

Rastko Jakovljević

DEAD PUBLIC SPACES – LIVE PRIVATE CORNERS: (RE)CONTEXTUALIZATION OF MUSICALLY PUBLIC AND PRIVATE*

Abstract: The expressions of private and public musical life and experience are mostly discussed separately. This article joins these two concepts into one scope and surveys the identity of both. In ideal (utopian?) traditional context, between private and public music experience (life), the context shows ideal vitality and consistence, while in an ‘irregular’ context these two concepts begin to distance themselves, opening space for marginality or so called ‘errors’. This article studies bagpipe tradition in Serbia, at different stages of its development and in different periods, specifically focusing on rural and urban contexts in diverse sociopolitical conditions. Although bagpipe tradition still exists in Serbia it is far removed from what it once was, and the idea is to represent the contexts of that process, private and public, sociopolitical, and marginal aspects, from the 19th century (or hypothetically before then) until today.

Keywords: private, public, marginal, bagpipes, identity, traditional, urban, rural.

Privately speaking

It is hard to balance personal private life with public life, and it is even harder to grasp hold of ideals when one is aware that they do not quite correspond to what is socially expected of us. It seems that the ‘work’ of a peaceful country life and corresponding moral codes are blurred, so that today only the notion of these still exists and is advocated. Many have lost their individuality in this transition, in the sense of the influence that they once had in society. What happened to craftsmen and artisans, village musicians or fortune tellers? This issue is not just a question of individual authenticity, but of having an adequate role to play in the community even if there is no need, and you do not possess the quality to do so. The true shift happened during the move to a capitalistic, secular and urban culture. Even though everything was changed, there were some fractures in the new system, some elements left from the past. It seems that in the ‘error’ or social vacuum of today, there are individuals or even communities that lie on the margins of public and private life. The specific moment of that transition and beginning of marginalization of the bagpipers, are here investigated because in Serbian

* This article is a result of the project Music at the Crossroads – Serbian, Balkans and European Context, no. 147033, financed by Ministry of Science of the Republic of Serbia.

music/folk tradition they were once present, much respected, numerous, well known. However, today there are almost entirely forgotten.

Private and public

Life is itself a shifting area of opposing private and public, reflected in everything we do and everything that is done to us. It is an arena of private corners filled with dead public spaces¹: the public is actually surrounded with the private. But what can be considered as something private? There are many different examples but let's imagine one. When a child takes his first steps this will be done in the private comfort of his or her family; only later will he take a leap in the communal public space. In that matter, the private action can be considered as some type of learning or rehearsal for social actions that the subject will later demonstrate and believe in public. That makes us believe that the 'private' gives us some kind of security and equanimity while everything that we do in public is subject to the critical eye of the community. This also indicates that we need to be sure about what we want to present to others or what deeds we would like to be remembered by. That practice firstly needs to be processed through private experience. Private areas give great opportunities to master all the skills of masking, because people tend to show themselves as close to the 'ideal', or whatever society would like to recognize in that person. The private realm thus behaves like a protected area of intimacy and 'self truth', meaning that 'while man *made* himself in public, he *realized* his nature in private'², free from anxiety and social commitments.

On the other hand, even though public life is made up of individuals, it is characterized as a process that depends on many factors such as heritage, tradition, politics, or culture as a whole, modulated in a social conglomerate or mass. Individuals need to be socially recognized and accepted in order to be publicly visible. Public life is very selective. It will willingly accept everything or anyone that fits into its matrix, but discards everything that does not. Publicity has one body but different faces, and includes many different individual destinies '...it meant not only a region of social life is located apart from the realm of family and close friends, but also that this public realm of acquaintances and strangers included a relatively wide diversity of people.'³ What is interesting is that public and private can be considered within a wider context, such as

¹ Term used from: Richard Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man* (London: Penguin Books, 2002).

² Richard Sennett, *Op. cit.*, p. 18.

