



МУЗИКОЛОШКИ
ИНСТИТУТ САНУ

INSTITUTE OF
MUSICOLOGY SASA

КОСОВО И МЕТОХИЈА

МУЗИЧКА СЛИКА
МУЛТИКУЛТУРАЛНОСТИ
50-ИХ И 60-ИХ ГОДИНА XX ВЕКА

KOSOVO AND METOHIJA

A MUSICAL IMAGE
OF MULTICULTURALISM
IN THE 1950s AND 1960s

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MULTICULTURALISM OF KOSOVO AND METOHIJA IN THE 1950S AND 1960S EXPRESSED IN TRADITIONAL MUSIC*

The notion of “multiculturalism” has been used in academic discourse for more than half a century, especially in the humanities, so it is hardly a surprise that there now exist a number of syntagms which incorporate this term or its derivatives, e.g. “multicultural society,” “politics of multiculturalism” and such-like. However, there is still no consensus about their true meaning. First, in its essence we find a fundamental concept whose interpretation, description, and attempts at definition have a long history that could fill several libraries, yet there is no “end” to the debate in sight, as observed by Vincenzo Matera, alluding to the words of Clifford Geertz from 1973 (Matera 2016: 23). Furthermore, today the “rise and fall of multiculturalism” is being discussed in the sense of the evolution of contemporary debates on diversity (Kymlicka 2012: 2). Within the field of ethnography of communication, this term is used in relation to culturally heterogeneous, polyethnic and multinational societies, i.e. societies which are characterized by “sophisticated ethnographic profiles” (Tishkov

* This study is a result of work on the scientific project *Serbian Musical Identities Within Local and Global Frameworks: Traditions, Changes, Challenges* (No. 177004), financed by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.

2002, c.f. Grishaeva 2012: 917). The idea of multiculturalism as a grouping of cultures defined in Herder's terms as closed spheres or autonomous islands, the existence of such cultures within one state, and even the idea of interculturality, if referring to culture as a concept of internal homogeneity and external separation, is criticized as means of ghettoization, cultural fundamentalism and encouragement of chauvinism (Welsch 1999). As an alternative, the notion of "transculturality" has been proposed as more adequate in relation to the reality of inner differentiation and the complexity of modern cultures which are interwoven, interpenetrate, or emerge from one another, at the same time acknowledging their external interwovenness (Welsch 1999). Some scientific literature demonstrates an insistence on the difference between the concepts of multiculturalism and interculturalism, on the basis of passive vs. active relationships between the cultures involved. This is regarded as particularly relevant in cultural and educational policies (cf. Adlešić 2011: 37; Koković 2011: 44). Nevertheless, with respect to more recent discussions on the topic of cultural diversities in the field of cultural anthropology, where one speaks about Culture (in the singular) when referring to some basic characteristics and processes of human beings but about cultures (in the plural), concerning the social distribution and organization of cultural meanings (Matera 2016), it seems that the fundamental meaning of multiculturalism (a plenitude of cultural patterns as a reflection of communities) does inevitably connote dynamism. It is in this particular sense that the notion is used in this text.

Even though the contemporary perspective implies thinking about multiculturalism as a "post-national" cultural dynamic, often in relation to ongoing routes of immigration, when researching multiculturalism from the beginning

of the second half of the twentieth century it is important to note the various historical types of multicultural societies, from former empires to multinational states. In that sense it can be said that the multiculturalism of Kosovo and Metohija in the 1950s and 1960s was shaped from the remnants of the Ottoman Empire's reign, which had lasted for several centuries; by the conditions concerning annexation of this area to Serbia and to the new joint state of the South Slavs formed in 1918; and finally by the establishment of new Yugoslavism after WWII, a complex state context with its reigning communist ideology. Whilst the federal framework institutionalized multiple identities, the highest patriotic value of the Yugoslav system was "brotherhood and unity" – a solidary cohabitation of different but akin people as interpreted in the spirit of the nineteenth-century tradition of pan-Slavic solidarity (Čalić 2013: 225).

