

**Етнологско-
антрополошке
свеске**

*Часопис Етнологско-антрополошког
друштва Србије*

Етнолошко-антрополошке свеске

Часопис Етнолошко-антрополошког
друштва Србије
бр. 28, (н.с.) 17, 2017.

Главни и одговорни уредници:

др Гордана Благојевић
др Владимир Рибић

Секретари редакције:

др Срђан Радовић
др Милош Матић

Редакција:

проф. др Иван Ковачевић, проф. др Милош Миленковић,
проф. др Љиљана Гавриловић, др Младена Прелић,
др Јадранка Ђорђевић Црнобрња,
мр Предраг Шарчевић, Душица Живковић

Компјутерска обрада: Иван Живковић

Превод са енглеског на српски: др Владимир Рибић
др Гордана Благојевић

Лектура и коректура: др Владимир Рибић
др Гордана Благојевић

Лого: Љубомир Павићевић Фис

Примљено за објављивање на седници Редакције
одржаној 20.10.2017.

Адреса редакције:

Студентски трг 13, 11 000 Београд
0112636804 (др Гордана Благојевић)
0113206262 (др Владимир Рибић)

etnoskesveske@gmail.com
www.eads.org.rs

ISSN 1821-3723

УДК 39

COBISS.SR-ID 6236162

Ово издање часописа је изашло из штампе захваљујући чланаринама чланова и несебичној помоћи пријатеља Етнолошко-антрополошког друштва Србије, као и волонтерском раду уредника и чланова редакције.

Papers in Ethnology and Anthropology

Journal of the Serbian Ethnological and
Anthropological Society

No. 28, (n.s) 17, 2017.

Editors in chief:

Gordana Blagojević Ph.D

Prof. Vladimir Ribić Ph.D

Secretars of the editorial board:

Srđan Radović Ph.D

Miloš Matić Ph.D

Editorial Board:

Prof. Ivan Kovačević Ph.D, Prof. Miloš Milenković Ph.D,

Prof. Ljiljana Gavrilović Ph.D, Mladena Prelić Ph.D,

Jadranka Đorđević Crnobrnja Ph.D,

Predrag Šarčević MA, Dušica Živković

Computer text processing: Ivan Živković

Serbian translation: Prof. Vladimir Ribić Ph.D

Gordana Blagojević Ph.D

Proofreading: Prof. Vladimir Ribić Ph.D

Gordana Blagojević Ph.D

Logo: Ljubomir Pavićević Fis

Editorial address:

Studentski trg 13, 11 000 Belgrade

00381112636804 (Gordana Blagojević Ph.D)

00381113206262 (Prof. Vladimir Ribić Ph.D)

etnoloskesveske@gmail.com

www.eads.org.rs

ISSN 1821-3723

UDK 39

COBISS.SR-ID 6236162

This journal issue was published thanks to the membership fees of its members and the unselfish help of the friends of the Ethnological-Anthropological Society of Serbia, as well as the volunteer work of the editors and editorial staff members.

Садржај

Чланци и студије

7

Тема броја: Уметничке праксе и градска шеталишта
(ур. Гордана Благојевић)
Topic of the Issue: Art Practices and Urban Promenades
(ed. Gordana Blagojević)

9

Gordana Blagojević
Art Practices and Urban Promenades: Focusing on Belgrade's
Knez Mihailova Street and Dionysiou Areopagitou Promenade in
Athens

15

Manolis G. Varvounis
Folkloristics of Streets in Athens and Greek 'Urban Folklore'

25

Georgios Kouzas
Street Musicians, Artistic Practices and Survival Strategies: An
Ethnographic Example (Dionysiou Areopagitou Street, Athens)

43

Nadia Macha-Bizoumi
Working on the Street: the Social Dimension of University
Graduates Living as Mobile Craftspeople. (Dionysiou Areopagitou
Street - Apostolou Pavlou Street, Athens)

59

Gordana Blagojević
Spatial Mobility of Fine Artists and Local Identity/Identities:
from Serbia to Greece and *Vice Versa*

77

Milesa Stefanović-Banović

Souvenirization of Religious Symbols: the Example of Knez
Mihailova Street Zone

89

Nina V. Aksić

Musical Picture of Knez Mihailova Street as a Part of Belgrade's
Identity Musical Diversity as Belgrade's Brand

Varia

111

Christos Pittakas

Break On Through (To the Other Side)