³ *Ibid*, p. 17.

the opposing characters and potentials of cities and villages (urban and rural life). Hence, dominant urban societies tend to attract rural ones and to impose their social (behavioral) norms and mechanisms on them. In that vacuum rural society can be forced to discard traditional elements and to swallow all that is needed to meet absolute emergencies. If not it will be marginalized and might invoke repression from inside the community. Thus far, rural communities have had the same fate and only a few have managed to preserve their private, intimate profile. The extinction of old cultures or *ancient regimes* as Richard Sennett formulates in the first edition of his mentioned study (1974) opened a space for the formation of a new capitalist, secular, urban culture. What is paradoxical is that villages today actually represent what cities once were, revealing the cycle that is at stake. Social factors, activities, and mostly the media downgrade rural areas in comparison with big cities, with their newly created sense of existence. Almost everything that is publicly recognized and supported by the media forms part of the urban *milieu*, while rural actions can be treated as implication, or even irrational cultural moment that does not adequately correspond to reality. It seems as if rural landscapes do not match our notions of real life, because they are so private, distant and isolated. The truth is that villages embrace many urban patterns, but these are perceived as fashionable intrusions.

At another level, the vast majority of rural inhabitants adopt urban elements as a chance to be recognized and accepted in society as a whole. That produces even more ‘errors’ in local communities because once the village transformed into some kind of semi-urban communal area it leaves behind (at least mentally) those people who have neglected modernization, potentially marginalizing them – a problem that concerns only them. A marginalized person or *marginal man*⁴ was originally a person who had abandoned his own (native) culture, and tried to get involved in the new, ‘host’ culture, thus supposedly becoming some kind of transitional figure. This is one of the reasons why Robert Park has described marginal persons as some kind of racial or cultural ‘hybrid’. As he stated, the notion of ‘hybrid’ involves many kinds of interference, caused by biological, economical or political exchanges, usually connected with acculturation processes or migration. The *marginal man* is a figure comprising various identities, keeping his own native tradition and culture, trying to accept some elements of the new received culture, but always staying on the margins of both. However, society mostly serves as a sort of formatter of

⁴ The term *marginal man* was key concept in research on marginality, firstly introduced by Robert E. Park in his study ‘Human Migration and the Marginal Man’, *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 33, No. 6 (May, 1928): 881–893.

individual identities, imposing itself on us and remodeling our social behavior and (re)actions to external social manifestations. Accordingly, Robert Park identifies that ‘the individual’s conception of himself is, in this sense, not individual but a social product.’⁵ Hence, marginalization is a state that can be influenced by many different factors, such as social processes, politics, individual heritage, as well as acculturation.

In his analytical examination of marginality, Everett Stonequist clarified and systemized many features of this problem. He distinguished two basic categories or types of marginality: (i) racial hybrid, in cases when biological origin consists of two different racial types, and (ii) cultural hybrid, when individuals are mediated by some sort of cultural conflict i.e. globalization or higher intercultural differences.⁶ The cases that we wish to highlight at this point concern the second case, the cultural hybrid, which is, according to some scholars, in its elements associated with globalization, ethnocentrism, or the predominance of western civilization and its hegemony.⁷ The cultural hybrid is actually a marginalized individual struggling to choose between two loyalties: (i) loyalty to the old order and (ii) loyalty to the new order. It is supposed that the marginal man will position himself as an apprentice of one cultural *milieu* or ideology. Marginalization happens at a stage when the individual rejects the socio-cultural environment and tries to live a parallel, intimate, life within those two cultures. In addition, the *marginal man* demonstrates old habits and culture privately, while in public he tries to disguise himself as a genuine example of the new order. In that schizophrenic situation he is unwittingly being spread between his private and public self. The only choice he has is to devote himself fully to one loyalty side, becoming accomplished as a private or public figure; if not he is doomed to remain in that transitional state of being – marginality. This dichotomy of *urban–rural* or *city–village* life can be perceived in the domination of eurocentrism or western cultural patterns, which dominates all inferior social systems, practices and identities, remodeling old values that are not perceived as suitable for the new order.⁸

One example of this urban impact could be the gradual loss of rustic musicians, possibly affected by the media expansion of (semi)professional

⁵ Introduction by Robert E. Park in: Everett V. Stonequist, *The Marginal Man* (New York: Russell & Russell Inc. 1961): xvii.

