

Реч уреднице
Editor's Note

Тема броја 22 „Урбана звучна екологија“ инспирисана је међународним пројектом „Звучна екологија града – Урбани звучни пејзажи Берна, Љубљане и Београда“, који финансира Швајцарска национална фондација за науку (SNSF) у оквиру програма (SCOPES). Музиколошки институт САНУ један је од три учесника на пројекту, уз Дејатман за музикологију Универзитета у Берну и Институт за интердисциплинарне студије Словеначке академије наука и уметности. У оквиру овог иновативног пројекта по први пут су паралелно снимани и анализирани звучни амбијенти три европске престонице, као и начини на које се ови амбијенти мењају под утицајем друштвених промена.

The main theme of the volume 22 “Urban Sonic Ecology” is inspired by the international project “City Sonic Ecology – Urban Soundscapes of Bern, Ljubljana and Belgrade”, financed by the Swiss National Science Foundation (SNSF) within their SCOPES program. The Institute of Musicology SASA is one of the participants in this project, together with the Institute of Musicology, University of Bern, and the Institute for Interdisciplinary Research, Center for Scientific Research of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Ljubljana. This highly innovative three-year project, during which the soundscapes of three European capital cities (Bern, Ljubljana and Belgrade) were recorded and analyzed comparatively for the first time, demonstrates how soundscapes and ambiances are modified under the influence of social and cultural changes.



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звучна
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Ecology

Часопис МУЗИКОЛОШКОГ ИНСТИТУТА САНУ
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МУЗИКОЛОГИЈА
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РЕЧ УРЕДНИЦЕ

Тема броја 22 *Урбана звучна екологија* инспирисана је међународним пројектом *City Sonic Ecology – Urban Soundscapes of Bern, Ljubljana and Belgrade* [Звучна екологија града – Урбани звучни пејзажи Берна, Љубљане и Београда], који финансира Швајцарска национална фондација за науку (SNSF) у оквиру програма сарадње са земљама источне Европе (SCOPES). Музиколошки институт САНУ један је од три учесника на пројекту, уз Департаман за музикологију Универзитета у Берну, Швајцарска, и Институт за интердисциплинарне студије Словеначке академије наука и уметности у Љубљани, Словенија. Овај иновативан трогодишњи пројекат, у оквиру којег су први пут паралелно снимани и анализирани звучни амбијенти три европске престонице, као и начини на које се ови амбијенти мењају под утицајем транзиционих и других друштвених промена, започет је 2014. године и сада улази у завршну фазу. Резултати истраживања спроведених током ове три године презентовани су на великом броју конгреса и конференција широм света; један део радова проистеклих из овог пројекта публикован је 2016. године у специјалном броју словеначког часописа *Muzikološki zbornik / Musicological Annual*, а други део се објављује сада. Финални резултати овог пројекта биће колективна монографија и звучне мапе све три престонице. Као уредница часописа *Музикологија* и руководилац београдског тима пројекта *Звучна екологија града*, захваљујем се фондацији SNSF на финансијској подршци, а Универзитету у Берну и проф. др Брити Сверс (Britta Sweers) на логистичкој и свакој другој помоћи.

Радови у рубрици *Varia* посвећени су разноврсним темама везаним за широк дијапазон српске и иностране уметничке музике од средњег века до данас. Поред звучних панорама урбаних средина, још једна иновативна област истраживања отворена овом приликом јесте проучавање акустике средњовековних српских цркава; троје аутора, различитих специјализација, бавило се истраживањем црквене акустике. Катарина Томашевић се осврће на делатност Драгутина Гостушког у вези са првим конгресом семиотичара музике, организованим пре 44 године у Београду, у чијој је организацији Гостушки, тадашњи директор Музиколошког института САНУ, активно учествовао и чије су идеје у великој мери бојиле овај конгрес. Колега са Универзитета у Косовској Митровици, Саша

Божидаревић, разматра делатност наследника Стевана Мокрањца – композитора хорске музике који су стварали руковети и сродне форме у деценијама после Другог светског рата. Америчка ауторка Ерика Хаскел проучавала је моделе финансирања музичких фестивала у Сарајеву, главном граду суседне Босне и Херцеговине, у деценијама након потписивања Дејтонског споразума, и закључила да су иностране амбасаде, као главни спонзори фестивала, инсистирале на интернационалним програмима и заобилажењу деликатних тема, у циљу регионалног помирења. Најзад, Милена Медић проучава појам меланхолије у ренесансним италијанским мадригалима, користећи велики број примера из стварења најзначајнијих стваралаца ове, данас помало заборављене, епохе.

Рубрика *Научна критика и полемика* доноси пет осврта на најновија издања везана за српску културу и традицију, односно за делатност наших научника у иностранству, док се у рубрици *In memoriam* Мелита Милин опрашта од академика Властимира Трајковића, великана српске музике XX и XXI века.

У име чланова редакције и своје лично, захваљујем се колегама из Србије и иностранства који су, у својству рецензента, читали радове припремљене за овај број и дали велики број корисних сугестија за њихово побољшање. Такође, желим срдачну добродошлицу новим члановима међународног издавачког савета *Музикологије*.

У Београду, 1. јуна 2017. године
др Ивана Медић, главна и одговорна уредница

EDITOR'S FOREWORD

The main theme of the volume No. 22 *Urban Sonic Ecology* is inspired by the international project *City Sonic Ecology -- Urban Soundscapes of Bern, Ljubljana and Belgrade*, financed by the Swiss National Science Foundation (SNSF) within their SCOPES program. The Institute of Musicology SASA is one of the participants in this project, together with the Institute of Musicology, University of Bern, Switzerland, and the Institute for Interdisciplinary Research, Centre for Scientific Research of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Ljubljana, Slovenia. This highly innovative three-year project, during which the soundscapes of three European capital cities (Bern, Ljubljana and Belgrade) were recorded and analyzed comparatively for the first time, demonstrated how soundscapes and ambiances were transformed under the influence of transitional and other social and cultural changes. The project began in 2014, and it is now entering its final stage. Results of the research conducted over the three-year span were presented in a number of international congresses and conferences all over the world, from Japan to Brazil. Several articles were published in the Slovenian journal *Muzikološki zbornik / Musicological Annual*. in 2016, and the second group of articles is published in the present volume. The final results of this project will include a group monograph and sound maps of all three cities. As the new Editor-in-Chief of the journal *Musicology* and Head of the Belgrade team of the project *City Sonic Ecology*, I would like to express my sincerest gratitude to the SNSF for their generous financial assistance, and to Head of the project Prof. Dr Britta Sweers for her immense support and numerous exceptionally productive professional exchanges.

Articles in the rubric *Varia* are dedicated to various topics related to a wide range of music from the Middle Ages to the present day. Aside from the sound panoramas of the urban environments, another innovative area of research opened on this occasion is the research on the acoustic of Serbian medieval churches. Three authors with different specializations studied the church acoustics, and they are presenting results of their joint investigations for the first time. Katarina Tomašević writes about the activities of Dragutin Gostuški in relation to the First Congress of Semioticians of Music, organized 44 years ago in Belgrade. As the Director of the Institute of Musicology SASA at that time, Gostuški actively participated in organizing this congress and his ideas greatly influenced its structure and scope. Saša Božidarević studies

professional activities of the successors of Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac – Serbian composers of choral music who wrote Rukoveti (Garlands) and other similar forms in the decades after World War II. Erica Haskell has analyzed the models of financing festivals in Sarajevo, the capital city of the neighboring Bosnia-Herzegovina, in the decades after the signing of the Dayton Agreement, and concluded that foreign embassies, as the main sponsors of the festival, insisted on international programs and the avoidance of delicate issues, aiming towards regional reconciliation. Finally, Milena Medić researches the notion of melancholy in the Renaissance Italian madrigals, using a large number of examples from the works written by the most prominent composers of this epoch.

The volume also contains five reviews of the latest books, including both those related to Serbian culture and tradition, and to the activities of our scientists working abroad. In the section *In memoriam* Melita Milin says goodbye to the Academician Vlastimir Trajković, Fellow of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts and one of the greatest Serbian composers of the twentieth century.

On behalf of the members of the Editorial Board and my own, I am grateful to all colleagues from Serbia and abroad who served as peer reviewers for the articles published in this volume and gave a large number of constructive suggestions for their improvement. Furthermore, I would like to express a heartfelt welcome to the new members of the International Editorial Council of the journal *Musicology*.

Belgrade, 1 June 2017
Dr Ivana Medić, Editor-in-Chief

ТЕМА БРОЈА

THE MAIN THEME

УРБАНА ЗВУЧНА ЕКОЛОГИЈА

URBAN SONIC ECOLOGY

SOUNDSCAPE RESEARCH PUT INTO PRACTICE: THE EXPLORATION OF SOUNDWALKS IN THE CITY OF BERN*

*Britta Sweers*¹

Institute of Musicology, University of Bern, Switzerland

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ABSTRACT

This article discusses the possibilities and broader communal impact of applied ethnomusicological work related to soundscape research in a university-based context. Focusing on a seminar in which the findings of urban soundscape research in the city of Bern (Switzerland) were transformed into six different sound tours, the article analyses the different strategies and layers of impact within the broader community.

KEYWORDS: soundscape, Bern, urban fieldwork, applied ethnomusicology, affective economies

It is a cold late November morning in 2015. Together with the participants in a seminar on "The Sound of Bern," I am standing with Cristina Urchueguía, my historical musicology colleague at the University of Bern, on a small, hidden terrace that belongs to the violin workshop of Daniel Kunzmann and Andreas Kürzi in the Old Town. First noticing a family of sparrows in the ivy-covered house wall, we focus our attention back to the workshop's window. We have just touched and tried the string instruments, heard stories about violin building and are now listening to one of the students who, encouraged by Kunzmann, plays a small piece on one of the violins. The music thus allows us to explore the angled interior and outdoor space that might be described, in Murray Schafer's words (1977) as a hi-fi sound

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¹ britta.sweers@musik.unibe.ch

in which all components can be differentiated. It almost seems surreal, because the workshop's street side opens onto one of the busiest spaces in the Old Town around the Zytglogge clock tower with its numerous tourist groups and heavy public traffic. Yet, on this back terrace, these sounds are almost completely damped. As the group later agrees, this very intimate and emotional soundscape experience that was designed by two students as part of a longer tour might not be ideal for first-time visitors, but rather addresses Bern residents who want to cherish and value its hidden treasures through sound.

As outlined by Titon (2005: 4), “Applied ethnomusicology puts ethnomusicological scholarship, knowledge, and understanding into practical use.” On the surface, the musicology seminar on *The Sound of Bern*, which Urchueguía and I conducted at the University of Bern during the autumn semester of 2015, might thus appear as an applied business project on designing acoustic city tours, based on research findings for touristic purposes. While also presenting an insight into the acoustic specifics of the soundscape of Bern and their integration into soundwalks, this article, by focusing on this specific seminar approach and the student’s project reflections realizations, particularly discusses the possibilities and broader communal impact of applied ethnomusicological work in a university-based context.

As Titon specified further, “applied ethnomusicology is best regarded as a music-centered intervention in a particular community, whose purpose is to benefit that community – for example, a social improvement, a musical benefit, a cultural good, an economic advantage, or a combination of these and other benefits” (ibid.). Accordingly, this seminar was a realization of and reflection on various related principles of applied ethnomusicology. This includes (a) the transformation of research knowledge; (b) the implementation of a development towards a different sensual perception of a local space, as well as (c) the involvement of a community who cares about the place to develop strategies for the valorization of the specifics of this place (also by setting up a dialogue that includes the empowerment of various groups). At the same time (d), the student tours added further research data on the soundscape of Bern, while, in turn, the seminar provided the students – who not only developed a city tour, but also served as a reflective audience for each tour – with additional skills for working in the cultural sector.

INTRODUCING BERN

The seminar was interconnected with the broader international research SCOPES project on *City Sonic Ecology: The Soundscape of Bern, Ljubljana, and Belgrade* (2014–2017). Funded by the Swiss National Foundation, the project explores urban soundscapes and their role in shaping what has been described by Sara Ahmed (2004) as “affective economies” by investigating how emotions work to align subjects with each other. This issue – here in a positive sense – not only became apparent during the tour designs, but also during subsequent lectures for the local communities in Bern.

Contrary to the SCOPES project's two other urban examples, Ljubljana and Belgrade, Switzerland's federal capital Bern, with 137,937 inhabitants and approximately 338,000 in the larger agglomeration, is relatively small. As the federal capital, Bern is strongly shaped by its administrative and political function, but likewise counts as a regional economic center, featuring mainly "clean" – and, thus, relatively quiet – economies, including the administrations of the *Post*, *Schweizer Bundesbahn*, or *Swiss Medic*. It also includes headquarters of the Swiss energy market, factories of international brand names, such as *Ovomaltine* and *Toblerone*.²

The Old City – as a focal part of the location – with its characteristic *Laubengängen* ["roofed pergolas"] has been UNESCO world cultural heritage since 1983, which conveys the image of a fixed historical site. This part of the city especially has attracted many tourist visitors who travel the nearby scenic Bernese Oberland with its famous mountain range of Eiger (3970 meters), Mönch (4107 meters), and Jungfrau (4158 meters) that are also visible from central Bern. This rather picturesque image of a city that has likewise been strongly shaped by the Bernese Burger, a patrician upper class that has been strongly engaged in many social and cultural projects, easily conceals other features. Bern's population includes a share of 23.8% migrants, yet contrary to Belgrade or Ljubljana, it is less affected by the current (2017) European refugee situation. It nevertheless reflects a further history of recent migration with its large portion of West European migrants and communities from Eritrea, the former Yugoslavia, Tibet, and Tamils from Sri Lanka. This mix of migrant cultures found also an unusual expression in the foundation of the House of Religions in 2002. Having been moved to an own architectural site in 2014, it currently (2017) hosts eight different religious groups under one roof.³

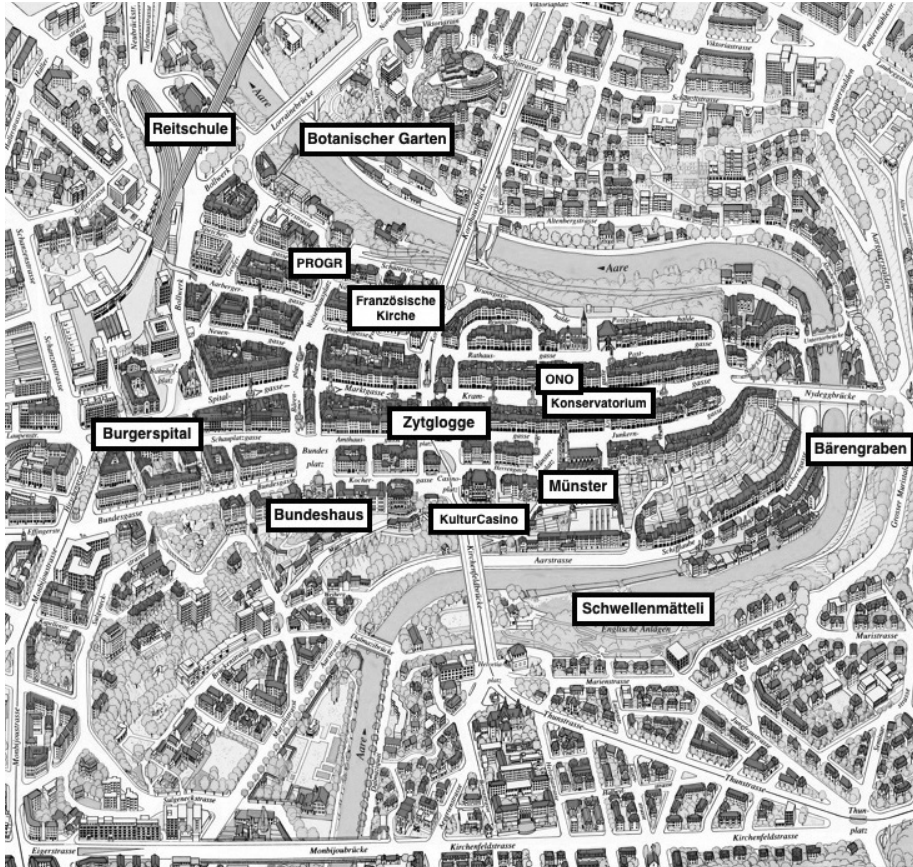
However, the seemingly controlled, clean – and, again, quiet – appearance of the city has been shaped by more critical and, partly, louder socio-political undercurrents. This includes, on the one side, student groups, as well as leftist alternative cultures that have been interconnected with the Swiss Youth Riots and the transformation of the – repeatedly vacated – *Reitschule*⁴ – into an often-debated cultural center in 1981 due to recurring riots. On the other hand, even the picturesque and seemingly static Old City was affected by broader social problems, having become one central site of the formerly Zürich-based open drug scene from 1982-85 with shifting locations between the Old City, *Bundesterrasse* (a platform underneath the Parliament Building), *Kleine Schanze* (a historic defense platform adjacent to the Parliament Building) and *Grosse*

2 Cf. webpage of Wirtschaftsraum Bern, <http://www.wirtschaftsraum.bern.ch/de/startseite/?oid=1854&lang=de>. The Philosophical-historical Faculty is located at the former Toblerone Factory in the Länggasse area right above the central train station, and has been transformed from factory production to education.

3 This includes spaces for Alevites, Baha, Buddhists, Christian, Christian, Hindu, Jewish, Muslim, and Sikh communities. Cf. <https://www.haus-der-religionen.ch/religionsgemeinschaften/>.

4 "Riding school;" a former roofed parking space for horse-drawn carriages from the late 19th century. For further details see Bänninger et al. 2014.

Schanze (another historic defense platform in front of the main University Building above the central train station). And yet, compared to other locations, even these features seem to be much more strongly controlled – as evident with the success of the state-monitored drug distribution in Bern.⁵ The issue of control is also apparent in that the soundscape, for example, street music – that requires official permits – is clearly regulated in terms of performance durations, days, and location.⁶



Map of Bern's Old Town

⁵ Cf. Wietlisbach 2013.

⁶ Stadt Bern, "Strassenaktivitäten "Strassenmusik" Strassenperformanz," <http://www.bern.ch/themen/freizeit-und-sport/veranstaltungen/strassenaktivitaeten>.



Bus No. 12 at the Zytglogge Tower (pic. author)

BERN AS A TOURIST PLACE

None of these problematic features are evident to tourist visitors at first sight. Bern counts as one of the three large tourism cantons of Switzerland – together with the above-mentioned Jungfrau-Region (with the historic tourist side of Interlaken as one center), Gstaad, Emmental, or the Bernse Jura. Featuring a growing guest frequency, tourism – that increasingly also transgresses the strong day tourism of many Asian travel groups – has played a central economic role in the city of Bern as well. In this context, the UNESCO status is significant for the advertised image, alongside with further factors and keywords, such as arts, festivals, environmental living quality, including “urban river swimming,” and serving as the gateway to the Berner Oberland.⁷

The central economic role of tourism is also evident in the formation of various tourist organizations [“Vereine”] that feature many local employees. The best-known example in the case of Bern is *Bern Tourism* that maintains a strong presence on the Internet.⁸ According to the website, “Bern Tourismus is a politically and confessionally independent *Verein* with approximately 600 members from economics, culture, service providers and private persons” (ibid.). As a marketing organization *Bern Tourism* is interrelated with many cultural and public institutions.⁹ Employing 80 full- and part-time workers in fields such as city guides, guest counseling, marketing and public relations, it is likewise significant for dual education in the area of tourism. Central key words emphasized on the website are “quality,” “school projects,” as well as the issue of “sustainability” that has also been shaping the city walks, for instance:

Bern Tourism is committed in emphasizing a sustainable tourism. The UNESCO world heritage site Bern should also be experienced by future generations. Bern Tourism, with the rejection of bus tours and the adherence to sustainable locomotion by walking, bike or pedal scooter, helps to reduce the CO₂ emissions. For this reason, Bern Tourism also carries the CO₂ compensation contribution for all city tours in which a tour guide of Bern Tourism is involved.¹⁰

⁷ E.g. <http://www.bern.com/de/>.

⁸ Bern Tourismus, <http://www.bern.com>.

⁹ “Bern Tourismus ist ein politisch und konfessionell unabhängiger Verein mit rund 600 Mitgliedern aus Wirtschaft, Kultur, Dienstleistungsbetrieben und Privatpersonen. Als die Berner Marketingorganisation im Tourismus ist Bern Tourismus Partner verschiedener Kultur-, Sport- und öffentlicher Organisationen sowie tourismusrelevanten Institutionen und Mitglied der Touristischen Kooperation der Unesco Welterben Schweiz.” <http://www.bern.com/de/ueber-bern-tourismus>.

¹⁰ “Engagiert setzt sich Bern Tourismus für einen nachhaltigen Tourismus ein. Das UNESCO-Welterbe Bern soll auch für zukünftige Generationen erlebbar bleiben. Mit dem Verzicht auf das Angebot von Stadtführungen im Bus und dem Bekenntnis zu einer nachhaltigen Fortbewegung zu Fuss, per Velo

Given the Old City's size, this is not only easily manageable, but has also resulted in a variety of themes, such as "Burger Bern," "Ghost Stories in Bern," "The Zytglogge Tower," "A Female Tour," "Stairs of Bern," "Bern for Bernese" (in dialect).¹¹ While Bern Tourism already offered "smell tours," the list still lacked a sound experience of the city.

THE SOUNDSCAPE OF BERN

Briefly returning to the SCOPES project, the Bern subproject had, in a first step, explored the broader physical conditions and architectural specifics of the Old Town. In this process, not only three broader environmentally shaped sound layers became apparent, but also exceptional sound marks and points of rapid sound change. As is evident from the following wording, Murray Schafer (1977) still plays a significant role in the process of sound localization and cartography, as he provided a highly useful terminology with expressions such as keynote sound or soundscape.

The modern characteristic keynote sound of Bern has been shaped by an intersection of specific physical-geographical and historical layers. First mentioned in a document in 1208, the Old City is located on a peninsula in a hilly valley formed by the glacial river Aare with 3-4 larger distinct sound areas that also reflect the different height levels of the region. As specifically apparent at the waterfalls of the dammed river at the *Schwellenmätteli* the lower Aare regions are strongly shaped by the keynote sound of the river. The Old Town with its surrounding urban sound and historic mixture is located on the middle level. Particularly the Old Town also reveals the impact of architectural-historical sound layers by still conveying older historical sound impressions: not only is this area shaped by the ringing bells and the crowing rooster of the former medieval gate tower *Zytglogge*, also the numerous fountainheads, cobbled stone streets, and wooden stairways shape the soundscape of Old Town, that however also features characteristic modern sounds like the beeping of the bus line No. 12 that transgresses – as the main related local public transportation – the Old City in a slow tempo. Yet the ringing of the church bells of the *Münster* cathedral and other significant Christian churches in particular still shape the urban keynote, also marking specific hours and religious days and events. The higher areas represent the third layer. This can be further divided into Bern's "house mountain," the Gurten (858 metres), and the surrounding living quarters. The latter are not only shaped by a car-dominated keynote, but also contribute sound signals that are very unusual for a capital city: animal sounds and bells of nearby farming houses.

oder Trottinett (Tretroller) hilft Bern Tourismus mit, die CO₂-Emissionen zu reduzieren. Daher übernimmt Bern Tourismus den CO₂-Kompensationsbeitrag für alle Stadtrundfahrten bei welchem eine Stadtführerin/ein Stadtführer von Bern Tourismus zusteigt," Bern Tourismus, "Stadtführungen von Bern Tourismus," <http://www.bern.com/de/ueber-bern-tourismus/nachhaltigkeit-bern/stadtfuehrungen-bern-tourismus>.

¹¹ Ibid.

While many of these features likewise occur in other cities, Bern's audible clash of historic architectural and modern, particularly public traffic sounds, further augmented by the narrow streets, is unusual in this audible clarity. The related sound signals are discernible, because despite the urban background sound, Bern – lacking, as outlined above, heavy industry – has a less heavy low-fi environment. This overall keynote is further shaped by the denseness of historic sounds, such as the water fountains, as well as the – often rapid – change of highly contrasting keynote sounds. Based on these general observations, Bern's characteristic features can thus be summarized as follows:

- *An intersection of modern and historic urban sounds.* This is particularly evident within the old city where the old bell of the *Zytglogge* mixes with the Bus No. 12 beeping trying to chase away tourist crowds fixed on the historic sound performance.
- *Historic urban versus natural soundscape:* Descending to the river area, a listener very quickly moves from an (historical) urban to a nature-based soundscape. The latter is so strongly dominated by the river that – except for the church bells and the *Kirchenfeld Bridge* traffic – any other urban keynote sounds are blocked, although the city is in direct sight.
- *The close intersection of urban and rural spaces:* Traversing the Aare on the *Nydeggbrücke* [“Nydegg Bridge”] to the *Bärengaben* [“Bear’s Pit”], another tourist hot spot, the bell sound of grazing sheep on the hilly meadows facing the city immediately becomes a dominant keynote during the summer. This close intersection of urban and rural spaces (particularly represented by the sound of dangling animal bells) is apparent at many other locations as well. As the Bern-based Swiss folk music researcher Brigitte Bachmann-Geiser outlined during a personal conversation in 2015, one of the unusual features of Bern has been the presence of rural culture (farm houses) within the city limits. This is likewise evident with Bern's house mountain, the Gurten. Accessible by public transportation within twenty minutes from the noisy central station, the Gurten features a quick change from urban to rural farming-based and, at the top, an almost nature-dominated hi-fi soundscape.
- *A density of spots with a rapid alteration of different sound spheres,* e.g. from car traffic to the cobbled street soundscape in the higher quarters. This is further supported by the hilly (glacially formed) area, which contributes to sudden blockings or appearances of specific sound signals, as also evident with the animal bells at the Bear's Pit.

Going beyond this descriptive basis, this project subsequently explored the deeper meaning of sound in everyday life. Particularly Feld and his central study *Sound and Sentiment* (1990 [1983]) has been a significant discursive reference point in recent soundscape study. Having outlined that sound – and its interrelation to musical practice – plays a significant role in how humans ground themselves in place and time,

Feld described sound as a complex system of symbolic meaning. For example, during the first mapping process, I asked our employees and students what they would associate with the “authentic sound” of Bern. Our secretary pointed the historic *Zytglogge* clock and the waterfalls of the *Schwellenmätteli* – which related the perception of “authenticity” to the concept of provenience, i.e. being of (historical) origin or, in Dutton’s (2003) words, of “nominal” authenticity. In contrast, the much younger students particularly emphasized traffic sounds and the sound of dialect in the streets, thus pointing to what Dutton (ibid.) called “expressive” authenticity, which perceives artefacts, etc. as genuine – mostly contemporary – expressions of an individual or a society’s values and beliefs. As is evident here, sound thus also appears as a symbolic marker in local identity construction that is likewise tied to emotional layers, as apparent in a recurring reference of the students who pointed to the nostalgia of the museum steam tram’s sound that can be heard in Bern on Sundays.

As Feld (ibid.) demonstrated further, human (emotional) interaction patterns can be approached or decoded by the simultaneous analysis of sound (in this case bird sounds) and music (songs). The role of yodeling in a Swiss-alpine context notwithstanding, music played a less central role during the actual sound mapping, yet was brought back in within the applied context of the tours designs. Rather, in terms of a theoretical framework, more recent studies, in particular the relation to affect studies (e.g. Ahmed 2004) became highly significant for the broader analysis, investigating how humans interact with their environment and how they create an environment interconnected by shared emotions through sound. Of similar importance for the actual fieldwork, as well as for the applied perspectives, became studies that added often-overlooked aspects in soundscape studies. This includes the role of language and spoken word in an urban soundscape (Kanngieser 2012), while Goodman (2010), who pointed to the more violent and hidden aspects of sound, became useful for the deeper understanding of hidden sociopolitical issues. For example, while Bern has featured a high migration rate (22.4% in 2012), it is not reflected in the public soundscape as evident with the House of Religions that secludes the different denominations in a closed space.

