

# HOW MUSIC AFFECTS SOUNDSCAPE: MUSICAL PREFERENCES IN SKADARLIJA\*

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## ABSTRACT

In this article I analyze musical preferences in the context of tavern performances in Skadarlija, a popular tourist quarter in Belgrade, Serbia, on the basis of ethnographic data collection. I argue that this specific musicscape relies on communicative and affective aspects of particular performances. I pay special attention to the repertoires performed and the way in which they interweave. The aim of this article is to demonstrate how musical preferences influence sound environment, especially in the context of the tourism industry.

**KEYWORDS:** musicscape, Skadarlija, Belgrade, musical preferences, folk music

Skadarlija is a district in central Belgrade with a tradition more than a century old, characterized by famous restaurants and taverns where numerous folk orchestras perform; today it is one of the most prominent locations in the city. From the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century until the end of World War II it was the main bohemian place in Belgrade. In 1966, the restoration of the street began as an architectural project with the idea to achieve today's appearance of an "ambient nook in Belgrade," in a rede-

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signed old style and with development of “traditional taverns.” This was done with a clear conceptual reference to Montmartre in Paris. Today Skadarlija is not only a place for local bohemians, but also a part of the tourist presentation of Serbia’s capital city as a “city of leisure,” with its constructed image of authenticity with taverns and music (cf. Vukanović 2008). Such a representation is based on the discourse of auto-balkanism, i.e. an internalised stereotype that the Balkans are the European inner “Other,” as conceptualized by Maria Todorova (Todorova 2006) – a place at the crossroads of East and West, with a troubled history and society, but with good entertainment to be found in taverns, with food, drink and music.

Taverns are important communication spaces in Serbian culture, especially for folk music – tavern performances entertain the audiences, but also foster the professionalization of musicians. Throughout the history, this performance context was perceived as “bad” for “pure folklore,” but also as an “authentic” folk music experience and an advancement of particular musical forms. The context of musical performance in taverns is considered to be one of the most important contributing factors to the tradition of urban folk music. The concept of Skadarlija relies on the discourse of an earlier time perceived as the “old Belgrade,” i.e. the “golden era” of Belgrade urban culture; hence there (re)emergent taverns. With specific type of popular music. Music performed there is called *starogradska* (English: “old urban”) and it is based on pre-World War II urban folk music. What matters for Skadarlija’s soundscape is not just this particular genre, but also new repertoires, then, its connection with tourism and the process of interaction of musicians with their audiences. As it is known from previous researches, music has many links with place, space and migrations (e.g. Connell and Gibson 2003, Cohen 2011), so this article will be a contribution to the examination of specific musicscape.

Here I do not deal with axiological concepts of musical taste (but even in that case, Skadarlija is emically perceived as a “classy” tourist quarter in Belgrade, so although folk music is performed there, it is not perceived as “low” taste). Related to the research of musical taste and musical preferences, I have consulted various sociological, psychological and pedagogical literature (some of it experimental in nature) – on taste (Bourdieu 1986), types of audience (Abercrombie and Longhurst 1998), popular music preferences of youth (Johnstone and Katz 1957), musical preferences in interpersonal communication (Rentfrow and Gosling 2006) and social group membership (Sheperd and Sigg 2015), influence of identity markers (such as ethnicity, gender, age) on music preferences (LeBlanc et al. 1996, LeBlanc et al. 1999, North 2010), perception ability of music characteristics (such as pitch, melodic contour, harmony, timbre, tempo) in relation to music preferences (Hedden 1981, LeBlanc et al. 1988), the impact of social changes on taste and folk music in Yugoslavia (Kos 1972). Although problems of musical taste and preferences were the subject of quantitative research, for this article I have conducted qualitative ethnomusicological research with the goal of investigating how listeners influence the soundscape and to create a preliminary basis for future larger research on musical preferences in the tavern context — the first of this kind in Serbia. Ethnographical methods are used because of the advantages of an intermediate experience in the context of tavern musicianship, and they can serve for future examinations from other disciplinary perspectives.