This dynamic history has been directly linked to the ever-changing demographic structure of Kosovo and Metohija, although the population of the province has always been beyond any doubt multiethnic and multiconfessional. It was the same case after World War II, when the Autonomous district of Kosovo and Metohija became one of two provinces of the People's Republic of Serbia within the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia (in 1963 it was declared as the Autonomous Province of Kosovo and Metohija). The naming and declared size of registered ethnic communities were part of the governing policy (cf. Mrdjen 2002), but it is certain that their coexistence also formed a multicultural society in practice. As expected, the cultural pluralism functioned differently depending on local milieux and social circles. Following the economic development in the context of the post-war "reconstruction and building" of the new Yugoslavia, the socio-cultural stratifica-

tion of Kosovo and Metohija became increasingly complex. In terms of the growth of industrial production during the 1950s, Yugoslavia was the most prosperous country in the world, the standard of living was growing rapidly, and lifestyles were changing (Čalić 2013: 243). These changes affected village communities as well, but their pace was not uniform, which is why the ethnic-cultural diversity was preserved in certain areas for quite a long time. Sociological studies of the adjustment to the spirit of socialism showed that the majority of the population accepted members of other ethnic groups as their neighbors, colleagues and friends, without any reserves. However, a large majority of marriages were still being concluded between partners of the same ethnic group. It was especially paradoxical that in the atheistic state, religious affiliation became even more important as a criterion when choosing a partner for marriage (Čalić 2013: 267). Such socio-cultural circumstances formed the basis of the diversity of sound testimonials in the collection of the recordings of traditional music from Kosovo and Metohija, preserved at the Archive of the Institute of Musicology SASA. Besides, as was already mentioned in the introductory text accompanying this release, the cultural-historical specificities and geo-cultural characteristics of certain parts of Kosovo and Metohija also have their musical echo. Loosely following the order of published recordings of traditional music on the CDs, they will be discussed predominantly from the viewpoint of multiculturalism (in the broadest sense of the term). Analysis will begin with the music-cultural dialects recognized in the corps of examples of Serbian village singing and playing, which is the largest; subsequently it will include discussion of the recordings of Albanian, Goranian, Roma and Turkish musicking, moving from the village towards the urban area.

**(Mono)ethnic music tradition as a mosaic of regional idioms:
The Serbian village music tradition of the South and North
of Kosovo and Metohija**

As an illustration of the contexts of village research which are in question here, we should mention the note by Radmila Petrović in which she says that the settlements are “extremely sparse,” while at that time there were still “houses covered in straw, with open fires, chains and garlic cloves attached to the roof beam” (Petrović 1964: 435). Life in such still relatively isolated village communities contributed to the preservation of the ancient and comparably distinctive types of expression. Even the wealth of musical memories, and especially the convincing, expressive interpretations, point to the fact that those who participated in the recordings also/once personally interpreted them in their basic, traditional function.

Based on the number of songs relating to specific moments during the wedding, it seems that the customs related to marriage were the most vital. The sheer number of examples of this genre allows the reconstruction, within local social communities, of functional music-symbolic communication systems consisting of musical forms, melodic models, music timbre, ornaments and suchlike (CD1/14,15, CD2/1–9). Also related to the life cycle are forms which belong to folklore for children and children’s folklore, from lullabies (CD1/12), followed by the nursery rhymes performed both by adults and children, thus confirming their transmission from generation to generation (CD1/13, CD2/15), up to songs which accompany children’s games, including ones with elements of a ritual character (CD2/16, 17). The openness of the children’s world

is confirmed by the “Macaron lyrics” as a reflection of the unconsciously adopted cultural influences (CD1/13a).

While the wedding is recognized as a general and even paradigmatic life moment incorporating music (also on a wider scale), judging from examples from the collection it can be concluded that customs relating to the agricultural year (and especially its beginning which belongs to the winter half-term in the Serbian folk calendar) were very important for communities in the south of Kosovo and Metohija (Cf. Zakić 2010). Accordingly, the singing of *Lazarice* by female participants in the ritual litany on Lazarus Saturday¹ can also be found as a recording of its performance in a representative concert. The songs were performed together with ritual swinging – *nišanje* (CD1/6) – which once was a familial, and later, a wider social practice – and received similar treatment.² Music was also used to regulate behaviour during the *sabors* – social gatherings on the occasion of religious holidays organized in every village on specified special days, and especially at Easter – *Veligdan*, thus a sizeable collection of *sabor* songs was recorded (CD1/2 / 5, 7, 8). Traces of former rituality remained in the musical component, even when the ritual practice itself was disappearing. Similarly, an entire group of recordings and their accompanying notes suggest that music accompanied once numerous and longlasting agricultural works (songs for *kopanje* – digging, *žetva* –

¹ A constituent part of the ritual in the past was the competition of “Lazars” on Friday in the wake of Lazarus Saturday; see Ranković 2018: 330.