THE SEMINAR

Set against this background, the joint seminar on the *Soundscape of Berne* was conducted by Cristina Urchueguía and me together with Bern Tourism during the autumn semester of 2015. It was consciously designed an experimental discourse between ethnomusicology and historical musicology, evident in that we constantly negotiated our different perspectives on the question of what the “soundscape” concept actually constituted. For example, my ethnomusicological approach more strongly addressed the different environmental sound layers. In contrast, the historical perspective aimed at uncovering Bern as a place of historical music making and sounding (research that is still highly incomplete, with only a few extant monographs on this topic (e.g. Feller 1946–60, de Capitani 1993)). Urchueguía thus focused more on the under-researched historic sites of music performance that had likewise been

strongly shaped by private bourgeois activities and societies. For instance, the Burger were significant in establishing the first sites for professional performances, such as the *Hôtel de Musique* (1770) and the *Kultur Casino* (1906–8). In contrast, church music had been, due to 16th/17th century Calvinist and Reformationist influences, less extensive than in other European Christian Protestant places. Yet, and here we arrived at a combined perspective of historical and soundscape studies, the churches, former monastic sites, as well as the small bars, restaurants, a former school building and the above-mentioned *Reitschule* – each has likewise formed a patchwork of different socio-cultural and, partly, political sites in a rich field of *contemporary* music making and other cultural activities.

However, going beyond sound and music-related cartographic work, the seminar was predominantly aimed at providing the students with applied working experiences. While, on an academic level, it reflected the joint work of historical musicology and ethnomusicology, it was also a collaboration with city guides from Bern Tourism that had been strongly interested in new ways of exploring the city beyond the regular classical visual tours. How strongly private local interconnections had been significant for this work (Sweers 2015) is also evident in that the seminar, as well as a subsequent newspaper article (Bürgi 2016) partly emerged out of local contacts. The starting point had been a brief talk in the house floor between Cristina Urchueguía and neighbor Beatrice Lang, who has been working as a tour guide for Bern Tourism.

During the course of the seminar, six student teams thus developed different ways of soundscape walks through the city of Bern, each requiring comprehensive historical and soundscape-related research. The tours described below ranged from 90-minute group walks to individual downloadable audio walks and were framed by a constant exchange with the three tour guides from Bern Tourism who visited the seminar three times. The scope of the walks thus developed – and also practically explored – included the sound-based exploration of historical places, as well as alternative tours that provided access to interior spaces of local communities. Yet the students also had to face interrelated practical challenges of how, for instance, local instrument makers, marginalized music communities and audiences could benefit from these tours within the context of a strong tourism industry. Given that several tours also included interaction with locals, this application of scientific knowledge can be described as an interplay of different factors, players, institutions, while the scientists (musicologist and ethnomusicologist) acted as representative of an institution, academic person, as well as private persons, such as local citizens (Sweers 2015: 524).

The seminar started out with an example of a classic city tour that set the historic Zytglogge Tower as a specific focus of interest. Built around 1218–20, this tower is an unusual sound-related display of secular power during the medieval period when audible time-perception was dominated by religious contexts and the average population did not own watches, for instance. One of the oldest tower clocks in Switzerland, the Zytglogge Tower features an astrolabe clock, constructed in 1405–6, which still reflects a geocentric world-view and has represented an extraordinary sound-historical symbol of power (Bellwald 1983). And it is indeed particularly the hourly outdoor sound spectacle, brief though it is, that attracts large tourist groups:

Four minutes before the hour, the tourists crowded in front of the tower, thus blocking Bus No. 12 – that, in turn, tries to chase the groups out of its way a constant beeping – hear the golden metal rooster crowing (an imitative four-note musical figure), with the Fool ringing two bells right above him. This sets the cyclic march of little bears in motion. A minute later (it is clearly evident who has previously been instructed by the tour guide about the order of events and keeps waiting), the rooster crows again, raising its wings with the figure of Chronos counting the hourly bell chimes (those standing further from the tower can actually see the golden male figure, called Hans von Thann, hitting the bells with a hammer). The short spectacle is concluded by the final crowing of the rooster, after which the crowd quickly disbands (personal field notes; November 2015).

During this tour, the seminar had the opportunity to experience the complex mechanism and mechanical sound spectacle from the inside at noon. The students were thus able to observe, for instance, how the rooster's crowing is generated by a large bag bellow tied to the clock mechanism. As also became apparent, while these tourist hot spots are avoided by locals, the (sound-related) experience of the interior, access to which is limited, was nevertheless a highly cherished memory for many citizens of Bern; further enhanced by the knowledge of the spatial proximity of Albert Einstein's flat (Kramgasse 49) in which he lived from 1903–1905 and developed his relativity theory (1905) that also deals with time-related questions. This first tour also made students aware of central pragmatic issues – for example, weather conditions (it was quite cold) and the speed of a walking group (one student in particular contributed to this awareness, as she had a broken foot).

After having set up theoretical soundscape foundations and research questions from the perspective of both disciplines in the subsequent seminar sessions, we then requested the students to build teams and to undertake an initial brainstorming. These first rough ideas were presented to the tourist guides, who each commented critically on the concepts being developed from their practical experiences. This fed into the further development of the tours. Over the course of five seminar sessions, we tested all tours practically, particularly with regard to the realization of the set time frame. In the last two sessions we first developed further strategies with the students, which included the actual writing of project and funding applications. And, finally, the students discussed their experiences with Bern Tourism again, who then also received a summary and description of all approaches that are now subject to discussion for further development. As a written examination, the students were asked to develop a paper that, on the one hand, included a historical and theoretical reflection on the topic, and, on the other hand, the actual tour with brief texts that could be further explored by Bern Tourism.

THE TOURS

The most amazing aspect of the seminar's outcome was the huge variety the students had developed without any further influence from our side, with each idea reflecting a different concept of soundscape and of what was considered significant in terms of

sound. In particular, the latter aspect also added further insights into the SCOPES project, as each tour presented a highly personal – and emotional – insight into the students' relation to the place through sound (with 2/3 coming to Bern). In order to provide an insight into applied possibilities and interactions with the different groups involved here, I will briefly sketch the general design of the tours.

I. The first tour can be described as a *representation of Bern through sound for tourists and/or outsiders* – designed as a contrast to the established Bern tours by focusing on significant environmental sounds, unusual or remarkable sound spots, and concert locations.

The oldest seminar participants (a doctor and a lawyer, both already retired) were the most modern with regard to technology: targeting visiting tourists wanting to explore Bern individually as the key audience, Hans Peter Friedli and Marianne Hofer designed the tour as a downloadable app that allowed a flexible time-setting. In terms of content, the tour serves as an example of how historical information, soundscape exercises and locally relevant music can constitute a meaningful framework of experience for visitors. For example, starting at the central train station, the app asked the user to take off headphones in order to experience the train station as a sonic linguistic soundscape (in the sense of Kanngieser 2012) and to explore the specific acoustics of the space. The walk continued to the nearby *Burgerspital* from 1742, a former hospital and Old People's Home of the Burger families that was initially founded in the 14th century and constitutes a good example of the combination of historical and soundscape experiences. Having given historical background data, the app then requests a stop at the inner courtyard, asking the user to explore the inner area as a quiet zone: only a few meters away from the low-fi urban main traffic noise, the secluded courtyard is shaped by a distinct hi-fi environment, in which individual sounds, including water fountains and different birds can be clearly identified and located.

Furthermore, inspired by Feld's (1990 [1983]) description of the Kaluli who had interconnected environment, sociocultural acting with specific pieces of music, the students had also decided to interrelate the tour experience with a recurring piece of music connected to Bern. They thus included the "Berner Marsch" ["Bernese March"], locally well-known as the hymn of the Canton Bern, that was played in different versions at the main stops, such as the *Burgerspital*. At the suggestion of the whole seminar group the interconnection with the local through language sound (Kanngieser 2012) was further intensified by having the students speaking the app texts themselves in High German with Bernese coloring, rather than by having a neutral speaker utilizing strict High German.

II. The second group (Marco Ackermann and Martina Lisik) had focused on *indoors soundscapes*. In this tour, that was entitled "Versteckte Klänge in öffentlichen Innenräumen Berns" ["Hidden Sounds in Public Indoor Spaces of Bern"], local indoor spaces could be experienced through music performance, sound, and instrument building. While the students had to face the challenge of providing room experi-

ences through sound, their choices also reflected – most clearly of out of all tours – how personal experiences and memories can be shared through sound.

First stopping at the Französische Kirche [“French Church”], Ackermann and Lisick provided an acoustic experience of the interior space, as well as of its actual (religious) function by having persuaded the organist to play the organ for the tour group. As the students observed in their paper, “The high and mostly smooth walls of a church also offer a good reflection for silent sounds. Each step and each throat-clearing is reflected by the walls and contributes to the church’s typical sound characteristics.”¹² At the same time, the choice of repertoire – e.g. by selecting French compositions – contributed to the historical dimension of this location: as the students – of French-Swiss background – added in their description, the Französische Kirche, a remnant of the Dominican Order, counts as the oldest church in Bern. Built in the late 13th century, it later served as the location of the Protestant francophone community in Bern from 1623 on, and, in 1685, became a refugee site of the Huguenots who had fled persecution in France (Furrer et al. 1997).

Ackermann and Lisick had selected the small souvenir shop Ordana, adjacent to the Zytglogge tower, as a second stop. A point of interest for tourist customer groups, the shop had never been visited by the students in their everyday lives. Yet, as all later agreed, the shop’s interior added an alternative time-measuring related soundscape experience in the form of a polyphonic concert of Black Forest cuckoo clocks. As Ackermann and Lisick found out in an interview with the shop owners, Ordona started purely as a watch shop thirty years ago, but then adapted to the growing tourism, while the sales assistants adapted to the increasingly loud soundscape of the clocks. As further indicated in the interview, they even found the sound of the ticking clocks relaxing – in contrast to the visitors, who experienced the shop’s soundscape as almost noisy. The third stop led to the Music Conservatory¹³ – that had likewise been attended by the students. Here, Ackermann and Lisick provided an experience of the location through the sound of the rehearsal rooms by a walk along the corridors. This reflects a further dimension of change, due to the thinning of the traditional instrumental and vocal rehearsal cacophony, as the Conservatory has been switching to digital pianos. The tour ended at a violin builder’s workshop in the first floor of an old building at Marktgasse 36, described in the introduction to this article.¹⁴ During this tour, we particularly noticed how strongly the personal experience

12 “Die hohen und meist relativ glatten Gemäuer einer Kirche bieten auch für leise Geräusche eine gute Angriffsfläche. Jeder Schritt und jedes Räuspern hallt an den Wänden wider und gibt der Kirche ihren typischen Klangcharakter.”

13 Founded in 1858, the „Konsi Bern” counts as one of the earliest music educational institutions. See also N.A., “Geschichte des Konservatoriums,” <http://www.konsibern.ch/ueber-uns/organisation/geschichte/>.

14 Founded in 1998 and run by violin builders Daniel Kunzmann and Andreas Kürzi, the workshop is a sub-segment of the Sprenger Geigenbau company based in St Gallen, which counts the first violin building atelier in Switzerland, <http://www.geigen.ch/de/information.htm#Bern>.

of place was memorized through acoustic-practical experiences (cf. Ahmed 2004). In the subsequent discussion the group agreed that this tour – which requires complex coordination of all participants – might not be regularly offered, yet ought to be with of special local events as a product from locals for locals, like the annual Museum's Night in the spring.

III. Combining these first two approaches, the third tour (Martina Hunziker and Sabrina Lutz) was designed as a *general city tour that combines central historical performance spaces and outdoor soundscape spots*.

Hunziker and Lutz had developed a modular structure of segments that could be flexibly applied. Out of all the tours, this one most strongly related to historical research (e.g. Capitani 1993, Feller 1946–60, plus individual publication of the locations). The students proceeded in four systematic steps, by a) summarizing the historical dates; b) establishing a summary of the architectural history; c) localizing significant acoustic spaces, and, most significantly, d) by connecting the different stations with individual sound mottoes:

- 1) *The venue PROGR as a sounding space of creativity*. The architecture of the former gymnasium and primary school was initially established and built in 1885. After the schools had been moved to different premises, the location was transformed into a venue that currently hosts more than 150 artists of all areas together with cultural institutions and event organizers and two different restaurants, while the public zone in the basement provides space for exhibitions and concerts. The PROGR idea started in 2004 and was fully implemented in 2009.¹⁵ Hunziker and Lutz had chosen this location as a starting point of their tour, as “the inner courtyard can be regarded as the resonance body of the creative life of Bern.” Directing the group's attention to the sound, both specifically emphasized the location as an intersection of opposing sound experiences, because “the courtyard is located in the centre of the building and is simultaneously public and hidden, silent and loud.”¹⁶
- 2) *The Laubengänge as acoustic spaces of meeting and intersection*. Again, Hunziker and Lutz had decided to focus on the issue of intersection on multiple levels. As they pointed out, “The bearing arches under the pergolas create a closed space, in which these acoustic encounters occur. Different walking styles and tempos, as well as dialects mix with the street noise that invades from the outside or with time- and place-shifting sounds of street musicians.”¹⁷

¹⁵ PROGR Zentrum für Kulturproduktion, “Geschichte”. <http://www.progr.ch/de/geschichte/>.

¹⁶ “Der Hof liegt im Zentrum des Gebäudes und ist gleichzeitig öffentlich und versteckt, still und laut. Der Innenhof kann in seiner Klangarchitektur als Resonanzkörper des kreativen Lebens in Bern erfasst werden.”

¹⁷ “Durch die tragenden Bögen entsteht unter den Lauben ein geschlossener Raum, in dem sich diese

- 3) The Conservatory (see also tour 2) as a *sounding space of musical education*.
- 4) The ONO as a *space of creatively renewed usage*. The ONO is a former storage cellar that is today used as a cultural pub. As Hunziker and Lutz outlined, this space reveals a great deal about alternative ideas regarding the creative usage of the many cellar rooms in the historic UNESCO location. Yet they also provide acoustic challenges: “The possibilities are not unlimited; for instance, form, equipment and acoustics of the stone-based walls provide difficulties for a transformation”¹⁸ – issues that could also be further explored during the tour.
- 5) The Münster as a *space of historical musical performance and education*. Bern’s major (Protestant Christian) cathedral was started in 1421, although its construction was obstructed due to the Reformation (already-painted frescos and sculpted divine images had to be removed according to the reformatory thinking of Huldrych Zwingli in 1529). As Hunziker and Lutz outlined, the cathedral was not only significant for their tour as a major concert venue for choir and organ, but also as a significant historical music location. Until the occupation of Napoleon’s troops, music making was forbidden in public spaces in Bern, with church music being the only possibility for audible public music making.
- 6) The *Kultur Casino as a space of musical high culture and the Bernese upper class*. Built in only two years (1907-1909) by Paul Lindt and Max Hofmann as a concert hall for the public, the Kultur Casino that is still owned and maintained by the Burger remains a central performance site for art music in Bern – and reflects another socio-cultural layer of music making in Bern.

For the demonstration of the different modules, Hunziker’s and Lutz’s test tour had integrating practical sounding elements, such as a visit of a concert dress rehearsal of the symphony orchestra in the *Kultur Casino* and a sound explorations through listening to talks (e.g. instructing the group to listen to the walking movements of the *Laubengänge* or the specifics of the inner courtyard of the ONO).

IV. While each tour also tried to move beyond the tourist highlights of the Old Town by including “alternative spaces”, particularly tour no. 4 (Christina Galli and Milena Geiser) was designed as *an alternative Bern-related sound-experience*.

As Galli and Geiser pointed out in retrospect, “It was our intention to address a new audience with this tour, with which we could also identify. The target group is thus a

akustischen Begegnungen ereignen. Verschiedene Gangarten und Lauf tempi und unterschiedliche Dialekte mischen sich mit dem von aussen eindringenden Strassenlärm oder zeit- und ortsweise auch mit den Klängen eines Strassenmusiker.”

¹⁸ “Die Möglichkeiten sind dabei nicht uneingeschränkt; so sind Form, Ausstattung und Akustik der steinwandigen Gewölbekeller häufig Schwierigkeiten für die Umgestaltung.”

young and alternative audience: adventurous tourists, journalists, music performers, artists, etc.”¹⁹ Thus aiming more strongly at a younger audience or local insiders familiar with Bern, it first led to student and alternative clubs (e.g. the Dead End and ISC), followed by the leftist and highly-debated culture center of the so-called *Reitschule*, but also included places with alternative music management (by visiting the café hosting the management of the Bern-based Early Music group *Les Passions de L’Ame*). While the interaction with local music makers and organizers was central here, this tour also most strongly integrated the above-mentioned rapid sound keynote alterations into the program (as evident in the contrast between *Lorraine-Brücke* with its loud traffic and the adjacent quiet area of the *Botanische Garten* [botanic garden]). The latter stop also included a demonstration of the metallic steelpan-like instrument *Hang* that was designed in Bern in 2000 (Rohner & Schärer 2008). The tour was rounded up by the exploration of a sound bridge (*Max-Neuhaus-Brücke*) and a visit to the open radio RaBe. Particularly the inclusion of the sound-experience of the Lorraine-Brücke constituted a challenge:

We first had to be aware that traffic sound on the bridge was, on the one hand, an opportunity to listen. On the other hand, it also provided an obstacle, as instructions were impossible on the bridge. The explanations of the tour guide should be evident for the audience already in a traffic-calmed zone. Construction zones (...) could also be a problem for the maintaining time management.²⁰

In contrast, the private radio RaBe in particular exemplifies the thickness – but also the challenges – of human interaction in these processes:

We had envisioned a small tour through the studio with Radio RaBe, and perhaps it would also have been possible for the (tour) participants to select a song. I thus telephoned with the editorial board and described our plans within the context of the seminar. They were interested in general, but still had to discuss this in their collective. (...). ...and we agreed with the editorial board that (...) they would do a “normal” tour of 15 minutes through the studio.²¹

19 “Unser Anliegen war, dass die Stadtführung ein neues Publikum anspricht, mit dem wir uns selbst auch identifizieren können. Die Zielgruppe ist somit ein junges und alternatives Publikum: Abenteuerliche TouristInnen, JournalistInnen, Musikschaffende, KünstlerInnen u.v.m.”

20 “Zudem mussten wir uns darüber im Klaren sein, dass der Verkehrslärm auf der Brücke einerseits eine Chance zum Hinhören ist, andererseits natürlich auch ein Hindernis für die Führung, da auf der Brücke keine Anweisungen mehr gemacht werden können. Die Erklärungen des Stadtführers oder der Stadtführerin sollten für das Publikum bereits vor einer verkehrsstarken Zone klar sein. Des Weiteren können Baustellen (...) ein Hindernis für das Einhalten des Zeitmanagements sein.”

21 “Beim Radio RaBe stellten wir uns eine kleine Führung durch das Studio vor und vielleicht wäre es möglich, dass die TeilnehmerInnen ein Lied für eine Musiksending wünschen könnten. Ich telefonierte also an die

V. The relation of soundscape and language/dialect that had long been overlooked in soundscape research (cf Kanngieser 2012), was addressed by Tour 5 that focused on *the dialect of Bern* (Marina Marthaler and Mridina Muchtadi).

As dialect has been central for identity formation especially in the German-speaking parts of Switzerland, the students first researched the different forms of dialect in Bern, such as *Burger-* and *Patrizierdeutsch*; *Mattendialekt* and *Mattenenglisch*, but also the history of Bernese sociolects. Realized as a film, this project added insights into the dialects of the different city quarters, socially-shaped dialects and historical transformations (upper class: nowadays an old-fashioned dialect). As Marthaler and Muchtadi pointed out in their paper,

We wanted to ask different people about their concept of “Berndeutsch,” what dialect means to them and which emotions they relate to dialect. At the same time, teenagers, recent settlers, Secondos [second-generation migrants without Swiss citizenship], long established Bernese should be heard. The aim was to portray as many perspectives as possible.

During the filming process, the students asked their interlocutors three questions (“Which meaning does Bernese German have for you?”, “What is your favorite Bernese word?”, “Can you describe the sound of Bernese German”), with the answers serving as the basis of a film collage. As Marthaler and Muchtadi added in their paper, “The aim of the interview was to have the interviewees reflecting on language in everyday situations and its sound,”²² while the variety of examples should be as broad as possible: “We also wanted to include aspects, such as favorite dirty words, clichés, and specifics of the dialect. Likewise, language in everyday situations should not be forgotten – e.g. at farmers’ markets.”²³ Given the tight time-frame of the seminar, Marthaler and Muchtadi chose the Bernese *Zibelemärit* (the historical onion market, which originated either in the 15th or the 19th century) that takes place on the fourth Monday of November. In order to bring out the sound of language even further,

Redaktion und erklärte unser Vorhaben und den Rahmen unserer Arbeit des Seminars. Sie waren grundsätzlich interessiert, müssten es aber noch im Kollektiv besprechen. (...) ...und mit der Redaktion einigten wir uns, dass (...) sie dann eine ‚normale‘ Führung von etwa einer Viertelstunde durch das Studio durchführte.”

22 “Ziel der Interviews war, dass sich die Interviewten Gedanken zur Sprache im Alltag und deren Klänge machen.”

23 “In unserem Video wollen wir verschiedene Leute dazu befragen, was für sie „Berndeutsch“ ist, was ihnen der Dialekt bedeutet, welche Emotionen sie damit verbinden. Dabei sollen u.a. Jugendliche, Zugezogene, Secondos, alteingesessene Berner, Personen aus Dialektvereinen zu Wort kommen. Ziel ist, möglichst viele Sichtweisen zu zeigen. Wir wollen auch Dinge wie Lieblings-Schimpfwörter, Klischees, Besonderheiten des Dialekts erfragen. Dabei darf auch die Sprache in Alltagssituationen nicht vergessen werden – beispielsweise auf Wochenmärkten.”

Marthaler and Muchtadi included the short story *Totemügerli* (1967) of cabaret artist Franz Hohler, interpreted by the Bernese artist Stefan Grosjean. As they elaborated, “The story is Bernese-German chattering with many freely invented words, which, however, make sense when interconnected and sound like Bernese German.”²⁴ Given its mediatized form, this project was discussed in the seminar as a permanent film display at the Bern Tourism Information Center.

VI. The final tour, conceptualized by Andrin Uetz, focused on *the church bells of Bern*. While the chiming of the Zytglogge tower might be the most spectacular event from a visual side, the soundscape of the Old Town and its surroundings has also been shaped by a polyphonic interplay of various church bell ringings.

The most prominent bells belong to the above-mentioned *Münster*.²⁵ The cathedral’s nine-part set of bells is a reminder that bells long represented local knowledge in form of symbolized sound. This is not only apparent in the “Armesünderglocke” [“Poor Sinner’s Bell”] that was rung during executions, but also in the two fire bells (late 13th century and 1503) that – since they are not needed anymore – are now kept in storage. Yet the symbolic knowledge encoded in bells is still evident in that the seven remaining bells are still rung in different patterns and colors to specific weekly times (Saturday and Sunday evening), services (Sunday morning), and annual events (e.g. *Altjahresläuten* [“Old Year Ringing”] on Dec. 31 and on New Year), as fixed in a “Läuteordnung” [“Bell Ringing Regulation”].²⁶ Particular peaks of bell sounds are not only the introduction of the services (e.g. Sundays between 9–10; by 15 Protestant-Reformed Churches in 2004), but also with the hourly time chimes and, partly quarterly rings).

While this can be viewed as a distinct sound mark of Bern, a related tour constitutes, as Uetz soon realized, various challenges, e.g. regarding the timing, as well as the localization and reachability of locations for a best sound perception. Uetz thus decided to design a website with listening recommendations. This not only includes recommended listening spots and timing, but also the history and background of the various bells and/or bell chimes.

Returning to Ahmed’s (2004) affective economies, the process of the tour designs has been clearly revealing the central role of sound for an interrelation with the local. Many students had integrated favorite locations or sounds that had been playing a

24 “Die im Trailer gezeigte “Totemügerli“-Geschichte von Franz Hohler wurde von Stefan Grosjean, einem Berner Künstler, interpretiert. Die Geschichte ist ein berndeutsches Geschnatter mit vielen völlig frei erfundenen Wörtern, die jedoch im Zusammenhang einen Sinn ergeben und wie Berndeutsch klingen sollen.”

25 See also: Berner Münster, “Das Münsterengeläut” <http://www.bernermuenster.ch/de/berner-muenster/muensterbau/glocken.php>.

26 N. A. “Läuteordnung des Berner Münsters und anderer Kirchen der Stadt Bern.” N.d. http://www.frieden.refbern.ch/fileadmin/frieden/pdfs/Glocken/Glocken_IV.pdf.

significant – and emotional role in their biographies. This also revealed that each student had a different sound-related connection to the place, going far beyond the



Tour 1: In the inner courtyard of the Burgerspital (pic.: author)



Tour 3: Martina Hunziker giving listening instructions in the Laubengänge (pic.: author)

traffic recollections initially outlined, that was shared with the whole tour community during the presentations. Returning to issues of infrastructural interrelations within applied ethnomusicological projects (Sweers 2015:528), while each of these examples reflects issues of representation and selection (which is also strongly determined

by practical issues), the power interplay was rather flat in this specific case. One could almost speak of a playful interaction with the different interest groups, as there existed a mutual acceptance of authorities. Given this complex interconnection of research and applied-pragmatic issues, we also set the students to develop financial plans. I would thus describe the applied side – also with regard to the practical integration into the university teaching curriculum – of the soundscape research as highly successful, although we also experienced drawbacks: at the time of writing (2017), the practical realization has been slow, partly also on account of the Bologna educational system that, strongly focused on obtaining credit points rather than content as it is, only allows students to undertake projects within the semester, while project realizations mostly require a flexible time calculation.

OUTLOOK – THE PUBLIC PRESENTATION OF SOUNDSCAPE RESEARCH AND OPEN CHALLENGES

While these tours reflected an interaction of university, students, local individuals, and tourism, the seminar likewise had a long-term impact with regard to the broader local public: After the seminar had been featured in newspapers (e.g. Bürgi 2016, Matti 2016) and radio documentaries (Marti 2016), I was soon not only contacted by various public and private radio stations, but requested to give a public lecture in the series *Buch am Mittag* [“book during lunchtime”]. Organized by the University Library, it was attended by a large Bernese audience. Again, the strong emotional reactions of the audience to my descriptions were quite striking, adding many more examples of affective sound perception with regard to the locality, yet also to main sound hot spots, such as the Zytglogge tower and the Bundesplatz [“Parliament Square”]. Yet, and this response came particularly from the older audience, it likewise seems that auditory recollections were also strongly interconnected with other sensory memorizations, most particularly smell, and also haptic sensations. How far do we therefore need, as requested by Ingold (2011) to bring these sides closer together rather than merely focusing on isolated sound?