⁶ Everett V. Stonequist, *Op. cit.*, 69.

⁷ According to: Everett V. Stonequist, *Op. cit.*, p. 54.

⁸ More on those questions in: Andy Nercessian, *Postmodernism and Globalization in Ethnomusicology – An Epistemological Problem* (Lanham, Maryland and London, The Scarecrow Press, 2002).

musicians on TV and radio, with whom village people cannot compete. They therefore restrain from exposing their own ‘faulty’ musical skills. For that reason people now prefer to listen to music rather than to interpret it, distancing themselves from something that they cannot stand for – the aesthetic needs of contemporary (globalized) society. The only way out is to embrace public (or global) predefined ideals and to modify ‘private music’ so it becomes more suitable for the public ear.

In addition to this broad description, Adam Weisberger states that if marginal persons take on elements of the dominant culture, then they will eventually be unable to return unchanged to their original culture group.⁹ However, marginality can engage more allusive areas of human interrelations. It can be formed as a product of a community that tries to exclude or ignore one of its own members for specific reasons that will be discussed below.

The bagpiper: The mask, the stranger, the shadow

In the consciousness of country people being a bagpiper implies not just being a village musician but also a father, a neighbor, a respected resident, and eventually, a well known individual or public figure. It is evident that this musician comprises many identities, some private, and some public. The bagpiper had been a true participant in one culture, but many things changed and he suddenly lost one of his main roles in the society. What exactly happened?

In Serbia, bagpipers and their instrument had existed centuries ago, but the first ethnographic data do not confirm their presence before the 19th century, in the writings of Vuk Karadžić, a Serbian linguist and ethnographer¹⁰. At that time it was not surprising that almost every village had several bagpipers among other musicians, at a time when private life was lived in the midst of many different public activities and rituals. In such societies much attention was paid to agricultural and communal welfare, so people sought assistance and provision from gods of nature, pagan gods, carrying out a range of religious rituals to please these gods. Such ritual practices were highly developed, and almost every inhabitant

⁹ Adam Weisberger, “Marginy and Its Directions”, *Sociological Forum*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (Sept. 1992): 425–446.

¹⁰ In his work “Географическо-статистическо описаније Србије” (*Даница*, 1826–1834, *Одабрана дела Вука Караџића*, књ. 8, Просвета, Београд, 1969:170) [Geographical-Statistical Description of Serbia] Vuk Stefanović Karadžić (1787–1864) stated: ‘Serbian folk music are bagpipes, to dance with, and gusle, to sing epic songs: Every village has one bagpiper, and gusle player, especially in highlands towards Bosnia and Herzegovina has almost every house’.

believed it was necessary to participate in them, not only because of religious belief, but also for social recognition and acceptance. Those who had an active role in rituals were considered to be special figures, or even celebrities, enjoying not only social recognition, but good reputation and respect, engaging themselves with the entire community and bringing good harvests or fertility. In Serbian rituals or customs there were not many places for men. Rather, in those customs and ceremonies women were perceived as custodians of the traditional way of life, usually as religious agents. However, in some areas and cases, men took this role, representing the masculine principle in the performance of rituals.¹¹ In the past, bagpipers accompanied some of the most important ritual processions such as *koledari* (a male ritual performed for the expulsion of bad spirits and winter), *lazarice* (a female spring ritual performed to preserve fertility), or an orgiastic custom called *revena*, where women hovered through the village, singing and dancing. *Revena* formed part of the vibrant bagpipe and vocal tradition in Vojvodina, and it was an occasion for women to gather, but surprisingly there was a taboo on any man joining in. The only permitted male was the bagpiper who played songs for them.¹² In addition, bagpipe music was essential in wedding customs, not only in Serbia, but also in the whole Balkan Peninsula. For example, the importance of some figures in the wedding ceremony was indicated by the presence of bagpipers, one for every person closest to the bride and groom.¹³

