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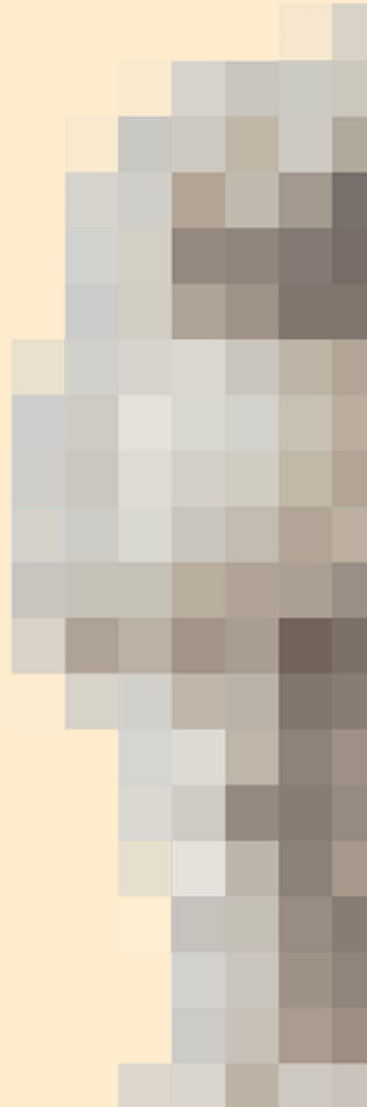
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МУЗИКОЛОШКОГ ИНСТИТУТА  
СРПСКЕ АКАДЕМИЈЕ НАУКА И УМЕТНОСТИ  
МУЗИКОЛОГИЈА  
MUSICOLOGY

(Етно)музикологија  
на преласку из XX у XXI век (I)

(Ethno)musicology  
at the turn of the millennium (I)

No.18  
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**МУЗИКОЛОГИЈА**  
*Часопис Музиколошког института САНУ*

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*Journal of the Institute of Musicology SASA*

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Institute of Musicology  
Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts

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*Journal of the Institute of Musicology SASA*

18

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## РЕЧ УРЕДНИКА

У савремено доба смене миленијума, у току је даљи развој хуманистичких дисциплина, али и преокрети у погледу тематских усмерења и методологија проучавања. Раније зачети правци размишљања и истраживања у новом добу се преобликују и попримају нове смернице, паралелно са савременим појавама и значајним, а некад и коренитим променама у друштву и култури, новим облицима комуникације и посредством различитих медија; уз то, и идеолошка полазишта се непрестано преобликују. У корак с тиме, долази и до нових искустава и достигнућа и у хуманистици, а научни дискурс којим се она обухватају све више се заснива на искуствима најразличитијих теоријских приступа. Нова поља на којима се одвијају процеси у домену друштвених и културних струјања, као и опште рецепције и перцепције, условљавају и промене визуре посматрања одређених процеса у музичкој култури, контекста извођења музике, па и структуре конкретних музичких текстова. Услед живог интересовања за ове феномене, као главна за радове у овом и у наредном броју Музикологије одређена је тема (*Етно*)музикологија на *џреласку* из XX у XXI век. Она обухвата широк спектар актуелних питања у области уметничке, црквене, традиционалне и популарне музике, као и у области вишемедијског уметничког израза. У оквиру ње су третиране и различите научне методологије, иманентне новом, савременом добу, било да је реч о проблематици којој се прилази из нових аспеката, било о специфичним, савременим темама и проблемима.

Радови у оквиру главне теме осамнаестог броја *Музикологије* посвећени су, пре свега, различитим савременим методолошким приступима. Тако су у часопису заступљени текстови: о методологијама тумачења неумске нотације у проучавању византијске црквене музике, затим о новим правцима у проучавању афекта у сфери етномузикологије и музикологије, као и о новим смерницама у тумачењу порекла вишегласног певања у традицијској пракси као конститутивног дела историјског развоја људског друштва. Један рад је посвећен савременим правцима истраживања процеса конституисања колективитета у популарној музици, а један рад следи правац *женских студија* у уметничкој музици, сходно новим идеолошким и теоријским полазиштима у савременој култури и науци.

Рубрика *Varia* доноси неколико прилога различитих тематских усмерења. Прва је етномузиколошка студија која разматра феномен бимузикалности у традиционалној сеоској вокалној пракси југоисточне Србије. Следи музиколошки

чланак о месту и положају Леоша Јаначека (Leoš Janáček) и Сигмунда Фројда (Sigmund Freud) у Бечу као мултинационалној и мултикултурној средини, а затим рад посвећен до сада мало истраживаној теми говорних хорова као делу позоришног и књижевно-музичког стваралаштва централне Европе у првих тридесет година XX века.

## A WORD FROM THE EDITOR

In this current time of transition from one millennium to another, humanistic disciplines are still being developed, simultaneously with a turnaround regarding thematic directions and study methods. Conceived trends in thinking and research are being reshaped and receive new guidelines, in parallel with contemporary ideas and significant, sometimes radical, changes in society and culture, with new forms of communication, using different media. Besides this, ideological starting points are also continually being reshaped. At the same time, there are new experiences and achievements in the humanities, and the discourse methods encompassed are increasingly based on experiences of the most varying theoretical approaches. The new fields in which processes are unfolding in the domain of social and cultural trends, as well as their general reception and perception, also condition changes in perspective in the observation of certain processes in musical culture, the context of musical performance, and even the structures of actual musical texts. The lively interest in these phenomena has determined the main theme for works in this and the next edition of *Musicology: (Ethno)Musicology at the Turn of the Millennium*. This edition encompasses a wide spectrum of current questions in the fields of musical, religious, traditional, and popular music, as well as in the area of multimedia art expression. In this context we include different methodological approaches, imminent in the new contemporary age, whether the question is of problems approached from new perspectives, or of specifically contemporary themes and problems.

Articles in the context of the main theme of the eighteenth edition of *Musicology* are especially dedicated to different contemporary methodological approaches. So, in this edition of the magazine the represented texts are: methodologies of interpreting neum notation in the study of Byzantine church music; new directions in the study of the affect and sphere of ethnomusicology and musicology; and new trends in the interpretation of the origins of multi-part singing in traditional practice as a constitutive part of the historical development of human society. One article is dedicated to contemporary trends in researching the process of creating collectivities in popular music, and one follows the direction of *female studies* in art music, in accordance with new ideological and theoretical approaches in contemporary culture and scientific studies.

The *Varia* section provides several papers from various thematic areas. The first is an ethno-musicological study, which considers the phenomenon of bimusicality in the traditional rural vocal practice of southeast Serbia. A musicological article follows on the place and

position of Leoš Janáček and Sigmund Freud in the multinational and multicultural setting of Viena. Finally there is a paper dedicated to the hitherto little-researched theme of speech choirs within the theatrical and literary-musical creativity of Central Europe in the first thirty years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

**(Етно)музикологија на преласку из XX  
у XXI век (I)**

**(Ethno)musicology at the Turn  
of the Millennium (I)**



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## Методолошки диспути о тумачењу неумске нотације у XX веку\*

Весна Пено<sup>1</sup>

Музиколошки институт САНУ, Београд

### Апстракт

Рад истиче водеће научнике, проучаваоце византијске науке о музици који су, после бројних дебата и сучељених аргумената, заслужни за превазилажење диспута између такозваних „традиционалиста зилота” – Грка и „монумен-тиста” – западноевропских проучавалаца, који су следили концепт оснивача *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae*. У чланку је посебан нагласак на различитим приступима интерпретацији средњовизантијске нотације, познатим такође под називом *σίταρι μέθοδ*. Реферира се такође на проблем хроматизма у византијском тоналном систему пре и после пада Константинопоља.

### Кључне речи

Неумска нотација, тумачење – интерпретација – транскрипција, грчки и западноевропски истраживачи, музичка реформа, стари и нови метод.

Предводник и један од утемељитеља нове грчке византолошкомузиколошке школе, Григорије Статис (Γρηγόριος Σταθής), написао је 1972. у чланку *Византијска музика у богослужењу и науци*, како још увек између западноевропских и грчких проучавалаца византијске и поствизантијске псалмодије постоји јако „семе раздора” (Στάθη 1972а: 432). На уму је притом имао неусаглашене, штавише супротно оријентисане приступе у тумачењу неумске нотације, пре њене последње реформе с почетка XIX века.

Објективан критички приказ различитих методологија и на основу њих остварених истраживачких подухвата и добијених резултата, подразумева врло обиман наратив,<sup>2</sup> у који би, поред

\* Студија је реализована у оквиру пројекта Музиколошког института САНУ: *Идентифицирање српске музике од локалних до глобалних оквира: традиције, промене, изазови* (бр. 177004). Пројекат финансира Министарство просвете, науке и технолошког развоја Владе Републике Србије.

<sup>1</sup> sara.kasiana@gmail.com

<sup>2</sup> На предлог једног од рецензена, напомињем да је ово прва целовита студија на нашем језику посвећена спорним питањима која су обележила византолошку музикологију током већег дела прошлог века. Сугестија рецензента је и да је први који је нашој средини скренуо пажњу да се у светској музичкој византологији води расправа о фундаменталним питањима у вези с источноцрквеном појачком традицијом био одличан познавалац црквене музике, диригент и музички писац Петар Бингулац. То је учинио на најмеродавнијем месту, у објективно написаном



осврта на саме почетке изучавања византијске псалмодије на Западу и међу Грцима, када је поменуто „семе” посејано, било неопходно укључити, из аспекта симиографије, анализу главних мелопоетских параметера црквене музике. Како би сваки параметар понаособ могао бити тема засебне и опсежне студије, после увода у коме ћу се осврнути на два правца у приступу тумачењу неумске нотације, задржаћу се на интригантном феномену „објашњења” или „тумачења” (гр. ἐξήγησεις), који, премда карактеристичан за поствизантијску епоху, представља један од кључева за разумевање развоја неумског система у целини, током средњег века и у новијој историји. Упркос томе што је, безмало на свим музиколошким скуповима на којима су током последњих неколико деценија учешће узимали такозвани „монументисти” и „традиционалисти – зилоти”, ἐξήγησεις изазивао *colloquium perpetuum*, управо је он временом допринео да се између представника Истока и Запада у науци превазиђу грубе поделе у перцепцији источнохришћанске појачке уметности.

### О два сујројна йрисјуа

Међупростор, који је током више од једног столећа раздвајао, с једне стране, проучаваоце окупљене око центра за средњовековне студије у Копенхагену, најпре саме осниваче *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae*, потом и њихове следбенике из различитих европских земаља и Сједињених Америчких Држава,<sup>3</sup> и, с друге стране, истраживаче грчког порекла и

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чланку о византијској музици, објављеном у *Muzičkoj enciklopediji* Југославенског лексикографског завода (1963, 1977). Иако се из његове напомене о Е. Велесу и проблему хроматизма у тоналном систему црквеног појања наслуђује став српских научника у вези с овом темом, читаво питање је у потоњој српској музикологији остало обавијено „гласном” тишином. Заинтересованом читаоцу била је ускраћена свака информација о суштаственим разликањима између западноевропских и грчких проучавалаца, па ни поменути напис Петра Бингулца није нарочито коментарисан у радовима претходне генерације наших истраживача, поготово не алинеја о овој важној дебати на светском нивоу. Уосталом, ни погледи западних научника, следбеника копенхашке школе о којој ће у раду бити речи, нису представљени српском и некадашњем југословенском аудиторијуму. Ако се у обзир узме скорашње публикување једног писма Ж. Б. Тибоа (Петровић 2004), западни аутори нису присутни у српској преводној музикологији. У своје време изузетно значајно, пионирско дело, *Историја византијске музике и химнографије* Е. Велеса није преведена на српски језик. Изван наше официјелне византолошке музикологије својевремено је превод одломка из ове *Историје* објављен у београдском књижевном часопису *Дело* (Veles 1985).

<sup>3</sup> Блиска сарадња, на пољу музичке палеографије и кодикологије, опробаних истраживача, Хенрија Џулијуса Тилијарда (Henry Julius Westenhall Tillyard) и Егона Велеса (Egon Wellesz), започета 1927, крунисана је оснивањем *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae* (у даљем тексту: *ММВ*), године 1931, после конференције у Копенха-

малобројне, њима наклоњене, странце,<sup>4</sup> био је „мрачни” период туркократије. Рано формиран стереотип о декадентној, под оријенталним утицајима знатно измењеној псалмодији поствизантијске епохе (Bourgault-Ducoudray 1877; Thibaut 1898; Rebours 1906), у значајној мери је допринео да се интересовање већине западних истраживача ограничи на средњовековно раздобље, закључно с падом Цариграда под турску власт.<sup>5</sup> И поред тога што је већ почетком педесетих година, у оквиру саме *ММВ*, потврђено да се касновизантијска нотација незнатно разликује од средњовизантијске (Strunk 1966: 1), као и да, накнадно откривени, рукописи из XII и XIII века садрже врло развијене

гену на коју их је, у име Фондације „Раск Оерстед” (Rask-Oersted Foundation), позвао Карстен Хег (Carsten Hög). дански класични филолог, медијиста и музиколог. Том приликом је начињен план проучавања византијских рукописа и публикација у вези с њима, и одлучено је да се за транскрипције византијских напева користи униформисани метод до кога су, независно један од другог, дошли Велес и Тилијард. Краљевска данска академија сагласила се с пројектом уредника *ММВ* (Anonym 1959; Wellesz 1961<sup>2</sup>: 15–20; Wellesz 1971; Velimirović 1968, 1976). После неколико година припрема, током којих су начињени бројни микрофилмови вредних појачких књига, год. 1935. уследила су прва факсимилна издања рукописа, као и теоријске студије, приручници о екфонетској и средњовизантијској нотацији (Hög 1935; Tillyard 1935). Наредне године започета је и серија *Transcripta*, у оквиру које су штампане транскрипције одабраних зборника византијских напева у петолинијском систему. О издањима *ММВ*: Raasted 1984 и на Интернету: <http://www.igl.ku.dk/MMB>.

<sup>4</sup> Крајем XIX и почетком XX века, у склопу такозваног „музичког питања”, покренутог, с једне стране, зарад очувања националног израза у новојелинској музичкој култури, заснованој превасходно на црквеној и народној традицији, и, с друге стране, усмереног против европеизације предањског ифоса, конкретно: увођења вишегласја у црквеномузичку праксу, предузета су прва систематичнија проучавања историје црквене псалмодије код Грка. Свој допринос врло различитим темама, у склопу бројних музичких часописа, дали су аутори различитих образовних профила, музичари, историчари, филолози, математичари, физичари, па и лекари (Ροζανού 1996). Међу грчким проучаваоцима из прве половине прошлог столећа, који су привукли пажњу међународне научне јавности, издвајају се Георгије Пападопулос (Γεώργιος Παπαδόπουλος), аутор прве опсежне историје црквене музике (1977<sup>2</sup>), Константин Псахос (Κωνσταντίνος Ψάχος) – званични творац стенографске теорије византијске нотације (1917), Трасивулос Георгиадис (Θρασύβουλος Γεωργιάδης), заслужан за поимање ритма и истицање важности познавања новије појачке праксе и усменог музичког предања у веродостојном разумевању византијске и поствизантијске појачке уметности (Georgiades 1939) и Симон Карас (Σίμων Καρας), који је својим оригиналним методама у приступу неумском тексту и изузетно опсежним теоријским корпусом све до данас остао неправозиђени теоретичар црквене музике (Καρας 1933; 1990<sup>2</sup>). О странцима за које би се могло рећи да су држали „грчку страну”, видети Ροζανού 1996: 156–157.

<sup>5</sup> У вези с потоњом традицијом најчешће су се помињали непримерено мелизматични напеви и хроматски – оријентални интервали, који, како се тврдило, нису имали никакве везе с дијатонским карактером древне псалмодије (Tillyard 1916–1918; Strunk 1942; Wellesz 1961: 22).

композиције, што је изменило првобитну слику о византијском музичком репертоару,<sup>6</sup> из пројеката западноевропских и америчких музиколога изостало је систематичније бављење појачким наслеђем после 1453. године.

Задуго се валидним сматрао једино поглед из прошлости на музичке феномене прошлости. Парадоксална је чињеница да већина истраживача на Западу није ни покушала да се упозна с теоријом реформисане нотације, озваничене 1814. године, и њеним конкретним резултатима на „терену”, који би се дали проверити у сусрету с носиоцима актуелне грчке појачке праксе (Velimirović 1964, 1968, 1971; Touliatos-Banker 1978, 1988).<sup>7</sup> О оваквом путу до потенцијалних решења или, макар, изналажењу помоћних алатки које би послужиле тумачењу проблематичних аспеката средњовековне нотације, у првом реду ритмичке структуре напева и тешко докучивих, црвеним мастилом исписиваних – хирономијских и такозваних „великих знакова” (τα μεγάλα σημάδια χειρονομίας), нико од копенхашких предводника, нити њихових настављача, није мислио. Напротив, не налазећи у савременој источноцрквеној музици сличности с латинским и, како су веровали, древновизантијским звуком, они су је напросто прогласили новом, другачијом и неадекватном за упоредна проучавања са старијим изворима.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Исцрпан и крајње објективан приказ тенденција и проблема у византолошкој музикологији после 1950. године, која је година, с више разлога, означила преткретницу у бављењу византијском псалмодијом, дао је Оливер Странк (Oliver Strunk), амерички музиколог који је на челу *ММВ* био од 1961. до 1971. године (1967). Износећи ставове који се косе с првобитним убеђењима научника окупљених око *ММВ*, указао је на нужно проширење контекста будућих проучавања, у која се пре свега мора укључити поствизантијски период.

<sup>7</sup> Чак и они ретки западноевропски проучаваоци који су писали о актуелној појачкој пракси код Грка, то су чинили крајње пристрасно и с јаким предубеђењима, формираним на основу личног естетског доживљаја. Тибо, који је једно време био члан грчког Црквеномузичког удружења у Константинопољу, реформу тројице константинопољских даскала назвао је „масакром” традиционалног црквеног појања, а исту оцену поновио је и Ребур у свом осврту на делатност грчких музичких просветитеља (Morgan 1971: 92–93; Ρωμανοῦ 1996: 141). Хенри Тилијард је неколико својих раних радова написао превасходно у циљу дискредитовања теорије о стенографском карактеру нотације, коју је у оно време бранио Константин Псахос, представљајући, на основу крајње лимитираних извора, од којих је већина погрешно наведена, околности које су довеле до музичке реформе почетком XIX века. Уместо да пружи бар основне информације западним читаоцима о приликама које је у Атини, изблиза, као стипендиста Бриганске археолошке школе, имао прилике да упозна, Тилијард се, у својству ученика, ка европским музичким тенденцијама оријентисаног Јаниса Сакеларидиса (Ιωάννης Σακελλαρίδης), Псахосовог главног супарника у вези с „музичким питањем”, отворено упустио у идеолошки обрачун с грчким традиционалистима (Tillyard 1911; 1921; 1923–1924; 1924–1925).

<sup>8</sup> И пре 1950. када је у Гротаферати склопљен споразум о сарадњи између уредни-

Реформисана неумска нотација није узета у обзир чак ни када је потреба за ревидирањем, године 1931. озваниченог метода транскрипције средњовизантијске – „округле” нотације у петолинијски систем,<sup>9</sup> постала више него очигледна.<sup>10</sup> Иако су је још много раније били свесни сами уредници издања *MMB*, о чему, између осталог, сведочи чињеница да је 1936. започета засебна серија под називом *Transcripta*, престала да излази 1958. године, овај метод су наставили да користе „монументисти” и у наредним деценијама, доследно или с мањим интервенцијама, из идеолошких или практичних научних разлога (Αλεξάνδρου 2010: 28).

Приступ Грка у промишљању сопствене музичке старине полазио је из новојелинске – деветнаестовековне појачке праксе, која је за основ имала реформисану – аналитичку неумску симиографију. Она је представљала резултат завршне фазе процеса поједностављења неумског система и начина учења појања, који је започео већ крајем XVII столећа. Декодирање скривеног садржаја, како су грчки теоретичари истицали, *σινόησις* или *σῆνογράφικη* касновизантијских неумских исписа, и њихово минуциозније бележење, био је главни задатак тројице реформатора и музичких просветитеља, Хрисанта, потоњег епископа Драча (Αρχιεπίσκοπος Χρυσανθος του Δυρραχίου), Григорија Левита, протопсалта при Великој Цркви (Γρηγόριος Πρωτοψάλτης Λέβητας) и Хурмузија, архивара на Фанарију (Χουρμούζιος Χαρτοφύλαξ; Παπαδοπούλου 1990<sup>2</sup>: 198–230; Morgan 1971; Romanou). Преношењем главнице музичког репертоара са „старе” на „нову” симиографију, посао који су они започели а наставили њихови бројни ученици, обезбеђен је недвосмислен и лако читљив нотни текст.

„Патентирање” грчког начина анализе касновизантијске нотације припада, дакле, самим реформаторима, који су, важно је нагласити, одлично познавали њене законитости. Такође, не сме се изоставити из вида чињеница да су они појачко искуство стицали уз најпознатије појце и мелодје с краја XVIII века,

ка *MMB* и проучавалаца при бенедиктинском манастиру Бадија грека (Badia greca di Grottaferrata), у циљу темељнијих проучавања заједничких корена и узајамних веза између византијске и латинске псалмодије, на којима је нарочито инсистирао Велес, западноевропски научници су често с истим циљем приступали тумачењу средњовековне источнохришћанске музике (Thibaut 1901; Tardo 1931a, 1931b; Wellesz 1947).

<sup>9</sup> О засебним путевима Велеса и Тилијарда до дешифровања неума и њиховој потоњој синергији у осмишљавању правила транскрипције, видети Wellesz 1961: 15–18, с главном референтном библиографијом.

<sup>10</sup> На неопходност ревизије правила транскрипције *MMB* први је указао у поговору поновљеном издању Тилијардовога приручника Оливер Странк, године 1970. (Tillyard 1970).

Петра Пелопонеског (Πέτρος Πελοποννήσιος), Петра Византинца (Πέτρος Βυζάντιος) и Георгија Крићанина (Γεώργιος Κρής), који су заправо, крајем датог столећа, били посвећени тумачи такозваног „старог метода” (Στάθη 1971, 1983b).<sup>11</sup> Позиција појаца – актера у појаним богослужењима на размеђи два века обезбедила је њиховим настављачима валидне критеријуме за одабир мелодијских варијаната богослужбених химни, у оквиру различитих врста напева, које су постале део новог стандардизованог црквенопојачког репертоара.<sup>12</sup>

Ово је био примарни залог поверења новије генерација грчких теоретичара у рукописну заоставштину тројице даскала, уједно и основ њиховог убеђења да у богослужбеној источнохришћанској псалмодији, упркос дуговековном трајању, није било драстичног прекида. Међутим, да би обезбедили аргументе у одбрану, како су сматрали, неупитне, па ипак међу западним проучаваоцима непризнате истине о континуитету црквеног мелоса, у својим студијама су примењивали ретроспективни паралелизам, у којем је полазиште аналитички запис мелодије. Према том моделу срањивали су старије исписе, најпре оне временски ближе – поствизантијске, а потом оне удаљеније – средњовизантијске. Тумачење нотације, без увида у крајњи резултат њеног поступног развоја, својствено западноевропским истраживачима, за Грке је био храбар и неодржив покушај, који је унапред осуђен на погрешне закључке (Ψάχου 1978<sup>2</sup>: 249).

С описаним претпоставкама од којих су грчки и западни истраживачи полазили у своје истраживачке подухвате, јасно је да се кроз свеукупни византолошкомузиколошки дискурс током прве половине прошлог века провлачила сенка схизме (Нёег 1956: 121). Из копенхашког центра Грцима се замерало превасходно због непримереног традиционализма и необјективног патриотизма, који су их навели да поверују да је током неколико турбулентних векова црквена псалмодија могла остати непромењена. Копенхашким лидерима и њиховим ученицима Грци су оспоравали саму могућност да допру до научно утемељене истине у вези с црквеним појањем, будући да су на њега гледали *ex cathedra*, не доживљавајући га као саставни део православног богослужења и освештаног предања, чију суштину, будући да су изван, све и да су хтели, нису могли да докуче. Поред наведених постојали су, наравно, и конкретни

<sup>11</sup> У музиколошкој литератури на грчком језику уобичајено је да се касновизантијска нотација назива „старим методом”, за разлику од реформисаног – аналитичког писма које је добило одредницу „нови метод”.

<sup>12</sup> Исправност дела тројице константинопољских даскала, Хрисанта, Григорија и Хурмузија, само су ретки појединци међу грчким појцима доводили у сумњу (Ρωμανού 1996: 47–49).

музичкотеоријски разлози који су расцеп учинили очигледним и тешко премостивим. Са западне стране то је била „грчка” теорија о стенографском карактеру неумске нотације пре последње реформе, као и сама реформа, то јест појачка традиција обликована према њеном теоријском систему. С источне стране оптужбе су стизале због начина транскрипције, примењиваног у издањима *ММВ*, који се заснивао на бележењу узлазно-силазног мелодијског покрета, на који су указивали интервалски знакови, у слободном ритму, с повременим додацима „украчних” тонова, и то у оквиру темперованог – дијатонског лествичног типа, својственог петолинијској нотацији. Сведеност на поменуте елементе учинила је да византијски напеви у звучној реализацији и естетском доживљају подсећају на грегоријанске мелодије, не и на мелос који је Грцима био близак из актуелне црквенопојачке праксе (Αλεξάνδρου 2010: 26).

### *На ѿра̄гу ѿревазилажења расце̄йа*

Значајнији помак у дискусијама поводом карактера неумске нотације и њеног правилнијег тумачења уследио је тек након седамдесетих година прошлог века. Претходиле су му жучне полемике двојице врло посвећених проучавалаца, једног, истина, на почетку научне каријере, али с великим практичним појачким искуством, Грка „традиционалисте”, поменутог Григорија Статиса<sup>13</sup> и, у оно време међу византолозима већ утицајног Данца, „монументисте” – Јиргена Ростеда (Jørgen Raasted).<sup>14</sup> Кључна тема поводом које су, током Статисовог боравка у Копенхагену 1968. и 1969. године, укрштали аргументе тичала се феномена εξήγησεις у поствизантијској традицији.<sup>15</sup> Из спремности да се

<sup>13</sup> Статис је током студија систематског богословља у Риму, у Институту за оријенталне студије (Institutum Orientalium Studiorum), упознао Оливера Странка, у оно време директора *ММВ*, а заједно с њим и Јиргена Ростеда. Године 1968. у Копенхагену је уписао додатне студије на Катедри за византологију Филозофског факултета, у оквиру којих је изучавао музичку палеографију и химнографију (Στάθη 2001: 69–71).

<sup>14</sup> Ростед је у то време био генерални секретар *ММВ* и доцент на Катедри за средњогрчку и средњолатинску филологију Универзитета у Копенхагену. Такође, био је заслужан и за покретање угледног часописа под називом *Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen-Âge Grec et Latin*, који је излазио под покровитељством Института за средњогрчку и средњолатинску филологију (Institut for Graesk og Latinsk Mittelalder Filologi) Копенхашког универзитета (Στάθη 1996).

<sup>15</sup> Директно у вези с поменутом темом било је питање лествичног устројства византијских напева, конкретно, *pro et contra* хроматских интервала. О постојању „хроматске” и „енхармонске” боје у античкој и византијској музици говорио је 1968. Симон Карас, на Првом међународном конгресу византијске и источне богослужбене музике (Dragoumis 1968: 238). На овој теми је изванредан помак у правцу ревизије дотадашњих схватања западноевропских научника – о томе да је



саслуша супротна страна и отрпе научно утемељене критике, проишашле су нове научне перспективе, које су, истина, тек наредних деценија усвојили западноевропски посленици на пољу византијске псалмодије.<sup>16</sup>

Упознавање с тенденцијама у поствизантијској музичкој традицији и с резултатима реформе теорије и нотације с почетка XIX века, показало се кључним за другачију перцепцију „старе нотације”, и то свих њених облика пре реформисаног – аналитичког неумског писма. Статис је у живим дебатама и у низу својих студија (Στάθη 1971; 1972; 1972abc; 1975; 1979; 1982ab; 1983ab; 1983; 1986; 1987; 1991), западним колегама указивао на важност уочавања и правилног вредновања трију паралелних појава у музичкој пракси „транзиционог” периода, од друге половине XVII века, па до ступања „новог метода” на снагу. Реч је о: а) проширивању и улепшавању напева, такозваној калофонији (καλοφωνία), евидентној још у рукописима из XIII и XIV столећа;<sup>17</sup> б) сажимању развијених древних композиција и то, наизглед, парадоксалним поступком, тако што се у исписивању нових – краћих верзија користи већи број неумских знакова;<sup>18</sup> и, најзад, в) појави феномена *анализе, објашњења*

византијски тонални систем искључиво дијатонски – начинио, под Ростедовим и Статисовим утицајем, Данац Кристијан Тодберг (Christian Thodberg), ученик Карстена Хега. Он је у реферату за XI конгрес показао да у византијским напевима постоје лествичне промене – модулације, које изискују различите типове, не само дијатонских интервала. Преокрету је, међутим, примарно допринело проучавање Георгија Амарјанакиса (Γεώργιος Αμαρϊανάκης), другог Грка који ће у Копенхагену провести две године, од 1973. до 1975. Његова докторска дисертација у вези с хроматским лествичним устројством другог аутентичног и другог плагалног гласа, у целини је објављена у оквиру двеју свезака часописа *Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen-Age Grec et Latin* (Amargianakis 1977; исти 1982). Најзад, сам Ростед је у својој приступној беседи за чланство у Краљевској данској академији, 21. априла 1983, говорио на тему „Chromaticism in Byzantine and Postbyzantine Chant”, и том приликом је указао да нова сазнања потврђују да је и за средњовековну византијску псалмодију, а не само за новојелинску, карактеристична „хроматска боја” (Raasted 1986; Στάθη 1996: 542).

<sup>16</sup> Ростедова иницијатива била је да у време Статисовог студијског боравка у Копенхагену покрене течај за чланове истраживачког тима који су чинили још Карстен Флиделијус (Karsten Flidelius), Нана Шид (Nanna Schiødt) и Бјарне Шарто (Bjarne Schartau). Статис је требало да представи тумачење нотације које је у оквиру Деветог међународног византолошког конгреса у Солуну (1953) изложио грчки теоретичар Симон Карас (Σίμων Κάρας), а Ростед је држао предавања у вези с Анастасиматариионом Петра Пелопонеског (Στάθη 1996: 539; Αγγελόπουλος 1998).

<sup>17</sup> О калофонији и мелизматичном напеву у средњовековној псалмодији видети: Пено 2006: 239–241; 2008: 51–56.

<sup>18</sup> Први пример „скраћења” *Трисвџије њесме* за службу опела спровео је јереј и номофилак Баласије (Μπαλάσιος), у свом аутографу – рукопису Манастира Ивирон 1250 (f. 212v) из 1670. године, а убрзо после њега исти поступак у вези с мелодијом Алилуја за јутрење применили су, у оно време епископ Кидоније, Атанасије (Αθανάσιος) и лампадарије Јанис Трапезундиос (Ιωάννης Τραπεζούνδιος),

или *тумачења*, то јест *транскрипције* популарних напева византијских мајстора појачке уметности, конкретно, претходно поменутих хирономијских и „великих” знакова,<sup>19</sup> и необичних, „тешких” образаца (*δειναίθῆσεις*),<sup>20</sup> при чему,<sup>21</sup> такође, до изражаја долази употреба великог броја интервалских карактера. Ова три аспекта, сваки за себе и сви заједно, потврђују чињеницу да су већ поствизантијски музичари и писари били заокупљени идејом упрошћења неумске нотације, у жељи да је почетницима у савладавању појачке вештине учине што доступнијом и јаснијом.

Наиме, учење појања на основу неумског записа захтевало је врло упоран и дуготрајан рад који се одвијао у три фазе. Прва – *паралаги* (*παράλαγι*) подразумевала је испевавање микроформула за сваки тон понаособ, на њима одговарајуће вишесложне називе (*ананес*, *неанес*, *нана* итд.). Звучна реализација која проистиче из оваквог приступа неумском тексту јесте континуирана мелодија, у узлазном и силазном кретању, у зависности од знакова којима се обележава правац мелодијског тока, али без поштовања њихове праве интервалске вредности, без скокова и могућности да се исти тон два пута узастопно понови. Следећа фаза, на вишем нивоу од паралагија, била је *метрофонија* (*μετροφωνία*), у којој се водило рачуна искључиво о дијастематској вредности неума, без укључивања садржаја поменутих великих и хирономијских – „дрвених” знакова. Најзад, трећа и најсложенија фаза било је појање *мелоса* (*μέλος*), комплетног, и појавног и скривеног значења неумског текста, при чему је назаменљиву функцију имало усмено предање, прецизније, појачки манир, са свима

у рукопису Манастира Ставроникита 164 (Stathis 1979: 188). Статис показује да су „скраћења” само привидно обимна у поређењу с њиховим оригиналима – напевима који нису скраћени. Реч је, наиме, о начину кодификације средњовизантијске нотације, тачније о аналитичнијем запису „скраћене” – „протумачене” варијанте, која је претходно била забележена синоптичним средњовизантијским графичким писмом.

<sup>19</sup> Називе и изглед великих – хирономијских знакова сабрао је византијски композитор Св. Јован Кукузел у једној својој композицији под називом Велики исон (*Μέγα Ισον*), чија је намена била превасходно педагошка (Alexandru 1996, 2000). На основу византијских и поствизантијских теоријских списа и Хрисантовог Великог теоретикона музике, овим знацима су на стенографски начин представљани или читава мелодија или ритмичке вредности тонова, или се њима указивало на специфичан мелодијски израз.

<sup>20</sup> Тумачење ових образаца оправдава њихов назив, с обзиром на то да их није лако декодирати. Чине их разноврсне комбинације неумских карактера, међу којима су и велики ипостаси, а сложености њихове мелодијске структуре доприносе и честе промене лествичног кода. Музички писари с краја XVII и током XVIII века често су исписивали спискове ових „тешких образаца” (*Στάθη* 1982).

<sup>21</sup> Од краја XVII и током XVIII века више од тридесет писара бавило се транскрипцијама мелодија (Stathis 1979: 187, напомена 39).



његовим елементима (украсима, фразирањем и сл), који је ученик усвајао непосредно од свог учитеља (Рено 2007). Метрофонија је, дакле, обезбеђивала „простор” – опсег у оквиру којег је требало да се реализује мелос, док је паралаги припремао покрете мелодијских линија (Καράς 1933).

Западноевропски научници, којима описане етапе у описмењавању појаца и начину испевавања касновизантијских исписа, нису биле познате, логично су, на основу увида у поствизантијске музичке рукописе и њихову разуђену нотацију, повезивали с крајње мелизматичном мелодиком. Но, на основу претходно реченог угао посматрања се битно променио и постало је јасно да се ради о другачијој нотној презентацији једног те истог или, барем, у великој мери сличног музичког материјала у чијем су нотирању, у претходним вековима, функцију имали сада протумачени хириномијски и „велики знаци”, као и „тешки обрасци”. Тежња да се од синоптичког дође до аналитичнијег облика симиографије обележила је XVIII век, а посве је, као што сам на почетку поменула, остварена с реформом тројице константинопољских даскала, Хрисанта, Григорија и Хурмузија. Они су кодификовали „тумачења”, другим речима, забележили су у усменој пракси постојеће – реконструисане напеве. Сложени начин учења византијских напева, који се у великој мери заснивао на меморисању садржаја мелодијских образаца, укључујући у њима често присутне велике знакове, значајно је упрошћен у „новом методу”. Метрофонија је сасвим укинута, а нови паралаги, с једносложним симболима, готово је поистовећен с мелодијским покретом – мелосом (Αγγελόπουλος 1998). Мали број неума задржао је значење својеврсних украса, покрет руке – хириномија указује на метар. Све ове промене, међутим, нису угрозиле традиционални напев, већ су послужиле његовом очувању и бржем савладавању (Αλεξάνδρου 2010: 47).

При томе, важно је нагласити, „тумачења” тројице константинопољских даскала нису петрификовала интерпретације црквених мелодија. Овај, историјском трајању богослужбене псалмодије својствен феномен сачувао је и у оквиру аналитичког система стенографску логику неумског писма. Неуме, другим речима, не „иконизују” звучни резултат, већ појцу пружају упутства како треба да отпева одређени литургијски текст, казују му како би да запис интерпретира. Оне саме не представљају мелодију.

Ову чињеницу уважили су најпре Јирген Ростед, а иза њега и многи други западноевропски музиколози. Представници две школе сусрели су се на „мосту” – између „старог” и „новог” метода, у XVIII веку, који је, показало се, кључан за

изналажење епистемолошки исправног метода у разумевању различитих, проблематичних аспеката неумске симиографије.<sup>22</sup> На „спорним” питањима је нарочито инсистирао Ростед и њих је протежирао као главне теме на међународним конференцијама, организованим током последње три деценије XX века. Његова отвореност за грчки приступ дошла је до изражаја већ на Једанаестом симпозијуму Међународног музиколошког друштва, у Копенхагену 1972. године, где је покренуо додатну дебату у вези с анализом нотације. Својим саопштењем о два типа промена у неумском систему – модернизацији и конверзацији, умногоме је већ био на трагу ревизије до тада важећег *ММВ* начина транскрипције (Στάθη 1972b; Raasted 1974). У Бечу је, 1981. године, на скупу посвећеном византијској музици, научнике окупио око теме *Поствизантијска јојачка традиција као извор за теорију и праксу византијске исламодије пре 1453.* (Raasted 1982). Том приликом расправљало се о хроматским гласовима, тумачењу нотације, метру и ритму у византијским напевима (Στάθη 1982).<sup>23</sup> Најзад, за Шеснаести византолошки конгрес у Вашингтону, 1986, на предлог организационог одбора, у којем су водећу улогу имали Ростед и Велимировић, одабрана је тема *Интерпретација византијског мелоса*. Сам Ростед озваничио је промену курса западноевропске византолошкомузиколошке науке својим радикалним саопштењем под насловом „Мисли о ревизији транскрипционих правила *ММВ*-а” (Raasted 1986b; Στάθη 1986). Сматрао је да би транскрипције у петолинијски систем, с додатим знацима који упућују на промене тона, ритма и метра, као и мелодијске детаље, исон и сл. требало да послуже пре свега као помоћно средство у музичкој интерпретацији и научном дискурсу, а не као акрибични отисак оригиналног

<sup>22</sup> Поред подробног описа обострано плодних разговора с Ростедом, вођених у Копенхагену, Статис је указао да је спремност да се упозна с појединостима његових истраживања у вези с поствизантијским периодом показао при сваком заједничком сусрету амерички музиколог српског порекла Милош Велимировић. И сам Егон Велес, с којим је Статис, после више безуспешних покушаја, имао прилике да разговара у Оксфорду 1970. године, указао да је поствизантијска епоха од кључног значаја за будућа византолошкомузиколошка проучавања (Στάθη 2001: 69–78).

<sup>23</sup> Питање хроматских лествичних основа појединих гласова осмогласја остало је присутно међу појединим западноевропским научницима, чак и пошто су хроматику прихватили водећи истраживачи *ММВ*. Статис помиње да је на музиколошком скупу у част стоте годишњице рођења и двадесет пете годишњице упокојења Егона Велеса, у Бечу 1985, Ростед у свом излагању озваничио сагласност с мишљењем да је хроматика постојала и у средњем веку, те да су постојеће транскрипције хроматских гласова *ММВ*, из аспекта забележених интервала, погрешне. Истом приликом, српски музиколог Димитрије Стефановић, закључује Статис, упркос изнетим аргументима, изјавио је да ће бити последњи који ће прихватити постојање хроматског лествичног рода у византијској музици (Στάθη 2001: 76).

неумског предлошка. „Идеални” модел укључио би истовремено „неутралну” верзију музичког текста – неумски запис и његово тумачење уз помоћ „словне нотације” – солмизације интервалских знакова испод грчког текста (Raasted 1986b).<sup>24</sup>

Но, Ростед је био посве свестан да се ревизија правила транскрипције не може спровести пре него што се међу научницима не успостави консензус у вези с феноменом *εξήγησεις* – „егзегетским интерпретацијама” (*exegetical interpretations*) прелазног стадијума од „старог” ка „новом” неумском писму (1986: 31–32). Ниједан нови приручник према којем би се истраживачи управљали у преношењу неумског текста у петолинијски систем не би могао да задовољи у подједнакој мери браниоце теорије сходно којој би стенографске неумске записе пре 1814. требало анализирати тако да реални звучни материјал на крају буде знатно развијенији од оног који нуди метрофонијски ниво тумачења, за шта су се залагали опоненти ове исте теорије.

У једном од својих последњих чланака, Ростед је у вези с овим проблемом изнео сопствени *status quaestionis*. Између зилотске „грчке” и ништа мање попустљиве „западне” опције, определио се за средњи пут, који су уосталом у својим радовима заступали Симон Карас и Григорије Статис. Посредством напева Петра Пелопонеског и Петра Византинца, транскрибованих на аналитичко неумско писмо, Карас је, наиме, дошао до закључка да су у поствизантијској традицији у ишчитавању неумског текста коегзистирала два начина: „арго” – који за резултат има мелодијски развијенију интерпретацију, и „синдомо” – који подразумева испевавање интервалских вредности неумских карактера уз додатак њиховог, назабележеног, но у усменом предању похрањеног, експресивног квалитета (Καράς 1976: 26–31).<sup>25</sup> Премда не тако експлицитно као Карас, и Статис је још у својим раним радовима посредно указивао на дијалектичку везу између кратког и развијеног напева, и то на плану свеукупне историје појачке уметности. Подвукао је чињеницу да се у развоју византијске црквене музике јасно издвајају периоди у којима је доминантна тенденција проширивања и украшавања напева, као и они периоди за које је карактеристичан супротан процес – скраћења мелоса, како би се испуниле практичне

<sup>24</sup> На важност уноса оригиналног неумског исписа указали су чланови уредничког одбора *MMB* још 1958, када је први пут покренуто питање ревизије правила транскрипције (Editorial *MMB* Board 1958: 523; Raasted 1986: 13).

<sup>25</sup> Оригинале транскрипције, пре свега напева за које у рукописној традицији постоје само тумачења *αργῶ* (као што је нпр. стари стихирарски мелос) или, пак, не постоје никакве транскрипције на нови метод (попут *Ирмолоџије* јереја Бала-сија), Карас је извео применивши метод тумачења *синдомо*.

потребе богослужења, тачније прилагодила дужина појања трајању одређених богослужбених радњи (Στάθη 2001: 590–591; 1991).<sup>26</sup>

У истом правцу је размишљао и Ростед, спремно прихватајући могућност да су кратки традиционални напеви могли бити проширени, кад год је за таквим поступком постојала потреба и то сходно неписаним правилима на које трачак светлости бацају постсредњовековна музичка „објашњења” (Raasted 1996: 81). Ова „међулинија” показује се меродавном и у савременим византолошкомузиколошким проучавањима, којима су вредне студије дали грчки истраживачи, окупљени око пројеката чији је иницијатор био Григорије Статис.<sup>27</sup> Занимљиво је, међутим, да су самом проблему тумачења нотације најзапаженије прилоге до сада приложила двојица истраживача: Грк Јанис Арванидис (Ιωάννης Αρβανίδης) и Данац Кристијан Тројлсгард (Christian Troelsgård). Први је заслужан за систематско проучавање вишедеценијске табу теме – ритмичког устројства византијских и поствизантијских напева, посредством које је дошао до врло драгоцених резултата. Не доводећи у питање мелодијски развијена тумачења коју су оставила тројица учитеља и која су они засигурно усвојили од својих претходника, Арванидис сматра да нас овај историјски факт не обавезује да верујемо да се током четири, пет векова, па макар и у краћем временском периоду пре њих, појало искључиво на тај начин. Вероватније је да се нотација могла тумачити, као што је то мислио Карас, и у складу са начином *синдомо*, за шта врло једноставан и крајње објективан разлог пружа само устројство, односно трајање богослужења. У случају да на снази остане теорија о томе да је сваки стенографски запис подразумевао скривени, мање или више, али неминовно развијени напев, тада се суочавамо с нелогично дугим временским периодом потребним да се отпева

<sup>26</sup> На питање да ли исти неумски запис можемо протумачити и на начин синдомо и на начин арго, Статис одговара да је то могуће у вези с ирмолошким мелосом (Στάθη 1975: 209), и у зависности од контекста то је могуће и када су посредни стихирарске мелодије (исто, 209–210). Дакле, начин арго тумачења се, због његове сложености и посебног појачког торжества сматрао главним, мелосом по себи (1971: 243–244), по којем је читава музичка епоха, од средине XIV века, добила одредницу калофонија (1975: 212). У прилог Статисовом становишту иду и проучавања мелизматичних елемената у стихирарском напеву од самих почетака византијске нотације, која је спрела Анет Јунг (Anette Jung 1999), као и упоредни приказ који је дао Константин Флорос, приказ појединих стихира у записима на палеовизантијском и средњовизантијском нотном писму, у стихирарском стилу, и у још мелизматичнијој варијанти, у стилу псалтике (Floros II: 25).

<sup>27</sup> Реч је о групи негдашњих докторанада којима је Статис био ментор током последипломских студија. Њихове дисертације објављене су у оквиру издања Института за византијску музику у Атини (Ιδρυμα Βυζαντινής Μουσικολογίας).

свака од дневних служби (1997, 2003, 2006). С истих позиција на развој неумског писма гледа и Ростедов ученик Кристијан Тројлсгард. Низу својих врло вредних научних прилога, у којима се бавио иманентним законитостима нотације, на основу упечатљивих музичких примера и карактеристичних рукописа, недавно је прикључио коначну ревизију система транскрипције (1997, 2006, 2011; Reno 2013), коју је осмислио и започео, но због преране смрти није стигао да оконча, његов, за византолошку музикологију изузетно заслужни претходник.

Врло обимна рукописна грађа, која је још увек у фази систематизације, кодиколошке и палеографске обраде, задуго ће пред научнике постављати нове истраживачке изазове. Једно је ипак извесно, валидан приступ у тумачењу старе нотације једино је могућ уколико се у дијахронијској анализи полази од аналитичког неумског система и теорије црквеног појања која је данас на снази. Овај – „грчки метод” у проучавању феномена тумачења омогућава релевантно поређење мелодијских образаца и читавих напева, елемената лествичне структуре и ритмичког параметра, истовремено, унапређење постојећих и изналагање нових, подеснијих транскрипционих начела, а све у циљу да се, у вековима и неумама запретени звук појаних химни најприближније реконструише, не би ли изнова могао да добије своје место у богослужењу (Lingas 2003).

