried out by the Brothers Grimm in Germany or Vuk Karadžić in Serbia (see also Kokjara 1984a; Kokjara 1984b; Bendix 1997; Berlin 2001). The humanities witnessed the rapidly changing environment at the turn of the 20th century, which they tried to understand while at the same time it affected and enabled their formation. "Placing value on things traditional operates essentially in counterpoint to the industrialization and modernization" (Abrahams 1993: 10). "Both folklore and anthropology emerged in the late 19th century in some part out of this desire to counter the excesses of modernity" (ibid.: 21). "The folkloristic activity of collecting and salvaging vanishing lore" has been discussed as a form of overcoming modernization: "Inscribed into one of the most commonly held theories of modernization, such a feeling of deprivation and alienation has called for a variety of strategies to deal with the alleged loss of culture and value in modernity" (Anttonen 2005: 81–82).

As far as the meaning of the word goes, the discordance between the original term and its English translation has been noticed, concluding that *disenchantment* and *Entzauberung* are not synonyms. As Lehmann (2009: 12) claimed,

> Central for the term "Entzauberung" is that someone has cast a spell with the help of magic. By contrast, "disenchantment" implies that someone has been bewitched, or beguiled, with the help of music – song, to be precise. Also, "disenchantment" is closer to disillusionment and disappointment than "Entzauberung", which is related to "Entmythologisierung" and "Entsakralisierung".

The conclusion is that "[t]he term 'disenchantment'," more precisely its translation, "does not fully express Weber's ideas" (ibid.).[3] However, taken in the form that is rooted in todays' understanding, as disillusionment and disappointment, the term is closer to the Romantic era pessimistic worldview, or the so-called world pain (*Weltschmerz*). Weber, too, "lamented a dark side of rationality that would lead to secularized disenchantment" (Borgotta, Montgomery 2000: 2483). While the Romanticists rejected the disenchanted world, Weber appreciated the advantages of modernization but warned about

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3   On the difficulty of translating Weber and reception of his work in different world countries, see Kaiser, Rosenbach 2014.

the possible consequences (culminating in his metaphor of the "iron cage").[4] Since the term goes so well with the Romanticism worldview, it is sometimes retroactively used to describe the feeling of disappointment (e.g., in Saler 2004: 140). The term enchantment is used to describe the ways Romanticists used to escape the disenchanted world.[5]

1.2. The Disenchantment in Folkloristics

Modern folkloristics recognizes written forms of folklore, literate informants, and written transmission of folklore, but this was not the case until the late 20th century. Back in the late 18th and early 19th centuries folklorists collected artefacts of oral origin in rural peasant communities. By the end of the century folklore became an artefact disappearing in the growing urban, industrial environment and the trend continued in the early 20th century. The conception of folklore was still based on the ideas of folklore told exclusively by illiterate, uneducated peasants, and as such it basically remained a romantic construct. The imperative for folklore—still seen as lore from the distant past—to be preserved before vanishing was increased by the growing need for national consolidation. In this paper, folklore, constructed as a vanishing oral lore of rural societies, is taken as a whole, including different, mostly prose, genres of "classical" verbal folklore that were a part of the Ethnographic collection of SASA Archives in its formative stage. Supernatural, magic, or fantastic elements are not taken as a criterion; folklore is rather considered in the same manner as the participants in this process perceived it—as the work of creative genius, pure, authentic, and pre-modern. In Weber's terms, rationalization is a process that leads to bureaucratization. In colloquial context it is often understood as a means against superstitions, which in the 19th-century terminology corresponded to the belief narrative genres. In Weber's two interpretative models of the world, folklore, as an idealized and glorified image of people's past and remains

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[4] Weberian sociologist Andreas Buss emphasizes that Weber considered Western civilization to be severely ill and heading towards a dead end. The more accurate translation of the word would not be "the iron cage" but "shell," which implies the loss of individual freedom and personal responsibilities, leaving an empty vessel (Bus 1994: 128). Weber's view is not that far from the Romanticists', apart from their pathos (ibid.: 8, 108).

[5] "Religion – both in its traditional forms and in its mystical or heretical manifestations – is an important means of 're-enchantment' chosen by the Romanticist. But they also turned to magic, the esoteric arts, sorcery, alchemy, and astrology; they rediscovered Christian and pagan myths, legends, fairy tales" (Sayre, Löwy 2005: 436).

of national myths would suit magic, and the other, that rejected beliefs as ways of explaining events and experiences, seeking intellectual explanations instead, would suit science. At the crossroads of the 19th and 20th centuries scientific model seemingly prevailed, leaving folklorists in the fear of folklore vanishing due to increasing literacy and urbanization.

The question of the impact that literacy had on orality was scientifically shaped during the 20th century by theorists like Marshal McLuhan, Eric Havelock, Albert Lord, and Kirill Chistov. Walter Ong thinks of writing as a kind of technology,[6] while Jack Goody claims that intellectual process cannot exist without writing.[7] All of their analyses lead to a similar conclusion: Literacy has consequences both on cognitive processes and society. Weber (2005: 13–38) too, implies that changes can affect the human spirit since he opposes "the spirit of capitalism" to the "traditional" state of mind, which has its ethos. Goody and Watt (1963: 343) also mention Weber in a similar context, arguing that literacy was the main factor for the major achievements in old civilizations as well as in modern societies: "Weber's differentiation in some respects parallels the differentiation made above between oral and alphabetic culture and in various places he anticipates part of the argument advanced in this paper". The supposed decline of belief in magic resulted from education, among other factors, which was a precondition for the development of bureaucracy as the most efficient way of functioning in the modern world. Weber's concept does not presume the increase in general knowledge, but another type of understanding, a different mindset characterized by formal reasoning. New readings have brought up different views on the relationship between Protestant religion and capitalism, which could also be important for this subject. New research shows that economic development was the result of a higher literacy rate (and therefore education) among the Protestants (Becker, Woessmann 2009; Korotayev et al. 2006).[8] This coincides with

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[6] "By contrast with natural, oral speech, writing is completely artificial. There is no way to write 'naturally' … Technologies are not mere exterior aids but also interior transformations of consciousness, and never more than when they affect the word. Such transformations can be uplifting. Writing heightens consciousness" (2005: 81).