In this article I will describe theoretical considerations, methods and materials essential for understanding the soundscape of Skadarlija. In order to analyse musical preferences in the taverns of Skadarlija, I present communicative and affective aspects of music performances. Ethnographically collected material is put in the service of an analysis of musical preferences; it is collected mainly from musicians (but also from listeners), and on this occasion it mostly relies on the structure of performed repertoire. I analyze folk music repertoires and their interweaving in the context of tavern music performance. The communication setting described is eligible for the analysis of folk music preferences, and thus the aim is also to initiate this important discussion which is marginalized in (local) ethnomusicological circles. Finally, this example shows the influence of that affective dynamics on the particular soundscape of Skadarlija, highly conditioned by the tourism industry.

### UNDERSTANDING MUSIC IN SKADARLIJA: THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS, METHODS AND MATERIALS

A consideration of the specific musicscape of Skadarlija generally confirms the insights of Stephen Feld from 1982, as Georgina Born articulated them recently in her informative study on the relation of music, sound and space:

First, he indicates the significance of a sonic-social phenomenology, one that is generalisable as both epistemology and method. Second, he shows convincingly that at the core of our embodied experience of sound and music lies the interrelation between, and mutual modulation of, space and time. Third, Feld portrays these modes of experience — sound, music, their spatialities and temporalities — as immanently affective and as generative of subjective impression, expression and transformation. An fourth, his insistence on the mutuality of these modes of experience, and of the sounded imbrication of bodies and environment, gestures also in the direction of a theory of mediation of sound and music: of their complex and multiple, sensory and affective, material and social forms (Born 2013: 8—9).

The soundscape of Skadarlija can be clarified with several theoretical approaches. First of all, soundscape is conceived in Raymond Murray Schafer's sense, as "the acoustic manifestation of 'place', in the sense that the sounds give the inhabitants a 'sense of place' and the place's acoustic quality is shaped by the inhabitants' activities and behaviour" (Westerkamp et al. 2014). The musicscape is an aesthetically and socially structured soundscape, accepting that music is sound with these aspects (see more: Sakakeeny 2015: 115–120).

What defines Skadarlija as a specific musicscape? A key concept of music performances there as representatives of "old Belgrade" is *nostalgia*. As Svetlana Boym writes, "nostalgia (...) is longing for a home that no longer exists or has never existed. Nostalgia is a sentiment of loss and displacement, but it is also a romance with one's own fantasy" (Boym 2001: XIII). Boym has classified types of nostalgia as *restorative*

– longing for a place, and *reflective* – longing for a time (Boym 2001: XVIII), which can be applied when defining Skadarlija's musicscape (Dumnić 2016); this classification can also contribute to the understanding of the musical preferences of audiences. The question of how the music industry is using the affective capacity of nostalgia has recently been raised in the literature (e.g. Vallee 2011).

Because of the ordering and paying for songs, repertoires and music performances in the taverns of Skadarlija are in the process of commodification, which also underlines the role of music in tourism. Music actually contributes to the tourist image/representation of the city by giving local specificity/authenticity/heritage to the one globally-known entertainment concept. Music in Skadarlija is today openly treated as *commodity* — musicians perform a particular song for remuneration. That use of music is important for tourism: “Music provides an important narrative for tourists, as an expression of culture, a form of heritage, a signifier of place and marker of moments. (...) Music both defines and transcends the borders and destinations, while it emphasises and challenges notions of tradition, provides opportunities for liminal play, transgression and resistance, and helps define the identities of visitors and the visited” (Lashua et al. 2014: 5–6). In this case, the question of commodification can be discussed in relation to the concept of authenticity, often mentioned in narratives of audience concerning a tavern (e.g. Kaul 2007) – unique experience, folk music and particular performance are actually part of a commodity in Skadarlija's taverns.

The core of the materials used for this research was collected through ethnographical fieldwork, which was realized using three methods – soundwalking, participant observation, in-depth semi-structured interviews with chosen musicians; with audio (and occasionally video and photo) recording.