² Even though only Serbian songs were recorded for this purpose, the folkloristic researches registered ritual swinging as a custom which is present in the celebration of St George’s Day with all ethnic groups in Prizren (comp. Antonijević 1974: 198).

harvest, *kosidba* – mowing). Since weather conditions were very important in agriculture, singing of *dodole* – female ritual litany to invoke rain was also preserved in memory (CD1/11).

Despite their differences in function and genre, these songs form a unique and characteristic system of expression, particularly striking for its atmosphere, created by small melodic movements and a generally narrow range, group performances, and harmonic relationships which reflect the proximity of singers, occasionally moving away from the unison of their voices as an indication of united multiplicity. The most impressive of all are long exclamations which end melopoetic units, whose acoustic function is experienced even more memorably in the open-air recordings (CD1/2, 3, CD1/4, 5).

The recordings from the collection suggest that singing in the traditional Serbian village culture on the south of Kosovo and Metohija was a predominantly female practice, while the world of musical instruments belonged to men, including singing with *gusle*. Only one recording of instrumental music originates from this area, and it is performed on two *šupeljka* pipes (an instrument similar to *kaval*, an open cylindrical pipe, usually with 6 holes;³ CD1/16). Even though the players themselves confirm that instruments of the same construction were made traditionally of wood, usage of specific specimens made of aluminium tubes points to innovations based on possibilities and means available in their own time, with a more liberal approach towards the quality of sound which is influenced by such an innovation. The collection contains the recording of a melody with a dance-

³ The answers by the players that *šupeljka* had “six and seven holes” (CD1/16) probably suggest its relations to *kaval*.

like character, which is probably just a part of the repertoire performed on šupeljka, in terms of genre.

On the other hand, observing Serbian traditional village music from the north of Kosovo and Metohija as represented on the recordings from the collection shows a somewhat larger presence of men in vocal practice, although this could simply be due to circumstances during the field recording. Male singing is characteristic on occasions celebrating saints, protectors of families and homes: the ritual called *slava* or *sveti* (CD2/10, 11). The recordings of occasional songs confirm the existence of the practice of procession, the purpose of which was a prophylaxis from poisonous snakes and known as *jeremije* because of the belief in the power of St Jeremiah the Prophet (CD2/18, and a variant example was recorded in Lešak). However, singing related to the rituals and customs of the calendar system is insufficiently represented on the recordings from this collection, hence it is not possible to reconstruct it fully. The collection of vocal material from this area largely consists of lyric “general purpose” love songs. Melodic models are more freely treated in their interpretation than in ritual singing practice (cf. Petrović 1989: 91), thus creating an impression of lesser homogeneity in a music-structural sense (summarized results of research of folklore genres and of peculiarities of Serbian musical tradition in this part of Kosovo and Metohija, as a part of wider, geocultural region of Kopaonik Mountain, see in: Jovanovic 2015). The examples of different musicalisation of the same poetic text are particularly illustrative (CD2/30, 31, i.e. 32, 33, 34). Here as well the elements of traditional open air singing are clearly recognised, but now as singing in full voice, whose echo, especially prominent in male solo singing, contributes strikingly to the expressiveness.

The collection from the north of Kosovo and Metohija contains recordings of playing by only two musicians. However, all dance melodies performed on the *svirajka* (a fife/end-blown pipe/flute with a cap; CD2/14, 19) are stylistically similar, which is especially suggested by the sound enrichment, accomplished thanks to a special, old-fashioned technique of playing with a so-called *guttural* tone, present in both cases. Indicators of this belonging to the deeper layers of tradition are also found in the performance of an epic song accompanied by *the gusle* (CD2/12): singing in which the caesura occurs before the last syllable of the verse, which is then connected to the beginning of the following verse, is understood as “blurring” of constructive borders and as a magical means that provides the continuity of life (cf. Lajić Mihajlović 2014: 293–308).