This specific lecture also resulted in a request for collaboration by the *Amt für Umweltkoordination und Energie AUE* [“Department of Environmental Coordination and Energy”] during summer 2016. Employing approximately 12 engineers, chemists, etc., this public-governmental institution focuses on a wide range of noise and sound protective regulations (including industrial noise restrictions and architectural regulations) based on fixed decibel measurement values. Yet, as Samuel Hinden from the Department outlined to me, while it was easy to measure noise and sound according to medically and physically determined standards, the engineers had reached a problematic point, as the perception of sound and noise likewise seemed to be shaped by highly subjective human factors that could not be tackled physically. Thus, falling back on the seminar’s findings, we developed an excursion through so-called quiet zones in Bern, thereby focusing on the question of what actually constituted a quiet zone, such as the *Burgerspital* (approximately 48 decibels). That this went beyond the mere physical noise level became apparent with the so-called *PostParc* area – the second quietest area in the inner city – that was avoided by many passengers, much to the

despair of nearby restaurants' owners. Having just been built (2015) as a segment of the newly renovated central train station complex, this parking, restaurant, and shop area was extremely quiet, but lacked any plants, for instance.

In contrast, the most popular relaxation zones within the city – a local park area adjacent to the *Kleine Schanze* – did not block much of the nearby street noise (58-60 decibel), yet locals preferred to meet here during lunch breaks. Likewise – and this was also apparent in the natural environment of the Bernese Oberland – some relaxation zones, such as the *Münsterplattform* were, because of the nearby waterfall of the *Schwellenmätteli*, too loud for conversation, but still highly appreciated on account of their closeness to nature, which is rarely ever quiet.

When I presented the findings of this walk to the Architekturforum [Architect's Forum] (again a group that had difficulties with dealing with the non-measurable side of sound), the city planners who had likewise attended the lecture immediately responded by admitting that the train station renovation had been problematic in some sections. It would seem, then that this seemingly subjective and irrational side is a point where ethnomusicology and cultural studies can contribute strongly to the environmental dialogue.

APPENDIX

The Seminar "The Sound of Bern" (autumn semester 2015), Institute of Musicology, University of Bern, Switzerland

Prof. Dr. Britta Sweers, Cultural Anthropology of Music

Prof. Dr. Cristina Urchueguía, Historical Musicology

The Bern Tourismus team:

Gabriella Bartholdi, Andrea Michel, Beatrice Lang

The student teams:

Hans Peter Friedli, Marianne Hofer: App tour through Bern

Martina Hunziker, Sabrina Lutz: *Bern akustisch: was wo und wie, früher und heute* [Acoustic Bern: What, Where, and How: Previously and Nowadays]

Milena Geiser, Christina Galli: *Alternative Bern Tour* [Alternative Tour through Bern]

Marco Ackermann, Martina Lisik: *Versteckte Klänge in öffentlichen Innenräumen Berns* [Hidden Sounds in Public Indoor Spaces of Bern]

Mirdina Muchtadi, Marina Marthaler: *Der Dialekt von Bern* [The Dialect of Bern]

Andrin Uetz: *Die Glocken von Bern* [The Bells of Bern]

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Бриџа Сверс

ПРОУЧАВАЊЕ ЗВУЧНИХ ПЕЈЗАЖА У ПРАКСИ: ЗВУЧНА ИСТРАЖИВАЊА ГРАДА БЕРНА

(САЖЕТАК)

У овом чланку разматрам практичну употребљивост и шири друштвени утицај примењене етномузикологије, а у вези са проучавањима звучног пејзажа (*саундскејџа*) у универзитетском контексту. У склопу ширег истраживачког пројекта, који се бави урбаним звучним пејзажима Берна, Љубљане и Београда, пројекат примењене етномузикологије, представљен у овом тексту, настао је из семинара спроведеног у сарадњи са Одељењем за историјску музикологију Универзитета у Берну и Туристичке организације Берна. Наслањајући се на претходно успостављене оквирне податке у вези са физичко-историјским специфичностима локалног звучног пејзажа, затим, на шире друштвенополитичко и културно наслеђе, као и на међусобни однос ова два нивоа, учесници семинара осмислили су шест различитих обилазака града Берна, који су у вези са звуком. Док су учесници семинара интегрисали у своје истраживање теоријске дискурсе које су успоставили Мари Шефер (1977) и Фелд (1990 [1983]), овакав приступ је укључио и перспективе преузете из, релативно скорашњих, написа аутора као што је Ахмед (2004), која је истраживала емоционалне механизме, или Кангизер (2012), која је усмерила пажњу на, дуго запостављен, утицај језика на звучни пејзаж. Поред истицања концепта семинара, који би могао да буде узорни за будућа размишљања у овом правцу, анализирам и различите појединачне стратегије концепирања обилазака. На крају осветљавам дубљи утицај оваквих примењених истраживања звучних пејзажа на шири локалну заједницу.

Кључне речи: звучни пејзаж, Берн, теренско истраживање у граду, примењена етномузикологија, афективне економије

YEARS OF SOUND LIVING: MIKSER FESTIVAL IN SAVAMALA (2012–2016)*

*Ivana Medic*¹

Institute of Musicology, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Belgrade, Serbia

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ABSTRACT:

This article deals with the soundscape of Mikser, an independent festival of contemporary creativity, established in 2009 in Belgrade, the capital city of Serbia. I focus on the years 2012–2016, during which Mikser was taking place in Savamala, an urban quarter in central Belgrade – which itself has undergone various urbanistic and cultural transformations in recent years. The creative team behind Mikser aimed to turn Savamala into a permanent fixture on the map of Belgrade nightlife and a tourist hotspot; the fact that they did not succeed was on account both of financial issues and conflicting top-down business interests. My conclusion is that the long-term survival of the festival is not dependent on its program or audiences, but on securing official support and infrastructure.

KEYWORDS: Savamala, Mikser Festival, Belgrade, soundscape, soundwalk

In this article I analyze the soundscape of Mikser, an independent festival of contemporary creativity, which took place in Savamala, an urban quarter in central Belgrade, between 2012 and 2016. The reasons for choosing this period are twofold. Firstly, it

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¹ ivana.medic@music.sanu.ac.rs

roughly matches the duration of the project *City Sonic Ecology – Urban Soundscapes of Bern, Ljubljana and Belgrade*, supported by the Swiss National Science Foundation (SNSF).² For this project I have done extensive field recording in Savamala, observing and analyzing various changes that have affected this part of Belgrade over a relatively short time span. Secondly, this chosen period exactly matches the ‘rise and fall’ of Savamala. Namely, in less than three years, several fundamental changes have shaken up this part of the Serbian capital city and drastically altered its soundscape (and not only its soundscape). One of the testimonies of the rapid changes that have affected Savamala recently is the fact that, less than a year after its publication, my article on the reculturalization of Savamala (Medić 2016a) is already somewhat outdated; moreover, some of the tendencies that I observed in that article and predicted would lead to the disintegration of Savamala as an independent cultural oasis in central Belgrade, have indeed materialized. In the beginning of the period under analysis, the soundscape of Savamala was that of a derelict, traffic-heavy, neglected part of the city, with air and sound pollution. The revitalization of Savamala began as a bottom-up effort aimed at rebuilding, ‘reculturalizing’ and rebranding this formerly neglected and unsightly part of Belgrade (Medić 2016a: 42–44). Next, Savamala became one of the focal points of the European refugee crisis (Medić 2016b); and finally, it turned into a battleground of conflicting business interests, after the Serbian government kick-started a grandiose top-down project, Belgrade Waterfront, aimed at transforming the right bank of the river Sava into an imposing residential and business hub. As a result, the protagonists of the bottom-up reculturalization effort, i.e. the independent cultural entrepreneurs who revived and rebranded Savamala, were priced out of the area to make way for Belgrade Waterfront.



The map of Savamala

² The project itself lasted from 2014 to 2017.

METHODOLOGY

In order to avoid turning our investigation of city soundscapes into a mere ethnographic documentation, researchers from three cities (Bern, Ljubljana and Belgrade) gathered around the project *City Sonic Ecology* have implemented a range of theories; the breadth of theoretical approaches is documented in the reading section of the website *City Sonic Ecology* [<http://citysonicecology.com/recommended-reading/>]. These have enabled us to think about soundscape in multiple ways and to compare different approaches and insights. In at least two of the three participating countries, Slovenia and Serbia, “soundscape studies are still a relatively new concept, and their implementation in a variety of working, professional, educational and research fields is underdeveloped” (Kovačić 2017: 61–62). Since embarking on this project, we have invested considerable effort in establishing the field and opening new doors for all future research on soundscape in the former Yugoslav region (Cf. Atanasovski 2015, 2016; Atanasovski and Hofman 2017; Hofman 2015; Dumnić 2016, 2017; Kovačić 2016, 2017; Medić 2016a, 2016b, 2017).

Given that the sound of a festival taking place in Belgrade is the subject of a thorough investigation for the first time (additionally, a festival that has mostly focused on visual arts, design and architecture, while music has played a relatively secondary role), I did not have exemplary models before me and had to devise a research strategy on my own. After trying and rejecting several exclusive methods, I opted for a hybrid methodology; the type of information that I gathered has consisted of the following:

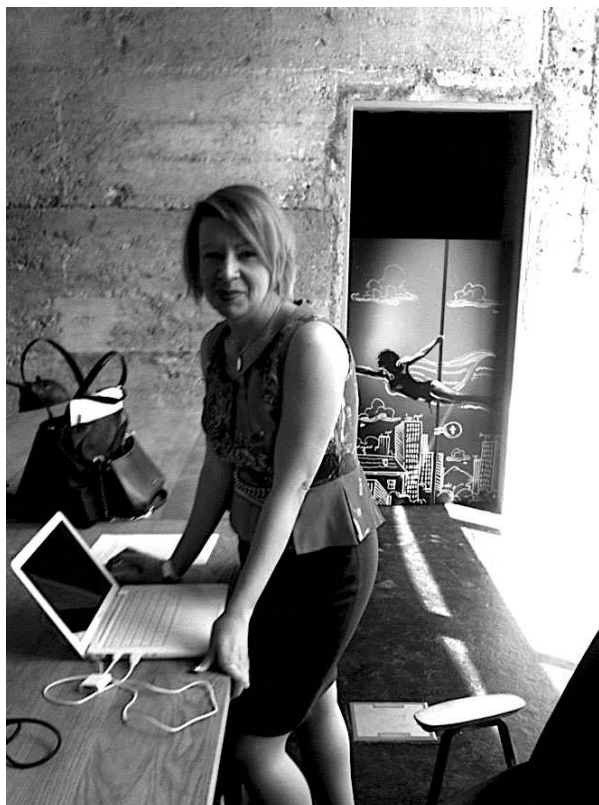
- quantitative research and structured interviews with several groups of interviewees;
- extensive audio recording conducted during the festival in the summers of 2014, 2015 and 2016;
- soundwalks;³
- video documentation of the Mikser Festival.

Throughout the duration of the project *City Sonic Ecology*, almost all researchers engaged in participant observation⁴ in various contexts. While I could not fully pursue such strategy, due to the fact that the ‘community’ of festival goers only formed during a few days each summer and was neither coherent nor consistent, over the course of multiple editions of the festival I did play the dual roles of an ordinary reveler and a

³ Hildegard Westerkamp has defined soundwalks as “any excursion whose main purpose is listening to the environment” (Westerkamp 2007: 49). On the relevance of soundwalks for the project *City Sonic Ecology* see: Dumnić 2017; Sweers 2017.

⁴ Participant observation has been defined as “a process in which the observer’s presence in a social situation is maintained for the purpose of scientific investigation. The observer is in a face-to-face relationship with the observed, and, by participating with them in their natural life setting, he gathers data” (Becker et al. 1968: vii).

researcher who was studying the phenomenon while simultaneously enjoying being a part of it. Furthermore, on 6 June 2014 I took part in the festival segment called *Edu[cational] Zone*, held in Galerija Štab under Branko's Bridge, where I gave a talk about my experiences with distance learning as implemented at the Open University in the United Kingdom, where I had previously worked as Associate Lecturer.



The author of this text participating in the 2014 Mikser Festival

While in her contribution to this volume Marija Dumnić focuses on Skadarlija's *musi-cscape*, i.e. a type of soundscape that is aesthetically and socially structured (Dumnić 2017), when analyzing Mikser Festival I was primarily interested in communicative and affective aspects not just of various musics, but also of other types of sound created, heard and 'consumed' during the festival.

MIKSER FESTIVAL

When conceiving Mikser as a festival of contemporary creativity and innovation, its creators Ivan Lalić (playwright and producer) and Maja Lalić (architect and designer) were inspired by the formerly derelict quarters in the world's metropolises transformed into cultural and tourist hotspots, such as New York's Tribeca. Hence, they

decided to occupy and renovate the abandoned former socialist industrial facilities at the riverbanks, such as warehouses, depots and halls, and turn them into alternative cultural spaces. Initially it was the abandoned silos of the former agricultural giant Žitomlin at lower Dorćol, at the south bank of the Danube, while a few years later it would relocate to the right bank of Belgrade's other major river, the Sava. The festival was named Mikser (i.e. Mixer) due to its eclectic and all-inclusive scope.

Mikser Festival began its 'life' in 2009, the year marked by a global financial collapse. Serbia was not spared the effects of the global financial crisis, which affected all sectors; thus, the public funds for culture underwent drastic cuts. In such unfavorable circumstances, the first Mikser festival was organized without support from either the Serbian government or Belgrade City Council; it was sponsored just by one bank, all participants and organizers were unpaid (Lalić 2012), and it attracted alternative audiences who appreciated such unpretentious, do-it-yourself approach. While in the following years the festival would occasionally receive some support from the city of Belgrade, its producers were nevertheless forced to rely primarily on animating the private sector. Mikser also received support from international cultural funds and artistic platforms, as well as foreign embassies and councils (ibid.).

Since its inception, Mikser Festival focused on various types of contemporary art and creative industries, encompassing industrial design, architecture, urbanism, visual arts, film, literature, video art, multimedia projects etc. Each year, the festival is given an umbrella theme, which corresponds with the most pressing issues and challenges faced by the city of Belgrade and Serbian society in general. The festival is also characterized by an affirmation of the leftist idea(1)s and policies, including a reappraisal of the former-Yugoslav socialist legacy; moreover, artists from the entire former Yugoslav region participate in the festival every year. Based on the annual reports prepared by the festival organizers, their main goals could be summed up as follows: discovering and activating abandoned industrial locations around the city of Belgrade; talent discovery, education, training, workshops and a dissemination of knowledge; initiating projects with local companies and manufacturers and involving local talents in the production process; fostering and improving exchange between the creative sector and the local community; finally, mixing creative, niche audiences with the audiences interested in mass popular culture.

In stark contrast to the specialized music festivals, Mikser initially treated music as just one of the many arts to be showcased, since the emphasis was clearly given to visual arts and architecture. Gradually, however, music became increasingly important in attracting the audience. As I argued in an earlier article, the entire project of the reculturalization of Savamala started with the intervention in the *sound*: namely, the soundscape of this quarter was modified, then commodified and 'sold' to city dwellers and revelers (Medić 2016a: 46). In the same article, I identified the *keynote* sound of Savamala as the sound of the heavy traffic, while the creative entrepreneurs from Savamala created their *soundmark* – the sound of the cool, alternative, hipster nightlife (ibid.: 47). After relocating to Savamala in 2012, Mikser Festival decisively contributed towards this soundmark, by adding new layers to Savamala's revamped soundscape. The boundaries between pleasant sound and noise thus became blurred,

and the overall experience became dependent on the individual's tastes and preferences. As observed by Tao G. Vrhovec Sambolec:

once the sound is projected somewhere it is not expected, or is put in spatial relation to objects, it becomes free to carry extra-musical connotations. Then the whole new world of conceptual, associative, poetic and social connotations of sound opens up. In such situations sound keeps its fluidity and ephemeral nature and at the same time becomes object/like, and thus gains symbolic and semantic meanings (Vrhovec Sambolec 2011: 55).

When applying Jean-Paul Thibaud's model of the three main dynamics of the *ambiance* (Thibaud 2011: 43; cf. Medić 2016a), I argued that his first category, that of *tuned ambiance*, referred to the soundscape of Savamala before the reculturalization efforts; Thibaud's second category, that of *modulated ambiance*, applied to the arrival of cultural entrepreneurs to Savamala in the early 2010s, who brought *music* to this area. Finally, I associated Thibaud's third category of *framed ambiance* with Mikser Festival. Namely, in Thibaud's theoretical model, *framed ambiance* emerges through conditioning of the place by social practices; he uses the term *alteration* to refer to the work done by the public to format a place's *ambiance* (Ibid: 44; 51). In the case of Mikser Festival, the alteration of Savamala's soundscape and the entire *ambiance* occurred because this area was 'occupied' by the festival, featuring, as I have described earlier,

the outdoor concerts and gigs, the arts and crafts open air market, exhibitions, musicals and other theatrical productions, the outdoor cinema etc. Although the visuals also change, due to the banners advertising the festival, the barriers that close certain streets for traffic, the increased number of people in the area and so on, it is still the sound of the area that is altered most drastically. The traffic noise is almost suffocated by the sound of live music blasting from the loudspeakers, with musics from different venues mixing with each other, the murmur of exhibitors and customers in the outdoor market in the Travnička street, etc. (Medić 2016a: 48).

In terms of music, Mikser Festival showcases a broad range of alternative genres ranging from indie rock⁵ to world music.⁶ In her discussion of Skadarlija, another tourist hotspot in central Belgrade which is characterized by performances of old urban music (*starogradska muzika*), Marija Dumnić observes that music "contributes to the tourist image/representation of the city by giving a local

5 Alternative music, especially indie rock, has carried a specific moral dimension in Serbia since the tragic 1990s. While Branislava Mijatović (2008) has overemphasized the role of alternative music in dethroning Slobodan Milošević, it is true that alternative rock was a symbol of resistance to Milošević's regime and a counterpart to the massive civil and student demonstrations held in Serbia in 1996/1997.

6 On *world music* in the Serbian context see Medić 2014: 108–116.

specificity/authenticity/heritage to one globally known entertainment concept” (Dumnić 2017). In comparison to Skadarlija, the case of Mikser is quite different, because Mikser’s musical offer is more cosmopolitan than local (although the festival itself does promote domestic brands, homegrown designers, artists, etc.) Moreover, music at Mikser Festival, and Savamala in general, is not openly commodified because, in comparison to the situation at Skadarlija, musicians do not perform particular songs for remuneration (cf. *ibid.*). However, visitors do come to bars, clubs and open-air concert spaces in Savamala to listen to the music performed live or selected by the DJ, where they pay for the entrance tickets and/or drinks, but also for the entire festival experience. Here I borrow Sambolec’s term *nonexpressive performers* (Vrhovec Sambolec 2011: 61) to describe festival goers, who help create the soundscape, but do not do so actively. As observed by Sambolec:

even in that situation though, there is usually a strong identity bond created inside the group – some kind of urban tribe. It creates a very strong social moment resulting from the immersion in the sound, generating a sense of identity for the group (*ibid.*).

In the case of Mikser Festival, even city dwellers and tourists who do not listen to indie or world music on a daily basis visit the festival to soak up the atmosphere. One may conclude that, during the festival, the environment influences the perception and interpretation of the soundscape, and in turn, the soundscape changes the perception of the environment.

MIKSER IN SAVAMALA (2012–2016)

2012 – REVITALIZATION OF SAVAMALA

In 2012, Mikser was relocated from the industrial setting of Žitomlin to Savamala. The festival ran from 25 May to 2 June 2012, and the main theme was the *revitalization of Savamala*, which at that point was only in its initial stage. In line with the strategy for revealing and activating the potential of this (then) neglected city quarter, Mikser Festival expanded both in duration and in location, spreading onto several formerly derelict streets in Savamala (Travnička, Hercegovačka, Braće Krsmanovića). The aim of the festival organizers was to help Savamala regain its long-forgotten status as a cultural and social center of Belgrade (Mikser 2012). The festival featured projects encompassing design, architecture, urbanism, visual arts, music, new media, education and environmental protection, with interventions in public space, exhibitions, workshops, talks, roundtables and performances. The music program of the festival consisted of concerts and DJs sets with performers from Serbia, Croatia, Bulgaria, Slovenia, Germany, UK, US and China, ranging from dub, world music, techno and trance to indie/post-rock bands, including the underground heroes of the Belgrade club scene.

2013 – TRANSIT

The second edition of Mikser in Savamala, from 28 May to 2 June 2013 was devoted to the notion of *transit*; this topic was chosen in association with heavy traffic, as related to the identity and heritage of Savamala (Milosavljević 2013). In the same year, the team behind Mikser Festival opened Mikser House in the heart of Savamala: a hybrid concept space for cultural, educational and commercial activities, in a converted industrial facility of 1000 m². The idea was to provide a 'third place', to use Ray Oldenburg's term, for the residents and visitors of Savamala – a sociable place, the heart of a community's social vitality, inbetween the first (living) and the second (working) place (Oldenburg 1989). The Mikser team chose to establish such a 'third place' in Savamala in order to contribute to transformation into a progressive district with international visibility. In order to offset the expenses of running that venue, Mikser House organized some commercial events there, such as the Balkan Cheese Festival, Mikser Kids Market, Business Café etc. (Lalić 2016)

2014 – SUSTAINABLE UTOPIA

The third Mikser festival in Savamala (and the sixth overall) was held in Savamala from 3 to 8 June 2014. Spreading over 50 locations, it was focused on the idea that, during the festival week, a utopian place could be created, ideal in its social, political and moral aspects – but a place that would also be sustainable, both financially and logistically (Mikser 2014). The program further expanded the idea of fostering collaboration between different sectors and media, by hosting digital workshops, film projections in the streets, installations, humanitarian races, concerts, parties, as well as lectures on sustainable models and practices that promoted urban revival in a socially responsible manner. With hindsight, it now seems quite naive that only three years ago, in 2014, the team behind Mikser believed that they would be allowed to reconstruct and occupy the then-derelict Geozavod building, situated right next to Mikser House – which has since been renovated by the city officials and investors and nowadays hosts a model of the future Belgrade Waterfront.

2015 – ITCH

The 2015 edition of the festival that lasted from 3 to 7 June invited creative people to recognize their 'breaking point' and to talk about their frustrations related to creative work. The program of the Mikser Festival 2015 encompassed almost all bars, galleries, cultural centers, café bars and clubs in Savamala, in a display of solidarity and unity in the face of the imminent threat posed by the Belgrade Waterfront. The music program of Mikser Festival was included in the Savamala Cultural Summer, which was supposed to run from June until September. A space at Mostarska *Street* was transformed into an open-air concert venue Miksalište, with the capacity of about 5000 people, intended to host concerts, musicals, dancing nights, parties and other types of live performances. Consequently, this edition of the festival had the most ambitious music program hitherto, featuring blues performers such as Ana Popović Band and

The Cotton Pickers, Serbian alternative rock bands Kanda Kodža i Nebojša, Artan Lili, E-Play, Goblini, Eyesburn and Straight Mickey and the Boys, veteran rockers Partibrejkers, an alternative a capella choir Viva Vox, numerous jazz ensembles, as well as several bands from Sarajevo.

However, the plan to continue with the concerts throughout the summer was disturbed by the influx of refugees from Syria, Afghanistan and other countries (Cf. Medić 2016a; 2016b). The festival organizers faced a moral dilemma: should they proceed with their planned activities, or offer a helping hand to those in need. In Maja Lalić's words: "There was no dilemma at all. We built the Refugee Aid Miksalište in Mostarska Street, with the help of thousands of solidly united volunteers and citizens, as well as twenty local and international organisations" (Lalić 2016). Refugee Aid Miksalište opened in August 2015; during the day, Miksalište provided medical help, workshops for children, toilets, shower points and washing machines, points for charging mobile phones, etc. As I have observed earlier, the very same energy and drive, the *collective affect* that used to form in Savamala with respect to its cultural and entertainment offer, was now channeled into this self-organized local activism, and the residents and visitors of Savamala were encouraged to sympathize with the migrants' plight (Medić 2016a). Refugee Aid Miksalište remained in this location until 26 April 2016, when it was demolished by the city officials, because it did not have official permits. The Mikser team then relocated the refugee aid center to a nearby address, at Gavrila Principa Street.

2016 – SENSITIVE SOCIETY

The eighth Mikser Festival was held for the fifth and final time in Savamala from 8 to 12 June 2016 at more than 40 locations. The slogan sensitive society emphasized the themes of gender equality, female creativity, social equality, open dialogue, multiculturalism and conflict resolution. The festival also put an emphasis on the refugee crisis and offered possible directions for the refugees' integration into European societies. According to the press release, the festival organizers aimed "to explore the social concepts with which citizens and creative professionals can influence current social processes to improve the quality of everyday life, open the way for more direct cooperation with sensitive and vulnerable groups, and promote humane values, empathy and love" (Mikser 2016). The festival program again included talks, exhibitions, workshops, lectures, debates, concerts, performances, children and youth programs and cinema.