The main repertoires for bagpipes consisted of dances. Bagpipers were especially important for social gatherings in villages. For some Christian holidays like Easter, there were huge gatherings called *sabors*, when everyone wanted to participate in dancing *kolo* (a circular dance form). In some parts of southeast Serbia this dance was intended as a form of initiation because girls and boys had to show their dancing skills, communicating to each other first of all through dance before entering into any other kind of exchange. The bagpiper was crucial because he

¹¹ In Serbian traditional cultural context women were main participants of the rites and rituals from spring to fall, while men were participating in winter ritual processions.

¹² Information about this custom is from fieldwork interviews done in the region of Banat – Vojvodina, but it is mentioned in literature, i.e: Seleno Rakočević, *Vokalna tradicija donjeg Banata* [Vocal Tradition of Lower Banat], (Belgrade, Zavod za izdavanje udžbenika i nastavna sredstva 2002); Danka Lajić-Mihajlović, *Gajde u Vojvodini* [Bagpipes in Vojvodina], M.A. Thesis (manuscript), (University of Novi Sad, Novi Sad, Academy of Arts, Department of Musicology and Ethnomusicology 2000); Srđan Asanović, “Revena u Kikindi”, *Etnoumlje*, No. 3 (World Music Asocijacija Srbije 2007–2008).

¹³ Dimitrije O. Golemović, *Narodna muzika Jugoslavije* [Folk Music of Yugoslavia], (Nota Knjizevac 1998): 104.

created not just the atmosphere, but also changes in the position of the dancers, the dance movements changing pursuant to the music he played. We can believe that in *sabor* dances and other gatherings he was the master of ceremonies, regulating social behavior, so that his activity had direct repercussion on society. In all cases, bagpipers were perceived socially as public figures, even though rituals were carried out in gaps inside ‘ordinary’ public time, possessing very private attributes.

One of the contexts of that ‘private music making’ was when the bagpiper played for himself, during long journeys or moments of leisure. It is no wonder that those musical forms were rarely recorded in the field, maybe because they were not performed frequently or were not meant for everyone to hear. Various types of ‘travel music’ (*putničko*,¹⁴ or *rabadžijsko*¹⁵) not only provided the bagpiper with entertainment during the trip, but the music had penetrating tones that, some believed, protected him from harm and evil.¹⁶ For the same reasons it was important to have bagpipers accompanying rituals since it was believed that the loud tones and noises would repel bad forces and evil spirits wanting to harm the community or individuals. What is interesting is that the preservation of intimate and private features was very important for ritual performances; the bride wearing a veil, the *koledar* wearing an animal mask, *lazarica* dressed in a costume etc. The bagpipers in some traditional Bulgarian *koleda* wore animal masks like the other participants. Perhaps this was not the same in Serbia, where bagpipers did not wear masks any more, but still dressed ceremoniously and inadequately. In that way they were able to disguise true identity, keeping private appearance and attributes for some more intimate occasion. Bagpiper wore that ‘unnatural’, mask every time he performed publicly.

Since the world has changed in modern times, people have found many other means to make the harvest better, to make winter ‘go away’, or to make a marriage successful. It was inevitable that the musical context and the bagpiper himself should undergo some crucial changes. Rustic musicians turned to more commercial repertoires, and, more important, public ears wanted to listen to other kinds of music, more suitable for their newly accepted aesthetic criteria. During the period between two world wars, the people of northern Serbia (Vojvodina)

¹⁴ In Serbian: *travelers* [music piece].

¹⁵ [Music piece] of the *rabadžija* – waged workers, artisans who led oxen carrying wooden materials.