125

Lampros Efthymiou

Women's Laments in Death Ceremonies in Epirus.
The Ultimate Moment of Farewell

Прикази и критике

139

Slaviša Raković

Retazos, Mirjana Ružić (Ruzich, Miriana. 2015. *Retazos*. Buenos
Aires: Edicion del autor)

***Тема броја: Уметничке
праксе и градска
шеталишта***

***Topic of the Issue:
Art Practices and Urban
Promenades***

Nina V. Aksić¹

nina.aksic@ei.sanu.ac.rs

Musical Picture of Knez Mihailova Street as a Part of Belgrade`s Identity: Musical Diversity as Belgrade`s Brand²

Abstract:

Multicultural Belgrade is also reflected in sounds of different musical genres and the different ways of its performance – walking from the Palace of Albania to Kalemegdan. This musical diversity represents Belgrade`s identity, which is in one way traditional and in other modern and easily adaptable to the needs of the audience, placing Serbian capital among the large European metropolises. From traditional music to Joe Cocker, from Tozovac to Nirvana, from professional music bands which perform pieces of serious music to Romani kids who play *Bolero* on one violin string, with occasional visiting musicians who come to promote themselves – that is the part of Belgrade`s identity, based on multiculturalism in the broadest sense, which becomes a recognizable brand of Belgrade.

Key words:

Belgrade, Knez Mihailova street, brand, street`s musicians, musical diversity.

„*My conservatory – street.*“

Edit Piaf

The tradition of traveling entertainers, which is in some way the forerunner of today`s street musicians, reaches to the middle ages on the territory of Serbia. Famous troubadours, truers and other West European entertainers had their own pandan on the territory of Serbia in the form of actors who were versatile entertainers (actors and musicians), with whom *svirci*, *spielmanns* or *skomras* were placed in

1 Research Assistent, The Institute of Ethnography SASA, Belgrade

2 This paper is the result of work on the project *Identity strategies: contemporary culture and religiosity* (177028), which is entirely financed by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.

the same rank, and even fall under the general name *actor*. Medieval musicians often performed their tracks on wind instruments such as hoses, trumpets, tunes, etc. or on wire instruments that were all called „gusle“. Related to this, these musicians also had and many names – *svirac, gudac, cevnik, trumbetaš* etc. So, „throughout the entire Middle Ages Serbian society was naming the musicians, such as *gudac* or *svirac*, generally *actor*. (...) The universality possessed by the actor confirms his affinity with German *spielmann* once again, which marked different types of entertainers in German areas until the end of the Middle Ages“ (Bojanin 2005, 274-IX, trs. N. A.). Yet, players, dancers and other entertainers had their own names, as already told. So, today`s street players have become the inheritors of Middle Ages *svirci*.

In the period of the rule of the Ottoman Empire in the territory of Serbia, the tradition of traveling musicians was in a certain sense continued by „guslari“, creating a new way of performing music – guslar`s praxis. In addition to their ethics, which included non-commercial playing, besides, some „guslars“ played at the monasteries and other public places, and even Vuk Stefanović Karadžić recorded that he gave money to some of them for services of singing traditional songs which he wrote down. From the end of the XIX and the beginning of the XX century, in big European cities the tradition of street artists was continued – musicians, one of which was Edith Piaf (French singer). In this time in Serbia by the weakening of Ottoman Empire rule and with the arrival of knez Miloš Obrenović, “gangs” were created, which were orchestras of bleh music that performed in open spaces, but were more institutionalized. At the beginning of the 20th century, in Belgrade „each Sunday before noon the army would form a parade sound processional through downtown. That was a change of guards in front of the palace. Intermittently, once from the fortress, and the second time from Slavija (from the barracks in city and in Banjica), an army detachment was moving with music on the forehead, and throughout the downtown to the palace. Alongside the `military gang` a children were running. Then a concert of maybe all hour would ensue, until the guard change, there, on that knap in the center of the park where there was a palace until 1903. The people were gathering in front of a high decorative fence and listening“ (Deroko 2013, 43-44, trs. N. A.). After the Second World War a period of socialism followed, which repressed travelling musicians and

entertainers almost completely, creating a notion of shame for those dealing with this “profession”. Most of the street musicians were of Roma origin, who were mostly doing this job for the profit.