The music program was even more diverse and inclusive than in previous years and showed an obvious tendency to mix various mainstream genres with the usual alternative. Obviously aiming towards commercialization, due to mounting financial pressures, Mikser Festival incorporated some elements (and performers) typical of the Guča Festival of Brass Bands held in central Serbia each summer. Thus, aside from the expected indie rock and hip-hop performers such as Rambo Amadeus, Elemental, Kralj Čačka, Ti, Dojo, Lira Vega, Bitipatibi and others, the list of performers also included: the only Serbian folk brass bend led by a female trumpet player, Danijela Veselinović; the acclaimed brass orchestra of Boban Marković; a famous

Mikser Festival 2016
 8 – 12. jun / Savamala

**Satnica
& mapa festivala**

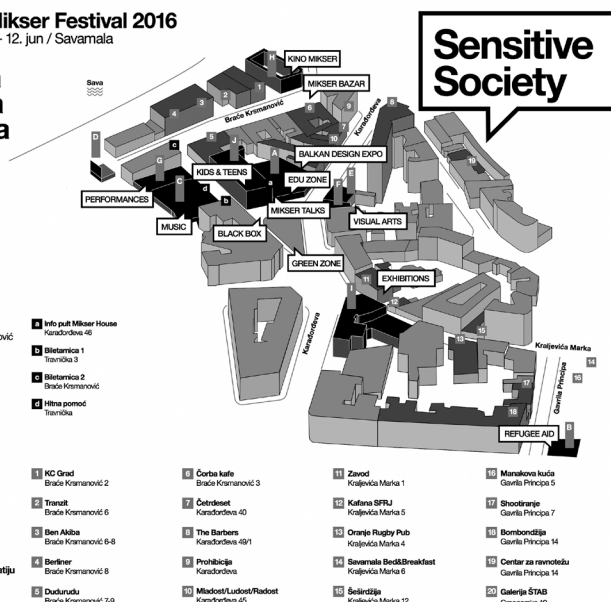
- A** Mikser House
Karadževića 46
- B** MiksaLife 2.0
Gavrila Principa 15
- C** Balkanmala Stage
Travička 3
- D** Womenal Stage
Ulica Braće Krsmanović
- E** Kolektiv 53
Karadževića 53
- F** Magaza
Karadževića 53
- G** Monsun
Travička 3
- H** Španska kuća
Braće Krsmanović 2
- I** Vučina kuća
Karadževića 61
- J** Fakultet za diplomatiju
i bezbednost
Travička 2

- 1** Info pub Mikser House
Karadževića 46
- 2** Biltenica 1
Travička 3
- 3** Biltenica 2
Braće Krsmanović
- 4** Hilma pomoć
Travička
- 11** KO Grad
Braće Krsmanović 2
- 12** Transit
Braće Krsmanović 6
- 13** Ben Akiba
Braće Krsmanović 6-8
- 14** Beširer
Braće Krsmanović 8
- 15** Oudunuda
Braće Krsmanović 7-9

- 16** Čorba kafe
Braće Krsmanović 3
- 17** Četvrtak
Karadževića 40
- 18** The Barbers
Karadževića 49H
- 19** Prohibicija
Karadževića
- 20** Mladost/Ljubost/Radost
Karadževića 45

- 21** Zvezd
Krajevica Marka 1
- 22** Kafena SFRLJ
Krajevica Marka 5
- 23** Orange Rugby Pub
Krajevica Marka 4
- 24** Savamala Bed&Breakfast
Krajevica Marka 8
- 25** Seizurcija
Krajevica Marka 12

- 26** Marakovo kuća
Gavrila Principa 5
- 27** Shooting
Gavrila Principa 7
- 28** Bombardija
Gavrila Principa 14
- 29** Centar za raznovidnu
Gavrila Principa 14
- 30** Galerija ŠTAB
Ciroegova 10


MUZIČKI PROGRAM
**B BALKANMALA
STAGE / Travička 3**

- SREDA / 8. jun**
- 22:00 Element
- 23:00 Rambo Amadeus / Rambo Amadeus i
Kraljevića Marka - Best of Best
- ČETVRTAK / 9. jun**
- 22:00 Bala (Hoda) Hoda
- 23:00 Kralj Čučka / Katarina Jovanović
- PETAK / 10. jun**
- 21:00 Otklonir Dječija Dječija Vostrovic
- 22:00 Bora Dugić (gost) Ljubla Jovanović
- 23:00** Neko izvanredno / Sabana Bajramović
- SUBOTA / 11. jun**
- 21:00 MAMA
- 22:00 Oca Mamba (gost) Sanja Vukić, Katarina
Jovanović, Ema Salter
- 00:00 Otklonir Sabana Marković
- NEDELJA / 12. jun**
- 21:00 Gula
- 22:15 Muzik Swedish Reunion + Ema
Redžepova

**C WOMENAL STAGE
Ulica Krsmanović**

- SREDA / 8. jun**
- 21:00 AAA
- 22:15 MIRA Marakova
- 23:00 OJ (Hoda) Hoda / OJ Hoda
- ČETVRTAK / 9. jun**
- 22:00 Kaza
- 22:45 In Anestezija
- 23:00 Gopala, Jure
- 23:00 Bilo Zvezd
- 23:45 Zvezd
- PETAK / 10. jun**
- 21:00 Džep
- 22:45 H
- 23:00 Ana Orlin
- 00:15 Ljubla Gula
- SUBOTA / 11. jun**
- 21:00 Lina Vepa
- 22:00 Bala
- 23:00 Bilo Dog
- 00:15 Otklonir Jovanović
- NEDELJA / 12. jun**
- 19:30 Namam
- 20:15 Muzik Swedish Reunion
- 21:00 E-Pop
- 22:15 Tessa Ford feat. Bajana Stamenov

Mikser Festival 2016

Serbian virtuoso on the frula (Serbian fife) Bora Dugić; Bosnian sevdalinka singer Božo Vrećo with his band Halka; Mostar Sevdah Reunion with the Romani folk singer Ema Redžepova; and others. As I discussed in an earlier article on Serbian ethno and world music scenes, such a chalk-and-cheese program was possible because some folk music performers (such as Ema Redžepova and Boban Marković) had previously been rebranded as world music performers by Serbian music promoters and record companies; it was only thanks to this ingenious marketing strategy that they became accessible/acceptable to the urban, hipster audiences (Medić 2014: 114–115). At that point, both the festival organizers and the audiences were unaware that this edition of the festival would be the last one in Savamala, and there was still optimism as regards the future of the festival and the refugee aid center.

MIKSER FESTIVAL – A SOUNDWALK

I will now describe one typical soundwalk recorded during the festival. I selected a soundwalk recorded during the 2015 edition of the festival – the year that saw the most drastic changes to the festival format. The soundwalk was recorded on Friday, 5 June 2015, the busiest day of the festival. Even the city dwellers who were not interested in the festival per se descended to Savamala for its regular Friday night clubbing offer.

I began my descent into Savamala at 9pm from Branko's Bridge across the river Sava, which connects the old urban core of Belgrade with New Belgrade (Novi Beograd; a residential quarter built after World War II). I was carrying the Zoom 4 recording device, set

to stereo mode. Due to the overwhelming traffic noise on the bridge, I had to reduce the recording level to 21/100, to prevent it from peaking; this figure alone testifies to the noise level in this area. As I descended the stairs towards Savamala, the noise level never subsided – in fact, it only grew louder in Karađorđeva Street, when the sound of the trams passing under the bridge mixed with the rest of the motorized traffic. However, another sound layer became heard right under the bridge: the sound of music coming from the pubs and clubs in the Karađorđeva Street (*Prohibicija* and *Mladost Ludost Radost*).

Mikser Festival itself was taking place in a triangular area marked by the streets Karađorđeva, Braće Krsmanovića and Travnička. As I turned toward the Braće Krsmanovića Street, one could hear the increasing chatter of the exhibitors at the Mikser Bazaar (market) and their customers, mixing with the disco music coming from the clubs *Transit* and *StevaMala* in the same street. Aside from Serbian (and other ex-Yu languages), one could also catch conversations in German, English or Italian. A majority of voices belonged to adults, but one could also occasionally hear children's voices, since some exhibitors at the market sold products aimed at youngsters – toys, badges, notebooks etc. – and the entire festival was advertized as family-friendly.

As I turned the corner of Braće Krsmanovića and Travnička, I could hear music from a jazz trio (saxophone, piano, drums) playing live at the garden of the beer pub *Dubliner* in Travnička Street. The noisy chatter of festival goers intensified as I came closer to the ticket stand and the food vendors. As I approached *Miksalište*, I could hear the Serbian alternative rock band *E-Play*, playing in front of a very enthusiastic audience. Because of the noise level I had to reduce the microphone level again, to only 15/100. Some chatter was also heard from the jazz club *Dvorištanca*, right across *Miksalište*, although no music was being played there at that moment (and even if were played, nobody would have been able to hear it anyway).

When I turned around and walked towards Mikser House, situated at the corner of Travnička and Karađorđeva Streets, I went past the warehouse-turned-concert venue *Magacin Depo*; however, no music was being played there at that time, because the venue hosted the exhibition *Young Balkan Designers*. The exhibition itself was louder than expected, because of the acoustics of this former industrial warehouse, whose plain concrete walls amplified sounds. As I started approaching Mikser House, I could hear the clutter of the numerous guests sitting in the garden outside, and loud rock music coming from the inside. It was an evening that welcomed three bands from Sarajevo: *Velahavle*, *Skroz* and *Dvadesetorica*. Mikser House was packed to capacity and the festival crowd, which included the acclaimed theatre director *Kokan Mladenović*, actor *Branislav Trifunović* and composer *Irena Popović Dragović*, fiercely supported these bands from neighboring Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Since it was impossible to record inside Mikser House because of the exceptionally loud sound, I returned to *Miksalište*. *E-Play* had finished their set and were replaced by *Eyeburn*, a reggae-hard rock band from Belgrade that has been active since the 1990s. Their set was heard not only by a packed auditorium at *Miksalište*, but also by numerous fellow musicians, members from other bands playing at the festival, thus blurring the lines between festival goers and participants. I observed that the audience mostly consisted of people in their 20s, 30s, even 40s (myself included), while there were hardly any teenagers: the festival program did not include performers popular among the youngest audiences. Simultane-

ously with this gig, other programs were happening at Cultural Centre Grad [City] and the derelict Spanish House, both in Braće Krsmanovića street. There was a rumor in the streets that the famous American pop singer Lady Gaga, who was known to be in Belgrade at that time, was seen among the festival goers, and was most likely 'hiding' in Transit, on account of the heavy security in front of that club.

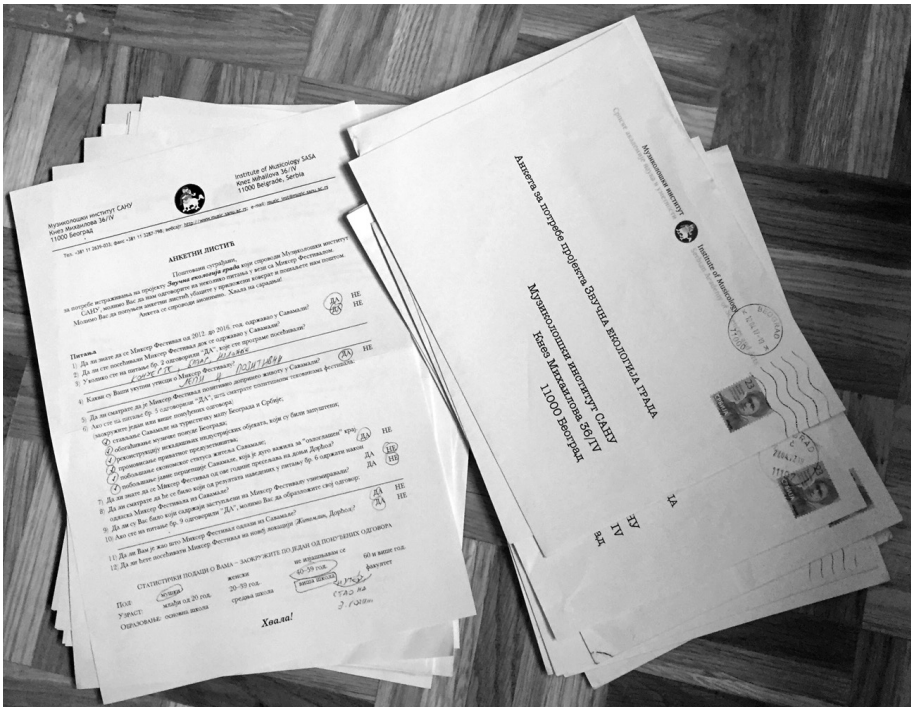
As I walked back towards Mikser, I went past the refurbished Geozavod building, which at that point had just been chosen to host the miniature model of the future Belgrade Waterfront. Unlike the hustle and bustle of the festival in its immediate vicinity, the Geozavod edifice was eerily quiet, with just a few security guards in front of the entrance. At that time, the construction work for Belgrade Waterfront had not started yet; but the silence of the Geozavod building served as an ominous warning that, in less than two years, the entire festival area would be – silenced.

QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH

As observed by Marija Dumnić (2017) in her contribution to this volume, when analyzing musical preferences one may focus on the issues of “taste (Bourdieu 1986), types of audience (Abercrombie and Longhurst 1998), popular music preferences of the youth (Johnstone and Katz 1957), musical preferences in interpersonal communication (Rentfrow and Gosling 2006) and social group membership (Sheperd and Sigg 2015), influence of identity markers (such as ethnicity, gender, age) on music preferences (LeBlanc et al. 1996, LeBlanc et al. 1999, North 2010) ...” (Dumnić 2017). On this occasion, I felt it necessary to investigate the demographics of the visitors of Mikser Festival in the period between 2012 and 2016, i.e. while it was taking place in Savamala. I did not focus on their perception of the sound(scape), but rather on the question of what brought them to Savamala and how they reacted to the festival. I was also interested in their overall impressions of Savamala, and whether they felt that the festival had contributed positively to the life of this formerly neglected part of Belgrade; but also, to see whether there were some lessons to be learned by the festival organizers. Based on these findings, I will conduct the next stage of quantitative research, in which I will explore the visitors' impressions about the soundscape of Mikser Festival, and compare them to my own field recordings and written impressions collected over the three-year period (from 2014 to 2016).

The quantitative research was conducted over a three-month span, from February to May 2017. The participants were divided in two groups: the primary group (PG) comprised Savamala revelers, visitors to Mikser Festival and/or Mikser House, who were randomly selected. I did not interview the residents of Savamala, but precisely the visitors who came there on purpose i.e. to attend Mikser's programs. I distributed printed questionnaires in self-addressed and stamped envelopes, and asked the interviewees to return the questionnaires by regular post. I distributed 100 envelopes and received 68 of them before the set deadline (5 May). On the other hand, the control group (CG) consisted of researchers working at various institutes in Belgrade, all of them with postgraduate degrees, as well as art students. I chose this relatively homogenous group not only because their educational level was already known, but also because intellectuals and art students would be expected to be enthusiastic atten-

dees at a festival such as Mikser. This control group received and returned questionnaires either in person or online, thus making it possible to separate them from the primary group who sent their replies by post. I limited the number of participants in the control group to 68, thus equating it to the number of respondents in the primary group.



Envelopes with questionnaires (the primary group)

With respect to the primary group, I wanted to investigate who were the visitors of Mikser Festival, what brought them to Savamala, how they responded to the program, and whether they developed an awareness of Savamala as a cultural hub; in other words, how they reacted to the ‘brand’ of Savamala and whether they regretted the fact that it was about to be destroyed.

The participants in both primary and control groups were asked to state their age group (under 20, 20–39, 40–59, or over 60 years of age) and gender (male, female or unspecified), while the primary group was also asked to state their educational level (elementary school, secondary school, college or university), which with the members of the control group was already known.

This investigation has shown that the audience of Mikser Festival in Savamala was heterogeneous in terms of identity markers: age, gender and education. Among the festival goers from the primary group, 53% were under 40 years old, while the remaining 47% were 40 and older, which contrasted my initial presumption that a majority

of festival goers would be younger. In terms of gender, 53% of visitors were female, 47% male, making it an almost even distribution. When it comes to education, 29% of visitors had secondary education, 12% college education, and the remaining 59% university education, thus making them an overwhelming majority.

As to the control group, 71% of the respondents were female, and only 29% male; 65% were under 40 years old, 32% between 40 and 59 years of age, and only 3% over 60. But while a majority of members of the control group fit into the overall profile of an ideal Mikser Festival visitor, the actual results showed that, although 91% knew that the festival was taking place in Savamala between 2012 and 2016, only 26% of them actually visited the festival – thus leading me to conclude that the festival had not fully succeeded in attracting its desired audiences, i.e. intellectuals and art students.

When asked what type of program they were attracted to, more than a half of interviewees (53%) singled out music programs – concerts and gigs. Another 35% selected Mikser market (bazaar), where small entrepreneurs and artists sold their products, while only 12% chose another type of activity (lectures, exhibitions, round tables, children's workshops etc.). Among the members of the control group who attended the festival, 60% opted for music programs, 30% for the bazaar, and only 10% for other types of events.

All participants from the primary group (100%) and all festival goers from the control group had very positive impressions about the festival. Among the descriptions that they used one finds: "Belgrade needs a festival of this kind;" "excellent festival, well organized;" "great people, great atmosphere;" "very trendy, successful and well attended;" "very dynamic;" "good location, cool venues, interesting program;" "great for the economy and private entrepreneurship;" etc. Other positives that they observed were that a formerly derelict part of the city was revitalized and filled with cultural and artistic content. A few respondents said that the festival offered quality programs, but that the space was inadequate, and that they could not overcome their negative preconceptions/prejudices concerning Savamala. Some respondents complained that concert tickets were quite pricey, but that there was also a good offer of free programs. One respondent opined that the festival provided an alternative to the musical life of Belgrade, but preferred its first incarnation in Žitomlin and argued that, by moving to Savamala, the festival became "a hipsters' oasis."

Except for a sole respondent in the control group, all other respondents in both groups, including those who did not even attend the festival, responded that the festival influenced the life in Savamala in a positive way. When asked to reflect on this, 100% in the primary group and 74% in the control group said that the festival helped put Savamala on the tourist map of Belgrade and Serbia; 76% in the primary group and 85% in the control group said that it enriched the musical life of Belgrade by offering a new quality; 82% in the primary group and 59% in the control group opined that it improved the public perception of the formerly notorious quarter. Other benefits observed by the participants were: reconstruction of former industrial objects that had been abandoned and neglected (82% PG, 47% CG); promotion of private entrepreneurship and small businesses (58% PG, 12% CG); improvement of the economic status of the residents of Savamala, an area known for high levels of deprivation (41% PG, 15% CG).

When asked whether they were bothered by certain segments of the festival, four interviewees from the primary group complained of the aforementioned Guča-like aspects of Mikser – be it food stands in the streets, brass bands, or inebriated crowds: “It has become a folk fair, just like Guča, with barbecue stands, which is *kind of grotesque*.” Several respondents also stated that they were bothered by many events taking place at the same time, because it meant that some of them could not be properly enjoyed: “A cellist was playing in Mikser house at a corner, with no amps, and at the same time an urbanist was talking on the stage, using the microphone, which meant that the cellist could not be heard at all.” While not numerous, these respondents felt that the festival was losing its identity and becoming too populist and commercialized.

While 76% of participants in the primary group knew that the festival would be moving from Savamala to lower Dorćol in 2017, only 53% in the control group knew that (with one participant correctly remarking that this information was not even available on the festival’s official website as late as April 2017). Exactly the same percentage of respondents in both groups (53%) thought that the good things achieved in recent years in Savamala would be sustained even with the festival’s removal from the area; one respondent remarked that “Savamala will obviously be diminished in terms of its tourist importance; however, the musical offer in Belgrade will not be poorer – it will just be transferred elsewhere.” While 76% of interviewees from the primary group said that they regretted that Mikser would be leaving Savamala, 65% of the control group said so; moreover, 100% of respondents from the primary group said that they would continue to visit Mikser in Žitomlin, while only 62% of the control group said so (whilst adding that their attendance would depend on the festival program, timing and other factors).

POSTLUDE: BACK TO THE FUTURE

Listening to the soundwalks recorded during the Mikser Festival in 2014, 2015 and 2016, whilst preparing this article, I was reminded of the infectious optimism and the visionary spirit of the festival organizers. Unfortunately, their idea to turn Savamala into a permanent fixture on the map of Belgrade nightlife and a tourist hotspot only materialized for a few years, before it was halted by the top-down business interests.

Based on the research discussed above, there are several conclusions and lessons to be learned. First, in spite of Mikser Festival’s primary focus on contemporary architecture, design, creative industries and such, it was *sound* i.e. music of all genres that primarily drew visitors to the festival and kept them interested in it. This conclusion corresponds with my already cited observation that the reculturalization and transformation of Savamala was predominantly achieved by means of changing the *sound* of the area, i.e. by bringing music into this ugly, derelict quarter. It was music and sound that enabled the festival goers to form identity bonds and to become members of Mikser’s urban tribe, immersed in its sound.

Second, it is clear that the marketing campaigns in the past years were not entirely successful, because a large percentage of the urban, hip, educated audiences did not even know that the festival was taking place in Savamala; or, even if they knew,

they were often put off by the notoriety of the location, or insufficiently interested in the festival program. Perhaps a clearer emphasis on music, instead of talks, exhibitions and such, would have helped in attracting the audiences in larger numbers. However, those who did attend the festival carried very positive impressions. While on this occasion I did not investigate the attendees' perception of the sound, almost all of them expressed their enthusiasm for the festival's lively atmosphere and enjoyed being part of the festival crowd.

Third, both those who attended the festival and those who did not, felt that the festival contributed positively to life in Savamala and the tourist offer of Belgrade in general, which needed an alternative event of this kind. A major lesson learned was that Mikser Festival, in spite of its good intentions, visionary ideas, regional networking and private and international support, could not survive without support from Serbian officialdom. It was not just about finances, although Ivan Lalić admitted that the reason for leaving Savamala and closing down Mikser House was the fact that the project was financially unsustainable (Ljuna 2017). More importantly, in the present-day transitional Serbia, the very fact that the festival was organized independently and not endorsed either by the City of Belgrade or Serbian Ministry of Culture and Information exposed it to political whims and competing business interests. Even as the festival relocated from Savamala to Dorćol, it remained vulnerable to such influences.

The ninth edition of the festival was held from 25 to 28 May 2017 at the place where it had begun – in the former Žitomlin silos at the south bank of The Danube – under the aptly chosen title *Migration*. The previously-announced location for the festival and the new Mikser House, also in the lower Dorćol – the factory IMK Beograd – had to be changed at the very last moment, because the administrative procedure for this defunct factory was suddenly accelerated and its immediate sale announced (thus confirming my observation from the previous paragraph). The organizers of Mikser were then forced to opt for the first former industrial location that they 'discovered' for the Belgrade audiences in 2009. Unless they manage to make common interest with cultural officialdom and negotiate their support for the festival, it will not come as a surprise if they were forced to move again.

As of now (end of May 2017), Ivan and Maja Lalić are still searching for a suitable location for the new Mikser House in Belgrade. Simultaneously, preparations are underway to open a Mikser House in Sarajevo, the capital of the neighbouring Bosnia-Herzegovina, thus expanding the already established regional collaboration in a more tangible way. The years of sound living in Savamala may have ended much sooner than expected, but the idea of Mikser as the all-inclusive, barrier-breaking, sustainable utopia has not been abandoned.

APPENDIX

Questionnaire used for quantitative research

For the purpose of research on the project City Sonic Ecology, please answer several questions about Mikser Festival. Please put the questionnaire in the enclosed addressed and stamped envelope and send it to us. The research is conducted anonymously. Thank you for your collaboration!

Questions

- 1) Did you know that Mikser Festival was taking place in Savamala between 2012 and 2016?
- 2) Did you visit Mikser Festival while it was taking place in Savamala?
- 3) If your answer to the question no. 2 with “Yes,” which programs did you attend?
- 4) Describe your overall impressions of Mikser Festival.
- 5) Do you think that Mikser Festival contributed positively to life in Savamala?
- 6) If your answer to the question no. 5 was “Yes,” what do you regard as its positive features (choose one or several of the answers below)
 - placing Savamala on the tourist map of Belgrade and Serbia;
 - enriching the musical offer of Belgrade;
 - reconstruction of derelict and abandoned former industrial objects;
 - promotion of private entrepreneurship;
 - improving the economic status of the residents of Savamala;
 - improving the public perception of Savamala, which has long been considered a “notorious” neighborhood.
- 7) Do you know that Mikser Festival is moving to Dorćol in 2017?
- 8) Do you know that any of the results stated in the question no. 6 will be sustained after Mikser leaves Savamala?
- 9) Did you find any of the programs of Mikser Festival disturbing in any way?
- 10) If your answer to the question no. 9 was “Yes,” please elaborate.
- 11) Do you regret that Mikser Festival is leaving Savamala?
- 12) Will you visit Mikser Festival at its new location (*Žitomlin, Dorćol*)?

Statistical information about you — please choose:

Gender:	male	female	other	
Age group:	under 20	20–39	40–59	over 60
Education:	primary	secondary		university, postgraduate

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Ивана Мегућ

ГОДИНЕ ДОБРОГ ЗВУКА: МИКСЕР ФЕСТИВАЛ У САВАМАЛИ (2012–2016)

(САЖЕТАК)

У овом чланку разматрам звучни пејзаж (саундскејп) Миксера, независног фестивала савремене креативности, покренутог 2009. године у Београду, главном граду Србије. Фокусирам се на раздобље од 2012. до 2016. године, када се Миксер одржавао у Савамали, урбаној четврти у центру Београда, која је била подвргнута различитим урбанистичким и културалним трансформацијама у разматраном периоду. У тексту се најпре бавим историјатом и концепцијом Миксер Фестивала, као и појединачним годишњим издањима фестивала током његовог „живота” у Савамали. Након тога, описујем једну „звучну шетњу” снимљену током фестивала, а затим наводим резултате квантитативног истраживања спроведеног почетком 2017. године, а у вези са утисцима посетилаца и укупном рецепцијом фестивала. Креативни тим који је покренуо Миксер, предвођен брачним паром Мајом и Иваном Лалићем, имао је за циљ да Савамали обезбеди трајно место на мапи београдске културно-туристичке понуде и ноћног живота. Чињеница да у тој намери нису успели првенствено је била проузрокована финансијским разлозима, али и околношћу да су се нашли на путу амбициозном економско-урбанистичком пројекту, чији је циљ комплетна трансформација десне обале реке Саве. Ово наводи на закључак да дугорочни опстанак независног фестивала у транзиционој Србији не зависи ни од понуђеног програма нити од интересовања публике, већ од обезбеђивања званичне подршке и инфраструктуре.

OFFICIAL REGULATIONS AND PERCEPTUAL ASPECTS OF BELL RINGING*

*Mojca Kovačič*¹

Institute of Ethnomusicology, Scientific Research Centre of the Slovenian
Academy of Sciences and Arts, Ljubljana

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ABSTRACT:

Through the analytical approach of studying official and perception-related discourse on bell ringing I accentuate the complexity of aspects that the sound of church bell presents in contemporary society. I point out the misleading officially defined level of noise nuisance and reveal how, when and why bell ringing is perceived as a positive or negative part of the acoustic environment. The study argues for a holistic approach to the noise nuisance issues, still much underestimated in the official discourse, that co-create our everyday soundscape.

KEYWORDS: Ljubljana, soundscape, church bells, ringing, noise, acoustic environment

Sounds that are part of our everyday soundscape change on account of changes in our society. Early soundscape researchers regarded industrialization as the turning point between the “old” and the “modern” soundscape (Schaffer 1977; Truax 1984; Thompson 2002), and many theories, methods, research disciplines, and sound art musicians have dealt with the observation, preservation, protection, or restoration of certain sounds. The “technological crescendo of the modern city” (Thompson 2002: 2) has given some sounds, mainly those regarded as “natural” or “traditional,” hierarchical priority in the value system of the collective perception of soundscape.

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¹ mojca.kovacic@zrc-sazu.si

Even though the evaluation or ranking of specific sounds is a variable process and correlated to social, political, historical, economic, personal, and other factors, some sounds seem to be identified as more positive than others. Some of these sounds are integrated in everyday public life in such a way that no one questions their presence and place in the overall sonic environment. But when their audible necessity starts to be questioned, one can correlate this process with changes in society.

One such sound is the ringing of church bells. The church clock chiming and the bell ringing of Roman Catholic churches is an everyday occurrence in people's lives in Slovenia, and, although it is strongly associated with religion (as a public, aural form of religious expression), it affects – either directly or indirectly – everyone within range of the sound. In the past, this sound created a variety of meanings (cf. Makarovič 1995; Kovačič 2006), defined the acoustic boundaries of space and its rhythm (Lefebvre 2004), and contributed to the construction of local territorial identities (Corbin 2004: 184–204). These meanings have changed significantly in the modern world, in which the social processes of industrialization, globalization, and mobility have affected people's perception of time and space, as well as their relation to religiosity.

This article explores the position of bell ringing in official, Church, and public discourse in Slovenia. I argue that since World War II, a significant change in the role of church bells in public discourse began in tandem with the prominent political and economic changes and urbanization of public space. These changes can be defined as ecological, ideological, and aesthetic and are examined as reflected in official policy, media discourse, and people's relationship with the sound and the institution that manages the sound of bell ringing.

This study is spatially connected to public urban space. The sources used for the study are: legal environmental and ecclesiastical documentation, media representations of bell ringing, and web discussions and comments.² The official discourse is presented in the article from the position of the Church, the state and the city. Through official and public stances towards bell ringing, I show the complexity of aspects that the sound of church bells presents in contemporary society. In doing so, I highlight the contribution of such research when dealing with culturally conditioned sounds in space and time, and I also emphasize the importance of perception-related research for the future creation of urban public sound policies. This is why I begin the article with the issue of environmental policy towards the sound, which a variety of soundscape researchers have recently stressed.

SOUNDSCAPE BETWEEN LEGISLATION AND HUMAN PERCEPTION

For a long time, environmental policies treated sounds as massive unwanted noise that ought to be turned off or set to a lower volume, and only recently have they started paying more attention to other aspects of sound, including its impact on the quality of life and human health. "Reducing sound level is not always feasible and

² While my recent paper "Akustemologija zvonjenja" [Acoustemology of Bell Ringing] (Kovačič 2016: 53–63) in the Slovenian language already partly discussed public perception, I use some summarized previous research findings to juxtapose with the human perception of bell ringing.

cost-effective, and more importantly, will not necessarily lead to improved quality of life and people's satisfaction" (Kang et al. 2013: 8). This is why many researchers are trying to incorporate the soundscape concept as a set of relations between the ear, the listener, the sound environment, and society into these policies.³ But national institutions responsible for the regulation and control of acoustic space in the city (i.e., environmental inspections, municipal regulations) still focus strongly on the numbers that define the limits and allowed values of sound intensity in a particular environment. Their decisions based on this particular sound parameter contribute to shaping our quality of life and wellbeing, while other parameters (cultural, social, historical, perceptual, musical...) are still neglected.