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Vesna Peno

## METHODOLOGICAL DISPUTES ABOUT INTERPRETATION OF NEUM NOTATION IN THE 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY

(Summary)

Until the end of the twentieth century in Byzantine musicological science there were two diametrically opposite approaches to the interpretation of the

Byzantine neum notation systems and post-Byzantine music heritage after the Fall of Constantinople. Western European scholars, ignoring the post-Byzantine Chant tradition and the last semeography reform from the early nineteenth century, looked at the problems of the musical past only from the perspective of the Middle Ages. Greek researchers have shared the belief that the condition of an adequate understanding of the mid-Byzantine notation, or the so-called *old method*, is the knowledge of analytical neum system and theory, the basics of which were set up by musicians from the end of the seventeenth and during the eighteenth century, and were finally shaped by Chrisantos, Gregory and Chourmouziou and officially accepted in the Greek church in 1814. The path to overcoming the issues relating to the development of neum notation, and finding an adequate manner of decoding it, led through the understanding of the phenomenon of “interpretation” and other tendencies that marked the post-Byzantine music practice. Two scientists – the Danish Jørgen Raasted, a follower of the Western European musicological methods established by founders of *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae*, and Greek theologian and musicologist Gregory Stathes – are specifically responsible for the reconciliation of the different methodological approaches. After numerous and often heated debates, the Danish scientist eventually largely accepted the views of his Greek counterpart. Moreover, he himself insisted, at the musicological conferences organized during the 1980s, on reviewing the controversial issues: the existence of chromatic intervals in the psalmody of the Middle-Ages, the problem of syllabic and melismatic interpretations of stenographic neum records, and so on. Concerning the above mentioned issues, the contemporary trends in Byzantine musicology are presented in the conclusion of the paper. It is worth noting that the most influential scholars nowadays follow “a middle path”, the distinction between the once exclusive Western option and the no less “hard” Greek traditional option.

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## The Affective Turn in Ethnomusicology

Ana Hofman<sup>1</sup>

The Institute of Cultural and Memory Studies

Research Centre of Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts

### Abstract

The affective turn, which has already questioned dominant paradigms in many disciplinary fields including cultural studies, philosophy, political theory, anthropology, psychology and neuroscience, has started to attract more attention in the field of ethnomusicology, becoming a particularly vibrant stream of thought. Drawing on the voices that call for the historicisation of and critical deliberation on the field of affect studies, the article strives to show how theories of affect might expand dominant paradigms in ethnomusicology and also points to their limitations.

### Key words

Affective turn, ethnomusicology, sonic affect, musical emotions, affect-emotion relationship

“Everything that occurs without praiseworthy affects [in music] can be considered nothing, does nothing and means nothing” (Der vollkommene Capellmeister, Johann Mattheson, 1739).

Music has often been taken as an example of the power of affect. Its ubiquitously distributive affective potential has become pivotal in the works of scholars advocating the affective turn.<sup>2</sup> Spurred by the poststructuralist orientation towards language, representation, deconstruction and psychoanalysis, a perspective in which body, emotions and embodiment have been neglected (see Clough and Halley 2007), the affective turn shifted the focus to pre-, extra-, and paralinguistic aspects and introduced a non-discursive, non-representational approach (see Thrift 2007). Developed mainly in the 2000s and partly inspired by research on the emotions and the body conducted in feminist and queer studies, affect theory is currently attracting growing interest in a variety of disciplinary fields. There is no single, uniform affect theory; affect has multiple and sometimes even conflicting definitions. The affective turn also cannot be seen as

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<sup>1</sup> hofman.ana@gmail.com

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separated from other “turns”: the sensory turn and the material turn that have also emerged in scholarly discourses of the last fifteen years and that have played prominent roles in a new emphasis on embodiment, material substance and the senses. Drawing on the works of Spinoza, Bergson, James and particularly Deleuze and Guattari, Massumi, Chouse, Thrift and Connolly, the main conceptualisation of affect is that it is a state of relation as well as the passage of vital forces or intensities beyond emotions (Gregg and Seigworth 2010: 1). 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 (see Massumi’s definition in Deleuze and Guattari 1987: xvi). However, that body is not exclusively human, but can also be animal or plant, crowd or social body, singing body or the body of a musical instrument.<sup>3</sup>

The emphasis on affect as a theoretical and methodological concept in recent scholarly accounts proves that it is becoming a particularly vibrant stream of thought in the field of music studies. Yet has it already become a nuanced analytical category? Or, to quote Grossberg (2010: 316), has affect become “everything that is non-representational or non-semantics”, since we have not yet done “the actual work of parsing out everything that is getting collapsed into the general notion of affect”? Has affect become a conceptual outlet for any kind of “sensorial, emotional, visceral” approach to music that merely reopens/re-actualises old-fashioned binaries between mind and body, cognitive and somatic?<sup>4</sup> What is the risk in using the conceptual tools of affect theories, given the current broader social, cultural and intellectual climate? Is the usage of affect really an epistemological shift that offers a new path for theorizing music and sound? Is the emphasis on the affectivity of music an ideological and political statement?

This article explores the potentialities and limitations of the affective turn in ethnomusicology. Following the view that call for the historicisation of and critical deliberation on the field of affect studies, it aims to trace the genealogy of the concept in ethnomusicological scholarly works. For that purpose, in the first part of the article I offer a highly condensed view (giving a brief sketch rather than deep analysis) of the dominant approaches to affect in ethnomusicological accounts. Unlike the authors who recently theorized the affective turn

<sup>3</sup> For theory on the material agency of the nonhuman or the not-quite-human, see Benett 2010. For this issue within ethnomusicology see Roda 2014.

<sup>4</sup> Such a critical appraisal of the affect theories has already been made in other fields of the humanities, particularly by feminist, queer and postcolonial scholars; see Hemmings 2005.

in music scholarship in the volume *Sound, Music, Affect: Theorizing Sonic Experience*<sup>5</sup> and reported on the limited amount of studies in contemporary music scholarship dedicated to sound and music with a focus on affect (Thompson and Biddle 2013: 18), which presupposes affect theory as a naturalisation of the epistemological equipment from “another” field, I would like to claim that the conceptualisation of affect has long been a ubiquitous part of ethnomusicological research. As summarised by Charles Seeger, who stressed that “music is communication of world view as the feeling of reality” (1977), the special connection between music, on the one hand, and affect, emotions and feelings, on the other, has remained a hot topic for generations of scholars. Going beyond affect alone, the affect/emotion relationship that today appears as one of the most sensitive questions within the affective turn proves to be the most persistent paradigm when theorizing music and sound experience. I believe that this relation should be given particular attention, as it provides access to some pivotal questions of the affect theory itself. Discussing recent scholarly accounts on affect in light of the long tradition of thought about affect and meaning in music is not meant as a revitalisation of a psychological approach, which appeared to be dominant yet limited explanatory framework. The goal is to rethink the affective turn as a radical paradigm shift and to point to important continuities that can help us to detect the conceptual points where the affective turn has something new to say in music studies.

This article attempts to show complex epistemological stances on affect in the ethnomusicological accounts, and particularly the ways the affective turn has influenced the revitalisation of the existent paradigm and/or deepened existing deadends. Analysis of the recent studies suggests that affect is a constant area of investigation in various overlapping branches of music research (musicology, ethnomusicology, music theory, sound studies, cultural anthropology of music, music education etc.). Although I strive to be cautious in thinking about the disciplinary differences within the dominant conceptualisations of affect<sup>6</sup> and to take the point of view that seems to me to be relevant to ethnomusicology, my analysis inevitably includes accounts from musicology, music education and music theory, but also sound studies and human geography. This is also due to the lack of dialog among these disciplinary fields, which, I believe

<sup>5</sup> This volume can be seen as a result of the growing interest in affect in the field of music scholarship in the last several years, as visible in the number of conferences organised on this topic and in the large number of panels and individual papers dedicated to it at the international conferences and annual meetings of ethnomusicologists.

<sup>6</sup> As Gregg and Seigworth warn about confuting philosophy, psychology, critical race studies and feminist standpoint theory, among other fields, which all have their own disciplinary differences when conceptualizing affect (2010: 316).

should be fostered. Still, such an overview tends to reduce a variety of parallel voices and paradigms to the dominant stream. From the wealth of thought about affect, I selected those studies relevant for my examination. This proved to be even more challenging after 2000, when scholarly production related to emotions and affect became particularly vibrant. Influenced by the critiques from the discursive and linguistic-centred approaches, the rapid blossoming of studies addressing these topics meant that many of them quickly become outdated or neglected. As a result, my literature preview is selective and, despite my personal wish to focus precisely on these theoretical and conceptual “leftovers”, this article still focuses on the most resonant works in the field.

### *Affect, an Ancient Topic in Music Studies*<sup>7</sup>

Affect in music and musical affect are topics that have occupied intellectuals and scholars since Antiquity. In his overview of rhetoric and music, Blake Wilson provides a valuable insight into the terminological changes and conceptual transformations of “affect” from Aristotle, Plato and Cicero<sup>8</sup> to Baroque rhetoric and the terminology of music theorists in the late 16<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, who all acknowledged the power of music to control and direct the listener’s “affects” (in this case equated with emotions): “the association of rhetoric with the concept of the Affects can be found almost continuously in the history of music from at least the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century” (Wilson et al. 2012). Wilson further reflects on how affect was rationalized and understood in perspectives that categorize and describe types of affect as well as the affective connotations of scales, dance movements, rhythms, instruments, forms and styles.<sup>9</sup> His overview demonstrates that past theorists established no single “theory” of affect and shows that, since the 15<sup>th</sup> century, scholars have faced the same stumbling blocks when approaching this concept. In that sense, it proves that thinking about affect is nothing radically new, due to the long legacy of criticizing discursive and linguistic approaches in music scholarship.

Although his work is not related to ethnomusicology, Wilson’s overview excellently illustrates the continuous interest in the “music-affect problem” that later emerged in the works of scholars in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, mainly within

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<sup>7</sup> Paraphrasing David J. Elliot, who opens his article with the intention of revisiting the ancient topic of musical affective experience (2000: 79).

<sup>8</sup> For considerations on this topic in Antiquity and in Christian, Jewish and Muslim religious thought, see Garofalo 2010: 727.

<sup>9</sup> For more on the understanding of affect, see Wilson 2012.

the field of musical psychology.<sup>10</sup> As early as 1951, Suzanne Langer warned her readers that language's discursive nature is less congruent with musical forms than feelings (Langer 1951). In his seminal work *Emotion and Meaning in Music*, Leonard Meyer theorizes musical affect while arguing for a more nuanced theoretical and analytical approach to the general claim that musical works and performances communicate feelings and emotions. The main concerns of the theorists, he asserts, appear to be the relationship between the affective stimulus and the affective responses (Meyer 1956: 13), and he notes the difficulty of sorting out particular musical processes that evoke affective responses (ibid.). Meyer's epistemological background negotiates two rival views of the absolute meaning of music and the nature and value of the experience involved in the perception and understanding of the relationships that constitute a musical work. Therefore, he builds on behaviourism (discussing emotional and affective behaviour), arguing that, although emotion or affect is in itself undifferentiated, affective experience is differentiated because it involves awareness of a stimulus.<sup>11</sup> In this sense, the stimulus itself and awareness of it are equally important in Meyer's conceptualisation of musical affect, which will become meaningful for the further discussion of sonic affect in the second part of this article. Like Meyer, Malcolm Budd too suggests a tendency to a succession of both natural and learned automatic responses to a stimulus (1985: 159).<sup>12</sup>

Several dominant tendencies marked these early thoughts about affect. Studies took a subject-centred approach to emotion and affect, which they used interchangeably. Based on the psychological theory of emotions, their main field of enquiry was the particular musical pattern or character that evokes a response and a particular psychological change in listeners. Affect is thus inseparable from perception: music's power to generate emotion lies in the listener who "understands" the music (Budd 1985: 160). Scholars discussed music in relation to self-ness, self-growing and self-transformation as a part of the behaviourist paradigm. On the other hand, Meyer acknowledges the importance of bodily aspects: "Other aspects of affective behaviour, such as skeletal and muscular adjustments, have been said to be automatic, natural concomitants of the affective response. These will be called 'emotional reaction'" (Meyer 1956: 17). In a similar way to Meyer, Budd also provided theoretical ideas about

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<sup>10</sup> For more about this early peak, see Juslin and Sloboda 2010: 934.

<sup>11</sup> Two instances of emotion are the same kind if and only if they involve an awareness of the same kind of stimulus situation.

<sup>12</sup> However, he criticized the argument that focuses on the tension that music creates in the listener.



the body, drawing on Pratt, who discussed the movements both of and within the body. Budd argues that our body can move about, being itself a locus of movements, and that some of these movements are felt by kinaesthesia and organic sensation (1984: 38–39). However, these claims remained the “leftovers” within the dominant focus on cognitive and psychological aspects. Scholars generally favour the brain and consciousness, maintaining the dichotomy between body and mind. Most work on the subject seeks to identify positive emotions and draws on the thesis that the emotional consequences of experiencing music are that people feel joy in being themselves and in being in tune with others. Such views also do not reflect on the fact that what is defined and seen as ‘positive feelings’ might actually be ambivalent, unsettled and unpredictable emotional state, or in Ngai’s words, “a meta-feeling in which one feels confused about *what* one is feeling” (Ngai 2005: 14). Also, dominant research trajectories maintain the dichotomies between the aesthetic and technical characteristic of music and social and historical circumstances, stimulus/biology-based and sociological/culturally constructed perspectives and a generally essentialist approach to emotion and affect. The dominant hypotheses and proposals presented also resonate in the debates and disagreements in recent scholarship, as will be examined more closely in the following section.

### *Theories of Musical Emotion*

In the early 1990s, scholarly works were galvanised by an increasing interest in the field of music and emotion, reviving the “old” studies of Meyer, Berlyne and Clynes (see Sloboda 1991 and Le Doux 1996). As Juslin and Sloboda (2010: 935) assert in their overview of the field, this topic has become an accepted area of research with a broad range of topics, theories and methods. Although heterogeneous in their approaches, the majority of works on musical emotion are situated in music physiology as the central epistemological framework. The main question that scholars have raised is how music produces its emotional effects. They pursue the questions of the very existence/essence of musical emotions; mechanisms through which music arouses emotion; social processes related to these emotions and the issue of applied scholarship (particularly in therapy and healing). In the interpretation of Juslin and Sloboda, the term “musical emotions” is shorthand for “emotions that were somehow induced by music’, without any further implications about the precise nature of these emotions” (2010: 10). Many of the studies were based on experimental work conducted by ethnomusicologists and music psychologists. Bernard Lortat-Jacob and some other scholars were interested in the potential existence of musical universals related to

the expressive meaning of music (Fernando et al. 2014; Lortat-Jacob 1998). Musical meaning, as something that is communicated between performers and listeners through musical affect, has been the subject of a continuous line of thought in theorizing the aesthetic experience of music and sound (see e.g. Shepherd and Wicke 1998; De Nora 2000). In his introduction to the special issue of *Ethnomusicology Forum*, Martin Clayton says that the ethnomusicological theory of musical meaning is “something I consider to have been a pressing but unfulfilled need for many years” (2001: 2).

Simultaneously, another shift towards biology and neurobiology is being made, with the idea of combining neurobiology, perception studies and the psychology of music. The influence of this “affective neuroscience” appears to be particularly strong: experimental methods have included various ways of measuring musical responses – self-report measures, psychological measures, measuring neurological changes and hormonal activities, as well as behavioural measures of affect (see Västfjäll 2010). Another stream of research observes music and emotions with a focus on technological and new media-based processes (Becker 2004: 5). In general, the dominant approaches welcome empirical research and focus on applicability in various fields, such as music education, music therapy, health, film music and marketing.

While addressing the cognitive and physiological dimensions of musical emotion phenomena, scholars have shown awareness of the limitations of this approach: some have argued for the importance of analysing the musical discourse and behaviours that occur in a given socio-historical context and the need to combine the cultural anthropological approach with the cognitive psychological one. As Judith Becker asserts, some also claim the importance of embodiment for the cognitive model and propose “embodied cognition” or “distributed cognition” (2004: 5). Approaches based on biology, neurology and psychology, in particular, have started theorizing the body as a structure within which cognition and emotion occur. Yet many of the works remain ambivalent about the role of music experience beyond the mind and perception. In line with the subject-centred approach, scholars give priority to listeners: “the most common motive for listening to music is to influence emotions”, often with an accompanying affective reaction of some sort (Juslin and Sloboda 2010: 3). A focus on listeners also attempts to offer a more nuanced interpretation of psychoanalytical aspects of music’s visceral experience, as is suggested by David Schwarz, drawing on Lacan and Žižek (1997: 2). Many scholars focus on rhythmical entrainment as an “aesthetic emotion”, drawing on the concept of entrainment from social psychology.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Due to the limited scope of this article, I am not able to further discuss works that

Approaching affect from the perspective of practice, David J. Elliott proposes the concept of multidimensional affect, which is built on the individual's cognitive-musical processing abilities and implies that there are many layers of personal and social meaning "to 'locate', apprehend, construct, and feel emotions *about* in musical work" (Elliott 2000: 85). Drawing on Bowman's ideas of human audition, he warns of auditory ambiguity, the fact that it is phenomenally fluid, affecting the listener's aesthetic experience – for example, through individual attachments to memories of particular sound patterns, or appreciations of personal response to the musical expression of emotions they cognize (ibid.: 86).

In line with the previous works, these studies consider the same conceptual questions when thinking about the affective in music, an emotion that is *sui generis* or specifically musical (Budd 1985: 30). As I will show later, constructing a viable theory that can be built either upon the idea of an emotion that is specific to music, or upon the idea of emotion per se, is still one of the main points of disagreement in recent thinking about affect.

### *The Emotion-Affect Relationship Unveiled*

In the majority of the presented studies, emotion and affect appear as parallel and interchangeable concepts. This conceptual division/relationship has been one of the main stumbling blocks in recent scholarship, which thus displays many points of contradiction. In *The Affect Theory Reader*, Grossberg asserts the continuing difficulty of theorizing affect and emotion, due in part to the way the historical trajectory of these terms has been used to dismiss and trivialise (Grossberg 2010: 316). Music scholars already noted this complex discursive relationship between emotion, feeling and affect in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. Meyer defines this relationship as blurred, but sees affect as a concept used to mark undifferentiated feelings: "Much confusion has resulted from the failure to distinguish between emotion felt (or affect) and mood" (Meyer 1956: 7). For him, as interpreted by Budd, the character of affect involved in the different kinds of emotion is always the same and, in itself, affect is neither pleasant nor unpleasant (1985: 156). Juslin and Sloboda reflect on the "terminological confusion" in the field of music and emotion due to the different ways scholars use the words "affect", "emotion", "feeling" and "mood". They distinguish between these terms: emotions refer to a quite brief but intense affective reaction;

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focus on entrainment. For more about this, see Tia de Nora's pivotal study *Music in Everyday Life* (2000) and Clayton's, Sager's and Will's discussion of the concept of entrainment in ethnomusicology (2005).

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 (2010: 10). Juslin and Sloboda define affect (in music) as the overarching concept that “comprises anything from music preference, mood, and emotion to aesthetic and even spiritual experiences” (ibid.: 9). They also express hesitation to use the term “affect”, since the main journals in the field increasingly use “emotion” rather than “affect” (ibid.: 10). However, this stance is difficult to justify, as the scholarly work on affect in other fields of the humanities provides a detailed analysis of this conceptual duality based on the core debates among theorists.

Although “affect” and “emotion” are often used as synonyms (Rice 2008), affect theorists such as Massumi claim that these terms follow different logics and different orders: feelings are personal and biographical, emotions are social, while affect is pre-personal (2002: 28, 40). Grossberg claims that emotions should not simply be described as affect, even when they are considered configurations of affect: “I have always held that emotion is the articulation of affect and ideology. Emotion is the ideological attempt to make sense of some affective productions” (2010: 316). Such views draw on Deleuze and Guattari’s distinction between affection as a relational state of a particular body manifested in feeling, emotion or perception on the one hand, and affect as an intense force on the other (see 1987: 281). Emotion thus resides on the side of subjective affirmation, as a subjective capture of affect (Schrimshaw 2013: 31). For many scholars in the humanities, affect is seen as a “raw material” for emotion, while emotion enables the social, political and cultural articulation of affect.

Nevertheless, some scholars claim that Grossberg’s and Massumi’s conceptual distinction between affect and emotion cannot be sustained (Leys 2011: 434). In Leys’ opinion, such approaches actually reaffirm the false dichotomy between conscious and signifying (emotional and intellectual), on the one hand, and unconscious and affective (a process of intensity not tied to signification) on the other. For Leys, certain strands of theory, especially in the work of scholars inspired by Deleuze (and Guattari), reinforce the same dualism (the mind and the body or matter) of the subject that it seeks to criticise and duplicate an old paradigm (ibid.: 450). Sianne Ngai also argues that this split actually has methodological roots and originated in psychoanalysis’ methodology for distinguishing third-person feelings from those of the first person, where affect serves an observer perspective, while emotions belong to the analysed ego (2005: 25). Similarly, for Sara Ahmed, the distinction between sensation and emotion can only be analytic (2004: 6). As I strive to show in

the following sections, I believe that precisely the fields of music and sound can be used to show the importance of this conceptual distinction as an analytical tool, but also its unproductivity when it comes to theorizing our (music) realities.

### *Theories of Sonic Materialism*

Affect theory's most important impact is in proposing affect as prior to intentions, meanings, reasons and beliefs – as non-cognitive, corporeal or automatic responses. For the theorists who argue for its autonomy, affect is an inhuman/trans-human, pre-subjective, non-signifying, unconscious intensity, disconnected from the subjective (see Massumi 2002). In other words, humans apprehend the world on two separate but unequal tracks: intention and affect, meaning and sense impressions, perception and experience; thus they co-exist but do not merge or commingle (Clough and Halley 2007: 200, see also 232). According to Clough and Halley, affects are defined in terms of their “autonomy from conscious perception and language” (ibid.: 209). So, despite persistent warnings that “affect and cognition are never fully separable” (Seigworth and Gregg 2010: 2–3), body and sign nonetheless function and can be analysed on ontologically separate planes, as a matter of “parallel processing” (Clough and Halley 2007: 198). The *difference in kind* between affect and meaning, experience and representation, sense and significance, is a categorical assumption of affect theory. According to Lawrence Grossberg, affective states are neither structured narratively nor organized in response to our interpretations of situations (1992: 81). Theorists also argue that affect is independent of, and prior to, ideology, “the third state between activity and passivity, occupying the gap between content and effect” (Massumi in Thompson and Biddle 2013: 6). However, it is precisely this “autonomy of affect” that is the main source of debate and criticism among scholars. Feminist and queer scholars, in particular, argue that affect cannot be pre-political but is continuously mediated by social and cultural locations and identities. Others propose that affect's relative autonomy is its most important critical and political value, as asserted by Bryan J. McCann: “It is simultaneously subject to capture while retaining the potential for complete or partial escape – if only to be captured once again” (2013: 409).

It is this dual nature (autonomous and entrenched) that also seems to be a crucial stumbling block when discussing affect in relation to sound and music. In most of the recent theoretical studies of the affective potential of sound and music (the works of Kassabian 2001, 2013; Gilbert 2004; Bull and Back 2003; Cusick 2006, 2008; Goodman 2010; Garcia 2011; Voegelin 2014 and Hofman 2015),

the analyses focus on sound as affective vibrational force. These approaches generally call for “sonic materiality” and focus on sonic affect as the “nonrepresentational ontology of vibrational force” (Goodman 2010: xv). These calls follow the ideas of scholars who have extensively theorized the ontology of sound and the nature of auditory experience, particularly in the field of sound studies (Nudds and O’Callaghan 2009: 6). Recent scholarship, moreover, proposes that sound is vibrational affect that exists above and beyond the ear, resonating in our bodies (see e.g. Goodman 2010 and Price 2011). Several scholars have anticipated this shift from the ear alone to the visceral/somatic experience of sound and have asserted the automatic bodily responses as the important part of music’s aesthetic experience.

From a different angle, Will Schrimshaw proposes sound not only as an intentional object of auditory experience, but as a physical process whose ontological status is neither reducible to, nor dependent upon its being heard (2013: 40). This means that vibrational regimes also exist beyond our conscious perception and that affective aspects in sound not only resonate with parts of the body other than the ear, but also go unheard (*ibid.*: 43).<sup>14</sup> A good example is brain-wave music, which has lots of frequencies that our ear cannot actually detect as “sound”; another is the difference between human and animal auditory perception.<sup>15</sup> Schrimshaw thus challenges the distinction between quality, experience and affirmation, on the one hand, and intensity, quantity and autonomy, on the other (2013: 39). In his opinion, what complicates our experience of sound is that it exists separately from audition: “non-sound” is filled with inaudible but affective signals that resonate in bodies. He argues that affects therefore do not need anthropic, subjective relational extension; their perceptions are seen as independent of the state of those who experience them (*ibid.*: 31). In his conceptualisation of sonic affect, he draws on Deleuze and Guattari’s claim that art’s affect persists beyond the experiential; it is a block of sensations independent of the affected and the affecting, as it is independent of both the creator and the perceiver (2003: 164).

In attempting to think of the affectivity of music and sound as facilitating acoustic entry into the affective fields, Schrimshaw goes even further, claiming that sound itself can be a synonym for affective autonomy (2013: 40). In the introduction to his approach to sonic materialism, itself built upon the paradigm of the “autonomy of

<sup>14</sup> Sonic intensity that is not manifested in experience yet is nonetheless real vibration or frequency beyond the range of audition (*ibid.*: 36).

<sup>15</sup> Steven Feld’s study *Sound and Sentiment* from 1982 not only argues for including both human and non-human (natural) sounds and musical sounds through an acousticological approach, but also takes into consideration cultural and social levels, sentiments and emotions – all as the assemblage that should be addressed in the analytical process.



affect”, he stresses that the focus is on the “surplus” of sonic matter beyond its symbolic and subjective affirmation (ibid.: 30). And it is precisely this issue of the inaudible territory of sound that seems to have existed alongside the main inquiry in music scholarship, using a different conceptual vocabulary: although scholars from the field of cognitive ethnomusicology and those focused on musical emotions have situated their approaches within an opposite paradigm of music, as necessarily embedded in subjective affirmation, they recognize the limited access to the internal processing of sound experience. They are aware that it is not possible to catch the totality of aesthetic experience, claiming that “emotion” and “feeling” do not capture everything relevant to our experience of music. In addition to the emotions experienced, “flow”, “spirituality”, “altered states” and “vitality affects”<sup>16</sup> constitute a part of the more complex “aesthetic experience” (Juslin and Sloboda 2010: 940). Some studies go beyond the subject-centred “perceptual” paradigm, introducing the concept of “unconscious affect” and “pre-attentive affective behaviour” (Winkielman and Berridge 2004), which can exist without conscious experience. They report that it is not possible to capture “all aspects of affect” and that the subjective experience of affect is only one component of the “affect chain” (Västfjäll on Carver 2001).

From a different theoretical perspective, Martin Clayton uses the *rasa* theory originating in Indian “dramaturgy” to examine the role of affect in musical meaning. The word *rasa*, meaning literally ‘juice’ or ‘essence’, suggests something flowing and dynamic (2000: 2) – a fluidity that Becker calls “aesthetic essence” or “aesthetic emotion” (2004: 11). In discussing the application of the *rasa* theory to music (which “remained underdeveloped”), Clayton asserts the importance of thinking within “the irreducible domain of sound – something from which Western musicology could certainly learn” (2000: 13). Despite his main focus on the “perceiving subject” and musical meaning, he contends that music experience can occur well before we have a chance to come to any definite conclusions, even subconsciously, about the music’s tonality, motivic or formal structure or metrical regularity (ibid.: 8).

The main challenge related to the experiential aspects of music and sound has to do with the long-lasting paradigm that affect (and emotion) engenders in the listener through a direct experience (performance or listening). For the theory of sonic materialism, in contrast, the main obstacle appears when the sound is reduced to the subjective and *the real* is identified as intentional, as an object of experience. One of its main aims is to blur the line between the

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<sup>16</sup> For more about vitality affects, see the Handbook of Music and Emotion (Gabrielsson and Lindström 2010: 367–400).

experience of sound as intentional, on the one hand, and inescapable everyday activity, on the other, an aim deriving from the belief that literally everything vibrates – whether object or ecology, idea, event, feeling or process.<sup>17</sup>

*“Experiential Messiness”*<sup>18</sup>

The dialectical *subject/object* relationship and the dichotomy between *intentional/unintentional* appears to be the main focus of recent scholarly works fostered by the affective turn. Views of sonic materialism argue for the autonomy of affect as a pre-subjective, pre-political force and have raised the most important issues regarding the experience of sound and music. Such stances presuppose objective/subjective sounds, manifested also in the dichotomy between inaudible and audible. Maria Thompson and Ian Biddle point out that, in terms of sound and music, affect theory can be seen as contradictory, in that it strives to focus on the listening/performing bodies, but at the same time on what is beyond the audible and the bodily experience: “on the one hand, it looks for the orders or regimes of feelings (it is something connected, that is, to the bodily) and yet, on the other, seeks to allow for nodes of connectivity that sometimes (often) omit or bypass our bodies” (2013: 13). Such views are based on the assumption that we are either fully intentional or fully unintentional beings, which is one of the main points of the critique of the affective turn (see Leys 2011).

Employing the concept of affect need not reduce either the source or the given abilities of the subject to experience the sound. Sound is not a result of the interaction between subject and object, as Voegelin asserts; the very nature of sound exceeds the subject-object dichotomy: “a formless form that is neither object nor subject but the action of their materiality formlessly forming as liquid stickiness that grasps me too but leaves no trace” (Voegelin 2014: 2). The materiality of sound as mobile and fleeting cannot be captured as a noun, but only as a verb – as a process of contingent materiality (ibid.) – or, as proposed by Born, contingent on multiple materialities (2011: 377). Ethnomusicologically speaking, people experiencing music and sound invest their own affective dispositions, moods and emotions, and although they are open to the affective environment, they are not just empty vessels for impersonal affect (Garcia 2011: 186).<sup>19</sup> The body’s activities to process sound only partly determine

<sup>17</sup> For more about the concept of resonance and sounds as affective vibrations that resonate, see Gershon 2013.

<sup>18</sup> I use Sara Ahmed’s expression (2010: 30).

<sup>19</sup> The authors working on musical emotions also assert that more work needs to be done on interpersonality, since music evokes emotions not only at the individual level but also at the intergroup and interpersonal level – a kind of “collective emotions”,



how people experience and articulate sonic affect. Schrimshaw also asserts that we have to consider sonic affect's conceptual as well as material existence, which does not require us to abandon relatedness in favour of objective essentialism: "In thinking affective autonomy as interior to and in excess of both experience and representation, the problem of the in-itself attains an exteriority capable of conceiving alterity beyond the anthropic themes of linguistic and conceptual correlationism" (2013: 42).

I believe that we should go further and rethink the gap between representation and affect, since, to cite Elliot, representations are considered to have their own affects as well (2013). Although challenging the idea of representation is the very essence of the affective turn, I argue for moving beyond a reductive binarism between the representative/discursive and the sensorial/affective realms. To quote Sara Ahmed, "I do not assume there is something called affect that stands apart or has autonomy" but rather that it is something related to the "messiness of the experiential" (2010: 30). In her deliberations on the trans-subjective, unpredictable and free-floating circulation of affect and its autonomy from subjects, objects and signifiers, she asserts that although affect flows through and between, it may also "stick" (2004: 11). For theorizing about sonic affect as impersonal intensity and force, I agree that auditory experience is much more than just hearing or the bodily experience of the sequences of sound. It is multi-layered and marked by extra-auditory experiences based in the social context of the moment of the experience. To return to Salomé Voegelin's point, it is the inaudible and imperceptible aspects of sound, sounds that remain unheard or that we cannot or do not want to access, that make us aware of social, political, cultural, ideological and other prejudices and limitations (2014: 7). For her, the sound experience is gendered, racialised, and ethnicised as a framework of everyday life, the sensorial meaning of our realities. It warns us of the invisible on the socio-political frontline and talks about the plurality of (music) realities – materialities, ideologies and subjectivities. Our aesthetic, social and political realities are embedded in our experience of sound, as experienced and created through sensory engagement/action.

In that sense, I believe that the affective turn's productive potential does not lie in abandoning the semiotic, representational and discursive paradigms, but in the production of meeting points for the semantic and affective dimensions/venues at the site of the sound experience.<sup>20</sup> Recent ethnomusicological works seem to follow this

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emotions as a part of the dynamic social system (Juslin and Sloboda 2010: 944).

<sup>20</sup> For more about the limitation that affect theory sees in the semiotic model, see Atanasovski, this issue.

course, focussing on the affective contours of various music genres such as fado (Gray 2013), rap (McCann 2013), punk (Tatro 2014), popular music in general (Gitzen 2013) and partisan songs (Hofman 2015), or focussing on the affective linkage between gender and genre (Krell 2013). These studies aim to produce new insights into the role sound plays through affective technologies in the context of current realities. They also remind us that affective economies of sound and music are necessarily contextualized and individualized. They elaborate on music's affective capacity in constituting collectivities and its emancipatory potentials in alternative modes of political and cultural production. Some of the studies also argue for the need for a critical stance towards affect as a method, recognising not only its positive or emancipatory aspects, but also its destructive ones, which have to be grasped to avoid romanticisation. As Steve Goodman (2010) and Suzanne Cusick (2008) caution in their fundamental studies, affect is also manipulated as a tool for controlling lives, by claiming that it offers a "promise" in the neoliberal corporate world. I would warn of another potentially dangerous aspect of the romanticisation of affect: the tendency to assign to it an inherent authenticity – understanding affective economies in music and sound as inherently authentic and moral, which is at the core of its promise for (any kind of) potentiality.

### *Limits of the Theorizable*

"Making my own 'affecting presence' out of a Kaluli myth takes me back to Armstrong's 'being', 'feeling full experience', and 'witnessing' in the process of discovering how form incarnates feeling," wrote Steven Feld in 1982 (2012: 236). This quote vividly describes the intensity of the emotional investment, sensory experiences and affective technologies of the fieldwork environment as a spectre of affects that is derived in a very concrete moment and particular spatio-temporal context.

Claiming that theory *is* practice, several scholarly works propose affect as methodology, as an empirical research practice (see Coleman and Ringrose 2013; Gershon 2013).<sup>21</sup> Aware of the gaps between theory and practice, they argue for affect as a tool for detecting potential options and possibilities in understanding our realities. "The affective relations are fleeting, emergent, contingent, and sensual apprehensions," write Waitt, Ryan and Farbotko (2013: 9), acknowledging that we live in a world that we can only partially understand, where many things are inherently unknowable. As

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<sup>21</sup> Lawrence Grossberg warns that the modalities and mechanisms of the affective must be more carefully examined (2010: 328).

Becker states, trance cannot and need not be explained (2004: 2). Her statement emphasizes the material aspects of our research realities that cannot be represented, are missing or are impossible to theorise. This also points to the important modulations between scholarly reflections and the reality of everyday life, which, in Claire Bishop's words, "rarely provide more than fragmentary evidence, and convey nothing of the affective dynamic" (2012: 5). This becomes even more challenging if, as Nagel Thrift asserts, "consciousness shows up as short-term because of the artificiality of the situation demanded by the researcher" (2007: 7). Moreover, scholarly accounts also have their own affects. How can we deal with that experience of reality that goes beyond and works against cultural gravity, constantly escaping theory? Can affect be the analytical category that enables us to create a valuable account of the dynamic encounters made through music and sound?

Since thinking about affect is always writing about it, writing about affect (in music and sound) calls us to think about "invisible agency" – invisible mobility, sticky liquidity, actions and engagements, rather than artefacts, outcomes and visible relationships – and is an effort to access the invisible, "that which is barely there and yet influences all there is" (Voegelin 2014: 2). It attempts to catch the uncatchable – small bodily reactions, whispers and the energy of the moment; the liveliness of a world in flux, or in constant *becoming*, to use the Deleuzian concept. It struggles with the challenge of articulating a singular narrative about the "onflow" (Pred 2005) of everyday life, its materiality and reality, catching the moment of "right here, right now".

Affect as a methodological tool also shows us how and why this invisibility deeply influences not only our realities, but also the production of knowledge about these (music) realities. Voegelin claims that our engagement with sound as affect goes beyond what we actually perceive, showing us the possibilities rather than enabling us to recognise the perceived reality (2014: 4). I also suggest that affect leads us back to the question of ethical honesty in confronting the limits of the knowable (in a knowledge-based economy) and the obligations (or our mutual implication within global capitalism) that we share and to which we are bound. This appears particularly potent when affect is employed to gain new capacities to act politically – in the first place, in its role in the re-evaluation of reason and rationality in politics, ethics, and aesthetics. This can also be understood as an ethical act that addresses important questions of agency in the "crisis of representation for qualitative researchers", as Gershon warns us (2013: 259). He asserts that, by providing additional affective, sensory and other information in ways that text cannot, we may be

able to remove a layer of authorial translation from a text and provide the opportunity for others to be heard in their own voices (ibid.).

I have acknowledged from the start that this discussion demonstrates that it cannot fulfil the goal of being all-inclusive, even if it pretends to. Rather, it demonstrates the plurality of the origins of thought on affect and affectivity in music and sound, neither as an epistemology nor an ontology, but as many parallel and competing lines of inquiry. It points to the importance of opening more in-depth discussions about affect within current ethnomusicological scholarship and offers some of the possible directions for these discussions.

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*Ана Хофман*

## ЗАОКРЕТ КА ПРОУЧАВАЊУ АФЕКТА У ЕТНОМУЗИКОЛОГИЈИ

(Резиме)

Студије афекта, које су већ довеле у питање доминантне парадигме у хуманистичким дисциплинама, укључујући студије културе, филозофију, политичку теорију, психологију или антропологију, постепено добијају све већу пажњу у области етномузикологије као изузетно вибрантно подручје промишљања. Подстакнут преминацијом постструктуралистичког приступа и наглашавања дискурзивног и репрезентације кроз деконструкцију и психоанализу у којима су занемарени телесно, емоционално и сензорично (видети Clough and Halley 2007), теоријски заокрет ка афекту усмерава фокус на пре-дискурзивно, пре-лингвистичко кроз не-дискурзивни, не-репрезентативни приступ (видети Thrift 2007).

Чланак истражује потенцијале увођења теорије афекта у подручје етномузикологије. Ослањајући се на приступе који позивају на историзацију и контекстуализацију теорија афекта и њихову критичку расправу, чланак прати генеалогiju концепта афекта у постојећим научним дискурсима. У ту сврху у првом делу чланак нуди поглед на доминантне приступе у теоретизацији концепата афекта и емоције у етномузиколошким научним наративима. Према мом мишљењу, стављање нових студија о афекту у музици и звуку у шири историјски и дисциплинарни оквир посебно је важно јер 1) афект и емоције представљају две најзначајније коегзистентне парадигме када су посредни етномузикологија и сродне дисциплине 2) у теоријама афекта однос између концепата афекта и емоције појављује се као један од најосетљивијих питања и главни предмет научне дебате.

Чланак има за циљ осврт на комплексне епистемолошке мреже које обликују увођење концепта афекта у етномузикологију и посебно начине на које то утиче на ревитализацију постојећих парадигми или/и продубљивање постојећих концептуалних ћорсокака. Анализа доминантних приступа потврђује да је афект константни предмет занимања дисциплина које су фокусиране на истраживања музике и звука (музикологије, етномузикологије, теорије музике, културне антропологије музике, музичког образовања, звучних студија и сл.). Стога се у чланку афективни заокрет не третира као натурализација епистемолошког апарата из „другог” научног поља и не пропитују се начини на које постојећа истраживања одговарају на њега. Чланак заправо жели да покаже да је афект саставни део етномузиколошких епистемологија

од њених самих почетака па до данас; заокрет ка афекту није „помодни” теоријски тренд, већ теоријски и методолошки оквир који је већ дуго времена свеprisутни део етномузиколошке истраживачке праксе.

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## Consequences of the Affective Turn: Exploring Music Practices from without and within\*

Srđan Atanasovski<sup>1</sup>

Institute of Musicology SASA, Belgrade

### Abstract

In this paper I explore the challenges of the “affective turn” and map new avenues of music research in this direction. I discuss four paths of enquiry, in deviation from the semiotic models: the discovery of the non-signified materiality and its potentiality to generate affects, the potentiality of affect to de-signify, the ability of sign machines to catalyse the production of intensities and, finally, the power of social machines to overcode the produced affect through non-discursive mechanisms. I argue that the affective turn in musicology can provide a different structuring of a view from without and a view from within, calling both for finely tuned “close reading” and for the ability of the researcher to grasp the performative context.

### Key words

Music and sound studies, affective turn, critique of semiotics, Henri Lefebvre, Gilles Deleuze, Félix Guattari

## Introduction

For more than a decade the “affective turn” has been a common phrase in the social sciences and humanities.<sup>2</sup> However, in spite of its wide popularity, we still lack the answers which could help us both to navigate through this extensive and variegated field and to learn to apply its lessons to the research of social practices: what the affective turn opposes in the current scholarship, what its basic tenets are and what it strives to achieve. Moreover, from the perspective of music and sound studies, there is no clear vision regarding the following issues: when dealing with affect theory, what kind of questions concerning music and sound can this theory help us with,

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<sup>1</sup> [srdjanatanasovski@yahoo.co.uk](mailto:srdjanatanasovski@yahoo.co.uk)

<sup>2</sup> Seminal collections which have helped establish and shape the field are Clough and Halley 2007 and Gregg and Seigworth 2010. For an introduction to affect theory in music cf. Thompson and Biddle 2013a and Hofman 2015b, 2015c.

and with what kind of objective? In this article I will try to answer these questions and to map the consequences of the affective turn for research on music and sound practices. My starting claim is that the most productive way to interpret the rise of the “affective turn” is to construe it as directly opposed to what I would call the classical (or transcendental) “semiotic model”. I will argue that this model has openly or tacitly become a doxa of cultural and music studies, turning into contemporary researchers’ comfort zone.<sup>3</sup> I intend to show that looking at affect theory through the lens of its disagreement with semiotics or, even more generally, with representational theories, can be very fruitful in sharpening the argument of this novel approach and grasping its full potential and consequences.<sup>4</sup>

In order to underpin the critique of the semiotic model in accord with the affective turn, as well as showing how deeply ingrained this discord between transcendental semiotics and affect theory is, I will firstly go back to the writings of theoreticians active in the 1970s. Indicatively, these theoreticians, some of whom are now seen as the harbingers of affect theory, were highly critical of simplified versions of semiotics when it was starting to gain a footing in the realm of social and critical theory. I will argue that one of the sources of vexation these authors had towards semiotics was their proclivity to view the socius in terms of (radical) immanence, which later proved to be one of the cornerstones of affect theory (and which was, again, germane in its parting with semiotics). I find it important to introduce the name of the French Marxist, philosopher and sociologist Henri Lefebvre amongst the authors to whom I refer in order to explain the rise of affect theory. Although he is not often seen as a leading advocate of this doctrine, I will show how his writings, particularly

<sup>3</sup> In this regard, I find that this model is employed not only in studies which openly adhere to semiotics as their method, but more generally in the researcher’s omnipresent quest to locate the “meaning” in musical work, even when the semiotic terminology is not being used in the strict sense.

<sup>4</sup> Affect theory as such has remained strangely tacit concerning its battles. In the wider picture, probably an even more controversial challenge posed by affect theory to academic doxas is the questioning of the model of *homo oeconomicus* which dominates social sciences (cf. Douglas and Ney 1998), namely, the idea that human individuals are, in the end, able to rationally assess their position in society and to make judgments in their interest. As much as postmodern and particularly Foucauldian discourse analysis and governmentality studies have, in fact, questioned the prevalence of individuals’ rational judgment, adopting these approaches does not have to mean the ultimate forsaking of one’s ability to step aside and wittingly assess the vicissitudes of her or his position. However, affect theory does precisely this – it teaches us how irreparably visceral our cognitive facilities are, even to the point of questioning the very physical and mental integrity of an individual as a separate part of the human community (cf. Brennan 2004; Blackman 2008). This uneasiness with such broad consequences of affect theory is visible in often well-articulated critical reviews of the field (cf. Leys 2011).

the studies on “production of space” and “rhythm analysis”, provide a truly radical espousal of immanence and put him at the forefront of efforts to think outside the representational models.

Mapping the appearance of affect theory, I will point to the controversies, the critiques and even the inconsistencies it has brought forth. Finally, I will debate the new vistas for music and sound research, abandoning the standard semiotic model and adopting some of the ideas stemming from affect theory. Namely, I will discuss the discovery of non-signified materiality in music and sound and its potentiality to generate affects, the argued potentiality of the excessive sonic affect to de-signify, or to interfere, distort or destroy meaning, the ability of the materiality of the signifier to catalyse affect production and, finally, the potentiality of social machines to capture (“overcode”) the produced sonic affect through mechanisms which are neither linguistic nor representational. In this regard, I will point to the music and sound research which has already benefited from asking these questions in recent years, both research which has openly adopted the affective turn and that which has sought other ways to theorise its approach.

## Challenging the Semiotic Models

The rise of semiotics as such was hard to halt precisely because it provided researchers within fields such as music studies a comfort zone with a simple precept as to what their research should be about. The ever-haunting question of “how is (social) meaning produced?” could be simply translated to the question “how are signs produced (in society)?” From the point of view of the fields of research which were dominated by the positivistic paradigm for the better part of the twentieth century, such as musicology and music theory, the latter question was far easier to handle, as one could study the formal aspects of sign production (that is, how, why and when certain parameters of music text act as a signifier), conveniently deciding when and to what extent one is to include the relevant context of the music practice in question (cf. Tarasti 1994; Hatten 2006). Moreover, this approach to applying semiotics in music studies did not destabilise the firm ontological status of musical work and musical text which it had acquired in musicology and music theory (cf. Goehr 1992). Needless to say, this avenue of research is in sharp disharmony with the initial impetus of structuralist semiotics, as a study of sign production in the culture itself, with an astute understanding of the societal context, as advocated by, for example, Roland Barthes and Claude Lévi-Strauss. The crux of semiotics as the study of meaning-making has been

the discovery that language and communication are ordered by the system of sign production, whereas the relation between the signifier and the signified is at least to a certain extent arbitrary and socially produced. It is precisely this unfathomable and changing arbitrariness which the simplified model of semiotics, applied in music studies and honouring musical work, was not able to grasp.