[7] " … the very nature of formal reasoning as we usually understand it (that is, in terms of Aristotelian 'logical' procedures) is not a general ability but a highly specific skill, critically dependent upon the existence of writing and of a written tradition which helps to formalize intellectual procedures … Thinking alone is not enough to make an intellectual. But writing makes a difference not only to the expression of thought but to how that thinking is done in the first place" (1987: 256–257).

[8] Even newer research shows that it was nationalism, not literacy, that contributed to higher economic prosperity (Kersting et all 2020). This hypothesis once again brings

the previously mentioned conclusions that the literate mind works on a different level. Although literate or semi-literate societies do continue to produce folklore, some similar aspects of Weber's ideas and orality and literacy theories are pointed out in the context of understanding folklore as a vanishing phenomenon in a technologically advanced world.

Another connection between disenchantment and folklore as a vanishing object is the speculation "that the disenchantment thesis had its origins not in sociology but in folklore" (Josephson-Storm 2017: 151). James Frazer is recognized as one of the first scholars to define disenchantment: "While many sociologists understand the term disenchantment to refer to the classical theory that cultures evolve through the successive stages from magic to religion to science, this claim is not formulated as such in Max Weber's writings but does appear in those terms in Frazer's works" (ibid.: 126–127). Evolutionist views on religion that might have influenced Weber can be found in Cornelis Tiele's conception of development in the history of religion rather than sociology (Kippenberg 1995: 140–141). The motif of the departure of fairies is seen as a symbol of disenchantment at the end of the 19th century in Britain. The key impact on disenchantment is seen not in the consequences of the Great War, but in folklore and anthropology, which deal with the decline of magic and spirits due to the overwhelming urbanization and modernization, whether by the means of preservation or proving that magic persists in the modern world (see Josephson-Storm 2017: 125–152).

2. THE SOCIO-HISTORICAL SETTING IN SERBIA AT THE TURN OF THE 20TH CENTURY: THE INDUSTRIAL "DELAY" AND TERRITORIAL "DISUNITY"

Weber referred to the rise of capitalism along with disenchantment and secularization as the processes that took place in Western Europe. Other parts of the world that were not influenced by Protestant ethics were perceived as the societies that put tradition before rationality. The countries of Eastern and Southeastern Europe did not reach the industrial development of Western countries, which was sometimes ascribed to Orthodox Christianity as the dominant religion and its otherworldly orientation (see Makrides 2019). The implications of Weber's theory in Orthodox Christianity are yet to be analyzed profoundly, bearing in mind that Weber showed a particular

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up the similarities between Weber's theory and the Romantic era, bearing in mind that the formation of modern nations took place during this period.

interest in Russian Orthodox Christianity and Tolstoy's idea of brotherly love. According to Buss (1994: 122–125), Weber used this idea frequently to emphasize the meaninglessness of the technologically advanced and scientifically developed civilization, but also as an alternative to the ideal types of the Western culture.

Industrialization and modernization in Serbia are usually denoted as delayed, due to a dismal starting point in industrial development and numerous internal and external factors that are described in Čalić 2004—the most comprehensive study on Serbian social history. At the crossroads of the 19th and 20th centuries, Serbia was still economically underdeveloped comparing to the Western countries, since the industry and infrastructure had only started to develop. At the time, the narratives about saving folklore were still as relevant as they were at the beginning of the 19th century (Đorđević 1899; Đorđević 1900). Apart from folklore disappearing being inscribed into the very essence of the discipline,[9] the vitality of this salvation narrative at the end of the 19th century in Serbia was encouraged both by the history of collecting Serbian folklore and by the evident changes in world's history. On the one hand, they were an echo of the romanticized fear of folklore vanishing in modern times, and on the other hand, they maintained their relevance thanks to the currents coming from the West. The technological progress in Europe was evident, the discontent over the dehumanized reality accumulated and "a stereotyped, negative, polemical image of 'the West'" was formed, "based largely on romantic ideas, which spread in Germany but also outside of Europe during the first decades of the twentieth century" (Asprem 2018: 133). European intellectuals started noticing the prevalence of the rational and intellectual way of thinking and began articulating their ideas in terms of Neo-Romanticism, irrationalism, anti-modernism, and antagonism towards science. Although the theories of "occidental rationalism" reached the full range only after WW1, the thoughts of industrialization, science, and technology having negative consequences were present in the last decades of the 19th and first decade of the 20th centuries (Kippenberg 1995: 132). Among Serbian intellectuals and politicians, there were also the echoes of European ideas and reactions to them. More importantly, the influence that Austria-Hungary had had on Serbia until Customs War (1906–1908) had been direct, since the economic dependence

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[9] William Thoms, the very creator of the term "folklore," thought of it as a dying practice, thus "the notion of folklore as a vanishing substance was inscribed in the original formulation of the concept" (Anttonen 2005: 51).

of Serbia had been evident in branches such as agriculture, transportation, or infrastructure, but at the same time it had contributed to industrialization (for example by obligating the government to build the railroad in 1878 (Čalić 2004: 110)). The change was most obvious in civic elites, who encouraged the development of a consumer society, intending to distance themselves from the Ottoman cultural elements and bring Serbia closer to the Western European economic standard and culture. An increase in construction work was also a stimulus to industrial development; the textile and food industry moved from home production to factories thanks to the law that encouraged industrial development (Čalić 2004: 136–138, 147–157). On the other hand, the trend of reviving Romanticists' ideas was partly fortified by the unfading influence of Vuk Karadžić, still a paragon of folklore collecting,[10] who in the Preface to his 1821 edition of *Serbian Folktales* warned that folktales had to be collected "before they were suffocated and eradicated by new and more enlightened trends."