The vitality of the principles of direct transmission of musical expression is confirmed in Serbian rural communities both in the South and in the North of Kosovo and Metohija by the recordings of female singing where the singers are closely related, judging from their surnames or from the explicitly indicated familial relationship. The creative relationship which is an indication of the acceptance of the cultural heritage as a part of individual identities is confirmed through numerous variants and especially through the already mentioned structural and characteristic reshaping. Different individual styles of singing with the *gusle* are especially illustrative, as well as the manner of reshaping “classic” epic themes and using fields of freedom in segments which allow this, such as the opening and closing formulae (CD1/21, 22, CD2/13).

Regional idiom as a multiethnic mosaic of rural musical traditions of Kosovo and Metohija

Compared to Serbian traditional music from villages, rural music of other peoples and ethnic groups in Kosovo and Metohija are represented in the collection of the Institute of Musicology SASA with a small number of examples, making it impossible to acquire a more complex impression. The examples of Albanian traditional rural music, as already mentioned in the editors' foreword, all originate from representative performances. It is a relatively small sample of Albanian music and dance folklore which was, it is safe to guess, estimated to be highly representative not only by the performers themselves and the communities whose folklore was presented, but also by local authorities: cultural and/or political activists and experts-consultants in charge of shaping the folk groups' programs and organization of concert performances. Although it is a rural tradition, announcements of the musicians' and dancers' performances emphasise that these were groups which performed in numerous competitions and concerts,⁴ suggesting the performers' semi-professional status, as well as their thought-out and rehearsed performances, not only in terms of repertory but also on the expressive level.

⁴ The announcement during the concert organized for the participants of the 14th Congress of the Union of Yugoslav Folklorist Associations in Prizren, on 12 September 1967 (MISANU_FA_tr. 43): "And now, you will have the opportunity to see an original rural group from Žur [...] which [...] performed in many provincial, national and federal competitions, [...]. This year they [...] participated in the second largest Festival of Folklore in Zagreb, and last year they travelled back from Belgrade where they took part in the *Sabor* of folk songs and dances."

It is interesting and indicative that the Albanian programme featured mostly vocal-instrumental forms. Women mostly sang in groups in a manner that resulted in mild heterophony, while turning the baking tray (Alb. *këngë tepsish*, CD1/44) and playing the large tambourin (*dajre, def*, CD1/26). Men sang as soloists accompanied by the (*kavall-kafaj / fyell-fyej* duo (CD1/27), by plucked instruments (*çifteli* (CD2/46) and *sharki*; a variant arrangement involves duet singing accompanied by çifteli, which is why, according to the recordings from the collection, it seems that singing with plucked instruments' accompaniment was characteristic of the Albanian tradition. Besides that, singing accompanied by the *lahuta*, a one-string bowed instrument, was also documented (Alb. *kangë me lahutë*).

Since there is a lack of transcriptions of all Albanian song texts from the collection, this time it is not possible to speak more generally about the represented genres. The consultant for Albanian music, ethnomusicologist Ardan Ahmedaja, PhD, points out that, as documented in the recordings, women traditionally sang in groups (usually of four to five). Among others, there is a recording of a wedding song (CD1/26) and female performance of a ballad, which is sung by men as well (CD1/44). The recording of male singing accompanied by the *kaval* (CD1/27) bring a fragment of the “majekrahi” style, namely the manner of singing with a hand in the ear (Alb. *me dore ne vesh*; Mahony 2011: 19). This form of expression was typical of mountain regions, while the vocal technique – singing in full voice, is in a consequential relationship with authentic surroundings – the open space. The importance of the acoustic effect itself is also revealed in the practice to which Mr. Ahmedaja draws attention, which is that in more recent times these songs are often performed without

any lyrics or with only fragments of lyrics of songs which have been largely forgotten. The characteristic form of performing the narrative songs with historic subjects is singing with çifteli accompaniment, such as *The Song about Hayreddin Pasha* (Alb. *Kënga e Hajredin Pashës*, CD2/46).

The available recordings which refer to the Albanian rural settlements reveal testimonies about the use of kaval in purely instrumental forms of expression (such as the kaval duo, CD2/43, 47), then of playing on a leaf (also in a duo – CD1/45), and certainly the most typical ensemble consists of two zurle (Alb. *surle*) and a big drum (Alb. *tupan*–CD2/48). The ensemble consisting of players using plucked string instruments, fife and tree leaf (Alb. *gjethe*) is probably a one-off formation composed of available musicians, for that occasion only.