¹⁶ Mirjana Vukičević-Zakić, *Instrumentalno i vokalno-instrumentalno nasleđe Zaplanja u svetlu tradicionalnog muzičkog mišljenja* [Instrumental and Vocal-Instrumental heritage of Zaplanje in the Light of Traditional Musical Thinking], M.A. Thesis (manuscript), (Belgrade, Faculty of Music, Belgrade 1993) : 29.

started to enjoy *tambura* ensembles *en masse*, and it was just a matter of time before the old bagpiper would be forgotten. The bagpipers lost their position in the community and started to enjoy their music privately rather than publicly. Because of the bad economic situation, some tried to earn money playing in local taverns for some time. According to one old bagpiper ‘the bagpipes used to feed the entire family, there were two monthly wages from that’¹⁷, but it seems that they had to find some other more suitable means of existence. So once again the bagpiper donned his mask, but this time not for religious purposes. It was not a matter of choice but of adjustment, to avoid the disappearance of the public figure he had once stood for. If he had no other skills he would be marginalized and treated as a stranger in his own community.

Roughly by the end of big energy crisis in the 1960’s the last generation of old bagpipers had died, leaving only a few sons to play the instrument today. They played in villages, but with no response from the community; instead they started to play mainly for themselves, within the private realm of family and close friends. When popular accordion and brass bands came first to Serbian villages and then to cities it became official – the era of bagpipe music was lost entirely... or so it seemed.

Recontextualization

The passionate upheaval arising from communism in former Yugoslavia affected and altered all spheres of public life, especially the religious practices of the multi-confessional social structure. Although under the slogan ‘Brotherhood and Unity’, traditional elements and attributes were unnaturally forced by communistic propaganda and its advocates, these were not merely important – traditional elements were emblematic. Public life consisted of everything that would not jeopardize the ideology of the regime, and every practice that carried some sorts of religious or nationalistically semantic value was treated as inappropriate and thus offensive, censurable, or forbidden. From that perspective, it was very hard to express any differences that would not fit to that system. For that reason, some instrumental practices, like the *gusle* tradition, mainly survived within private circles of admirers, since the *gusle* was perceived as an expression of national identity, the symbol of the Serbs or Montenegrins. Even though Croats played this particular instrument, it did not imply semantic links to their nationality. Bagpipers, on the other hand, were treated differently because the boundaries of their practice did not

¹⁷ Evidence of bagpiper Rada Maksimović (1924–?), describing the situation of his father; Srbobran (Vojvodina), interviewed and recorded by Danka Lajić-Mihajlović – private recordings.

correspond to administrative lines¹⁸, so there was no nation that could claim them to be their unique traditional instrument.

During communistic regime, the rise of so-called cultural-artistic societies¹⁹ was evident and notable, especially as an unavoidable element of mass public ceremonies. No one can accurately recall, and there are no recorded testimonies, that bagpipers were included in the programs of those societies, and even if they were, they still did not catch the attention that they deserved or that they had once had. Since the programmes consisted mainly of stylized dances (*kolo*) it was expected that bagpipers would participate, but there were three problems: either they did not have time, being occupied with other jobs; or there was nobody who played bagpipes anymore; or the prevalence and popularity of the accordion overpowered them. In any event, time passed, and soon every village that had once had this tradition lost its bagpipers, one by one, while in some other Balkan countries such as Bulgaria, bagpipes were preserved and revitalized. The traditional (Balkan) village gathering points became dead public spaces within the models of new urban areas, intended for walking or light casual incidental chats rather than colorful celebrations or ceremonies. Music mainly moved from those public spaces into places that were actually nothing more than solitary corners of musicians' private lives, in which their authenticity and identity eventually collapsed.

Among all factors that contributed this loss, the strength and vitality of one survived, and paradoxically unexpected influenced the most. In the 1960's, television and radio in Serbia began to extend from the capital, Belgrade, to other, distant parts of the country. The media not at first repressed traditional music, but as time passed people started to prefer listening to music rather than performing it. Several highly skilled performers of so-called 'traditional' music were introduced, but it was rather more stylized than the original traditional music people had known before. Village musicians were discouraged from performing locally, because nobody was good enough to compete with radio or TV performers, as it was imposed by the media and eventually by the public too. That affected not only the oral tradition, but was reflected in the necessary education of the new generation of traditional musicians. Thus urban culture gradually stepped into villages, overlapping with many traditional elements and causing frustrations of many different kinds, and people from villages subsequently moved to bigger places. The damage that the media caused during this period would have been monstrous had the media today not had the chance to put things right.