In the last decades of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, Serbian government actively conducted political and cultural propaganda in the neighboring countries where Serbian population also lived with the aim of pointing out their difficult position. Macedonia[11] and Old Serbia[12] were under the jurisdiction of the Ottoman Empire and Bosnia under Austria-Hungary. Macedonian territory was also claimed by Bulgaria and Greece, while Old Serbia was claimed by Albanian politicians. Serbian borders were constantly changing, and eventually, Kosovo, south-east territories, and Vardar Macedonia were merged; however, cultural and educational propaganda was still important for maintaining the connection with Serbian people in different regions. The largest number of manuscripts in the Ethnographic collection originates from Bosnia, Vardar Macedonia, Old Serbia, and eastern Serbia, where folklore collecting, among other things, was a form of contribution to defending national integrity. In 1868 the Board for Schools and Teachers in Old Serbia was formed, in 1880, it was renewed; in 1871, the Prizren Seminary was opened; in 1877, the Board of Emigrants

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[10] Many collectors recommended their work by pointing out they looked up to Karadžić and his instructions on collecting folklore.

[11] Often called Vardar Macedonia, the term usually denotes the large part of today's North Macedonia.

[12] Different authors have interpreted the borders of Old Serbia differently, usually corresponding with the territories of Raška, Kosovo and Metohija, sometimes even Vardar Macedonia. Both Macedonia and Old Serbia were considered parts of southern Serbia and were eventually merged, after the Balkan Wars.

of Old Serbia and Macedonia was established; in 1885, the government issued *The Instruction for Maintaining Serbia's Influence in Macedonia and Old Serbia*; in 1889, a Confidential Propaganda Department was formed under the official name of the Educational Board at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, employing a board of experts on the "Macedonian question." Serbian books were printed, bookstores were opened; consulates, schools, societies were formed (the most important was the *Society of Saint Sava*), gatherings were organized, magazines were founded (*Vardar*, *The Brotherhood*), and the position of priests and teachers was improving. Stojan Novaković, who initiated the idea of the Ethnographic Collection, was in charge of opening the diplomatic missions of Serbia in the Ottoman Empire (Vučetić 2012: 27), which enabled the propaganda activities to be institutionalized and, more importantly, legalized.

3. THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE ETHNOGRAPHIC COLLECTION: FOLKLORE COLLECTING BETWEEN ENCHANTMENT AND DISENCHANTMENT

Stojan Novaković (1842–1915), who proposed that collecting folklore should be taking place under the wing of a national institution, was one of the most prominent politicians and historians of his time. He was a successful diplomat, a prime minister, minister of education, minister of interior affairs, leader of the Progressive Party; he was the president of the Serbian Royal Academy, head of the National Library, the first president and a founding member of Serbian Literary Association; he was also a writer, translator, bibliographer, literary historian, and literary critic. Before the formation of the Ethnographic collection, the idea that folklore genres ought to be collected immediately so that a complete edition of Serbian "oral lore" could be published was expressed in his early work, in the journal he started and edited—*The Fairy* (*Vila*, Maticki 2003: 7). The continuity between his work in the journal and the later collaboration with the SRA is evident in his interest in collecting and publishing folklore systematically. His approach did, however, change in the coming decades. *The Fairy* was a literary journal intended for the youth, but folklore was given great significance, and it took up much space. The readers of *The Fairy* (1865–1868) had an open call for collecting "oral treasures" (Milović 2010: 15). Even Novaković himself collected and published folklore. He also helped other folklorists like Vuk Vrčević, Jovan Vojinović, or Bogoljub Petranović to edit and publish their material. *The Fairy* marks the beginning of a new phase in collecting folklore,

since this journal started the process of filling out the void in collected folklore material[13] along with directing the collectors' attention to different forms of folklore that should be collected before they vanished, as Novaković warned (Maticki 1985: 6–7; Mladenović 2005: 417). Along with his associates, Novaković promoted the activities of the ethnological and anthropological societies, collectors, and the keepers of "folk treasures," many of which had already perished because of the misjudgment and neglect of those whose duty was to protect it. The signatories (professors and artists) defined that duty as "our own," imposing this obligation on cultural elites but allowing any interested parties to participate. The disunity among the people who lived between the Black, White, and Adriatic Seas, and the rivers Danube and Drava was the consequence of a lack of knowledge about the self. Together they signed a "Scientific and patriotic call," where they pointed out the "sacredness" of national antiquities, called for their collecting, studying, and publishing with the aim of getting to know the national past and present, and introducing it to the educated world. Equal attention should be given to tangible as well as intangible cultural heritage (Novaković et al. 1867: 818–819, 834–836). Novaković claimed good storytellers were getting harder to find (1871: 16), based on his personal fieldwork experience (Samardžija 2009: 12). These ideas were shaped on a higher level as a part of national cultural policy twenty years later through his work with the Serbian Royal Academy. In the early phase, Novaković also acted as a folklore collector. However, twenty years later, he was a noted scholar and government official, and his involvement was less direct since he coordinated and supervised folklore collecting.

As it is known, teachers and priests were predominantly among the collectors of folklore, followed by merchants and consuls. These professions also played a major role in propaganda activities. Stojan Novaković recognizes priests and teachers as those who can and should, for it is their duty, embrace the work on collecting folklore. He describes them as "somewhat educated" (by which he means literate) and "constantly in touch with the folk" (Maticki 1985: 7), appointing them as the mediators between informants and written folklore collections. According to the Serbian Prime Minister at the time—Ilija Garašanin—consuls and trade agents should be the ones implementing national policy in the first place (Jagodić 2011: 455). "Garašanin believed that teachers and priests, who had to be aware of the political significance

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[13] S. Samardžija notices that the neglected forms of folklore, like riddles, jigs (*poskočice*), toasts, and etiological narratives, were given special attention (2009: 9, 20).

of their actions and for whose election he set high standards, had to be chosen especially carefully" (Samardžić 2004: 123). The engagement of elites had an official incentive from the state. Stojan Novaković was behind all these activities as "the most competent person in Serbia to take on the key role in implementing national and political tasks." He was "the first to start weaving a network of different activities" that would contribute to the organization of Serbian people in the regions under the Ottoman jurisdiction and strengthening their ties with Serbia. He planned to carry out propaganda through legal means, educational, and cultural activities, which is why school and the church were predominantly engaged in this activity, and he also participated in the formulation of certain tasks from *The Instruction* of Garašanin's government (Vojvodić 2012: 18, 117).