The impression of the multiculturalism of Kosovo and Metohija based on the recordings of traditional rural music is enhanced by a small, but particularly interesting collection of recordings made in Dragaš, situated in Gora near Prizren. The examples in question are made by two *zurle* players and one *tupan* player, some of whom were recorded in the context of a Gorani wedding, and afterwards, judging from the “self-announcement,” the musicians performed *taksim* and several dance melodies as well in a special, made-for-recording situation (CD1/23–25). Often it was the Roma people (“Cigani”) who were hired as musicians at Gorani weddings, as *zurle* players – *svirdaldžije* and *tupan* players – *tupandžije*; such is the case here (cf. MISANU A MI_sv_7010; also: Traerup 1974: 212; Ranković 2016: 108, 118). Although their repertoire and style of playing were undoubtedly suited to the affinities of the participants of that familial and social event, it is likely that at the same time they influenced

the local tradition with expressive elements of different environments that they encountered while performing as professional musicians (cf. Ranković 2016: 109). The range of their repertoire – from *taksim* to dance melodies of different origin, serves precisely as an indicator of the effects of the professionalisation of music practice as a mediator in the cultural communication of rural communities, usually considered as isolated.

In light of this example one can presuppose the circumstances which led to the arrangement of the music component in the case of the stage performance of *kolo*, belonging to the Serbian tradition from Koretište, near Gnjilane. According to the recording from the concert in Prizren, these dances were performed with *zurle* accompaniment (one instrument, instead of a more common duo) in combination with *tupan* (CD2/49). It is thus confirmed that even in rural surroundings the tradition is not a “petrified,” unchangeable matrix and/or content, but it is constantly reshaped under the influence of various internal and external factors (concerning the so-called endogenous and exogenous factors of reshaping the tradition, see more in: Shils 1981: 213, 240).

Traditional musics in and of urban areas: encounters, processes, policies

When speaking about urban areas, cultural contacts are considered emblematic. Recordings from Kosovo and Metohija in the collection of the Institute of Musicology SASA illuminate these loci as meeting points of their old and new citizens’ cultures, where contact and even exchange is necessary to gain an integristic understanding of the role of traditional music (according to Naumović 1997: 109), but also as centres of new policies’ functioning

through institutionalisation, and even instrumentalisation of traditional music and dance. It is quite obvious that the premise of a town as a multicultural environment initiated the research in Prizren: Milica Ilijin documented different layers and manners of representing traditional music not only in a private ambiance, but also in Serbian, Albanian and Turkish elementary schools, an Albanian grammar school and an Albanian and Turkish cultural-artistic society. It turned out that Prizren, with its long history of urban life, was a locus of particular value for traditional music. The co-existence of ethnic and religious communities, whose cultural identities' auditory component shaped the soundscape of the town via the public sphere and, in return, reshaped each of the cultural (sub)identities, is the basis for the formation of an expression which we recognise as "urban expressivity". Besides, the town is the place for the "new life" of the musical heritage which is reshaped through educational programmes and stylistically modified performances, as well as through its representative treatment on stage for a comparably large and heterogeneous audience, to which the recordings from Prizren testify. The same can be said about Zvečan, although, judging from the recordings made in concerts, a certain difference is visible. Namely, the fascinating positive reaction and extreme excitement of the audience at the Festival of Authentic Groups in Zvečan is an indication of the town audience's particular feelings towards rural traditional music, compared to the reactions during the concerts held in Prizren. As was already mentioned, the audience of the concerts recorded in Prizren were mostly participants in the Congress – guests from other parts of Yugoslavia and from abroad, so different reactions could partly be caused by this fact. However, one should not exclude the possibility that there was indeed some difference in the culturological profiles of these towns. It is common

knowledge that the development of Zvečan was governed by the exploitation of the mineral wealth of the area, which is why its urbanity was of a different character than that of Prizren, which for centuries had been a commercial and spiritual centre, and even the capital city.