¹⁸ For example one type of bagpipes (Macedonian-South Moravian) were played across Macedonia and Southeastern Serbia.

¹⁹ In Serbian *kulturno-umetničko društvo*, acronym KUD.

After the fall of the communist regime, the countries comprising Yugoslavia sought their independence and revival of national identity. That included the creation and revival of forgotten or misplaced traditional, national, and cultural identities in order to construct a super-national identity. Soon after the war in the 1980's and especially in 1990's the media was overwhelmed by old traditional songs, dances, movies with nationalistic themes, with omnipresent political propaganda that had the same goal – to reheat nationalistic spirits.²⁰ During the Milošević regime in Serbia, which tried to manipulate people with many types of 'easy' media-content for the masses to distract them from reality, one good thing happened. The 'error' was that some content passed and perceived like something fresh and good for people to return to, like it was with interest for traditional sound. Groups gathered and started to produce music that was neo-folk music or 'ethno' as it is called in Serbia. Among those groups there were still some misconceptions and abuse of traditional music, but some interpreters tried to raise it to a higher level and to emulate the true traditional music style. However, those benevolent individual cases were not penetrating, so the real revival of bagpipes happened when musicians succeeded in composing and performing music containing elements of traditional music, combined with elements of more commercial popular music genres. One interesting figure is a student of wind instruments, Slobodan Trkulja²¹, who assembled a band called *Balkanopolis*, performing 'etho' music using several traditional and classical instruments, one of the most frequently played being bagpipes. His music is mainly genuine, but can contain authentic traditional musical elements. Even though the influence of traditional motifs in his music is evident, he is regarded as a carrier of the 'modern Balkan tradition' or an artist that 'reshapes traditional Balkan music'.²² Soon he caught the attention of the media and inspired many musicians to do the same. Today there is an expansion of 'ethno' sound and this is a true opportunity to revive bagpipe music in Serbia. The progress is slow but it is hopeful and encouraging,

²⁰ Some aspects of this and related phenomena and issues on *retraditionalization* are described in: Slobodan Naumović, „Od ideje obnove do prakse upotrebe: ogleđ o odnosu politike i tradicije na primeru savremene Srbije“ [From the Idea of Restoration to the Praxis of Use: Essay About the Politics and Tradition on the Example of Contemporary Serbia], *Od mita do folka – Liceum* (Beograd-Kragujevac, 1996): 109–145.

²¹ With *Balkanopolis* Slobodan Trkulja 'introduced Serbian traditional instruments to pop and rock music, as well as symphonic music, performing "modern traditional" even with philharmonic orchestras. After 20 years of reshaping Balkan music, 14 instruments in his suitcase, a master's degree in jazz and numerous awards and prizes, Trkulja & *Balkanopolis* daring music has found it's match in one of the world's finest orchestras – the Metropole Orchestra from Holland'. See: <http://www.balkanopolis.com/bio.html>.

²² According to the authorities of *Balkanopolis*: <http://www.balkanopolis.com/bio.html>.

which is evident in the initiatives of many cultural-artistic societies to search for young bagpipers or musicians to learn how to play this almost forgotten instrument. It was again the recreation of traditional life and the prominence of public qualities that it possesses, and attention that it deserves.