However, if we go back to the 1970s, when semiotics was still an underused concept in musicological discourse, disquieting voices can be traced amongst the leading French theoreticians which prophetically foresaw the vicissitudes of the wide and simplified application of this approach. They questioned the limits of the linguistic turn in cultural studies, warned of the irreducibility of life itself to “text” and pointed to the importance of desire, pleasure and enjoyment, and to the role of lived intensities placed into a concrete physical context. Furthermore, these voices came from both within and beyond the circles of semiotics. Among the semioticians, Roland Barthes in his late oeuvre endeavoured to open avenues of research which would destabilise the discursive production of signs as the focus of art criticism. In his study “Le grain de la voix” (“The grain of the voice”, 1972), he questioned the capacity of “language”, which was, purportedly, “the only semiotic system capable of interpreting another semiotic system”, to interpret music (Barthes 1977). Barthes introduces the concept of the “grain” in order to theorise the bare materiality of the singing body which is produced in-between the language and the music:

Listen to a Russian bass (a church bass – opera is a genre in which the voice has gone over in its entirety to dramatic expressivity, a voice with a grain which little signifies): something is there, manifest and stubborn (one hears only that), beyond (or before) the meaning of the words, their form (the litany), the melisma, and even the style of execution: something which is directly the cantor’s body, brought to your ears in one and the same movement from deep down in the cavities, the muscles, the membranes, the cartilages, and from deep down in the Slavonic language, as though a single skin lined the inner flesh of the performer and the music he sings (Barthes 1977: 181–182).

Barthes does not apply this kind of reasoning solely to music: in one of his last oeuvres, *La Chambre claire* (1980) Barthes discussed the effects of photography on the spectator by developing the twin concepts of *studium* and *punctum*: while *studium* encapsulates the effects which can be construed through semiotic methods, the cultural, linguistic, and political message of the photography, *punctum* stands for the direct relationship which occurs between the object and the

beholder which cannot be grasped linguistically (Barthes 1981). Furthermore, Barthes portrays this encounter as deeply visceral, describing *punctum* almost as a physical wounding of the spectator.

However, while Barthes tried to find words to speak of this carnal leftover, these phenomena which cannot be encapsulated by semiotic methods, the other theoreticians whose arguments I intend to illustrate – Henri Lefebvre, Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari – were more openly critical about the rise of semiotics itself. The foothold of their critique of semiotics was a result of their allegiance to the thought of radical immanence, whereas they viewed semiotics as another social machine, or a field of social production, which aims to govern our lived experience and to misrepresent it through introducing the field of transcendence. In the Foucauldian sense, semiosis, the production of the sign itself, was thereby seen as a social apparatus of power, and semiotics as a part of a mechanism which produces the power-knowledge used to govern individuals. In the first book of their project on *Capitalism and Schizophrenia, Anti-Oedipus* (1972), Deleuze and Guattari introduced the concept of a “body without organs” in order to conceptualise the locus of desire which is in its essence non-signified, the deterritorialised schizoid flow which “knows nothing of the law, lack, and the signifier”, which exists as such on the plain of immanence prior to being ushered into the sign-producing social machines (Deleuze and Guattari 1983). As Michel Foucault observed, semiologists (together with psychoanalysts) are openly targeted as authors’ adversaries and marked as “the poor technicians of desire [...] who would subjugate the multiplicity of desire to the twofold law of structure and lack” (Foucault 1983: xii–xiii). Discussing the ways in which signification is produced as a way of interpreting desire, Deleuze and Guattari speak of it as another “Oedipalisation” technique, which is always retrospective, describing not what is produced but what is *a posteriori* perceived as meaning and escaping the moment of the flow of the desire itself (cf. Deleuze and Guattari 1983: 66).

Henri Lefebvre, perhaps more strongly and adamantly than any other modern philosopher, strives to bring the notions of discursive and symbolic order back into the material reality and to show how they operate at the level of the lived experience. In this regard, his most important work remains the study on “production of space” (*La production de l’espace*, 1974), where he develops a specific spatial dialectic which teaches that lived space is reached through an affective and laborious process in the materiality of everyday life. Even more openly than in the case of Deleuze and Guattari, Lefebvre outspokenly develops a critique of semiotics, insisting from the opening pages of his study that the experience of space

cannot be reduced to encoded information, and that semiotics as a study of the sign relying on linguistic models cannot answer the question of the social totality of a space. According to Lefebvre, by “means of deciphering”, semiotics would have social space reduced to the “status of a *message*, and the inhabiting of it to the status of a *reading*” (Lefebvre 1991: 7). Although Lefebvre does not reject the concept of sign, he insists that symbols and metaphors are realised through space as physical objects and that their “meaning” is inseparable from their appearance – in other words, they cannot be reduced to the level of information. Therefore, he introduces the concept of *monumentality*, arguing that the “codifying approach of semiology, which seeks to classify representations, impressions and evocations [...] is quite unable to cover the facets of the monumental” and “it does not even come close, for it is the residual, the irreducible – whatever cannot be classified or codified [...] which is, here as always, the most precious and the most essential” (Lefebvre 1991: 220). Furthermore, “meaning”, a term that Lefebvre identifies with the lived social reality, is not produced by the mere decoding of the signs present in a space, but is the result of the direct production of the space, which is conditioned by social contradictions and as such always represents an ambivalent process of uncertain outcome (cf. Lefebvre 1991). In his last major work, dealing with “rhythm analysis” and published in 1992 (*Éléments de rythme analyse: Introduction à la connaissance de rythmes*), Lefebvre also explicitly deals with music. The key question Lefebvre poses is whether musical time coincides with “lived time”, that is, whether musical time is inextricably sociospatial. Answering affirmatively and renouncing the possibility of the existence of imaginary time that exists outside of the social space, Lefebvre actually waives the possibility of the existence of “meaning” as transcendental in relation to the material rhythm of the body (Lefebvre 2004).

## Affect Theory and Music Studies

Affect theory finds its inspiration in these pioneering efforts to expand critical theory in order to theorise phenomena which are ineffable, or which remain irreducible to techniques of discursive analysis. Affect theory took shape as a specific branch of critical theory during the first decade of the twenty-first century, directly linking itself to the feminist literature which spoke of the body, as well as to queer theory which introduced the discourse on emotions in cultural studies (Hardt 2007) – the fields of knowledge which had already destabilised cultural studies from the inside, questioning its



basic model, which had essentially remained structuralist, and asking questions about the resistance that our bodies and emotions provide to a seemingly orchestrated processes of labelling. From its onset, affect theory was positioned as a deeply heterogeneous field, conjoined by an overall questioning of the notion of the Cartesian duality of “spirit” and “body” and, in this respect, the paradigm of *homo oeconomicus* (see fn. 2). Two broad branches developed, one inspired by the psychological tradition and writings of Silvan S. Tomkins, where affects were interpreted as specific biologically based pre-emotional states, phenomena which precede emotions or which are not articulated as emotions (cf. Tomkins 1995), and the second, inaugurated by Brian Massumi and shaped by the strong influence of ontology developed by Gilles Deleuze (and Félix Guattari). In its short history, affect theory tried to find its position by resisting a relapse into psychology or queer/feminist cultural studies, becoming more than philosophical reflection, escaping post-Heideggerian phenomenology and, finally, openly flirting with or adopting cognitivism. In my research I choose to follow the second current of affect theory, launched by Brian Massumi when he identified affect with *intensity*, understood in terms of Deleuzian ontology (Massumi 2002).<sup>5</sup> This means that there is an ontological as well as a disciplinary gap between affect and emotion: affect cannot be named as emotion-like, or a pre-emotional state, as it stands completely outside the discursive realm, presenting as the pure unsignified defaced intensity which is produced on the edges of the actual and the virtual.<sup>6</sup> This philosophical interpretation of affect is perplexing as it gives few answers, but it is also deeply significant as it opens new avenues of research. Understood as such, affect theory transforms into the study of materiality which is dehumanised and deindividualised (cf. Brennan 2004, Thrift 2008; Seyfert 2012).

What are the consequences of this deeply ontological thesis on the ways we answer the seemingly simple question of “how social meaning is produced” and what is the role of music practices in this process? Should we delve so deeply into these questions when doing ostensibly straightforward research in the well-defined purview of our disciplinary borders and, if so, to

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<sup>5</sup> One of the benefits of grounding affect theory in Deleuzian ontology is the opportunity to get involved with the legacy of the Deleuzian philosophical lineage in theorising affect, most famously with Baruch Spinoza, but also with Friedrich Nietzsche, Henri Bergson, etc.

<sup>6</sup> This, of course, presupposes that we accept that emotions are on some level also socially and discursively constructed. My aim is to radicalise this perspective and to claim that, for example, we cannot speak of affect of fear, or affect of affection. The question of the singularity of affect (in other words, what is *an* affect) should be answered solely based on Deleuzian ontology, as an intensity produced in a single transformation of the reality of the virtual into the actuality of the real.



what extent should we discuss these issues? In order to answer these challenging questions, I will refer to a simple diagram (see illustration 1). My argument is that even seemingly unproblematic research, well and narrowly defined in disciplinary terms, is on some level, at least in the humanities, inevitably conditioned by a certain ontological understanding of the world, either of our own, or the one that percolates the dominant paradigm of our discipline and which we uncritically adopt. Semiotic models of music research are based on a fallacious equivocation, where the question “how is meaning produced?” is simply translated to the question “how are signs produced?” This has to occur with the (tacit or articulated) presupposition of *transcendence*, as in order to reduce meaning to signs we have to neglect the materiality of the signifier and the embodied resistance to the processes of semiosis, to observe the signs as transcendent codes and to ignore the physical resistance of the bodies and the socius in the process of inscribing the meaning they purport. In Platonic words, the material world remains the world of shadows, easily shaped by the play happening in the “real” world, the world of “ideas”. If we, however, accept that affect is in the being, we also claim that the process of meaning-production occurs on the plain of *immanence*, in which both the materiality of the signifiers and the flows of affect operate. Instead of asking one straightforward question, we then have to ask three related, albeit different and sometimes divergent questions – not only how sings are produced (taking into account their materiality), but also how *affects* are produced and, finally, how affects contribute to the production of meaning *in situ*, that is, in the lived spatiotemporally situated experience. These additional questions lead us to new avenues of research which open new vistas for investigating music practices: the discovery of the non-signified materiality and its potentiality to generate affects, the potentiality of the excessive affect to de-signify, the ability of sign machines in their full materiality to catalyse the production of intensities and, finally, the potentiality of social machines to capture (“overcode”) the produced affect through mechanisms which are neither linguistic nor representational.

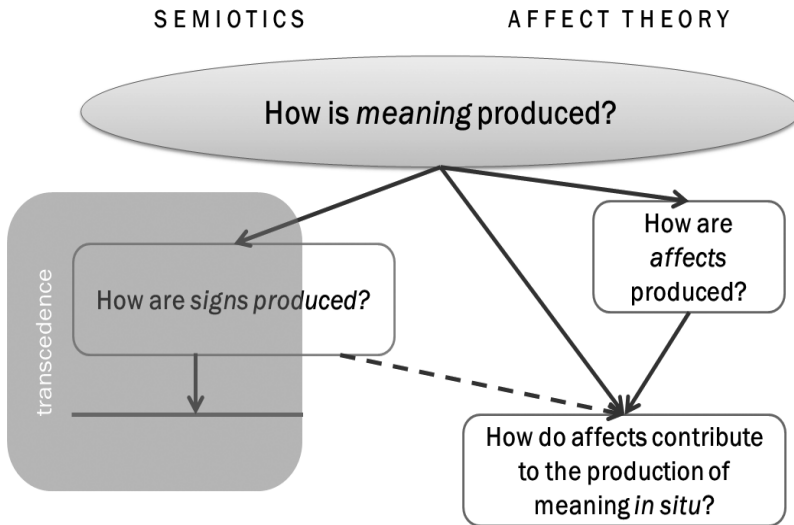


Diagram 1.

### *The Discovery of Non-Signified Materiality*

The semiotic model of music research has led scholars to focus on the bits of a musical text that we can recognise as signifiers that provide reference to the signified which lies outside the text itself. Unravelling a musical text (or even a musical event) as a repository of references which interconnect with other musical and social texts, our analysis becomes essentially biased as it reduces itself to the “hunt for codes” and fails to comprehend the musical/sound event in its full materiality. The questions remains, what is left of a music event when it is divested of all the bits that can be subjected to deciphering, and what is the function of this “leftover”? The answer brought forward by the affective turn is that it is precisely the non-signified materiality of the sonic event which shapes its potentiality, as a “vibrational body” to generate affect. Understanding affect as the intensity unleashed through the collisions of bodies, its production is fundamentally based on the intrinsic capacities of bodies to affect their surrounding bodies.<sup>7</sup> Understanding the features of the sonic event which are not encapsulated by semiotic models, and which in terms of customary musicological analysis might seem dangerously superficial (such as volume, timbre, texture, etc.) we can understand

<sup>7</sup> Baruch Spinoza defines affect as “affections of the body by which the body’s power of acting is increased or diminished, aided or restrained, and at the same time, the ideas of these affections” (Spinoza 1994: 154).

its power to affect the individuals who engage in music practices. Thus, studying the non-signified materiality of music does not entail giving up music analysis itself, but it does entail a change of perspective and a consistent reconsideration of the existing models of analysis when they prove inadequate to grasp the germane features of the sonic event.

Proving that this kind of analysis has merit for the traditional repertoire of “classical music”, Lawrence Kramer has recently tackled the analysis of the non-signified layers of musical text in some of the canonical works of Western music engaging with Jacques Lacan’s concept of *sinthome* (Kramer 2004, 2009). Lacan introduced the concept in his seminars on psychoanalysis in 1975 in order to “conceptualize what of the symptom cannot be reduced to structural determination – that is, to a determination ‘of language’” (Brousse 2007: 83). *Sinthome* thus represents the layer of materiality which seeks no interpretation but appears as a pure *jouissance* without reference. Discussing the finale of Beethoven’s String Quartet in E minor, op. 59, no. 2, Kramer describes what he calls the “craziness” of “probably the most transcendently buffoonish movement that Beethoven ever wrote”:

When it begins with a theme on two left feet, a lurching dotted figure in what seems to be the wrong key, we know we are in for a wild ride – and sure enough the harmony lurches as well as the tune. This key-switching is a travesty of the first movement’s mode-switching. It makes neither formal nor dramatic sense, nor is it supposed to. Instead it represents a Lacanian “*sinthome*,” an action full of “idiotic pleasure,” in Slavoj Žižek’s phrase, a pleasure embraced precisely because it is mindless, meaningless, heedless (Kramer 2009: 72–73).

In his earlier study, Kramer provides an in-depth analysis of the texture and harmony of the first movement of Beethoven’s Piano Sonata in G Major, op. 31 no. 1, in order to show how this “idiotic pleasure” not only does not refer to something outside of musical enjoyment, but how it can also influence the underlying tonal structure of the movement (Kramer 2004: 303–306). Kramer’s succinct analysis proves that, in order to understand how music functions as a sonic event, there is a need to approach the non-discursive “leftover”, even in the pieces of Western art music where one would think that nothing had escaped the purview of both traditional and semiotic analysis.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> The Lacanian concept of *sinthome* and its application in music analysis is further explored in Michael L. Klein’s forthcoming book *Music and the Crises of the Modern Subject* (Klein 2015; cf. Klein 2012).

The sonic event discussed by Steve Goodman in his study on “sonic warfare” is of a completely different kind, but testifies to the kindred dissatisfaction with the idea of sonic media which merely communicate meaning and to the effort to escape the “linguistic imperialism that subordinates the sonic to semiotic registers” (Goodman 2010, 82). The object of Goodman’s analysis is *sonic warfare*, the “use of force, both seductive and violent, abstract and physical, via a range of acoustic machines” which aims to “modulate the physical, affective, and libidinal dynamics of populations, of bodies, of crowds” (Goodman 2010: 10). In order to explore how the sonic functions as an instrument of war, Goodman is thus not interested in sound as a transmitter of the message, but in its capacity to affect, even hurt the listener in a visceral, physical way which often relies on the vibrational/timbral qualities of the sound and its sheer intensity, also reminding us of Barthes’s concept of *punctum*. Kramer and Goodman represent two distant poles, even in disciplinary terms (whereas Kramer remains firmly in the purview of musicology, Goodman’s work could be described both as an essay in affect theory and sound studies), but both prove that, in order to understand a sound event and its capacity to affect, we have to pay attention to the non-signified materiality of the sound event and listen to the layers which lie outside the web of codes.

### *The Potentiality of Affect to De-Signify*

Once we have discovered the potential of the non-signified materiality in music to generate affect, the question we have to pose is how this affect interferes with the purported meaning of the music. One of the possible answers is to argue that excessive affect can distort, deconstruct, or even destroy the meaning. In Deleuzoguattarian terms, one can argue that the affect produced on the surface of the socius can destabilise and break the linkage between the social machine and the body without organs, revealing the pure autonomy of the affective. In the 2012 documentary film *The Pervert’s Guide to Ideology*, directed by Sophie Fiennes, Slavoj Žižek, presenting his own screenplay, makes a similar claim in connection to the German metal band Rammstein, and particularly their live performance of the song *Reise, Reise*, originally released in 2004.<sup>9</sup> Žižek denounces criticism of Rammstein as sympathisers of Nazism, based on their use of performative elements of the Nazi Party in live performances, claiming that the band actually corrupts this ideological text:

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<sup>9</sup> Žižek has not (yet) treated this example in published work. His argument has been addressed by some of the online critical reviews that this film received (Brody 2012; Costa 2013; EDA Collective 2014).

Watch them closely and it should become clear that Rammstein, rather than promoting it, has actually found the key to undermining Nazism. By clearing fascist propaganda of all its content and presenting only the empty frame – the gestures without precise ideological meaning – Rammstein is able to denude fascism, emptying it of its power as a solution for social ills. By fighting Nazism like this in its pre-ideological state, music fans can enjoy the meaningless collective gestures while the band critiques fascism from within (Brody 2012).

Rammstein thus allows the enjoyment of the physical enactment of the performative elements connected to Nazism “in their pre-ideological state” (Costa 2013), destroying the code which would otherwise unequivocally convert the physicality of the performed signifier into the ideologised signified of Nazism. It is important to emphasise that this destruction of the code is not performed by discursive means – it is not in any linguistic way explicated to the audience. This intensity of affectation also fails to recognise the boundaries between the senses: the affect of the live performance of *Reise, Reise* is at the same time sonic, performative, visual and gestural, and the purviews of our particular sensual faculties combine in the univocity of the lived situated experience. It is brought forward by excessive affect, by the overemphasised enactment of the gestures accompanied with the intense sound layer, which in a certain way “overload” the capacity of the desiring-machine to overcode the affectations of the body and destroy its link with the physicality of the signifier. It is as if the “volume” – understood as the intensity of the transmission of the code – has been increased to such a level that the message of the transmitted code becomes incomprehensible to the receiver, the level where the “noise” overwhelms the code. Crucially, it then becomes the domain of the receiver themselves, the capacities of their own body, to destroy the code by diving into the field of unsignified pure enjoyment in the intensity, or even to produce a new code in order to comprehend the materiality they encounter.<sup>10</sup> It is through these instances that we find the autonomous agency of affectation itself offering avenues of freedom from the Oedipalising structures of the discursive apparatuses.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Similarly, Ana Hofman discusses how the Partisan songs have been reused in the current political setting of Slovenia through their partial resignification, insisting on the role of affects of the performances (and rehearsal) as a key mechanism in this process (Hofman 2015).

<sup>11</sup> “For indeed, no one has yet determined what the body can do, that is, experience has not yet taught anyone what the body can do from the laws of Nature alone, insofar as Nature is only considered to be corporeal, and what the body can do only if it is determined by the mind” (Spinoza 1994: 155).

*The Discursive Apparatus as a Catalyser of Intensities*

If affect is produced at the encounter of bodies, discursive apparatuses can only be capable of engaging in this production through the materiality of the signifier itself, the physical body of the apparatus, understood not only as a “discourse” but as a web of physical objects which embody the discourse as a social machine (cf. Agamben 2009). In other words, discourse as such cannot *produce*, *generate* affects *ex nihilo*, without the proxy of an embodied apparatus. However, it can engage in *catalysing* the affects which are produced at the meeting point of the bodies, as a catalyser which remains outside the production itself, but multiplies its speed and intensity. In other words, encountering a body which is a signifier produces greater intensities than encountering a “mere” body. How we understand, theorise and explore this role of discourse as catalyser of intensities and still remain faithful to radical immanence is a key question. I propose three points by which these inquiries can differ from the stereotyped critical discourse analysis: the understanding of the full materiality of the discursive apparatus, doing research *in situ* and reconceptualization of the ways in which discourse operates through the concept of embodied memory. As examples of this approach I cite two studies which explore distinct social practices in the contemporary post-Yugoslav space: Ana Petrov’s study on Tereza Kesovija’s recent concerts in Belgrade (Petrov 2015) and my study of Serbian pilgrimages to Kosovo (Atanasovski 2015). Petrov focuses on the ways in which the discourses of Yugonostalgia are actualised in Kesovija’s live performance by scrutinising the interplay of the performed songs themselves, Kesovija’s rhetoric and the affective ecology produced at the event. In my study, I dealt with the soundtrack of the pilgrimage route, showing how certain pieces of music (both a contemporary revived Byzantine chant and Serbian patriotic folk songs from the late 1980s) act as mnemonic palimpsests, hybridising the physical experience of the pilgrimage with the apparatus of Serbian religious nationalism. In both cases, Petrov and I start off with our own situated physical experience of the music event, using participant observation as the primary method of research. The situatedness of the observed individuals, their physical, embodied presence at the concert or pilgrimage, the sense of “being there”, is seen as a key factor in both producing and catalysing the intensities. Furthermore, we analyse the physical materiality of the music objects which affect the individuals who are the subjects of the studies. In this regard, the analyses are deeply situated in the time and place where the observations took place and neither author makes attempts to generalise their conclusions beyond the scope of

the studied events. Finally, in order to explain how the discourse of Yugonostalgia or Serbian nationalism is embedded in music artefacts, we deal with the mechanisms of embodied memory, which is situated in the bodies of the individuals who participate in a practice, and not in the discourse understood as other to the immanent materiality. In other words, this mode of analysis follows Guattari's precept that "the signifying structure does not transcend the libido" (Guattari 2013: 24), exploring how it is embedded directly within the flows of intensities.

### *Overcoding the Affect*

It is important to note that in the previous examples it was the co-situatedness of the discursive apparatus and of the bodies engaged in the production of affect which gave meaning to the lived experience of the individuals taking part in the particular social practice. In other words, the production of situated social meaning in its essence did not occur through a discursive mechanism, but through the physical agency of the apparatus. In explaining how desiring-machines operate on the body of the socius, Deleuze and Guattari described these processes by coining the term "overcoding": the machinic production of desire is reterritorialized through the presence of the social machine which striates the smooth surface of the body without organs, capturing its affect and subjugating its flows (Deleuze and Guattari 1983, 1987). Overcoding is thus a process through which affects and flows produced through an initial encounter of bodies and codes are rigidified, re-inscribed in a symbolic, imagined transcendent plane. This overcoding is never complete, as the fullness of the rhizomatic body is unsusceptible to its mechanisms. However, the question remains, how do the mechanisms of overcoding operate outside the discourse itself, and how can the sonic affect be captured by these mechanisms? In their opening discussion on the 2010–11 riots which broke out in the UK in response to public spending cuts and increased tuition fees, Marie Thompson and Ian Biddle emphasised the role of popular music in mobilising the protesters in spite of the fact that it "had no overt political content". As they report, protesters were "dancing, marching and chanting along to a variety of soundtracks", and the music helped "to instill a sense of collectivity" in the protesting community (Thompson and Biddle 2013b: 2–3). Not only did the music not carry any message related to this political intervention, but it can also be seen as another commodity of the post-industrial age which is part of "the exploitative practices of the culture industry and mainstream musical production" and thus an active part of the system



that protesters were rioting against. The soundtrack of the riot was “not transgressive, subcultural or radical” as one would expect it to be in order to express the ideas of the protest:

In short, this music is entirely incompatible with traditional or normative understandings of politically conscious or politicized music: it resists nothing. And yet, in spite of its semantic content and its modes of production, this chart pop music was made to facilitate resistance. [...] Instead of providing a message of opposition for people to rally around and to identify with, music mobilized bodies through affective transmission. Sound was used to create a particular ambience or atmosphere, via the induction, modulation and circulation of moods, feelings and intensities, which were felt but, at the same time, belonged to nobody in particular (Thompson and Biddle 2013b: 4–5).

Thompson and Biddle’s case study offers a window onto some important questions: how can a situated musical event take part in creating affective ecologies and producing social meanings which are not in any discursive manner connected with the content of the music itself, or even go against its ostensive signification? In other words, how does sonic affect become overcoded in a concrete spatiotemporally situated experience, creating a social reality in seemingly unexpected ways? Again, in order to provide an answer the analysis has to be finely tuned in order to grasp the circumstances of the given sonic event.

## Conclusion

The cited examples of contemporary sound and music studies prove the complexity and variegation of the challenge which affective turn presents to our disciplines. The questions that we are impelled to pose when stepping outside the semiotic model are both divergent amongst themselves and asking for a different kind of analysis compared to what we are used to – different methods and competences through which we truly enter into the postdisciplinary age. Importantly, the affective turn challenges us to restructure and extend both the view from without and the view from within the music itself:

- Listening from *within*, in order to understand how the music or sound event creates intensities in the lived experience, we need even closer reading/listening to the sound itself. We need to truly understand the properties of the sound event, as a vibrational body, which empowers it to interact and affect



other bodies. This analysis may look superficial, even shallow, but this is precisely because it orients towards the *surface* of the event, the layer which most poignantly affects/wounds the body of the listener. And in situations where existing modes of analysis prove inadequate to address the questions of volume, timbre or texture, we need to find innovative ways of grasping and theorising these aspects of sound.

- Observing from *without*, our understanding of the context in which a certain sound appears has to be highly tuned to a concrete the spatiotemporal position and the exigencies of the event with its multi-layered web of meaning. Beyond understanding what object a certain signifier in a musical text refers to, we need to explore the sound event as a palimpsest, where different layers of meaning can trigger different embodied memories through the participatory practices and music artefacts. Ideally, this kind of analysis asks for participation on behalf of the researcher themselves, who would – much in terms of the Lefebvrian “rhythm analyst” – expose their own body in order to capture the rhythm of the lived time, to understand the mechanisms of catalysing and overcoding of the affects which occur *in situ*.

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Срђан Ајанасовски

## ПОСЛЕДИЦЕ „ЗАОКРЕТА КА АФЕКТУ”: ИСТРАЖИВАЊЕ МУЗИЧКИХ ПРАКСИ ИЗНУТРА И СПОЉА

(Резиме)

У овом раду истражујем изазове које такозвани „заокрет ка афекту” у културалним студијама поставља пред постојеће моделе истраживања музичких пракси и мапирам могућности његове примене у музикологији. При томе полазим од становишта да се „заокрет ка афекту” може тумачити у опозицији према ономе што се може означити као стандардни (или трансцендентални) „семиотички модел”, а који је, отворено или прећутно, прихваћен као опште мњење у сфери студија музике и културалних студија уопште и који се преобразио у својеврсну „зону комфора” савремених истраживача. Како бих формулисао критику семиотичких модела истраживања, позивам се на списе теоретичара који су били активни током седамдесетих година XX века – Анрија Лефевра (Henri Lefebvre), Жила Делеза (Gilles Deleuze) и Феликса Гатарија (Félix Guattari) а који су били изражено критични према семиотици већ у њеној конститутивној фази. Сагледавајући поље студија афекта указујем на предности оне гране ових студија које афект виде као неозначени интензитет, постављен у координатама онтолошког система Жила Делеза. Ово нас води к разумевању процеса произвођења значења као процесу који се одваја на разини иманенције, у којој оперишу како материјалности означитеља, тако и токови афекта. Како потенцијалне последице теорије афекта често остају неразјашњене, верујем да би било посебно плодно размотрити четири усмерења истраживања која се њоме отварају, а која одступају од стандардног модела семиотичких анализа: откриће неозначене материјалности и њеног потенцијала да генерише афекте, потенцијал прекомерног афеката да разозначава, способност знаковних друштвених машина да у својој пуној материјалности делују као катализатор у производњи интензитета, и, коначно, потенцијал друштвених машина да наткодирају произведене афекте кроз механизме који

нису ни лингвистички ни репрезентациони. На основу овога изводим тврдњу да заокрет ка афекту у студијама музике може пружити другачије моделирање како погледа изнутра, тако и погледа споља. Наиме, да би се спровела наведена истраживачка питања, с једне стране су неопходни специфично разрађени модели „блиског читања” музичког и звучног догађаја, а с друге разумевање ширег перформативног и друштвеног контекста.

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## A New Interdisciplinary Approach to the Study of the Origins of Traditional Polyphony

Joseph Jordania<sup>1</sup>

Melbourne Conservatorium of Music, University of Melbourne

### Abstract

The article discusses a new model of the origins of choral singing in the context of human evolutionary history. Hominid interaction with predators is seen as a crucial force in the evolution of human morphology and behaviour. Group singing and dancing, with body painting and the use of masks, are perceived as critical elements of the strategy to deter predators and to put hominids into an altered state of consciousness. In this state, humans do not feel fear and pain and are ready to sacrifice their lives for the common goal. This psychological condition is still important to many human group activities, particularly in religion and the military. The mosaic distribution of polyphonic traditions is discussed in the context of the origins of language and articulated speech.

### Keywords

Origins of Polyphony; Dissonance in Traditional Polyphony; Comparative, Cross-disciplinary and Multidisciplinary Approaches in Ethnomusicology; Origin of Speech; Human Evolution

### *Introduction: The Problem of the Origins of Polyphony at the Turn of the Millennium*

The origin of polyphony is one of the biggest problems in musicology. The ability of human groups to sing in complexly organised musical texture has captivated the attention of musicians and cultural historians for centuries. Apart from the scholarly importance, this phenomenon has also acquired a wider ideological dimension. Polyphony was considered a hallmark of European high musical culture. As for the problem of the origins of this phenomenon, it was widely believed to be a cultural invention by medieval European Christian monks. This belief remained unshaken for centuries despite the occasional appearance of contradicting facts.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> [josephjordania@yahoo.com.au](mailto:josephjordania@yahoo.com.au)

<sup>2</sup> Among these facts, for example, was the discovery of polyphony among Polynesians during their first meetings with Europeans in the 1770s (see Burney 1975: 84; Beaglehole 1967: 944). Such facts, which were uncomfortable for the dominating paradigm, were declared untrustworthy and were neglected as a result (see Kaeppler et al. 1998: 14).

The paradigm of the medieval Christian invention of polyphony continued well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century, until the newly developed field of comparative musicology proposed a different model for the birth of polyphony. Due to the presence of evidence of polyphony among non-European peoples, the representatives of the great Berlin school of comparative musicology came to the conclusion that polyphony was not invented in the 9<sup>th</sup> century by Christian monks, but rather was born earlier in traditional music and later spread to the European professional music (see Schneider 1934–1935). Proposing a new paradigm has never been a safe issue; this was particularly the case in Nazi Germany, and Schneider's book was publicly burned, along with other banned literature that contradicted the idea of white European supremacy.

In regards to the origins of European professional polyphony the new paradigm allowed two possibilities. According to the first, polyphony was born somewhere outside of Europe, and reached Europe later via cultural contacts (the popular research trend of the time was the model of "cultural circles"). The main proponent of this idea was Marius Schneider, who considered polyphony to have been born in South–East Asia (Schneider 1934–35). According to another point of view, the main source for the European professional polyphony was the archaic polyphonic traditions of local, European peoples (Collaer 1960). In terms of the birthplace and age of polyphonic singing, there were various suggestions. Victor Lederer proposed that polyphony was born in Northern Europe (1906), Vasil Stoin suggested that polyphony was born in the mountainous regions of Bulgaria and later spread to other countries of the Balkan Peninsula and the rest of Europe (1925). Dimitri Araqishvili did not claim that polyphony spread to the rest of the world from Georgia, but was sure that it was a local pre-Christian invention (1925).

During the comparative period of development in our discipline (1880–1950), the dominant interest lay in "big themes". It was not only the origins of polyphony that comparative musicologists were researching. Works on the classification of scales and musical instruments, or the origins of music itself, together with other theoretical and historical themes, were published in this period. However, most of the works from this period had serious problems. There was an insufficient number of high quality regional studies of world musical cultures, so the new global theories were mostly based on a mixture of inferior facts and second- and third-hand incomplete information.<sup>3</sup> Even worse, comparative studies often made ambitious

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<sup>3</sup> For example, the representatives of comparative musicology, Siegfried Nadel and Marius Schneider, who wrote extensively about the possible interactions between Georgian folk and European professional polyphony (Nadel 1933; Schneider 1940,



classifications of various musical cultures from the “lowest” to the “highest” forms, and the adjective “primitive” was routinely used in reference to many non-European cultures. This trend became particularly untenable after the events of the Second World War.

From 1950 onwards the situation changed drastically. A revolutionary new paradigm, based on the methodology of cultural anthropology, tipped the balance to the opposite end. Even the name of the scholarly field changed, from “comparative musicology” to “ethnomusicology” (see Merriam 1960). The existing works that were dedicated to the big theoretical and historical themes and based on comparative methodology were severely criticised. Wide (“horizontal”) comparative works were replaced by deep, “vertical” regional studies of a single culture, based on the long-term participant observation model of fieldwork (see: Merriam 1977; Hood 1960, 1971; Nettl 2005).

The new studies were written by experts who, as a rule, were proficient not only in the musical traditions, but in the language, history, cuisine, psychology and many other intimate parameters of the studied culture. The comparative method was discredited and mostly rejected along with the majority of the comparative studies of pre-war Germany. The problem of the origins of polyphony, very much like the other “big problems” of musicology, disappeared from the mainstream publications. Even during the explosion of interest in the origins of music (the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century), despite the obvious relevance of an ethnomusicological perspective on this problem, mainstream ethnomusicology remained at a “safe distance” from this “big” topic (although see Grauer 2006, 2007; Jordania 2006, 2011). The most ambitious research project of this era, Alan Lomax’s “Cantometrics”, was created outside of academia and was mostly criticized by professional ethnomusicologists.

By the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the situation started to get more complicated. Some ethnomusicologists started voicing concerns about the absence of “big themes” in the discipline and started questioning the total rejection of comparative methodology from mainstream publications. One of them was Tim Rice, the head of the biggest ethnomusicological department in the USA, UCLA. During the 2001 ICTM Conference in Rio de Janeiro, Tim Rice characterized the rejection of comparative methodology after 1950 with the phrase “the baby was thrown out together with the bath water” (personal communication on July 9<sup>th</sup>, 2001). The 2001 ICTM World conference in Rio de Janeiro itself hosted the first theme about the possible comeback of the comparative methodology, which received a less-

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1951, 1961, 1969), never visited Georgia, let alone attempted such arduous endeavours as learning the Georgian language or organising fieldwork in Georgia.

-than-enthusiastic response from mainstream ethnomusicologists. This concern was well defined in a polemical article by Tim Rice himself, published almost a decade later in the central journal of the field, *Ethnomusicology*: “Disciplining Ethnomusicology: A Call for a New Approach” (Rice 2010). Sympathy towards comparative methodology is quite evident in the works of another prominent American ethnomusicologist, Bruno Nettl (Nettl 2005: 60–73). Nettl noted the returning sympathies towards the comparative method among some scholars in the 1970s, although we cannot by any means talk about the acceptance of comparative methodology in the mainstream ethnomusicology of that time.

Today we are possibly on the verge of the third period of development of our discipline. The return of the comparative perspective seems a logical step after the long period of extensive regional studies. Nettl notes of the comparative method that, by the year 2000, “it is clearly here again, though without an explicit methodology and usually without being named” (Nettl 2005: 63). Some ethnomusicologists and musicologists (among them Steven Brown, Michael Tenzer, Pat Savage), active supporters of the official return of comparative methodology, have tried to bring it back to life during recent years, seeking closer contacts with a broader circle of scholars from several fields. The first meeting of the supporters of the revival of the comparative method was held in Vancouver, Canada, at the conference *Analytical Approaches to World Music* in May 2012.

Of course, if we are to compare regional (“vertical”) and comparative (“horizontal”) methods, we have to acknowledge that deep regional studies are the “backbone” of ethnomusicology, because regional studies can certainly exist without comparative studies, whereas comparative studies depend totally on the number and quality of regional studies (Hood 1960: 233). The selection of methodology for any research project should naturally depend on the research aims of the project. A decent research project on topics with a broader perspective, such as the phenomenon of the drone, the distribution of string instruments or the origins of round dances, is impossible to conduct without a wide comparative approach. Research into the origins of polyphony is one of the obvious cases where the comparative method is absolutely necessary.

Furthermore, during my research I came to the firm conclusion that, for understanding the processes that led to the origins of polyphony as we know it, the comparative method alone is not enough. Studying the amazing variety of vocal polyphonic traditions throughout the world and creating stylistic parameters for their comparison is in itself a formidable task, but it is only the first step of

the research. In order to gain an idea of the historical forces that led to the existing picture of the distribution of polyphonic styles, I had to go much further. I gradually entered the realm of cross-disciplinary and interdisciplinary research, including such widely ranging spheres as physical anthropology, speech pathology, primatology, and even military psychology.

The conclusion that I reached during over 30 years of research proposed a complete change in my understanding of the roots of choral polyphony. According to my new model, the phenomenon of vocal polyphony is not a late cultural invention, but an important part of the hominid<sup>4</sup> survival strategy. This strategy was developed by the forces of natural selection. The tradition of vocal polyphony, according to my model, was an integral part of the wider defence system from predators, with extremely ancient origins. Ever since, the development of articulated speech polyphony has been gradually disappearing throughout the world<sup>5</sup>. My research resulted in a number of unexpected proposals and bold predictions, not only in ethnomusicology but in several other disciplines as well, from the origins of human intelligence, language and speech to the distribution of stuttering and dyslexia.

Now, after the short introduction to the history of research on the origins of polyphony, let us discuss the main characteristics of the new possible solution to this problem. As I will be trying to present the results of a very wide circle of problems, it is inevitable that some important ideas will not be mentioned, some will be presented very briefly (with due references to other publications where the full accounts can be found), and some topics will be granted a more detailed account.

### *Comparative Study of the Origins of Polyphony and Beyond*

A comparative study of the variety of polyphonic traditions in the world was the starting point of my research. As I soon found out, apart from two editions of the book *History of Polyphony* by Marius Schneider (1934–35 and 1969), no other major work was

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<sup>4</sup> The term “hominid” is traditionally used by evolutionists to define a variety of ancestral forms of *Homo sapiens*. In recent years some scholars have started using this term to define a wider circle of species, including extant and extinct apes. They suggested the term “hominin” to be used to denote human ancestral forms. In this article the author uses the term “hominid” in the traditional understanding, designating all forms ancestral to *Homo sapiens*.

<sup>5</sup> Russian-Jewish scholar Miron Kharlap was first to propose the idea of the initial wider distribution of archaic forms of polyphony and their subsequent loss (Kharlap 1972). But for Kharlap music and polyphony were not very old phenomena, as he believed music was born out of human speech.

available where the information about various polyphonic cultures was gathered. When Schneider re-published his 1934–35 book with a newly added chapter in 1969, for some reason he did not include many of the polyphonic traditions that were known by that time. I used a variety of strategies to fill the gaps in my knowledge of the polyphonic traditions in various regions of the world. Organising special conferences (from 1984 onwards) on traditional polyphony provided a much needed breakthrough, as I was able to gain knowledge not only from the papers presented at the conferences but also from direct contact with the experts from various cultures. I have to say that the process of gathering the information about various polyphonic traditions is still ongoing, and I am sure will continue while I am alive.

It was an important methodological breakthrough for me when I classified various elements of musical traditions according to their potentially stable or mobile character (Jordania 2006: 189–196, 2011: 47–50). Based on the analyses of several examples of intercultural exchanges (involving Georgian, Middle Eastern, African and Polynesian musical examples), I came to the conclusion that some elements of traditional musical culture can be extremely fluid and mobile (for example, melodies and instruments). On the other hand, I proposed that some elements were extremely stable. Two of the most stable elements were the type of polyphony (drone, ostinato and parallel polyphony), and the intervals that were predominantly used as the “harmonic ethno-ideal of polyphonic culture” (dissonant seconds or sevenths, or consonant thirds and sixths) in these cultures.

The first major breakthrough in understanding the reasons behind the mysterious stratigraphy of monophonic and polyphonic cultures was the understanding of the correlation between the distribution of vocal polyphony and the physical anthropology data (Jordania 1988, 1989).<sup>6</sup> It was nothing short of a shock when I first read in the publications of the prominent Russian physical anthropologist Valeri Alekseyev that populations of the Caucasian Mountains and the Dinaric Mountains in the Balkans were extremely close in their craniological parameters. Many other such correlations followed over the next several years, to the point that I was able to predict the presence of polyphony according to the physical anthropology data (for example, this happened in the case of North Japanese Ainus, and the mountain populations of North and Central Vietnam).

<sup>6</sup> Marius Schneider was the first to notice that the distribution of choral polyphony and the physical anthropology data were coinciding (Schneider 1934–35, 1951, 1969). For a scholar interested in the worldwide distribution of polyphony, this is virtually impossible not to notice. On the other hand, Schneider believed in the late cultural origins of polyphony and, in my opinion, he did not go deep enough to reach the primary causes of the human tradition of group polyphonic singing.

My meeting with the Georgian physical anthropologist Malkhaz Abdushelishvili and Russian anthropologist Valeri Alekseyev in 1985 was the first serious cross-disciplinary contact in my search for the origins of human choral singing. Valeri Alekseyev's untimely death in 1991 cut short our plans for interdisciplinary collaborative work. My 2006 book *Who Asked the First Question? Origins of Human Choral Singing, Intelligence, Language and Speech* is dedicated to the memory of Valeri Alekseyev and Malkhaz Abdushelishvili.

I cannot elaborate here on the correlation between the distribution of vocal polyphony and related physical anthropological types. This is a huge sphere in itself and those who are interested might find a couple of examples of this correlation in my English language books (Jordania, 2006, 2011, 2015). For those who want to read the whole story, I would suggest my Russian language article in the Soviet journal *Soviet Ethnography*, written at Valeri's request, or my first book, also published in Russian (Jordania, 1988,<sup>7</sup> 1989).

In 1995 I arrived in Australia. At about the same time a new communication tool, email, began to revolutionize the interaction between scholars. By the time my second book came out (Jordania, 2006) my knowledge of world polyphonic traditions was much wider than in 1989.

### *Is Polyphony Appearing or Disappearing?*

For the development of the current model of the origins of polyphony the crucial moment came when I started compiling the facts for two contradicting tendencies: (1) the disappearance of polyphonic traditions, and (2) the appearance of polyphonic traditions. I soon realized that there was actually only one historical tendency: the **disappearance** of polyphony. I was able to find plenty of examples of the disappearance of polyphonic traditions all over the world<sup>8</sup>, but I could not find a single example of the appearance

<sup>7</sup> This article from *Soviet Ethnography* was soon translated and published in Bulgarian, in the journal *Muzikalni Horizonti* (Jordania 1989a)

<sup>8</sup> Here are a few facts on the disappearance of polyphonic traditions: In Italy, Lombardy, singing in seconds was documented in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, but later disappeared (see Ferand 1939). In Lithuania, the unique vocal polyphonic style *sutartines*, based on the almost constant use of secondal dissonances, has disappeared over the last two centuries (Rachiunaite-Viciniene 2002). In Latvia, the tradition of three-part drone singing, recorded by A. Yurian at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, has disappeared (Yurian 1907). In Estonia, a tradition of drone polyphony was recorded by Tampere at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, but disappeared later (Tampere 1938). In northern Russia, a unique tradition of duet and trio singing with independent melodies was recorded by E. Gippius in the 1920s, and was never heard again (Zemtsovsky 2000: 758). On Sicily, according to the archive recordings, the western region was as polyphonic as the rest of the Mediterranean island, but after the 1968 earthquake the tradition seems to have been

of vocal polyphony in a previously monophonic traditional singing culture. So it became clear to me that the historic link between monophony and polyphony was working in the opposite direction from what had been believed for centuries: the initial musical culture of humanity was most likely based on polyphonic singing, and for some reason it gradually disappeared over centuries and possibly millennia. This was a complete change from the widely accepted idea of the relatively late cultural origins of polyphony from the natural development of monophony.

Before we start discussing the reasons for the gradual and mosaic disappearance of choral singing in various regions of the world, we firstly need to discuss the evolutionary forces that prompted our ancestors to start singing in harmony. This problem is very close to the problem of the origins of music, since the evolutionary forces that prompted our distant ancestors to start singing in harmony were very close to the forces that prompted our ancestors to start singing at all.

To be brief, I will go straight to the core points:

I was the first to pay attention to the fact that most of the singing species on our planet live in trees (Jordania 2006: 303–306). I suggested that this was due to the fact that singing on the ground is an extremely costly activity, as singing attracts predators. Furthermore, when the singing species, which spend most of their time in the trees and can fly away from danger, go down to the ground for a short visit, they become silent (Jordania 2006: 305).

I proposed that our human ancestors were most likely already a singing species when they came down from the trees (this happened, as we know today, between 4 and 7 million years ago). Amazingly, humans are the only ground-dwelling species that sing (another neglected fact). On the other hand, there are thousands of singing species, including singing primates that live in the trees

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lost (Macchiarella 2008: 142). In Macedonia, according to local ethnomusicologists, the tradition of Macedonian singing in dissonant seconds disappeared between the 1950s and 1980s (Bicevski 1986). In California, USA, according to historical sources and archival recordings, interesting forms of vocal counterpoint that were present among South Californian Indians also disappeared (Keeling 2001: 418). In Taiwan, according to the archive recordings, the small mountain tribe Saisat had a tradition of singing in parallel fourths that disappeared within the first few decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Tsang-houei 2002: 525). In Indonesia, according to Dana Rappoport, part of the traditions of vocal polyphony in Central Sulawesi have disappeared over recent decades (Rappoport 2004). In Polynesia, according to A. Kaepler, the tradition of six-part polyphony on Tonga was eventually lost, and partly replaced by late European three-part singing (Kaepler 1990). In Africa, according to Simha Arom, the tradition of vocal and instrumental polyphony has been declining among pygmies from the 1970s (personal communication, letter from 7<sup>th</sup> August, 2007). In Georgia, cases of the loss of the traditions of vocal polyphony are documented in Meskheti and Saingilo Magradze 1986; Jordania 2000: 827. For more detailed information and more cases see Jordania 2006, 2015.



(for example, gibbons sing, even in family duets and groups. See Geissmann 2000).

As we know, apart from human ancestors, the ancestors of other big apes also came down from the trees. Even if they were singing species at the moment of transition, it is very likely that, following the life-saving strategy of tree dwellers that visit the ground, they would become silent. So the crucial question for us to answer is not why the ancestors of our closest living relatives stopped singing (this is clear – for survival), but why our ancestors did not stop singing. To answer this question, we will look to another sphere, the sphere of defence strategies against predators in the animal kingdom.

### *Vocal Polyphony and Human Defence Strategies*

Contrary to popular belief, not all animal species try to conceal themselves in order to avoid predators. Some species do the opposite: they try to be very visible, noisy, and even smelly. For this purpose they develop bright, colourful or striped bodies, they try to look big, they make hissing, growling, and clicking sounds, and they develop an unpleasant and constant bodily smell. With their easily noticeable appearance, noisy behaviour and smell, they try to communicate to would-be predators that they are not afraid of them, and predators would be better to leave them alone. For this purpose they even developed specific style of locomotion – an awkward, sluggish walking style, and fearless behaviour (as a rule they do not run away from predators). Such animal species are known as “aposematic species” (Ruxton et al. 2004).