Soundscape researchers emphasize in particular that soundscape is not a physically measurable category, but an environment of sounds "perceived and understood by the individual, or by society" (Truax 1999). Mainly in the last two decades, researchers from different backgrounds, such as geography, acoustic design, architecture, music, anthropology, and psychoacoustics (see Feld 1996; Truax 2001; Thompson 2002; Schulte-Fortkamp and Dubois 2006; Soares et al. 2012) have highlighted the importance of qualitative scientific approaches to soundscape, while focusing on the interaction of sound, space, people, and the environment. Some studies, especially those conducted by researchers in the field of psychology and health, focus only on the perception of soundscape and have set up various theoretical models to explore the perception of sound (Lercher and Schulte-Fortkamp 2003: 2815–2824; Schulte-Fortkamp and Fiebig 2006: 875–880; Zhang and Kang 2007: 68–86; Axelsson, Nilsson, and Berglund 2010: 2836–2846)⁴. Swedish researchers demonstrated on the basis of empirical research that "informational properties of soundscapes, i.e. categories of sounds are better predictors of perceived soundscape quality than acoustic measures of the soundscape, such as the equivalent sound-pressure level" (Axelsson, Nilsson, Berglund 2010: 2837). Even though many soundscape studies have proved that a merely quantitative approach "does not necessarily lead to better acoustic comfort in urban areas" (de Ruiter 2005), the impact of such studies on law, urban policy, and urban design in the world is still small. We can cite the most influential soundscape research on environmental policy – the "COST action" (European strategy for financial supporting of networking of researchers) *Soundscape of European Cities and Landscape*, in which 18 European countries and 7 partners outside Europe emphasized the need to integrate social science in environmental noise policy in order to improve the quality of life (Kang et al. 2013: 3). In COST action, Brigitte Schulte-Fortkamp and Peter Lercher propose a specific methodological model for research, one based on a triangulation approach combining: a) narrative, interviews,

3 One of the results was that the International Organization for Standardization (ISO 12913-1:2014) provided the definition and conceptual framework of soundscape.

4 The research field of health and psychoacoustics emphasizes the importance of non-physical aspects of sound perception as noise, such as: associations that sound evokes, individual sensitivity and personal characteristics, past experiences, the necessity of noise, expectations of noise, the activity of the listener, the season of the year, the period of the day, and the type of space (Bilban 2005: 11).

and workshops; b) a questionnaire survey; and c) sound analyses (Schulte-Fortkamp 2013: 122).

In Slovenia, soundscape studies are still a relatively new concept, and their implementation in a variety of working, professional, educational, and research fields is underdeveloped.⁵ Governmental policy and urban directives governing the scope of improving the quality of life understand the soundscape exclusively in terms of noise reduction and focus on specific sources of noise, mainly industrial, traffic noise and the s.c. devices (machinery, recreational devices, restaurants and bars) (UL 105/05). Since the current legislation does not understand bell ringing as a possible source of noise, no institution is responsible for taking into account bell-ringing's disruptive influence on people. Nevertheless, in the last two decades, public discourse has focused intensely on bell ringing as a sound that triggers physical and psychological disturbance in people's perception. This points out on discrepancy between legislative and perception-related understanding of noise that should not be neglected.

BELL RINGING: TRANSFORMATION FROM SOUND TO PUBLIC NOISE

Before moving to the Slovenian case, I will briefly present the state of the art of international scholarship on bell ringing. Bell ringing is mentioned in studies discussing sounds in public space, but still often in a romanticized way that stresses a historical perspective on the role of bells in society (see Truax 1984: 76; Schafer 1994: 53–56 and 60–62; Fisher 2014). Bell ringing is also discussed in terms of its role in the discourse of power relations, where religious sounds (such as bell ringing or the muezzin call) appear as the appropriate mechanism for political and territorial control of space (Alain Corbin 1998; 2004; Goodman 2010; Hayden in Walker 2013). Bohlman (2013: 205–223) briefly places bell ringing in the context of the permeability of religious sounding in post-secular Europe space. He shows how “cosmopolitan coexistence” (Born: 62) of religious plurality is being reflected by tolerance towards certain religious sounds. In his book *Religion Out Loud* (2014), Isaak Weiner gives the greatest attention to bell ringing

⁵ In 2016, I sought a variety of experts and researchers who could join us for a one-day symposium titled “Sound Ecology of Ljubljana”. The result was quite modest, which reveals the underdevelopment of soundscape research in Slovenia. The symposium was attended by experts who use sound measurement methodology in their approach to noise pollution (Janez Drev, Andrej Piltaver). Other topics presented were an archeological approach to computer modeling of past soundscapes (Dimitrij Mlekuž), the importance of a positive soundscape and quiet areas for health (Sonja Jeram), and the importance of understanding the principles of auditory perception in ethnomusicological research (Drago Kunej). As a byproduct of anthropological research on drivers in an international context, the impact of traffic, city infrastructure, and driving habits on city soundscape was presented (Dan Podjed); representatives of the society Društvo za ENO glasbo showed how they fight for the city sound ecology and how the institutions responsible react to their actions (Bojan Cvetrežnik, Janez Križaj); and empirical research was used to demonstrate how multisensory perception influences aural perception (Mirko Čudina). The organizers of the conference presented our role and work to date in the international project *City Sonic Ecologies: Urban Soundscapes of Bern, Ljubljana and Belgrade* (Ana Hofman, Mojca Kovačič).

so far and explores (in sonic disputes) how the opposition of communities and individuals to public religious sounding expresses protest against the institutional power that manages this sounding. Weiner's study of religious sounds clearly shows Christianity's loss of power and dominance over American society, as well as the increasing religious plurality reflected in the contemporary soundscape of American cities.

While the historical presence⁶ of bell ringing in Slovenia is difficult to depict exactly, since most historical church bells have not been preserved, we can assume that bell ringing flourished with the construction of the first independent bell towers, i.e., from the 17th century on (Makarovič 1995: 64). The Catholic Church encouraged and engaged in church bell ringing, which became its main signaling device and symbolic object and gave it a strong position in folk tradition. Many folklore tales, beliefs, and myths indicate the apotropaic function of the church bell. Folklore and old and even contemporary literature document people's strong emotional attachment to bell ringing (Kovačič 2006: 105–116). Bell chiming – the traditional musical practice using church bells – became widely popular and was even declared a national specialty and promoted as a very old Slovenian custom. In sum, the sound of the bell acquired many different meanings: it is the sound of a religious institution, the sound of tradition, the sound of history, the sound of faith, glory, and happiness, the sound of the time, prayer, mourning, music, and, most recently, of noise.

In 1940, the Catholic Church expressed its intention to adjust the sounds of bell ringing in the city. Article 413 of the *Code of Ljubljana Archdiocese* (Rožman 1940) provides special instructions for bell ringing in Ljubljana. The differentiation between bell ringing in Ljubljana and in rural places was reflected mainly in the reduction of the duration and frequency of bell ringing (ibid., 144). The *Code* was issued immediately before World War II, so the instructions were not implemented because of the situation during and after the war. However, the *Code* is a document of the time that testifies to the intention to adjust religious sounds to the urban soundscape. We can only guess whether such restrictions reflected people's physical need for a quieter environment or the clerical-liberal struggles that already split the social, cultural, and political life of Slovenians in the 19th century.

The Regional Archive of Nova Gorica keeps a document testifying that on the day of the end of World War II, 9 March 1945, the official authorities in the city of Vipava declared that all bells had to sound in all the churches in the valley from 9 to 10 a.m. (Kovačič 2012: 87). If in this case the bells signaled important events and symbolized national joy, the situation completely changed after the war.

The postwar period was characterized by a strict atmosphere hostile to clericalism in the newly created state of Yugoslavia. The political principle of the separation of Church and State, along with general intolerance of religious expression in public life, affected official legal relations to the public expression of religion, which included bell ringing. Bell ringing came to symbolize an unwanted ideology and people's superstition. State policy began regulating the sounding of bells all over the country, as well as the religious authority as owners of "religious noise" (Weiner 2014: 8).

⁶ Individual data on historical bells and bell founders, as well as individual preserved bells, bear witness that the first bells were already being rung in the 14th century (see Ambrožič 1993).

Official regulations such as the *Decree on Public Order and Peace* of 1953 (UL 1953) included directives with special paragraphs dedicated to church bell ringing for individual Slovenian cities. At that time, bell ringing was limited mostly to regular religious services and could last only from 1 to 5 minutes (in Ljubljana 3 minutes). Much traditional bell ringing connected to Christian rites or folk customs was banned: ringing for funerals, the traditional Angelus ringing three times a day, ringing in the evening and at dawn, etc., and all decrees explicitly prohibited the tradition of bell chiming for Church holidays. All exceptions from these determinations had to be registered and permitted by the Department of Internal Affairs, or in other words – the police. A priest who violated the Decree's regulations could be fined or sentenced to prison. According to what Ljubljana's priests and sextons told me in conversation, the decree's limitations for bell ringing were strictly respected by "both sides" in the first postwar decade, but later control was more relaxed.⁷ Bell chimers also testified that the regulations were mostly disregarded in the countryside, where political control over the Church and folk beliefs was weaker (Kovačič 2012: 81–92).

BELL RINGING AND POST-SOCIALIST NOISE POLICY LEGISLATION

For a long time bell ringing was subject to the legislation on public order and peace and was not addressed independently. It is also the case that the EU did not start implementing noise abatement in legislation until 1993. At first, noise abatement was part of the Fifth Environmental Action Program and subsequently independently treated in the Green Paper on future noise policy (1996) (Adams et al. 2006: 2387). The latter document and the environmental noise directive issued in 2002 (Directive 2002/49/EC) were the basis for implementing international standards of noise abatement.

Many European Union member states integrated these guidelines and standards in their laws and regulations, and the same happened in Slovenia. In 1993, the standardization and harmonization of international regulations in the field of acoustics fell within the purview of the technical committee called Building Physics of the Office for Standards and Metrology, and in 2002, an independent technical committee SIST/TC AKU Acoustics was established. The committee monitors changes in EU standardization and translates the EU's legislative documents into Slovenian. But it is the Environmental Agency of the Republic of Slovenia (ARSO) that then prepares and issues national noise regulation policies. Mirko Čudina, a member of the technical committee SIST/TC AKU and president of the professional association, the Society for Acoustics, criticizes the ARSO for not following and for even misinterpreting the committee's guidelines, as well as for not including the general and professional public in the preparation of national regulation policies (Čudina 2013: 334). Below, I describe how Slovenia's "coordination" with European legislation affected bell ringing and what consequences this has had in society.

The documentation of sound control policy shows the shape of official tole-

7 When reviewing the archives of the parish of the city of Mengeš, I discovered that the tensest correspondence between the Church and city authorities took place up until 1956.

rance of sound and consequently defines the boundary between pleasant sound and noise. This is done by quantitatively monitoring environmental sound levels in decibels. Thus, the official documents issued in the first years of Slovenia's independence also determine the sources of sounds that are disturbing when they exceed certain measurable limits. In 1995, the *Decree on noise in the natural and living environment* was issued. It contained an article listing "bell ringing and other fixed audio devices" (UL 45/1995, 3rd article) among other sources of noise (pubs using audio devices, opened or covered construction sites, sports shooting sites, facilities for sports and other public events, etc.). In 2002, Slovenia started to coordinate its legislation on the limit values of environmental noise with EU directives, and in 2006, a new decree on noise (UL 105/05) was passed. In the new decree, bells were no longer listed among the sources of noise (as they are also not listed in EU directive), and this was the main reason for the polemical public discussions that developed in the years after the adoption of this decree. The public has noticed the change and expressed its opinions, mainly disapproval, in blogs, web forums, comments on newspaper articles, and online public debates about church bell ringing. The official institutions addressed by the public and the media responded in different ways. After a certain period of clumsy response, those defending the change in the decree (the police, the Ministry of Environment and Spatial Planning) coordinated their responses in a unique form:

The sound of the ringing of church bell is therefore equal to a sound produced by other musical instruments; the composition of frequencies is consistent with the tones of the music scale, which for humans is not unwanted or disturbing, just as the sounds of musical instruments are not normally undesirable or disruptive (s. n. 2010).

The website of the Inspectorate for the Environment and Spatial Planning has a section called *Questions and Answers*. Despite the title, public questions are not given anywhere; instead, the inspectorate gives explanations on three sources of noise, and one can guess that these sources are those the public complains the most about: noise at public meetings and events, noise from restaurants and events with sound devices, and the ringing of church bells. This clearly indicates the importance of bell ringing as part of the overall urban noise nuisance. The inspectorate explains that, because of official legislation, bell ringing cannot be treated as a source of noise; that bell ringing is brief and usually does not exceed the critical limits determined for residential areas; and that it is not harmful for health.

Anomalies in the aforementioned institutional answers are obvious and challenge both experts and researchers. Below, I will demonstrate them with some examples. Organology defines the church bell as a percussion instrument, but the musical instrument is defined also by its use and function. When people express themselves musically on church bells, bell ringing functions as music (i.e., bell chiming), but when bells are used to signal certain events or the time, bell ringing functions as an acoustic signaling device. In this sense bell ringing does not differ from other devices that legislation treats as sources of noise and control their excessive burden on the environment. On the other hand, even if bell ringing is perceived as music as indicated in the answer of officials, certain laws and regu-

lations control broadcasting and musical performances in public space. Another disputable aspect is the acoustic specifics of bell ringing. By acoustical definition, bell ringing is an impulse sound. Mirko Čudina points out that the level of impulse noise is now estimated as an annual average (not daily, as before), so the environment is now depicted as less burdened by impulse noise than before (Čudina 2013: 398-401). The average annual bell ringing levels are no longer exceeded and cannot be regulated by law. The relation of bell ringing to human health, wellbeing, and quality of life cannot be neglected either, and is here represented by next examples. Swiss researchers conducted a study of the impact of bell ringing in 2001 and proved that bell ringing affects health even at low volumes, such as chiming the hours at night. A group of people who lived near the church were connected to an EEG device at night, and the study showed that clock chiming frequently led to sleep disturbances. And sleep disturbances affect human health (Brink et al. 2011: 5210-5220). The Slovenian National Institute for Public Health published a professional opinion that bell ringing does not directly affect people's health, but can cause strong agitation. And precisely because officials neglect this aspect and people have no possibility to complain, this agitation can be increased. This certainly reinforces the fact that the "annoyances that bell ringing presents for people's health and well-being of people depend not only on the sound volume, but on a number of circumstances, conditions, and the state of the individual" (s. n. 2014).

BELL RINGING AS AN EXPRESSION OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

After the sound of bells was exempted from the regulation of noise, Church authorities rarely publicly defended their stance on bell ringing. Their responses mainly parallel the aforementioned answers from the responsible official institutions, i.e., that bell ringing is music, that the regulations are in accordance with EU directives on noise, and that bell ringing is the expression of constitutionally guaranteed religious freedom. But public pressures were nevertheless strong and required clearer responses and actions from the Catholic Church.

In 2013, bell ringing was the subject of discussion at the Slovenian Bishops' Conference, and for the first time, the Church authorities discussed bell ringing and its inclusion in modern society. As a result, the bishops issued guidelines for bell ringing that mainly justify the current situation and do not seek solutions and compromises between the conflicting sides. The only proposal in the direction of compromise was: "In an environment where there are tensions and disagreements between the ecclesial community and society because of the use of church bells, the priests are ordered to discuss the problems and to try to find a consensus" (Glavan 2013). Bell ringing in the urban environment is particularly addressed in a special paragraph calling for some changes in cities and in concentrated residential areas, such as volume reduction. But no further instructions are given, and since the volume of bell ringing cannot be lowered by pressing a button, such instructions seem insufficient. The guidelines also emphasize the importance of the audibility of bell ringing in the religious, social, and cultural context: religious recognition, the function of marking the time of day, and calling people to mass. The concluding sentence highlights the constitutional right to sounding bells within a religious context: "Interference with the ringing of

church bells or their silencing will always be interference with religious freedom and the individual's affiliation with the Church" (ibid.).

Constitutionally defined religious freedom is often invoked in debates on sounding within the religious context, and is interpreted in various ways. On the one hand, bell ringing expresses religious freedom (for Catholics), but on the other hand, a part of society argues that bell ringing's dominance in the acoustic space suppresses religious plurality. Secular society argues that bell ringing violates the personal freedom to live in secular acoustic space.

The official discourse closed discussion with regard to religious freedom and the ringing of bells already in 2010, when the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Slovenia had to assess the compatibility of some acts of the Religious Freedom Act with constitutional provisions. Its assessment referring to the use of church bells is based on Article 7 of the Constitution and on the Religious Freedom Act and reads: "An individual's marking of his profession of or implementation of religion does not confront another individual with religious beliefs in such a way that it interferes with the latter's negative religious freedom. So also visible or audible marking of religious monuments (e.g., a view of a church or mosque, a religious procession, a believer in religious clothing, the singing of the muezzin or the sound of church bells) is also not a forced confrontation with religion from which the state must protect the individual" (Tratnik 2010: 48-49).

PUBLIC PERCEPTION OF BELL RINGING: BEYOND THE DISCOURSE OF NOISE

Finally I present few examples that show how bell ringing exceeds the discourse of noise and so supports the thesis of the necessity of complex treatment of sound. Controversies about bell ringing in media discourse were strongest from 2003 to 2015, testifying to the fact that bell ringing is one of the most omnipresent sound sources, which aroused the attention of the general public. The first publicized event that began the controversy was the "soft terrorism" action of silencing the bells of the cathedral in Koper. In 2013, Marko Breclj, a famous Slovenian musician, political activist, and former municipal councilor, covered the clappers of church bells with carpets on the day before the important Catholic Feast of the Assumption. The bells did not ring, many people were outraged, and Breclj's action launched his public correspondence with ecclesiastical institutions. Wider public and media response to the event immediately showed that the problem of bell ringing goes beyond discourse on noise and enters the field of the political polarization of Slovene society. This was exacerbated after 2006, when bells were excluded from regulations on sources of noise. Since the ruling party at that time was the Slovenian Democratic Party (SDS), publicly characterized as a right-wing and pro-clerical party, many people interpreted the change of the regulation as an abuse of political power. In that year, Marko Breclj performed the same action again in the same church. Here are excerpts from his statements after the two actions:

We wanted to say that clericalism is a fundamental Slovenian eco-problem. We showed that silencing the loud bells of Koper is a solvable technical issue (Tanackovič 2003).

In cooperation with renowned Slovenian technical physicists, we would prepare and conduct the partial muting of oversized bells that will preserve the richness of the sound. At the same time, we are ready to inform the Slovenian public on the progress of exemplary and people-friendly adjustments of the volume of ritual sounds in Koper, as well as to proclaim our good intentions to the youth and exhausted residents of the city (Valenčič 2009).

Both statements show how Breclj shifts the context of his action from ideological activism against the Church to action against noise nuisance. A review of responses from the public in the media discourse shows that the physical disturbance of bell ringing was the prime topic. However, broader aspects of the perception of bell ringing are sometimes hidden in the text, and most frequently the original debate on the sonic disturbance of bell ringing turns into a purely political or ideological debate that dates back to the time after World War II, showing how the communist past is embedded in the present perception of space: "Xenophobes would like to silence the voice of the Church, which is steadily here, even if they had to slaughter us again as they did in 1945" (Alić 2013).

My recent study of the citizens' response to the possible future manifestation of the sound of Muslim calls to prayer in Ljubljana shows that tolerance for the sounds of *ezan* often stems from opposition to bell ringing. A broader debate on bell ringing and noise is very often developed in the same forum. This indicates the new dimension bell ringing has in society: its demonstration of religion's dominant position in the acoustic space touches on power relations and raises questions about religious plurality (Kovačič 2016: 25-38).

Another aspect should be mentioned – the sharing of public space in secular society and the penetration of sound into private space, as seen in the following comment:

Who was first in this place, you or the church? If you don't want to listen to it, move away; otherwise, thank your parents for moving here. It is the same as when somebody moves to the countryside and then cries because of the smell of the manure (s.n. 2011).

As Georgina Born and other authors of the book *Music, Sound and Space: Transformations of Public and Private Experience* (2003) indicate in many examples of other sounds, religious sound contests and redraws boundaries between the public and private and demarcates or questions existing territorial boundaries.

CONCLUSION

The study of the role of bell ringing in the contemporary urban soundscape shows different aspects of religious sound: how political and religious legislation regulates the existence of the sound; how the sound itself energizes power relations in society, when and why it is perceived as acceptable or unacceptable; which experiential and contextual knowledge is evoked when listening to religious sounds; when and why these sounds are used or understood as a communicative act or ideological tool.

The presented official control over bell ringing shows how the position, role, and function of religious sounding changed through time, as well as how public perception of bell ringing is shaped today. The fact that people began complaining greatly about bell ringing in the last decade could be explained in different ways: public awareness of noise and of the impact of sonic disturbance on health and wellbeing is increasing; the situation reflects the socio-political and ideological friction in society; the situation presents the increased public awareness over the right to co-shape public soundscape. Finally people's response because of the lost possibility of complaining is also important. When bell ringing became "desirable music" in the official discourse after 2006, and thus ineligible for official sanctioning, some people felt anger and helplessness. It is obvious that these people never established a musical-aesthetic relationship to bell ringing, as implied by official policy. This also indicates that noise annoyance is not a question of decibels at all. Statistically, not even a third of the complaints about noise address its acoustic properties (Jeram et al. 2013: 12). Thus, I assume that the ignorance of Church and state authorities on this problem greatly fueled the complainers' agitation. The international team of public health researchers recently underscored the need for a system of public complaints on environmental noise for two reasons: to improve the understanding of public noise annoyance and to improve the health and wellbeing of citizens directly. "The importance of having the possibility to complain was highlighted in a study that showed a reduction in blood pressure after the usage of a noise-complaint line" (ibid.; see also: Popescu et al. 2010: 237-244 and 2013: 205-210).

An increasing number of studies today argue for the need for a holistic approach to the noise nuisance issue. This study, too, shows the complexity of sound in modern society. It also demonstrates that the purely acoustic approach that is still part of all official regulation of the sonic environment can be inadequate, misleading, or even wrong. On a wider level, this shows the benefits that can accrue from connecting the humanities and social sciences with the technical sciences, such as acoustics.

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Мојца Ковачич

ЗВАНИЧНИ ПРОПИСИ И ЛИЧНИ ДОЖИВЉАЈ ЗВОЊАВЕ ЦРКВЕНИХ ЗВОНА

(САЖЕТАК)

У Словенији, након Другог светског рата, убрзана индустријализација у градским и приградским срединама значајно је променила њихово звучање. Појавили су се многи нови звуци, неки су се изгубили или су гурнути у позадину, неки су изгубили своје значење, постали неважни или нежељени. Расправа коју овде презентујем на тему звоњаве црквених звона и њиховог положаја у савременом друштву инспирисала ме на ново промишљање о значењу звоњаве у простору и времену. Ако је звук црквених звона био један од централних звукова акустичног простора и људских живота у преиндустријском добу, ово се у потоњим деценијама значајно променило, посебно када је звук звона постао део дискурса о буци у јавном простору.

Промена у доживљају звоњаве црквених звона првобитно је била резултат политичке контроле над звуком. Време за црквену звоњавау било је ограничено, контролисано, или у потпуности забрањено, а власти су путем прописа о реду и миру у јавном простору контролисале сонорност религијске провенијенције. Но, упркос званичним прописима, десакрализација простора била је најочигледнија у урбаним центрима и није у истој мери афектовала руралне средине. У доба социјализма, звоњава је била регулисана на државном нивоу, а жалбе на ниво јачине звука биле су веома ретке и нису биле јавно изражаване, док је у постсоцијалистичком раздобљу приметан пораст

тензија, што се рефлектовало и у медијском дискурсу. Постепено је ниво буке проузрокован звоњавом постао значајан проблем. Могуће је пратити бројне дискусије на форумима, блоговима, коментарима испод новинских чланака, затим, такозване „мирне терористичке” акције усмерене ка утишавању звоњаве, окупљања по селима (и за и против звоњаве), пресуду Уставног Суда у корист црквене звоњаве, као и промене у законима који се односе на регулацију буке. Све ово усмерава нас ка фундаменталним проблемима које разматрам у овом чланку, а то су: проблем границе између пријатног звука и буке, продирање религијског звука у секуларни простор, односно, јавног звука у приватни простор. У овом тексту презентујем званични – градски, државни и црквени дискурс о звоњави звона од Другог светског рата до данас, док, са друге стране, наводим поједине примере како људи перципирају звоњаву. Користећи пример звоњаве црквених звона, истичем потребу за холистичким приступом решавању проблема звучног загађења.

Кључне речи: Љубљана, звучни пејзаж, црквена звона, звоњава, бука, звучно окружје

HOW MUSIC AFFECTS SOUNDSCAPE: MUSICAL PREFERENCES IN SKADARLIJA*

*Marija Dumnić*¹

Institute of Musicology, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Belgrade

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ABSTRACT

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

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

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

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¹ marijadumnic@yahoo.com

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

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

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

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

UNDERSTANDING MUSIC IN SKADARLIJA: THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS, METHODS AND MATERIALS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

has particular preferences within the typical repertoire performed in Skadarlija.

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

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

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

COMMUNICATION AND AFFECT IN COMMODIFIED PERFORMANCE IN SKADARLIJA’S TAVERNS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

MUSICAL PREFERENCES IN SKADARLIJA ACCORDING TO MUSICIANS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

MUSICAL PREFERENCES IN SKADARLIJA ACCORDING TO LISTENERS

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

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

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

CONCLUDING REMARKS

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

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

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Марија Думнић

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

(САЖЕТАК)

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

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

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SONIC MEMORY INTERVENTIONS AGAINST POLITICS OF URBAN SILENCING*

*Ana Hofman*¹

Institute of Cultural and Memory Studies, Slovenian Academy of
Sciences and Arts, Ljubljana

*Srdan Atanasovski*²

Institute of Musicology, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Belgrade

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ABSTRACT

We discuss the political implications of the noise/silence dialectic in order to reflect on the urban and social materialities of sonic memory activism in the post-Yugoslav space. We see the privatization of public space as one of the defining issues of current socio-political tensions and we strive to offer a more nuanced model for thinking about grassroots practices of musicking and listening in the context of resistance and power and control redistribution. Discussing sonic interventions in Ljubljana and Belgrade enables us both to uncover how important global processes are reflected in these local contexts and to locate diversity of present practices of resistance.

KEYWORDS: noise and silence (politics of), urban activism, post-Yugoslav space, cultural memory

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¹ ahofman@zrc-sazu.si

² srdjanatanasovski@yahoo.co.uk

You cannot really think about its [the city's] function and aesthetics if you overlook the fact that it is ruled by surveillance cameras, restricted access, trading logic and above-managed cultural, sports and other content (because hierarchical management of the public is not the same as common management). Such an attempt at the rehabilitation of the "urban city" is an exclusionary concept. The street increasingly acts as scene and scenery for the smooth making of profit and less as a living space of expression – freedom of creativity, anger, rage, joy ... – is increasingly a department store and boutique of consumer hedonism (for those who can afford it) and much less a place friendly towards all people and towards unpredictable, spontaneous activities. Such stifling spatial conditions are a symptom of key social tensions (Jelisijević 2015).