Publicly speaking

The problems discussed above are mutually connected. If private music life is argued as a process, that anticipates the public product, then it can be assessed as well balanced and ‘normal’. If the social system does not recognize or support (individual) social activity, then private experience stands alone, eventually leading to a state of marginality. However, it seems that it is a circular system; private evokes public but then needs to be revert to the private experience again – this is a quite natural and archetypal system. Concerning the bagpipe tradition in Serbia, we can follow those stages as: (i) bagpiper learns to play an instrument; (ii) bagpiper shows his expertise publicly; (iii) bagpiper does not play anymore, or he plays in private corners for pleasure. That can be a ‘normal’ process, but it seems that in the cases presented here it does not really go like that. The chain is broken because social needs and the public stage are insufficient, obscured or even eliminated. The only result in this incomplete circle is marginality as a product of emphasized omission. However, what is clear is that private and public are both mutually connected and interdependent, and that without one of them there is no system. In this case, marginality as a problem or concept shift exposes our need to understand and direct our attention to it. Private and public areas are those that are simultaneously well balanced and articulate in social and individual reality. Even though that balance is for many reasons endangered, the true solution lies in our interest and patience to look for the right answer and to take right action, since there is no individual problem that is not related to and eventually resolved by society – the private needs to come to the public.

Растко Јаковљевић

МРТВИ ЈАВНИ ПРОСТОРИ – ЖИВИ ПРИВАТНИ УГЛОВИ:
(РЕ)КОНТЕКСТУАЛИЗАЦИЈА МУЗИЧКИ ЈАВНОГ
И ПРИВАТНОГ
(Резиме)

Питања приватног и јавног у односу на музику, у већини разматрања проблематизована су одвојено. Њих не треба сматрати само питањима индивидуалне аутентичности у различитим контекстима, већ питањима заузимања става у различитим ситуацијама. Значајан преокрет у односу на традицију

гајдаша у Србији, на ширем простору, догодио се на преласку у капитализам – секуларно и урбано друштво. Иако се доста тога променило, евидентно је постојање „грешака“ у систему, што је последица присуства елемената из прошлости који се више не уклапају. Такав друштвени вакуум постављен је управо на маргине јавног и приватног у индивидуалном искуству данас.

Приватно се укратко може одредити као својеврсна „вежба“ друштвених акција које ће потом бити приказане/демонстриране у јавности. Чини се да приватно обезбеђује посебни осећај сигурности и стабилности, док све што се јавно чини подлеже критици друштва и околине. Поља приватног омогућују појединцу простор за савладавање вештина маскирања, јер свако тежи да се у јавности појави такав какав би био прихваћен од стране друштва, дакле, да се приклони друштвеном идеалу или ономе што друштво жели да препозна у њему. Питање јавног и приватног такође се може предочити и на ширем пољу, у односу урбаног и руралног. Дихотомија тих односа често је расправљана и анализирана; чини се да је специфичност у овом смислу транспарентнија уколико се посматрају упливи грађанске свести и елемената културе у сеоској средини. Модернизација, глобализација и нови светски поредак успостављају нове норме у руралној средини, приморавајући такво друштво на промене које свакако нису постепене и равномерно заступљене. Сеоске средине постају полуградске средине које престају да личе на села, а не личе ни на градове. Таква констелација отвара могућности и простор за стварање стања маргинализације, било код појединаца, било у друштву. Маргиналну јединку чине разни фактори, али се она укратко може описати као особа која напушта или је напустила своје матично културно залеђе и покушава да успостави блиске контакте са новом, доминантном културом, тачније да учествује у друштвеним процесима нове културе. Маргинална особа се, дакле, може квалификовати као својеврсна транзициона фигура у друштву.

Иако су у Србији гајдаши били нарочито цењене особе, наносом нових културних норми, они данас готово да не постоје, или бар не рефлектују идентитет који је својевремено био оформљен. На њихову маргинализацију и потискивање из народне праксе, а потом и из друштвене свести, нису утицали само наноси времена, већ су томе допринели и други фактори, као што су појава тамбураша, хегемонија хармоникашке праксе, блех оркестара, медија итд. То није утицало само на гајдашку праксу, већ на целокупно усмено стваралаштво села. Неколико кључних и оријентационих тачака у развоју наведеног систематског „истребљења“ потпомажу праћење општих токова, контекстуализација и развојних путева гајдашке традиције у Србији у светлу јавног и приватног музичког искуства.

UDC 788.91:316.4](497.11)”18/20”

DOI:10.2298/MUZ0909051J