The method of research into Skadarlija's holistic sonic ecology was soundwalking, which led to the idea that the whole of this nostalgic musicscape (as described in Dumnić 2016) nowadays actually functions according to the musical preferences of the audience, which are aleatoric. Soundwalking, as “any excursion whose main purpose is listening to the environment” (Westerkamp 2007), actually may be a common experience of the visitors of Skadarlija, and is here listening combined with sound recording, whose purpose was the documenting of Belgrade's sonic ecology for future exhibition.<sup>2</sup> Except for several modern cafés, there are traditional taverns all the way down the street: *Dva bela goluba* (*Two White Pigeons*), *Šešir moj 2* (*My Hat 2*), *Zlatni bokal* (*Golden Jar*), *Mali vrabac* (*Little Sparrow*), *Skadarlijski boem* (*Boheme of Skadarlija*), *Dva jelena* (*Two Deers*), *Šešir moj* (*MyHat*), *Putujući glumac* (*Travelling Actor*), *Tri šešira* (*Three Hats*), *Velika Skadarlija* (*Great Skadarlija*). In the middle of the street, there is *Kuća Đure Jakšića* (the house of a famous poet Đura Jakšić, which is nowadays a cultural center of the municipality of Stari Grad / Old Town), and in front of it is an occasional summer stage where *Skadarlijske večeri* (*Evenings in Skadarlija*) with old urban and folk music programs are organized. Every tavern has its own music program, according to the interaction of musicians with the audience, which

<sup>2</sup> A different example of Belgrade soundwalk is presented in Ivana Medić's contribution to this volume: Cf. Medić 2017.

has particular preferences within the typical repertoire performed in Skadarlija.

Participant observation, as a “process in which the observer’s presence in a social situation is maintained for the purpose of scientific investigation” (Schwartz and Green Schwartz 1955: 344), was a useful methodology for the author of the article as a cultural insider who is doing “ethnography at home,” being a member of the audience who occasionally interacts with the musicians during their performance. This method was useful for the understanding of the communication process between musicians and members of the audience, as well as for the performance process, which is today dominantly the product of musical requests. Some of these occasions resulted in sound and video recordings, which were used for the analysis of music and the progress of tavern performance.

The most representative musicians (i.e. the ones with most experience of playing in Skadarlija’s taverns) were interviewed. Our conversations (some of them audio recorded) were very informative for understanding their musical suggestions to the audience and, conversely, for their musical responses to listeners’ requests. The questions were directed toward their experiences of musicianship in the taverns of Skadarlija, the genre and repertoires which they perform there and toward description of performance situations. Also, informal interviews about musical preferences in taverns with several domestic listeners were conducted, in order to formulate a future broader pilot survey of the audience.

Except for basically ethnographical methods, here I also conducted an analysis of prescribed notations and discography which musicians have been using in the learning and performance of folk music in Belgrade taverns (and which may also be known amongst the audience). The scores were in printed urban folk music repertoires – in this case, from the late twentieth century (especially the publisher “Nota” from Knjaževac, because musicians often use them). The discographical editions were of the genre *starogradska muzika* and of the most prominent performers of “folk music,” popular mostly on Radio Belgrade from the 1960s–1980s (published by Radio Television of Belgrade/Serbia and “Jugoton”). This material provided insight into referential music repertoire and its characteristics.

## COMMUNICATION AND AFFECT IN COMMODIFIED PERFORMANCE IN SKADARLIJA’S TAVERNS

The music performed in Skadarlija’s taverns is meant to be commodified and it implies a participatory performance. As Thomas Turino defined that performance context (Turino 2008), there is no division into artist and passive audience, but everyone participates by playing various roles. The roles are adjusted to the possibilities, so there are specialised musicians as leading actors, and there are also (less) skilful performers who clap, dance, sing the refrain etc. (Turino 2008: 32), embodying their affects publicly. Turino singled out main sound fields which are constituting participatory performance: it is about open forms consisting of contrasting sections made up of short repetitive elements (often varied), and the beginnings and the ends are blurred (Ibid: 37–38). The piece of music is just a basis for performance, and it is important that it has metrorhythmical pulsation – groove and flow (Ibid: 59). This