In 1888 Novaković emphasized the importance of continuing Vuk Karadžić's work in lexicography and grammar (*Godišnjak SKA II*: 178–197). The Ethnographic Collection[14] was created thanks to the idea that Karadžić's work on collecting and publishing folklore should be continued under the patronage of a scientific institution, especially in those regions that he had passed by. At the meeting of the Serbian Royal Academy that took place on March 9, 1892, Stojan Novaković pointed out, "that it would be the duty of the Serbian Royal Academy to establish a collection or an archive" for collecting folklore (*Godišnjak SKA VI*: 76).[15] The work of Vuk

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[14] Today it consists of 521 collections of epic and lyric Serbian folk songs, folktales, anecdotes, proverbs, riddles, sayings, divinations, charms, beliefs; dishes, costumes, customs, games, medicine, law, descriptions of villages, crafts, ornaments, embroidery, patterns, dialectological, lexicographic, and ethnocoreological material; letters, studies, and notes made by collectors, concluding with the year 1966, according to Ilija Nikolić's record (2019). Only a small part has been published so far and many collections are missing.

[15] A decade later the famous Serbian folklorist Tihomir Đorđević initiated the journal *Karadžić* instigated by the work of the SRA on collecting folklore. He pled for establishing a folklore society, rightfully claiming that the SRA was not fulfilling its role as the centre that would gather all of folklore and guide the collectors. He thought they were wrong about not accepting raw material. Individuals were left to collect and publish by themselves, however they could, in periodical publications mostly. He meant for his journal to complement the work of the SRA (Đorđević 1899: 3–4), which is why the author of this text points out his attitudes about Serbian folklore expressed in the article of the same name. He too warned that we were standing at the crossroads of two cultures—traditional and foreign—the latter being the one that brings innovation and industrialization. The religious tale was no longer a living genre, and proverbs and riddles were very rare (Đorđević 1900: 27). Material culture was being suppressed by imported products, all due to progress and development (ibid.: 28). At the same time, folklore was collected and studied all over the world, even in the remotest regions

Karadžić was unsurpassed, since his successors did not possess the same qualities and the material he collected was no longer available: "And over time it has become more and more difficult to collect the whole book of these things, it has become even more difficult to edit it properly, and it is not easy to publish it, especially since it is known that what Vuk found can no longer be found" (ibid.: 75). By doing systematic work in recording, selecting, editing, and publishing, the SRA would become the center that gathered the material that would otherwise have been lost in other minor publications, thus enabling to fully study folk wisdom. Furthermore, special attention should be devoted to local history and material recorded in dialect, because of the current trends in the study of language and history (ibid.: 76). Novaković only mentions scholarly interests, while national goals are left aside in the plea submitted to the SRA. Novaković's idea was for the Collection to contain different sections: folk songs, stories, proverbs, riddles, historical traditions, dialects, etc. The advantage should be given to the previously unrecorded material (ibid.: 78).

Novaković gave impetus and guidelines for the study of folktales in his *Serbian Literary History* (Novaković 1867) and a text published in *The Fairy* (Novaković 1868) as a review of the history of literature by Vatroslav Jagić, which had a huge impact on the study of folk prose. His view that the "comparative method is the only … useful" and universal for each literary and historical period goes hand in hand with collecting practice, because of the necessity to provide as large a fund as possible to be compared (Novaković 1868: 533). "Comparative research of the material, led by Stojan Novaković and Jagić, is beginning to shape the notion of the tale type as a classification category" (Milošević-Đorđević 2000: 16). His research combined a historical-comparative approach with migration and mythological theory,[16] keeping pace with European trends (ibid.: 14). He considered that folklore originated from the common Indo-European core, Christian tradition, written literature, but might also have had an autochthonous origin (Novaković 1868: 534). Similar ideas on mythology and philology can be found in Müller, whose views Weber shared (Kippenberg 1995). The studies in comparative linguistics and folklore/mythology contributed to the development of nationalist ideas.

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(ibid.: 29). It sounded like a paradox that folklore was flourishing all over the world, except in Serbia. Đorđević concluded that there was a lot of folklore to be collected and even more to be studied (ibid.: 30).

[16] Under the influence of the Brothers Grimm and Herder folklore creations are seen as the survivals of forgotten myths.

Stojan Novaković's approach in studying folklore was developed under two different influences. The never-fading Romantic nationalism and fear of folklore vanishing are complemented by his positivist attitudes that folklore should be collected in order to be studied and classified. In the spirit of Romantic nationalism, Novaković even changed his "foreign" name Kosta to Serbian name with the same meaning—Stojan. It should be stressed out that Romantic influence was more evident in Novaković's early work, and so was the need to collect folklore before it perished, while he later called out for collecting folklore as a government official and noted scholar in a more moderate manner, but still defining it as a national task. Both Romantic and positivist influence persisted and suited the urge for folklore collecting. The development of Serbian folkloristics was shaped by different agendas: Collecting folklore was seen as a cultural contribution by intellectuals, but it was also a scientific project. As a literary critic Novaković is described as a Romanticist and "populist-utilitarian" who thought that poetry was meant not only to express national spirit but also to fulfil national and political goals; as a literary historian, he was a positivist, an advocate of Western values and ideas (Popović 1975: 241–51). The same could be applied to his study of folklore, especially since the journal *The Fairy* was defined as Romanticist by Jovan Skerlić and early Realist (positivist) by Dušan Ivanić, both eminent literary historians (Samardžija 2009: 9). During the 19th century, folklore collecting depended on individual efforts. However, with the SRA's project, collectors' attention was focused on the national goal, and their problems with publishing the material seemed to be solved. Saving the world from disenchantment (taken here as vanishing verbal folklore) through collecting and preserving folklore is somewhat paradoxical. The upcoming institutionalization trends, classifying and studying folklore were also the result of the early beginnings of bureaucratization, scientific and technical progress. Studying folklore in a scientific way is the consequence of the rising positivistic approach, which is also a result of scientific progress and the disenchantment of the world. It is well known that Max Weber based his sociological thought on understanding ("Verstehen") which opposes positivist and empirical means. The question of the positivist approach vs. understanding in collecting folktales is complex since the collecting practice is motivated and justified by understanding the cultural history which should consequently help better understand the present. The task is given to those close to what is considered traditional/oral culture.