With the post-modern epoch, the birth of a new, democratic Serbia, emerging from the transition period, the creation of a globalist culture and the bigger turning of the European Union and its cultural values, Serbia and Belgrade (as metropolis and capital city) opens up for new social phenomena which became a part of the globalist identity and the path to unification with European metropolises. Thus, first of all in Belgrade, in the last decade of the twentieth century, street artists appear, including musicians, after the great European capitals of culture - Paris, Vienna, Berlin, London and others. For the development of this social phenomenon - street art, primarily contributes the idea of a mass society, namely culture and all other products intended for it. Nevertheless, we must bear in mind that this is not only a tradition of modern society and the West, but also a combination of a new globalist culture and old tradition of traveling musicians and entertainers that reaches back to the Serbian Middle Ages.

However, when modern studies of this “profession” are concerned, there are two basic theoretical discussions. One is about this tradition as a segment of a global (unified) society, and opposite to that one that treats this tradition as a segment of a multicultural society. To the development of this social phenomenon – street art, primarily contributes the idea of mass society, namely to culture and all others products intended for it. These is obvious especially on the streets of cities, as G. Stanković points out: „There is no doubt that we entered the mass society. Just look at those people who are going through the streets, breathing in the squares, going out and getting out of buildings, piling up everywhere. Everything turns to them, and takes the shape of those outlines which can only be fulfilled by a spirit of mass culture“ (Stanković 2008, 103, trs. N. A.).

*

Reconstruction of Knez Mihailova street was finished in 1988 when it became the main Belgrade pedestrian zone.³ It is today the street where is the biggest concentration of domestic passers-by,

³ See more about history of Knez Mihailova street and her architectural building in: Vujić 2003.

but also tourists. In this way, it represents the most suitable and the most fruitful place for various artists and sellers who can have some kind of presentation here, but also a very good material profit. Street artists – musicians, are often mentioned in numerous Belgrade pamphlets and tourist guides, like a component of Knez Mihailova street and one of its riches which adorns it and gives it a special identity. So, for example in pamphlet *Belgrade Attractions*, for Knez Mihailova street and its artists the following stands out: „The main pedestrian area, connecting Republic square and Kalemegdan, is filled with café bars, shops, restaurants, galleries and at any time of day or night, it is filled with people. The atmosphere is perfected with street artists and sellers as well as students of the faculties located around Knez Mihailova Stret, giving this street the diversity and the feel of a world metropolis“.⁴

This social phenomenon, as already said in Belgrade, occurs in the early 1990s, when one of the first street musicians, such as the cult musician Dilan, appears in Knez Mihailova street, then also a group of South American Indians who performed their traditional music on the traditional instruments (bells, Panpipe and etc.) and music legend Piksi who played Serbian national instrument „frula“.



This paper is primarily made from data obtained on the field in conversation with respondents-pointers, ie. street musicians who perform their activities in the main street, pedestrian zone of Bel-

⁴ *Belgrade Attractions* 2016, 8.

grade – Knez Mihailova street.⁵ From the conversation which was based on about twenty questions we found out the motives of playing in the street, the length of playing during the day, year or more years, the structure of the audiences who listen to them, the opinion of the environment and people close to them about playing in the street, problems they encounter during their stay at „work“, legality or illegality of their stay on the street, like many others—details which were stimulant for a deeper analysis of the whole system of this social phenomenon. Here, we must emphasize that this is practically a pioneer theme in our area, so that there was almost no literature for it. Yet, we think that this is one very important anthropological and ethnological occurrence which took a big part in last decades and which should surely get bigger attention.

Among the respondents were younger and older generations, men and women, as well as children, who had almost absolutely different answers for the asked questions. Some of them are members of musical groups/bands who perform music in the street, while others are instrumental or vocal/instrumental soloists, today known by the name of *one man band*. Thus, within a field research during the end of May and the beginning of June 2017. three bands, two soloists and one previously active group were tested. Beside the conversation, several photos of children-musicians were done, because they were considered too young to be able to answer to those questions.



5 I owe a great gratitude to all respondents, musicians from the Knez Mihailova street in Belgrade, without which this paper could not be complete.