In this article, we discuss the political implications of the noise/silence dialectic in order to reflect on the urban and social materialities of sonic memory activism in post-Yugoslav space. We see the privatization of public space as one of the defining issues of current socio-political tensions and we strive to offer a more nuanced model for thinking about grassroots practices of musicking and listening in the context of resistance and power and control redistribution. We recognize that at a time in which demands for new "everyday" forms of democracy and emancipatory practices, particularly in urban areas, have become part of the common worldwide political struggle, "the local" and "the global" have become increasingly blurred political terms (Massey and Allen 1984). Thus we aim to elucidate potentialities between current political interventions in two post-Yugoslav capitals: Ljubljana and Belgrade. On account of postsocialist transformations and the aggressive introduction of neoliberal capitalism, the privatization of urban public spaces has become omnipresent and it is not surprising that cities have become the most prominent stage of struggle in post-Yugoslav societies. Discussing sonic interventions in Ljubljana and Belgrade enables us both to uncover how important global processes are reflected in these local contexts and to locate diversity in present practices of resistance.

Although Ljubljana and Belgrade did not share the same trajectories in terms of political and economic instability and uncertainty and structural problems after the breakup of Yugoslavia, both cities are currently facing growing urban transformations as a result of public/private restructuring and mass forced migrations because of their important positions on the Balkan route of refugees.³ During the period of socialism, the state acted as the main vehicle of urban transformation, struggling to display the dominant discourse of "classless society."⁴ As the restoration of capitalism (Vesić et

3 The (western) Balkan route refers to a land and sea route used by refugees in the ongoing European refugee crisis (primarily since 2015) to reach Central Europe from the Greek-Turkish border, through Macedonia, Serbia, Hungary, Croatia and Slovenia, and has mostly been used by refugees from war-affected areas of the Near and Middle East (Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq, etc.). Cf. Medić 2016.

4 On the issue of class in socialist Yugoslavia, see: Archer, Duda, and Stubbs 2016.

al. 2015)⁵ enters into full swing, formerly socially and state-owned spaces are being privatized and city landscapes (and soundscapes) are being transformed by neoliberal urban regimes (Vilenica and kuda.org 2012: 9). This introduces radical changes in the urban environment and the rise of social inequalities, poverty and discrimination, changing the living conditions of the urban population. The process of reshaping the class geography of post-Yugoslav cities can aptly be described through the concept of “informal” or “illegitimate city” (Abramo 2003; Perlman 2004), in which poverty, exclusion and structural violence are embedded in the very structure of the urban and cannot be made distinct from other social practices. The de(con)struction of public spaces resulting in the lack of social spaces (such as parks, children’s playgrounds, various cultural spaces etc.), and the inaccessibility of social institutions and infrastructures, proves that the privatization is a much broader social and cultural phenomenon than a simple shift in the mode of property or, as neoliberal technocrats would have us believe, an apolitical step towards a more meritocratic and efficient production of wealth.

Based on our ethnographic exploration of urban soundscapes in Belgrade and Ljubljana, we argue that it is not only possible but indeed necessary to theorize the political subjectivities mediated through sound beyond the individual/collective dichotomy. Drawing on Ana Maria Ochoa Gautier, we understand sound “simultaneously as a force that constitutes the world and a medium for constructing knowledge about it” (Ochoa Gautier 2014: 3). In this article we aim to show how the intensity of sensorial experience in co-creating urban soundscape has fostered socialities which act as active political agents in post-Yugoslav context. We have organized our article in two main sections: in the first we address two cases of disciplining or sanitizing city sounds in particular everyday and political contexts, and in the second we discuss how activist interventions, which draw on collective and individual memory, create ruptures in this policed sonic ecology.

POLICING AN “IDEAL CITY”

On 1 January 2016, Ljubljana was designated a green capital of Europe under the slogan “Ljubljana – an ideal city.” In their campaign, policymakers emphasized access to fresh water, and a green, beautiful and peaceful landscape as main markers of a high quality of life in a healthy environment and sustainable future for Ljubljana. This particularly concerned the city centre which was presented, in the words of mayor Zoran Janković, “as a big living room and a cultural and social setting, while former brownfield areas have been transformed into numerous parks, green spaces and playgrounds, where citizens relax and socialize” (Janković 2015: 6). The discourse of “sustainable growth” as one of the main concepts in the EU rhetoric of “healthier and liveable urban environments” also includes the acoustic environment factor by controlling “noise pollution.” Although the role of sonic ecology in promoting well-

⁵ We follow Vesić et al. (2015) in using the term “restoration of capitalism” in order to refer to what is in official and mainstream Western-liberal discourse known as the “post-socialist transition,” that is, the postsocialist socio-economic transformation which ensued after the end of the Cold War.

being was not one of the priorities of the municipal council of Ljubljana,⁶ officials placed emphasis on “natural sounds” of relaxing and healthy urban environment as an aesthetization of the tourist experience of city sounds (Bull and Back 2003: 8). And what can be wrong with such a policy emphasis on “healthy,” “sustainable” and “beautiful” urban ecology?

On 6 June 2016, representatives of the municipality, after a long period of negotiation concerning the revitalization of this area of the city centre, violently destroyed the first and only political squat in Slovenia – the *Rog* Factory (Tovarna *Rog*).⁷ They used the police in order to clear a vast location of 7,000 square-meters in Ljubljana city centre and transform it into a hub for contemporary art and creative industries. Although it could be hardly said that there is something wrong with the project of recovering the former industrial site⁸ through art and culture and transforming it into a creative space, such “revitalization” implies a radically different approach to the usage of city public space. At a time when all segments of city ecology become a commodity while the concepts of clean and beautiful space are merely a niche for consumerism and profit, autonomous spaces such as the *Rog* factory have great importance for cultural production and politics from below. After the breakup of Yugoslavia, *Rog* shared the same fate as several other factories in the same area, which, unable to be privatized, remained abandoned until 2002, when the Ljubljana municipality bought the entire industrial complex. In 2006, informal groups and individuals decided to take the initiative and squat *Rog*, transforming it into an autonomous cultural and artistic centre unique in this part of Europe, with several prominent figures involved in its activities, such as Antonio Negri.⁹ Based on the principles of horizontal (self-)organizational and socially progressive politics, in ten years *Rog* became a place for non-profit activities with hundreds of individuals and organization involved. An attack on such an autonomous space thus can be seen an attack on the cultural, artistic and living practices that attempt to build different social relations, that go beyond the existing capitalist mode of production.

What is even more important, *Rog* has been a main social centre for disadvantaged groups and individuals in Slovenian society, where the voices of migrants, women, non-heterosexual people, precarious artists and cultural workers, and others who are socially excluded or invisible can access various forms of emancipatory activities. Starting with the refugee crisis in 2015, *Rog* represented one of the main help centers for undocumented refugees from Syria, Afghanistan and many others coming through the Balkan route. If we take these circumstances into account, the importance of this space is not connected only to alternative modes

6 See the main strategy in *Ljubljana for You* 2016.

7 The factory was founded in the second half of the 19th century, with the main building for leather production built in 1922. Shortly after WWII it was nationalized and refurbished as a factory for *Rog* bicycles, which operated until 1991.

8 The main factory building (being the first steel and concrete building in Slovenia) has been protected as a cultural heritage site since 1998.

9 For more on this see: <http://tovarna.org/node/113>.

of artistic and cultural production and self-organization, but also to rising voices against the mainstream anti-refugee politics promulgated by the Slovenian government.¹⁰ Therefore, the “ideal city” rhetoric promoted through the title of Green Capital of Europe led to a policy of sanitization of the urban landscape and, moreover, implied a set of social and economic relations in which particular aural environments are threatened by this project. Although the city government promoted its policy as a way “to improve the quality of life of each and every citizen” (from the promotional leaflet, 12), a concept of well-being and healthy environment is based on the dangerous exclusion and erosion of certain aspects of the public sphere. As David Novak asserts, “public attention to street noise helped establish new divisions between public and private space, and became a crucial point of dispute for class-biased social reforms” (Novak 2014: 29). Following that, a relaxing and quiet city soundscape is not presented just as a commodified good and the most desirable quality of modern urban space. It becomes a sonic marker of the “First world” acoustic environment and an epitome of the “Fortress of Europe” as a structural condition of silencing. Taking into account the limitation of the mobility of refugees and the silencing of their acoustic practices in daily city life, struggles over *Rog* became an emblem of resistance to restriction and structural violence.

Early in the morning on 13 November 2016, the city square Slavija in central Belgrade was occupied by machinery aiming to remove the grave monument of Dimitrije Tucović. City officials had been mentioning the removal of the monument as a part of the larger project of renovating this roundabout, but the exact time of the inception of the project had not been pre-announced, possibly due to the fears that several Belgrade leftist groups who voiced their disagreement could have staged a protest. The legacy of Dimitrije Tucović, one of the first Serbian socialist thinkers and politicians, has already disappeared from Serbian society, even before his bust was physically removed from Belgrade’s public space. Importantly, Tucović was one of the rare opponents of the Balkan wars and World War I (even in European context), arguing that the irredentist striving of the Serbian political elite was imperialistic and egoistic in its nature, and his writing from this period could have served as a valuable knowledge-base for current conflict resolution (Tucović 1946; Baković Jadžić 2014). Praised by the Yugoslav political elite in the aftermath of World War II, Tucović was exhumed from the site of the 1914 Battle of Kolubara at which he died and reburied in the Belgrade square which also bore his name until the 1990s. In the last decades, his monument became an important reference for leftist political and activist rallies, which often paid tribute to Tucović.

In the new vision of the city officials for 2017, the place of Tucović’s bust is to be given to a *music fountain*, a novel object in the Belgrade cityscape, designed not only

¹⁰ Most visibly expressed through installing a wire on the Slovenian border, but also other forms of structural racism. On the connection between activities at *Rog* and structural violence towards erased, migrants, refugees, LGBTQI, workers, see: Gržinić 2016.

to cover 32 meters in diameter and to eject water at a height of 16m, but also to play music. This peculiar solution sparked an outpouring of sarcastic remarks on social media aimed at divulging how unnecessary an embellishment this is to a deeply impoverished society. These included the popular fake-news website Njuz.net reporting that the Slavija music fountain will feature as the main performer at the New Year Eve concert at (another) city square, Trg republike (thus referring to another, no less important discussion concerning the Belgrade public soundscape – that is, who should be invited to perform at the open-air New Year celebration and how much money should the city spend on this enterprise; Sokolovic 2016). Responding to various criticisms, chief city manager Goran Vesić stated that “whoever doesn’t like the music fountain doesn’t have to listen to it” (Nikolić 2016). However, the project of erecting a music fountain becomes even more bizarre when one consults the full Slavija reconstruction plans which include the intention of removing all pedestrian crossings and public transport stops within 50 to 100 meters’ distance from the roundabout. The image of the “ideal” city square envisaged for Belgrade in 2017 thus not only presupposes complete ban of negotiation of how the public (sonic) space is to be used and shared – by preventing public protests and denying the possibility of questioning the music played by the city – but it also excludes the *listener*. The “music” which will be produced by the music fountain will be an example of superfluous sound (cf. Mbembe and Nuttall 2004, Luci 2014), sound produced for the abject listener, or in this case the listener distanced by the soundproofed vehicle (as the construction of bicycle routes is also missing from the new project).¹¹ It will produce *public* without *community* as a new governmental ideal, creating a vision of uninhibited flows of capital and ostensibly effortless human labor.

SOUNDS (AND SILENCES) OF DISOBEDIENCE

Sonic politics have been strongly involved in the processes of fighting for alternative urban relations based on experimenting with different types of coexistence, solidarity and autonomy. Moreover, they call for the importance of understanding soundscape not as an experience or object but as a process and an action. Struggle against transformation of *Rog* was loud and displayed what the city officials during the campaign for the Green Capital of Europe wanted to mask: city sounds of global migration, economic crises, social stratifications, a high unemployment rate and so on. The case of *Rog* proved the importance of the different soundscape regimes, in which unwanted sounds included “forbidden” languages of illegal migrants, refugees and asylum seekers, sound of tunes and music genres that cannot be heard in the city centre or are considered “sound pollu-

¹¹ Soundproofing and sound insulation of car cabin is becoming an ever more present issue in private car marketing. The promotion brochure of the most sold vehicle in Serbia in January 2016, Renault Clio, advertises the updated model of this brand as the one which “transforms your travels into sensory experiences” through “an immersive musical experience with the BOSE® Premium sound system”. Cf. Prodaja novih vozila and New Renault CLIO brochure.

tion.” Similarly, the struggle to cleanse the political space from the “forgotten” vestiges of the socialist past and to inundate it with seemingly innocuous sounds of popular music through new technologies of creating monitored soundtracked spaces shows how the official image of Serbia as the “regional leader” in mastering neoliberal capitalism in the Western Balkans is difficult to sustain and demands new, expensive models of everyday interpellation.

THE RIGHT TO THE CITY AS COMMUNICATED THROUGH MASS SINGING

Some of the leading voices in resisting the process of the capital-led city’s transformations, degeneration and gentrification were activist, “self-organized” choirs (*samoorganizovani zbori*), Female choir Kombinat (ŽPZ Kombinat) and *Feminist choir Fighters* (Z’borke) that both have a very important place in the re-sounding of Ljubljana’s urban spaces. Both choirs were active in fighting against city policy regarding Rog: Kombinat, which received its name after the Factory Rog (during socialism called *Kombinat Rog*) had an open rehearsal in front of the defenders of the squat, while Z’borke sent an open letter to express disagreement with the restructuring of Rog. Choir members were actively involved in the campaign “Save the Rog factory” (*Ohranimo tovarno Rog*) by performing at the protests or physically protecting the space within Rog. From their foundation (Kombinat was founded in 2008 while Z’borke started singing in 2014 in Ljubljana), both choirs have understood collective singing as a form of political action.¹² Their common goal is to evoke a collective spirit of choral singing, emphasizing its revolutionary, rebellious side and emancipatory potential in order to give voice to previously marginalized individuals, groups, or narratives.¹³ “Giving voice” or “sounding” by performing in Ljubljana’s squares, streets and parks is one of the most important political actions of the choirs as an act of occupying the city. Their mass singing aims to reintroduce “hidden”/marginalized city histories (of women, migrants, refugees, etc.) on the city map and reveal “inappropriate” city soundscapes.

These choirs’ interventions transgress the typical notion of “music performance” by exercising sound relocation on the macro and micro levels. On the macro level, they initiate guerrilla performances – open-air concerts in front of established cultural institutions (such as *Španski borci*) or marginalized places or cafes, and at protests, as Majda, a Kombinat choir member, explains: “And in general, flashmobs are our main idea – street, guerrilla.” In this way, the choir members transgress the usual choral performance setting – the stage, understood as reserved for formal events. With their “music actions,” by enabling specific co-creation of sound and space and drawing on the potential of the mass performance, they provide new forms for political participation in the urban setting. Since their performances

¹² For a detailed study of the post-Yugoslav self-organized choral movement see Hofman 2015; 2016, since, due to the limited scope of the article, we avoid the discussion of this particular phenomenon.

¹³ For extensive analysis of choir’s membership, internal structure, performances and political engagement see Hofman 2015 and 2016.

include public speeches, shouting and clapping, they make their sonic “intervention” a new kind of auditory participation also through dissolving the line between noise and music. Choral singing, as a form of mass performance, can produce new networks and shape social interaction and intra-action between performers and listeners (Bakhtin 1986), establishing new patterns of political participation. Choir members embody new strategies in spatial dimensions of their performance and willingness to be a part of social experiment. Particularly flashmobs were seen as having more potential to transgress these boundaries: “We particularly like these guerrilla performances, when there is no distance erected by the stage, and it is really a different dynamics. It is a horizontal organization” (Teja, Kombinat).

The sonic aspect of the choirs’ performances appeared to be particularly important: the core of their repertoire consist of partisan, workers’ and revolutionary songs from the Yugoslav antifascist resistance during World War II. Recalling the musical past of WWII along with songs from the Spanish civil war, the French and October Revolutions, songs from the Civil rights movement and the great depression, anti-fascist and resistance songs from around the world, enables “socialist sounds” to be included in the so-called “repertoire of the global left” (see Hofman 2016). In the case of street performances, particularly during protests, choir members claim to exploit the “primary” function of these songs during the National-liberation struggle during WWII (NOB) – to raise morale and contribute to social networking and solidarity. Open-air street performances can also reflect the symbolic referring to naturalistic, open spaces which is seen as inseparable from the NOB (a naturalistic aesthetic of forest as the original partisan guerrilla fight setting). In the case of Kombinat, the natural environment is replaced with an urban setting: The result is an interesting picture of “situating” or “displaying” partisan songs in a modern urban environment which, “instead of camp fires, half-demolished houses and the forest, is occupying palaces of the capital, shopping centers and jumbo posters” (P. B. 2009). In that sense, their performances enabled new mobilizations, appropriations and reinventions, which enable the aural, social and political to be interconnected through the establishing of spatio-temporal sonic collectivities which act as an individual social body (see Hofman 2015; 2016). Choral performance is used in their cases of open political engagement as a kind of public social intervention to express and articulate their rebellion, and to make their voice present in public. The fact that partisan, workers and revolutionary songs, as the leading genre of the socialist music legacy are the main soundtrack of resistance to the urban transformations fostered by neoliberalism proved that they are acquiring new meanings. These songs, which were until 1990s an important part of sound city ecology, were silenced in the public sphere after the dissolution of Yugoslavia, as a legacy of the totalitarian past. In that sense, re-sounding this particular repertoire in the public sphere does not only evoke the common historical soundscape of Yugoslavia’s past and multicultural identity that is seen as a threat to the newly founded national states after the state dissolution. Bringing these songs to the streets, choir members claim to sound marginalized aspects of the official city history (and also marginalized or lost histories), reveal conflicting interpretations of what is unwanted and what is embraced in the city’s sonic heritage. As described by Tanja Petrović, “this choir [Kombinat] often performs in places that were heavily symbolical during socialism and marginalized after it, such as monuments

to heroes of the antifascist struggle; with these performances, they re-actualize them, giving them a meaning different from what they had in the socialist times” (Petrović 2011). Moreover, their actions can be seen as a resistance to the sanitized city soundscape, since evoking sounds of struggle against fascism but also racism and any form of social exclusion and exploitation enables sounding an ethnically diverse city population, migrants, refugees, unemployed workers from former privatized factories. By occupying city spaces with sound, such mass performances actually “re-ideologize” public space at a time when, to quote Marina Gržinić, the political and ideological content is de-ideologized and anaesthetized – the emptying of politics in favor of the anaesthetization of ideology of any politically substantial content (Gržinić 2014: xi).

THE MNEMONIC SILENCE COMBATING THE NEOLIBERAL DRONE

As the example of music fountain serves to emphasize how public space becomes sanitized through purportedly apolitical soundtracking, it is possible to theorize the role of silence in combating this governmental development and reclaiming the public space for political action. The Belgrade feminist and anti-war group Women in Black (Žene u crnom) are arguably the most prominent activists in Serbia dealing with questions of memory, dichotomies of collective versus individual and the desired versus the undesired. Established as part of an international movement, the group rose to prominence during the early 1990s, uncompromisingly confronting Slobodan Milošević’s regime’s belligerent politics and rampant violent nationalism (cf. Fridman 2011). Their activities after 2000 have been focused on reconciliation processes, asking that Serbian society face its responsibility for the Yugoslav wars. Since the 1990s, Women in Black have carried out silent vigils as their main form of protest, and they regularly engage with performance art as a strategy for gaining greater visibility in the public space. The pillars of their public acts are vigil, silence, body, and the color black. Women in Black insist on the non-representative aspect of their presence: although the medialized picture of the performances is recognized as important by the group, the physical intervention in the public space, the actual participation in the standing vigil, is what holds the group together.¹⁴ Looking at three memorial actions in the period between July 2015 and February 2017, it is possible to locate important aspects of Women in Black’s political aesthetics of public intervention.

I. On 10 July 2015, Women in Black staged a major commemoration in Belgrade’s Trg Republike, dedicated to twenty years of the Srebrenica genocide. They collaborated with an experimental theatre group, Dah teatar, in order to build an elaborate performance symbolizing the massacre of more than 8.000 Bosniaks, mainly men and boys, during the seizure of the city by the Bosnian Serb Army of Republika Srpska. The performance occupied a central city square, the urban pedestrian hub of the centre engulfed by cafes and serving as a usual meeting point. This space

14 In this regard, one can note how relatively few of the group’s efforts are aimed at the medialization of their activities, as well as how the pecking order in the group is dependent on actual participation in the vigils.

was transformed by the group through the usage of wide panels with the names of the victims held by the activists, and a large white canvas which was laid down in the square, creating the quasi-stage for the performative act. Because of the ambitious spatial scope of the performance, but even more because of the heavy over-policing of the event by police units equipped for riot control, Women in Black succeeded in silencing the everyday sounds of the commodities and services, creating the sonic space of the vigil, onto which they loop-played “Srebrenički inferno,” a song recorded for the purposes of the Srebrenica genocide commemoration and regularly featured in the annual memorial ceremony in Potočari, where the solo vocal line is given to a feeble child’s voice bereft of vibrato (see Pitić 2017). This sonic loop of the Belgrade commemoration was itself feeble, played on mid-range loudspeakers powered by a portable diesel generator, and was mixed with the ambient noise and the sound of the engine-generator itself.

II. On 18 November 2015, Women in Black commemorated the fall of Vukovar in 1991, the culmination of the 87-day siege of the city in Croatia by the Yugoslav People’s Army and paramilitary forces from Serbia during which the city was almost entirely destroyed and which resulted in exhaustive looting and numerous civilians’ and prisoners’ killings. Again, in the midst of the commercial everyday centre of Belgrade, at the beginning of Kneza Mihaila Street, and accompanied by police, the group staged their performance involving wide panels and writing on pavement using salt. This time the members of the group who coordinated the lining-up of the participants entered into marginal conflict with manager of a nearby sports and fashion store for allegedly disrupting the flow of customers, but also with a street musician—violinist, who presented a polished Piazzolla-based repertoire to passersby and who protested at the disruption of his informal music stage.

III. On 27 February 2017, Women in Black staged a vigil, “We remember the crime in Štrpci,” to commemorate the mass killing of non-Serbian civilians on a train which was travelling between Belgrade and Bar in Montenegro and which took place near the Bosnian village of Štrpce. The commemorative vigil was held outside Belgrade Central train station, which – as the huge promotional panel covering the whole left wing of the building incessantly reminded the activists – is itself scheduled to be abandoned and the grounds surrendered to the current main Belgrade aggrandizing endeavor, “Belgrade Waterfront,” the flagship project of the current government, aiming to transform the state-owned land at Sava riverbank into a private commercial area.

It is only partially true to state that Women in Black engage in memory activism, as they often cannot afford to draw on memories which are present in the collective, but have to build them anew. By intervening in the public space they draw on “abject memories,” memories which should have been present in the public and media space, but which have been stifled, ignored and rebuked. What they choose to do is to construct tangible but transient memorial spaces to specific traumatic events in the duration of their vigils. By default, they occupy a prominently central urban space, quite often a commercial and pedestrian hub rather than a place attached to an administrative or governmental seat of power. As their presence is itself always controversial and perceived as radically different from the official narratives, their interventions

in the urban space allows them effectively to disrupt the commodified noise-drone which characterizes the centre of Belgrade. In a system where omnipresent superfluous sound is seen as a mark of neoliberal triumph in rendering labor cheap and effortless, producing silence in the city centre is not innocuous as it seems. By producing a space of vigil, these interventions offer a rupture in the fabric of the neoliberal sonic phantasmagoria and open the possibility of the political. In other words, by demanding the space for vigil in the centre of the city, Women in Black afford the possibility of retaining a critical distance from the sound which is becoming ever closer. Finally, by insisting not only on non-medialized experience of the vigil, but also on its duration, Women in Black open the window of change in the understanding of urban time. Insisting on the duration of vigils, which usually take an hour, long after the journalists and media reporters, bar a few dogged photographers, have left the stage, the group also rethinks the understanding of time as a commodity – valued, but dispensable.

CONCLUSION

Spreading neoliberal ideology in reshaping urban spaces in Ljubljana and Belgrade has produced new patterns of domination and exploitation but also provoked more action-oriented city population and self-organized practices which confront the interests of corporate capital. This article addresses sonic interventions in public space as a revitalization of the city soundscapes of marginalized histories, groups and individuals while simultaneously enabling social fabric through evoking communal aspects of public space. Case studies on various cultural and symbolic reconstitution of the city we presented prove the importance of the establishment of alliances that introduce new senses of belonging and solidarity, and new ways of self-empowerment through sound. Such emphasis on sociality is crucial for active engagement and intervention in the urban public sphere. Self-organized groups, including collectives such as Women in Black and the choirs *Kombinat* and *Z'borke*, which are structured through a horizontal architecture of infra-power, as well as emerging heterogeneous alliances which are constituted through public protests and immediate presence in the public space, can offer a vision of a society of co-operation, commonality and solidarity, and might open up a room for new political forms and redistributions of power. The affective potential of participatory sonic events provides an emergent sense of collectivity on a wider scale and makes it possible to constitute new socio-temporal collectivities. These undertakings do not function as merely ideological, discursively medialized events, but as visceral interventions, working with affect on the plane of immanence and its potential to create a collective of bodies affected together and acting together. This gives a new potency to political participation through collective public sonic experience, forging new political inter-relations. In other words, the main potential of the sonic interventions which we describe here is in creating collectivities which are fostered by the sheer intensity of the sonic experience. In this way, an intensive collective experience of joint participation in the sounding, musicking, or even appreciating newly-discovered silence in the public space, engenders a sense of incipient community that is not yet there, but could be, as vehicle for rethinking the aesthetic, cultural and political potential of the audiosocial.

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Ана Хофман, Срђан Атанасовски

ЗВУК И СЕЋАЊЕ КАО ИНТЕРВЕНЦИЈА ПРОТИВ ПОЛИТИКА УРБАНОГ
 УТИШАВАЊА

(РЕЗИМЕ)

У овом чланку расправљамо о политичким импликацијама дијалектике буке и тишине како бисмо се осврнули на урбани и друштвени значај активизма који се темељи на звуку и сећању у пост-југословенском простору. Услед постсоцијалистичких трансформација и агресивног увођења неолибералног капитализма, приватизација урбаних јавних простора постала је свеприсутна, те не изненађује што су градови постали најистакнутији простор борбе у пост-југословенским друштвима. Звучне интервенције у јавном простору разматрамо као ревитализацију маргинализованих историја, група и појединаца, те сећања на друштвене аспекте јавног (заједничког) простора. Студије случаја о културалној и симболичкој реконституцији града које представљамо показују важност успостављања осећања припадности и солидарности и нових начина присвајања моћи кроз звук. Самоорганизоване групе, укључујући колективе као што су Жене у црном и хорове Комбинат и 3'борке, структуриране кроз хоризонталну архитектуру инфра-моћи, као и хетерогени савези који се конституишу кроз јавне протесте, могу понудити визују друштва сарадње, заједништва и солидарности. Главни потенцијал интервенција које овде описујемо је стварање колективитета који је подстакнут интензитетом самог звучног искуства. На тај начин колективно искуство стварања музике или звука, или чак стварања новог, политичког простора тишине у јавном простору, представља основу за изградњу нових врста заједница (и заједништва).