Examples of aposematic species are brightly coloured snakes and spiders. They often make hissing, rattling or clicking sounds to warn others to leave them alone. Aposematism among mammals is not very well studied (although see, for example, Caro 2009), but the skunk provides a good and widely known example. Not many people know that, before using its deadly spray, the skunk goes through the routine of aposematic display: feet stomping, waving its big and highly visible bushy tail, standing on two legs to look taller, and making growling sounds. Apart from these display features, the skunk is constantly accompanied by a musky smell. In terms of behaviour, as with other aposematic animals, skunk moves slowly and does not try to run away from predators. All these are the elements of aposematic display aimed at intimidating the predator.

After learning about the behaviour of aposematic animals, I proposed that, following their descent from the trees, humans started using the aposematic strategy of survival (Jordania 2011: 182–196). This was another completely new proposition, as humans had never



been seen in the light of aposematic behaviour. Apart from behaviour, the aposematic strategy gradually changes an animal's morphology. The aposematic nature of our ancestor's behaviour is able to explain plenty of human morphological and behavioural peculiarities: human bipedalism, long hair on the top of our heads, long legs, or the use of high military helmets could have developed in hominid/early human evolution to create the appearance of being taller (Jordania 2011: 104–105). The use of body painting, clothes and masks can be explained as efforts to look more intimidating (Jordania 2011: 106–107). The human instinct to freeze in the most critical situations is also very characteristic of the defence strategy of aposematic animals (Jordania 2014: 179–182). Besides, humans are also known for a strong bodily smell, which does not exist among the cryptic species (for example, cats. Jordania 2014: 170–173). And of course, singing in a group, accompanied by stomping, clapping, and synchronized body movements, makes a highly effective intimidation tool (think of something like a Maori Haka, traditionally performed in order to intimidate the opponent before a battle).

I want to mention, without going into details, another topic that is extremely important for evolutionary theory – interaction between the aposematic strategy and the strategy of sexual selection. Most human morphological and behavioural characteristics were explained by Darwin with the help of sexual selection (Darwin 1871). According to his theory, most of the colourful and oversized additions to animal bodies, as well as singing and dance-like body movements, were developed in the animal kingdom in order to attract the attention of the female. But evolutionists must remember that aposematic display is based on exactly the same principles: the display of colours, oversized additions to the body, singing and dancing. So proponents of sexual selection theory have to take into account the possible aposematic nature of such displays. When looked with an unbiased eye, it is possible to see that, even in the case of the peacock, the classic symbol of the power of sexual selection, the magnificent tail (known as the “train”) was not developed by the forces of sexual selection. A seven-year-long study of the behaviour of peacocks in Japan came to the conclusion that peahens do not pay any attention to the male display of the tail (Takahashi 2008). Readers can see a detailed account of this fascinating topic in my other works (Jordania 2011: 192–196, 2014: 86–92). It is interesting that in aposematic species females are often cryptically coloured because they have to stay with the young. Symptomatically, in the species where males take care of the young, females are usually more conspicuous and males are cryptic (Ruxton et al. 2004)

Let us return to the loud rhythmic group singing of our distant ancestors and discuss a feature that brings us to the sphere of military psychology. Loud group singing, apart from the intimidation of predators and competitors, had another, possibly even more important function: it put our ancestors in an altered state of consciousness. In this state, hominids forgot about their individual interests and were totally dedicated to the interests of the group. This specific state, which I call the “Battle Trance” (Jordania 2011: 98–102) might occur both in men and women, and can occur instantly (for example, when a child is attacked by a predator and a parent goes into all-out fight without any thought for self-survival), or can be induced by various means, most importantly by loud rhythmic collective drumming-singing-dancing sessions. Such sessions are very well known to ethnographers from an array of traditional societies as preparation for military activities. Even in contemporary armies, the exhaustively long rhythmic marches are the primary force that turns new recruits into killers who are ready to follow any order (McNeil 1995). In the state of the battle trance, soldiers do not feel fear and pain; they can do extremely altruistic things (for example, sacrifice their life for others), but they can also do extremely violent things (for example, participate in the mass killing of civilians. See Jordania 2014: 184–189). Another characteristic feature of this state is that if combatants are in a deep trance they might have partial or full amnesia of critical events. This extremely important and powerful psychological phenomenon has been studied to a surprisingly insufficient extent.

American ethnomusicologist Jonathan Pieslak studied the use of music among American combat forces positioned in Iraq, and came to the conclusion that music plays an extremely important role in the military (Pieslak 2009). Apart from the use of music for relaxation and socializing, which comes to mind first when thinking of music in the military, soldiers use music for much more practical purposes. Very much like in traditional societies, contemporary military forces also often use group dancing before commencing their combat missions. Taking advantage of the existing technology, contemporary military forces tend to listen to loud recordings of rock songs. Impressed by the importance of music in soldiers’ lives, American actor and soap-opera writer Tom Wiggin started a campaign to distribute personal MP3 players to all soldiers stationed in Iraq and Afghanistan (Villarreal 2010).

We do not have the space here to discuss the evolutionary importance of loud rhythmic music in the origins of such human institutions and sentiments as religion and patriotism (see Jordania 2011: 102–103). One factor seems obvious: all such group activities that use communal singing have deep connections to the ancient

evolutionary role of music. Music is a powerful medium to connect individual humans via changes in brain chemistry (Benzon 2001: 23), leading them to experience a certain exhilaration when the feeling of individuality dissolves into a common Collective Identity.

### *Sounds of Primordial Polyphony*

Now I would like to devote a couple of pages to the discussion of the musical side of my model. In several books I proposed that the initial loud and precisely rhythmically organised music was based on very specific dissonant intervals (Jordania 2011: 110–111, 2014: 162–165).

Singing in harmony makes the overall sound more robust, creating the impression of a larger and more imposing group, which was the exact aim of singing for our hominid ancestors. Professional musicians know that there are several different ways of singing in harmony. You can sing in parallel thirds and parallel sixths, and this will lead to a nice relaxing harmony, prevalently used in classical and contemporary pop music. Parallel fourths and fifths make a very different sound – rough and somehow hollow – early Christian liturgical music and rock music are ardent users of this harmonic element. Singing in dissonant intervals, particularly seconds, creates the most startling, the most robust, and the most impressive overall sound. These characteristics make singing in seconds the best possible option for creating a loud, attention-grabbing and intimidating sound<sup>9</sup>. Dissonant sounds would have been perfect in order for our ancestors to intimidate predators.

In my 2011 book I suggested that singing in dissonant seconds was created by the forces of natural selection, and that the tradition of singing in seconds was taken by our distant ancestors from their African “cradle” to the different regions of the world. Most importantly, I also suggested that the remnants of this primordial singing style still exist in the most isolated regions of the world (Jordania 2011: 111–112). Many of my colleagues probably reject this possibility offhand because of the sheer amount of time involved in this model. I suggest checking the existing facts before rejecting this idea.

To test this possibility, we need to search for a specific polyphonic style with a loud and piercing sound and very sharp dissonances. And most importantly, if this singing style is an ancient survival technique, examples of this style must be scattered in the

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<sup>9</sup> It is no accident that car horns are often tuned so that they create the most dissonant sound, often the interval of a second, as sharp dissonances are able to grab attention more quickly.

geographically most isolated places (like mountain ranges, islands, large forested regions, continental fringes), and must be present among totally unrelated cultures.

Now, if we look at the stratification of singing styles all over the world (see Jordania 2006: 30–176; or, to hear sound examples, see Jordania 2015), a very specific polyphonic style comes to our attention. This is a piercingly loud singing style, based on the maximally dissonant acoustic interval of the second. Even more precisely, this interval is often between the major and minor seconds, measuring 14–16 hertz. This is “the most dissonant dissonance” – the neutral second, known in ethnomusicology under the German term “Schwebungsdiaphonie” (lit.: “rough sound,” “rough harmony”; Messner 1988, 2013).

Another extremely important fact is that singing in this style tends to be distributed in the most geographically isolated and distant regions of the world – in Tibet, the mountain ranges of the Hindu–Kush, the Caucasian and Balkan mountain ranges, the North Vietnamese and Taiwanese mountains, South-West China’s forest-covered mountains, the hard to reach mountain regions of Central Papua New Guinea, some of the islands of Indonesia and Melanesia, the swampy forests of East European Polesie, the fringes of Europe in the Baltic region, in isolated pockets of Africa, and among the North Japanese aboriginal Ainu people, inter alia (Jordania 2011: 110–111). The amazing similarity between the polyphonic styles of such geographically and culturally isolated regions strongly suggests that these scattered traditions of dissonant polyphony might be remnants of a common ancestral singing tradition of humanity. The development as a simple coincidence of such a specific polyphonic style independently, by so many differing cultures, is virtually impossible to imagine.

We know that the striking resemblance between Balkan and Indonesian traditions of polyphony left the brilliant Dutch ethnomusicologist Jaap Kunst totally astonished.<sup>10</sup> He published a book in 1954 on this subject, in which he tried to substantiate a farfetched hypothesis of a major prehistoric transcontinental migration from the Balkans to Indonesia. From my point of view, the central problem with Kunst’s hypothesis is that the mentioned parallel between the

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<sup>10</sup> The similarity of the stylistic elements and sounds between these traditions is amazing. When, in the 1980s, Austrian-Australian comparative musicologist Florian Messner, following in Kunst’s footsteps, played a recording from Bulgaria to Indonesian villagers, the Indonesians were sure that this was a recording made in a neighbouring village, and the reaction of Bulgarian villagers was exactly the same upon hearing a recording of the Indonesians’ polyphony. I can also say that, although I have been studying these polyphonic styles for years, I still struggle to distinguish some of them from the others.

Balkans and Indonesia is **only one of many such parallels**: the same style of dissonant-based harsh singing is present in many geographically isolated places. Scholars universally agree that the phenomena that are predominantly present in geographically isolated regions are most likely to be the most ancient (Nettl 2005: 320–338; Sachs 1940: 62). A wide continuous geographic distribution, on the other hand, often points to the late distribution of a phenomenon – see the examples of the distribution of contemporary phenomena, such as pianos, guitars, mobile phones, or cars. The distribution of a similar phenomenon in a few isolated village communities in Tibet, Papua New Guinea or Central Africa is a much more potent indicator of ancient beginnings than the widest possible distribution of a phenomenon.

When Kuba wrote about the possibility of the Balkan dissonant style of singing being very old, scholars thought in terms of centuries, and possibly millennia (Kuba 1909). Victor Grauer famously declared that the Bushmen/Pygmy style of polyphony could be a survival of the earliest singing style of humanity, stretching back for the last 100 000 years (Grauer 2006, 2007). In his reconstructions Grauer relies on the “Recent African” model (known also as the “Total Replacement” hypothesis). My research and polyphonic data support the “Multiregional model”, also known as the “Network model”, where the count for the age of humanity starts at least two million years ago (Wolpoff 1999).

If we believe that such a long survival of a singing style is simply impossible, then we face the even more difficult task of explaining the presence of amazingly similar and very specific dissonant singing traditions in very specific intervals in such wildly different and geographically isolated parts of the world. I suggest that we should not discount the simple and elegant possibility that these dissonant-based loud singing traditions are all remnants of the oldest human singing style, the style that helped our ancestors get into the battle trance and obtain collective identity in order to fight together, as a unit, for their common survival.

It is widely known that many cultural inventions that make our life safer, more convenient and more meaningful, were initially invented for reasons of national security and military capability. The four-wheel drive, the microwave, GPS and computers are among such primarily military inventions. I am proposing that human choral polyphony has similar origins. It was designed not by a human inventor, but by the genius of natural selection through the battle for survival. Music most likely became the sphere of culture much later, after it lost its initial leading role in human communication to human speech and human life became much safer. We will discuss this important issue in the next section of the article.

### *Proto-Polyphony and the Origins of Speech*

We have logically arrived at the point where we need to discuss the forces that brought the initial universal distribution of vocal polyphony to the mosaic distribution of polyphony that we observe today. This is a crucial question for the presented model: if we accept that all human populations took with them from Africa similar singing traditions, based on polyphony, then why is polyphony distributed only in some regions of the world?

Here, before discussing the main argument, I must note that musical materials support the historical picture presented by the multiregional hypothesis of human evolution (see Wolpoff 1999). I agree with the proponent of this hypothesis that archaic *Homo sapiens* had all the necessary cognitive abilities that are present in modern *Homo sapiens*. In explaining their archaic facial details I proposed that the only feature that differentiated archaic *Homo sapiens* from anatomically modern *Homo sapiens* was articulated speech.

It is important to remember that, by the time of the dispersal of humans from Africa (about 1.8 million years ago), human intelligence and language was present, although the language was not based on an articulated medium, but most likely on pitch-based communication. The difference between **language** (the cognitive ability to create and manipulate ideas) and **speech** (one of the mediums of language) is crucially important in linguistics. Language existed much earlier than speech (see, for example, the review by Hewes, 1977. See also Krantz 1980, 1994). Grover Krantz famously proposed that the change of archaic facial features into contemporary facial features was connected to the acquisition of articulated speech (Krantz 1980, 1994).

Let us now return to the story of the initial dissonant polyphony that was taken from the common African cradle. What happened after this? I proposed that various human populations, who reached their places of habitat without articulated speech, **shifted to articulated speech in different epochs**. What is the logic behind such an unusual proposal?

After the advent of articulated speech, musical (pitch based) language lost its initial survival value. Articulated speech gradually became the main communication medium in human societies. Musical communication and the group singing tradition were marginalized and gradually started to disappear. The key point of my proposal is that **the shift to articulated speech happened in very different epochs, some earlier and some later**. If we assume that various groups of peoples reached their areas of habitation without speech, it is most likely that the shift to speech would happen at different times. From



this point onwards the logic is quite straightforward: in the regions where the shift to speech happened earlier, the primordial tradition of vocal polyphony must have already disappeared. On the other hand, in the regions where the shift to articulated speech happened later, the slow and gradual process of decline of the polyphonic traditions must still be ongoing.

As a result of this asynchronous decline of ancient singing traditions, in some regions the tradition of vocal polyphony is completely lost (in East Asia, Australia, and among most of the Native Americans). East Asia is arguably the most monophonic region of the world today. According to my proposal, it must have been among the ancestors of East Asian populations that the shift to speech occurred first. The second most monophonic region of the world is probably Australia, so I proposed that the ancestors of the native Australians were the next to shift to articulated speech.

On the other hand, polyphony is still strongly present in European and particularly in sub-Saharan African populations. Therefore I proposed that, after East Asians and Australian aboriginal populations, European and finally African populations also shifted to articulated speech.

I cannot go into detail on the wide range of supportive evidence for this idea (see Jordania 2006: 347–375), but I will briefly mention several fields that support the idea of the asynchronous shift to articulated speech:

**Paleoanthropology.** Contemporary human facial details were most likely formed by the emergence of speech (Krantz 1980, 1994). Most importantly for us, facial details in the contemporary populations appeared in various regions at different times: the earliest shift happened in East Asia, and the latest in sub-Saharan African populations. The differences in time range are huge, from about 350 000 years for East Asian, to about 11 000 years for sub-Saharan populations (Wolpoff 1999).

**Epidemiology of stuttering.** Stuttering is a genetic disorder, connected to the late acquisition of speech in human evolutionary history.<sup>11</sup> Despite the belief of most speech pathologists that the epidemiology of stuttering is the same everywhere in the world (Bloodstein 1995), certain publications indicate that there are in fact big differences between different regions. Stuttering is much more prevalent in sub-Saharan African populations, and extremely rare among East Asian and Native American populations (Bloodstein

<sup>11</sup> The onset of stuttering was linked to our evolutionary past almost a century ago. According to Robert West, “human speech is a function overlaid on ancient systems for eating and respiration [and I would add “and singing”; J.J.], and because speech is one of the latest abilities we acquired, it is one of the most readily lost or impaired” (see Bloodstein 1993: 179). This idea is widely shared by speech pathologists.



1995: 136; Cooper & Cooper 1993: 194–196; Finn & Cordes 1997: 222. See also Reece & Jordania 2001).

**Epidemiology of dyslexia.** Like stuttering, the epidemiology of dyslexia shows an increased prevalence of the condition among sub-Saharan African populations and extreme rarity in East Asian populations (Makita 1968; Spaeth 2003; see also Jordania 2006: 373–375; 2015: 476–480).

**Acquisition of phonology in children.** According to the available information, there is a significant difference in the age of acquisition of the phonologic system between European and East Asian populations. Children in East Asia acquire the same system much earlier (from the age of 1 to 3 years) than children of European descent (from the age of 2.5 to 6 years) (Menyuk 1968: 140–141; Nakazima 1962; So and Dodd 1995; see also Jordania 2006: 374–376).

Therefore, (1) scholars should not exclude the possibility that speech origins might have different timelines in various regions of the world, and (2) different populations might have differences in genetic predilection towards stuttering and dyslexia. For research on the origins of polyphony this line of research is important as it offers a solid explanation for the uneven distribution of polyphony around the world.

### *Very Brief Conclusions*

We are approaching the end of our discussion of the new model of the origins of polyphony. Probably the most important conclusion of the research is obvious: such big problems as the origins of polyphony are impossible to investigate within musicology and ethnomusicology without wide cross-disciplinary and multidisciplinary approaches. It is to be hoped that works based on comparative methodology will begin to make more than occasional appearances on the pages of mainstream publications.<sup>12</sup>

In regards to the origins of polyphony, ethnomusicologists have to admit that the existing facts do not support the old idea of choral singing being a late cultural invention. The facts suggest that polyphony is gradually disappearing all over the world. It is becoming increasingly clear that the origins of human choral singing are intimately connected to the various aspects of our historical past, and should be studied in the broadest context of human evolutionary history.

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<sup>12</sup> An interesting fact: research on polyphony seems to be of interest primarily to European ethnomusicologists. Out of 25 special conferences dedicated to the research of polyphony from the 1970s onwards, none were held in the USA, one was organised in Asia, and 24 in Europe.

The previous conclusion provides us with a potentially very important methodological tool: if we accept the idea that after the appearance of articulated speech, polyphony – and, more generally, human musical traditions – lost their initial survival importance and started to decline, then our general view on the development of human musical history will be greatly affected.<sup>13</sup>

And finally, if we are ready to accept the previous two fundamental propositions, then research on the origins of polyphony has a rich potential to make serious contributions to the wider circle of issues of human evolution.

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<sup>13</sup> New evidence that has appeared during the last few decades also suggests that our musical abilities are of extremely ancient origins and that humanity might be gradually losing its musicality. If we take into account such facts as (1) every normal new-born human baby has perfect pitch, which then gradually disappears during the child’s “verbalization” (Saffran 2003; Saffran & Griepentrog 2001), or that (2) musical faculties are placed in the most archaic part of our brain, the so-called “reptilian brain” (Peretz 2003), then we might grasp the new reality of the age and the origins of our musical abilities. Are ethnomusicologists ready to see the field of music, traditionally dominated by the theories of music as a gradually developing cultural invention, in this new light?

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### Џозеф Џорданија

## НОВИ ИНТЕРДИСЦИПЛИНАРНИ ПРИСТУП У ИСТРАЖИВАЊУ ПОРЕКЛА ТРАДИЦИОНАЛНЕ ПОЛИФОНИЈЕ

(Резиме)

У чланку је дат предлог новог модела порекла вокалне полифоније у ширем контексту ране људске еволуције. У уводу се разматра веза између променљивих методологија у етномузикологији и променљивих погледа на порекло полифоније. Указано је да образац дистрибуције вишегласја у географски и еколошки најизолованијим регијама света (као што су планински венци, острва, велики шумски региони и континентални рубови), сугерише могућност да полифонија није познији културни изум. Напротив, она мора бити веома древни феномен, који у најизолованијим крајевима света и даље преживљава. Биће наглашена потреба за упоредним, укратјодисциплинарним и мултидисциплинарним студијама у истраживањима порекла вишегласја. У потрази за пореклом хорског певања човечанства аутор предлаже осврт на најраније фазе историје еволуције људског рода. Супротно претпоставци Чарлса Дарвина (Charles Darwin), који је мислио да су се први људи развијали у окружењу без предатора, овде је показано да је интеракција с предаторима била кључни фактор који је обликовао људску морфологију и понашање. Сугерисано је да је групно певање и играње, заједно с цртањем по телу и маскама, коришћено у служби (1) одвраћања предатора и (2) стављања хоминида у измењено стање свести, „борбени транс”. У овом стању, неуролошке активности учесника се радикално мењају, они задобијају заједнички, колективни идентитет, не осећају страх или бол и спремни су да жртвују своје животе за заједнички циљ. У чланку се потом дискутује о употреби музичких ритуала с ритмичком основом као снажних средстава за индуковање стања борбеног трансa у савременом друштву, посебно у сферама као што су религијска и војна. У овом стању ума, људи губе уобичајени „здрав” разум и логичко расуђивање, укључујући и инстинкт за преживљавање. Резултат тога јесте да људи у овом стању могу да ураде и екстремно алтруистичке и екстремно насилне ствари. У последњем делу чланка у први план је стављена

хипотеза асинхроног настанка говора у различитим популацијама како би се објаснила тренутна мозаична распрострањеност вишегласја међу културама света. Подршка идеји асинхроне промене у артикулисани говор црпи се из више научних поља, од палеоантрополошких доказа и епидемиолошкох студија о муцању и дислексији у различитим културама, до фонолошких студија о обрасцима аквизиције међу децом у различитим регијама.

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## **Popular Music and Producing Collectivities: the Challenges of Audience Research in Contemporary Musicology**

Ana Petrov<sup>1</sup>

Academy of Arts, University of Banja Luka

### **Abstract**

In this paper I deal with the ways in which the audience functions as a means of producing collectivities. I define audience as a material body that is a carrier of affective potential in a certain time and space. Taking Yugoslav popular music as an example, i.e. the concerts of performers from the territory of former Yugoslavia, I analyse two crucial issues: the audience at popular music concerts in Belgrade in the period after the dissolution of Yugoslavia, and the audience that is created virtually through social networks.

### **Key words**

Audience, Yugoslav popular music, collectivities, contemporary musicology

### *Introduction*

The last two decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, as well as the very beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, were marked by numerous changes in the humanities and social science discourses. The transformation of musicology was caused mostly by interdisciplinary connections between the musicological and other discourses, which have inevitably led to an expansion of the potential themes in musicology. Music has been linked to a wide range of social phenomena, meaning that the topics have sometimes broadened the very object of musicological research, including the analysis of music practices in relation to politics, ideology, identity, and social groups (Petrov 2009). Within new perspectives in music research, popular music studies have always conducted a dialogue with musicology. As Richard Middleton points out, “the musicological side of this conversation has more often than not been marked by insult, incomprehension or silence; and popular music scholars for their part have tended to concentrate on musicology’s deficiencies” (Middleton 1993: 177).

However, within numerous new approaches in contemporary musicology, as well as in the sociology of music, audience research appears to be a rather neglected issue, especially in the post-Yugoslav

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<sup>1</sup> anapetrov82@gmail.com



scholarly discourses. In dealing with the reception of Yugoslav popular music in contemporary Serbian society, I have come to realise how crucial this aspect of the musicological research could be, especially when dealing with the issue of producing collectivities through music. In investigating the audience in contemporary Serbia, I draw on the studies of new materialism, the body, and affect theory. This article also takes into account Bruno Latour's discussions on the material world and social structuring (Latour 1993), and Alfred Gell's understanding of mediation as a construal of music's social, technological and temporal dimensions (Gell 1998). Additionally it draws on Georgina Born's analysis of music's mediations taking a number of historical forms, which cohere into assemblages defined as a particular combination of mediations which can be sonic, visual, temporal, discursive, artefactual, technological, or social (Born 2005).<sup>2</sup>

I apply the mentioned approaches to the case study of the reception of Yugoslav popular music in contemporary Serbia. I will firstly explicate my theoretical approach by defining the entity of audience, according to the mentioned theoretical background. Next, I will analyse the concerts of performers from the territory of the former Yugoslavia, by singling out two crucial issues: the actual (physical, material) audience in the popular music concert spaces in Belgrade in the 2000s, and the audience that is created virtually through social networking. In conclusion, I will suggest a perspective for construing the audience as a means of reconnecting collectives through the sharing of common cultural memories.<sup>3</sup>

### *Audience as a Body and Music as a Mediator*

This article puts forward the thesis that audience experience is a relevant and appropriate part of certain musical events.<sup>4</sup> It draws

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<sup>2</sup> Theories of mediation have been central to the development of both critical musicology and the cultural study of music. The issue was set out initially by Theodor Adorno. The claim of later writers on mediation has been that it is only through empirical and historical research that it is possible to analyse both how music and its meanings are constructed by wider discursive and social formations, and how in turn music – and its emotive, symbolic, corporeal and material properties – become a resource “for semiotic activity”, i.e. for “doing, being and naming” social reality (DeNora 2000: 44).

<sup>3</sup> The process of remembering that unfolds in a certain community, one defined as having a history, is constituted by the community's past, and for this reason we can speak of a real community as a “community of memory”, one that does not forget its past. In order not to forget that past, a community is involved in retelling its story, its constitutive narrative. Finally, a community is involved in mnemonic battles – battles over the correct way to interpret the past (Olick and Robbins 1998: 112).

<sup>4</sup> In dealing with the musical event I draw on this concept as defined in Tia DeNora's approach – as an event that is equivalent to the concept of the social event in social theory (DeNora 2003).

on research that shows how the perception of the audience's role has changed. Instead of the understanding of the audience's role as being mostly passive, recent research has acknowledged that the audience also contributes to the production of the atmosphere<sup>5</sup> and the meaning of a certain event.<sup>6</sup> Drawing on studies of new materialism, the body, and affect theory, I define audience as a material body that is a carrier of affective potential in a certain time and space.<sup>7</sup> As such, the body of the audience needs to be analysed as an entity for producing supposedly intimate feelings and making them common and public. In this regard, I follow Sara Ahmed's approach to the analysis of emotions. She sees emotions as a capacity to work in order to secure collectives, through the way in which they read the bodies of others. Thus, emotions that are carried through the body work to align subjects with some others and against other others, playing a crucial role in surpassing the boundaries between the individual and collective bodies. With this in mind, emotions are not considered to be a "private matter", but rather, as Ahmed puts it, they "define the contours of the multiple worlds that are inhabited by different subjects" (Ahmed 2004: 25).

When the audience is not understood as a passive mass but rather as a vibrant body that helps to produce collective feelings, it is possible to deal with an individual's experience of place, which arises in part out of the capacities of his/her body to produce and sense the

<sup>5</sup> Drawing on Teresa Brennan's concept of "affective atmosphere", I also want to point to the ways of networking in the discourses on certain music, and the affective atmospheres produced through this networking (Brennan 2004). For more on the issue of affective atmosphere in the context of neo-Marxist theoretical framework, see Anderson 2009.

<sup>6</sup> The relevance of the audience has also been recognized in the research of performative arts, where the audience used to be understood as a completely passive entity. However, it has been shown that it can contribute to, and even have a creative role in, the whole artistic process of performance. Thus, for instance, theatre can be defined as "the communicative intersection between the performer's actions and the spectator's reactions" (Sauter 2000: 53). On the research of audience in performative arts, see also Radbourne, Johanson, Glow and White 2009. Audience research is also relevant in media studies, such as in the investigation of the audience's taste, as well as the ways in which it can be controlled and modified (Born 2000).

<sup>7</sup> I deal with affect defined as "feelings of actors in situations" (Redlawsk 2006: 1) and I apply the concept in order to point out how these feelings are produced because of and through concerts, which brings into question the intertwining of the issues of identity, control, action, and meaning. Bruno Latour has linked the problem of affect to a reformulation of bodies as processes rather than entities, and invites us to consider not "What is a body?", which implies that the body is reified as a thing or an entity, but rather "What can a body do?" (Latour 2004: 205). Following this approach, I deal here with the question of how bodies are entangled processes, and importantly defined by their capacities to affect and be affected (Blackman and Venn 2010). These capacities are mediated and afforded by practices and technologies which modulate and augment the body's potential for mediation (Wegenstein 2006).

atmosphere around it through the music that is performed. Underlying this kind of analysis (in which concerts as sites serve to shape the collective feelings through one collective body) is, on the one hand, an understanding of the capacity of the body to sense, and, on the other, the capacity of all bodies to affect others through gestures, bodily movements and voice.<sup>8</sup> Since we are moved by the “proximity of others” and “we feel with and for others” (Ahmed 2008: 10), it is relevant to pose the question – if emotions are sociable, what is the role of music in the process of being sociable in a concert space?

In order to analyse an audience in the way I have described, the concept of music needs to be redefined. Music seems to be a powerful mediator. The research on music that is embedded in mediation studies approaches music as an entity that takes myriad social forms and embodies divergent orders of social mediation. It produces its own varied social relations – in performance, in musical associations and ensembles, and in the musical division of labour. In the recent discussions on music and mediation, mostly in the discourses of the sociology of music, the analysis of music’s mediation has been linked to the attempts to theorize music’s changing ontology. Even though a significant number of theoreticians have raised the question of using an approach that incorporates understandings of the social, technological and temporal dimensions of music, such an approach is offered by theories of mediation, in which, according to Born, three related arguments that build on this perspective can be outlined. The first concerns music’s social and temporal mediation and its nature as a distributed object. In this approach music is revealed as a medium that destabilizes some of our most cherished dualisms concerning the separation not only of subject from object, but present from past, individual from collectivity, the authentic from the artificial, and production from reception. The second argument is that music’s mediations have taken a number of forms, cohering into what we might term assemblages, which themselves endure and take particular historical shapes. The third is that this approach has a value in highlighting shifts in the dominant historical forms of musical assemblage (Born 2005: 8).<sup>9</sup> In the following text I deal with the

<sup>8</sup> For similar approach in the analysis of the audience in festival spaces see: Duffy, Waitt, Gorman-Murray and Gibson 2011.

<sup>9</sup> More specifically, some authors track how musicians are engaging with digital technologies to generate new models and new practices of difference and interrelation in music (Born 2005). DeNora argues that music is active within social life: just as music’s meanings may be constructed in relation to things outside it, so, too, things outside music may be constructed in relation to music. Her emphasis is on agency, interaction and world-building – on how those who listen to music make connections, in their everyday consumption practices, between musical and non-musical domains. Mediation in this sense refers to what DeNora calls the “co-productive” or two-way interrelations between music and social life (DeNora 2002). In these sorts of music

question of how music mediates affects and memories in a concrete space through the audience body.

### *The Audience at a Concert*

This article sets out to prove the above-mentioned thesis about the relevance of the audience experience through participant observation at popular music concerts in Serbia. In this case, I analyse the ways in which the collectivities are made in a concrete space, at a certain time, as a result of listening to the same music. The gist of my dealing with the issue can be recognized in the following question: what kind of “broker of social situations” (DeNora 2002: 176) is certain music in a given context? Furthermore, I want to probe how the body of the audience is shaped through the music and what kind of collective feelings are being produced during concerts.

Regarding the role of the audience, it is relevant to bear in mind the following pieces of information related to the organization of popular music concerts in the post-war Yugoslav space. Starting from the late 1990s, several musicians from the territory of the former Yugoslavia gradually embarked on a project of giving concerts in Belgrade, the capital of the former country. Among them, many had been rather popular in Serbia and they continued to perform there regularly quite soon after the end of the Yugoslav wars; among them were Kemal Monteno, Boris Novković, Goran Karan, Massimo Savić, Josipa Lisac, and groups such as Crvena Jabuka, Hari Mata Hari, and Magazin. In fact, a few of them regularly put on concerts after 2000. Hari Mata Hari gave seven concerts in a row in Sava Centar as early as 1999. Alka Vuica performed soon after, as well as the punk group KUD *Idijoti* and then others followed, although not all of them were actually well-known before the 1990s. Other famous musicians, on the contrary, adamantly refused to perform in Serbia after the wars, the most well-known of them being Oliver Dragojević, Tereza Kesovija and Dino Merlin. Their statements about refusing to perform in Belgrade ever again were often commented on in the Serbian press, which led to creating a negative attitude towards these musicians. However, when some of them changed their mind and eventually came back to perform in Serbia, it provoked new reactions.<sup>10</sup>

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research, the music “itself” is understood as a musical object that is repeatedly relayed and transformed across time, space and persons. Throughout, key motifs are mediation, creativity, and the negotiation of difference (Born 2005: 7).

<sup>10</sup> Tereza Kesovija and Dino Merlin decided to give concerts in Belgrade in 2011, thus provoking new reactions, especially in the nationalistic discourse, which was particularly (but not only) evident in the case of the supporters of Serbian extremist groups (Naši, Dveri and 1389). The reactions against those particular musicians were provoked by the fact that both of them supposedly promoted the discourse of hate

My research was extensive, including most of the concerts of former Yugoslav performers in Belgrade from the late 1990s to the present day. Although the research included the analysis of data in the press, Internet forums, fan pages and similar Internet sources, the very informative official sites of the performers, and the official sites of extremist groups, I also paid special attention to the part of the research that included participant observation. The discourse produced by the performers on the concerts themselves was also one of the crucial parts of the analysis, since this discourse helped produce the specific atmosphere in the concert spaces, actually affecting the ways in which the members of the audience reacted.<sup>11</sup> I also analysed the bodily responses both of the performers and the audience during the events.

Since there is a large body of material illustrating how certain concert-goers appear to be an entity that can be recognized as one collective body, I chose to single out a few of them, but also to make a comparative overview of the examples of the issue in question. Some of the first come-back concerts provoked more emotional reactions, such as in the cases of the above-mentioned Dino Merlin and Tereza Kesovija concerts, unlike the later ones which provoked mild but still visible reactions, most commonly of a nostalgic and Yugo-nostalgic nature. There were also a few concerts that included a significant number of performers and produced a moderate, but clearly expressed (Yugo)nostalgic atmosphere.<sup>12</sup>

Two bodies were produced in the concerts – the bodies of the performers and the collective body of the audience. Performing specific “body images” which often included physically expressed emotions (such as crying, sighing, staying speechless), the musicians provoked the audience to react in the same fashion.<sup>13</sup> The most explicit example was Tereza Kesovija, who spent a significant amount of time during her first concert in Belgrade in 2011 talking and clearly verbally expressing her emotional state, which was accompanied with tears and sighs. The crucial consequence can be recognized in the audience imitation of her overwhelmed emotions. In fact, in this case, the performer’s body and the audience body were being made

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towards the Serbs during the war, since they were both directly affected by the war. Tereza’s house in Dubrovnik was ruined during the bombing of the city by the Yugoslav people’s army, while Dino was an active participant in the war in Sarajevo.

<sup>11</sup> In addition, since I was a part of the researched target group – the audience – I did not hesitate to incorporate some of my own personal remembrance of the reactions of the events. Also, my own reactions during these concerts stimulated me to talk with other people in the audience.

<sup>12</sup> For more on these concerts see Petrov, forthcoming. On the concept of Yugo-nostalgia see, for instance, Volčič 2007.

<sup>13</sup> Body image is a mental image of the body as it appears to others (Featherstone 2010: 193).

simultaneously due to the occurrence of “carnal encounters” between them (Atanasovski, Petrov 2015). In addition to the reactions that were provoked before and during the events due to the discourse that was being produced, I argue that the very body of the audience was shaped on the spot in the process of interaction between the people in the audience, as well as between the collective body of the audience and the performers. Since “power works in the depths and on the surfaces of the body, and not just in the disembodied realm of ‘representation’ or ‘discourse’” (Shaviro 1993, viii), the concert spaces can be seen as territories in which the avenues of carnal encounters were opened up between the body on the stage and the body of the audience. Thus, the political potential of the concerts is recognized in the affective ideology which is “immediately inscribed in/on the body and not exclusively in the spheres of representations and discourses” (Atanasovski, Petrov 2015: 22). In fact, feeling and performing feelings that were supposed to be intimate were transformed in the concert spaces. The concert spaces seem to offer channels for “emotions to work” (Ahmed 2004), securing collectives via the process of reading the bodies of others. I am here referring to the ideology of love that was inscribed in the body of the audience and was addressed to other people in the audience, to the performer and the music, as well as the former country. The following two examples will explicate this thesis. I will continuously discuss both the bodies of the performers and the body of the audience, since they were being shaped mutually. Once the affective ideology of love was being inscribed in one’s body it was simultaneously present in the others and vice versa.

From the moment the public learned of Tereza Kesovija’s come-back concert in 2011, the first (slightly reserved and moderate) reactions to its announcement escalated and burst into something that I here call a “collective feeling” (Ahmed 2004: 25) of love and nostalgia. Namely, unlike their opponents, Kesovija’s fans (as well as most of the official discourse about her concert) propagated the idea of love (which was clearly verbally expressed by both Kesovija and the members of the audience during the concert); that love could be a love towards the music, as well as towards the Yugoslav past and their past in general, i.e. the youth that the people remembered through the music. This love should be felt and performed through music both in relation to Kesovija and to the memory of the former country. From this perspective, nostalgia meant the following: loving the songs was often equal to a love for Yugoslavia (which was explicitly stated during the concert by both the performer and the audience), which, furthermore, included the renarrativisation of



the past (sometimes even that connected to the Yugoslav wars).<sup>14</sup> The characteristics of the audience's collective body during this concrete evening were the following: crying and sighing together, highlighting pain (thus showing how moving the atmosphere was), as well as chatting about the past that was obviously remembered by the music, so that certain songs were triggers for emotional talk among the people. The majority of the audience reacted to Kesovija's performance emotionally, showing their support by applauding and singing, as well as feeling overwhelmed by the atmosphere – a nostalgic, emotional, touching atmosphere – atmosphere being defined as the environment, or the transmission of the other's feelings (Brennan 2004: 1). The atmosphere and the process of producing the collectivity of the audience can be described in the following way: people were commenting a lot before, after and during the concert; they were rarely reserved but rather open in sharing what they were thinking about; they also sang enthusiastically; additionally, as I mentioned, they cried and showed explicitly that the whole event was an emotional experience for them. The audience's reactions were mostly visible in bodily changes (the sighs, the crying, the applauding, the singing, and the shouting), pointing to the fact that our emotions are not our own, but, instead, collectively and mutually produced. Both for the singer whose music they love, and for themselves, the people in the audience thus found reassurance on their own views and feelings about the shared (Yugoslav) past.

The second example I want to single out is a concert that was given in Belgrade in November 2014 in homage to famous Yugoslav composer Đorđe Novković, bringing together the most famous names of the Yugoslav popular music scene. Including Yugoslav stars such as Boris Novković, Kaliope, Gabi Novak, Tereza Kesovija, Željko Bebek, Vlado Kalember, Goran Karan, Kemal Monteno, Neda Ukraden, and Hari Mata Hari, the concert was easily labelled as being connected to the Yugoslav past, which certainly influenced the way the audience perceived it. Thus, the dominant ideology of love was the one towards Yugoslavia, i.e. Yugo-nostalgia, which was channelled through loving Yugoslav music. Through suitable songs, the love towards the former country helped produce love as a supposedly neutral and universal category between people. Unlike some concerts, including those given by Kesovija, which were discursively marked as politically problematic, this one was "just" a homage to Yugoslav popular music, allegedly without directly

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<sup>14</sup> Kesovija, for instance, did not avoid talking about the "cruel times" of the past, thus giving the love narrative a forgiving potential – she wanted to stress that she had felt loss, but was willing to forgive, forget and love again (Petrov forthcoming).



referring to the past. However, the concert space again appeared to be adequate for producing collective feelings, leading to the construction of one collective body of the audience joined through the affective atmosphere transmitted through the music.

The Yugo-nostalgic atmosphere could be located in the statements of both the performers and the people in the audience who expressed their regret for the “better past times” in which everything, including the music, was superior. As such, the collective feeling of love and nostalgia was channelled in a specific way that no other concerts had – through the cult of personality. As a sort of embodiment of his own late father, Boris Novković’s body truly became a transmitter of the affects in the concert space. He talked and sang about his father, marking him as a symbol of the “better past times”, acting emotionally and thus inscribing his emotional state into the body of audience. He was not alone in the process of connecting the past, the audience and the music with a musician who could not be physically present but who was certainly affectively present through the music that provoked reactions – other performers also connected these elements in the same fashion, thus constructing a mythical figure of the Yugoslav “musical giant” who is being transmitted by his son, as Kesovija stated, “visually, through his appearance, and auditorily, through the songs”. Having been a Yugoslav song writer who truly marked the sound that has become recognisable as Yugoslav, Novković posthumously became a symbol of past times. Similarly to the period of the war, when performers of different ethnic origins underwent a process of recontextualization in the context of the ethno-political conflict (Baker 2012), in the post-Yugoslav era there has been a revitalisation of the ‘great’ names of Yugoslav popular music history. An especially touching moment was the performance of the song *A gdje si ti* (“And where are you”), which Boris Novković composed for his father. It was announced by the performer as “very emotional” and “an unusual dialogue between a father and a son”, because “certain things had to be said”. This scene is relevant because it triggered the creation of other personal remembrances in the audience that were correlated to the remembrance of the late composer.

The aforementioned cult of personality, which was performed due to the presence of the composer’s son as a channel of the remembering process and a means for blurring the boundaries between the public and private feelings present that evening, was further empowered by another symptomatic moment – a scene in which all the present singers invited, in their own words, “a legend of Yugoslav popular music” Đorđe Marjanović.<sup>15</sup> Helping the singer

<sup>15</sup> Kemal Monteno even made a lapsus during his performance, talking about Đorđe

to come up on stage, the participants of the event almost stopped the whole concert, focussing on this single emotional moment. This moment was dedicated to a cult of personality – from the present Boris, through the implicitly present Đorđe Novković, to Marjanović, who served as a unique bond of all the present discourses and affects produced on the stage and in the audience that evening. The atmosphere in the audience was not overly emotional – a certain level of emotion was usual at these sorts of events, as already pointed out. However, the choice of the songs was conducive to the creation of a warm nostalgic atmosphere, as well as commenting after the concerts. The escalation of the emotional reactions of the audience was obvious during the mentioned scene with Marjanović, as well as at the end of the concert, when the song *Nek živi ljubav* (*Let love live*) was performed. The combination of the channelling of the emotions through the cult of personality, and singing a song that is a prayer for peace, finally created a platform for further strengthening of the collective. Leaving the concert hall, people talked about the past, the music that helped them feel better, as well as the last song they heard. *Let love live* was a sort of refrain in the conversations between the audience members after the concert.

### *The Audience in the Virtual Space*

While the body of the audience was produced during the concerts as the result of common reactions, there have been other ways of listeners networking before and especially after concerts.<sup>16</sup> Using media, new virtual communities have been created, thus marking the groups of fans and opponents of certain music. I will explicate this in terms of the two examples mentioned above.

When the news about Tereza Kesovija's first concert appeared in the Serbian public sphere, there was a public discussion about it, as well as a heated discussion on media forums among the supporters and opponents of her persona and her music. Since some concerts, including the one mentioned, provoked negative reactions and even an opposition towards Kesovija's concert, it seemed that the public sphere must be divided. Musicians, journalists and the people who planned to attend the concert appeared among her supporters – especially those who self-declared as “nationalists”.<sup>17</sup> Apart from the

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Marjanović instead of Đorđe Novković.

<sup>16</sup> Unlike common sociological approaches to the analysis of audience, I do not pay special attention to the issues of age, gender and social background of the audience. Understanding it in the Latourian fashion – as the vibrant potential of the body – it is the capacities and actions of the body that are relevant here, rather than its social structuring.

<sup>17</sup> The most well-known of these was Serbian rock star Bora Đorđević. The gist of the

comments and certain vague proclamations that protests would be organized on the same day as the concert, no actual protests took place. Still, the tense atmosphere before the concert and the warm one during it influenced the people's reactions before and after the event. A few of my interviewees confirmed to me that they had doubts about their own security if they decide to attend Kesovija's concert in January 2011. This atmosphere of fear was even more emphasized before Dino Merlin's concert in November of the same year. Additionally, in the case of most of the concerts of musicians from the territory of the former Yugoslavia, even when there was no fear involved, certain groups were always created – the groups of “us” and “them” (which has generally been a common feature in post-Yugoslav musical practices, see Baker 2006).

The formation of the audience as a collectivity in the period after the actual event had finished took place virtually and was shaped discursively. The triggers for the production of this collectivity were usually headlines in the press dedicated to certain concerts. The concerts were regularly described in detail and commented on in newspapers in the days following the event, while the forums discussing the concert provided further insights into the reception of the event, most of them pointing to the supposed universality and transnational values of music in general and this kind of music in particular (Petrov forthcoming).<sup>18</sup>

Regarding my second case study, the headlines in the press also helped in connecting the past, the emotions and the music; these could be formulated either explicitly or implicitly, but were most certainly present. One typical symptomatic example was the title: “Emotional Musical Time Machine”, which talked of how

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opposition against the very idea of giving the concert was most poignantly expressed in an article entitled “Serbian singers: boycott Tereza!” published in the Serbian newspaper *Kurir* about a month prior to the concert (Katić 2012). The article not only expresses a negative attitude against the concert, but also propagates an actual invitation to boycott the singer's concert. Directly referring to the war in which Kesovija was labelled as “anti-Serb”, the singers (Zorica Marković, Maja Nikolić, Nada Topčagić and Bora Đorđević [Čorba]) appealed to the “moral feeling” of those who were considering attending the concert.

<sup>18</sup> Such as: “Music for All Tastes”, “Evergreen Love Songs”, “Music that Cannot be Forgotten”, “Songs for Old Friends”. The comments included an invitation to forgive and forget: “Who cares what someone said a long time ago. Love and sing and forget everything that is bad in the Balkans”; “So what if Tereza said some bad things in affect, she was only nervous because her house was destroyed”; “She came! That is the only thing we need to know!”; “The Balkan People, they have always been like that... We hate each other and then we love each other, that's normal for us”. A different group of posts contain comments that do not refer to the past connected to the war, but rather the distant ‘happy’ past, including the music that was listened to at that time. All mentioned comments are found after the text of the review of Kesovija's concert in the newspaper *Politika* (“Tereza Kesovija u punom Centru ‘Sava’” 2011).

the “biggest Stars of Yugoslavia” were singing in honour of Đorđe Novković. Furthermore, the articles in Serbian newspapers regularly commented on the repertoire, referring to the songs that are “timeless” and that “marked the Yugoslav era”. The concert was also marked as “a treat for the Yugo-nostalgic people”.<sup>19</sup> It is important to stress that there was a change in the discursive reactions of the audience. The first concerts of the former Yugoslav musicians were obviously extremely emotional events. The recent ones show a moderate, but still clearly expressed nostalgic love narrative. Thus, the comments on this concert mostly included expressions of gratitude, first of all for the good performance and good music, often including labels such as “legends” of Yugoslav music, which referred both to the performers on the actual stage and those in whose honour the concert was organized. However, there were emotional reactions, rather similar to those discussed earlier, as some people wrote about crying together with their partners and feeling emotional because of “going back in time” and “remembering their youth” thanks to the music.<sup>20</sup>

*Conclusion: Concerts as Mediators of Memories and Audience as Affect Transmitters*

To return to the question I posed earlier – if we are moved by the “proximity of others” and “we feel with and for others” (Ahmed 2008: 10), i.e. if emotions are sociable, what is the role of music in the process of being sociable in a concert space? As my research shows, this music played a crucial role in the multifarious processes related to the remembrance of the past. It seems that the conception of love and forgiveness influenced the audience and the reception of the concert, forming an imaginary framework for dealing with the traumatic past through “affective sociality”, which helped form the social relations (Raffles 2002: 325) that took place in the virtual post-concert space. The atmosphere in both presented concerts in Belgrade offered examples of the “collective transformation” (Hardt and Negri 2004: 43) of a specific kind of collective body – the unique body of the audience that was made solely as a result of these concerts.