The urgency of collecting practice supported the vitality of the salvation narrative. "When conceptualized as a vanishing object, folklore calls for

immediate documentation … When conceptualized as collections of items brought back from modernity's otherness, folklore may speak for the politically correct way of constructing local or national heritage" (Anttonen 2005: 52). The call for action and warnings about endangerment were meant to accelerate the whole process. The collecting practice was supported by both political situation and scientific trends in Serbia.

Judging by the amount of the collected material, some collectors had no problems in finding various forms of folklore. Krsta Božović, a teacher who sent 24 collections to the Serbian Royal Academy from 1911 to 1930, was among the most diligent collectors. Among the recordings, there are folk songs, folktales, sayings, proverbs, riddles, ethnographic descriptions of villages, etc. Almost all the material was collected in the Kruševac parish and its surroundings. Veselin Čajkanović, who published some of Božović's material in *Serbian Folktales*, did not particularly value his collections of short stories and anecdotes, assessing them as incomplete, unclear, with much repetition of examples and retelling (Čajkanović 1999: 47). Stanoje Mijatović and Todor Bušetić were also teachers, both from Levač. Both published anthropogeographical studies in collaboration with the SRA. The SRA received 30 collections from Bušetić in the first decade of the 20th century, which contained various folk songs, folktales, folk games, sayings, riddles, dream narratives, charms, legends, dialectological material, and ethnographic descriptions of villages. Mijatović sent 21 collections consisting of folk songs, folktales, sayings, folk costumes, traditional games, ethnographic descriptions of villages, etc. (the list of all collections is published in Nikolić 2019) between 1901 and 1936. Others (such as Jovan Mutić, Milan Obradović, Manojlo Bubalo-Kordunaš) contributed with plenty of material too, but these three are singled out for they were perceived as the collectors who gave preference to quantity over quality and for similar methodology and affinities. The uniformity of the material can be noticed in all three collectors: the texts are very short and concise, without recording the data about the informants and context, except occasional information on where the material was recorded, preferring standard language to the vernacular. Only Stanoje Mijatović explains this approach, emphasizing that one should collect as many different motifs characteristic of a certain region as possible and that the informants' tendency to enhance the storytelling makes it impossible to determine "the original story." Since he was only interested in "the original story," he rarely wrote down variants of the same folktale. He would write down the one that was most complete by his criteria and made a mark that it was told in multiple places. He thought that

characteristics of a dialect should be left for language scholars to write them down. In other words, he gave preference to a variety of motifs that were told in certain regions, preferably in chronological order when it comes to folklore on national history or heroes. Mijatović wrote down folktales as if they had been parts of ethnographic descriptions, without the intent or ability to "translate" a storytelling event into written text. Narrative content is minimal, often underdeveloped, reduced to the basic storyline. Veselin Čajkanović makes a similar remark in *Serbian Folktales* (1927) from the Ethnographic collection he published, assessing that Bušetić's examples are not folktales but "weak retellings of familiar motifs" (Čajkanović 1999: 476); Mijatović's material is referred to as "unreliable" (ibid.); he evaluates folktales obtained by Krsta Božović as "incomplete and incomprehensible" (ibid.: 474). Although the material is pervasive and genre-diverse, only a few fairy tales and demonological belief narratives have been recorded by these three collectors. They also recorded several narratives about fate (analyzed in Radulović 2010; Radulović 2015) which still raise genre issues, since they are set between a religious tale and *Märchen*/*Sage* categories (Radulović 2012). The absence of these genres cannot be explained by the characteristics of the terrain, keeping in mind that they exist in the collection of Jovan Srećković (ASANU–EZ–1) from the same period, also from Levač, as well as the collection of Miloš Ivković (ASANU–EZ–134) from the nearby terrain. This phenomenon may be the consequence of the collectors' or informants' affinities, and these collections are not completely reliable for perceiving the prevalence of tale types. Etiological narratives and narratives about cultural history are numerous, often hard to tell apart from the legend and religious tale. Krsta Božović was one of the most diligent collectors whose manuscripts contain up to 900 folktales and anecdotes. His work received mixed reviews.[17] The famous folklorist Tihomir Đorđević gave a negative review of his collections No. 251 and 253, explaining that the collector wrote down everything that was told "among the folk," without applying any quality criteria, to enlarge the manuscripts he had sent. Another review, written on February 10, 1927, whose author is unknown, says that Božović should be rewarded for his efforts because his work is good and shows a high understanding and familiarity with folklife. This example shows that the mere need to preserve folklore does not always give the best results or sufficiently reflect the terrain on the one hand, but on the other—some found this kind of approach "authentic" in representing folklife. Božović's need to

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[17] ASANU–EZ–375–6

write down "anything" (this mostly refers to obscene pointless jokes—e.g., a man swears at goatherdess because the goats escaped to the other man's crop,[18] a reaper cuts off a part of his behind to save himself from snakebite,[19] or local anecdotes—e.g., how a family got themselves killed on Christmas because an ox stepped into a house wrong leg first[20]) was interpreted as both a lack of knowledge of folk genres and the ability to recognize "true" folklore.