*

While taking a walk from the Palace of Albania to Kalemegdan, through Knez Mihailova street, we can hear the sounds of numerous street musicians, players and singers, who perform music of different genres and in different languages (if is in question the vocal and vocal-instrumental music). Thus, first of all, the analysis of the field can spot the genre diversity that creates an image of multicultural Belgrade, adapted to both domestic and foreign audiences. So, the first impression of the multicultural Belgrade can be obtained after walking through Knez Mihailova Street, listening to the following: "hits" of serious music and pop-rock genre which are performed by the group Crystal strings; hits of rap, grunge, rock and rage genre in performance of soloist with the guitar Ljubomir (vocal-instrumental performer); tracks of serious music in performance of a girl, violinist Milica Petrović; most popular traditional/ethno songs from the territory of Serbia in performance of vocal group composed of four girls; Disney-songs, themes from film music, Irish hits, pop music, hits of serious music in performance of acoustic instrumental duo Gordan and Mina (guitar and flute);⁶ hits of folk and old town music of Yugoslavia in performance of vocal-instrumental group of three older gentlemen (guitar/tamburitza and two singers); hits of rock and roll music in performance of vocal-instrumental soloist (guitar) Peca, all the way through hits of pop, rage, rock and roll music of duo of guitar and percussion Vuk (he sings and plays) and Ivan, but also guitarist and singer Ivan Jegdić with the support of his friends instrumental and vocal following. Next to these musicians, there are frequent guests on Knez Mihailova street, other musicians come there mostly for promotion for one day or two days or for only a few days and they mostly perform one of the already mentioned musical type and genres. Also, walking through this street, you can see a few Roma children who play violins and accordions, but mostly not particularly successful, and the pieces in question are folk songs, as well as some famous melodies of Serbian kolo or march (Svilen konac, Marš na Drinu etc.). Until 2017. in the very epicenter of Knez Mihailova street, at the so-called pyramid, ie. white fountain, or in front of the building of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, there were

6 I owe special gratitude to the colleague Gordan, who gives me the most detailed data about the work of street musicians, because he experienced this type of work himself, and therefore he became a part of Belgrade identity.

also two solo performers, one on the guitar and second on the violin, who stayed there every day and who lived from it. The guitarist was performing tracks of pop and rock genre, exclusively instrumental with the help of an amplifier, because that was an electric guitar, while the violinist Danilo Anđelković, otherwise a professional musician, performed pieces of serious music accompanied by a matrix released also through the amplifier. This fascinating musician organized mini-concert in 2014. with his colleague Nenad Čiča, an opera singer, which completely turned into a gala opera night in the central part of Knez Mihailova street.⁷ So, not just by walking through the whole Knez Mihailova street, but also in its very center, you can see the diversity of music genres, as well as the compositions which it offers. That variegated diversity is an important part of Belgrade's identity puzzle which is most obviously read out here, and which special tourists, eager for new knowledge about the culture of our city can easily see.



⁷ See more about this on the internet portal: *Blic online*. Beograd koji volimo: Prizor u Knez Mihailovoj koji je sve ostavio bez daha. <http://www.blic.rs/vesti/beograd/beograd-koji-volimo-prizor-u-knez-mihailovoj-koji-je-sve-ostavio-bez-daha/y11pwe2>.

These street musicians are working hard on Knez Mihailova Street and they enrich it with their music. Every one of them came to this public scene with a different motive, although the material side-earnings is important to everyone. Professional musicians who play in the Crystal Strings quartet, as they themselves say, do this because they like it and because this scene represents a good place to practice. Similar to the first motive is the motive of a twelve-year-old violinist Milica Petrović, who highlighted next in one interview: „I want to share music, I'd love as many people as possible to hear me. (...) Besides, I realized that playing in the street helps me in overcoming stage fright, which means a lot to me because of my competitions“.⁸ However, the material motivation is not negligible, since Milica finances her own departures to competitions with money she earned in the street, as well as new equipment for her own instrument.⁹ Old man Kosta, who works in a folk music band, points out that playing in the street is a mental satisfaction and that the doctor recommended that he play and sing, because it relaxes the nervous system. His motive surely is not money earnings, because he has a good pension (ex director of one company and a graduate student of the Faculty of Transport and Traffic Engineering). The third motive recorded from the guided conversation is rebellion, which the soloist on the guitar and singer Peca pointed out, who is actively engaged in the street by doing gigs and playing for many years. Yet, he stressed out that this job is not easy at all, and that only those who love it can do it. The fourth motive is humanitarian gesture. Four girls who play traditional music also mentioned collecting money for charity, and even organizing some kind of a concert in the street with a bigger number of students (friends from school, given that they attend the Middle Ballet School „Lujó Davičó“). So, numerous motives of playing in the street can be identified, but it is certainly indispensable that money is the main driver of this idea, in the opinion of the researchers.

8 *Detinjarije*. „Ja ne prosim, ja sam na koncertu“ Mlada violinistkinja ima prelep razlog zašto po ceo dan svira u Knezu. <http://www.detinjarije.com/ja-ne-prosim-ja-sam-na-koncertu-mlada-violinistkinja-ima-prelep-razlog-zasto-po-ceo-dan-svira-u-knezu/> (trs. N. A.)