In this article I wanted to point to one of the aspects of contemporary popular music analysis – the audience. Trying to connect and apply the discourses of musicology, sociology of music and body studies, I located the ways this issue can be addressed. In both perspectives of dealing with the audience – the audience as a concrete material body

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<sup>19</sup> The article is available on the link: <http://www.svet.rs/najnovije-vesti/emotivni-muzicki-vremeplov-odrzan-koncert-dordu-novkovicu-u-cast> (accessed 20<sup>th</sup> November, 2014).

<sup>20</sup> All the comments are available after the article on the link given above.

and the audience as a virtual community – I wanted to emphasize how the entity of the audience as an affective community is formed as a result of the choice of attending a concert or enjoying a certain kind of music. Finally, having in mind the potential of music to be engaged in memory production, I located the mechanisms that can explicate the extent to which the mentioned concerts have become specific affective sites of memories, pointing to the role of contemporary musical practices in the construction of the discourses on historical past and the ways the discourses help to create divergent (historical, musical, emotional) remembrance of the past. By analysing the discourses and their emotional concomitants related to two case studies – Tereza Kesovija's concert and the concert dedicated to Đorđe Novković – I discussed the process of remembering the past and the mechanisms that enable music events to function as platforms for constructing divergent historical narratives, as well as channels for provoking dissimilar affective reactions, some of them being directly expressed verbally and others being evident in expressions during the event.

On a more general level, I wanted to address the question of the potentials music can have, detecting its ability to influence people's behaviour in the sphere of discourses (both "public" and "intimate"), media, affects and bodies. Finally, I want to point to the further potential of the issue, arguing that Yugoslav popular music appears to be one of the tightest bonds between the people who used to live in Yugoslavia and who have since been living in changeable post-Yugoslav societies. Additionally, it is important to underline the fact that dealing with questions related to audience research is a relevant issue in contemporary musicological investigations.

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*Ана Пејров*

ПОПУЛАРНА МУЗИКА И ПРОИЗВОЂЕЊЕ  
КОЛЕКТИВИТЕТА: ИЗАЗОВИ ИСТРАЖИВАЊА ПУБЛИКЕ  
У САВРЕМЕНОЈ МУЗИКОЛОГИЈИ

(Резиме)

У овом раду бавим се карактеристикама, улогом и значајем публике у савременим музиколошким истраживањима популарне музике, а посебно начинима на које публика функционише као средство произвођења колективитета. Надовезујући се на студије новог материјализма, студије тела, као и на теорију афекта, публику одређујем као материјално тело које постаје носилац афективног потенцијала у датом простору и времену. Узевши као пример југословенску популарну музику, односно концерте извођача с територије некадашње Југославије, анализира сам два кључна проблема: публику на концертима популарне музике у Београду у периоду после распада Југославије и публику која се формира виртуелно у целом постјугословенском простору. У првом случају, анализира сам начине на које се стварају колективитети у конкретном простору у одређеном тренутку путем слушања исте музике, а у другом је било речи о начинима умрежавања слушалаца путем нових медија, те о стварању виртуелних заједница обожавалица и противника одређене музике. У оба случаја, показала сам како се формира ентитет публике као афективне заједнице помоћу избора о одласку на одређени концерт, као и уживања у одређеној врсти музике. Позвавши се на концепт „афективне атмосфере” Терезе Бренан (Teresa Brennan), желела сам, такође, да укажем на начине умрежавања дискурса о датој музици и афективних атмосфера произвођених путем исте. Коначно, имајући у виду потенцијал музике да учествује у производњи сећања, указала сам на начине на које су поменути концерти постали својеврсна афективна места сећања. Дискутовала сам о томе како садашње музичке праксе учествују у продукцији дискурса о историјској прошлости и како ови дискурси омогућавају стварање различитих (историјских, музичких, емотивних) сећања прошлости.

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## **The Inscription of the Feminine Body in the Field of Sound: Vocal Expression as a Platform of *Feminine Writing* (*écriture féminine*)**

Dragana Stojanović<sup>1</sup>

Faculty of Media and Communications, Belgrade

### **Abstract**

This paper brings together several theoretical issues relevant both to the fields of musicology/ethnomusicology and feminist/gender studies – above all, the issue of the status of the voice within the complexity of a body-textuality tension, and the issue of mapping the strategies of *feminine writing* in the contemporary vocal performance. Through the analysis of chosen case studies it highlights the possibility of making an alteration, transformation and re-signification of a firm structural linguistic/social order in the field of sound, thus creating a space for a feminine body to be *heard*.

### **Key words**

*Feminine writing*, performance, vocal expression

## **1. Introduction: The Turn of the Century and the Revision of the Theoretical Approaches in the Fields of Art, Sound and Performance**

Following the extreme complexity of methodological and interpretative approaches in the fields of theory of art and performance, in the continual line of the multiplication of viewpoints in theoretical and analytical discourse, the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries brought a new issue into focus: instead of striving to find some kind of new, original interpretation technique (which marked a lot of the modern and even postmodern theoretical approaches of the last century), the contemporary views on the fields of art, performance and media tend to contain a more reflexive approach. This does not mean that there was a reversion to the known discourses, to be used again in their original formula – on the contrary, they are being reinvestigated, reinterpreted, their dynamics revisited and revised, leading to the new reception and new strategies of their use for the contemporary times. The disciplinary approach, turning into multidisciplinary and interdisciplinarity by the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, shifted

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<sup>1</sup> [ddstojanovic@yahoo.com](mailto:ddstojanovic@yahoo.com)

to a need for transdisciplinary analysis at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, creating a wide potential for both the revision of previously developed theoretical and analytic discourses and the application of such renewed (trans)positions in the field of the theory of art, as well as sound and performance.

## 2. The Body in the Field of Sound: Understanding the Voice Within the Performing Context

The relations between the sound phenomenon and performance are close and complex, intersecting through the performing body. Both being an embodied experience, the sound and the performance effectively shift the focus onto the body (Case 2001). Secondly, a performance is almost always a sonorous experience; it is almost impossible to perform without making a sound, without making the happening of a *living thing* – whether or not the voice is included. Following Slavoj Žižek's thesis (Žižek 1996), absolute soundlessness is not quite possible, since absolute silence is something that would mark the suspension of life (ibid.: 93) – thus the performance can be defined as a living thing *because* of its sonority, because of the body that *sounds*. Having all this in mind, the performance is always a little bit *more* than just a textuality presented, read and comprehended.

So the movement, the breathing body, and especially the speaking and the singing body stands in the place of an *immedium*, being a symptom of a *presence* and *proximity* (Silverman 1988; Fisher 2010), of the practically physical, bodily contact of the performer and the audience without even a touch or the *live* context of a performance.<sup>2</sup> According to Mladen Dolar (Dolar 2006), the voice – vocal expression – is an especially challenging category because of the specificity of the phenomenon of voice. As Dolar stresses, the voice is something that, being produced by the body and through the body, always contains the *living* traces of the body which are, simultaneously, and paradoxically, torn from the body and frozen into a readable textuality, into the voice of the Other (ibid.). So, basically, the voice *is* and *is not* mine. Tearing from my body, being produced by the very breath and muscles of my carnality, the voice refers to my body's inevitabil-

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<sup>2</sup> In other words, the sound transcends the boundaries of time-space contextuality, preserving the physical contact of a vibration and a body that listens to it, even in a situation of mediated performance (a performance emitted through a recording and even watched later, in another space from the one in which it actually took place originally). Or, to put it another way, the sound, whenever heard (recorded or live), produces that strange loop that, as Dolar says, binds together time and space (Dolar 2011: 119): “The sound implies a missing link of time and space at the point of their overlapping. This is the point from which it sounds” (ibid.: 131).

ity,<sup>3</sup> but still loses it by solidifying into a text – a readable textuality pronounced by the Other – by the Law of the Symbolic order which introduces the cultural comprehension code (ibid.). My voice is, so it seems, always-already the voice of the Other. Since the Other (the Law) doesn't have a body but still uses bodies to enact and exercise its power (to inscribe the signifier into their raw substance, to domesticate to civilize it), my body is lost in the process of solidification of the textual meaning. Or, as Roland Barthes puts it, “what is lost in the transcription is quite simply the body” (Barthes 1977: 183).

Following this thesis, it would seem that the bodily – sonorous and textual – semantic dimensions of the voice expression are mutually exclusive (Dolar 2006: 3). But is this completely true? Is the carnal sonority of the voice completely shut out once a concentration on the meaning takes precedence, once the signifier penetrates into the sonorous body? According to Roland Barthes (Barthes 1977), the “grain of the voice” is something that cannot be completely erased, completely ignored by the signifying process (Barthes 1977). It is the carnal quality of the voice – a crack, the air inhaled or exhaled while talking or singing, the effect of the granulated materiality of the vocal cords, mucus and the oral and nasal cavity vibration – that becomes audible in the very process of *differing* from the perfectly clean textual meaning, from the perfectly blunt cut of the signifier that signs itself into a body. It is this signifier that results in turning the body into a pure textuality, a platform – a carrier of intelligibility, of the legitimacy within/of the Law. So what happens with this carnality of the voice within the performance context? If the performance is going to be understandable only at the point of being representable by a text (within a certain discourse), only if its content is being interpellated by the Other (to which the audience should respond by recognising it in/by the signifier network), cleaned of all of its debts to nature (Creed 1999), then the bodily element – the carnality of the voice, the *sonorous* body – is perceived precisely by being a *difference*, a tension within a seemingly smooth text (Douglas 2007: 4). This tension draws attention, making the body audible and visible within the perception field (making the body intrude into the text, creating a transgressive in-break), turning the performance effect into a performative intervention. Since the voice is so close to the body – it is in fact an effect of the sonorous body – the vocality can be seen as a very much performative dimension of the sound expression (Fisher 2010). The term *performative* here refers to the specific act that *enacts* something

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<sup>3</sup> “A voice means this: there is a living person, throat, chest, feelings, who sends into the air this voice, different from all other voices. The voice is always the voice of *someone*” (Cavarero 2005: 207).

(else) by its ongoing (Austin 1976, Šuvaković 2005: 454).<sup>4</sup> In other words, the quality of the utterance is performative when it makes a change into an existing order, when it relocates the existing point of perception and/or understanding. Having this in mind, what follows is that the intrusion of the bodily element into a (musical/sonorous) text is a symptom of performativity, which inevitably changes or at least destabilises (even for a moment!) the firm structure of a(n imagination of) purely textual-Symbolic order (Lacan 2006); and if the Symbolic order is destabilised and thus provoked to re-establish itself, the intervention (of the body) proves itself to be the transformative potential of the order (*and* discourse *and* meaning), allowing the possibility of the entrance of alternation, re-signification and change, which can be of immense importance when it comes to the redefining of the dominant discourse and social structure and, consequently, the subjectal position in everyday living.

The question of the performative quality of vocal writing (which basically consists of an inscription of the sonorous body into a text, weaving the textuality in a new way, challenging the existing meanings and producing a dislocated, re-signified, renewed Symbolic order)<sup>5</sup> is especially important when it is written from a marginalised or less easily grasped subjectal position. The position of not being so easily grasped by a signifier (and the Symbolic order) stems from a situation of not having a place within the Symbolic order, of having been described by the words, but not being able to express a particular position with the words, and that is precisely the position of the feminine subject in the phallogocentric Symbolic order.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> In Austin (1976), the term *performative* is specifically tied to the spoken language which performatively changes a certain element of the social order; thus, *saying* something actually becomes *doing* something (an often cited example is the answer “yes” which establishes the legal contract of marriage). However, I find Austin’s concept highly potent in the broad field of utterances made either with one’s voice or one’s body/behaviour (see Butler 1990), where a simple act or a vocal performative is not only an act, but actually *enacts* something in the social/cultural discourse, changing or establishing the status of the subject.

<sup>5</sup> The term *vocal writing* would designate the particular way of making an expression in the field of vocal performance (musical or other). It also stresses the way in which a performer imprints his/her body onto the discursive text, creating a specific way of weaving the vocal textuality from the dialogue of the performer’s body and the vocal text (the written or imagined score/performance platform) within a certain discourse.

<sup>6</sup> The term *phallogocentric* is used to denote such an order that privileges the phallic and logocentric mode. Both being oriented around the *presence* (of the phallus or of the spoken word) as a privileged quality (in contrast to absence), they put into mutual play the privilege of the patriarchal order guided by a Word – in fact, the sociocultural Law (the Symbolic!) – which functions as a standard, the code of understanding the culture that makes us recognise ourselves as interpellated subjects and respond to our given (already assigned) positions (Irigaray 1985; Shiach 2002).

### 3. Feminine Writing in the Field of Sound and Vocal Expression: A(n) (Im)Possibility?

Being at the same time both inside and outside of the language/Symbolic order/Law, trapped within the prescribed forms of description, yet not being able to use that same language to express her specific position of an absence, of a *difference*,<sup>7</sup> the feminine subject shares the paradoxical position of the voice within a Symbolic order, which is not the consequence of her being *essentially* such-and-such, or being essentially different from the male subject. On the contrary, her difference is not a cause, but an effect of a previously existing Symbolic order that assigns a place for the subject before he/she recognises himself/herself within the language (Grosz 1989: 19). In other words, we are not the owners of the discourse – we are produced as subjects within the already existing and prescribed network of positions and relations within the discourse, or the Symbolic order (Grosz 1989: 19). Since that order is phallogocentrically structured, the relation of the masculine and feminine subject is mirrored not in the formula A:B – as being equally different, but as A:-A – as being caught into a *difference*, where a masculine subject occupies the position of a presence, of a standard, and a feminine subject serves as a negativity, as a raw, almost outer cultural element (Irigaray 1985).

The same theses related to the feminine subject position are found in the field of theory of the sound and voice. As Mladen Dolar confirms (Dolar 2006), the voice, being in a state of difference to the textuality, has always been lined with femininity and seen as a potentially senseless play of sensuality which, in its meaninglessness, possesses a threat to the predictive, neat, meaningful order of intelligibility (ibid.: 43; Fisher 2010: 87). The feminine paradoxical position (being inside and outside of the structure) is reflected both in language as an order, and in the field of the sound or vocal expression within which she is in a permanent state of inability to speak intelligibly:

“...the stereotype according to which (...) the woman appears first of all as a body and as an inarticulate voice. She must be beautiful, but she must not speak. What she can do, however, is emit pleasing sounds, asemantic vocalizations, moans of pleasure. (...) The division of logos into a purely feminine phone and purely masculine semantikon, finally, accomplishes and confirms the system” (Cavarero 2005: 107).

<sup>7</sup> Speaking about the difference via the existing linguistic models would only produce that same – phallogocentric – language that shuts her out (Irigaray 1985).

Anyway, what is more frightening than *being seen* as an impossibility in terms of access to writing and expressing ourselves as women (*from* the feminine position, inscribing the difference that rubs against the phallogocentric order, thus making the difference *speak*) is the *actual* thought of the impossibility of expression caused by the outcast position of the feminine subject within the phallogocentric order. To put it simply, being (also) irreparably outside the language, lined with the semiotic, irrational, monstrous, abject (Kristeva 1982; Grosz 1989; Creed 2001), the real question is how a feminine subject could ever intervene into the language and its meanings, how could she ever express herself if her voice is deemed to be an impossibility in regard to its intelligibility and its power of utterance?

But she is also within the language, included in language itself and, more importantly, she is *audible* in her difference: “If I had such a voice, I would not write, I would laugh. And no need of quills so more body. I would not fear being out of breath. I would not come to my aid enlarging myself with a text. *Fort!* (...) If I had such a voice, I would not write, I would fight” (Cixous 2000, 49–51). What Hélène Cixous suggests is a model of *feminine writing* (*écriture féminine*) – a writing that involves (and neither ignores nor excludes) a feminine position in a text, and does so by the inscription of the female body (as the site of a *difference*) into a language/sound/visual or other text. In the field of sound, *feminine writing* would include working with an alternative (*differential*) techniques of a sonorous expression – especially within vocal writing, or vocal expression – since *feminine writing* revolves around the inscription of the body into the text, and the body is, as already explained, deeply intertwined in the problem of the voice, voice production and voice reception. In other words, using the voice as a tool that will enhance the performative quality of *feminine writing* basically includes finding the alternative, dialogical ways of a vocal expression (in contrast to the dominant, phallogocentric, One/Same [Irigaray 1985] *hard* writing of an intelligible letter). This means finding the path of asking the questions that would disturb the machinery of expected vocality, being subversive, transgressive, shifting, resignifying and altering the existing order that manifests itself as much in the field of vocal expression as in verbal or visual expression and elsewhere (Kristeva 1980: 179, 181; Turner 1999). It would not be another language, another writing; it would be a kind of creation of a *differential* writing which weaves itself into the existing order, provoking it to *change*. So it is not the writing against the writing (as in the highly problematic idea of feminine against masculine) – it is about recognising and exercising a dimension already present within a language, within a range of vocal abilities. Or, as Mladen Dolar says: “The secret may be that they [the



logos and the materiality of the voice] are both the same; that there are not two voices, but only the object voice which cleaves and bars the other in an ineradicable ‘extimacy’” (Dolar 2006: 56).

### 3. 1. *Differential Vocal Writing: the Voice as an Agent of the Performative Quality of Feminine Writing*

The struggle to find a vocality performative enough to contain and bring out the *difference* from and within the usual, prescribed and expected vocal writing norms has been a constant feature in the recent history of composing and vocal performing.<sup>8</sup> Since the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the avant-garde movement has enhanced the interest in widening the concept of vocal expression, focusing on *differential* forms of vocal writing<sup>9</sup> which would challenge the existing boundaries of what was perceived as an intelligible vocal expression – be it singing, reciting poetry or performing in any other way that included vocality (Mabry 2002; Austin Crump 2008). As such, the dada movement explored the field of avant-garde vocal expression, trying to challenge and cause the breakdown of the institutionally constructed discourses of art and artistic expression; futurism worked with the experimental sound techniques inspired by rapidly changing and mechanising societies; and avant-garde vocal expression techniques were also closely tied to cubistic and surrealist ideas, working within the fascination of a dehumanised perspective (cubism) and dream-like dissipating of the accepted and expected social and discursive norms (surrealism) (Austin Crump 2008). This interest in exploring the differential forms of vocal writing continued well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century and even continuing at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, creating a continual line of using *extended vocal techniques* to express a possibility of a different (*differential*) vocal writing, of the inscribing of a certain difference, writing a different vocal letter, trying to make the silent or not yet explored positions *speak*, to make them *write*, to make them *intervene* into an existing discourse of expression.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> More about the history of experimental, extended and avant-garde vocal techniques applied in classical music repertoires and also in the performing arts can be read in Mabry 2002 and Austin Crump 2008.

<sup>9</sup> *Differential* here refers to: 1) that which is conceived and brought from the point of difference; 2) that which refers to the difference; 3) that which constitutes the difference, or 4) that which functions differently or in regard to difference. *Differential* can also refer to something which produces an effect by the very difference it achieves, that which focuses the difference, or that which is dependent on it (related to it in any way).

<sup>10</sup> Of course, there always remains a question over whether the full interventional potential of a *differential writing* by the means of *extended vocal techniques* can be achieved. In other words, is the interventional potential actually weakened by *extending* the field of vocal expression, making that *extended* part a regular piece

Since *feminine writing* also aims at making differences heard, *extended vocal techniques/extended vocal practices*<sup>11</sup> and the heritage of avant-garde vocal expression techniques have been particularly used and explored as a tool in enhancing the performative quality of *feminine writing* in the field of sound. Working with such different (and *differential*!) techniques as shouting, whispering, crying, laughing, screaming, *glissandi*, altered or eliminated *vibrato*, inhalation, exhalation, vowel morphing, amplified or electronically generated vocal alterations, nonsense syllables or phonemes, humming, tongue clicks or tongue trills, whistling etc. essentially calls for a serious re-thinking of the dominant discourse of expression in the field of sound and, more precisely, vocality, opening a space for different feminine bodies (and their individual positions and subjectal placements) to be heard, thus also opening the issue of exploring the voice as an agent of the performative quality of *feminine writing*.

### 3. 2. Case Studies: Exploring Feminine Writing in the Field of Sound

In searching for case studies relevant to the issue of the performativity of *feminine writing* in the field of vocal sound I concentrated on contemporary performance and experimental vocal praxis within the past 15 years, covering the period of the turn of the century. As there are many female artists and performers present in the contemporary context of vocal performance who explore the field of *extended vocal techniques*, I tried to focus on those especially connected to the *differential* strategies of *feminine writing*. In other words, what drew my attention was not the challenge to the vocal limits of the human body, but the actual *effect* that it has on both the performer's and listener's perceptions of a vocal writing and its intelligibility.

In the vast range of important strategies of *feminine writing* in challenging the constructed – and expected – discursive and textual order in the field of sound, three of them seem especially prominent: 1) working with the dissipation of a verbal textuality, but keeping the musical discourse intact; 2) working with the dissipation of a musical

of a vocal expression range? Or is it just the opposite – that the extensions keep reminding the listener of the constructed nature of the boundaries of a regular vocal discourse? Where is the actual borderline between *regular* and *extended* vocal expression and does it change with the longer exposure of a listener to it (see also Austin Crump 2008)? Is the cut made by the effect of an *extended vocal technique* only temporary, given that it can only be exercised in a performance context which makes clear the demarcation line between the actual living and art (and does it always do so)? These are certainly important questions that should be investigated further, but to do so here would be to exceed the given length of the paper. However, these topics surely draw attention to the complexity of the theoretical problem of *differential writing* in art, and in general.

<sup>11</sup> Both terms are used in Austin Crump 2008.

textuality, but keeping the verbal discourse intact; and 3) working with the dissipation of both verbal and musical textualities/discourses or using some other, hybrid technique of working with these platforms.

This actually draws attention to the fact that the verbal text and musical-sound platform are still mostly seen as the main, distinguishable elements of a vocal performance. It is almost as if the necessity of a spoken/sung language still cannot be escaped, for there is still a clear need to work with the verbal language, as if it is a symptom of a firm Symbolic order that needs to be reworked, revised and subverted by the *feminine writing* potential (Pellegrini 2001).

It is precisely this context that is seen in the strategy of working with the verbal component of a vocal performance in order to produce *feminine writing*. In other words, what happens in these cases is a kind of dissipating of the verbal-intelligible linguistic component in the vocal expression, while keeping the musical discursive intelligibility intact. Examples of these strategies can be found in Anna Homler's (1948) sound and visual installations *Pharmacia Poetica* (1987)<sup>12</sup> and *Ele'Luku* (1995),<sup>13</sup> and also in Catherine Jauniaux's (1955) *The Dancers Under the Hill*<sup>14</sup> and *Kebadaya* from her solo album *Fluvial* (1983).<sup>15</sup> They demonstrate working with imagined language<sup>16</sup> or with illogically structured syllables, sometimes paired with unconventional techniques of vocal expression, such as sharply formed vocals, different references to singing techniques taken from the traditional music repertoire,<sup>17</sup> multi-layered voices, and so on. But although this strategy can be seen as revolutionary, subversive, transformative, as a kind of poetic language that sets the listener's perception free from the conventions of a language order and its repressions (Butler 1989),<sup>18</sup> there remains the issue of the potential to

<sup>12</sup> More can be found at <http://annahomler.com/portfolio/pharmacia-poetica/>, accessed 19<sup>th</sup> January, 2015.

<sup>13</sup> Full audio can be found at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eq194e4BnMY>, accessed 19<sup>th</sup> January, 2015.

<sup>14</sup> Audio can be found at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KnUkCyByZIM>, accessed 19<sup>th</sup> January, 2015.

<sup>15</sup> Full audio at [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D5Y3SH5\\_QIk](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D5Y3SH5_QIk), accessed 19<sup>th</sup> January, 2015.

<sup>16</sup> In a text published in LA Weekly, John Payne says: "Anna Homler (...) sings, in an invented language that 'nobody knows but everyone understands'..." (Payne 1996).

<sup>17</sup> "In all of her work, Homler creates a persona who expresses herself in a newly invented language that appears to be rife with tradition, ritual, ceremony, and culture of its own. The language is couched in lyrical and somewhat exotic melodies sung with a pure vocal style sans vibrato, which gives the work an ambience of authentic folk tradition" (Suzuki 1993).

<sup>18</sup> Compare the theses explained in Julia Kristeva's *Revolution in Poetic Language* (Kristeva 1982).

slip into a fantasy of drowning in some encircled, separate linguistics which would, in the end, affirm its disconnection from the dominant phallogocentric linguistic order, instead of making an intervention into it, instead of finding a way to open up a dialogue with the firm order of its relations, which would provoke a necessary destabilisation by offering something else from *within*, not from *outside* such an established language. In other words, the transformative, altering, performative quality of *feminine writing* that can enable a feminine subject and body to be *heard* would be hard to attain if *feminine writing* has accepted its already assigned position<sup>19</sup> – of a place which is silent (unable to intelligibly, actively, visibly and audibly express itself within the language), of a place which is lined with irrationality (incomprehensibility in speaking/singing), monstrosity (the indistinguishable flow of a body and a rhythm in speaking/singing) and weakness. In that sense, Homler and Jauniaux's vocal writing can also be called a *utopian feminine writing* or even a *semiotic feminine writing*<sup>20</sup> which certainly offers, if their essentialist interpretation is avoided, an appealing and rather present strategy of *feminine writing*. For this strategy see also performances of Shelley Hirsch (1952), who explores similar possibilities of the dissipation of a verbal language.<sup>21</sup>

A different kind of strategy of verbal language/discourse dissipation in a vocal performance is found in the work of Meredith Monk (1942). Differing from the *utopian* and *semiotic* strategies previously explained, Monk puts a calculated, prepared idea of a linguistic dissipation in motion, deconstructing both the intelligible linguistic platform and the lining of *feminine writing* to a kind of irrational, spontaneous, flowing-in-its-way writing; this is also an important strategy in the project of deconstructing the idea that to speak from the feminine position is to be close to irrationality and inability to express that position in language. By actually working with the language, referring to it and not escaping from it, deconstructing it in the exact process of a vocal performance, Monk points out the possibility of *feminine writing* acting from a post-linguistic position, offering a way of shedding light on its own transformability, on its own evolution to a *differential* writing which is certainly close to the feminine position of speech (Cixous 1976, 1991; Irigaray 1985; Lacan 1999).

<sup>19</sup> Assigned by the phallogocentrically structured language/Symbolic (Irigaray 1985).

<sup>20</sup> See Kristeva's concept of *semiotic*, which refers to the intrusion of a bodily, carnal flow of rhythms, pulsations and inconsistencies that are incompatible with the symbolic dimension of a language, but that are at the same time vital for renewing, subverting, altering and transforming the overall linguistic system (Kristeva 1982, 1984).

<sup>21</sup> An example is the video entitled *Shelley Hirsch sings* which can be found at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zPAezNFXOOA>, accessed 19<sup>th</sup> January, 2015.

This form of *feminine writing* could be called *deconstructive feminine writing*, with an example such as *Impermanence Part I* (2008).<sup>22</sup>

The other kind of *feminine writing*, in which the strategy is to work with the dissipation of intelligibility of a musical material (at the same time retaining the linguistic meaning), usually uses the full range of human vocal possibilities, relying heavily on *extended vocal techniques*. It almost plays with the concept of the *monstrous feminine* (Creed 2001), at some moments mocking it, inverting the stereotype of the madwoman by fully preserving the linguistic meaning, thus enabling the *differential writing* performed from a feminine position (thus becoming *feminine writing*) to mix, to interfere with(in) the intelligible (phallogocentric!) language. Faced with the constant announcement of a collapse that nonetheless never happens (because of the firm structure of the linguistic referential points), it places the linguistic order (and all its relations) into a constant tension, a continual intervention that is hard to endure, leaving a permanent mark on what was thought to be an intangible structure, and at the same time redefining the notion of the impossibility of a feminine body to be *heard*. Here this body screams, breathes, howls, moans, yells, shouts, whispers, but in a way that allows it to be *understood*, which is the crucial point that refers to its interventional potential. Excellent examples of this *intense feminine writing* are the works and performances of Romina Daniele (1985) and Diamanda Galás (1955) (Jarman-Ivens 2011).<sup>23</sup>

There are also many strategies of *feminine writing* in the field of sound and vocal expression that can fall into the category of *hybrid feminine writing*, that either work with the destabilization of both the linguistic and musical platforms of an expression (Yoko Ono [1933],<sup>24</sup> Ami Yoshida [1976]<sup>25</sup>) or with the cyborgization of one's own feminine voice (La Barbara [1947]).<sup>26</sup> These strategies underline the idea of the general crisis of the subject (and consequently, a crisis of the phallogocentric linguistic system as a whole) (Haraway 1991; Kember 2003); there are also a vast number of other strategies of *feminine writing* that point to the relevance of this kind of writing

<sup>22</sup> The audio can be heard at [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9kjJle\\_NmRs](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9kjJle_NmRs), accessed 19<sup>th</sup> January, 2015.

<sup>23</sup> The examples are <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CG2tDoEQAmQ>, accessed 19<sup>th</sup> January, 2015 (Romina Daniele's performance in Banska Bystrica, Slovakia, 2008) and <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Cchf2QH63bI>, accessed 19<sup>th</sup> January, 2015 (Diamanda Galás, *O Death*).

<sup>24</sup> See, for example, one of her performances here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HdZ9weP5i68>, accessed 19<sup>th</sup> January, 2015.

<sup>25</sup> The whole audio of her album *Tiger Thrush* (2003) is available here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bF4QszdBvI0>, accessed 19<sup>th</sup> January, 2015.

<sup>26</sup> The example of this kind of voice cyborgization can be found at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=opfTWzP3HPU>, accessed 21<sup>st</sup> January, 2015.

in the field of sound, vocality and performance. This *feminine vocal writing* also stresses the continual need for reworking, reinterpreting, re-signifying and reinventing the discursive and linguistic structure from the feminine subjectal position, creating a space for a feminine subject to be *differentially* heard.

#### 4. Instead of a Conclusion: She Can Do It

In her interpretation of Dick Higgins' *Danger Music* No. 17, Maja Solveig Kjelstrup Ratkje (1973)<sup>27</sup> offers a rather unusual tactic: instead of performing it live, she comes onto the stage on which there is only a chair and a table with a music player on it; she sits on the chair and plays the audio recording of her performance of Higgins' fluxus piece, all the time remaining quiet and still. When the recording is over, she stops the tape, grabs the music player and goes off stage.

Although the performance is probably open to different interpretations, what she presents here can be read as the representation of the exact position of a feminine subject within the phallogocentrically structured language. The seemingly powerless and motionless body is exhibited, unheard and mute, screaming from inside, not having control over it, not able to express herself without just repeating the words of an already existing order, without just going back into the closed circle of fulfilling the assigned position of a woman as it should function within the mentioned order. We see her, seeing what we have already been told about her. She sits there, being nothing else than what she has been taught to be. The language, the expression betrays her. Being let down, she is in a state of *floating* (Barthes 1998: 20).

But is she so powerless? Is such a reading just the effect of a phallogocentrically structured language, of a known Symbolic order (Lacan 2006)? Or is there something *else*, something *more* (Lacan 1999: 74)?

By figuring out the position that is assigned to her in the present linguistic/Symbolic order, by *working with it* (neither denying it nor reconciling with it) through developing specific and new – *differential* – ways of writing (from) her feminine position, the feminine subject *is* able to start a dialogue, both with the other subjects within the order and with the order itself. Paradoxically, she can have control over her position precisely by knowing that position well and by

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<sup>27</sup> This performance took place at the Henie Onstad Art Centre in Høvikodden, Norway, in October 2010. The full video can be seen here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I5YaAgjXiYo>, accessed 15<sup>th</sup> January, 2015.



using its specificities to make a movement, an alteration, a transformation. She can produce her own writing by interweaving her voice – her specific position – into the present discourse (Cixous 1976; Irigaray 1985).

Just as Maja Ratkje did in her performance, she can think it over, go onto the stage, and make a difference with her own body.

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### Драѓана Сїојановић

## УПИС ЖЕНСКОГ ТЕЛА У ПОЉЕ ЗВУКА: ГЛАС КАО ОРУЂЕ ЖЕНСКОГ ПИСМА

### (Резиме)

На прелазу из двадесетог у двадесет први век подручја музикологије и студија перформанса сусрећу се с новим теоријским поступцима истраживања, концентрисаним пре свега на стратегије реинтерпретације и ревизије претходно развијаних дискурса унутар датих дисциплина. Штавише, доскорашњи дисциплинарни приступ трансформише се најпре у мултидисциплинарни, а потом и у интердисциплинарни, отварајући надаље пут трансдисциплинарим теоријским перспективама. Такође, развијене методе дискурзивних и текстуалних анализа звука довеле су до интензивних расправа на тему концепта *писма* као специфичног начина уписивања индивидуалне позиције извођачког субјекта у музичко-текстуални дискурс. У подручју во-

калног извођаштва и вокалне експресије посебну пажњу привлачи феномен гласа, који извире из тензионог пресека телесне (карнално, *звучеће* тело) и текстуалне димензије (солидификација гласа у *тјекст* отворен дискурзивном читању). Иако се чини да се телесна и текстуална компонента вокалне експресије међусобно искључују, константно присутан материјални остатак тела у гласу који се тара о дискурзивни/културални текст указује на ону тачку из које глас говори *разликом*.

Важност ове тезе посебно се указује у подручју теоријског истраживања говора *разлике* које је уско повезано с питањем теоретизације *женског тјисма*. Појам *женско тјисмо* односи се на вид *диференцијалног тјисма* које истражује начине уписа женског тела у подручје изражавања. Иако је увек-већ уписана у предвиђено, немо место унутар дискурса фалогоцентричног Симболичког, жена ипак *говори* (уписује се у текст), што је посебно интересантно пратити унутар поља звука, или, још конкретније, у контексту вокално-експресивних стратегија у домену уметничко-звучног перформанса. Користећи ресигнификацијски потенцијал *женског тјисма* вокални перформанс се трансформише у перформатив, а различите студије случаја савремених уметница перформанса изнете у раду указују на широк интервентни потенцијал извођења и примене стратегија *женског тјисма* у пољу звука.

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## The Coexistence of Older and Newer Two-Part Folk Singing in the Village of Prekonoga (Southeastern Serbia) as an Example of Bimusicality\*

Marija Dumnić<sup>1</sup>

Institute of Musicology SASA, Belgrade

### Abstract

This paper deals with two different styles of rural folk singing in Southeastern Serbia which coexisted in the repertoire of a particular folk group. It is interesting that folk singing in the area of Svrljig can be followed through the ethnomusicological publications with music transcriptions from 1931 up to 2011 and it is vital even today. The characteristics of the older two-part singing style typical for this region are explored, as well as those of the newer two-part singing widespread after World War Two. These styles are chronologically compared and specifically presented through the analysis of (personal) field recordings of the group “Prekonoga” who carried both traditions. This characteristic of the group is considered in relation to the concept of bimusicality.

### Keywords

Older two-part folk singing, newer two-part folk singing, rural tradition, bimusicality, Southeastern Serbia, female singing group “Prekonoga”

### *The Svrljig Area in Ethnomusicological Research*

Svrljig, today a municipality in the city of Niš, is considered part of an amethanastical area (an area without larger migrations from and out of it) – Šopluk, and is located in the region commonly labelled in local ethnomusicology as Southeastern Serbia (also defined in Zakić /Zakić/ 2009: 2). The area of Svrljig is divided into “eastern” and “western” cultural zones, with the village that is considered here, Prekonoga, belonging to the former (Петровић /Petrović/ 1992: 372). Folk music (i.e. rural folk music, in accordance with particular research politics and conditions in the field) from the Svrljig area has been the subject of several ethnomusicological studies, so nowadays

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<sup>1</sup> [marijadumnic@yahoo.com](mailto:marijadumnic@yahoo.com)

there exist several publications with fundamental ethnomusicological material (i.e. field recordings and music transcriptions) from the end of the nineteenth century, unfortunately published no earlier than the beginning of the 1930s (Ђорђевић /Đorđević/ 1931), from the period of the 1960s (Petrović and Ilijin 1963–1965), from the end of the 1980s (in Девић /Dević/1992, there are transcriptions of his material collected in the 1960s and the end of the 1980s, and later one part of his sound recordings is published in Golemović 2013), from the end of the century (Стевановић /Stevanović/ 1999, Михаиловић /Mihaailović/ 2000), and finally from the beginning of this century (Думнић /Dumnić/ 2006, partly published in Думнић /Dumnić/ 2011). During these research processes, vocal, instrumental and dance forms, as well as ethnographic data about rituals and customs were collected. Ethnomusicological research from Ђорђевић's notations up until 2006 proved a continuation of the existence of very similar melopoetic forms, which is highly valuable for research on Southeast Serbian folk music. Inspired by a rethinking of the tradition of rural singing in Southeastern Serbia, this study is mostly based upon personal field research from December 2006 and a video recording of the group's public performance in 2000.

Today, the most representative carriers of the Svrlijig traditional music practice are the older members of the Amateur Cultural-Artistic Society "Prekonoga" (Serbian: *Amatersko kulturno-umetničko društvo – AKUD*) from the village of the same name.<sup>2</sup> It is very important to say that the rituals the singers spoke about are not in practice any more in this region and that the recorded samples they performed out of a basic context, as part of their stage repertoire. This corresponds with their existence as a group – they testified that they performed all songs in an authentic context when they were young, but it is obvious that they have been institutionalized as a "folk group" by integrating into the local cultural-artistic society later on (in 2000). In practice, this means that as a "folk group" they are widely considered to be the preservers of the authentic Serbian folklore, but their staged performance actually enters into the domain of folklorism (they even participated recently at "Šljivik", TV show at Radio Television of Serbia, dedicated to the preservation of folk music and dance in form of competition for the best performer). Here, this term means placing folk heritage out of its primary context (which is why the function and communication between participants is altered), while the creations of folk "art" mostly remain unchanged. In this context, the fact that the singers recorded

<sup>2</sup> In December 2006 four female singers and dancers (alphabetically: Drenovka Đorđević /born 1942/, Malina Milojković /b. 1943/, Malina Miljković /b. 1940/, Vladanka Petrović /b. 1937/) were recorded. The group manager (Ana Jovanović) and bagpipe player (Nenad Jovanović) were also valuable informants about the musical folklore of the village. I am thankful to them for performing their heritage for my research.



their repertoire,<sup>3</sup> mentioned their television appearances, and have also written some songs, can be noted. The latter shows that the singers have firm aesthetic criteria for the style and musical-poetical dimensions of their singing. These criteria are conditioned by the demands of the wider auditory, as well as the more professional one – they are established in relation to other singing groups (Ranković 1999), but also through lasting cooperation with eminent ethnomusicologists who have helped them to become recognisable and to cherish their repertoire as the most representative of Svrljig folklore. Their presence and performance as an amateur singing group can be characterized as a means of involving the local population in politically correct social and culture activities which preserve tradition, identity etc. (Čolović 2006: 124) and as an institution of spontaneous collective expression (more in Hofman 2010: 37).

### *Two-Part Singing Styles in the “Prekonoga” Repertoire*

Given the fact that two-part singing is emphasised within this group, from the aspect of the researcher and the performers themselves, two-part singing is the main focus of this paper, so the main characteristics of two-part folk singing in Serbia, and in the narrower region of Svrljig, will be briefly presented. In the Serbian rural tradition, two-part singing is the dominant manner of vocal expression. Different manifestations of two-part singing texture show different chronological layers in the Serbian music tradition: the older and newer rural manners of vocal performance. In contrast to the older singing form, which is considered to be archaic, the newer form of two-part singing, with supposed Western European origin, appeared in the Serbian tradition around the middle of the twentieth century and has been transmitted and popularised by the mass media. It became especially popular as a part of partisan folklore after World War Two (see more about the incorporation of partisan songs in rural folklore in Hercigonja 1972). On the other hand, there is the opinion that two-part singing is related to the archaic instrument of the area, the bagpipe (*gajde*) – the older style corresponds with the drone texture of the two-pipe instrument, while the characteristic ending fifth of the newer two-part singing style may have its origin in the cadenza motif performed on the three-pipe instrument typical of the Svrljig region (Dević 1978: 187; for the connection between the newer two-part singing and the bagpipe see also Golemović 1981: 9 and Лажих Михајловић /Lajić Mihajlović/ 2000: 136–140).

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<sup>3</sup> They made permanent recordings for Radio Belgrade in September 2006. I am thankful to ethnomusicologist Mirjana Drobac, music editor at Radio Television of Serbia, for this information.

Generally, older and newer rural diaphonies in Serbia vary in numerous parameters: vertical sonority structure, level of sound temperation, ambit of parts, melo-strophe form, metro-rhythmic base, timbre, ornamentation, and often in the number of participants and in the terminology of performers. Therefore, the older style is characterized by the following features: heterophone and/or drone texture, emphasized second in the vertical sonority in a nontempered and narrow sound system and a specific ornamentation manner. The characteristics of the newer style are: homophone texture with a consonant harmony, wider pitch frame, more developed form of melo-strophe, a tendency towards clearly organized metro-rhythmical pulsation and the possibility of a larger number of participants. Rural folk singing in the Svrljig region belongs to the Shopluk diaphony style (as opposed to Dinaric – another older two-part singing style present in Serbia; Девић /Dević/ 2002: 36); it will be described later. The above-mentioned researchers note two-part singing samples from the region of Svrljig, but Đorđević notes from the beginning, and those of Dević, Petrović and Ilijin from the middle of the twentieth century, show dominant illustrations of the older singing style. Nevertheless, among Dević's examples there are also several songs interpreted in the newer style, but performed by singers from other villages who are mostly male (transcriptions in Dević 1992 and sound samples in Golemović 2013).

The group's repertoire consisted of songs that belong to both the older and newer singing styles. Even though the coexistence of these different singing styles is present among groups from other parts of Serbia, the phenomenon of bimusicality is rather marginalised in the existing Serbian ethnomusicological literature (the first of very few mentions in Serbian ethnomusicology was in Dević 1997: 135, 136). The attention of researchers was mostly directed towards the differences between certain songs and ways of singing, so these styles have been studied separately or in parallel (cf. e.g. Девић /Dević/ 1986). Even when they are related, the styles have been observed at the level of their mutual influences (which do not necessarily exist): in such cases, it is usually said that the newer singing style threatens to quash or contaminate the older one (Golemović 1981: 6; Dević 1997). Moreover, the older singing style has elements strongly rooted in the Serbian tradition (e.g. the intentional presence of the second in the vertical sonority within a cadence), which continue to exist in the newer musical system (Golemović 1981: 35). Interestingly, some regions of Southeastern Serbia have still not accepted the newer style of singing because of their geographic isolation, which contributed to the stronger perseverance of the older singing style.

A music group is considered to be a group of at least two people who share the same concepts of performing, consuming, distribution

and evaluation of music (Baumann 1989: 41). The fixed and most well-known members of the group “Prekonoga” at the time of the field research (2006) were four female singers and one male bagpipe-player, between seventy five and eighty one years old. All of them were from the village formerly mentioned, except one woman who had come from the near-by village for marriage and who claims that the ritual-custom practice differs among villages. The singers had no musical education and learned how to sing by listening to the older women – they even participated as singers in the rituals they were talking about. Apart from being performers, they also provided important information on the rituals and customs of this region, such as wedding (*svadba*), harvest (*žetva*), Saint George’s day (*Đurđevdan*), Lazarus Saturday (*Lazareva subota*), the rainmakers’ procession (*dodole*), vineyard picking (*branje grožđa*) etc. When we met, they were not able to recall all of the songs sung in the former rituals; they also performed some of the non-ritual songs, with lyrical themes and using another musical system. They were also representatives of the local folk dance practice with archaic instrumental accompaniment, which shows their familiarity with the older strata of rural folklore.

In analysing the songs performed by the “Prekonoga” group, different invariant structures (models), results in concrete melodies, were noted. These formulas were named as aria (*arije*) by the interviewed singers, for both diaphonical styles. It is most likely that this term is of recent origin, although the singers themselves said nothing about that directly. In addition to this stands the fact that, in this village in prior decades, Dević registered the use of the term “voice” (lit. *glas*) (Dević 1992). The term *glas*, common in the Serbian tradition, is characterised by researchers as an intonative and melodic type (pattern) which consists of the elements that dominate in a large number of similar melodic profiles (Радиновић /Radinović/ 2001: 41; Јовановић /Jovanović/ 2014).

The singers’ perception of the coexistence and interpretation of different singing styles, bimusicality, is illustrated though the different comprehensions of “arias” (melodical models) as female (or the older musical model) and male (or the newer musical model). At the same time, this is also a gender classification that indicates the “female” preservation of the old tradition (including rituals and customs) and the “male” or rather “male-female” preservation of the newer vocal expression. It is interesting to note that these singers speak of the “male aria” as an old tradition even while later saying that one song performed in that particular style is their product as authors. Since this is certainly a newer tradition, a question can arise as to whether the singers introduced changes in their repertoire based on their aesthetic preferences, while continuing to present the songs as archaic. These

singers nevertheless long to stay “talented anonymous individuals” and in that manner to contribute to the opulent folk art in the domain of reproduction production.