The lack of belief tales other than etiological or local history narratives was never explained by Mijatović and Bušetić. In the 19th-century Serbian folklore supernatural belief narratives were generally written down as minor local beliefs, accompanying the ethnographic descriptions of villages or customs[21] or in the collections of folktales when informants gave them special attention and told them as long, developed narratives. In both cases we mostly deal with mentions/reports or fabulates, rarely personal experience narratives. The reasons for the absence of memorates may be etic, concerning collectors: they were unable to recognize them as important parts of folklife (they often pointed out in their letters to the SRA they were unsure what exactly was supposed to be collected as folklore and asked for clear instructions); they rejected them as superstitions (S. Samardžija notices the absence of supernatural belief tales in Novaković's *The Fairy* and suggests that collectors were still under the influence of the effort of Enlightenment to repress superstitions (2009: 21)); they may have "instructed" their informants in order to collect what they needed (Stanoje Mijatović set himself a goal to collect every song and tale on Marko Kraljević and Saint Sava). The other reason, which seems less likely to the author of this text, is defined as emic (the informants were not willing to share them).

> For a long time, memorates were not even recorded because they did not fit into any recognized folklore category. In exceptional cases, some memorates were added to chapters of miscellany in "tale", "joke" or "tradition" collections because they were not properly identified. As a rule, however, they were published as "superstitions", "beliefs", or "customs", extracted by the collector, who, because folklorists were not interested in the "garrulity" of the tellers, stripped the narrative part, reducing the often lengthy stories to their "essential" cores. (Dégh, Vàszonyi 1974: 233–234)

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[18] ASANU–EZ–221–59
[19] ASANU–EZ–221–263
[20] ASANU–EZ–234–138
[21] Ilija Nikolić made an overview of the collections by genres and put beliefs along with customs (2019: 168–169).

Collectors' stands of folklore being omnipresent speak in favor of the world still enchanted by songs and tales. The fact that some genres of belief narratives, that best correspond to the term enchantment, were rarely recorded speaks in favor of the disenchantment thesis. The case of Krsta Božović's collections of folktales is of special interest here. Unlike Mijatović and Bušetić, he did record narratives on encounters with supernatural beings. Narration is usually very simple,[22] always told impersonally (i.e., in the third person). Božović's collections have two distinctive qualities: despite having no references to local people, they have a local character, that reflects in recording events from everyday life and specific humor, which is linked to another distinction—affinity to jokes and anecdotes. This seems to have affected demonological belief narratives in his collection No. 221. Božović wrote down narratives on encounters with a mythical being called *karakondžula* [the kallikantzaros]. Apart from riding on people's backs and/or killing them (No. 297, 298, 302, 315, 317, 461 in the collection ASANU–EZ–221), this creature also makes bets with devils and vampires (294) as in jokes and anecdotes, acts clumsily, and gets killed as in numskull stories (313), appears in animal tales that usually have an entertaining character (300). She (the creature is a female) rides on the back of a drunken man, who accidentally falls down and gets killed (298), linking supernatural experiences with the states of mind altered by opiates. Among belief narratives, Božović wrote down an anecdote about a girl who was tricked to get naked by an illusionist (293), associating extraordinary with illusion.

Collectors also recorded divinations and charms, which they perceived as superstitions as well. The collector Luka Grđić Bjelokosić recorded charms (along with folk medicine) calling them *praznovjerice* [superstitions]—the literal translation is "empty beliefs" and it has a derogatory meaning. The same term was used by Miloš Škarić (ASANU–EZ–211) and Stevan Dučić (ASANU–EZ–208, ASANU–EZ–214). Belief narratives about local history and heroes were common and more desirable, since they contained national traditions, myths, and values suitable for national consolidation. Stojan Novaković emphasized their special value (*Godišnjak SKA VI*: 76) and ethnography/anthropogeography also showed interest in them (Mijatović and Bušetić were the associates of Jovan Cvijić, and published important studies in this field of research). Etiological narratives were also quite common, for similar reasons. Oral history on local places often includes the origin of a name, thus combining these two types of narratives. Unlike tales about supernatural (personal) experiences, narratives about the origins of

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[22] As in all of his recording, which he points out by defining them as "small folktales".

objects, animals, or cosmological phenomena and stories of local/national history or heroes feature a certain distance (Samardžija 2011: 301). Narration is often triggered by items made of present or visible substances. Etiological legends rely on archaic basis due to which they convey an impression of something exotic and mythical, but rarely contain the existential component of a memorate. These features provide them with the supposed objectivity that folklorists back in the day may have found easier to grasp and more appropriate to document. These types of belief narratives fitted the scholarly trends of documenting and classifying folklore as items better. On the other hand, demonological legends "exist and persist exclusively in the sphere of subjective consciousness, mental representations/images, narration, and interpretation" (Đorđević Belić 2013: 247) and often rely on "authenticity formulae" (Rudan 2006) or "authenticity discourse" (Popović 2015).

This indicates that material is incomplete and does not provide a completely objective picture of the terrain, looking from today's perspective, even though interest in new genres has emerged. Folklorists did recognize until then neglected short forms of folklore, erotic folklore, or etiological narratives, but specific types of belief tales were "deprived of their identity" (Dégh, Vàszonyi 1974: 234). They saw themselves as people who lived among "the folk" as equals, they showed a certain distance by writing down "superstitions" using the initial formula "people believe" or "people say" (for example in the collections by Mihajlo Riznić ASANU–EZ–83a or Lazar Duma ASANU–EZ–225). Riznić wrote down a belief narrative about a mythical creature called *ala*, and then another one, that most resembles a memorate, in the comment.[23] The other one talks about a man who presented himself as an *ala* to villagers, who feared him and gave him gifts. The collector comments that no one could convince them otherwise, distancing himself from the community. Those who pointed out that the man was lying to them were not welcome. The reasons for the man's unusual behavior can be found in the fact that he actually suffered from somnambulism and epilepsy. This was not the case with other genres: Svetislav Marić commented on his recording of folk epics[24] and a religious tale about Saint Sava[25] (ATU 839A*)[26] that every Serb, including himself, could perform/tell them.

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[23] ASANU–EZ–83a–3

[24] ASANU–EZ–16–8

[25] ASANU–EZ–16–5

[26] The ending includes a belief that devils reside in the church during the morning pray, in which the collector also uses the formula "people believe" (ASANU–EZ–16–7).