musical structuring Turino explained with the need for “security in constancy”, which leads toward social synchronicity (Ibid: 40–41). In performances like this musical purity is not crucial, so there are dense textures, rich timbres, wide registers, a permanently high volume, without virtuoso soloists highlighted (ibid.: 44–47). Very important in this type of performance is sociability, which comes from interactivity (ibid.: 61). In the case of tavern performance in Skadarlija, it means that audience orders songs from musicians and in that way the audience is involved in the realization of the repertoire, and that implies that the music is not too complicated for listeners/participants. Special acoustic orchestras perform live for the listeners who are close to them, engendering collectivities among them. They perform traditional “old urban music” at the beginning of a performance, but after that they communicate with members of the audience who order particular songs according to their personal taste, curiosity or affect – e.g. folk songs from the guest’s country or a well-known Serbian song for foreign audience, or various popular folk songs for a domestic audience. Orchestras may consist of non-Romany or Romany musicians. The vocal-instrumental ensemble consists of melodic instruments (clarinet, violin, *prim*), rhythmic-harmonic instruments (guitar, accordion) and the double bass; or it can be a *tamburitza* band (with the division of the roles of instruments).

Performance process, in the structure that Richard Schechner proposed (Schechner 2002; see more about application of this platform in: Dumnić 2016), has important connections with musical preferences. During the warm up, the musicians play a potpourri of *starogradska muzika* (the representative genre of Skadarlija) and songs with different characteristics which introduce their playing to the audience (see more about this genre in: Думнић 2016). But at the same time, they follow the audience’s reactions in order to see how to approach particular guests later on, for tips. After that, they play for the guests at one table and then go to another. Songs are interpreted according to the listeners’ preferences, especially to those who have ability to make a potpourri (which is very rare) and to those who can pay more. In order to intensify communication with listeners, musicians apply special mechanisms: playing *na uvo* (“to the ear”), playing with gesticulations and shouts, virtuosically, with rhythmic or dynamic emphasis, telling a story about the song. Also, they can give the leading voice part to an audience member. If they want to increase the dynamics of the performance, they become louder, faster, satirically change some verses, shorten the songs to a strophe with refrain and avoid repetitions. Special affective performance is the default for the repertoire of romances. After a few hours of playing corresponding to preferences, they play several slower songs in order to wind the proceedings down (or, as has happened recently, simply stop after playing for the last table).

The communication process is often mentioned in Serbian sociology when it deals with the tavern context and performances of music there (e.g. Стојкович 2012). A well-known simple model with interactivity devised by Wilbur Schramm in 1954, can be applied here: the audience requests the repertoire from musicians, so they perform it and offer other songs according to their assessment of the social identifications of the audience members, and it is a chain of exchanges during the entire music event. The audience in the tavern can be categorized according to the model of Denis McQuail, so it may be a target (the audience is influenced), a participant (sender and

recipient are interacting and their communication is an open act), or an observer — listener (the sender is trying to gain attention) (Tomić 2003: 137). Thus, the participants in the performance of music in the tavern, as a communication process, are musicians and audience (the latter with various levels of activity, i.e. feedbacks).

Not only are the music text and the meaning of particular songs transmitted in this dialogue, but also an affect is communicated (more in: Biddle and Thompson 2013). Understanding of the relation of music and affect in ethnomusicology here mainly relies on authors considered in Ana Hofman's recent article. As she has said, "the main conceptualization of affect is that it is a state of relation as well as the passage of vital forces or intensities beyond emotions. Affect is seen as a potential, a bodily capacity to affect and be affected. It is embodied in the automatic reaction manifested in the skin, on the surface of the body and in the heartbeat, but it is still something that goes beyond the body, a passage from one experiential state of the body to another" (Hofman 2015: 36). Also, here the terminology established by Patrik Juslin and John Sloboda from 2010 is employed: "emotions refer to a quite brief but intense affective reaction; mood is used to denote affective states that are lower in intensity than emotions, while feeling refers to the subjective experience of emotions and moods. They define affect (in music) as the overarching concept that 'comprises anything from music preference, mood, and emotion to aesthetic and even spiritual experiences'" (as quoted in: *ibid.*, 43). The affect itself is described in affect studies basically as non-describable, but that is often the narrative of the consumers of music in taverns, as well – subjective experiences are explained as exceptional. There are specific parameters relating to the affect as reaction to tavern music performances and their measurement may be the topic of larger research.