The **older** two-part singing is organized in such a way that one singer “leads” (*vodi*) and the other “follows” (*prati*), as they say. When talking about the older style, it can be noted that singers are gathered in two two-member groups and sing alternately – the second group sings the strophe that follows without canonic treatment of the strophes. The most highly emphasized characteristic of this style is the texture, which is predominantly in the form of a rhythmic drone. The second is dominant in the vertical sonority; non-temperament and occasional intonative instability are common, as is a narrow melodic range. At the beginning of each strophe there is a dull exclamation syllable “(h)e” with the conveying character which is of a longer length and by upward glissando accomplishes the axis-sound  $g^1$ . The typical ornamentation of this singing style is clucking sounds. In some ritual genres there may be the sound “i<sup>1</sup>”, downward in glissando from (approximately)  $f^2$  at the end of the melo-strophe. It is interesting that the performed examples are in *parlando rubato* metro-rhythm with the occasional tendency towards distribution in the refrain. The metrics of the verse may be septosyllabic (4, 3), symmetrical octosyllabic (4, 4) or asymmetrical decasyllabic (4, 6). In the formal aspect it is notable that the lengths of lyrical and musical phrase often do not overlap. Some songs have a framing verse. The older singing can be illustrated with the song *Cornel Is Flowering in the Green Mountain* (*Drenak cveta u goru zelenu*, Example 1) which is usually sung on Lazarus Saturday. It is interesting that a song of this genre, even of this melodic type, was also noted in 1987 (Dević 1992: 464–467), so it is important to note its vitality during the second half of the twentieth century. Furthermore, this tune is present in different genres and its characteristics (such as X /4, 6/, frame verse, outcry) can also be recognized in wedding songs (Dević 1992: 432). This demonstrates a coherence between the genres of the rural ritual singing calendar (Dumnić 2006: 16), also present in neighbouring areas and interpreted as part of the magical connection of the whole annual cycle of customs for the fertility, health and prosperity of the local community (Радиновић /Radinović/ 1992: 122). Such a melodic and contextual basis certainly led to the stability of the older two-part singing style in the repertoire of those singers.

The main characteristic of their **newer** singing style is of one soloist standing out in front of a group of an unlimited number of performers. It is interesting that this “male aria” can be performed by both men and women, even combined, probably because this way of singing has no sacred contextual basis, as is the case with the older style. It has to be mentioned that a singer who had not formerly been

exposed in such a context “led” only one song of this kind. The newer singing differs from the older in almost every aspect: apart from the striking homophonic texture, the more tempered note relations in the leading melody, the wider ambit, the tendency towards establishing a precise metro-rhythmic base, the different manner of ornamenting (e.g. vibrato), the different timbre with clear lyrical articulation, and the strophic form of rhymed couplets are present. In the formal aspect the accordance of the music’s length with the lyrical phrase is obvious. The group’s newer singing style represents their self-written song *Hey, Svrljig, City in the Valleys (Oj, Svrljigu, grade u doline*, Example 2). This song demonstrates several interesting aspects of rural singing in this area. Namely, it is sung to one of the typical tunes of newer two-part singing and it became very popular as part of partisan folklore in Yugoslavia during World War Two (Golemović 1981: 12, 44–45). Apart from being commonly considered as “folk”, it actually has a composer and title – Oskar Danon, *Ide Tito preko Romanije*. He composed it in 1942 on the basis of the musical folklore of the Romanija region, Eastern Bosnia (Danon 1982). In relation to the heritage of the Svrljig region, it is important to mention that this song was recorded in 1966 in the village of Burdimmo, and that the performers were men who sang it intonatively correctly (Dević 1992: 505–506; cf. Golemović 2013). Moreover, this song is interesting in terms of the aforementioned idea that two-part singing might have emerged from the sound made by the bagpipe. The very song *Ide Tito preko Romanije* was given to a player of the local bagpipe variant (*erske gajde*), but he was unable to perform it correctly because of a different musical thinking (Vukosavljević 1981: 51), which corresponds to the older folklore. Finally, the “Prekonoga” group took this music and wrote other lyrics based on the theme of love, using local motifs, the local dialect and poetic interventions in order to fill the decasyllabic verse (adding the syllable “-ulj” in two lines). This kind of adjustment is typical of creations in the newer two-part singing style (Golemović 1981: 10, 33).

In spite of the idea that the vertical sonority result would be two-part singing, in the case of a large number of performers there maybe the presence of additional notes which are accidental, or wrong. The impression is that, while performing, the voices are rather relaxed, and singers do not pay as much attention to vertical sonority perfection as was the case with the older singing style, which was sung correctly. Given this fact, it is easy to notice that the older style is rooted in group’s music heritage and that is why they have trouble in adjusting to the newer style.

*Bimusicality and the Repertoire of Singing Group “Prekonoga”*

The ability of these singers to cherish two interpretative styles allows the study of the level of bimusicality. It is widely known in ethnomusicology that the term “bimusicality” has several meanings. This term is common in literature nowadays and very useful in applied ethnomusicology (cf. e.g. Solis 2004). It was introduced by Mantle Hood in the middle of the last century (although the phenomena he discussed existed even earlier), implicating the practical mastery of students of ethnomusicology in foreign, “exotic” music, for which he provides methodological instructions (Hood 1960: 55–59). After that, the question arose among professionals of whether the performers themselves (whose music is studied) can be bimusical. Bruno Nettl said that there are many people belonging to different cultures who are originally bimusical (or even polymusical) and who behave in the same manner as bilinguals (or even polylinguals). Moreover, it is possible that some folk music performers are familiar with e.g. classical music (Nettl 1983: 50), or that some musicians in urban settings are performing diverse music styles and genres (Cottrell 2007). Timothy Rice offered a retrospective view in reviewing Hood’s concept, outlining the original ideas of bimusicality and its methodological operativeness (Rice 1994: 332–333). Also, Stephen Cottrell gave an overview of the existing literature related to this concept (Cottrell 2007).

Ruža Bonifačić made an important contribution to this issue in a region of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. While studying Hood’s conception of “bi-musicality” and Blacking’s conception of musicality (Blacking 1973), she differentiates between the broader and narrower meanings of bimusicality. The term “broader bi-musicality” represents “the ability of the individual to listen, accept, to like and understand two different musical styles in the performance of which he may, but need not, participate” (Bonifačić 1997: 37). The term “narrower bi-musicality” is closely related to Hood’s opinion and therefore implies “competent mastery of two different musical styles” (Bonifačić 1997: 50). She studies the bimusicality of certain singers from the island of Krk (Croatia) based upon the following parameters: participation in a music performance (with consideration of the repertoire, age of the performers and the area in which they perform), the conditions in which the music performance is given, and the manner, style and quality of the interpretation. Of great importance is the factor of which style the new music forms are created in, as well as society’s opinion on the examinee’s competence in both styles (Bonifačić 1997: 52–58). In addition, she introduced the categories of active and passive bimusicality, the latter implying performing badly, but with a high level of interest in various kinds of music (Bonifačić 1997: 58).



Finally, the activity and performance of “Prekonoga” group can be observed comparatively in the manner suggested by Bonifačić. The previously debated two-part singing is the most important common parameter within which their bimusicality can be regarded. It is noticeable that the older songs predominate in their repertoire, probably because of the requests of ethnomusicologists with whom the group have collaborated. As formerly mentioned, in their performances the older two-part singing type prevails, which is seen in quality of the vertical sonority component. While performing the newer songs they are not aware of the fact that they are less successful than while performing the older ones, because of their relaxed voices, the larger number of performers and their conformity to the older style. Their strong and enduring adjustment to the older music style can be explained by their exposure to that folklore in their youth. Although it is more difficult for them to adapt to the newer style, they create the new songs in this very manner, probably because of the applicability of its melodic patterns, but also because of the need to accommodate themselves within the growth of present trends – for example, singing in larger groups, ability to communicate with a wider audience in Serbia, and adjustment to groups from other regions of the country, mostly of Dinaric origin (even the possibility of comparison with those groups). The lack of creativeness in the older style can be interpreted as a preservation of the older songs which are considered as unchangeable things (even as taboo in the original ritual context), given their ritual origin and long tradition. This shows their tendency towards the preservation of the folklore of supposed archaic origin.

The bimusicality of “Prekonoga” is recognisable in the fact that they were very active and prominent performers who knew and used two different music styles. Nevertheless, they showed a stronger tendency towards one: the dominance of the older over the newer style is clear in the manner presented above – this is easily understood given their age, and requests for the older folklore styles by the organisers of public performances; it can also be said that their reputation among audiences has been accomplished with this particular singing style. According to everything discussed, they can be considered as representative performers of the older singing style, which is strongly confirmed by their community. The newer two-part singing of the “Prekonoga” group is of weak quality, but they nonetheless express a keen interest in this singing form and tend to cherish it in the domain of their musical habits and customs. Their bimusicality is “broader”, in Bonifačić’s terms.

The concept of bimusicality in its originally established meaning shows that more than one musical practice can be accomplished and



that it has good results in terms of ethnomusicological methodology. Furthermore, it provides the possibility to observe different types of musical thinking in the repertoires of various musicians. In other words, this concept can be useful in musical cognition research, but also in policies of the sustainability or development of musical cultures. The example analysed here is interesting as a contribution to the application of the bimusicality concept because it is rare illustration of the process of creation in the newer style (i.e. one level of that style) and at the same time as a case of the maintenance of older rural musicality in contemporary Serbia.

## EXAMPLES:

♩ = 75

E, drenak cve - ta u go - ru ze - le - nu, i!

E, drenak cveta u goru zelenu, i!

E, the cornel is flowering in the greenmountain, i!

Drenak cveta u goru zelenu,  
zdravac raste pod velemu stenu.  
Zdravče, venče, beru te devojke?  
K'd te beru, uz obraz te nose!

The cornel is flowering in the green mountain,  
the geranium is growing under the big rock.  
Geranium, wreath, are girls picking you?  
When they pick you, they wear you near their  
cheek!

## Example 1: "Drenak cveta u goru zelenu"

♩ = 76

Oj, Svr - lji - gu, gra - de u do - li - ne, gra-de u do - li - ne,  
o - ko teb su Svr- lji - ske pla - ni - ne, Svr-lji-ske pla - ni - ne. O.F.

Oj, Svrlijgu, grade u doline, grade  
u doline  
oko teb' su Svrlijske planine,  
Svrlijske planine!

Hey, Svrlijig, city in the valleys, city,  
in the valleys,  
you're surrounded by the Svrlijg  
Mountains, the Svrlijg Mountains!

Oj, Svrljigu, grade u doline,  
 oko teb' su Svrljiške planine!  
 S leve strane – planina Devica,  
 u Devicu lepa čobanica.  
 A sa desne – Visokulj planina,  
 u planinu do dva čobanina.  
 A ispodulj dobra reka teče,  
 procepa su, medenice zveče.  
 Iznad reku čobani planjuju,  
 čobanicu pesmom dovikuju.  
 „Čobanice s planine Device,  
 dođ' kod mene da ti ljubim lice,  
 da te vodim u Ravnu pećinu,  
 da pokažem svu moju veštinu!”  
 Čobanin me poljubi, pa ode,  
 ostavi me k'o ribu bez vode  
 u pećini da tugujem tugu.  
 Ode čoban da miluje drugu...

Hey, Svrljig, city in the valleys,  
 you're surrounded by the Svrljig Mountains!  
 On the left – Devica Mountain,  
 in Devica is a pretty shepherdess.  
 And on the right – Visok Mountain,  
 in the mountain there are two shepherds.  
 And below flowing a good river,  
 fissuring and clinking.  
 Shepherds are lazing above the river  
 and calling the shepherdess with a song.  
 “Shepherdess from Devica Mountain,  
 come to me to kiss your face,  
 to take you into Ravna Cave,  
 to show you all my skills!”  
 The shepherd kissed me and went,  
 left me like a fish without water  
 in the cave to grieve.  
 The shepherd went to kiss another one...

Example 2: “Oj, Svrljigu, grade u doline”

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*Марија Думнић*

КОЕГЗИСТЕНЦИЈА СТАРИЈЕГ И НОВИЈЕГ  
ДВОГЛАСНОГ НАРОДНОГ ПЕВАЊА  
У СЕЛУ ПРЕКОНОГА (ЈУГОИСТОЧНА СРБИЈА)  
КАО ПРИМЕР БИМУЗИКАЛНОСТИ

(Резиме)

У овом раду говори се о певању старијих певачица Аматерског културно-уметничког друштва „Преконога” из истоименог села код Сврљига, које припада музичком дијалекту Југоисточне Србије. Према уважавању поделе сеоског двогласног певања у Србији на старије и новије, као и поделе старијег на динарско и шопско, рурално народно двогласно певање заступљено у Сврљигу може бити старије – шопско, и новије. Старији тип двогласја у овој области може континуирано да се прати у етномузиколошким публикацијама од 1931. до 2011. године. Са друге стране, после Другог светског рата експанзија двогласног певања новије традиције утицала је у одређеној мери и на наслеђе у овом крају. Након представљања карактеристика двогласја сврљишког краја, у студији су анализирани (лични) теренски снимци на којима је заступљено певање обе врсте – традиционално старије сеоско двогласно певање и „ауторско” новијег стила. Коначно, овакав репертоар фолклорне групе из Преконоге посматран је из аспекта бимузикалности, односно способности неговања два различита музичка наслеђа. Закључено је да је у певању старијих певачица АКУД „Преконога” препознатљива „шира бимузикалност”, будући да је доминантан стил сеоског двогласног певања који има дужу традицију.

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## Janáček's and Freud's Vienna: the Fight for Recognition of Two Great Contemporaries\*

Melita Milin<sup>1</sup>

Institute of Musicology SASA, Belgrade

### Abstract

The common denominator in the careers of two contemporaries and great men, citizens of Austria-Hungary – Leoš Janáček and Sigmund Freud – was that, in spite of their status as outsiders, they managed to achieve well-deserved recognition. Both non-Germans, they had to surmount a number of obstacles in order to attain their professional goals. The Slavophile Janáček dreamed for a long time of success in Prague, which came at last in 1916, two years before a triumph in Vienna. Freud had serious difficulties in his academic career because of the strengthening of racial prejudices and national hatred which were especially marked at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. After the dissolution of the Empire things changed for the better for the composer, whose works got an excellent reception in Austria and Germany, whereas the psychiatrist had to leave Vienna after the *Anschluss*.

### Key words

Leoš Janáček, *Jenůfa*, Sigmund Freud, Austria-Hungary 1878–1918.

At first sight, it seems strange to draw connections between the biographies of two men exercising very different professions – a composer and a psychiatrist – who moreover had no personal relationship and made no particular observations about each other. Some common traits noticed in the courses of their careers, however, were provocative enough for me to try to establish some parallels between them that could provide us with a little more insight into the position of non-German creative men in the Austro-Hungarian Empire during the last decades of its existence. The stability of the complex multinational “Double monarchy” was illusory and its slogan *Ruhe und Ordnung* (Peace and Order) was more a dream than reality. However, Vienna's unique university and art traditions and

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<sup>1</sup> [melita\\_milin@yahoo.com](mailto:melita_milin@yahoo.com)



the whole cultural environment still had a strong appeal for people inclined towards creative work, be it in the fields of science, the arts or philosophy. The works of outstanding individuals in all those areas proved to be of immense importance for future developments on a global level: suffice to mention the physicist Ernst Mach, the philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein, the psychiatrist Sigmund Freud and the composers Gustav Mahler and Arnold Schoenberg.

Both Freud and Janáček were born in Moravia (the psychiatrist-to-be two years after the composer-to-be, 1854 /1856), but whereas Freud lived almost all his life in Vienna, Janáček stayed in the deep province of what was Brno at that time, although only 100 km away from Vienna and 180 km from Prague. Both of them had many obstacles to overcome on the way to full recognition of their original ideas. Freud dreamed of his work being accepted in the city where he lived, but for Janáček it was most important to be applauded in the Czech capital, Prague. When he was eventually recognised in Vienna, this seemed to be of much less importance to him than a triumph in Prague, which came earlier.

Confronted by the mixture of cultures and the “awakening of nations” in Austria-Hungary, the Austrian population found its supremacy threatened, which resulted in more or less pronounced nationalistic attitudes. The activities of the anti-Semite Pan-German union further damaged the already tense relationship between the Austrian / German people and the others in the Empire – Jewish, Slav and Hungarian peoples. In his *Autobiography*, Freud wrote that when he was a student he was “affected by the expectation of his environment to feel less worthy and not equal to them [i.e. to the Germans] because [he] was a Jew”. “I renounced”, he added, “without much sorrow to belonging to that people [...] and very early I got to know the fate of a man who is in the opposition and is excluded from a compact majority” (Frojd 1979: 9). Leoš Janáček was also a non-German inhabitant of the Monarchy, but living on historically Czech territory. Like Freud, he certainly wished to be treated as equal with the Germans, but contrary to him, Janáček would surely never have wished to be regarded as belonging to the German people. There are many records of his hostile feelings towards the Germans, the earliest of which probably being a letter to his uncle accompanied by a poem of his when he was only 15 (Knaus 1985: 53–4). The explanation can be found in the young Janáček having been strongly impressed by two important events taking place that year: the celebration of the 1000<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the death of St. Cyril who, with his brother St. Method, introduced Christianity to the Slavs, and the Memorial to their contemporary, Prince Svatopluk, the founder of the kingdom of Great Moravia. There are many testimonies to



Janáček's nationalistic, anti-German attitudes evident also in his later years, such as not taking trams in Brno as they were owned by the Germans and not going to the German concert house (Gojowy 1991: 27). His marked inclination towards Russian culture is well-known, as were his activities in the Russian club in Brno which he founded in 1897.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, it was his own decision – though taken only after not receiving an answer to his inquiries about studying in St. Petersburg – to continue his music studies after Prague in German cities, Leipzig and Vienna. He was highly critical of his professors' pedagogical and compositional work, which caused several conflicts between them, but it can be claimed with certainty that those were not political (nationalistic) clashes, but strictly musical ones (Helfert 1939: 121–175).

When Milan Kundera compared Max Brod's fight for Janáček with Émile Zola's for Alfred Dreyfus (Kundera 1994: 224), he probably overestimated the composer's problems in gaining recognition in Prague. It is nevertheless quite true that Janáček faced obstacles that are difficult to understand today. It is interesting, be it said in passing, that Brod served the causes of two of the most outstanding artists the Czech lands have given to the world – Janáček and Kafka.<sup>3</sup>

Janáček's position – like Freud's – is to be observed against the background of the complicated multiculturalism of the Double monarchy. Germanisation was something greatly feared by all the non-Germans in the country. The opinion of Heinrich von Srbá, the great Austrian historian of Czech origin, was typical – he thought that only German blood was the cement of civilisation, of the *Kultur* in Central Europe. Members of other nations could rise to the heights of culture, but only by becoming Germanized, becoming German in fact. The alternative was to stay at the level of their own ethnic origin – that is, at a lower level, respected but subordinate (Magris 1990: 32). The conflict between Germans on one side and Czechs and other non-Germans on the other manifested itself principally through the questions of autonomy and language. Perhaps it was the general obsession with native languages that was the source of Janáček's marked interest in rendering the melodic-rhythmic inflections of the spoken language in his music. The Czech language bearing very distinct features, the wish to transpose them into music could be in-

<sup>2</sup> It is interesting that Freud joined the Jewish community "B'nai B'rith" in Vienna the same year (1897).

<sup>3</sup> Kundera 1994: 290. Kundera believes that they are the two greatest artists to have lived in his country. He also writes that living in Prague was an enormous handicap for Kafka, since as such he was separated from the literary world of his (German) language and from the German publishers, which proved fatal for him. Kundera observes Prague as only a provincial town for the Germans, just as Brno was for the Czechs, from which it could be concluded that both Janáček and Kafka were provincials (*ibid.*: 290, 291).

terpreted as an effort – conscious or subconscious – to assert and emphasize the differences in relation to the German-type music. Of course, Janáček aimed primarily to suggest all the psychological subtleties contained in speech, but it is possible that his method also had the meaning of demonstratively proving the worth of a principle derived from the characteristics of the Czech language, viewed as representing the true identity of the people using it. He conceived this principle comparatively late in his career and the same could be said of the maturation of his attitude towards folk music. Like Bartók, he had not been brought up in a rural environment amidst a living and rich folk tradition; they both discovered authentic folk music later in their lives through field work, which constituted a decisive moment in their development as composers. Having had rather conservative attitudes in their youths, they gradually started producing original, individually conceived works. The common denominator of their compositions could be found in anti-romanticism, but their overall artistic results differed a great deal. It is mainly this anti-romantic attitude that divided Janáček from the creative world of Bedřich Smetana, so it is to be expected that of all the leading Czech musicians, Janáček felt most alien to Smetana (Jiránek 1985: 36). On the other hand, it is likely – as has been posited by Jiří Fukač – that Janáček had a complex of the father-founder of Czech national music. Since he was aware that Smetana was that figure in reality, he tried to surpass him and gain his position (Fukač 1970: 58). Why would Janáček wish that? Maybe the answer could be found in his deliberately opting for an Eastern orientation in music, whereas he most probably viewed Smetana's aesthetic position as too Western. Such a division in the frame of so-called national schools is not exceptional – in fact, it could easily be observed as a rule. It was to be expected, since the first manifestations of national ideas in the music of Eastern Europe appeared at the time of Romanticism, that the spirit of those works would bear features of “romanticisation”, which Walter Wiora wrote about.<sup>4</sup> The next generation, to which Janáček belonged, was active

<sup>4</sup> Wiora was probably the first to use that term in that context in his book *Europäische Volksmusik und abendländische Tonkunst*, Kassel, 1957. In the chapter “Romantisierung und Realismus” we find the following sentences: “Im Übergang vom Weltalter der Glocke zu dem Fabriksirene kämpfte sie (i.e. die bisherige Volks- und Hochkultur) gegen die begonnene Vernüchterung, Entzauberung, Entgötterung der Welt und beschwor die entgegengesetzten Sphären zu neuem Leben: das Poetische, das Romaneske, das Wunderbare. Indem Romantiker diese Sphären auch und besonders in Volkstradition suchten, haben sie Schönes und Köstliches entdeckt, das vorher verborgen war. Aber wie der Liebende zwar tiefer erkennt als der Nüchterne, doch zugleich umschwärmt und verklärt, so haben sie das Lied des Volkes ‘romantisiert’. Sie umhüllten es mit einer poetischen Aura, sie liessen es wunderbar schimmern und leuchten; sie gaben, gemäss dem Begriff der Romantisierung bei Novalis, gemeinen hohen Sinn und Gewöhnlichem geheimnisvolles Ansehen” (146-147).

at the time of the anti-romantic reaction and had more profound and scientific relations with folk music, which brought a marked appreciation of realism. Such an outlook led to the stressing of specific musical characteristics that differed essentially from those present in the Western tradition. By implementing this new aesthetics, Janáček showed his abandonment of Smetana's tradition, thus creating discontinuity in Czech music. On the other hand, Janáček is closer to Smetana than to the younger generation of Czech composers who made their appearance after the First World War. Seen from that point of view, his output marks the end of an evolution.

Czech musicologists have already dealt with this aspect of Janáček's creative personality (Jiránek 1997: 24; Fukač 1970: 58–9), but it is noteworthy that, as early as 1938, the great Serbian composer Petar Konjović wrote about Janáček as being an important exponent of the Eastern orientation in Slavonic music (Konjović 1947: 127–32). Konjović also wrote that together with Mussorgsky<sup>5</sup> and Borodin, Janáček represented this Eastern orientation in that, among other features, his works showed that he had a feeling for primitive/ archaic qualities in music, that he sought simplicity and directness of expression, that the formal processes in his compositions were more evolutionary than constructed and that he was especially attracted to transposing the real world by musical means (ibid.: 126). It can be added that Konjović felt closer to those composers of Eastern orientation and that their influence can be noticed in his own compositions – thus, for instance, he paid special attention to the inflections of speech in his vocal music. When Konjović's masterpiece, the opera *Koštana*, was successfully staged in Brno (1932) and Prague (1935), critics such as Jan Racek, Ludvík Kundera and Otakar Šourek noticed analogies between that work and *Jenůfa* (Mosusova 1973: 259). Konjović, however, didn't know of Janáček before the end of the First World War, although he had studied at the Prague Conservatory from 1904–06 and this is no wonder, since Janáček was almost unknown in the Czech capital before *Jenůfa*'s premiere there in 1916.

When he finally saw the realisation of his dream – the staging of *Jenůfa* in Prague – Janáček was already 62, older by more than a decade than Freud when he was finally elected professor extraordinarius. The story about the reluctance of Karel Kovařovic to allow *Jenůfa* to be performed in Prague is well known. In *Jenůfa*, Kovařovic mostly resented what he described as “inartistic” and “naturalistic”, even the word “dilettantism” was used. Both former

<sup>5</sup> Mussorgsky and Janáček have so much in common that it is strange indeed that Janáček never acknowledged any debt to the Russian composer and is generally taken as “underivative” (See Jiránek 1996: 43).

qualifications being related to Janáček's speech-melodies, it must have been strange for the composer that the special attention he paid to speech, that is to the Czech language, met with such obstacles in the Czech capital; he probably would not have been surprised that something like that would happen in a non-Czech town, but it was painful that it was so in Prague.

The writer Milan Kundera called *Jenůfa's* triumphant premiere in Prague "a humiliating victory" because it was performed by a man who for 12 years had shown only disdain for the work, had staged it only on the condition that he would be allowed to make "corrections" to the opera, and Janáček was obliged to be grateful to him after all this (Kundera 1994: 226). The composer obviously thought that such a concession was worth the reward of being performed in the National Theatre of his dreams. This can be seen as another common point between Janáček's and Freud's careers, since the psychiatrist (as mentioned earlier) also accepted help from influential people to reach an important personal goal. For both men those were their first really significant successes that gave powerful impetus to their future creative work. There was, of course, still much resistance to be overcome, but from then on their positions were steadily improving.

The success in Prague cleared the way for *Jenůfa* in Vienna, where it had its premiere in February 1918, only a few months before the collapse of the Empire. The opera was staged by special order of the Emperor – against the interpellation of a German nationalist deputy in the parliament (Gojowy 1991: 27) – and continued to be performed afterwards, in the newly-formed Austrian republic and across Europe. Janáček must have been especially hurt by the Prague music circles trying to underestimate his successes even after *Jenůfa's* triumph abroad, as for him the most important thing was to be seen not only as the most outstanding Czech composer of his time, but also as the father-founder of Czech national music. At the height of his fame, two years before his death, he had to deal with being called a Moravian, not a Czech composer, by his Prague colleagues.<sup>6</sup>

Janáček's fame grew continuously as the opera and his other works found their way to many European stages and concert halls. Did this turn of events soften Janáček's anti-German feelings? It certainly did, the more so as his beloved country finally won its independence at the end of the war. Here are his words: "One day I saw a miraculous change in the town [Brno]. My antagonism to the gloomy town hall [=the symbol of the Austrian rule – M.M.] vanished... Over the town the light of freedom blazed, the rebirth of October 28<sup>th</sup>, 1918..."<sup>7</sup> Both

<sup>6</sup> Janáček wrote to a German musicologist: "I am a Czech composer, not a Moravian one as people in Prague want to designate me" (Muller 1930: 85).

<sup>7</sup> From Janáček's feuilleton "My town", quoted in: Fukač 1988: 150.

as a composer and in his private life Janáček experienced a specific rebirth in the last decade of his life. However, not all his undertakings were successful. For several years he worked on *The Danube*, a large orchestral work which was probably intended to rival Smetana's *Vltava*, but eventually he was unsatisfied with the result and left the work unfinished. Maybe Janáček would have been able to finish the work to his own satisfaction, had he made his continually–postponed journey from Bratislava down the Danube. This, the largest European river that connects the centre of the continent with its Eastern border had for many centuries been the symbol of the Austrian Empire and as such not very attractive for Janáček to compose a work about. Now that there seemed to be no dangers threatening the new Czechoslovak Republic, Janáček perhaps felt free to compose the work, purely to celebrate the beauty of the landscapes surrounding the Danube on its flow to the Black Sea. Maybe he wished at the same time to consolidate his new international career by choosing a subject that would not be labelled as national since it related to the Danube's literal crossing of the borders, of its linking several countries. It is however difficult for composers coming from so-called peripheral areas of Europe, even for outstanding composers like Janáček, to escape the designation of exterritoriality. We can take the example of Theodor W. Adorno who, although estimating Janáček's overall achievement as valuable, saw Janáček and Bartók alike as exterritorial composers who, thanks to their living in agrarian areas of South-Eastern Europe in which the developments of Western music were not fully accepted, did not need to be ashamed of using tonal material (Adorno 1968: 63, fn 3). Such ideologically distorted views mostly belong to the past and both composers are today rightly seen as authors whose ways of solving the crisis of late Romanticism – through a novel approach to folk music – were as legitimate as those of Schoenberg or Berg (Danuser 1983: 48 passim).

It is interesting that Janáček was not only regarded as exterritorial from the Western point of view, but also as somebody extrinsic even to a provincial town like Brno (Fukač 1988: 150). In this light, his magnificent ascent from a Moravian provincial composer to an outstanding figure of early 20<sup>th</sup> century music seems almost a miracle. He would not have reached this position without his perseverance in wanting to have one of his works, *Jenůfa*, staged in Prague. The novelty of the work would certainly have been much more highly appreciated had it been performed at the right time, after the Brno premiere, not having to depend on the good will of one conductor and waiting 12 years for its chance.

In the analyses of some of his own dreams, which he published in *The Interpretation of Dreams* in 1900, Sigmund Freud has left

most valuable accounts of his painstaking professional ascent. As Carl Schorske has pointed out in his remarkable book on Fin-de-siècle Vienna (Schorske 1980), the 1890s had been especially hard for Freud. He failed to obtain a professorship, as the academic promotions of Jews in the Medical Faculty became more difficult in the crisis years after 1895. It was in that year that Karl Lueger's German nationalists and anti-Semites won the elections in Vienna, causing the strengthening of racial prejudice and national hatred. Freud's position on the social ladder sank and he became an ordinary doctor, since he was not able to continue his scientific endeavours. The death of his father in 1896 aggravated his personal crisis. All these painful events Freud found in disguised form in his dreams.

Freud's basic analytic principle, that "a dream is a *disguised* fulfilment of a *suppressed* wish" was effectively applied by himself on his own four "Rome dreams". Five times he travelled to Italy between 1895 and 1898, without ever reaching Rome. Some inhibitions held him back. At the same time, Rome became, literally, the city of his dreams (Schorske 1980: 190). In one of those dreams Rome appears as "the promised land seen from afar", implying Freud's relation to Rome to be the same as that of Moses to Israel. Schorske is probably pointing in the right direction when he sees there an expression of a forbidden wish: a longing for an assimilation to the gentile world that his strong waking conscience would deny him (Ibid.: 190). In another dream he identifies Rome with Carlsbad (Karlovy Vary), Bohemia's renowned spa, a city of pleasure and recreation (re-creation) – of resurrection. In fact, Rome was perceived ambivalently by Freud – not only as an object of desire, but also of hate – for in some of his dreams Rome figured also as a symbol of the Catholic Church, the oppressor whom he wished to defeat. Further evidence for such an interpretation of his dreams is given by Freud himself, who explained that Hannibal – the Semitic general who fought against the Romans and whose lifelong wish was to enter Rome – had been a favourite hero of his childhood. As a child, Freud was deeply affected by an event demonstrating his father's "unheroic behaviour" when humiliated by a Christian. These two facts combined lead to the conclusion that Freud subconsciously viewed himself as a "Hannibal" who would avenge his feeble father against Rome, which symbolised the organisation of the Catholic Church and the Habsburg regime that supported it (Ibid.: 191). Hannibal's personality awoke in Freud one more association: "Like him", he writes in *The Interpretation of Dreams*, "I had been fated not to see Rome" (Freud 1956–74: 121).

Freud actually visited Rome in 1901, one year after the publication of his important book. The next year, in 1902, he was promoted to professor, but, as was observed by Schorske, at high



moral costs: "For, against his conscience, Freud had recourse to what was known in Austria as 'protection' – the help of socially influential individuals to secure personal preferment" (Schorske 1980: 203).

Freud knew that he needed to be far above his rivals if he wished to be accepted as an equal in the Viennese society. In analysing his Rome dreams he had to confront himself with the symbolically transmitted evidence of his conspicuous ambition. He asked himself if his "longing towards greatness" had its source in his knowledge of an old woman's foreseeing at his birth that he would be a great man when he grew up (Frojd 1970: 196). Freud also recalled how impressed he had been at the age of 11 or 12 when an unknown man in Prater declared that it was quite possible that he would be a minister one day (ibid.: 197). Another event, this time very unpleasant, was deeply engraved into his memory: after a minor incident, his father remarked that nothing would ever become of the boy (then aged 7) (ibid.: 220). The sphere of Freud's academic success was obviously narrowly connected with his relationship to his father. It is clear that public (professional) and private (personal) aspects of Freud's path to success and glory intermingle to present a vivid image of the status of a non-German, an outsider in the Austrian society of the Fin-de-siècle. That his revolutionary ideas had received a largely positive reception speaks of the prevailing civilized standards in the Empire that was drawing towards its final years.

Both Janáček and Freud belong to the personalities that left lasting impressions on the domains of art and science in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the former marking the end of an evolution, while the latter stood at the beginning of another. They fought persistently for recognition and their efforts were crowned with great success. With the passing of time, Janáček slowly made peace with the German political and cultural pressure, which was helped by the favourable result of the war and the founding of the Czechoslovak Republic. He could not but be happy to see that the successful conquest of the world stages and concert halls passed through German opera houses. Janáček died before noticing the signs of the future catastrophe of the Second World War. Freud, on the other hand, endured the misery of having to leave his country in his old age, seriously ill, after the *Anschluss*. He died in London in September 1939, a few days after the beginning of the war.

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### Мелиїа Милин

## ЈАНАЧЕКОВ И ФРОЈДОВ БЕЧ: ДВА ВЕЛИКА САВРЕМЕНИКА У БОРБИ ЗА ПРИЗНАЊЕ

(Резиме)

Заједнички именилац каријера двојице великих људи, савременика и грађана Аустроугарске – Леоша Јаначека (Leoš Janáček) и Сигмунда Фројда (Sigmund Freud) – може се наћи у чињеници да су, упркос статусу аутсајдера, после доста напора успели да остваре жељено заслужено признање. Будући да нису били Немци, морали су да савладају разне препреке да би реализова-

ли своје професионалне циљеве. Словенофил Јаначек је дуго сањао о успеху своје опере *Јенуфа* у Прагу, оствареном тек после вишегодишњег одгађања, 1916. године, а до тријумфа у Бечу дошло је две године касније. Фројд је имао озбиљних тешкоћа у својој академској каријери због јачања расне нетрпељивости и националне мржње у држави, нарочито изражених крајем XIX века. После распада Аустроугарске ствари су се промениле набоље за композитора, чија су дела доживела изванредан пријем управо у Аустрији и Немачкој, док је оснивач психоанализе морао да напусти Беч после Аншлуса.

Фројд је у својој *Аутиобиографији* написао да је још као студент доживљавао да се од њега очекује да се осећа мање вредним и искљученим из компактне већине због тога што је био Јеврејин. Одустао је од жеље да припада владајућем, већинском народу, док Јаначек, закупањен остварењем својих идеја о чешкој музици, томе никада није ни тежио. Сукоб између Немаца с једне стране и припадника других нација, с друге, у држави се испољавао првенствено кроз питања аутономије и језика. Можда је готово општа опсесија језиком била извор Јаначековог наглашеног интересовања за преношење мелодијско-ритмичких флексија говорног чешког језика у његову музику.

Примери професионалног успона Леоша Јаначека и Сигмунда Фројда и тешкоћа које су на том путу морали да превазиђу пружају увид у један мали сегмент друштвеног и културног амбијента Аустроугарске током последњих деценија њеног постојања, и то нарочито на плану односа према немцима. Чињеницом да су Јаначек и Фројд, после упорног стваралачког ангажовања и доказивања доживели успех, не може се оспорити да је сложена средњоевропска империја привилеговала немачко становништво на рачун других етничких група и да је неуспех у постизању равноправности на ширем државном плану судбоносно утицао на њену историју.

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## The Speech Choir in Central European Theatres and Literary-Musical Works in the First Third of the 20th Century

Reinhart Meyer-Kalkus<sup>1</sup>

University of Potsdam

### Abstract

Speech choirs emerged as an offshoot of the choral gatherings of a wider youth musical and singing movement in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The occasionally expressed opinion that choral speaking was cultivated primarily by the Hitler Youth and pressed into service on behalf of Nazi nationalist and racist propaganda is, historically, only partially accurate. The primary forces of choral speaking in Germany were, from 1919, the Social Democratic workers' and cultural movement and the Catholic youth groups, in addition to elementary and secondary schools. The popularity of speech choirs around 1930 was also echoed in the music of the time. Compositions for musical speech choirs were produced by composers like Heinz Thiessen, Arnold Schönberg, Ernst Toch, Carl Orff, Vladimir Vogel, Luigi Nono, Helmut Lachenmann and Wolfgang Rihm. Moving forward from the Schönberg School, the post-1945 new music thereby opens up the spectrum of vocal expressions of sound beyond that of the singing voice. It does so not only for solo voices but for the choir as well.

### Keywords

Speech Choir, spoken-word-movement, contemporary music, Luigi Nono, Helmut Lachenmann.

### *I. The Speech Choir after the First World War*

If one disregards the choirs of ancient Greek theatre and the Catholic liturgy, as well as individual reminiscences in the dramas of German Classicism (for example Schiller's *Die Braut von Messina*<sup>2</sup> and Goethe's *Faust*), the speech choir emerged only in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century as an offshoot of the choral gatherings of a wider youth musical and singing movement. They experienced a brief and turbulent ascendancy in the years immediately following the First World War, as calls for camaraderie, for the "spiritual work of the individual within a community" (Heinrichs 1928: 25; Bethge 1926:

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<sup>1</sup> [rmk@wiko-berlin.de](mailto:rmk@wiko-berlin.de)

<sup>2</sup> On the performance of Schiller's tragedy in July 1803 in Berlin's Königl. Nationaltheater with choirs, see Carl Friedrich Zelter's letter to Goethe from July 9, 1803 (Goethe 1998: 38–41).

6),<sup>3</sup> were being heard everywhere. The agent of this movement was a generation of Expressionists who, in their creed, parted company with the individualism of the liberal bourgeois age to seek collective expression for all humanity. The spoken-word choir appeared to be the ideal medium for this expression. Theatre directors including Max Reinhardt and Erwin Piscator experimented with choral speech in their productions of ancient tragedies and modern political dramas. That spark, in turn, inspired choral speech movements independent of the theatre, supported by the Social Democratic Party on the one hand and the youth groups of the Catholic Church on the other. Alongside musical choirs, choral speaking was used for the purposes of strengthening communities and asserting political-ideological views. Meanwhile, the spoken-word choir flourished in elementary and secondary schools as a means of training speech and declamation (see Drach 1929: 182).

The speech choir represents an idiosyncratic hybrid, a cross between the choral singing movement and the theatre, mass spectacle and rituals of political or religious avowal, of art and instruction. Neither theatre studies nor musical history have yet fully embraced the phenomenon. Even for scholarly cultural and historical studies it remains a largely unexplored field, with the exception of a handful of works on the choral speaking movement of the German and Russian proletariats (see Will and Burns 1982; Clark 1984; Brang 2007–2008; Bendel 2004). Its history remains essentially unwritten; those seeking to do so must commit to a time-consuming search through widely scattered source material.<sup>4</sup> Within it, aesthetic intent interacts in a complex manner with the objectives of both speech training and political and religious ideology. The choir is a group phenomenon that requires the coordination of individual voices into a chorus of equals (Heinrichs 1928: 10). There can be no spoken-word choir without community action and spirit – unless it is restricted to purely declamatory goals. It is the “given means of declaring matters of the

<sup>3</sup> “Speech choir work had its inception in the new social ideal of community co-operation which followed on the World War.” Those are the words of an American observer of German speech choirs, Sophie W. Downs (1936: 669).

<sup>4</sup> The most useful source texts are from the practitioners of the choral speaking movement, especially from educators and elocution trainers, of whom the following provide the basis for the present study: Johannesson 1929; Roedemeyer 1926; Heinrichs 1928: 25; Bethge 1926: 6; Hahn 1928: 9; Drach 1929; Simon 1927; Türk 1933; Mönckeberg-Kollmar 1925: 30; Peuler 1932a: 750–756; 1932b; Leyhausen 1934a; 1934b; Downs 1936: 669; Binder 1931: 53–57; Banke 1937; Weller 1957: 218. The work by Roedemeyer (1926), a lecturer of elocution and public speaking at the University of Frankfurt, unfortunately fails to deliver anything its title suggests. The author obsessively evaluates and judges the choral speaking initiatives of his time without elucidating his own concept. Its disclosure is in any case obscured by a confusing train of thought, an associative writing style and boastful gestures.

community as a community,” as Ernst Heinrich Bethge, a leading practitioner in the choral speech movement in the 1920s, put it: “One stands together. One turns one’s eyes and mind to something communal. Word rings in word, gesture reaches into gesture. The self becomes a cogwheel that moves another cogwheel” (1926: 7; see also Bethge s.a.). Even the audience that this “modern liturgy” addresses must likewise be “attuned” as one. Barriers between stage and seating are supposed to fall as performers and audience merge into a single collective sense and “community of conviction” (Heinrichs 1928: 10). The moment this mutual resonance is no longer ensured, the choir loses its grounds for existence. “The speech choir is a new means toward communality, an instrument for expressing clearly and ardently that which the individual is incapable of saying,” as Bethge portrayed it (1926: 8).

To attain this communal effect, the choir cannot be merely a “multiplied individual expression” (Hahn 1928: 9) of texts that could also be enunciated by individual speakers. The only suitable texts are those that bring a “sense of religious, ethical or national community” to expression (Drach 1929: 181).<sup>5</sup> This, of course, touches upon the sore point that has made choral speaking suspect since 1930, and especially today: the mass psychological identification of the individual with a loud collective that constantly refers to “us” and refuses to accept the individual’s deviations – all elevated to an art form. This also includes the disciplining of the individual by the group in a quasi-liturgical or -military manner.<sup>6</sup>

This kind of art, performed by communities and aimed at furthering community, stayed vibrant as long as the spiritual shocks and ideological resonances of the First World War continued to echo and resound, like the motifs of the youth movement. The occasionally expressed opinion that choral speaking was cultivated primarily by the Hitler Youth and pressed into service on behalf of Nazi nationalist and racist propaganda<sup>7</sup> is, historically, only partially accurate. The

<sup>5</sup> As Drach rightly stresses, every speech choir must be founded on “communal feeling and wanting”: “A true mass of people must laugh, celebrate, fear, be horrified” (Ibid).

<sup>6</sup> “[...] because our time is a time of mass liberation and simultaneously of mass disciplining. What would then be more appropriate to not only sing songs together, but to enunciate our common thoughts together in verse? Again it was the youth that appropriated the new means of expression, and used the choir in public celebrations and confessional ceremonies” (Bethge 1926: 25). Himself a writer of speech choir verse, Bethge helped expand the repertoire of the choirs. His publications included some “speech choir scenes” such as *Flammen-Requiem*, *Prometheus* and *Schmiede am Feuer* (Ibid, 72–77).

<sup>7</sup> Similar opinions among theatre critics could be heard in the 1980s and 1990s when Einar Schleef reintroduced the choir to the stage (see Behrens 2003: 175). Even an expert on elocution such as Victor Klemperer thought that the speech choir had been introduced to the stage by Max Reinhardt but penetrated “into general consciousness”

primary forces of choral speaking in Germany were, from 1919, the Social Democratic workers' and cultural movement and the Catholic youth groups, in addition to elementary and secondary schools. As early as the second half of the 1920s, as social and economic conditions temporarily stabilized in Germany, choirs began losing their significance, only to be briefly revived by the National Socialist youth and *Thingspiel* movements after 1933. It was precisely in the years in which the Hitler regime became firmly established, i.e. after 1936, that choirs were declared undesirable by the Nazi authorities and survived only as an instructional aid in schools.

A historian of speech training, Maximilian Weller, wrote in retrospect in 1956 "that the 'choral speech movement' from approximately 1920 onwards was one of those fashions about whose rise and fall and deeper causes sociologists continue to be in the dark. When, from about 1935, speech choirs began melting away like snow in sunlight, it was mainly due to the recognition that gradually dawned on people of the absurdity and stylistic inconsistencies that the artistic ambitions of choral speaking actually embodied... The result was the non-viable hybrid product of chanting or even droning that acoustically flattened the modulations, blocks of words and semantic accents that distinguish the German language" (Weller 1957: 218). Christian Winkler, West Germany's preeminent specialist in the study of speech, took the same line as Weller when he wrote with satisfaction that: "the spoken-word choir, which was so cultivated in the 1920s and 30s... is now, thank God, in its dying breaths" (1969: 522). The choir was unjustifiable, both artistically and for speech training, Winkler wrote: "Even when there is no shouting, the vaunted mass psychological effects that prop up those weaker in expression seem to me rather questionable in their educational value" (ibid.). As a medium for expressing lyric recitations, the choir was utterly out of the question, according to Winkler. Poetry, he wrote, must be rendered solely by the voice of one individual. The subjectivity of the lyric self cannot tolerate collective embodiment, he argued (Winkler 1969: 522). Of course, his argument contrasted with those of other speech academics and educators (Heinrichs, online source: 34).

After 1949, in the early years of the Federal Republic, spoken-word choirs were mistrusted as a medium of mass psychological identification because, through their manipulation by the political left and right in the Weimar Republic, they had once and for all lost their innocence and become regarded as standard-bearers of political collectivism.<sup>8</sup> The choir was especially opposed by those practitioners of

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only "once the National Socialists had put it at the service of their street propaganda" (Klemperer 1989: 580).

<sup>8</sup> Cultural critics such as Adorno expanded this suspicion to singing choirs as well (1984: 813–814).



elocution training who had joined the Nazi camp with flying colours in 1933 (including Maximilian Weller and Christian Winkler). Their formally aesthetic verdicts were, however, blind toward the peculiar vitality of this genre of communal declamation, which should not be prematurely declared extinct. “The speech choir has become popular. What would the Six Days Races be without a speech choir! What would a wild gathering be without a calming or boisterous speech choir!” wrote Bruno Schönlink (cited in Clark 1984: 182), a prominent advocate of the workers’ choral speech movement as early as 1930. Today too, choirs can be heard every weekend during church services, at soccer matches and other sporting events when fans want to fire up their teams and mock the opposition – at political street demonstrations including the Monday demonstrations in Leipzig in 1989 (“Wir sind das Volk!”), on Cairo’s Tahrir Square in 2011, during the Occupy Movement’s “Rose Parade” in New York in 2012 – and, increasingly, being used once again for artistic purposes on theatre stages.

Examining the uses and differing justifications for the speech choir in the first third of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, one should brace for some surprising insights. To begin with, the sheer diversity of the phenomenon is startling. By 1933, what we summarily aggregate under the term *Sprechchor* (*speech choir*) had already branched out into various sub-genres (according to Türk 1933: 10; Peuler 1932b: XIV):

a) Outright mass speech, in which a collective recites certain political slogans in unison for agitational purposes on the street and in arenas;

b) Speech choirs divided into an individual speaker and sub-choirs, as was the rule for choral speaking training with classical poetry in schools, as well as what was required by most compositions in the Social Democratic choral speaking movement, by Kurt Eisner, Ernst Toller and Bruno Schönlink. The formal role models were the antiphonies of classical Greek drama and the Catholic liturgy;

c) Speech choirs that integrate passages of both choral *Sprechgesang* and singing into their repertoire, in the sense of a “unified duality (*Zweieinigkeit*) of the speech and musical choir”, as Schönlink postulated at proletarian ceremonies during the Weimar Republic (cited in Roedemeyer 1926: 74);<sup>9</sup>

d) Speech choirs augmented primarily by percussion and, in isolated cases, wind instruments or instrumental preludes and intermezzos with which symphonies of choral speaking could be performed;<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Incidentally, the workers’ singing choirs were both organisationally and artistically independent of the workers’ speech choirs, even if individual artists such as Hermann Scherchen were active in both fields. See Noltenius (ed.) 1992: 29.