What collectors complained most about was not the lack of material in the field but the unclear instructions on how to write it down properly. They were also unsure if the material they had obtained suited the needs of the Serbian Royal Academy. Some of them sent a smaller amount of material, presumably as samples, asking for feedback if they should send more, implying that folk tradition was available and blooming. A priest from the Military Frontier, Jovan Vorkapić, asked for feedback on his material which he marked as "frivolous."[27] Krsta Božović also asked if the Academy would receive folktales of erotic and scatological content. He thought of them as "funny" and "witty" and was afraid his hard work would fail just because of the controversial content. He was uncertain if the folktales were appropriate and if he should send more.[28] Todor Bušetić asked for the instructions on multiple occasions.[29] The teacher Jovan Srećković wrote that the area he lived in was vibrant in different forms of oral lore.[30] Another teacher, Svetislav Marić, sent his material to Stojan Novaković, who forwarded it to Pera Đorđević, the head of the Ethnographic Board, with the remark that the collector could "easily provide even more because he is willing to work."[31] A teacher from Bosnia, Petar Mirković, also offered to provide more material: "If you happen to need any more material, I will try to collect more during the holidays."[32] Mihajlo Riznić, also a teacher, sent only three folktales but offered to send more if the Academy was interested.[33] Dušan Zorić, a theater manager from Bosnia, wrote that he collected folklore to pass the time and asked for the instructions, but also the information if the SRA even needed folktales. He stressed out both that he lived in poverty and his role in keeping folklore from oblivion.[34] These collectors' statements that folklore was abundant and their willingness to come up with more were considered the equivalent of the warnings that folklore would fade into oblivion. Judging by the letters and complaints made by contributors, the feedback of the Academy was rare.

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[27] ASANU–EZ–375–13
[28] ASANU–EZ–375–6
[29] ASANU–EZ–375–10; ASANU–EZ–375–23
[30] ASANU–EZ–1–1
[31] ASANU–EZ–16–13
[32] ASANU–EZ–53–6
[33] ASANU–EZ–375–75
[34] ASANU–EZ–375–26–1

The initiative for collecting folklore almost always came from the collectors, not from the Academy, which had a passive role, buying what was offered, but not taking any special measures to increase and accelerate fieldwork, certainly out of the lack of the necessary funds (Jovanović 2001: 355). Pera Đorđević, the head of the Ethnographic Board, noticed that even though Academy made no official calls, the collectors' response was sufficient (*Godišnjak SKA XIII*: 195). Although the claims on the passivity of the Academy were rightful to some extent, it should be pointed out that collecting folklore was sometimes conducted through personal contacts and connections (the linguist and academic Aleksandar Belić instructed Miloš Ivković (ASANU–EZ–134) on collecting and sending his material; Lazar Duma (ASANU–EZ–225) sent his material through the politician and diplomat Jovan Jovanović Pižon; Milojko Veselinović (ASANU–EZ–209), who operated in Macedonia and Old Serbia and was very appreciated by Novaković, and the previously mentioned teacher Svetislav Marić sent their collections to Novaković directly). Cultural propaganda was openly conducted on the territory of Macedonia and Old Serbia, which Turkey and Bulgaria claimed, while in Bosnia, which was under the Austro-Hungarian occupation, the struggle for the national interests of Serbian people through educational activities was conducted in other ways. Serbia undertook in the agreement not to carry out any anti-Austrian agitation, and Austria-Hungary promised Serbia support in territorial expansion to the south (Novakov 2017: 15). Stojan Novaković initially directed his educational and political activity towards Bosnia, and at the beginning of the 1880s, he changed his orientation towards Old Serbia and Macedonia (Vojvodić 2012: 19). This is how the geopolitical situation could have affected collecting folklore for a national institution's needs.

Large amounts of material and frequent offers to provide as much as needed imply that many folklore collectors that collaborated with the SRA did not share the same fear of folklore vanishing due to modernization and technological advancement. From their perspective, there was no mention of folklore being endangered by urbanization and technological progress. While Novaković, who represented the official, elite culture, as both a political figure and scientific authority, warned about the necessity to collect folklore immediately, the associates of the SRA, priests, teachers, and others working in the field made no mention of this urgency. The discrepancy between their views on the Serbian folklore status can be attributed to the fact that disenchantment (here taken as what was seen

as vanishing oral lore) was a process[35] yet to happen and could have been prevented. It is possible that from his position, Novaković saw "threatening" industrialization coming from the West, especially since he was one of the spokesmen of modernization. The changing contributed to the feeling that the world was disenchanting, and at the same time, folklore ought to have been preserved through empirical means. However, although the emergence of the factory industry accelerated the collapse of the crafts and cities began to grow, which encouraged the fear of foreign (Western) influence, the structure and mindset of the population did not essentially change (Čalić 2004: 144, 177–190). This calls into question if the changes in social structure and mentality would justify the fear of folklore vanishing.

The materialistic dimension of folkloristic work should also be taken into account when considering the volume of work carried out at the time. The associates of the Serbian Royal Academy often asked for something in return for their work. Jovan Zorić[36] and Petar Mirković,[37] both collectors from Bosnia, warned the SRA that Matica Hrvatska was more than interested in buying out their material and representing Serbian epics from Bosnia as Croatian, which was, in a way, a form of intimidation. On the other hand, Zorić also writes that the SRA awarded him a book for his work. Collecting folklore was a patriotic contribution, but apparently, patriotism was not enough to keep them from making money from their work. The collectors Milan Obradović and Dušan S. Popović from Bosnia were known for selling the same material to the SRA and Matica Hrvatska (Jovanović 2001: 356). Others asked for a money prize (Sima Mileusnić,[38] Jovan Srećković,[39] Dušan Zorić[40]), some demanding their material to be returned in case payment for their work remained unsettled (Stanoje Mijatović,[41] Milan Obradović[42]). Krsta Božović, who had sent a tremendous amount of material, asked for the money repeatedly, complaining about his personal expenses (his children's

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[35] "All he's [Weber] doing is identifying that this program is in place, not that it is completed. For there to be an active, ongoing disenchanting of the world, magic has to be intact – somewhere, among some groups" (Josephson-Storm 2017: 300).