The historical-political changes and social repositioning of the peoples and cultures in an urban ambience are also reflected through music and dance. Hence, for instance, Milica Ilijin wrote down memories that in Prizren “a while ago” there were only Turkish dances, and that the “Shqiptári” (Albanian) dances arrived from the surrounding villages and from Đakovica (MISANU A MI_gr_3063). Cohabitation over longer periods of time led to the exchange of repertoire and its further stylistic treatment according to the aesthetic criteria of the tradition into which a cultural element was introduced. Among the striking examples there are dances whose variant titles are based on the Turkish word *kılıç* – *saber* (in Serbian also with phonetic variants: *k’lč*, *kalač*). The music component of this dance was recorded as part of Turkish and Serbian repertoires (cf. CD1/46, 47), and the notes by M. Ilijin mention it as a part of Albanian folklore as well. Testifying impressively to the qualitative differences of the rural and urban folklores at the time, Ilijin points out that “[...] in Žur the Albanians dance *Kalačojna* with three figures and with a melody that has three different rhythms, and the steps are complicated and very difficult, while in Prizren the same dance is performed more simply, in a single rhythm” (MISANU A MI_gr_3042). Deep cultural connections are illustrated by the similarity of the examples which have, in the meantime, acquired the status of symbols of certain ethnic traditions, such as the popular song with dance *Bre, devojče, bre, đavolče* (CD1/43), one of the emblematic songs for Serbian

music in Prizren, and the Turkish dance *horay* (Tur. oro, dance, CD1/42). Reidentifying music by connecting the melody of a song with the translated or new text (in another language) is a known practice in various multicultural environments, but adoption, at the same time, of the more subtle expressive elements such as the tone colour/timbre and ornaments, is an often present but less noticeable level of cultural exchange. In that respect, a particularly significant role was played by skilled instrumentalists, such as the already mentioned *zurle* players in Gora, the likes of whom were to be found in urban areas as well. Thus one “Albanian dance” performed by the Cultural-artistic Society “Agimi” (Alb. agimi – dawn) was recorded from a violin player identified as a “Gypsy” (MISANU A MI_gr_3003). The light that such testimonies of cultural history shed on the relationship between music and identity contributes to a clearer observation of the complexity of these relations and of the conditionality of simple, one sided identifications of music expression.

Part of the body of recordings made in Prizren refers to the music of the Turkish community, testifying to an important aspect of the musical culture of this city, which was historically, politically, and culturally one of the most important centers of Ottoman rule in the territory of present-day Serbia.⁵ Some of the recorded traditional dances contain remarks that they are “old”: *stari klč* (“old klč”, CD1/40), *kaçamak oyunu* (Tur. the hiding game), additionally described as an “old Turkish dance”. Apart from the fact that the Turkish population in this area was mostly concentrated in the city at that

⁵ The Yugoslav Population Register of 1953 registered over 20% of the population in Prizren who declared themselves as Turks (Census 1953).

time, the fact that we do not have recordings from rural areas makes it impossible to analyse the rural-urban relationship with respect to Turkish music. On the other hand, the available recordings open up another important perspective, which is the relationship between religious and folk music in the narrow sense. Namely, among the recorded examples of the Turkish musical tradition there is also the dance *mevlane* from Prizren (according to the notes of M. Ilijin: *mevljane*; from Tur. Mevlana; CD1/36), which the contributors in the field presumed to be “of Arabian or Dervish” origin (MISANU A MI_sv_2023). This is, in all likelihood, a cultural trace of the Dervish Order of the *mevlevie*, which, by the middle of the twentieth century, was preserved through the dance repertoire of the Turks in Prizren. This dance, as a specific expression of the urban lifestyle of Sufi communities in the Ottoman Empire (cf. Vlaeva 2006: 419), confirms the character of the identity of Prizren itself as a developed and recognisable urban centre, since the bearers of this religious art were members of high, intellectual and artistic circles (Ibid.).⁶ It is interesting that the dancers themselves designated the *mevlane* dance as being “from Prizren”, in order to emphasise its difference with respect to the variant of the eponymous dance from Skopje (cf. MISANU A MI_sv_2023).