<sup>10</sup> These included the scoring of Schönlink’s *Frühlingsmysterium* through Heinz Thiessen’s *Kantate für Sprechchor, Gesangschor und Orchester* op.36 (Johanesson

e) Combinations of speech- and movement choirs<sup>11</sup>, as had been cultivated from the second half of the 1920s and used e.g. in Bruno Schönlink's *Der gespaltene Mensch* (Will and Burns 1982: 198; see photographs of the performance in Hamburg's Stadtpark in 1929 in Clark 1984: 128) or in performances of *The Persians* by the Berlin University Speech Choir under Wilhelm Leyhausen at mass events;

f) The speech choir play or "choral melodrama" (Johannesson 1929: 57) in which the speech- and movement choir used theatrical means of expression (Bethge 1926: 28) along with musical ones;

g) The speech choral opera, the idea of which emerged in the 1920s and came to fruition e.g. in the "antiquity operas" of Carl Orff after 1945;

h) Speech choir revues, which were used toward the end of the 1920s, primarily for political and agitational purposes.<sup>12</sup>

This diversity of manifestations and adaptability spanning various media gives a hint of the aesthetic potential that speech choirs could unfold when combined with other means of artistic expression. There were essentially four societal contexts in which they appeared in public, beginning in 1901: in circles of the workers' movement and leftist political parties from 1919, especially the USPD and SPD, the Catholic youth movement, schools and universities, and finally on theatre stages and literary-musical settings. In this paper, the attention will be focussed on speech choirs in theatre and in literary-musical projects. The aforementioned, no less relevant and important aspects of the usage of speech choirs have not yet been studied and would require much more space.

## *II. Speech Choirs as a Medium of Artistic Expression in the Literary and Musical Avant-Garde*

In the heyday of the workers' choral speech movement around 1925, the Social Democratic bard of choral speaking, Bruno Schönlink, claimed that bourgeois speech choirs ailed from the fact "that they were not carried by feelings and emotions that forced spectators to experience things as a community, and therefore remained merely artistic" (cited in Clark 1984: 180). Schönlink's dismissal of the exclusively artistic aspect was only partially justified. He disregarded the vibrant choral speaking movements in Catholic youth groups as well as in schools. Finally, he failed to recognize

1927: 39).

<sup>11</sup> A definition of the movement choir has been given by Rudolf von Laban: "numbers of people joined in using choreographed movement together, with varying degrees of personal expression"; see Green, internet source (Note of the Editor).

<sup>12</sup> Fragments of various works for speech choir were assembled, with music, singing, quasi-cabaret dialogues and filmic background projections (see Johannesson 1929: 68).

that speech choirs possessed a peculiar vitality precisely when they primarily pursued aesthetic goals. Their genesis in the 20th century took place under artistic auspices.

Beginning around the year 1900, the first impulses for reviving speech choirs as a medium of artistic expression came from the world of academia, especially philologists and classic studies scholars. Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, a Hellenist scholar at the University of Berlin, called for performances of classical dramas with a contemporary, not ancient, character. This would include a modern use of the chorus (Flashar 1989: 655). A production of Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* in a new translation by Wilamowitz by the Academic Club for Art and Literature in the Berliner Theatre found great acclaim. The choir was partly recruited from Wilamowitz's students; professional actors and theatre professionals occupied the main roles, including Max Reinhardt as Teiresias. By popular demand the performance was repeated twice. The "unison speaking of the choir," as Wilamowitz had called for, "achieved a great effect by balancing the male voices in a tenor and basso section each" (ibid.: 657).

Director Max Reinhardt (1873–1943) absorbed such impulses on a grand scale. He was seeking new forms of expression to be able to transcend the Naturalism cultivated at the Deutsches Theatre by Otto Brahm (Baur 1999). In 1900 he directed the classical dramas *Antigone* and the *Oresteia*, energizing the action onstage through a combination of mass- and individual movement, lighting and sound, and stage design and costumes. For the choral segments of the *Oresteia*, "choral speech in unison was used according to the requirements of Wilamowitz and, through the instrumental music of (Max) Schilling, rose up to a new artform of choral melodrama" (Flashar 1989: 662). Two choral leaders who stepped out of the choral collective recited some of the partially spoken and partially sung choral passages (Flashar 1989: 666).

The encounter with Hugo von Hofmannsthal only reinforced Reinhardt's preoccupation with classical tragedy and choral speaking. He directed "*Oedipus the King* in 1910 (in Hofmannsthal's translation), first in Munich's Musikfesthalle and then in Zirkus Schumann in Berlin (with 30 performances) with triumphant success" (Flashar 1989: 679). The former venue in Munich held 3,000 spectators; the Zirkus Schumann on Berlin's Schiffbauerdamm even a maximum of 5,000. This would also be the venue for Reinhardt's *Oresteia* by Aeschylus in 1911. Alongside the 27-man choir of Theban elders the stage was also occupied by a 500-strong "crowd". "The choir, as an endless mass of humanity, remained moaning and lamenting, and accompanied by optical and acoustic effects... throughout the entire performance onstage. In the age of incipient mass behavior, the entire

crowd belonged onstage to vividly convey the entire nation's tragedy" (Flashar 1989: 682).

With seating for nearly 6,000, the renovated Grosses Schauspielhaus on Schiffbauerdamm, which emerged from Zirkus Schumann, was reopened for Reinhardt's 1919 production of the *Oresteia*, with Alexander Moissi playing Orestes (Will and Burns 1982: 170). The theatre's stage was practically custom-made for speech choirs. An additional enclosure and a stage that stretched out into the audience seating made it possible, unlike in the more standard, box-shaped theatre design, to "establish a community of participating citizens and compatriots who both carry and are carried away by" the performance (Baron 1919: 1). Reinhardt also combined the speech- and movement choir. "The gradations of volume in the unison speaking, the beginning of a movement in the front choir rows that would then seize the entire choir (of up to 500 members!) and then the audience, the beginnings of the speech, its rise and echo all belonged to the practices of facial and vocal expression that Reinhardt set a standard for in his production of Sophocles' *Oedipus the King*" (Will and Burns 1982: 189). The *Oresteia* had a run of no less than 74 performances (Flashar 1989: 683).<sup>13</sup>

After 1920 Reinhardt no longer produced classical dramas with choral speaking for the stage. Yet echoes of the spectacles he created could be found in the political theatre of Erwin Piscator (see Bendel 2004, online edition: 9), as well as in Expressionist dramas where speech choirs were occasionally used, such as the plays of Ernst Toller or Alfred Wolfenstein's *Die Nackten* (1st version 1917, 2nd version 1923).<sup>14</sup> In Expressionist theatre however, the choir lost its status as a protagonist and became only a secondary participant.

The speech choir was also given central importance in Bertolt Brecht's theatrical works in 1929 and 1930, such as in his *Badener Lehrstück vom Einverständnis* (1929) with a "studied choir" and four pilots with speaking roles in chorus, in the two "school operas" *Der Jasager* and *Der Neinsager* (1929/39) with a large choir that recited a well-known passage, *Wichtig zu lernen vor allem ist Einverständnis*, in *Der Brotladen* (1929/30) and finally the "educational play" *Die Maßnahme* (1929/30), in which four agitators speaking in choir face a "control choir" or party tribunal (see Baur 1999: 49–74). It is

<sup>13</sup> Reinhardt wanted to bring viewers, as Flashar writes, "through a kind of esthetic hedonism [...] to another level and to convey theatre to them not as a moral institution but as a space for experiences of festive excess, including neural sensations" (1989: 685). See the essays published in a volume on the occasion of the theatre's grand opening (*Das große Schauspielhaus 1920*).

<sup>14</sup> Wolfenstein's work has "a 'Choir of the Party of the Standing' (i.e. landowners), a 'Choir of the Stepping' (bankers), a 'Chorus of the Running' (Socialists) and a 'Choir of the Poor'" (see Will and Burns 1982: 189).



This formally constructed sonnet is like a song in the darkness to raise the spirits of the listener or reader. Where could there still have been groups within the organized labour movement in Germany that could have publicly expressed their demands with the help of a choir? Where were the few to begin it and the many to continue? Where were the listeners who could have been persuaded by the mass speech in unison? Brecht's poem was illusionary and out of season because it postulates certain means of influence and effect for political verse and collective speaking that had long since vanished. The social and political underpinnings of the workers' choral speech movement of the Weimar Republic had been demolished, making this sonnet seem like an act of desperate hope despite better knowledge.

The popularity of speech choirs around 1930 was not limited to theatre; it was also echoed in the music of the time. Compositions for musical speech choirs were produced, e.g. Heinz Thiessen's Cantata for Speech Choir, Choir and Orchestra Op. 36 to the text of Bruno Schönlanck's *Frühlingsmysterium* (Johannesson 1927: 39). One musical curiosity was Ernst Toch's Fuge aus der Geographie für Sprechchor (1930), which was performed as part of Berlin's Festival of Contemporary Music and recorded (now unfortunately lost) on gramophone record. The piece is composed as a fugue for a four-part speech choir, reciting rhythmic geographical names into a fugue theme: *Ratibor! / Und der Fluss Mississippi und die Stadt Honolulu und der See Titicaca; / der Popocatepetl liegt nicht in Kanada, sondern in Mexiko, Mexiko, Mexiko.*

The mostly dactylic and anapaestic meter is rhythmically interrupted in "Popocatepetl" by Sprechgesang in triplets. The piece is composed along the strict principles of the art of the fugue and demands a substantial level of rhythmic coordination when performed. Since its premiere, Toch's spoken fugue has enjoyed undiminished popularity around the world – as shown by a glance at YouTube, where, as of the end of 2014, multiple videos of the piece had been viewed more than 200,000 times in total.

The work of the German-Russian composer Wladimir Vogel (1896–1984), a pupil of Ferruccio Busoni, also gave prominent place to the musical speech choir. He used a polyphonous choir in 1930 in his oratorio *Wagadus Untergang durch die Eitelkeit. Drama-Oratorio*, which was based on a Kabyle story. During the 1930s Vogel collaborated closely with a Brussels speech choir under the direction of Madeleine Thevenot. In works from his later Swiss exile he also

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individual can stand in very different choirs, i.e. with always-changing groups of people. [...] Choirs should not be rigid. There should not be two rigid groups: One that instructs from the beginning and another that is instructed all the way to the end. Choirs should be able to grow and shrink and change" (Brecht 1993a: 675).



used choirs together with orchestras, solo and choral singers, such as in *Thyl Claes* (1941/42) or the drama-oratorio *Flucht* with texts by Robert Walser and Soma Morgenstern (Oesch 1967). From 1951 in Zurich he had a chamber speech choir directed by Ellen Widmann at his disposal, consisting of amateurs and actors, which took part in theatre and opera performances and developed “communal choral speaking that, instead of exhausting itself in uniformly chanted monotony, should sound free-flowing and with natural emphasis” (Jauslin, internet source).<sup>16</sup>

These aesthetic innovations of a musically composed speech choir found resonance in the spoken operas of Carl Orff (1895–1982). In many respects these represent the late apotheosis of the idea of the speech choir opera, which had already been formulated in the 1920s. Foremost among these is his opera *Antigone* (1946), which he began working on in the early 1940s based on Friedrich Hölderlin’s translation of Sophocles. Orff uses Hölderlin’s often-erratic translation to make audible the archaic and foreign aspects of Sophocles’ language, as many 20th century philosophers and artists considered Hölderlin the ideal interpreter for the archaic side of ancient Greek poetry. Orff has the translated verse of Hölderlin’s *Antigone* chanted stiffly and mask-like in a thoroughly rhythmic *Sprechgesang* against “the dark sounds of xylophones, metallophones, cymbals, drums and tympani in the background”. The word groups are “independent of the rhythmic structure of the music ordered according to beat. Syncopation confirms this rigid structure [...] the emotional element is subdued” (Komma 1955–1956: 214). Orff strives for an overlap of word, sound and movement onstage, as he is convinced that Hölderlin succeeded in “realizing the *musiké* unity of Greek words and verse fixed according to long and short in the medium of the German language” (Thomas 1955). Here a “Greek tragedy transposed into German” was supposed to be “reawakened from the spirit of the music” (Komma 1955–1956: 217).

Unmistakably, however, the melodic clichés applied to the lines of *Sprechgesang* and the isolated expressive breakouts from it borrow much from the singing style of Richard Strauss’ *Elektra* and *Salome*. Orff’s *Antigone* is aesthetically less homogeneous than its concealed models, Igor Stravinsky’s *Les Noces* and *Oedipus Rex* (1928), which did not use speech choirs. While here the masked element is kept up all the way into the piece’s melodic character and, through the selection of a dead language, i.e. Latin, the story

<sup>16</sup> Founded in 1951, the Kammersprechchor Zürich was originally intended for the stage (see Brang 2007–2008: 124). Up until very recently, this choir was making its reputation with richly diverse productions. Its performed texts stretch from Gottfried Keller and Conrad Ferdinand Meyer to Christian Morgenstern, Franz Kafka and Ernst Jandl.



of Oedipus takes on an impenetrable foreignness, Orff's *Antigone* yields an ultimately unsatisfactory hybrid of the archaic and the modern. It unwittingly demonstrates that in the modern world there can be no return to ancient Greek *musiké*, not least because only at the price of monotonous reciting can the German language allow listeners to forget that it possesses an accentuative rhythm, not a quantitative one.<sup>17</sup>

Arnold Schönberg also used a speech choir in his opera *Moses und Aron* (1929–1934). Choral speaking voices arise here together with six singing solo voices to embody the voice from the burning bush in the opening scene. The all-powerful voice of God could not be represented more effectively than through this acoustic montage of spatial sound. Schönberg even considered broadcasting these voices through telephones and loudspeakers from the backstage area into the auditorium (Schönberg 1984: X). Since 1945, following the example of *Moses und Aron*, speech choirs have become an established element in contemporary music, used whenever a pronounced sense of political or religious community requires prominence, for example in Luigi Nono's oratorio *Epitaffio per Federico García Lorca* (1951–53), which takes references from the political choirs of the 1920s. Consisting of episodes from the Spanish Civil War, with slogans recited sometimes in unison, sometimes in various choral parts, it sets a strong activist political stance,<sup>18</sup> much like the vibrant street scenes of his opera *Intolleranza* (1961), with its traits of political and social protest or, in a completely different vein, in the opera of his pupil Helmut Lachenmann, *Das Mädchen mit den Schwefelhölzern* (1997). In Lachenmann's opera, a political text – Gudrun Ensslin's letter from prison to the RAF's sympathizers – is recited from a collective first-person perspective, but by a polyphonus whispering choir that emphasizes not the “what” of the statement, but the “how”

<sup>17</sup> Carl Orff composed the opera in exchange with his friend, the Greek-German musicologist Thrasylbulos Georgiades. In an essay, the latter argued that Orff's *Antigone* opera was “‘only’ artistically and interpretationally worthwhile” if a “relationship to the ancient work is assumed”. Its value comes from being an interpretation of a Greek tragedy from the horizon of the present, mediated by Hölderlin, he wrote (see Georgiades 1977: 231).

<sup>18</sup> Nono used mixed choirs that were sometimes directed in counterpoint in the 2nd part of *Epitaffio per Federico García Lorca Nr.1 (España en el corazón)* on a text by Pablo Neruda (La Guerra, 1936), as well as in *Epitaffio per Federico García Lorca Nr. 3 (Memento. Romanze de la Guardia civil española)* on a text by Lorca. It cannot be ruled out that his teacher Hermann Scherchen, who during the 1920s himself directed speech choirs at workers' events, turned Nono's attention to this medium of expression. Later, Nono incorporated political, trade union choirs with workers from steelmaker Italsider in Genoa into his composition for 4-channel audiotape and soprano, *La fabbrica illuminata* (1964). It is not by coincidence that comparable works are absent from his later works, even if his *Prometeo* (1981–84), his magnum opus, repeatedly includes individual speaking voices alongside choral singing voices.

of its material presentation, like a final echo of the political harnessing of choral speaking in the history of leftist liberation movements.<sup>19</sup>

Here, as in other examples, the vocal and lingual sound of choral speaking is used both as a textual interpretation that conveys meaning, and to expand the spectrum of vocal expression, compelling the listener to reflect not only on what but also how something is being said. Moreover, in this way vocal sounds are incorporated into an instrumental environment and subjected to similar principles of composition. Moving forward from the Schönberg School, the post-1945 new music thereby opens up the spectrum of vocal expressions of sound beyond that of the singing voice. It does so not only for solo voices but for the choir as well.<sup>20</sup>

In the past two decades, an unexpected and sensational revival of the speech choir has taken place on German theatre stages. The driving force behind its rebirth was the author and playwright Einar Schlee (1944–2001; see Schmidt 2010: 9–33; Behrens 2003). After experimenting with choirs in his productions at Frankfurt's Schauspielhaus theatre (1985–1990), Schlee radicalized his ideas of a comprehensive theatre of the speaking choir in his later works, including *Ein Sportstück* (Vienna 1998), *Der Golem in Bayreuth* (Vienna 1999) and *Verratenes Volk* (Berlin 2000). All the while he remained unmoved by accusations fired off by critics and fellow writers that this was an anachronism reminiscent of Nazi mass rituals (Behrens 1973: 175). In his long, autobiographical essay *Droge Faust Parsifal* (1997), Schlee described working with choirs as a cornerstone of theatre's revitalisation. In opposition to the individualistic form of theatre derived from Shakespeare and Goethe, it was time to revive the dimension of tragedy as a collective fate by using the choir, he wrote (Schlee 1997: 13).

<sup>19</sup> Lachenmann's whispering choir (Nr. 15: *Litanei*) recites a text by RAF terrorist Gudrun Ensslin, "Der kriminelle, der wahnsinnige, der selbstmörder..." Lachenmann finds an innovative form for the monstrosity of this text. Instead of a linear choral recitation, he composes a phonetic articulation, divided into various individual voices, of the text's component sounds. The listener's perception then pieces these together into a unified linguistic message. It creates the impression of a ghostly inner voice accompanying the text's rhythm that dissolves into a multitude of inner voices, as in an episode of paranoia: "Ihr tod ist ausdrück der rebellion der zertrümmerten subjekte gegen ihre zertrümmerung" (the quotations in German language have been given without capitalisation of nouns, according to the text in its original version; *Note of the Editor*). The political effect that Ensslin intended in her letter is deconstructed by Lachenmann, partly in regard to its materiality.

<sup>20</sup> These works include Wolfgang Rihm's *Départ* for mixed choir, speech choir and 22 players (1988) on a text by Arthur Rimbaud. While the mixed choir sings vocalisations, the speech choir belts out its rejection of traditional culture in a virtually ecstatic manner.

Other German-language theatre directors including Nicolas Steman and Volker Lösch have also used choirs recently. Lösch, for example, has assembled collectives of the socially disadvantaged – prostitutes, the homeless and welfare recipients – who articulate their political and social needs onstage. Beyond the realm of theatre, Lösch has appeared at political demonstrations – such as those opposing the demolition of Stuttgart’s Main Station in 2011 – with amateur choirs that, under his direction, shouted their demands at political leaders and the public to substantial effect. In general, spoken-word choirs are limited to acting in the first person plural. They are “we” speakers and are suitable anywhere that a group seeks to make itself heard through collective slogans and protest.

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*Рајнхардт Мејер-Калкус*

ГОВОРНИ ХОРОВИ У ПОЗОРИШТИМА  
И КЊИЖЕВНОМУЗИЧКИМ ДЕЛИМА ЦЕНТРАЛНЕ ЕВРОПЕ  
У ПРВОЈ ТРЕЋИНИ XX ВЕКА

(Резиме)

Говорни хорови појавили су се као изданак хорских окупљања ширег омладинског музичког и певачког покрета у првој половини XX века. Та пракса доживљава свој кратки и усковитлани успон у првим годинама после Првог светског рата, док се нашироко чуо позив на „духовни ангажман појединца у оквиру заједнице”. Главни актер тога покрета био је нараштај експресиониста који су, у складу са својим уверењима, раскинули с индивидуализмом епохе либералног грађанства, стремићи, како се у писаној речи онога времена наводи, „колективном изразу целокупног човечанства” (Р. М. К.). Говорни хор чини се идеалним средством тога израза. Позоришни редитељи, укључујући Макса Рајхарда (Max Reinhardt), Ервина Пискатора (Erwin Piscator) и Бертолда Брехта (Bertolt Brecht), експериментисали су с говорним хоровима у својим продукцијама античких трагедија и модерних политичких драма. Заузврат, та искра је подстакла независност говорнохорских покрета од позоришта, уз подршку Социјалистичке демократске партије, с једне стране, и омладинских група под окриљем Католичке цркве, с друге. Поред музичких хорова, говорни хор употребљаван је у циљу јачања заједница и афирмације политичко-идеолошких ставова. У међувремену, говорни хорови доживљавају процват у оквиру основних и средњих школа, као средства обуке у говору и рецитовању.

Повремено изражено мишљење да је говорне хорове превасходно неговала *Хитлерова омладина* и да су били гурнути у службу нацистичких националиста и расистичке пропаганде, историјски посматрано тачно је само делимично. Главни носиоци говорних хорова у Немачкој били су, од 1919. године, раднички социјалдемократски покрет и културни покрет група католичке омладине, као и основних и средњих школа.

Популарност говорних хорова око 1930. није било ограничена само на позоришта, већ је имала одјека и у музици тога времена. Композиције за говорне хорове писали су композитори попут Хајнца Тисена (Heinz Thiessen), Арнолда Шенберга (Arnold Schönberg), Ернста Тоха (Ernst Toch), Карла Орфа (Carl Orff), Владимира Фогела (Wladimir Vogel/Владимир Рудолфович Фогел), Луиђија Нона (Luigi Nono), Хелмута Лахенмана (Helmut Lachenmann) и Волфганга Рима (Wolfgang Rihm). Идући корак даље од Шенбергове школе, нова музика из времена после 1945. на тај начин отвара читав спектар звучних вокалних израза који превазилазе сферу певачког гласа – како солистичког, тако и хорског певања.

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**Прикази**

**Reviews**





Надежда Мосусова  
*СРПСКИ МУЗИЧКИ ТЕАТАР. ИСТОРИЈСКИ  
ФРАГМЕНТИ*

Београд: Музиколошки институт САНУ, 2013.

Пред сам крај 2013. године, у којој је професор др Надежда Мосусова, доајен српске музикологије и наш несумњиво најбољи познавалац историје и тенденција развоја домаћег и светског музичког театра, прославила свој осамдесет пети рођендан, у издању Музиколошког института САНУ објављена је значајна збирка њених одабраних, репрезентативних текстова.

Поред ауторке, за настанак и припрему ове богате и садржајне књиге у највећој мери је заслужна уредница, др Мелита Милин, њен некадашњи постдипломац и дугогодишња сарадница. Будући у позицији да из непосредних, живих и динамичних контаката с Мосусовом континуирано прати надградњу већ раније постулираних, али и рађање нових тематских и идејних кругова њених интересовања, стичући временом, такође, суверен увид у интегралан, обиман музиколошки опус ауторке, Мелита Милин је приређивањем ове збирке учинила достојан *homage* тридестпетогодишњем доприносу Надежде Мосусове раду Института. Објављена на задовољство и радост многобројних колега – ауторкиних поштовалаца из позоришних, оперских и балетских кругова, али и не мање бројних музиколога, међу којима су и некадашњи студенти професорке Мосусове (на Факултету музичке уметности предала је пуних шеснаест година!), ова брижљиво одабрана колекција радова доноси како елементе за целовити музиколошки портрет ауторке, тако и, у наслову књиге истакнуте, кључне фрагменте за сагледавање меандрираних токова историје српског музичког театра од његових почетака у XIX веку, па све до садашњег тренутка.

Нестандардно за жанр приказа, најпре ћу се осврнути на веома значајне допунске прилоге овом издању. Поред сажете биографије Надежде Мосусове, на српском и енглеском језику (стр. 137–138), која нас, између осталог, подсећа на чињеницу да ју је у свет музикологије, неколико година после завршених студија композиције у класи Предрага Милошевића (1953), увео оснивач Института – знаменити Петар Коњовић, посебну пажњу привлачи избор из библиографије ауторкиних радова посвећених музичкој сцени (139–144). Обухватајући преко шездесет библиографских јединица – чланака објављених у престижним часописима, тематским и зборницима с научних скупова

и конференција, те лексикографских одредница у водећим домаћим и иностраним енциклопедијама, овај драгоцен попис по себи речито говори о ауторкином експертском увиду, али и о љубави, ентузијазму и знатижељи с којима је током последњих пет деценија предано и посвећено истраживала врло широко поље националног и словенског музичког театра у његовим европским и светским оквирима. Ако би се аналитички погледи на проблеме и специфичности српског и словенског музичког национализма сагледали као заједничка сфера под чијим су сводовима настајали фундаментални, неретко и пионирски доприноси Мосусове проучавању и вредновању композиторских музичкосценских остварења домаћих стваралаца – споменимо овде само радове посвећене опусима Петра Коњовића, Стевана Христића, Станојла Рајичића, Јосипа Славенског и Миховила Логара – о ширини радијуса ауторкиних погледа сведоче и прилози историји југословенске музичке сцене (нпр. студија о опери *Мајка Јуџовића* Мирка Полича), изучавању репертоарског присуства и рецепције опера и балета руских композитора (нпр. Чајковског и Римског Корсакова) на сцени београдског Народног позоришта, као и значајан корпус текстова из историје балета и балетске игре, окренут њиховим истакнутим протагонистима (студије и чланци о Христићевој *Охридској леџенди*, Маги Магазиновић, Јованки Бјегојевић, Курту Јосу, Леонарду Мјасину, Борису Књазеву, Жоржу Балашину). Из споменуте библиографије кристалише се и још неколико других, зрачећих оаза ауторкиних трајних преокупација: непресахло надахнуће Мосусова проналази у раскошном свету руске опере и уметнички револуционарним достигнућима *Руских балета* Дјагилјева, као што и серијом текстова о руској музичкој емиграцији исказује своје дубоко поштовање и дивљење према уметницима чијим су радом били постављени темељи југословенске националне опере и балета и који су, захваљујући свом високом професионализму и широким видицима, омогућили да дах савремених тенденција Европе обележи и сасвим младе године београдског музичког театра.

Делујући као нацрт за једну исцрпну, свобухватну и интердисциплинарну антологију радова о свим најзначајнијим стваралачким и извођачким аспектима музичкосценског подручја, попис објављених текстова Надежде Мосусове открива такође и разгранату мапу њених остварених путовања, било у сама средишта модерног театарског израза чије актуелне тенденције с несмањеном будношћу и данас прати, било у водеће музиколошке и театролошке центре, где се у међународним круговима стручњака временом афирмисала као својеврсни

амбасадор уметничких и извођачких достигнућа изнедрених на нашем тлу. Опсежан индекс имена којим је публикација заокружена (147–152), представља по себи импресивно сведочанство о великој ерудицији ауторке и њеном минуциозном увиду како у доминантна кретања, тако и у не мање провокативне и динамичне токове развоја музичке сцене на европским рубним подручјима.

Будући непрекидно у покрету, живог и радозналног духа, отворена и увек спремна за нове теме и истраживачке изазове, Надежда Мосусова пружила је значајну подршку и помоћ уредници књиге да се из обиља овде већ споменутих текстова изаберу управо они који ће најверодостојније заступати њен животни и професионални музиколошки *credo*. Избор је пао на седам новијих, обимних студија, писаних и већином објављених у последњих двадесет година, на српском, енглеском и руском језику. Свих седам текстова пропраћени су резимеима на алтернативном, енглеском, односно српском језику, док посебну документарну и илустративну вредност публикације обезбеђује блок од укупно шеснаест фотографија из Архива Института и личне архиве ауторке.

Први, најобимнији текст у књизи – *Српска музичка сцена (125 година Народног позоришта у Београду)*, стр. 11–37, први пут објављен пре две деценије, до данас је међу истраживачима стекао статус студије антологијске вредности. Реч је о виртуозно, у широком луку написаном прегледу у којем ауторка паралелно прати развој и успон стваралаштава и извођаштва у области сценске музике од њихових првих, скромних покушаја почетком XIX века, до врхунских професионалних и уметничких остварења друге половине прошлог столећа. У овој богато документованој, синтетичкој студији коју краси динамичан и пластичан ритам казивања, поступно се формира целокупна слика како о стилском преображају музичкосценских остварења, тако и о промени статуса позоришне продукције и праксе у зависности од културне политике, стручне критике и рецепције публике. Свој експертски увид у прошлост српског музичког театра Мосусова заокружује луцидним интуитивним погледом у будућност : „(...) можда ће мултимедијални тотални театар бити наш театар будућности или блиске садашњости”.

У другој студији, у фокусу ауторкине пажње су Дјагиљевљеви *Руски балети* и балет на Балкану и у другим европским земљама, у периоду од 1920. до 1944. године (текст је на енглеском језику; 39–54). Овде Мосусова темељно истражује и презентује рад балетских играча, кореографа и сценографа из знамените руске трупе на балканском, скандинавском и

балтичком простору. Према њеним налазима, захваљујући изванредним уметницима попут Јелене Пољакове, Александра Фортуната, Нине Кирсанове, Анатолија Жуковског и других, Београд се у једном периоду – током треће деценије XX века – у односу на друге европске „периферије” афирмисао као један од значајних центара балетске уметности у Европи. Представљајући истакнути, међународно значајни допринос сагледавању радијуса зрачења Дјагиљевљевих уметника, овај рад доноси и четири важна прилога: 1. Попис играча/кореографа Дјагиљева и Павлове на европској „периферији” (1917–1944); 2. Попис балета на репертоару београдског Народног позоришта (1923–1944); 3. Попис балетског репертоара Хрватског народног казалишта у Загребу и 4. Попис балетског репертоара Литванског народног позоришта у Риги (1922–1940).

И трећи текст у књизи – *Музички театар Јурија Љвовича Ракићина* (55–82), одаје ауторкину пасионирану заокупљеност уметничким судбинама даровитих руских емиграната. Релефно осветљавајући узбудљиву биографију редитеља Ј. Љ. Ракићина, представљајући га као духовно богату и интелектуално врло интересантну личност, као ерудиту и музикалног, синтетичког уметника, Мосусова читаоцу разоткрива богат спектар података о рецепцији његових режијских остварења приказаних у Београду и Новом Саду (седам опера, једна пантомима, велики број комада с музиком). Истичући да је „његов рад између два рата носио печат Станиславског и Мејерхољда”, те да је у Југославију пренео „читава једну блиставу позоришну епоху”, ауторка аргументовано стаје у одбрану оних Ракићиних модерних концепција блиских експерименталном театру које својевремено нису наишле на разумевање београдске стручне критике. Посебно су занимљиви пасажии који се односе на Милојевићеву крајње негативну рецепцију пантомиме *Пјеретин вео* Артура Шницлера, приказане с музиком Ернеста Дохнађија у Народном позоришту 1927. године (67–73). Густо проткану изводима из критика, биографске грађе и широко захваћене литературе, ову исцрпну и комплексну студију документарно допуњују три табеле с пописима и датумима премијера Ракићиних режијских остварења у београдском Народном и новосадском Српском народном позоришту.

Следећа два чланка, први посвећен *Кошћани* Петра Коњовића, и наредни, о кореографским интерпетацијама *Охридске леџенде* Стевана Христића, заступају оне истраживачке области у којима је Мосусова остварила своје можда најдубље, најнадахнутије и најзначајније музиколошке доприносе. Управо због чињенице да интегрални опус Петра Коњовића, с акцентом

на оперском стварању, заправо никад није ни излазио из њене пажње током низа деценија, те је о њему публиковала велик број радова, зачуђујући су и вредни дивљења иновативност концепције, спонтаност и свежина казивања којом одише овај, за сада последњи ауторкин текст о *Кошћани*, писан пре само пет година, у поводу осамдесетогодишњице троструке југословенске премијере. Овде ће се читалац обавестити о узбудљивим детаљима који су пратили настанак најуспелије Коњовићеве музичке драме, дознаће раритетне податке о критичкој рецепцији дела у земљи и иностранству, али ће нужно застати и над низом питања које ауторка сугестивно покреће. С обзиром на то да је прошло педесет година откако *Кошћане* нема на позорници, Мосусова ће резигнирано констатовати: „И овом приликом потврђујемо да је историја српске музике, историја неизведених или неизвођених дела” (83). У продужетку ће истаћи и уверење: „да је на репертоару, као што би требало да буде, њено место би требало да буде међу музичком класиком XX века, међу делима Игора Стравинског или Карола Шимановског, са којима Коњовић дели част у избору за члана Чешке академије наука 1938. године” (94). Отворено критикујући однос званичне културне политике према највреднијим сегментима музичког наслеђа, Мосусова у самом закључку упозорава да још само она малобројна, спорадична извођења *Симфонијског триптиха* спречавају да *Кошћана*, као најреперезентативније остварење „касноромантичарске Модерне” (18), сасвим потоне у заборав.

Црта ауторкине одлучности да стане на браник уметничке традиције, препознатљива је и у раду у којем расправља о историјату и кореографским донетима сценских поставки Христићевог знаменитог балета. Узимајући у обзир обимну литературу и указујући на значај необјављеног списка Ане Радошевић *О сценским извођењима Охридске леџенде (Прилог историјацији српске балетске сцене)*, Мосусова најпре, на основу табела с подацима о хронологији премијера у југословенским градовима (1947–1985) и кореографима, статистички прецизно формира слику о историјату извођења *Леџенде*, да би у свој динамични наратив потом уградила и сопствене, непосредне утиске као гледаоца – сведока више различитих поставки овог антологијског остварења. Закључујући да су феномени приближавања и удаљавања од фоклора у прошлости били две основне кореографске тенденције, у завршници текста ће у целини одбацити новије поставке (Парлић, 1966; Пилипенко 2000): изневеривши партитуру и тек произвољно тумачећи сиже, оне су, према Мосусовој, „обесмислиле” Христићеву изворну музичко-драматуршку замисао (105).

Посматрана из визуре историје фолклорног балета, *Охридска леџенда* је, заједно с креативним кореографским доприносима руских уметника – Маргарите Фроман и Александра Фортуната, предмет ауторкине пажње и у следећем чланку (*Да ли су фолклорни балети данас анахрони?*; 107–117), где Мосусова, позивајући се на интернационални успех балета *Грк Зорба* с музиком Микиса Теодоракиса, заступа мишљење према којем фолклорни балети не само да нису превазиђен жанр, већ представљају носиоце великог потенцијала за очување и ревитализацију како традиције народне, тако и стилизоване балетске игре, и то у временима у којима идеологија новог светског поретка прети да оспори и поништи смисао и лепоту националних разноликости.

„Комунистички режим у Југославији био је непријатељски према српској историји, митовима и религији. У данашњем глобалном поретку опет нема места за прошлост, за историју, за истину, или за њено откривење” (125). Дух ових теза био је за Мосусову покретач да 2001. године, у Јеревану (Јерменија), на научном скупу „Традиционално и духовно наслеђе човечанства” изложи рад о *Ушеловљењу Косовског еја у српским ојерама и балетима XX века*. Овим, последњим прилогом у књизи, објављеним на руском језику (119–125), Мосусова остварује још један ангажован и инспирисан, из угла расправа о идентитету српске музике самосвојан допринос проучавању историје српске музичке сцене друге половине XX века. Њена пажња усмерена је на две опере компоноване према драми *Смрт мајке Јуџовића* Иве Војновића – *Ојтаџину* Петра Коњовића (1960; премијера 1983) и остварење Душана Радића (под Војновићевим насловом; 1988), потом и на кореодрому *Косовка девојка* (1989) Витомира Трифуновића. У чињеници да последња два дела, настала у поводу обележавања шесте стогодишњице Косовске битке, још увек нису доживела сценска извођења, ауторка налази само још једну, уверљиву потврду личних уверења да се немар званичне културне политике према стваралачким напорима реномираних музичких стваралаца може тумачити и у кључу одсуства свести о значају музичког наслеђа у деликатним процесима очувања националног идентитета на прелазу два миленијума.

Парафразирајући овде опажања Мелите Милин, према којима је књига *Српски музички театар: историјски фрагменти* богата подацима до којих није увек лако доћи, да је писана динамичним и занимљивим стилем, да је прожета ангажованом критичком нотом ауторке и њеним умесно пласираним личним опсервацијама, можемо само да потврдимо уверење уреднице да ће ова драгоцену збирку текстова брзо наћи свој пут до

широког круга поштовалаца оперске и балетске уметности. Истовремено, не сумњамо да ће будућа научна – театролошка и музиколошка проучавања музичкосценског подручја, која ће ову репрезентативну збирку текстова неминовно препознати не само као поуздан ослонац, већ и као сигуран путоказ ка новим интерпретативним хоризонтима, недвомислено потврдити суштинску утицајност особених музиколошких доприноса Надежде Мосусове на токове савремене мисли о музици.

*Катјарина Томашевић*



Драгана Стојановић-Новичић  
**ВИНКО ГЛОБОКАР:**

**МУЗИЧКА ОДИСЕЈА ЈЕДНОГ ЕМИГРАНТА**

Београд: Факултет музичке уметности, Катедра за музикологију, едиција „Музиколошке студије – монографије”, свеска 18, 2013.

Пред нама је прва монографија на српском језику посвећена стваралаштву Винка Глобокара, једног од најзначајнијих протагониста европске авангарде после Другог светског рата, уједно и једног од ретких стваралаца с наших простора који је уврштен у водеће енциклопедије, уџбенике и прегледе савремене музике. Као што је већ насловом књиге сугерисано, Винко Глобокар је прави „светски човек”, али и вечити емигрант: Словенац рођен у Француској, своје адолесцентске године провео је у послератној Југославији, затим се вратио у Француску ради студија на Париском конзерваторијуму, да би највећи део своје животне и професионалне „одисеје” реализовао на релацији Француска–Немачка–Швајцарска. Музиколошкиња Драгана Стојановић-Новичић прихватила се нимало једноставног задатка да читаоцима приближи и протумачи разуђен опус овог немирног и неспутаног ствараоца, који се у подједнакој мери бавио уметничком музиком и џезом, компоновањем и перформативним праксама, писањем музике, *из* музике и *о* музици. Монографија обима 231 странице плод је ауторкиног вишегодишњег проучавања Глобокаровог стваралаштва, а њен посебан квалитет представља чињеница да је ауторка истраживање обавила у Фондацији „Паул Захер” (Paul Sacher Stiftung) у Базелу, Швајцарска, где се, у оквиру Колекције Винко Глобокар (Sammlung Vinko Globokar) чувају његове штампане партитуре, рукописи, затим писана, аудио и видео документација. Монографија је допуњена избором из литературе (97 одредница), индексом имена, сажетком на енглеском језику, биографијом ауторке, списком значајних Глобокарових дела разврстаним по жанровима, избором из дискографије, као и ексклузивним фотографијама. Поред непосредног проучавања примарних извора, ауторка је имала и привилегију да у више наврата разговара с Глобокаром. Премда читаво пето поглавље ове студије насловљено *Емигрантска севдалинка* испуњавају транскрипти одабраних делова тих разговора, у осталим, аналитичким поглављима ауторка вешто избегава замку да јој композитор, познат по веома израженој ауторефлексији и доминантном дискурсу, „диктира” шта би требало да пише. Упркос успостављеној блиској професионалној сарадњи, која јој је омогућио да Глобокара упозна не само као ствараоца већ и као човека, те да поједина запажања верификује „из прве руке”, Драгана Стојановић-Новичић приликом вредно-

вања његових уметничких резултата задржава неопходну критичку дистанцу, па уместо панегирика презентује одмерене, објективне и аргументоване вредносне судове.

Монографија се састоји од увода и пет поглавља: *Тромбон, мез...*; *Лајбовиц, Берио и Кеји (утирање снова)*, *Лична стџаза (сџудије о храбрости)*, *Проширивања... (сџудије о концепцији)*, *Мало више лудости!* (сџудије случаја), док је пето поглавље, како је већ споменуто, дијалошко. Нарација не тече увек линеарно, већ је постављена проблемски: ауторка постепено осветљава различите аспекте Глобокаровог уметничког деловања, почевши од његовог раног музичког школовања, упознавања и апсорбовања утицаја који су га предодредили за уметничко-истраживачки рад, превасходно заснован на импровизацији и на сталном преиспитивању и рушењу граница музичке уметности у правцу мултимедијалности и концептуалности. Стојановић-Новичић истиче да Глобокар никада није проналазио себе у решавању чисто музичкотехничких проблема, већ да у његовом стваралаштву „социјални мотиви замењују ‘композиционе’” (43), а музичко дело односно перформанс постаје „средство за побољшање људског положаја” (47). Попут других авангардиста тога доба, Глобокар је окупио ансамбл *New Phonic Art*, с којим је експериментисао у домену театрализације звука, коришћења инструмената као сопствене продужене руке, те групног музицирања као „друштвеног општења”. У том смислу, ауторка заступа тезу да је немогуће процењивати Глобокаров опус искључиво „занатским” аршинима, већ да треба вредновати целокупан концепт, који ауторка дефинише као „морално дејствовање актера и њихова слободна размена музичких информација” (113). Упоредо с тим Стојановић-Новичић анализира и тумачи Глобокарову аутопоетику која је, у свим етапама његовог стваралаштва, пратила, објашњавала и допуњавала његову композиторско-извођачку делатност. У четвртом, аналитичком поглављу, ауторка бира два карактеристична дела, *Cri des Alpes* за соло алпски рог и *Коло* за мешовити хор, тромбон и електронику, у којима је остварено жељено јединство музике, (пара)театра и свакодневног живота.

Монографија Драгане Стојановић-Новичић посвећена Винку Глобокару узорна је у сваком смислу, те представља исцрпан, минуциозно истражен, богато документован и убедљиво аргументован осврт на вишеслојну и вишезначну делатност овог значајног протагонисте европске авангарде.

*Ивана Медић*

Данка Лајић Михајловић  
*СРПСКО ТРАДИЦИОНАЛНО ПЕВАЊЕ УЗ ГУСЛЕ:  
ГУСЛАРСКА ПРАКСА  
КАО КОМУНИКАЦИОНИ ПРОЦЕС*  
Београд: Музиколошки институт САНУ, 2014.

Књига *Српско традиционално певање уз гусле: гусларска пракса као комуникациони процес* Данке Лајић Михајловић доноси пре свега изузетно значајну, чврсто утемељену, комплексну и обимну студију (372 стр.), посвећену најчешћем облику извођења епских песама у српској традицији. Слика традиције певања уз гусле обликована је на основу репрезентативног корпуса звучне грађе и бројних писаних извора, док је савремену гусларску праксу ауторка непосредно истраживала више од две деценије. Осим тога, посебну вредност књиге чине приложене оригиналне транскрипције интегралних епских песама, јединствена збирка записа ове врсте (375–418), којој је прикључен и запис Валтера Винша (Walther Wunsch) начињен Бекингом (Gustav Becking) нотацијом, осмишљеном управо за нотирање карактеристичне структуре певања уз гусле (419–438), до сада непознат домаћим етномузиколошким круговима.

Студија *Српско традиционално певање уз гусле: гусларска пракса као комуникациони процес* садржи четири велике целине с више потпоглавља.

У првом поглављу, *Комуницирање као кључ методологије проучавања епике* (25–53), ауторка разматра проблематику у вези са: дефинисањем и разврставањем епике из књижевне и музичке перспективе; комуницирањем као базичном функционалном одредницом епог певања уз гусле; комуниколошким концептом и етномузиколошким проучавањем епике; комуниколошким појмовно-категоријалним одредницама и моделима значајним за проучавање гусларске епске праксе. Дефинисање и разврставање епике је и данас актуелан проблем теорије рода и врсте у науци о књижевности, а из етномузиколошке перспективе се „музички епос” тумачи као монолитан, полиетнички феномен, односно као жанр с препознатљивим и универзалнијим одликама, те покушаји усаглашавања књижевних и музичких критеријума нису дали задовољавајућа решења. Зато ауторка одредницу „епско” користи првенствено у складу с књижевним критеријумима, а субниво доминантно дефинише према музичким карактеристикама (извођачком апарату/начину извођења), опредељујући се за проучавање извођења неримованих десетерачких песама уз јед-

ноструне гусле као кључног места у жанровском систему српске епске традиције.

За фокусирање на комуницирање као процес који представља основну идеју гусларске праксе ауторка се одлучила сходно тумачењима функција епике као социјално-историјског памћења етноса. Такав, иновативан концепт у домену проучавања епских песама у српској етномузиколошкој науци, подразумева истраживање музике као објекта и процесуалности музике, односно комплетног чина њеног стварања, извођења и рецепције. Комбинација комуниколошких идеја с искуствима проучавања музичке комуникације сугерисала је одређење за модел општег система, који људско друштво представља као динамичан систем интерперсоналних и интраперсоналних процеса, а у оквиру којег се потенцирају поједини специфични аспекти, попут идеје убеђивања, важности фидбека, динамичности и варијабилности перцепције, утицаја „поља искуства”, контроле информација, релације уметничке структуре и друштвено-културног контекста.

Друго поглавље, *Субјекти комуницирања* (55–141), посвећено је *џуслару* као: пошиљаоцу поруке; актеру у музичко-фолклорној традицији; народном уметнику; народном музичару-солисти; индивидуи, личности у традицији; свирачу који (и) пева и, с друге стране, *џублицу* као реципијенту епских песама уз гусле; промени профила „епске публике” од позног патријархалног друштва до XXI века; „епској публици” као одразу социокултурног контекста. Ауторка сагледава комуникациону компетентност појединца – гуслара, важност гуслара као културног актера и као личности чији стил је у одређеној релацији с традицијом. На основу параметара који осветљавају нарочито важне релације: „личности и става према традицији, образовања гуслара и његовог музичког израза, музичких способности, односно посебне надарености и гусларског идиолекта, социјалног статуса (професионализације) и индивидуалности, ауторитета и традиције, ауторитета и следбеника, традиције, институција и сл.” (стр. 86), изложени су животописи оних гуслара који представљају специфичне парадигматске вредности. Реч је о биографијама гуслара: Танасија Вућића (традиционалистички оријентисаног), Петра Перуновића Перуна (снажних иноваторских склоности и харизме), затим Душана Добричанина (прокламатора индивидуалности, али и традиције), Бранка Перовића (једног од најутицајнијих савремених гуслара, који је потенцирао оригиналност извођења), потом Зорана Самарџића (као представника изградње сопственог музичког израза у односу на препознатљиве елементе узора), до најмлађих – Мирослава Тановића, Радомира Лаке-

тића и Бојане Пековић (музички едукованих гуслара, који су већ задобили афирмисаност и вредновање шире јавности). Пажња је посвећена променама мотивације, позиције гуслара у заједници, начина његове идентификације с реалитетом песме, идентитету гуслара, снажно обележеном симболиком самог инструмента.