[36] ASANU–EZ––42–5

[37] ASANU–EZ––375–53

[38] ASANU–EZ––375–48

[39] ASANU–EZ––375–82

[40] ASANU–EZ––375–26

[41] ASANU–EZ––375–44

[42] ASANU–EZ––375–60

education), as well as the sum he had received earlier because he thought the rate was higher.[43] Lazar Duma plagiarized the work of the Bulgarian collector Kuzman Šapkarev (Radulović 2014: 252); Sima Mileusnić copied all the folktales in his collection (ASANU–EZ–74) from other sources, representing them as his work. He sent the same material to Matica Hrvatska, making a double sell (Jovanović 2001: 355). Folksongs were grouped by the number of verses because the SRA paid according to the number of lines and he used his children as transcribers (Garonja Radovanac 2008: 123, 143). It should be taken into account that, in some cases, collectors provided a great deal of (sometimes unreliable) material for their gain. Folktale collectors often lacked the means and abilities to publish their materials as collections, and some never intended to. Collaboration with notable magazines, journals, and the Serbian Royal Academy made it easier for them in a way. It was also sometimes profitable without the risk of investing in the print. For some, folklore was a form of cultural and intellectual occupation; others saw it as educational work, while few used it for their profit, disenchanting the idea that folklore was more than an item to be collected and sold. Also, implying that folklore was vanishing would mean no work for collectors, which did not suit them because it would diminish their role in education and culture (and in some cases, leave them without an additional source of income). Personal gain from collecting folklore was not only money-oriented,[44] but it also secured a certain status in culture. This calls into consideration another aspect of the work on collecting folklore. The very fact that several collectors were so diligent and productive shows that they took collecting folklore as a vocation. Professionalization and specialization were the results of the disenchantment of institutional, scientific, and religious spheres. Several individuals profiled themselves as professional collectors,[45] who engaged in collecting different forms of verbal folklore (having entered the domain of dialectology, ethnography, anthropogeography, and ethnomusicology), which they saw as representing different aspects of folklife, asked for instructions and evaluation of their collections so they could advance and upgrade their work, and finally—published their material as monographs or collections.

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[43] ASANU–EZ––375–6

[44] The need to work and to be paid appropriately can also be considered in the terms of Western capitalism, but in this case, it is hard to tell it apart from pure opportunism.

[45] Opposed to them were those who collected folklore as students, probably instructed and motivated by their teachers (such as Jovan Vorkapić (ASANU–EZ–103), Nikola Kukić (ASANU–EZ–31), Đorđe Ojdrović (ASANU–EZ–169); the entire collection of folktales received from Nikola Jakševac (ASANU–EZ–4) was obtained by his students.

4. CONCLUSION

In the last decades of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century, different stands on Serbian folklore could be heard. Some claimed folklore was soon to be a thing of the past, while others showed no such concern and even offered to provide as much as it was needed. The difference in the viewpoint concerning the lack of material in the field depended on collectors' knowledge and understanding of folklore, their interests, possible personal benefits, or cultural environment they belonged in, but also on the national cultural policy, scientific goals, and influences that shaped them. Stojan Novaković, as a representative of the elite culture, was in a position to foresee the upcoming progress. However, he also openly supported national interests through cultural, educational, and diplomatic activities. His national and cultural policy was shaped by both the remains of Romanticism and scientific naturalism (positivism). Studies in social history show that the process of modernization and technological advancement in Serbia did not fundamentally affect the population's mentality, which remained "rural" despite relocating to cities, changing slowly and gradually (Čalić 2004: 177–190). This brings the validity of elites' fear of folklore vanishing into question; however, making the problem urgent in order to be taken more seriously could explain it. Collecting folklore was seen as an attempt to save the world from the process of disenchantment, but it also contributed to institutionalization and the rise of positivism in the humanities, which were paradoxically the very signs of forcing rationalization. From the romanticized view that folklore was a survival of the mythic past, it became an artefact to be obtained, studied, classified, and preserved. Folklore collectors that collaborated with the SRA often mentioned there was plenty of folkloric material to be written down. The author of the text takes the quantity of the material they collected as an implicit argument for their stands on the status of verbal folklore. Still, specific genres, like belief narratives about supernatural experiences, were bypassed by most collectors. Many collectors demanded money award for their work, putting their personal interest first and taking advantage of folklore being a widespread cultural obsession and folkloristics being a developing discipline. Along with it, the professionalization of collecting practice can be understood as an indication of the disenchantment of the world. There is a possibility that collectors emphasized that "oral culture" was blooming to increase the value and importance of one's work. In other words—to present themselves as useful collaborators who should be paid appropriately and recognized as national and cultural contributors.

Another consequence through which the disenchantment concept can be related to the suppression of oral culture in the modernized world is the rise of modern individualism. The Romanticists celebrated the creative genius (they simultaneously attributed folklore to a collective/people/folk/nation as the creator). At the same time, Weber stressed the importance of individual effort in overcoming the negative effects of modernization. In folklore as a form of expression, the community comes before the individual. In that context, modern individualism can be understood as a threat to folklore as a collective expression. Although Romanticism did give an important role to an individual, societies were still defined in a premodern manner and thought to be functioning as an impersonal collective. The key difference between Weber's and Rousseau's/Romanticists' concepts lies in their understanding of society. From Weber's point of view, modernity consists of autonomous individuals, which is the consequence of comprehensive progress (Bus 1994: 116). The paradox of Novaković's attempts to modernize Serbian society lies in the fact that he tried to achieve it through promoting collectivism for the sake of the consolidation of the nation, which was, among other things, reflected in his call for collecting folklore (intended for the individual representatives of Serbian elite or middle class. The formation of the Ethnographic Collection of SASA Archives was caught up between enchantment and disenchantment, vanishing and flourishing of "oral culture," rationalization and idealization, passivity and propaganda activity, opportunism and hard work, scientific and national goals, Romanticism and positivism, modern and traditional, the need for progress and keeping national identity, official, institutionalized practice and personal connections, thus revealing all the complexity of social, political, cultural, and scientific processes that were taking place in Serbia at the crossroads of the centuries.

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