9 See more about this in: *Detinjarije*. „Ja ne prosim, ja sam na koncertu“ Mlada violinistkinja ima prelep razlog zašto po ceo dan svira u Knezu. <http://www.detinjarije.com/ja-ne-prosim-ja-sam-na-koncertu-mlada-violinistkinja-ima-prelep-razlog-zasto-po-ceo-dan-svira-u-knezu/>.



Earning in the street was more profitable until 2015. when it gradually began to decline, which was one of the reasons for stopping the duo, Gordan (guitar) and Mina (flute), from playing. It's interesting that they even pointed out that they were making more money while they had another member, as a trio, which absolutely confirms the fact that the mass of sound and diversity of instruments makes a better psychological impression on people. To this fact, we can also attach the opinion of French singer Edit Piaf: „You can not just come out alone and start singing in the street. It takes at least two, it takes music, otherwise you'll look miserable, no one will take you seriously. That looks as if you aren't doing anything, but as begging“ (Berto 2006, 28, trs. N. A.). Nevertheless, even today one can earn considerable pocket money in Knez Mihailova street, for those who find that sufficient, while those who are more experienced and persistent, and who remain for a long time to play, can also earn more serious money for living during the season, ie. the end of spring, summer and the beginning of autumn. Thus, e.g. for Vuk Stojnić and Ivan (duo of guitar and cajon) all income from Knez Mihailova street serve for life, although they have a motto „For the beer (for many beers) ☺“.¹⁰ A professional violinist Tomislav Mačukat, who does not even play in Knez Mihailova street, also testifies about the opportunity to earn money, but points out that one can earn more in the street than an average monthly salary in Serbia is.¹¹

10 Emisija SPIKA – Ulični umetnici (epizoda 6) Vuk Stojnić. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lMfA6Xlq2hk>.

11 See more about this in the youtube channel: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5iDDqlqJPZg>.

Before the start of the season, it is necessary to obtain a license for legal music playing in Knez Mihailova Street. Audition is done by submitting a recording, the suggestion of the program and the place where you want to play, as well as a filled application form. Then a commission consisting of three communal policemen and two amateur artists, approves (giving a mark of over 8.5) or does not approve of playing in the street, and if the answer is positive, assign a place and a time frame in which musicians can perform the program. Those are usually two places in this street in which the program lasts for two hours. However, a large number of musicians in Knez Mihailova Street do not have this license, and there are problems with the communal police, who must intervene. The police is benevolent with some people, and only asks them to move from that place and switch to another if somebody with a permission should come to their place, while others receive fines if they do not want to cooperate. So I learned that guitarist and singer Peca has a fine of 110,000 dinars (932€), because he owns a license for Bezistan, but he plays in the end of Knez Mihailova street near to Kalemegdan. Prices of the penalties usually range from two and a half thousand to fifteen thousand dinars,¹² but there are plenty of musicians playing without a license, and if they are decent, the communal police do not charge them with penalties. The violinist Tomislav Mačukat suggested that auditions should be held more often and that data on their maintenance must be more transparent to solve this problem.¹³ In addition to problems with the police, there are often problems among the musicians who would like to occupy a better place (busier, better acoustically, with more shade, etc.), as well as a better term (the one with the greatest concentration of people in the street). Duo Gordan i Mina had a conflict with one musician who has been working for many years in Knez Mihailova street (more than ten). In order to avoid further conflict they called the police who solved it all. When it comes to perennial musicians who live from earnings in the street and who must fight for their job, Gordan stressed out next: „There are musicians who are like sharks and they watch how to get rid of you even if you have a license, so you have to call the police“. However, this is street work and everyone has to fight for their “square/place”. Young guitarist and singer Ivan Jegdić had problems with other colleagues

12 The penalties usually range from 21€ to 127€.

13 See more about this on the youtube channel: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5iDDqlqJPZg>

who stood across the road with an amplifier during his playing and who would start playing without wanting to wait or move a little, and he stressed out that there is generally no solidarity.¹⁴ Also Vuk Stojnic, a student, percussionist and singer, who plays in Knez Mihailova street with his friend Ivan (guitarist), joined the story, and stressed out that a bit more empathy among the musicians themselves is needed.¹⁵



14 See more about this in the youtube channel: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W-pwM2YxLzac>

15 See more about this in the youtube channel: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IM-fA6XJq2hk>

Some musicians were quick to give up, while others worked for years, not even changing the place. Some finished their season before the start of the school year, when they have other obligations, while others worked up to +5 degrees but not in the rain and the third, and most persistent, played in the rain, even in the snow.