The strongly, widely and continuously debated concept of taste has many aesthetic and sociological considerations. Nowadays there are various kinds of sociological, educational and psychological researches problematizing musical preferences, many of them with quantitative tools. In this case a simple operative definition of a musicologist and a psychologist is used: "Music preference, as a concept, is used to describe that one enjoys and likes to listen to a certain piece or a style in music" (Schäfer and Sedlmier 2011: 38). Qualitative research in this case confirmed not only the relevance of complex personal and broader cultural heritages of members of the audience and particularity of the tavern context on the other side, but also that musical preferences vary over time. A focus of preliminary research such as this is that folk music repertoires interweave during the interactive music performance in the tavern.

## MUSICAL PREFERENCES IN SKADARLIJA ACCORDING TO MUSICIANS

Here is a useful definition of Jeff Todd Titon: "A repertory is a stock of music that is ready to be performed. It consists of six basic parts: style, genres, texts, composition, transmission, and movement" (Titon 2009: 26). General types of vocal-instrumental repertoire performed in Skadarlija are *starogradska muzika*, *novokomponovana narodna muzika* (newly-composed folk music), urban folk music of the former Yugoslavia, evergreen/*schlager*, popular classical music, emblematic foreign folk music. Repertoire labeling such this is connected with the popular music industry of the second

half of the twentieth century in Yugoslavia. As musicians claim today, they need to target different members of the audience with particular songs and they conceive the repertoire not only according to the aesthetics of the former Skadarlija, but also by adopting some of the most popular trending songs. The repertoires performed in taverns are partially printed (e.g. Cenerić 1990, Karaklajić 1973, Karaklajić 1992, Petrović 1996, Павковић 2008a, Павковић 2008b, Павковић 2008c, Павковић 2010a, Павковић 2010b, Павковић 2011a, Павковић 2011b, Павковић 2011c) and published on sound carriers of famous folk song interpreters, with commercial purpose (on this occasion, data concerning the sale and audience of editions are not considered, but it can be included in future research).

First of all, professional musicians respond to the listeners' preferences with the repertoire after the warm-up with *starogradska muzika* (e.g. "Tiho noći," "Tamo daleko," "Kradem ti se u večeri," "Bolujem ja, boluješ ti," etc).

Musicians playing for foreign audiences welcome them with a song from their homeland and then play something "typically Serbian." The most prominent orchestra from Skadarlija, "Tamburica 5," has in its repertoire emblematic songs in many languages, according to their unofficial status of representative folk ensemble for touring (several titles are given in the musicians' transcription, in alphabetical order of languages): Arab ("Mustafa"), Bulgarian ("Hubava si, goro zelena"), Dutch ("Lali Amsterdam"), English (evergreens, e.g. "My Way" from the USA), French ("C'est un chanson"), German ("Trink, trink," "Rosamunda"), Greek ("Greek Zorba," "Kira Georgina"), Hungarian ("Ozzosep"), Italian ("O Sole mio"), Norwegian ("Lif og varme"), Polish ("Sto lat", "Hej, sokoli"), Portuguese ("April in Portugal"), Romani ("Đelem, đelem"), Romanian ("Ionel, Ionelule"), Russian ("Ochi chornye"), Slovakian ("Tancuj, tancuj"), Spanish ("Granada", "El mariachi", "Besame mucho"), Swedish ("Breveg son Lilan"), Turkish ("Janginvar"), and they also perform a few songs in Albanian, Ukrainian, etc. Also, they perform evergreen and popular classical numbers by Giuseppe Verdi, Johann Sebastian Bach, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Gioachino Rossini, Johannes Brahms (for example, "Hungarian dance No. 5" is often performed) etc.