Публика, као неопходан субјект комуницирања с улогом резонатора, указује на припадност епске праксе моделу ритуалног масовног комуницирања (Д. Маквејл/Denis McQuail), који није усмерен само на ширење порука у простору, већ и на њихово очување у времену (127). Промене профила „епске публике” претпостављају развој од првобитне вишеструке улоге, која укључује и компетенцију самог извођача-гуслара, преко диференциране делатности ствараоца, извођача и слушаоца са тзв. „општом” и „специјалном” епском средином, те омасовљавања публике са изласком извођења из приватног у јавни простор, до посебног вида савремене публике којег чине слушаоци епских песама с носача звука.

Треће поглавље, *Комуникациони чин и комуникациона ситуација* (143–178), обухвата динамичке аспекте комуникационог чина, чије су фазе: избор информација (који се остварује у садејству психолошких и културних процеса унутар извођача и дате ситуације), енкодирање поруке (у складу са скупом правила вербалног и музичког система, као и с другим формама комуницирања, попут кинезичких и проксемичких), интеракцијске трансмисије поруке (са значајном улогом медија), пријем поруке, који обухвата чулну перцепцију поруке и реаговање на информацију (сагласно основним гешталтистичким начелима и системима памћења, које ауторка разматра на основу сазнања когнитивне психологије музике). Ауторка указује на нужност разматрања епске песме у историјско-културном контексту и у односу на конкретну ситуацију њеног извођења (која подразумева спецификум разних система, темпоралног, локативног..., као и ментално-психичке и биолошке особености субјеката комуницирања, те облике комуницирања; интерперсоналног, интраперсоналног, псеудокомуницирања или комуницирања с истраживачем-научником). У зависности од интеракције субјеката комуницирања, аудиторијума, амбијента, техничких услова и трајања, истиче се неколико типова ситуација: традијиска, организована „приредба”, слушање снимака епских песама преко аудио-визуелних медија, трансмисија порука посредством глобалне компјутерске мреже.

Четврто, централно поглавље *Ејска њесма као њорука* (179–351), бави се поруком као елементом комуникационог процеса, поетиком усменог епског песништва, музичком компо-

нентом епске песме и односима поетске и музичке компоненте у епским песмама. Из домена теорије информације, семиотике и комуникологије разматрају се питања природе информација и редундантног садржаја у епским порукама, што се операционализује кроз проучавања механизма инвенције, у контексту дијахронијског погледа на кодове, кроз проучавање мнемотехничке и дидактичке вредности знаковних система и сл. (185). У оквиру промене профила гуслара, од комплетног ствараоца епске песме (песника-и-музичара) ка музичару интерпретатору записаних песама, ауторка закључује да је „у односу на некадашњу високу информативност и поетског и музичког садржаја, поетска димензија (...) постала редундантни део, док је музичка остала у значајној мери ентропична” (210). У односу на значајну утврђеност морфологије текста – клишетиране конструктивне границе, предвидивост сижеа преко посебних уводних формула, чврсту метричку структуру десетерца и сл. разматрана је музичка компонента – функционисање инструменталних увода и кода, смена вокалноинструменталних сегмената (певаних стихова) и краћих, унутрашњих инструменталних делова (интерлудијума), семантика мелодија почетних стихова, структура певаних стихова. Све то води уочавању садејства вербалног и музичког садржаја у епској песми као синкретичном изразу. Надовезујући се на запажања и аналитичке резултате ранијих истраживања, пре свега Матије Мурка, Густава Бекинга и Валтера Винша, који су епско певање проучавали у првој половини XX века, ауторка се посвећује минуциозној упоредној анализи извођења гуслара Момчила Лутовца и Бошка Вујачића, а потом и Танасија Вућића, чиме су поредбено повезани карактеристични представници тзв. традиционалног стила. У циљу спознавања музичке процесуалности, примењени аналитички поступак кључно се ослања на искуства психологије музике, а заснован је на перцепцији истраживача и бихевиоралним показатељима у вези с перцепцијом аудиторијума. Доминантна оријентација на експериментално утврђене постулате психологије музике суштински диференцира примењен аналитички приступ од досадашњих преовлађујућих (субјективних) метода уобличавања мелодијских модела у нашој етномузикологији. На такав начин издвојени су ритмички и интонациони модели, као носиоци семантичке и естетичке информације, а садејство тих компонената сагледавано је и у начину њиховог похрањивања у оперативној и дуготрајној меморији. Од посебне научне важности је тумачење утврђених модела према врсти информативности у односу на дијахронијску перспективу, односно дефинисање промена музичке процесуалности кроз историју.



Односи поетске и музичке компоненте сагледавају се кроз: композицију епске песме као поетско-музичке поруке, специфичне обликотворне принципе испољене у певању с цезуром пре последњег слога стиха и неартикулисаног певања последњег слога стиха, који се тумаче као реликти магијске функције „старинског” стила певања уз гусле, као и кроз однос ритма и интонације казиваних и певаних стихова.

Развијена *Завршна размајрања* (353–372) потцртавају значење и третман темпоралне и просторне музичке структуре у времену, значај смене епохе гуслара-песника-и-музичара епохом гуслара-интерпретатора записаних текстова, те саодношења „традиције индивидуализма” и реакционе струје „ретрадиционализације”, чиме се мапирају историјска и семантичка димензија епике. У овом делу резимирано је дискутовање идентитетских релација и указано на потребу ширег контекстуализовања те проблематике, посебно у вези с политикама очувања нематеријалног културног наслеђа.

На крају је потребно напоменути да књига садржи попис литературе, регистре имена и појмова, као и резиме на енглеском језику, а недостатак диска, на коме би се осим звучних примера могле наћи и видео-илустације одређених комуникационих ситуација, у овом делу је компензован избором високоилустративних фотографија. Тако, сходно свему реченом, књига *Српско традиционално певање уз гусле: гусларска њракса као комуникациони процес* представља изузетан допринос националној етномузикологији, несумњиво је значајна за регионална истраживања певања уз гусле и епике у ширим размерама, а сврсисходно интердисциплинарни приступ чини је корисном и за друге хуманистичке и друштвене науке.

*Мирјана Закић*



*IMAGING DANCE.  
VISUAL REPRESENTATIONS OF DANCERS AND  
DANCING*

Barbara Sparti & Judy Van Zile (eds.)  
with Elsie Ivancich Dunin, Nancy G. Heller  
& Adrienne L. Kaeppler

Hildesheim-Zürich-New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 2011.

Визуелне (ре)презентације плеса су одувек привлачиле пажњу бројних научника из многих дисциплина. Оне су, међутим, најчешће биле предмет аналитичког тумачења историчара уметности, музиколога, етномузиколога и, ређе, фолклориста, истраживача који готово по правилу нису били плесачи. Ликовне представе плеса су стога у научној литератури биле генерално интепретиране из аспекта историјске и визуелно-уметничке контекстуализације плесне структуре, а сасвим ретко, готово никада, из аспекта инсајдерске интерпретације тела које плеше и плесног процеса. Будући да у фокус поставља анализу плесног покрета интерпретирану од плесних истраживача, тематски зборник *Замисливање плеса. Визуелне репрезентације плесача и плесања* представља значајан допринос иконографији као интердисциплинарном пољу идентификације, описа и интерпретације разноврсних садржаја приказаних у ликовним уметничким делима. Иако је њихова научна и академска активност везана за различите дисциплине (историју уметности, студије извођења, историју плеса, етнологију, етнокорологију и антропологију), заједничко свим ауторима у овом зборнику јесте да су у младости и сами били плесачи и/или су током дугогодишњих истраживачких каријера били усмерени на одгонетање и разумевање плесног извођења. Због тога су у овом зборнику плес, односно плесачи и плесање ликовно представљени на веома разноврсним медијумима (сликарским платнима, графикама, књигама, надгробним споменицима, фотографијама) и у различитим историјским периодима, анализирани из двоструке перспективе истраживача и извођача.

Есеји су у груписани у четири тематске целине. Прва тема *Уметничке концепције плеса и покрета* расправља о суштинским питањима плесне иконографије. Разматрајући познате слике Анрија Матиса (Henri Matisse) (*Радост живљења, Плес I и Плес II*) из прве деценије XX века, Ненси Хелер (Nancy G. Heller) после минуциозне етнографске и визуелне анализе закључује да, супротно општеприхваћеној тврдњи да представља приказе шпан-

ских плесова *сардана* и *фарандола*, плес на Матисовим платнима једноставно отеловљује универзалну физичку и духовну екстазу. Анализирајући неколико визуелизација плеса у Кореји из веома различитих извора (од приказа на надгробним споменицима из VI века до оних из писаних упутстава за дворске церемоније из VIII века), Џуди ван Зајл (Judy Van Zile) у другом уводном есеју поентира да квалитет индивидуалног плеса или атмосфере догађаја могу имати примат у уметничким фокусима сликара над покушајима да се верно прикаже изоловани плесни покрет. Ова два есеја, како то уредници у уводном поглављу истичу, аналитичким наративима и интерпретативним поставкама парадигматски изражавају основна начела савремене иконографије плеса: усредсређење на разматрање односа између уметничког доживљаја и његових стваралачких намера и „стварности”, односно историјски коректног тумачења приказаног плесног извођења.

Други део зборника носи наслов *Прикази плеса као историјски извори*. Он обухвата пет студија. У првом раду из ове групе, Елси Иванчић Дунин (Elsie Ivancich Dunin) актуелизује атрактивну тему приказа плесача на стећцима у Дубровачком залеђу. Покушавајући да успостави линију континуитета плесне традиције на овом подручју на основу дугогодишњег личног истраживачког искуства, Дунин утврђује несумњиву константност стила живота сеоског становништва, а с друге стране констатује промене у плесним формацијама: за разлику од формација кола чије визуелне представе доминирају на стећцима, у традиционалној сеоској пракси новијег периода доминира паровно плесање. Арзу Озтуркмен (Arzu Özturkmen) анализира прекрасне минијатуре у протоколима дворских прослава (*imperial festival books*) који су прописивали и описивали церемонијалну дворску праксу Отоманског царства, констатујући одређен континуитет традиције извођења трбушног плеса (*bellydance*). Фокусирајући се на приказе покрета руку полинезијских плесача у сликаријама европских истраживача XVIII века, Адријен Кеpler (Adrienne Kaeppler) методама структуралне анализе успоставља концепт интерпретације визуелизације плесног покрета „кроз време”, за разлику од преовлађујућих тумачења која покрет посматрају изоловано, у „замрзнутом” тренутку, дакле, према овој терминологији, „у времену”. Анализирајући плесне аутопортрете америчког глумца, писца и сликара Џона Даранга (John Durang) и начин на који је приказивао сопствено тело и покрет, Лин Матлак Брукс (Lynn Matluck Brooks) разматра основна начела друштвеног живота и естетских начела ране америчке позоришне и плесне традиције. На овај текст се тематски логично надовезује префињена и минуциозна анализа цртежа балерина Едгара Дегаа

(Edgar Degas), коју је начинила Сандра Нол Хамонд (Sandra Noll Hammond), у којој се констатује да се поред несумњиве ауторске креативности, на овим цртежима могу прецизно ишчитати регулативе балетске технике позног XIX века.

Трећи тематски круг зборника под називом *Полиџика, класа и друштво у њлесним приказима* усредсређен је на ишчитавање политичких импликација приказивања плеса у сликарству. У првом тексту из овог сегмента, Барбара Спарти (Barbara Sparti) разматра социјалне конотације визуелних приказа плеса на цртежима Ђузепеа Марије Мителија (Giuseppe Maria Mitelli), реконструишући успостављање генералних друштвених релација у оквиру младог буржоаског поретка у Италији XVII века. Иако разматрају различите изворе у контексту националних покрета у Мађарској и Грчкој, Ласло Фелфелди (Lászlo Felföldi) и Ирена Луцаки (Irene Loutzaki) закључују да су прикази мотива „плесања са флашом” у тзв. *Бикешујевој албуму (Bikkesy Album)* с почетка XIX века (Фелфелди) и митска прича о колективном самоубиству жена које су се плешући бациле с литице Залонгос не желећи да постану заробљенице отоманских завојевача (Луцаки), заправо визуелни симболи настали у циљу конструисања националних идентитета у Мађарској и Грчкој. Текстови Елери Фоч (Ellegy Foutch) и Шели Вуд Кордулак (Shelley Wood Cordulack) разматрају приказе плеса из раног XX века. Док Фоч разматра радове сликара Џорџа Лукса (George Luks) који је професионално и животно био везан за Њујорк, Кордулак је усредсређена на сликарске инвенције немачког аутора Ернста Лудвига Кирхнера (Ernst Ludwig Kirchner).

Последње поглавље садржи само један рад. У њему Метју Ризан (Matthew Reason) у одличном теоријском тексту посвећеном епистемолошким аспектима фотографске уметности, рекапитулативно и збирно поентира да плесни приказ може репрезентовати конкретну плесну форму и плесно извођење, али да је по правилу он увек сублимација одређене ванплесне идеје поникле у оквиру одређеног историјског контекста, која је обликована уметничком имагинацијом ствараоца. У овом инспиративном есеју покрећу се многа теоријска питања међу којима су природа односа између „оригинала” (плесно извођење у реалном времену) и „копије” (плес у ликовном медијуму), временске димензије плесних покрета и њиховог „замрзнутог”, односно сегментног визуелног приказивања, историјске комуникативности визуелно репродуцираних плесних покрета, елузивности визуелног плесног искуства и аутентичности његове ауторске интерпретације у ликовним медијима. Ширином и дубином постављених питања текст Ризана представља значајан допринос не само иконографији, већ и теорији уметности уопште.

Поред тога што доноси дванаест појединачних минуциозних анализа прекрасних сликарских приказа плесача и плесања из историјски и географски веома удаљених традиција, зборник *Замисљање ѿлеса: визуелне репрезентације ѿлесача и ѿлесања* отвара ново поглавље у иконографији плесних покрета и представља несумњив допринос многим хуманистичким дисциплинама. Уживајући у префињеним и обухватним аналитичким наративима научника из различитих области, а будући да је зборник изврсно опремељен и богато илустрован уз чак четрдесет три колор и прегршт црнобелих илустрација уз сваки текст, читалац може умногоме проширити знања о одређеним културним традицијама које су овога пута осветљене кроз усредсређење на биолошки и културално изузетно виталан, а у хуманистици често маргинализован сегмент креативног људског изражавања – плес.

*Селена Ракочевић*

*TRAPPED IN FOLKLORE? STUDIES IN MUSIC AND  
DANCE TRADITION AND THEIR CONTEMPORARY  
TRANSFORMATIONS*

Drago Kunej, Urša Šivic (eds.)  
Zürich – Münster: LIT Verlag, 2013.

Following previous works of Zmaga Kumer, the notable Slovenian ethnomusicologist and expert on musical heritage – namely her research published under the same title (1975) and the subsequent symposium in her honour – the edited collection entitled *Trapped in Folklore?* represents a contiguous rereading of different phenomena connected to folk music. This publication provides versatile insight into what ethnomusicology and ethnochoreology recognize and understand as time, places, roles and meanings around traditional music and folklore, positioning the transformations and influences of social and cultural changes to folk music development.

The collection of ten studies opens with a discussion between the editors, aiming to clarify the general hypothesis of being “trapped in folklore”. In their quest to represent such a compound concept as “trapped in folklore”, they question whether it can be understood as a certain musical “phenomenon” unlocked through tradition and folklore in the “fossilized form of tradition, folklore and folklorism, and as such museum-like image isolated from contemporary cultural life, or whether we are looking at active events, changes and adjustments within contemporary society” (7). Although this introductory study reveals the main focus of this edited volume, it is, on closer inspection, congruent to the issues previously specified by Nettl, who used the term “museumizing” to underline and objectify musical folklore in relation to its traditional backgrounds, which resisted the influences of western culture due to isolation.<sup>1</sup>

In the first case study of trapped folklore, Zoltán Szabó and K. Juhász argue aspects of the Hungarian bagpipe revival, situating this musical tradition as marginalized within the wider social structure. They define the *táncház* (dance-house) approach in music pedagogy, which combines traditional knowledge and practice with academic and conventional methods and learning procedures within the art school system in Hungary. This study also stresses the importance of instrument-building, craftwork, dividing music stakeholders, and classifying traditional “actors” (the authors’ term) under three main

<sup>1</sup> See more in: Nettl, Bruno (1992) *Recent Directions in Ethnomusicology*. *Ethnomusicology. An Introduction*, Helen Myers (ed.), New York – London, W. W. Norton & Company: 382.

categories: “doers, knowers and makers” (16). The research is mainly conducted and defined according to the main ethnomusicological inquiry methods, such as interviews, making recordings and archive materials, and institutionalization of the educational practice (folk music schools in Hungary), which could also be perceived as applied ethnomusicology. As the authors stress, “music history and ethnomusicology research in Hungary have paid relatively little attention to bagpipe playing” (28). Therefore, this study also aims to outline some of the basic research sources focussed on the bagpipe and its revival, hence mentioning some of the most important ethnomusicological scholars in the field and their approach to this problem.<sup>2</sup> Following academic processing of the bagpipe tradition in Hungary, the authors return to their fieldwork and examine the bagpipe manufacture process in a historical sense, trying to recapture and relearn the methods of musical instrument production. This logically leads to the contemporary observations of the same process and to concluding remarks in which the question of learning is raised again, comparing it with similar linguistic categories (language and “mother tongue”), and at the same time qualifying the bagpipe tradition in Europe as a unique subculture that deserves our attention.

Observing performance events among Primož villagers, David Verbuč presents refreshing, striking and very up-to-date research on performance, (inter)textual and contextual capacities and relations, cultural values and meanings formed in this specific Slovenian rural music tradition. In comparison to the other studies in this volume, it is at the same time a turn towards the aesthetics and anthropology of music in a new key, which gravitates towards current performance studies. Tracing the relationships between the formed tradition and its current transfigurations, Verbuč moves freely through materials and interpretations, taking a unique approach to the deeper “sequencing” of performance events in Primož – music and dance, participants and performers, not only as a plethora of performance types and genres, but as their social significance and cultural positioning. Moreover, balancing the views of Geertz, Lévi-Strauss, Turner, Žižek, historical and current ethnomusicological research, Verbuč also aims to reach an interpretation of this particular event in Slovenian culture, so as to make a substantial breakthrough and critique of the theoretical

<sup>2</sup> The highly valuable issues discussed in this study mainly coincide and revolve around my personal ethnomusicological findings in two recent research studies of bagpipe music and the instrument-making process. See: Jakovljević, Rastko (2012) *Marginality and Cultural Identities: Locating the Bagpipe Music of Serbia*, Doctoral Thesis, University of Durham (<http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/3544/>), and “Master’s Work: Constructing a Music Instrument as a Material, Cultural and Social Object” (2013) In: *Studia Instrumentorum Musicae Popularis*, Vol. III (New Series), Gisa Jähnichen (ed.), Münster: MV Wissenschaft, 155–166.

approach within ethnomusicology, which defines this research as disciplinarily significant as well.

The paper on Serbian Brass Bands in Slovenia by Urša Šivic examines the popularity of adopted music, performance aspects and imaging of the Slovenian brass bands and their role in the creation of a particular, perhaps even nostalgic image. In her view, such bands represent not only a form of acculturation, but also a longing for identification with the former Yugoslavia, the Balkans, and the popular music of brass bands in Serbia and their cultural representations (Guča trumpet festival, Kusturica's movies, etc.). Šivic argues for a positioning of certain aspects of the music repertoires, ensemble formations, and functions of Slovenian brass bands and their music in a wider context, giving the notion that such activities could be understood as an "echo" of the Guča festival in Serbia and its Slovenian counterpart, a (pre)competition in Dravograd (71–73).

The return to issues of revival and folklorisms is addressed in the study by Liz Mellish and Nick Green on traditional dance performances – the Romanian *căluș* and English *morris*. The main focus of this rather intriguing comparison is *what should be done about folklore?*, understanding that features of music and dance such as contemporary performance, and views of those forms on local and national levels, raise the question of what might be the consequences or future images of such forms. In following historical determinants and their contemporary performances, the authors are of the view that, while the Romanian and English cases maybe differentiated by economic and political placement (English socialist and Romanian ex-communist), they are at the same time both influenced by creativity, and by external factors determined by the original location of the folklore.

A different angle on trapped folklore is presented in the writings of Alma Bejtullahu and her exploration of how modernization affected women's vocal and instrumental music in Kosovo and Slovenia. The intriguing title and topic of women's musical practice and empowerment, and the content itself, do not clearly demonstrate that the author's focus is in fact on one particular tradition – the Albanian – whereas it might seem to readers that the musics of "other" ethnic groups in multiethnic, multicultural and multiconfessional settings such as Kosovo and Metohija, could also be a matter for this analysis. However, in this brief journey, Bejtullahu outlines some of the important aspects of previous research on musical traditions in Kosovo and Slovenia, although mostly without providing supporting literature and sources, and reasons for chosen comparisons.



In general, this paper tackles only some of the possibilities and angles of research on women's musical practices.<sup>3</sup> In such an illumination of "entrapped" women practice, the author also tries to merge several aspects of local traditions, combining details of past and present, transgressions of female musicians in the public sphere, and economical potentials of their music, and in such a way brings the cases of *çifteli* in Kosovo and *polka* ensembles in Slovenia to the fore.

A different angle, but similar in the nature of the analysed case – concentration on another women's tradition – is sought by Selena Rakočević in her analysis of *revena*, a specific women's carnival celebration in Taraš (a province of Vojvodina, Serbia), and offers an interpretation of collected ethnographic and ethnomusicological data.

A switch in focus is introduced by a study on the dichotomies of folklore and folklorism in Zlata Marjanović's paper on the dialogue between those two categories. The existence of the same or a congruent melodic type, a folk tune, dating from the 19<sup>th</sup> century in several South Slav countries, is further connected by Marjanović with national revival movements, giving a unique interpretation of manifold meanings of this tune in her historical context. At the same time, this study examines the visible and more subtle nuances of folklorism and folklore, providing a number of significant musical findings (transcriptions) with different textual contents in one place, which distinguishes this research both in disciplinary and comparative terms.

An intrinsic view of neglected research in regional ethnomusicologies is framed and exposed in the discussion of the overlooked resources of old gramophone records by Rebeka Kunej. Arguing the status and achievements of ethnochoreology in Slovenia, the author gives an overview of folk dance research in Slovenia, focussing on the old gramophone recordings of dance music. Narrowing these findings, the author concentrates on Slovenian emigrant ensembles in the USA, and presents the case study of the Hoyer Trio as an epitome of homeland nostalgia among Slovenians abroad in the first three decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Progressing from this point, R. Kunej remarkably connects the previous findings with Z. Kumer's research, offering a unique interpretation of fieldwork

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<sup>3</sup> It is also important to add that there is no clear evidence that some of the main ethnomusicological contributions were consulted in this research. Perhaps it is essential to add that the traditional vocal and (to a lesser extent) instrumental music in Kosovo, and also a particular interest in women's role and position, was the subject of previous research within the discipline, among the others works of Serbian and Albanian ethnomusicologists, M. Vasiljević, M. Ilijin, D. Dević, and also very informative and important collections of papers from the SUFJ Congresses (Federation of Associations of Folklorists of Yugoslavia) – especially valuable was issue XIV from the congress held in Prizren (held in 1967 and published in 1974).

recordings in Slovenia in the '60s.

A completely diverse view of the collection topics is provided by Drago Kunej, who finds sense in explaining how ethnomusicologists have positioned and approached “trapped” early recordings, and how we understand their sound nature and research capacities. Giving details of the digitization process of early carriers, in his paper on digitised early sound recordings, Kunej explores the marginal spaces between ethnomusicology and technical sciences, resulting in reasonable interdisciplinary interpretations. In such a way, the author perceives the common space of understanding recordings as archival and research (ethnomusicological) objects.

The collection of papers is rounded off with Susanne Ziegler's study “What to do With Historical Recordings? Experiences From the Berlin Phonogrammarchiv”. Drawing further from the previous paper, Ziegler questions the importance of sound archival materials in ethnomusicology and makes a detailed investigation of wax cylinder recordings from the legendary Berlin Fonogrammarchiv collections. What is special in this approach is that Ziegler tries to open a new perspective on recorded materials, arguing the complex issues on the ethics of their preservation, identification, and aspects of manipulation, hence their access and publication.

*Rastko Jakovljević*

Vladimir Tošić  
*VOKALNI KONTRAPUNKT RENESANSE*  
Beograd: Fakultet muzičke umetnosti, 2014.

Колега Владимир Тошић, као дугогодишњи наставник контрапункта, најпре на средњошколском нивоу (у школама „Станковић” и „Мокрањац”), а потом, све до данас, на Факултету музичке уметности, накупио је више него довољно практично-педагошких искустава из те области да би се осетио компетентним – а и професионално дужним – да их и у писменом облику преда својим и остави будућим студентима. Из те намере настао је овај изузетно обиман (370 страница, с 520 нотних примера!) уџбеник вокалног контрапункта ренесансе – у школској пракси већином називан само *Вокални конџрапункт* – а природно усредсређен на одговарајућу епоху свога процвата и владајућег музичког мишљења у стваралаштву њених највећих представника. Треба одмах рећи, као општу оцену, да је тај уџбеник начињен не само веома исцрпно и свеобухватно, него у томе и врло промишљено и систематично; толико да се у њему тешко – ако уопште – може наћи недостатак било којег аспекта, композиционо-техничког или развојно-историјског, у обрађеном простору, времену и стилу. То се сагледава већ из садржаја, који је, у оквиру три врло опсежна поглавља: о раном развоју полифоније, о полифонији ренесансе и о свим њеним облицима – рашчлањен на велики број одељака, како би се сваки појам, појава и поступак засебно евидентирали, објаснили и приказали, под одговарајућим насловом, што олакшава њихово налажење. На други начин у томе помаже индекс имена и појмова, као уобичајен регистарски додатак, а уз њега иде и знатна библиографија (33 наслова).

Основна и битна врлина овог уџбеника у томе је што је свака појава о којој говори приказана и у *реалном* виду цитираном одговарајућим примером из музичке литературе – углавном из дела Палестрине (Palestrina), као врхунског и најмеродавнијег мајстора високе ренесансе. С једне стране, претпоставка за такву, својеврсну хрестоматију која се пружа на увид студенту, јесте Тошићево темељно познавање и пребирање Палестрининог опуса да би се у њему пронашли најјаснији и најподеснији примери. Тиме се успешно избегава примена апстрактних, конструисаних примера, који су удаљени од реалног музичког контекста – као спекулативне, сувопарне љуштуре неких фрагмената могуће музике. Многи од нас су се током стандардног, традиционалног

школовања срели с таквим тумачењем и приказивањем вокалног контрапункта, посебно оним кроз технику тзв. Фуксових (Johann Joseph Fux) контрапунктских „врста“! Наравно, у Тошићевом уџбенику ни то не изостаје, али као информација, док је све остало засновано на примерима из оквира реалне музике, у свем њеном богатству и разноврсности, што ће свакако допринети да ту музику студент лакше прихвати као градиво предмета, ближе поимању некога ко за собом има, па и претежно слуша и проучава и барок, класику, романтизам и све до музике свога времена!

До које мере Тошић настоји да у уџбеник укључи све информације и потребне практичне „апарате“ за обраду градива, показује то што се у њему могу наћи чак странице посвећене изговору латинског језика, укључујући и силабичку поделу и акцентацију текстова, као и основни латински литургијски и друге текстове у целини, с одговарајућим преводом! Тиме је стављена на располагање вербална грађа на којој се може вежбати израда мотета и других облика те музике у којима доминирају полифони поступци.

Разумљиво, Палестрина није једини аутор на којег се Тошић позива! По потреби, он наводи и примере других истакнутих стваралаца, па чак, на крају уџбеника, даје и основне податке о осталим који обележавају епоху, најшире узету. Ту су и Гијом Дифај (Guillaume Dufay), Јоханес Окегем (Johannes Ocheghem), Жоскен де Пре (Josquin des Prés), Орландо ди Ласо (Orlando di Lasso) и Ђезуалдо да Веноза (Gesualdo da Venosa), сваки уз цитат одломака из њихових дела.

Надовезујући се, у извесном смислу, на капиталан, а једнако обиман и исцрпан уџбеник Властимира Перичића *Instrumentalni i vokalno-instrumentalni kontrapunkt*, први пут објављен 1987. (издање Универзитета уметности) и поново 1998. (издавачи: Студентски културни центар и Универзитет уметности), овај Тошићев комплементарно „покрива“ цело огромно подручје проблематике контрапункта, битног чиниоца музичког стваралаштва, као композиционе технике и обликовања.

Дејан Десџић

*FOURTH SYMPOSIUM OF THE INTERNATIONAL  
COUNCIL FOR TRADITIONAL MUSIC (ICTM)  
STUDY GROUP ON MUSIC AND DANCE  
IN SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE*

Belgrade and Petnica, Serbia, September 24<sup>th</sup> – October 1<sup>st</sup> 2014

The Fourth Symposium of the ICTM Study Group on Music and Dance in Southeastern Europe was held between September 24<sup>th</sup> and October 1<sup>st</sup> 2014 at the Faculty of Music, University of Arts in Belgrade and the Petnica Science Center near Valjevo, Serbia.

It was the first time that the ICTM Symposium had been organised in Serbia. It was dedicated to the work of sisters Ljubica and Danica Janković – pioneers in dance, as well as in ethnomusicological and ethnological research in Serbia – which also corresponds thematically to the subjects and aims of this particular ICTM Study Group. The Janković sisters prepared a total of eight volumes of the edition *Folk dances (Narodne igre)* from 1934 to 1964, and 2014 was the year of their multiple anniversaries.<sup>1</sup> In line with this, part of the Legacy of Ljubica and Danica Janković, stored in the National Library of Serbia, was presented to the participants of the Symposium.

The Opening ceremony of the Symposium was held at the Faculty of Music in Belgrade. Attendees were addressed by Dimitrije Golemović, Head of the Department of Ethnomusicology of the Faculty of Music and Vice Rector of the University of Arts in Belgrade, and Velika Stojkova Serafimovska, Chair of the Study Group on Music and Dance in Southeastern Europe. Mr. Svanibor Pettan, General Secretary of the ICTM, gave the opening speech. A concert of traditional music and dance was prepared by students and professors from the Department of Ethnomusicology (Faculty of Music in Belgrade) whose moderator was Sanja Ranković. On the same evening, before the official start of the Symposium, special guest of honour Olivera Vasić was announced at the Petnica Science Centre. Over forty years of her dedicated ethnochoreological work *On the path of the Janković sisters* were presented at the beginning of the Symposium by the moderator, Selena Rakočević.

The ICTM Study Group for Music and Dance in Southeastern Europe is of great scientific and social importance for the whole region. Social, cultural and political transitions faced by all the countries in

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<sup>1</sup> Selena Rakočević (2014) “Contribution of Ljubica and Danica Janković to Establishment of Ethnochoreology in Serbia as an Academic Scholarly Discipline”, *Musicology* 17: 220.

the region are also reflected in traditional and popular music and dance. In accordance with those facts, as well as the progressive trends and ideas in ethnomusicology and ethnochoreology, the topics for this Symposium were carefully selected: 1) *Improvisation in music and dance in Southeastern Europe*, 2) *Professionalization of music and dance in Southeastern Europe* and 3) *Inter/postdisciplinarity in ethnomusicology and ethnochoreology*.

All three topics were addressed and elaborated by sixty-three participants from fifteen countries (Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Macedonia, Norway, Serbia, Slovenia, Spain, Romania, Turkey, the United Kingdom and the United States of America). During the seven-day symposium, ethnomusicologists and ethnochoreologists exchanged experiences, thoughts, ideas and opinions on specific issues which require further ethnomusicological and ethnochoreological action and elaboration. It seems that all three topics were equally interesting to the participants of the Symposium. The panels and individual presentations on each topic caused fruitful discussions and created possibilities for new, broader insights and more creative interpretations of the different characteristics of traditional music and dance in this part of Europe and beyond. An additional value of this Symposium was the noticeable participation of young researchers, which was highly supported by the Program and Organization Committee as well as by the participants of the Symposium, the members of the Study Group. Young researchers (mostly PhD students of ethnomusicology and ethnochoreology) were encouraged to give their opinions, thoughts and impressions, to discuss actively and to contribute to the definition of future topics.

The sessions were organized to create a good balance between the three diverse topics and to detect and discuss connections between them. Interesting questions arose especially in defining improvisation and professionalism in the performance (and other aspects) of traditional music and dance. The influence of the commercial music market, and the skills required for someone to be able to call him/herself a professional (singer, dancer, player, choreographer, teacher...) were overlapping areas between these two concepts. On the other hand, to define either of the first two concepts, an interdisciplinary approach to research and a scientifically flexible approach to traditional music and dance is necessary. All this is possible through the re-modelling and development of the fieldwork approach, re-defining existing theoretical approaches, the adoption and domestication of the theoretical trends formulated and imported from other scientific fields and overcoming the boundaries inherited with traditional scholarly and disciplinary knowledge.

Eighteen papers in the Symposium were dedicated to improvisation in music and dance in Southeastern Europe in all its forms. The concept of improvisation was elaborated and examined in different ways and from several different perspectives depending of the medium through which it is shown – dance, singing and playing as an expression of the creative potential of the musician or as an emic/etic discursive label, and its linkage with cultural and/or identity politics (Lozanka Peycheva, Carol Silverman, Alexander Markovich). Improvisation was observed as the basis for self-learning or as a tool for competition (Elsie Dunin, Daniela Ivanova-Nyberg), as well as a way of transmitting traditional dance or music or its forms of manifestation between individuals or groups of performers (Nick Green, Ferruh Özdiñer, Merve Eken-Küçükaksoy), and even as a compositional principle (Ahmed Tohumcu). Speranța Rădulescu's paper about the determinants of improvisation initiated an interesting discussion.

The greatest number of presented papers (twenty-five) was dedicated to the concept of the professionalization of traditional music and dance as a growing phenomenon in the region of Southeastern Europe. Panels on this topic were especially interesting, as were the papers presented by young colleagues who are involved in certain aspects of professional dealing with traditional music and/or dance.

What does it mean to be a professional dancer/singer/player in certain environments? What are the criteria and formal/informal training methods which make someone a professional, both in traditional dance environments and formally established ensembles (Mehmet Öcal Özbilgin, Liz Mellish)? An important question about the economic aspects of professionalization was raised in relation to professionalization in the sphere of heritage music and among young musicians (Naila Ceribašić, Margaret H. Bessinger). The process of professionalization in the context of urbanization, identity and “urban folklore” as a pan-Balkan phenomenon, and the introduction of new genres through music making and ensemble performances, as well as gender issues, occupied the attention of several young researchers (Ali Keles, Oznur Dogan, Serkan Şener, Burcu Yıldiz, Marija Dumnić, Hande Devrim Küçükebe). Educational and pedagogical aspects of professionalization, the institutionalization of music and dance, and their impact on young musicians were explored in terms of both formal and informal education (Muzaffer Sümbül, Ömer Arslantaş, Bariş Bektaş). The personal experiences of the researchers also influenced the debates, especially on the issue of whether standardization in formal education is necessary (Sanja Ranković); likewise in aiming to distinguish the aspects which make professionals in the field, with a focus on the concerts of traditional music and dance as collision



points of two aesthetic concepts – choreographic stage presentations and “pure” traditional music idioms (Jelena Jovanović).

A panel of young researchers led a very interesting discussion on how professionalization should be considered in the broader sense of acquiring knowledge and professionalism as a paradigm, in terms of dealing with dual relation professionals (Vesna Bajić Stojiljković, Maja Krasin and Bojana Nikolić). Another panel discussion was inspired by the role of the educated professionals in the national folk ensembles of Croatia and Macedonia, reflecting the general tendencies in the folk ensembles of the former Yugoslavia (Joško Čaleta, Iva Nijemčić, Ivona Opetcheska Tatarchevska).

In light of new approaches and tendencies in ethnomusicology and ethnochoreology, researchers who chose the topic of Inter/postdisciplinarity in ethnomusicology and ethnochoreology presented various interesting points of view dealing with specific music and dancing heritage and traditions. Debates were initiated about the boundaries between ethnomusicology and ethnochoreology, as well as other humanities and social sciences. Participants addressed the new approaches in fieldwork, the emergence of meta-discourses formulated within ethnomusicology and ethnochoreology, and the domestication of theoretical trends formulated elsewhere, the remodelling of ethnomusicology/ethnochoreology in the global post-disciplinary trend. Fourteen individual papers were dedicated to this topic, some of which dealt with definitions and determinations, conceptual and methodological issues, considering the relevance of building a unique disciplinary foundation or introducing new theoretical approaches, and the elaboration of their usefulness in ethnomusicological analysis and comparison (Selena Rakočević, Ana Živčić). Interesting approaches were given by Dunja Njaradi and Maria Hnaraki, who considered the narrative in relation to the affective in the study of dance (or movement in general) and following the trend of the body and bio politics.

Meanwhile, the analysis of discourses and mechanisms for determinate identity and ethnic structures, or the role of personal experience in constructing a sense of belonging, captured the attention of other researchers (Sara Revilla Gútiéz, Gonca Girgin Tohumcu). Closely connected with the latter was Jane Sugarman’s elaboration of the concept of “Musical cultivation” on the basis of European intellectual trends – is the local really only a local product and can it “escape” from context and heritage layers?

The intersections of theory and practice in the path of understanding traditional music and dance, and even tradition as a whole, were debated in Belma Kurtişoğlu’s paper. The focus of some of the early career researchers was residues of the past and nostalgia,

as well as cultural identity in the work of amateur popular music bands in the former Yugoslavia, and the examination of expressions of urbanity in popular music (Jelka Vukobratović and Jana Zorić)

The authors of the only panel presentation related to this topic – Ana Hofman, Mirjana Zakić and Iva Nenić – initiated a very fruitful discussion by arguing for the formulation of potential new practical and theoretical alternatives to the *status quo*. Pointing to broader socio-political and ideological changes, the authors each dealt with a specific “turn” which has been important to contemporary ethnomusicology – the theories of affect, semiotics and ethnomusicology, as well as the knowledge produced and used in practice.

Through the numerous discussions and useful exchanges of opinions and experiences, the general impression was that this Symposium made a significant contribution to the discipline by following new developments and trends. Besides theoretical knowledge, participants shared their practical understanding and skills through singing and dancing workshops, as well as the concerts of traditional music from the region of Valjevo and the organisation of a one-day excursion to present the natural and cultural sights of this region of Western Serbia. All these activities contributed to the creation of a positive atmosphere and pleasant working conditions.

The next Symposium of the Study Group on Music and Dance in Southeastern Europe will be held in Blagoevgrad, Bulgaria in 2016.

*Ana Živčić*

*ИМАГИНАРНИ МУЗЕЈ МОКРАЊЧЕВИХ ДЕЛА:  
СНИМЦИ СВЕТОВНЕ ХОРСКЕ МУЗИКЕ*

Двоструки компакт-диск

Мелита Милин (ур.), Биљана Милановић (прир.)

Београд: Музиколошки институт САНУ - Радио Београд,  
Едиција „Пробуђени архив”, 2014.

„Пробуђени архив”, заједничка дискографска едиција Музиколошког института Српске академије наука и уметности, Радио Београда и Завода за уџбенике, покренута је пре шест година. Носиоци овог пројекта били су дошли на срећну помисао да се домаћој и иностраној музичкој и културној јавности представе значајна дела српских композитора и изузетне креације домаћих извођача, и то преко снимака сачуваних у богатом архиву Фонотеке Радио Београда. Сваки од ова три издавача има своју улогу у овом подухвату. Радио Београд обезбеђује и дигитализује звучне записе, Музиколошки институт САНУ на располагање ставља своје стручњаке као приређиваче ових издања, док се Завод за уџбенике стара о техничкој страни и штампању. Од прошле године издавачи су Музиколошки институт САНУ и Радио Београд.

До сада су у оквиру „Пробуђеног архива” изашла два двострука албума. Најпре је, 2011. године, објављена опера *Симонида* и циклус *На Лијару* Станојла Рајичића. То издање, које је приредила Катарина Томашевић, објављено је поводом стоте годишњице композиторовог рођења. Годину дана касније изашао је опет двоструки албум, сада с операма Петра Коњовића. Реч је о одломцима из Коњовићеве прве опере *Женидба Милошева (Вилин вео)* и о опери *Сељаци* (интегрални снимак). Тај албум је приредила Мелита Милин. Оба издања добила су награду Агенције „Музика класика”, као најбоља дискографска издања у годинама у којима су се појавила.

Крајем прошле године изашао је двоструки компакт-диск под насловом *Имагинарни музеј Мокрањчевих дела*. Он садржи снимке световне музике Стевана Мокрањца. Поводи овом издању били су стота годишњица Мокрањчеве смрти и девет деценија од оснивања Радио Београда. Издање је приредила Биљана Милановић, истраживач-сарадник Музиколошког института САНУ.

Ово издање садржи двадесет Мокрањчевих композиција: свих петнаест руковети, *Приморске најјеве*, *Козара*, *Две народне ђесме из XVI века*, *Мекам* и композицију *Оџрејала месечина*. Све композиције изводи Хор Радио-телевизије Београд (да-

нас Хор РТС-а), најзначајнији професионални хорски ансамбл у нашој земљи. На овим дисковима Хором диригују осведочени, истанчани тумачи Мокрањчеве музике – Михаило Вукдраговић, Милан Бајшански, Боривоје Симић, Златан Вауда и Младен Јагушт. Уз њих наступају и еминентни вокални солисти: Душан Цвејић, Лазар Ивков, Никола Митић. Снимци потичу из 1958, 1959, 1960, 1962, 1963, 1968. и 1981. године. Посебно је значајно што се приређивач највећим делом определио за старије, изузетно вредне снимке / интерпретације, како би се они отргнули од заборава и пропадања. Ови дискови доносе једине сачуване записе Мокрањчевих дела у тумачењима Вукдраговића, Бајшанског и Вауде. Допринос је и у обраћању старијим и мање доступним снимцима Б. Симића. Како је истакла Б. Милановић, М. Јагушт је једини имао прилике да сними све важније Мокрањчеве композиције и ти су записи публиковани на грамофонским плочама и компакт-дискovima. Јагушт је овде заступљен са снимцима четири руковети. Пред нама су редом антологијске интерпретације, а дигитализација је резултирала одличним квалитетом звука.

Вредност овог издања представља и обимна (127 страница), информативна и садржајна програмска књижица. Њу отвара уводно слово уреднице Мелите Милин, директорке Музиколошког института, у којем су истакнути циљеви едиције „Пробуђени архив” и значај Фонотеке Радио Београда као највеће збирке звучних снимака у региону, уз осврт на раније наслове објављене у оквиру „Пробуђеног архива”.

Једно од два централна места у књижици заузима текст приређивача Биљане Милановић, под насловом *Имагинарни музеј Мокрањчевих дела: архивски снимци световне музике Сивевана Сивојановића Мокрањца у извођењу Хора Радио Телевизије Београд и дириџенаша Михаила Вукдраговића, Милана Бајшанског, Боривоја Симића, Златана Вауде и Младена Јагушћиа*. У том тексту Биљане Милановић је саопштила значајне податке, попут онога да је у Фонотеци Радио Београда сачувано преко четири стотине снимака Мокрањчевих дела. Изнела је начела и критеријуме према којима је начинила одабир снимака, односно извођења. Како је стање сачуваних магнетофонских трака добро, то се могло поћи у сусрет интерпретативним донетима као основном критеријуму избора. У наставку излагања, Биљана Милановић се осврнула на традицију извођења Мокрањчеве музике која је *de facto* отпочела композиторовим интерпретацијама с нашим хорovima у земљи и иностранству. Потом се зауставила код сваког од заступљених дириџената и њиховог пута до Мокрањчеве музике и одлика њихових тумачења.

Ово издање садржи и друге вредне текстуалне прилоге. На стр. 39–48 налази се зналачки осврт приређивача на композиције заступљене на овим дисковима, и то је друго од два главна места у књижици. Напомене укључују осврт на Мокрањчев избор и третман народних песама, одлике хармонског језика односно модалности, затим такта и ритма, фактуре, питања полифоније, начело варирања у хармонизацији и хорском слогу, уз јасна вредновања. Подаци о заступљеним композицијама обухватају: годину настанка и премијерног извођења, извођачки састав, број народних песама које се налазе у оквиру односне композиције, коментаре о уметничком поступку и др.

Програмска књижица у засебном делу доноси најважније биографске податке о Стевану Мокрањцу, као и о свим диригентима заступљеним у овом издању и о Хору Радио-телевизије Београд.

Читаоцу ће бити удобно што ће у књижици наћи литерарне предлошке свих овде презентираних музичких дела. А изузетно је значајно то што се мислило на иностраног читаоца и слушаоца. Наиме, читава програмска књижица дата је и у енглеском преводу (то начело вреди за едицију „Пробуђени архив” у целини). Превод је дело Александре Калкат, уз лектуру Дејвида Калката (David Calcutt). Текстови и преводи песама према којима је компоновао Мокрањац, преузети су из првог и другог тома његових сабраних дела (Музичко-издавачко предузеће „Нота” – Завод за уџбенике и наставна средства, Београд 1992. и 1994).

И овом приликом треба истаћи допринос Зорана Маринковића, дизајнера звука, познатог и цењеног стручњака у тој области. Овај, трећи наслов у оквиру „Пробуђеног архива” привући ће пажњу и са своје графичко-ликовне стране, динамичног и атрактивног израза (дизајн корица Александра Доловић). Издање доноси и десет фотографија С. Мокрањца, М. Вукдраговића, М. Бајшанског, З. Вауде, М. Јагушта, Б. Симића и Хора Радио-телевизије Србије.

Ово издање представља резултат рада на пројекту Музиколошког института САНУ, *Идентификација српске музике од локалних до глобалних оквира: традиције, промене, изазови*, који финансира Министарство просвете, науке и технолошког развоја Владе Републике Србије. Припрему издања финансијски су помогли Министарство културе и информисања Републике Србије, Секретаријат за културу града Београда и СОКОЈ – Организација музичких аутора Србије.

Пред слушаоцима и читаоцима налази се репрезентативно издање световне музике Стевана Мокрањца. Потврђени естетски критеријум у налажењу антологијских између сачуваних

снимака, највиши дometи интерпретатора, стручна и прегнантна обрада реалија у пратећем тексту, све то указује да су приређивач и сви сарадници овом подухвату пришли не само с пуном компетенцијом, већ и с пасијом. Овим издањем се на најбољи начин попуњава празнина која траје преко десет година. Толико је, наиме, Мокрањчева световна музика одсутна с полица наших продавница компакт-дискова.

Агенција „Музика класика” наградила је ово издање као најбољи албум у 2014. години.

*Александар Васић*

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