The social aspect of playing in the street is reflected in two items – through the audience and the opinion of the environment, people close to street musicians. The first paragraph is very important and also represents one of the elements of Belgrade's identity. As an art that is promoted by communication more than others, street art has its own audience. Its composition is mostly mixed in the generational sense (kids, young people, the elderly), but also in terms of nationality (domestic audience and numerous foreigners), through which multiculturalism and openness of Belgrade can be seen, as well as the diversity that adorns its identity. Therefore, this audience, as well as that which deliberately visits art events „is made up of members who are relatively structured according to identical interest, the aim of which is to satisfy the most widely understood individual and group non-material needs“ (Božilović 2010, 22). As all the musicians have concluded, whatever music they perform, they are the happiest with the young audience – kids, who provide them with their smiles and playing in return. Guitarist and singer Ljubomir, twenty years old boy, answers the question of who his audience is: „The kids are dancing in here – it's sincere. Children are awesome“. So, guided by the idea that „the world shall remain to the younger“, children are the ones that will inherit this social phenomenon and adopt it as a part of Belgrade's identity, and some of them might become street musicians. The social aspect of playing in the street is reflected in two elements: the audience and the opinion of the environment, people close to street musicians. The violinist from the String Quartet spoke on the behalf of all members and stressed out that everyone is very positive about their playing in the street, especially parents, because they do not have to send money for their pocket money and other needs (mostly musicians are from the other cities in Serbia, and in Belgrade they are studying at the Faculty of Music). Also, the duo Gordan and Mina had the same story, while the son of the grandpa Kosta, otherwise a professional rock musician, opposed his performing of music in the street, because this was shameful for him, considering that he has a good pension and that he was on a high position

in the company during his lifetime. We got another interesting comment on this topic from the girls who performed traditional music, who said that teachers and schoolmates supported them, because previous generations did it too (they attended classes of traditional dancing and singing), but that others did not know about their performances, probably thinking of parents and relatives. Also, guitarist and singer Peca had an interesting comment. He lived and worked in the past years in Prijedor and Banjaluka (Bosnia and Herzegovina) in the taverns where he also got tips from his friends. When he started playing in the street (first in Banjaluka, and then in Belgrade), his friends told him that they were now embarrassed to give him money, probably having an allusion upon begging. Considering this attitude, i.e. a taboo that is evident today with people, Peca gave an excellent comment: „Such are the surroundings“. On the other side, we have the mother of a twelve-year-old violinist Milica. She was scared and frightened when Milica told her that she wanted to play in the street: “It was frightening me, I worried about what people would think. We do not ask for money, we are here because Milica just likes it so much, she enjoys playing for people. But she does not look at it in the way I do”.¹⁶

Many of these musicians were also looking for their happiness in the streets of other cities of Europe, but they mostly returned to Belgrade, to Knez Mihailova street. Answering the question where the earning is better, they mostly answered that it was better in some places and that there was more money, but also that the competition is tougher. Still, they returned to Belgrade and brought some part of the culture of other countries and something of the identity of the other cities with them, and they interweaved all this into Belgrade’s multicultural identity.

Unfortunately some of the musicians were not persistent enough and they wanted to find something safer and perhaps easier instead of this temporary unstable work. So Gordan from duo Gordan and Mina decided to end with this kind of performing music, after three years of playing in Knez Mihailova street, which he was doing alongside with occasional gigs and festivals, as well as regular attendance at the Faculty of Music: „Either this will rise to a higher level or I will stop and I will look for a serious job. I experienced

16 *Detinjarije*. “Ja ne prosim, ja sam na koncertu” Mlada violinistkinja ima prelep razlog zašto po ceo dan svira u Knezu. <http://www.detinjarije.com/ja-ne-prosim-ja-sam-na-koncertu-mlada-violinistkinja-ima-prelep-razlog-zasto-po-ceo-dan-svira-u-knezu/>.

burnout in that street. We played in the rain and snow and at 40°C“. His colleague from the duo still remained to play in Knez Mihailova street, but in a new lineup.