For the domestic audience, there is "old urban" and "newly composed folk" music, in various styles. The musicians themselves also adjusted blocks of repertoires for audiences from the former Yugoslavia, according to particular countries, but also from particular regions, especially Serbian. Some of the most performed are: "Evo srcu mom radosti," "A što ćemo ljubav kriti," "Zvezda tjera mjeseca," "U lijepom starom gradu Višegradu" (Bosnia); "Adio, Mare" (Dalmatia); "Ako umram il' zaginam," "Bitola, moj roden kraj," "Zajdi, zajdi," "Jovano, Jovanke," "More, sokol pie" (Macedonia); "Još ne sviće rujna zora," "Milica jedna u majke," "Svi pljevaljski tamburaši," "Sejdefu majka buđaše" (Montenegro); "Ajde, Kato, ajde, zlato," "Da je višnja k'o trešnja," "Milica je večerala," "Četir' konja debela," "Škripi đeram" (Vojvodina); "Ako će se ženiš," "Magla padnala v dolina," "Šano, dušo" (Vranje); "Ajde, Jano," "Zapevala sojka ptica," "Ječam žela Kosovka devojka," "Simbil cveće" (Kosovo); "Ajd' idemo, Rado," "Lepe li su, nano, Gružanke devojke," "Odakle si, sele" (Šumadija). Repertoires are also classified according to the singer who performs them (e.g. Predrag Gojković Cune, Predrag Živković Tozovac, Toma Zdravković, Miroslav Ilić, Haris Džinović, Silvana Armenulić), and nowadays songs from the 1970s and 1980s. are increasingly



popular. Especially sought after are songs referring to the topic of the tavern (“I tebe sam sit, kafano” etc), and those devoted to Belgrade (e.g. “Serenada Beogradu”) are also frequently performed. On account of music consumerism, this is nowadays the largest part of the repertoire.

The repertoire of “borrowed” songs is very interesting: across the Balkans, there are several popular folk songs with the same melody and specific local textual variants. Some of them have a fascinating migration itinerary and provoke debates about their origins, or become the topic of mutual heritage (e.g. “Uskudara” – “Ruse kose, curo, imaš”). Also, there are numerous Hungarian and Russian songs, for example, which are adapted by a known author to the Serbian language: e.g. “Višnjeve boje šal” (translated from Russian); “Ta tvoja suknja plava,” “Nema lepše devojke,” “Bele ruže, nežne ruže” (translated from Hungarian).

Musical characteristics which are isolated through the interviews (and through the author’s knowledge as a listener) in discussing song preferences are: tempo (type and changeability), rhythmical patterns, repetition, simplicity of melody, modulation, improvisation, the meaning of the lyrics, chorus, tunefulness, danceability, the quality of the orchestra, the current popularity of the song or its original performer.

### MUSICAL PREFERENCES IN SKADARLIJA ACCORDING TO LISTENERS

The audience in Skadarlija may be very divergent and heterogeneous in terms of identity markers: age (young, middle and older generation), gender, education, number (from two-member to larger groups), ethnicity (Serbians, inhabitants of former Yugoslav republics, tourists from Turkey, Japan, Slovenia, Austria, Russia, Japan, USA etc), economical class (all, but wealthier guests are more frequent), different relationships (couples, families, colleagues, friends etc). To illustrate how complex the analysis of musical preferences from the listeners’ perspective is, it should be mentioned that, on average, the number of guests in a Skadarlija tavern may be around 200 each evening. In the aforementioned approximate estimations from ethnomusicological fieldwork, it was impossible to include considerations of personal characteristics or customs and activities of the members of audience, but it can be presumed that interdisciplinary research which involves sociological and psychological analysis would be fruitful. Participants in the performance who are not resident musicians (here called “listeners”) often describe their pleasant tavern experiences as extraordinary and hard to describe (if they are not musicians themselves) – they may be described as “emotional,” “trance-like,” “shuddering.” The success of the performance for them depends on their musical preferences, mood (personal and of their companions) and especially on their impression of the quality of the performers and the intensity of their interaction with them. As some members of the audience commented, if the songs are not “boring,” they may be “sad,” “cheerful,” “romantic,” they can remind them of something, they may be devoted to someone etc. The members of the audience interact by singing, clapping, moving their hands, sometimes dancing with the whole body and communicating with each other (the latter especially if they do not pay any special attention to the performance).

As to the repertoire, it is interesting that Skadarlija's emblematic *starogradska muzika* is preferred mostly by older listeners and listeners from the diaspora. Younger audiences generally prefer *novokomponovana narodna muzika* from the 1980s – this process of repertoire patination is typical for tavern performances. Of course, there is a demand for currently popular folk music, but it is not regularly played in Skadarlija's taverns. On the other hand, preferences related to performance itself refer to the expressivity, virtuosity and synchronicity of an orchestra (some visitors to Skadarlija prefer orchestras with Romany musicians, as an example of “authentic folk”). What is fundamental is that the orchestra is acoustic, it knows every song and it “creates a unique atmosphere.” This insistence on experience and affect contributes to the image of authentic partying.