Кључне речи: бука и тишина (њихове политике), урбани активизам, постјугословенски простор, културна меморија

VARIA

ACOUSTIC VESSELS AS AN EXPRESSION OF MEDIEVAL MUSIC TRADITION IN SERBIAN SACRED ARCHITECTURE*

*Zorana Đorđević*¹

Institute for Multidisciplinary Research, University of Belgrade

*Kristina Penezić*²

Centre for Digital Archaeology, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade

*Stefan Dimitrijević*³

School of Electrical and Computer Engineering of Applied Studies, Belgrade

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ABSTRACT:

Archaeoacoustics is a multidisciplinary field of research focused on the history of the relatedness of the field of sound and architecture. The architectural history of Europe, from Antiquity to the modern period, is abundant in the findings of vessels, which are considered to have an acoustic purpose. This paper addresses these acoustic vessels embedded in the massive walls of sacred architecture in medieval Serbia (15 churches). We considered the wide context of current archaeoacoustic research, in order to argue that this practice can be regarded as an expression of a certain medieval musical tradition.

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¹ zorana.djordjevic.arch@gmail.com

² kpenezic@gmail.com

³ stefan.dimitrijevic@viser.edu.rs

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Research into sound in architecture deserves a special place in studies of cultural heritage. There are two main reasons for this: (1) as well as visually, humans also reveal the surrounding space by using the sound (Reznikof 2005) while (2) the sense of hearing is more sensitive than the eyesight.⁴ Archaeoacoustics, or the archaeology of sound, is a multidisciplinary field of research focused on the history of the relatedness of the field of sound and architecture. Because of the complexity of archaeoacoustic questions, it is necessary to develop a holistic approach and team research, which brings together archaeologists, acousticians, architects, musicologists, linguists, etc. Those different disciplines arrived at valuable conclusions concerning the history of the acoustics of sacred spaces in Europe (Baumann 1990; Arns & Crawford 1995; Carvalho et al. 2002; Desarnaulds 2002; Cirillo & Martellotta 2007; Zamarreño et al. 2008; Martellotta et al. 2008; Howard & Moretti 2009; Navarro et al. 2009; Crunelle 2009; Suarez et al. 2013, 2015; Elicio & Martellotta 2015; Alvarez-Morales & Martellotta 2015), and also in Serbia (Mijić 2000; Mijić & Šumarac Pavlović 2004; Пено 2008; Đorđević 2016; Đorđević et al. 2016).

This paper presents the results of multidisciplinary research into acoustic vessels built into the massive stone walls of sacred architecture in medieval Serbia. The main goal was to place the findings from Serbia in the context of current archaeoacoustic research and thus include them on the archaeoacoustic map of medieval Europe and the following interpretations of the historical relations of sound and architecture. Since medieval principles of building were considered as a secret of a craft, there are no detailed documents on the acoustical intentions of builders. Consequently, the research question is: Could the practice of embedding acoustic vessels in sacred architecture be considered as the expression of a musical tradition of medieval Serbia? To answer this question it is important to discuss four main groups of research questions related to this issue:

- (1) Where did the tradition originate and how was it transmitted? What were the possible ways of adopting the tradition of acoustic vessels in the building process of various parts of Europe throughout history?
- (2) What was the main intention of the builders or the founders? What did they strive for or believe they were accomplishing by installing the acoustic vessels?
- (3) What are the physical characteristics of the acoustic vessels found in the sacred architecture? Is there any positioning pattern? How were they installed?
- (4) What is the objective acoustical efficiency of the acoustic vessels in the architectural spaces?

Research into the acoustic vessels in architectural heritage was focused on three periods: (1) Antiquity, with special interest in the recommendations of Marco Pollio

⁴ Relation of the frequency range for sight is 1:2, and for the hearing sense is 1:1000. Relation between the weakest and the strongest sound a human can sense is over 120 dB, while the sensitivity to light is 90 dB.

Vitruvius and theatre acoustics, (2) medieval times and sacred architecture, and finally (3) the modern period and the use of resonators in auditoriums and sacred spaces (Arns & Crawford 1995).

The first part of the paper considers the general usage of acoustic vessels in medieval Europe, starting with the main thoughts from Vitruvius's *Ten Books on Architecture*, the oldest document in which acoustic vessels are described, then presenting a short review of relevant archaeoacoustic studies and finally illustrating the acoustic intentions with several quotations. The second part of the paper addresses the acoustic vessels in sacred edifices of medieval Serbia. This includes the historical framework, an overview of previous research, and a census of the acoustic vessels in fifteen sacred edifices and related acoustic studies. In the third part of the paper the main points of the research are discussed – the physical characteristics of acoustic vessels, their distribution, positions and orientation in the walls, acoustical efficiency, etc. We subsequently draw conclusions and make suggestions for further archaeoacoustic examination.

ACOUSTIC VESSELS IN SACRED ARCHITECTURE IN MEDIEVAL EUROPE

THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF MARCUS POLLIO VITRUVIUS

The oldest known source on acoustic vessels is the treatise *Ten Books on Architecture* by Marco Pollio Vitruvius, an architect from the period of Julius Caesar (1st century B.C.). Vitruvius considered architecture as the precursor of all other sciences. Writing about building practice, in several places he considered the issues of perceiving sound phenomenon and space acoustics. He described the voice as “a flowing breath of air [which] moves in an endless number of circular rounds like the innumerable increasing circular waves which appear when a stone is thrown into smooth water” until it is interrupted with an obstacle from which it reflects back, breaking up the formation of those which follow (Vitruvius 1914, 138–9). In other words, the laws of reflection were known in Antiquity, as well as the effect of reverberation⁵ due to uncontrolled reflections of sound, which significantly disturbed the intelligibility of speech from the stage. Therefore, Vitruvius stressed the importance of the geometry and proportions of theatres for their acoustics, explaining that the geometry of theatres needs to follow the natural laws of sound movement and thus enable the voice not to be obstructed. As a key for solving these building tasks Vitruvius pointed out the significance of *mathematical theory* and *musical laws* for sound reinforcement. The ancient architects, “by means of the canonical theory of mathematicians and that of musicians, endeavoured to make every voice uttered on the stage come with greater clearness and sweetness to the ears of the audience” (ibid., 139).

As the key solution for achieving adequate acoustics in theatres, Vitruvius recommended the installment of bronze vessels “in niches under the seats in accordance

⁵ The reverberation means that the production of multiple reflections of sound in a space, so more acoustic energy reaches the ears of the listener (Johnston 2009: 161–2).

with musical intervals on mathematical principles” (ibid., 9). In the fifth chapter of the fifth book – *Sounding Vessels in the Theatre* – he presented detail instructions on how to install sounding vessels on mathematical principles, so that when touched they would produce among themselves the tones of a fourth, a fifth and up to the double octave. All of this in such a way that “the voice, uttered from the stage as from a centre, and spreading and striking against the cavities of the different vessels, as it comes in contact with them, will be increased in clarity of sound, and will wake an harmonious note in unison with itself” (ibid., 143). Although he did not write in what way acoustic vessels impact the space acoustics, Vitruvius recommended the accurate disposition of acoustic vessels in the auditorium and their specific tuning according to musical intervals. He wrote that acoustic vessels should be facing the stage and arranged in the hollow niches between seats of the theatre, so “they nowhere touch the wall, but have a clear space all round them and room over their tops” (ibid.).

Vitruvius stressed that acoustic vessels are more suitable for theatres “built of solid materials like masonry, stone, or marble, which cannot be resonant” (ibid., 145). Although the number of niches and bronze vessels found in ancient theatres is inconclusive (Arns & Crawford 1995), a relation between Vitruvius’s description and the medieval practice of installing acoustic vessels may be found in the following recommendation:

Besides, many skilful architects, in constructing theatres in small towns, have, for lack of means, taken large jars made of clay, but similarly resonant, and have produced very advantageous results by arranging them on the principles described (ibid.).

Thus, this could be the essence of medieval thinking on architectural acoustics – acoustic vessels should be used if building in solid materials, and the vessels could be ceramic, not necessarily bronze.

ARCHAEOACOUSTIC STUDIES

Until the second half of the 20th century, researchers into acoustic vessels, mostly archaeologists or conservators (Vachez 1886, Јовановић 1909, Петковић 1909, Дероко 1930), were collecting data on physical characteristics, number, position and means of embedding vessels into the massive walls of sacred architecture. The vessels were reputed to have an acoustical function. The census of the findings is constantly modified. This significant contribution produced archaeoacoustic studies of 54 churches in Europe (Arns & Crawford 1995), 200 churches in Switzerland (Desarnaulds 2002) and about 200 medieval cathedrals in France and 320 in total all over Europe and the Near East (Palazzo-Bertholon & Valière 2012). Nevertheless, none of these wide-ranging studies included findings from Serbia.

Over the last several decades, research into acoustic vessels has drawn the attention of acousticians. There are two acoustic approaches amongst published multidisciplinary archaeoacoustic studies: (1) laboratory analysis of acoustic vessels (Carvalho

et al. 2002; Mijić & Šumarac-Pavlović 2004), and (2) *in situ* acoustic measurements on the localities where acoustic vessels are still in the original positions (Arns & Crawford 1995; Desarnaulds et al. 2001; Desarnaulds 2002; Zakinthinos & Skarlatos 2007; Valière et al. 2013, 2014). Their common goal is to examine the acoustic parameters, such as time of reverberation, clarity, definition, speech intelligibility, etc. Without exception, the studies showed that it is quite difficult to determine any significant acoustic effect of the inbuilt ceramic vessels. It is shown that there is no uniform pattern of embedding acoustic vessels in medieval sacred architecture (Palazzo-Bertholon & Valière 2012). Nevertheless, researching relations between type, number and positions of the vessels found with the building style, volume and height of the space, produced some indicative results. Valière et al. (2013) argued that builders had a vast empirical knowledge of acoustical laws, so they understood that the effect of acoustic vessels was cumulative. In other words, the number of vessels increased with the volume of a sacral space. In addition, the vessels were tuned in the frequency range with the longest time of reverberation.⁶ Since the resonating frequencies of the vessels under research are in the range from 100 to 500 Hz, they contribute to shortening the time of reverberation of the frequencies usually excited by the speaking voice. The authors also noticed the attempt to adjust the dimensions of the vessels in order to absorb low frequencies for which the absorption of wooden furniture (iconostasis, benches, etc.) and textile was less effective. Two types of vessels were often used in churches, whose resonant frequencies are in the ratio of the musical intervals of a fourth and a fifth (Valière et al. 2013, 75–79). This indicates the relation with musical theory and the tuning of acoustic vessels that Vitruvius wrote about.

Beside the intention to determine the effect of inbuilt vessels on church acoustics, there are also theories concerning their symbolic applications, based on ancient philosophy and the belief that musical tones elevate the human soul (Arns & Crawford 1995). Consequently, acoustic purposes can be considered as a secondary intention of the builders, while the primary goal was the comprehensive representation of the universe in which each vessel represents a planet and its sphere, emitting a characteristic noise. Thus, the system of acoustic vessels is part of a more general theory of spheres, developed in Antiquity and specifically valued in the Middle Ages (Poulle 2000).

THE ACOUSTIC INTENTIONS OF MEDIEVAL BUILDERS

The awareness of the possible improvement of acoustic effects inside sacred spaces is expressed in Francesco Giorgi's Memorandum for S. Francesco della Vigna from the year 1535: "I recommend having all the chapels and the choir vaulted, because the word or song of the minister echoes better from a vault than it would from rafters. But in the nave of the church, where there will be sermons, I recommend a ceiling ... coffered with as many squares as possible... because they will be very convenient for preaching: this the expert knows and experience will prove it" (Wittkower 1971: 156).

⁶ The time of reverberation is the time it takes the volume to drop to 1/1000000 of its initial value or, put another way, it is the length of time required for sound to decay 60 dB from its initial level. This acoustical parameter is the most important one for music (Johnston 2009, 161–162).

Throughout the Middle Ages acoustic vessels were incorporated in the massive walls of sacred edifices – the greatest architectural achievement of the time which expressed the symbolism of the internal value of overall order (*ibid.*). A comprehensive study on the tradition of acoustic vessels in medieval sacred architecture has not yet been published. However, there are two main positions: (1) the tradition is passed on as a continuous practice from Antiquity to Byzantine builders, and further, to the Middle Ages (Vachez 1886, Valière et al. 2013) or (2) the book of Vitruvius is credited with the revival of this acoustical tradition in medieval Europe (Godman 2006, Чанак-Медић 2006). Nevertheless, the effectiveness of acoustic vessels was constantly questioned throughout history. The oft-cited record on this scepticism, which also illustrates the acoustic intentions of medieval builders, is from the Chronicle of the Celestins de Metz from 1432:

He made and ordered the pots to be placed in the choir of the church thinking that they would make for better singing and would resound more loudly (...)
I don't know whether one sang better than one would have without having done this (Baumann 1990).

During the reconstruction of the Dominican convent of Strasbourg in 1743, the architect Salomon found acoustic vessels dating from the 14th century. Regarding these findings, he wrote:

When demolishing the walls of the great choir of the temple-Neuf (begun in 1307, completed in 1345), I found earthen jars around the ogives of windows and buried in the masonry, the opening being flushed and open to the inside. I managed to extract some intact. These pots are in grey earth... Belief in the effectiveness of these pots for acoustics has been abandoned long ago, because all the holes were sealed and the roughcast covered them completely. Around each ogive were nine pots, one at the top and four on each side (...). Apparently these pots were used to raise the tone of the voice when the monks sang in chorus (Valière et al. 2013).

This passage implies that the intention of the builder was to provide the desired acoustic properties inside of the church. However, there are no written records as to how builders understood the influence of the vessels to church acoustics.

ACOUSTIC VESSELS IN THE SACRED ARCHITECTURE OF MEDIEVAL SERBIA

HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK

Sacred architecture had the highest significance in medieval Serbia. The architectural design of the church, as the most important element of the structure of the monastery,

was thoroughly thought through and imbued with Christian symbolism (Поповић 1993). Each of the rulers of the Nemanjić dynasty endeavored to erect at least one monumental endowment, as an expression of power, greatness and spiritual commitment. The seignorial foundations commenced with the strengthening of the nobility in the 14th century (Дероко 1962, 9). The most respected builders were invited to build and paint the churches. Therefore, medieval sacred architecture in Serbia represents the highest peak of art of the time. It is considered to be the foundational point in Serbian modernity, upon which national identity was developed (Валтровић & Милутиновић 2006).

Medieval Serbian monuments of sacred architecture may be researched within the framework of stylistic groups, such as: (1) Pre-Nemanjić period (to the 12th c.), (2) the Raška style group (12th – end of 13th c.), (3) the Byzantine style group (13th – 14th c.) and (4) the Moravian style group (end of 14th – mid 15th c.). Besides changes in the stylistic characteristics of architectural monuments, monasteries were erected in certain regions according to the shifts of state borders in medieval Serbia. Here we present the findings concerning acoustic vessels from all the above-mentioned building periods.

PREVIOUS RESEARCH

During the first period of research into acoustic ceramic vessels in Serbia, at the beginning of the 20th century, they were consequently referred to as “acoustic pots” (Петковић 1909, Јовановић 1909). Thus, in the journal *Starinar* from 1909, Vladimir Petković wrote about the findings in Žiča monastery, and Kosta Jovanović’s subheading referred to the “function of the acoustic pots of baked clay.” The next wave of interest in the subject⁷ occurred in the 1960s (Ненадовић 1960, Дероко 1962), when Slobodan Nenadović published the first census of churches and description of the ceramic vessels found, their positions and the manner of their installation. In this census, the author concluded that vessels were found in the architectural monuments erected throughout the Middle Ages⁸ (Ненадовић 1960). Researchers have dealt sporadically with the subject up to the present day, remaining within the frame of their own research disciplines (Бајаловић Хаџи-Пешић 1981; Чанак-Медић 2006; Мијић & Šumarac Pavlović 2004). The exception was the multidisciplinary approach taken in research into acoustic vessels found in the monastery Davidovica (Булић & Црнчевић 2010).

The function of these vessels was always questioned. However, researchers supported their acoustic function without exception. Thus, Petković wrote: “... the function of these pots is not quite clear. It is problematic to explain their use as being

⁷ Acoustic vessels found in the walls of medieval architecture were also mentioned in publications from the third decade of the 20th century. See also: Дероко 1930: 128–155; Тагић 1929: 132.

⁸ In addition to sacred architecture, acoustic vessels have been found in the medieval cities of Soko-grad and Куриново (Бајаловић Хаџи-Пешић 1981: 25–32).

part of constructional necessity, and perhaps it would be suitable to understand them in the role of resonators” (Петковић 1909: 104). Jovanović believed that in case of ancient buildings there was an awareness of the need for adjusting the acoustics of sacred spaces, but on account of their size and disposition in more recent buildings, he concluded that the tradition began merely to be passed on, without any understanding of the function of acoustic vessels; thus he wrote:

There seems to be no doubt that their usage came with the manner of building of the East, where they certainly used to have a common role as an instrument for increasing resonance. However, later on, especially in this region, it seems that this function was completely overlooked so their use was more a result of inherited building traditions than a consciously understood need for better resonance in churches (Јовановић 1909: 136).

Nenadović emphasized that Serbian medieval churches were usually consider “acoustical.” In addition to research into acoustic vessels, he also considered the role of the geometry of the church, suggesting that acoustic vessels were positioned in order to prevent direct reflections of sound towards the speaker, standing in a semi-circular apsidal choir. In other words, they played the role of the resonators that make sound spread evenly throughout the space, so the speaker cannot hear himself enhanced (Ненадовић 1960: 10). In contrast to that, Deroko believed that the acoustic vessels “were used for space to echo better.” Consequently, he wrote on their function: “When those vessels were built in such a way that their openings could be seen, their cavity enhanced the sonority of the space, like, for example, the openings and cavities in the guitars and other musical instruments” (Дероко 1962: 26).

The period of the use of acoustic vessels in medieval Serbia was initially questioned. Petković considered the vessels as a “characteristic sign” of 13th- and 14th-century churches (Петковић 1909: 104), while at the same time Jovanović claimed they were used in early as well as late medieval church building in Serbia (Јовановић 1909: 138). Today it is the accepted position that the embedding of ceramic vessels in church walls was common in all building periods of medieval Serbia, through the influence of Byzantine culture (Јовановић 1909; Бајаловић Хаџи-Пешић 1981) or as a consequence of the knowledge passing through the building groups from Dalmatia (Булић & Црнчевић 2010).

CENSUS OF THE ACOUSTIC VESSELS

In accordance with published papers, we present the findings of the acoustic vessels in the sacred architecture of medieval Serbia, in fifteen churches found today in the territory of the central Serbia, Kosovo and Metohija and Hilandar Monastery on Mount Athos (Table 1, Figure 1). For each church, we indicate its founder, the date of building and the importance of the edifice at the time of building, if any. There is also a description of the organization of space and of the system of construction, because this is important for understanding the positioning pattern of acoustic vessels. Finally, we give the position and the manner of installation of acoustic vessels, their physical

characteristics and, in cases where vessels are extracted from the walls, we indicated the Museum where they are preserved today.

The Church of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul near Novi Pazar is the oldest preserved monument of medieval architecture in Serbia, dating from the Pre-Nemanjić period. According to the organization of space, construction and stylistic elements, this church belongs to pre-Romanesque architecture (Нешковић & Николић 1987: 17). Until the establishing of the first Serbian archbishopric at Žiča Monastery, St Peter's Church represented the centre of Church life in Serbia. The plan of the church is a circle with an inscribed cross with four conches. The dome is over squinches supported by four pilasters. Around this central space, a semicircular corridor and narthex with the gallery were built in the same period. The southern part of the edifice is from the later period. Eleven acoustic vessels are found in the central area, inbuilt 40 cm below the dome cornice, with distances among them from half a meter to one meter. They were also found in the apse, where they were inbuilt in one horizontal line. In addition, there are two vessels in the corners of each conch— eight vessels in total. They are about 30 cm in height with an opening of about 3,5 cm. All the vessels are inbuilt in the horizontal position, in such a way that the mouth opening is oriented towards the inner space of the church (Figure 3). These holes are visible today, since they were not covered with a layer of mortar in the past (Ненадовић 2003).⁹

The Church of Sts Peter and Paul in Stara Pavlica Monastery near Brvenik dates from the 12th century – the Pre-Nemanjić period or the very beginning of the rule of the Nemanjić dynasty. The church, with the dome still standing, is today in ruins. The plan of the church is a three-nave basilica with inscribed cross. The dome is in the centre of the cross, supported by the four columns and pendentives. The narthex is on the west side of the church. Eight acoustic vessels are equidistant in the area where the dome covers the drum. The acoustic vessels, about 25 cm in height, are positioned horizontally in the stone wall (Ненадовић 1960). The mouth opening is oriented towards the interior of the church, and the bottoms of the vessels are in the wall. Since parts of the walls are missing today, the bottoms of the vessels are visible from the outside of the church. The radius of the vessels at their widest is 15 cm, and the radius of the bottom is 10 cm. The openings were mortared over with the fresco mortar. Acoustic vessels, 30 cm radius at their widest, were also found in each of the “barely distinguished pendentives” (ibid.). In short, there are two dimensions of acoustic vessels in the church of Stara Pavlica Monastery – the eight in the drum are smaller, and the four in the pendentives are larger. All of the vessels found were made of baked clay, vermilion in color and not enamelled (ibid.). These vessels are considered to be intentionally made for acoustic purposes (Булић & Црнчевић 2010).

The Church of St Nicholas near Kuršumljia is one of the first endowments of Stefan Nemanja, the founder of the Nemanjić dynasty. The church was erected between 1152 and 1168. After gaining the autonomy of the Serbian Church in Nicaea

⁹ St Peter's church near Novi Pazar is the only example of this type of sacred building in Serbia, but analogies may be found in Dalmatia. Therefore, it is important to bear in mind the discovery of acoustic vessels in the churches of the Dalmatian coast. See: Jurković & Turković 2012, Marasović 2003.

in 1219 this monastery became the centre of the newly formed episcopacy of Toplica (Томовић 2000). The church is a single-nave basilica with a sliced dome and three-part altar. King Stefan the First-Crowned added the narthex with two towers on the west side of the church, and king Milutin erected a chapel on the north side. Four acoustic pots are found in the pendentives under the central dome (Бајаловић Хаџи-Пешић 1981). One is well preserved and it is preserved in the National Museum in Belgrade. Its height is 31.7 cm, the radius at the widest zone is 23–24 cm and the radius of the bottom is 13.5 cm. The thickness of the ceramic walls is 5–8 mm. The mouth opening is about 12 cm. The pot is made of baked clay, an uneven red-yellow colour and not enameled. The vessel is decorated with three stripes and several lines in the upper zone. It was inbuilt horizontally, so the mouth opening of the vessel was orientated towards the inner space of the church and the bottom was installed in the mass of the wall (Ненадовић 1960). These pots are considered to be intentionally made for acoustic purposes (Булић & Црнчевић 2010).

The Church of the Transfiguration of Christ in the village of Pridvorica used to be part of the monastery complex. The characteristics of its style date it to the end of the 12th century – the period of the Raška style in sacred architecture. The church has a single nave, a central dome, transept and a spacious narthex. Two acoustic vessels were found under the rebated arches on east and west sides that support the central dome. They are horizontally positioned. The bottoms of the vessels are in the wall and the mouth is orientated towards the inner space of the church. The height of the vessels is about 35 cm, and the opening is about 10 cm in radius.

The Church of the Ascension of Christ in Žiča Monastery is an endowment of Stefan The First-Crowned, erected at the beginning of the 13th century. Credit for the building also belongs to St Sava, the first Archbishop of the Serbian Church. After the Serbian Church became autonomous in 1219, Žiča Monastery became the centre of the Serbian Archbishopric. The church is built in the Raška architectural style, and so has one nave, dome, transept, a side chapel, a wide apse on the east side and an inner and outer narthex with a tower on the west side of the church. Findings of acoustic vessels were reported, positioned under the main dome: in the wall of the north apse at the height of the beginning of the rebated arch – one on each side, in the diaphragm under the western rebated arch at the same height as the northern side, two on each side; and in the north wall under the rebated arch, two on each side (Ненадовић 1960). It is assumed that acoustic vessels were installed in the opposite walls on the analogous places, but that they were mortared over at some point in history (Ненадовић 2003). The vessels are positioned horizontally, so the openings are turned towards the interior of the church. The height of the vessels found in western wall is 38 cm and those found under the dome as much as 43 cm. The openings of these pots are in the range of 13 to 15 cm (*ibid.*),¹⁰ so this is a case of two different dimensions of vessels in the same church.

¹⁰ Vladimir Petković also wrote about the acoustic vessels found in Žiča Monastery. In the drawings of Valtrović and Milutinović from 1871–1884 (Валтровић & Милутиновић 2006) there are circular openings on the arch under western pendentives. They correspond to those described by Nenadović (1960).

The Church of the Holy Apostles at the Patriarchate in Peć is a spiritual centre and the mausoleum of Serbian archbishops and patriarchs. Archbishop Arsenije I founded the church, in the third decade of the 13th century. Nenadović (1960) presented a sketch of the positions where acoustic pots were embedded in the walls, under the upper rebated arches on the north, west and south sides. In this case, it is also assumed that pots might have been positioned in the eastern side, analogously to the present positions. However, the eastern side is totally covered by a layer of mortar, so there are two possibilities: the mortar is covering the openings of the pots or the whole wall was rebuilt and the pots were destroyed at some point in the past. The openings of the extant pots are 10 cm wide. In other churches of the Patriarchate in Peć – St Dimitrije, the Holy Virgin and St Nicholas, and in the narthex of Archbishop Danilo II there were no signs of the acoustic vessels in the walls (Ненадовић 1960). Bajalović Hadži-Pešić mentioned the fragments of a jug from the 14th century found at the Patriarchate in Peć, of the same type as those found at Mileševa Monastery (Бајаловић Хаџи-Пешић 1981).

The Church of the Ascension of Christ in Mileševa Monastery was built in the third decade of the 13th century, as the endowment of King Vladislav Nemanjić. After the death of St Sava at Trnovo, and the translation of his relics in 1236, the church gave rise to the cult of St Sava. The church is built in the Raška style, with one nave and a dome over the section of the nave and transept. The outer narthex with side chapels was erected in 1236. Under the arches that support the dome were found twenty jug-like acoustic vessels. They were adjusted for this purpose in the sense that before they were built into the walls their mouths and their handles were broken off and a hole was centrally pierced at the bottom. These were larger jugs, with narrow long necks, one handle, a rounded body and the largest radius down from the middle zone (Бајаловић Хаџи-Пешић 1981: 60–61). It is important to emphasize that these jugs were horizontally positioned, but with the bottom orientated towards the inner space of the church. Nenadović (2003) wrote that fresco mortar was found on the bottoms of the vessels, but it was formed precisely around the openings of the vessels, leaving them exposed. Initially they were jugs for water, made of clay that stayed white after baking. One of the vessels extracted, enamelled in green, is conserved in the National Museum in Belgrade (Figure 4). There are traces of stripes on its surface on account of the production process on a winch and a decoration of tiny impressed dots. The vessel is 23.5 cm in height, the radius of the bottom 11 cm, the radius of the opening at the bottom 4.5 cm and the radius of the widest zone 17 cm (Бајаловић Хаџи-Пешић 1981; Ненадовић 2003). Jugs of this type from the 13th century had a ring-like bulge, horizontal engravings on the body and a clearly-marked foot with profiled edge (Бајаловић Хаџи-Пешић 1981).