At the end, attention should also be drawn to another of the significant problems encountered in Knez Mihailova Street – underage children who play music in the street. Most of them do not have permission to play, and in addition to this they come to play alone, without the obligatory escort of their parents. These are mostly Roma children, which in most cases serve for some kind of exploitation and earning money. The communal police usually remove them from the street or hand them over to the social service, but they come back again. For the season 2017/2018, only two children got permission, and in Knez Mihailova street, as street artists, you can meet at least six of them daily, some of which are permanent, and some are just passing through and mostly play in city transport.¹⁷ The only problem during field research happened just with a girl of Roma origin, about ten years old, who showed her resentment because she was obviously forced to play in the street by showing her middle finger and cursed during research photography. Nevertheless, in this group of Roma children, there are some who really know how to play successfully, while others, like a little girl who performs music on two strings of a violin just dragging the strings over the wires and begging for food, is obviously an example of exploitation of children. So, this problem is a big problem of the communal police and social services which should primarily protect children and thus maintain the reputation of this main Belgrade street.

In 2010, as a concertmaster of the Young Philharmonic Orchestra “Borislav Pašćan”, I had the opportunity to experience playing in the street. Our symphony orchestra performed serious music on the Republic Square, and we performed this whole evening concert in order to collect money for the needs of the orchestra, but also to draw the attention of the public to the need to promote young musicians and organize as many classical music concerts in Belgrade as possible. It was not the first time I played in an open, public space, but it was the first time I did it for the money that we collected in a violin box. I have to admit that at first I felt nervous, because there

¹⁷ See more about this in: *Dnevno.rs*. Decu u Knez Mihailovoj EKSPLOATIŠU DRUGI? Samo dve devojčice IMAJU DOZVOLU za sviranje. <http://www.dnevno.rs/info/drustvo/82387/decu-u-knez-mihailovoj-eksploatisu-drugi-samo-dve-devojicice-imaju-dozvolu-za-sviranje>

was always prejudice, that was my city, people who I knew were passing by and I was worried about the comments, but the audience was thrilled, and what I remember is that among the listeners there were mostly children and Asian tourists.



*

When we talk about Belgrade's identity today, whose segment are also street musicians, one must first take into account the fact that it is the product of the globalist idea¹⁸, the need for equalization of different identities, i.e. by integrating different identities, individual (love for a certain type of music), as well as national (performing traditional Serbian music as the presentation of national treasures)

18 „Cultural globalization, however, represents a realistic realization of a multiethnic and multicultural society, based on the acceptance, legitimization and legalization of various cultural models, none of which will be dominant and where everyone will be referred to coexistence or mutual cooperation and intermingling (interculturalism)“ (Božilović 2014, 536).

into one general identity, which is acceptable and understandable for all. The creation of multicultural Belgrade identity can be viewed in a different way – as a product of negative globalization, i.e. those that “are considered the announcement of the crisis of identity, which equally affects group/collective identity and professional identity” (Božilović 2014, 534). Still, positively or negatively observed in terms of identity, the musical diversity of the main street of Belgrade is certainly a significant cultural segment of this city, even the whole of Serbia, which gives a special, always recognizable and easily memorable note to this city, but also puts it in the rank with big European metropolises with rich cultural and entertaining life. In any case, although a “globalist” product, playing in the street in Belgrade has a completely different tone than that in Paris, Berlin and elsewhere, and can simply be described with Robertson’s notion of glocalization “which implies that people interpret global products within a local context, creating a new, original version of global culture” (Božilović 2010, 35). So we should bear in mind that art today is very diverse in itself, and that “its tendency towards universalization (...) does not lead to uniformity and to destroying the singularity of aesthetic messages” (Božilović 2010, 35, trs. N. A.). And as “in the culture of the world there is indeed a powerful tendency towards homogenization, there are also realistic perceptions that the world is still a diverse place with special features that can hardly be brewed in a cultural goulash” (Božilović 2012, 25), so Belgrade still stands out with its own identity in that general multiculturalism. And regardless of the already mentioned contemporary characteristics of performing music in the streets of Serbian urban centers, we should briefly mention the far past and recall the forerunners of today’s street musicians – medieval times *svirci*, indicating that the phenomenon we wrote about is not an innovative product of globalist processes, it’s something that has been renewed after a long time and logically transformed into a new, up-to-date attire.

So, street musicians, whether they played for money, rebellion, promotion or love, perhaps without knowing or not thinking about it, directly participate in the creation of a new Belgrade identity and it will stay this way as long as the love of playing in the street is present: “Enjoy the music regardless of having income from it, because if you enjoy it, it absolutely doesn’t make a difference”.¹⁹

19 Emisija SPIKA – Ulični umetnici (epizoda 3) Ivan Jegdić. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WpwM2YxLzac>

Sources

Belgrade Attractions. 2016. Belgrade: Tourist Organization of Belgrade.