While different vocal, vocal-instrumental and instrumental versions of songs (performed on violin and darabuka and mostly dance-like in character) were recorded in the Turkish gymnasium, a wider repertoire of songs and dances performed by a *čalgije* (an instrumental ensemble consisting

⁶ During the research in Prizren, a religious ritual of the Dervish Order of Ruffia / Riffia was also partially recorded (the recording is part of the collection of the Institute of Ethnography SASA, EIB 3 2 K1 mt. 4).

only of violin, clarinet and darabuka in this case) was recorded in the Turkish cultural-artistic society “Doğru Yol” (Tur. the right way; more on this society in: Güçlütürk 2012). In terms of the dynamics of tradition, the commentary by Aziz Buş, the secretary of the association at that time, is indicative due to its remark that the standard Turkish çalgija ensemble had recently been expanded with instruments such as đumbuš (Tur: cümbüş), kanun and even the accordion, adding that their ensemble was actually an orchestra with as many as 25 members; in addition to the aforementioned instruments it included: ud (Tur: *ut*), đumbuš, mandolin, prim, def, and darabuka (Tur: *darbuka*) (MISANU A MI_gr_3044; cf. Aykut 2017: 46–53). Subsequent recording of the vocal parts of certain tracks suggest that the instrumental accompaniment was a stable quality in the urban Turkish culture of Prizren. This is also logical, given the fact that the Ottoman music culture is synthetic in itself: it absorbed elements of cultures gathered together by the political power of the Empire, primarily Arab and Persian, in which the tradition of instrumental accompaniment to singing is deep-rooted (Tanrıkorur 2004). Among others, the following songs of a dance-like character were recorded in such an arrangement: *Osman Ağa*, i.e. *Sabahlara dayanmam Osman Ağa* (CD1/41), *Yalelli* (a chorus word without meaning, a.k.a. *Dere geliyor, dere-* The river comes; CD1/39) and *Konyalun yaman çaler* (My beloved from Konya, CD1/38). Our consultant for Turkish traditional music and researcher with experience in the Balkans, Hasan Tahsin Sümbüllü, PhD, pointed out that the dance *Konyalun yaman çaler* is one of the exceptional testimonies of the local Ottoman / Turkish tradition, given that there are no (preserved) equivalents in the matrix area (for similar examples see more in: Aksoy 2006: 33–34), and its characteristic does not exist in the lists of Prizren’s *turkija*

folk songs) made by Turkish researchers. It is also interesting to observe that among the dances performed (only) instrumentally, one finds the aforementioned dance simply called *horay* (round dance) (CD1/42), which suggests the paradigmatic quality of this example: a tune suitable for dance.

The instrumental accompaniment to the singing, often performed by an ensemble, also appears as a specific feature of Serbian urban music practice. Although a whole series of songs was recorded by Jovan Lukić, a teacher from Prizren, in soloist interpretations (the selection available on CD1/43-45) it can be noticed that on public occasions (at concerts, especially in the staging of a Prizren wedding) these same songs, as well as some other urban songs, were performed largely by groups accompanied by the accordion or an instrumental ensemble dominated by this instrument (cf. CD1/45 and 48, and a similar picture is created by the comparison of instrumental examples CD1/46 and 47). As far as the harmonic structure is concerned, there are also differences in relation to the rural tradition. In the village, group singing is predominantly unison, with singers' stylistically determined freedom, which results in occasional real heterophony and the overall impression of the group's compactness of sound. In the urban environment, groups of school children sing mostly in unison, but "stripped down", without stylistic enrichments, while members of the cultural-artistic societies perform the songs in two, or even in three parts – for example, songs with "Mediterranean" or "Oriental" features, in the distributive or *aksak* rhythms, within the scenic presentation of a Prizren wedding (cf. Dević 1997: 218–219). In relation to voices, elements of musical thinking based on the drone are recognised, but with references to classical harmonisation.

For the sake of comparison, it is worth mentioning the style of performing traditional Albanian music in urban school collectives and rural communities. Although in the context of describing the rituals and customs in the Albanian tradition the urban interlocutors mentioned ritual dances, for example “for protection against hail” (MISANU A MI_gr_3064), most of the songs meant for dance and recorded as performed by groups of students do not indicate such a purpose: the songs predominantly deal with love (as illustrated by the following selection: CD1/32–34). Performances of Albanian urban vocal-instrumental ensembles in public events (here we mostly refer to cultural-artistic societies) also depict a different kind of sound enrichment in relation to the village tradition. Here we have an illustrative example of an ensemble from Đakovica during a concert in Prizren (CD 1/35). While multipart singing as a harmonic upgrade of the vocal melody is present in both Serbian and Albanian urban styles, Turkish music preserves the monodic principle. The prominent role of the accordion in Serbian and Albanian ensembles encourages consideration of musical practice from the perspective of instruments as material elements, which are known to be a strong link between musical traditions.