But what is especially interesting about the repertoires is that the audience interweaves them during the performance process, according to musical preferences. A mixture of geographically different repertoires is present in the welcoming of foreign guests with songs from their country and the presenting of them as representative *starogradska muzika*. This is also present in the aforementioned adjusted blocks of repertoires for audiences from the former Yugoslavia, but also from particular regions of Serbia. Finally, the geographical interweaving of repertoires is obvious in the repertoire of “borrowed” songs. In this combining of repertoires the concept of restorative nostalgia is fundamental. Skadarlija is a special place for guests from members of the diaspora, so their restorative nostalgia greatly influences the sustainability of traditional *starogradska muzika* in today's repertoire. On the other hand, the concept of reflective nostalgia is crucial in the chronological intertwining of repertoires. Not only it is immanent in the discourse of Skadarlija and *starogradska muzika*, but also there is patinisation of urban folk music, which implies the interweaving of historically different urban folk music practices and the labeling of them as “old urban,” i.e. valuable popular folk music – urban folk music fluctuates chronologically, so “newly-composed folk music” of previous times becomes “old urban” after several decades and performing in Skadarlija's taverns. And what is crucially important to Skadarlija's current soundscape is the sonic mixture of repertoires, especially in the crowded evenings during the summer season. In the performance process, there is also the mixing of sounds from other orchestras in neighboring taverns, or even at the same tavern. For example, orchestras play at the same time for the listeners at separate tables and with different preferences — sometimes not distant enough for the focused hearing of one music, and their effect can be noise. Nowadays, this simultaneous sound, the mixture of smaller musicscapes, which is a result of commodified music practices, becomes the most frequent soundscape of Skadarlija.

### CONCLUDING REMARKS

After participating in the events under consideration, and later observing them theoretically, it can be concluded that tourism contributes to the overcoming of cultural borders, but it also has an impact on the representative musicscape of Skadarlija by means of adjustments of repertoire. From the interviews with musicians it can be said that the dynamism of performance depends on the repertoire, its characteristics and performance context. Musical preferences and affects are connected in specific

cultural, communicative and experiential circumstances. Specific musical characteristics and their commodification in the tavern context lead to particular affects, which will be examined in future research. Musicians perform the content of the soundscape, but what is most important is that people in the audience, with their personal musical preferences, influence the sound environment, not only metaphorically, but also in a material way. The realisation of Skadarlija's soundscape today does not depend on any official intervention by the city; it is determined by remuneration — mostly tips for particular songs. The explanations of performance process and interaction from this ethnographical paper will contribute to the future investigation of the repertoire performed in the tavern context and the dynamics of performance from the perspective of various audiences, as well as to chronological research into the construction of repertoire.

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КАКО МУЗИКА УТИЧЕ НА ЗВУЧНИ ПЕЈЗАЖ:  
О МУЗИЧКИМ ПРЕФЕРЕНЦИЈАМА У СКАДАРЛИЈИ

(САЖЕТАК)

У овом раду описана су теоријска промишљања, методе и материјали који су од суштинског значаја за разумевање звучног пејзажа Скадарлије. У циљу анализирања музичких преференција у скадарлијским кафанам, овде су представљени комуникацијски и афективни аспекти музичких извођења. Материјал прикупљен етнографским истраживањем углавном у сарадњи с музичарима (али и са слушаоцима), коришћен је за анализу музичких преференција која овом приликом тематизује структуру изведеног репертоара. Приказани су музички репертоари и њихова преплитања у контексту кафанског музичког извођења. Пошто је дата комуникацијска поставка погодна за анализу преференција народне музике, овај текст има за циљ и покретање дискусије о том проблему који је маргинализован у (локалној) етномузикологији. Коначно, овај пример показује утицај афективних динамизама на специфичан музички пејзаж Скадарлије, који је у великој мери условљен туристичком индустријом. Закључено је да људи својим музичким личним одабирима утичу на звучно окружење.

Кључне речи: музички пејзаж, Скадарлија, Београд, музичке преференције, народна музика