Emisija SPIKA – Ulični umetnici (epizoda 1) Ljubomir Vranić. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X15G50Dm5bY>

Emisija SPIKA – Ulični umetnici (epizoda 2) Crystal Strings. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t1FjFgdAoy8>

Emisija SPIKA – Ulični umetnici (epizoda 3) Ivan Jegdić. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Wpwm2YxLzac>

Emisija SPIKA – Ulični umetnici (epizoda 4) Tomislav Mačukat. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5iDDqlqJPZg>

Emisija SPIKA – Ulični umetnici (epizoda 6) Vuk Stojnić. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lMfA6XJq2hk>

Detinjarije. “Ja ne prosim, ja sam na koncertu”. Mlada violinistkinja ima prelep razlog zašto po ceo dan svira u Knezu. <http://www.detinjarije.com/ja-ne-prosim-ja-sam-na-koncertu-mlada-violinistkinja-ima-prelep-razlog-zasto-po-ceo-dan-svira-u-knezu/>

Dnevno.rs. Decu u Knez Mihailovoj EKSPLOATIŠU DRUGI? Samo dve devojčice IMAJU DOZVOLU za sviranje. <http://www.dnevno.rs/info/drustvo/82387/decu-u-knez-mihailovoj-eksploatisu-drugi-samo-dve-devojčice-imaju-dozvolu-za-sviranje>

Blic online, *Beograd koji volimo: Prizor u Knez Mihailovoj koji je sve ostavio bez daha*, <http://www.blic.rs/vesti/beograd/beograd-koji-volimo-prizor-u-knez-mihailovoj-koji-je-sve-ostavio-bez-daha/y11pwe2>

Bibliography

Berto, Simona. 2006. *Edit Pjaf*. Beograd: Plavi jahač.

Božilović, Nikola. 2010. Kontekst kulture: Simbolički karakter umetničke komunikacije. *CM Časopis za upravljanje komuniciranjem* 16: 21-40.

Božilović, Nikola. 2012. Kultura i prikazivanje raznolikosti. *Kultura polisa, časopis za negovanje demokratske političke kulture* 18: 19-42.

Božilović, Nikola. 2014. Globalizacija kulture i novi identitetski obrasci. *Sociološki pregled XLVIII* (4): 531-548.

Bojanin, Stanoje. 2005. *Zabave i svetkovine u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji od kraja XII do kraja XV veka*. Beograd: Istorijski institut i Službeni glasnik.

Vujović, Branko. 2003. *Beograd u prošlosti i sadašnjosti*. Beograd: Draganić.

Deroko, Aleksandar. 2013. *A ondak je letijo jeroplan nad Beogradom*. Beograd: Dereta.

Stanković, Goran. 2008. Ulična kultura. *Gradina: Časopis za književnost, umetnost i kulturu* 24: 103-107.

Contributions

Questionnaire:

1. Name or name of the band.
2. Are you a professional musician or not?
3. What kind of music do you play and why that music exactly?
4. What are the reasons for your playing in the street?
5. What place in Knez Mihailova street are you standing and in what terms?
6. How many times a week do you come?
7. How long does your show last?
8. When does your season begins and when does it ends?
9. How long have you been playing in Knez Mihailova street?
10. Who is your most frequent audience?
11. Did you play in any other place in Belgrade?
12. Have you played in the street abroad and where do you think is better?
13. How much is it possible to earn in one day and what are you collecting the money for?
14. What do your family and friends say about your street playing?
15. Do you have a permission to play in Knez Mihailova street?
16. Have you had any problems with the communal police or other musicians, and if so, why?

Нина В. Аксић

**Музичка слика Кнез Михаилове улице
као сегмент београдског идентитета:
музичка разноликост као београдски бренд**

Током шетње од Палате Албанија па све до Калемегдана, мултикултурални Београд се огледа и у звуцима различитих музичких жанрова и начинима њихових извођења. Сврставајући српску престоницу међу велике европске метрополе, оваква музичка разноликост представља део идентитета Београда – с једне стране, традиционалног, а са друге, модерног и лако прилагодљивог потребама публике. Од традиционалне музике до Џоа Кокера, од Тозовца до Нирване, од професионалног састава који изводи дела озбиљне музике до ромске деце која свирају Болеро на једној жици виолине, с повременим гостујућим музичарима који су ту ради промоције – све то представља део београдског идентитета, заснован на мултикултуралности у најширем смислу, који постаје својеврстан и препознатљив бренд Београда.

Кључне речи: Београд, Кнез Михаилова улица, бренд, улични музичари, музичка разноликост