According to the collection of recordings and research from that period (cf. Pešić 1974), one concludes that common elements existed at the level of rural instruments, and that newer instruments, such as the accordion, were accepted by all cultural communities. However, even though the aforementioned commentary on updates to the čalgija ensemble also includes the accordion, photographs from the early years of the Turkish cultural-artistic society in Prizren do not confirm its presence (cf. Güçlütürk 2012). Certainly, this instrument seems to have exerted a stronger influence on the stylistic unification of urban musical styles of the Serbian and Albanian communi-

ties, in relation to the Turkish community in this city. A photograph is illustrative in terms of the representative treatment of musical instruments: judging by costumes / traditional garments, it shows members of different ethnic communities (i.e. their cultural-artistic societies), and the accordion is clearly related to Serbian culture.⁷ The collection of examples of urban music-making is not large enough to enable us to draw more reliable conclusions about the directions of influence, but it is highly indicative in terms of the intensity of cultural interactions at the level of music.

Multiculturalism of space in a single historical moment

Although the entire collection of recordings of traditional music from Kosovo and Metohija and its presentation through this selection primarily consist of recordings of music performances, which essentially makes them “artifacts” (more in: Nettl 2005: 166–167), the very approaches to field recordings (a comparative concept as the basis of the Prizren research and attention to the principles of (pre)design in the subsequent ethnomusicological research) transform the recorded “sound images” into “moving images”, i.e. testimonies of the process. At the next level, by selecting and ordering these examples, through the identification of the palette of (functionally determined) genres, the dominant elements of sound expressiveness, as well as stylistic stratigraphy, we point to the preponderance of a geocultural paradigm when it comes to village music folklore and,

⁷ In this combination, there are also ud, daire (tambourine), kanun, and đumbuš, all in the hands of girls, while men in the picture just pose in folk costumes suggesting representation of the Albanian and Turkish communities (cf. Güçlütürk 2012: 12).

on the other hand, to a greater influence of social relations in the transformation of urban traditional music. Finally, recordings of staged, concert performances of traditional music illuminate the processes of further transformation of traditional musical expressions in the contexts of representative concerts or festivals. Although the “reading” of these types of data embedded in audio recordings is a demanding task, an indication of their presence, as well as the possibilities (and the need) to analyse what is predetermined as local / rural, traditional, or ethnic / national from the perspective of cultural interactions, including the “glocalisation” (Swyngedouw 1997), opens up challenging opportunities for new research and engaging ethnomusicological activities.

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CIP - Каталогизација у публикацији - Народна библиотека Србије, Београд

784.4(497.115)(086.76)

398.8(497.115)(086.76)

КОСОВО и Метохија [Звучни снимак] : музичка слика мултикултуралности 50-их и 60-их година XX века = Kosovo and Metohija : A Musical Image of Multiculturalism in the 1950s and 1960s / [уредиле Данка Лајић Михајловић и Јелена Јовановић]. - Београд : Музиколошки институт САНУ, 2018 (Београд : City Records ; Краљево : Рижа). - 2 CD (70, 65 min) ; 12 cm + 1 текстуални прилог (200 стр.). - (Звучна ризница = Sound Treasury) Тираж 500. - Текст прилога упор. на срп. и енг. јез. - - Косово и Метохија : музичка слика мултикултуралности 50-их и 60-их година XX века. - 200 стр. : илустр. Стр. 5-21: Традиционална музика Косова и Метохије из ризнице Музиколошког института САНУ: од теренског рада ка дигиталној етномузикологији. - Стр. 23-46: Мултикултуралност Косова и Метохије 50-их и 60-их година XX века изражена кроз традиционалну музику / Данка Лајић Михајловић, Јелена Јовановић. - Стр. 51-76: Садржај дискова са коментарима нумера. - Стр. 77-122: Текстови песама.

ISBN 978-86-80639-47-5

а) Народна музика - Песме - Косово и Метохија - Компакт дискови б)
Музички фолклор с) Етномузикологија - Косово и Метохија

COBISS.SR-ID 272937740