The Church of the Theophany of the Davidovica Monastery near Brdarevo on the River Lim, is an endowment of Dimitrije Nemanjić, son of Vukan. In the book of the Dubrovnik Municipality, a contract from 1281 was found between old David (the monastic name of Dimitrije Nemanjić) and the mason Desina de Risa from Dubrovnik who was obliged to build the church in Brodarevo (Ђурић 1967). The artisan used older monuments in Raška style as a model. Therefore, the church

of Davidovica Monastery has one nave, a narthex, a dome supported by arches and pilasters, rectangular side chapels and domes on eight-sided drums. Although it is mentioned in the literature that there were four acoustic vessels initially built in (Нешковић 1961: 96), during *in situ* archaeological research of the space under the dome in 1997 there were found two ceramic acoustic vessels built into the western wall under the dome (Булић & Црнчевић 2010), where the rebated arch touches the pendentives (Ненадовић 1960). The vessels were horizontally positioned, with their bottoms installed in the mass of the wall and the openings orientated towards the interior space of the church (*ibid.*). The bottom of the first vessel is concave on the inside and flat on the outside, with the radius of 9 cm. The radius at the widest zone of the vessel is 15 cm. There is a perforation on the body of the vessel. It is assumed that it was pierced in order to prevent further breaking of the vessel. This could also suggest that the vessels were used acoustically only secondarily. Both vessels were produced in the same manner, but the second one has a slightly wider bottom of 10.6 cm. It also preserves a small handle with a button-shaped widening at the top. The outer surface of the vessel has a dark red color. There is a technical mark of the winch on the bottom of both vessels – a central circular recess, 2.5 cm in radius, and three imprints equidistant at 4.5 cm. This suggests that the vessels were produced in the same workshop (Булић & Црнчевић 2010: 116).

The Church in the village of Trg, near Žagubica is consecrated to the Nativity of the Theotokos (previously to St Nicholas). Since it was erected at the end of the 13th or at the beginning of the 14th century (Чанак-Медић 2006), it belongs to the younger monuments of the Raška architectural style. The church is a single-nave basilica with a semicircular altar apse, the dome supported by the pillars, narthex and exonarthex built at the end of the 14th century. The church is “well built ... and its whole is carefully composed” (*ibid.*). Although signs of acoustic vessels were noticed at the beginning of the 20th century (Петковић 1909), it was only recently proved to be one of the best-preserved findings. All nine acoustic pots, found in the north wall of the aisle of the church, were extracted and analyzed. It was found that the same pots were built into the south wall, but they were severely damaged during the wall reconstruction, as also in the ruined west wall. The acoustic pots found are of the same type and approximately the same dimensions (Figure 5). They have a flat bottom, round body, short neck with bent brim and decorative stripes. They were built in at a height of 3.75 m from the floor. The distinctive characteristic of these findings is that those pots were installed in the vertical position upside down, thus the opening of the vessels was orientated towards the floor (Чанак-Медић 2006). One of the pots has a hole pierced in its body. These nine pots are now preserved in the National Museum in Požarevac.

The Church of the Presentation of the Holy Mother of God in Nova Pavlica Monastery, near Brvenik, is the endowment of Stefan and Lazar Musić, nephews of prince Lazar Hrebeljanović. The church, built at the end of the 14th century is a monument of the Moravian architectural style. The plan is a triconch with a developed inscribed cross and a dome over a cubical pedestal, supported by freestanding columns. One acoustic vessel is found in each pendentive. They are positioned horizontally in the walls, with the opening orientated towards the interior of the church.

The openings are today blocked by wooden cylinders with a radius of approximately 8 cm. The height of the vessels ranges from 40 to 46 cm, and the radius of the opening is 10 cm (Бајаловић Хаџи-Пешић 1981).

The Church of the Holy Mother of God in Donja Kamenica, near Knjaževac was founded by an unknown Bulgarian nobleman, in the first quarter of the 14th century. The plan of the church is in the shape of an irregular cross, with dome and a one-storey narthex with two smaller bell-towers above. When the church was built, this region was not part of Serbia. One acoustic vessel is found in the south-west and one in the south-east pendentive (ibid.). The height of the vessels was reported to be 20 to 25 cm, but after the dome collapsed, none of the vessels was preserved (Ненадовић 2003).

The Church of the the Ascension of Christ in Ravanica Monastery is an endowment of the prince Lazar Hrebeljanović, erected in the eighth decade of the 14th century. After his death in the Battle of Kosovo in 1389, the relics of Prince Lazar were conveyed to the Ravanica Monastery. Subsequently, the monastery became a place of pilgrimage and the centre of the cult of St Lazar and the Martyrs of Kosovo. The church is built in Moravian architectural style. The plan is triconch with an inscribed developed cross, five domes on cubical pedestals and an open narthex built in the later period. One pitcher, mentioned as an acoustic one, was found during the conservation works (Бајаловић Хаџи-Пешић 1981).

The Church of the village of Komarane is ruined today. The exact date of construction is unknown. However, two ceramic vessels were found in the remains of the church. The vessels are 22 cm in height, the radius of the bottom 12.5 cm and the radius of the top 13 cm, with a central hole of 3 cm in radius. The widest dimension of the vessel is 18 cm. The thickness of the ceramic walls is approximately 5 mm. The pots are red colored and not enameled. They are considered to have been originally produced for this purpose (Ненадовић 2003; Булић & Црнчевић 2010). These acoustic pots are today preserved in the Faculty of Architecture University of Belgrade.

In the domed chapel in the Tower of Saint George in Hilandar Monastery, built in the 15th or 16th century, ceramic acoustic vessels were found in the north-east and north-west pendentives. The vessels were positioned horizontally, with the openings pointing towards the interior. The radius of the openings is 1–2 cm, with the mortar rounded at their edges. The height of the vessels is about 40 cm (Ненадовић 1960). The acoustic vessels are also found in the Chapel of Hilandar Monastery – behind the room where icons are stored. The space, 4.6 by 3.2 m, is vaulted with an irregular dome. One acoustic vessel is found in each south pendentive. Their height is about 50 cm. They are positioned horizontally and the opening is orientated towards the interior of the Chapel.

ACOUSTIC STUDIES

The generally accepted view in Serbian literature was that ceramic vessels were inbuilt in the stone walls of medieval churches “for better acoustics” (Дероко 1930: 133). In other words, the vessels were considered to play the role of absorbing resonators, thus influ-

encing the equal distribution of the concentrated reflected sound on concave surfaces (Ненадовић 1960). Numerous factors affect the sound field in an interior space; these include the volume of the space, its geometry and the finishes of the interior surfaces (Mijić 2000). Apart from the differences in building styles, in the case of church architecture in medieval Serbia it may be generally stated that the walls are massive, built in stone, with a few relatively small openings, fresco-mortared from the inside with the icons made in *alfresco* technique (Ненадовић 1960), and the floors paved in stone tiles (Дероко 1962: 26). Acoustic vessels are only one way of regulating church acoustics.

At the beginning of the 21st century, acousticians and multidisciplinary archaeo-acoustic teams began systematic research into the acoustic vessels found and acoustic examination of the spaces in which they were found. All the acoustic vessels from the period of medieval Serbia belong to the Helmholtz type of resonators (Mijić & Šumarac-Pavlović 2004), which means that the vessels have a relatively small opening comparing to the radius of the widest part of the vessel. Helmholtz resonators are stand-alone sound absorbers with emphatically resonant behavior. Their main characteristic is the air enclosed by a solid partition, which is connected with the surrounding area by the narrow hole. These two parts are the volume and the neck of the Helmholtz resonator, respectively. The basic assumption is that the size of the whole Helmholtz system is small comparing to the sound wave length. Moreover, this system has only one resonant frequency in the relevant range. The resonant frequency of the Helmholtz resonator depends on the size of the opening, the length of the neck and the volume of the resonator. On this frequency, absorption is maximal. The value of the resonant frequency does not depend on the shape of the resonator. Besides the resonant frequency, important characteristics of Helmholtz resonators are the width of the absorption range and the declining rate of sound in the resonator. The resonant frequency is regulated by the volume, the length or the size of resonator's neck opening. However, the absorption range depends on the adhesion inside the resonator. A low value of resonant frequency is often reflected in the narrow absorption range of only several Hz. For maximal efficiency, Helmholtz resonators should be positioned in the zones of the space in which the standing wave effect is strong on the certain frequency.

The first acoustic research into the medieval ceramic vessels of Serbia, based on the calculations of acoustic parameters on available drawings of the vessels, were published in 1984 for two acoustic vessels found in the church of the village of Komarane from the 14th century (Kalić 1984). Laboratory measurements on the same vessels (Mijić & Šumarac Pavlović 2004) showed significantly lower resonant frequencies (124 Hz and 131 Hz) compared to Kalić's calculations (166 Hz). The divergence is on account of the thickness of the final layer of mortar, which was not part of Kalić calculations but was added to the opening of the resonator in the laboratory measurements in order to simulate the original state of the inbuilt resonator. That way, the effect of the *elongated neck* of the Helmholtz resonator was obtained, so it produced lower resonant frequencies. Based on these results, the authors argued that the acoustic vessels in medieval churches in Serbia did not contribute to the acoustic quality of the interior space, because the churches have small volumes, and thus the additional

absorption, or in other words the decrease of the already short time of reverberation (2 to 3 seconds), has no importance. The number of inbuilt vessels per church is small, so they could not make a significant difference in the church sound field. In addition, the resonant frequency of the vessels is too low, and the frequency range too narrow, to be aroused by the human voice dominant in Orthodox services. For all these reasons, the authors concluded that acoustic vessels were used as part of an orally transmitted tradition, without any comprehension of their acoustical function (Mijić & Šumarac-Pavlović 2004).

DISCUSSION

Acoustic vessels were found in fifteen sacred edifices from medieval Serbia (Table 1), today in the territory of the central Serbia (12), Kosovo and Metohija (1) and Hilandar Monastery on Mount Athos (2). The map (Figure 1) shows all the monasteries in which acoustic vessels are reported. Different colors indicate the architectural style of the monuments. Thus, it is clear that two churches belong to the Pre-Nemanjić period (2/15), seven to Raška style group (7/15), three to Moravian style (3/15) and for three churches the building period is not yet established (3/15). In other words, the largest number of acoustic vessels is found from the Raška period, 12th and 13th centuries. It is important to notice that there is no evidence of acoustic vessels in the monuments belonging to the Byzantine style group. Also, acoustic vessels were found in only three churches from the Moravian period when they were built exclusively into the pendentives under the central dome. These data do not correspond to the above-mentioned belief that acoustic vessels were equally used in all periods of church building in medieval Serbia.

The findings of acoustic vessels in Serbia suggest that ceramic vessels such as pots, jugs and pitchers were used in Middle Ages. They were in general secondarily used for acoustic purposes. The rare examples of ceramic vessels intentionally produced for acoustic function are found in the church of Stara Pavlica Monastery near Brvenik, St Nicholas church near Kuršumljica and in the church in the village of Komarane.

The exact number and the positions of originally built-in acoustic vessels is impossible to determine. There are many reasons for this: the churches were partly or completely damaged during the course of history, during the reconstruction works some of the vessels were broken, and the openings of the vessels are often covered with mortar due to rebuilding or repainting works in the past. The largest number – 20 acoustic vessels – was found in the Mileševa Monastery. There are approximately seven vessels per church. Their height is in the range of 20 to 50 cm. In each church the acoustic vessels are similar in shape, with one or two different dimensions per church. Other archaeoacoustic studies also point out the consistency in the dimensions of the inbuilt vessels of medieval Europe (Valière & Palazzo-Bertholon 2014).

One of the acoustic vessels found in Davidovica Monastery and one in the church of the village of Trg have a pierced hole in the body of the vessel. It is explained that these holes were made in order to prevent further breaking of the vessel (Булић & Црнчевић 2010), but it can also suggest searching for the appropriate frequency.

The acoustic vessels in medieval Serbia were inbuilt in linear or triangular disposition. They were predominantly found in the pendentives, drums under the dome, in the zone of rebated arches and similar spherical surfaces. Jovanović wrote that they could be noticed “especially at the beginning of pendentives, their arches, drums of the domes where they exist, and generally in the walls around the altar...” (Јовановић 1909: 135). The acoustic vessels were horizontally embedded with the mouth opening orientated towards the interior of the church (Figure 2A). In the case of the Mileševa monastic church, acoustic vessels were also in horizontal position, but the pierced bottom was turned towards the inner space and the mouth was deep inside the wall (Figure 2B). The only exception to the horizontal positioning of acoustic vessels is in the church of the village of Trg where the vessels were positioned vertically, with the mouth orientated downwards.

One of the main questions considers the origin and the transmission of this acoustic tradition in the regions of medieval Serbia. Monuments of medieval sacred architecture developed combining various building and artistic understandings that came from Byzantine and Western cultures (Ђурић 1967: 87). With the shifting of Serbian medieval state borders (12th – 15th centuries), geographical boundaries occasionally included spiritual centres of the Adriatic coast – Duklja and Dalmatia – belonging to the Latin Church. In addition, artisans from the coast worked in Serbia and included architectural elements of Byzantine tradition, but also the environment accepted building characteristics that masons brought from Western Europe (Ђурић 1967: 92–93).

As has been shown, the builders had empirical knowledge of the acoustic laws, thus they understood that the effect of acoustic vessels was cumulative (Valière et al. 2013). In several cases in Serbia, the vessels were extracted from the walls during conservation works and afterwards stored in museums. Therefore, today is only possible to conduct acoustic measurements on those vessels in the laboratory or build corresponding three-dimensional models of the vessels and the entire space and thus examine acoustics through virtual acoustic simulation. The only acoustic study on acoustic vessels from medieval Serbia, based on the laboratory measurements of a single artifact, showed that the vessel was tuned to low frequencies (Mijić & Šumarac-Pavlović 2004), on which the absorption of usually wooden furniture (iconostasis, icon stands, pulpit, etc.) is less effective (Valière et al. 2013: 78). The results of this study were not enough to arrive at a general conclusion concerning the effectiveness of acoustic vessels in sacred architectural practice in medieval Serbia.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Multidisciplinary archaeoacoustic teams endeavor to illuminate regularities in the installing of acoustic vessels in the massive stone walls of medieval sacred architecture as well as to explain the motives behind this practice. This paper enabled the findings from medieval Serbian architecture to be included in the archaeoacoustic map of Europe and thus contribute the understanding of the relatedness of sound and architecture throughout the history of building. We addressed the oldest docu-

ment in which acoustic vessels are mentioned – *Ten Books on Architecture* by Vitruvius, and then overviewed the relevant archaeoacoustic studies and the acoustic intentions of medieval builders in Europe. Furthermore, we considered the findings of acoustic vessels from medieval Serbia – previous research, a census of the findings and acoustic studies – in order to discuss the research results in the context of archaeoacoustic interpretations.

We showed that a certain level of regularity occurs in the positioning of the vessels, as well as in their physical characteristics. Although they were predominantly embedded into the walls of churches built in the Raška architectural style (12th and 13th century), they are also found in other architectural periods with the exception of the Byzantine architectural style for which there are no reported findings of acoustic vessels so far. We also showed that the practice of acoustic vessels can be considered as a certain expression of musical tradition of sacred architecture in medieval Serbia. Nevertheless, it is necessary to conduct further research.

We pointed out that acoustic vessels, amongst other factors, influence spatial acoustics to a certain extent. In order to determine their range of influence it is necessary to continue with acoustical measurements *in situ*, acoustical examinations of computer models and laboratory research of the vessels. The results of only one piece of laboratory research – the acoustic vessels found in the church of the village of Komarane – has so far been published (Mijić & Šumarac-Pavlović 2004). However, there are several more vessels on which research could be done as well – the acoustic vessels from Mileševa Monastery and from the St Nicholas church near Kuršumljica are stored in the National Museum in Belgrade, and the vessels from the church in the village of “Trg” are stored in the National Museum in Požarevac. On the other hand, *in situ* measurements could be done in the churches in which acoustic vessels are still in their original positions, with the openings not covered with mortar. In this way the data collected would contribute to the understanding of acoustical regularities, if any, and the motives for this acoustical practice in medieval Serbia. Certainly, further research should not be predominantly acoustical, but have a multidisciplinary approach and offer deeper insights from the point of liturgy, religious iconography, archaeology and the transmission of building practice and the tradition of acoustic vessels through medieval Europe.

Illustrations

Table 1. Overview of number, dimensions, orientation and the place of embedding of acoustic vessels found in churches of medieval Serbia

ACOUSTIC VESSELS IN THE CHURCHES OF MEDIEVAL SERBIA				
Church (founder, year)	No of vessels	Dimensions	Orientation	Position in the wall
The Church of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul near Novi Pazar (8th c.)	11 + 8	D: 30 cm O: 3.5 cm	Horizontally embedded; orifice towards the church interior, not plastered	In the dome, 40 cm below the cornice, on the distance 0.5 – 1.0 m (11); in the apse are built in a row above the cornice and in the corners of the other conches (8) (Ненадовић 2003)
The Church of Sts Peter and Paul in Stara Pavlica Monastery near Brvenik (Pre-Nemanjić period, 12th c.; ruins)	8 + 4	D: 25 cm R1: 10–15 cm R2: 30 cm	Horizontally embedded; orifice towards the church interior, plastered; bottoms of vessels are seen from the outside	In the zone where the dome leans on the drum (wall) – 8 vessels on equal distances; one larger in each pendentive (Ненадовић 1960)
The Saint Nicholas Church near Kuršumlija (1168)	4	D: 31.7 cm O: 12 cm R: 13.5–24 cm	Horizontally embedded; orifice towards the church interior	One in the lower zone of each pendentive (kept in National Museum in Belgrade).
The Church of the Transfiguration of Christ in the village of Pridvorica (end of 12th c.)	4	D: 35 cm O: 10 cm	Horizontally embedded; orifice towards the church interior	Under the rebated arches that support the dome, two on the western and two on the eastern side (Бјаловић Хаџи-Пешић 1981)
The Church of the Ascension of Christ in Žiča Monastery (Stefan The First-Crowned, 13th c.)	11	O: 13–15 cm D: 38–43 cm	Horizontally embedded; orifice towards the church interior	Under the dome: in the wall of north choir is one at the height of the starting point of the rebated arch that supports the dome; in the western and northern diaphragm, under the western rebated arch (2); on the northern side, in the corner of western wall (1); in the pendentive of northern dome (1) * it is assumed that these vessels were initially in the opposite walls in the corresponding places, but they are now mortared over and covered with frescos (Ненадовић 2003)

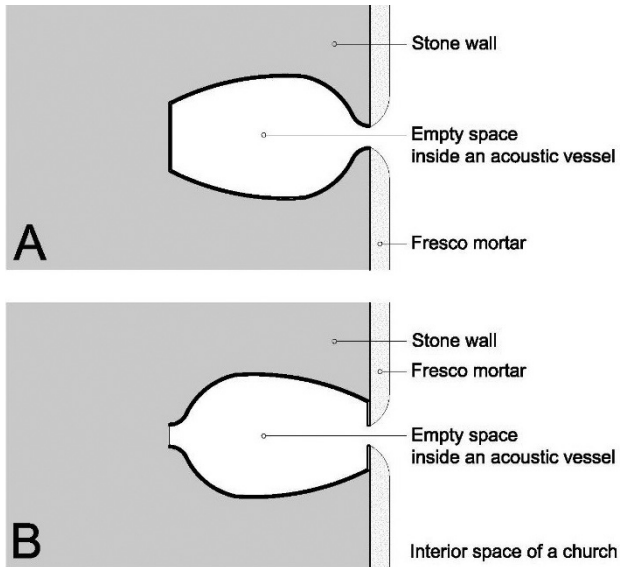
The Church of the Holy Apostles in the Patriarchate in Peć (first half of 13th c.)	4	O: 10 cm	/	Under the rebated arches on the northern, western and eastern sides (Бајаловић Хаџи-Пешић 1981)
The Church of the Ascension of Christ in the Mileševa Monastery (Stefan Vladislav, 13th c.)	20	D: 23.5 cm O: 2.5 cm R: 16.5–17 cm Ro: 1.2 – 4.5	Horizontally embedded; orifice towards the church interior, not plastered	Under the arches that support the dome; bottom of jugs is pierced; one jug is enamelled with green colour, kept in National Museum in Belgrade (Бајаловић Хаџи-Пешић 1981, Ненадовић 2003)
The Church of the Theophany of the Davidovica Monastery (Dimitrije Nemanjić, end of 13th c.; vessels dated to 1282)	2	R: 9–16 cm	Horizontally embedded; orifice towards the church interior; bottom is convex from the inside	Two pots are found in the western wall under the dome, where the arch touches the pendentive (not in the pendentive) (Булић & Црнчевић 2010)
The Church in the village of Trg near Žagubica (end of 13th –beginning of 14th c.)	9	/	Vertically embedded pots; orifice towards ground	Northern wall of northern aisle in the nave; same pots were built in the western and southern walls; kept in the National Museum in Rožarevac (Чанак-Медић 2006)
The Church the Presentation of the Holy Mother of God in Nova Pavlica Monastery (Musić brothers, end of 14th c.)	4	O: 10 cm D: 40–46 cm	Horizontally embedded; orifice towards the church interior;	One in each pendentive; today, the openings are closed with wooden logs of ~8 cm in radius (Бајаловић Хаџи-Пешић 1981)
The Church of the Holy Mother of God in Donja Kamenica (Bulgarian nobleman, end of 14th c.)	2	D: 20–25 cm	/	One in south-west and one in south-east pendentive (Бајаловић Хаџи-Пешић 1981); after the fall of the dome, none of the acoustic vessels were saved (Ненадовић 2003)

The Church of the Ascension of Christ in Ravanica Monastery (Prince Lazar Hrebeljanović, 14th c.)	1	/	/	The vessel was found during the conservation works (Бајаловић Хаџи-Пешић 1981)
The Church in the village of Komarane (year unknown; today in ruins)	2	D: 22 cm R: 12.5–18 cm / O: 3 cm		Pots were custom made (for this purpose only), red coloured without enamel (Ненадовић 2003); kept in the Faculty of Architecture University of Belgrade
Domed chapel in the Tower of Saint George of Hilandar Monastery (15th or 16th c.)		O: 1–2.0 cm D: 40 cm	Horizontally embedded; orifice towards the church interior, not plastered	In both northern pendentives (Ненадовић 2003)
The Chapel of Hilandar Monastery (year unknown)	2	D: 50 cm	Horizontally embedded; orifice towards the church interior	One in both southern pendentives

* D: depth; O: orifice; R: radius of the widest part; RO: radius of the opening on the bottom of the vessel



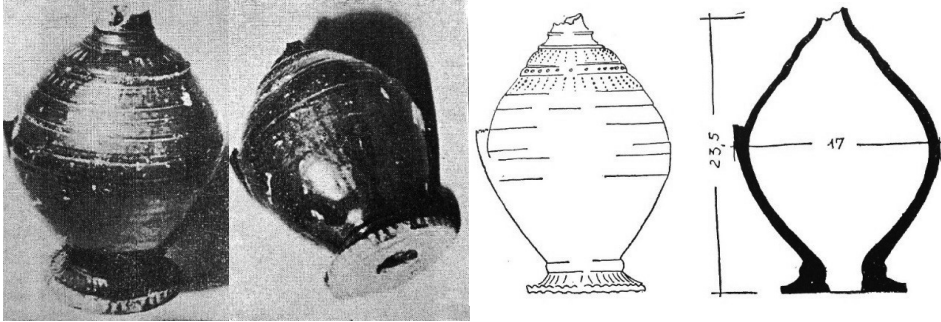
Map of acoustic vessels found in medieval Serbia



The horizontal position of the embedded acoustic vessel in the stone wall, with the opening towards the interior church space (A) and with the pierced bottom orientated towards the interior space (B)

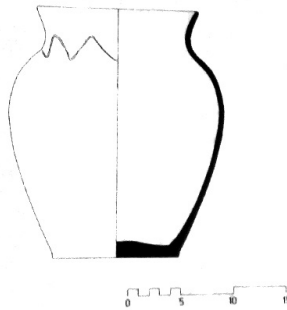


Openings of acoustic vessels in the Church of Sts Peter and Paul in Novi Pazar
(Source: Нешковић & Николић 1987)



Acoustic vessel enamelled with green colour with a hole in the bottom, from Mileševa Monastery

(Source: Ненадовић 1960)



Acoustic pot from the Church in the village of Trg near Žagubica

(Source: Чанак-Медић 2006)

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Зорана Ђорђевић, Кристина Пенезић и Стефан Димитријевић

АКУСТИЧКИ СУДОВИ КАО ИЗРАЗ МУЗИЧКЕ ТРАДИЦИЈА СРПСКЕ
СРЕДЊОВЕКОВНЕ АРХИТЕКТУРЕ

(САЖЕТАК)

Истраживање звука у архитектури завређује посебно место у студијама културног наслеђа, захтевајући притом мултидисциплинаран приступ. Кроз градитељску историју Европе, од античког до савременог доба, коришћени су одређени судови, за које се сматра да су имали акустичку намену. Овај рад представља резултате истраживања акустичких судова уграђених у камене зидове сакралне архитектуре средњовековне Србије и одговара на питање да ли се ова пракса може сматрати изразом извесне музичке традиције. У првом делу рада сагледан је шири контекст археоакустичких истраживања средњовековне Европе. Представљени су кључни изводи из Витрувијевог дела *Десет књига о архитектури* – најстаријег документа са описом акустичких судова. Затим, дат је кратак преглед релевантних археоакустичких студија и извода који илуструју акустичке намере средњовековних градитеља. У другом делу рада представљени су налази акустичких судова из средњовековне Србије – историјски оквир истраживања, преглед истраживања ове теме код нас, попис налаза (из укупно 15 цркава) и досад спроведене акустичке студије. У трећем делу рада дискутована су физичка својства акустичких судова, њихов

распоред, позиција и оријентација у зиду, акустичке одлике, итд. Показано је да постоји одређени ниво правилности у постављању судова, као и у њиховим физичким својствима. Пронађени су у свим осталим градитељским периодима осим у византијској групи споменика (доминантно у Рашкој, XII-XIII век). Поред тога што је показано да се пракса узиђивања акустичких судова може сматрати извесним изразом музичке традиције сакралне архитектуре средњовековне Србије, такође је указано на неопходност даљих истраживања – акустичких мерења *in situ*, испитивања рачунарских модела или лабораторијских мерења судова. Поврх свега, овај рад омогућио је да се налази акустичких судова из српске средњовековне архитектуре позиционирају на археоакустичкој мапи Европе и тако допринесу разумевању односа звука и архитектуре кроз историју градитељства.

Кључне речи: акустички судови, археоакустика, сакрална архитектура средњег века, средњовековна Србија

FUNDING FESTIVALS: BRINGING THE WORLD TO SARAJEVO*

*Erica Haskell*¹

University of New Haven, Connecticut, USA

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ABSTRACT

The focus of this article is on the “festivalization” of Sarajevo, the capital city of Bosnia-Herzegovina, after the signing of the Dayton Agreement (1995), and the donor environment during that time that largely supported foreign rather than local performances. I chronicle a shift – from socialist-era regional festivals before the war to post-war period staged multi-day multi-performance events with foreign programming – and highlight the tendency of donors to de-emphasize local difference as a way of creating politically safe aiding strategies. I unpack why the “festival model” was attractive to local and foreign cultural organizers during this period. Specifically I discuss the reorganization of the Sarajevo Winter Festival as well as other festivals that existed before the war and continued to produce such events after the war.

KEYWORDS: Bosnia-Herzegovina, Sarajevo, music, post-conflict, festivals, post-socialist, applied ethnomusicology

“[I]t is possible to organize a concert at a high professional level without entertainers’ charity, which all kinds of humanitarians from around the world dumped on this city over the last four years.”²

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¹ ehaskell@newhaven.edu

² From an article in *Dani* (August 1996) titled “Mladen Vojičić Tifa,” describing Tifa’s upcoming concert in Sarajevo. Mladen Vojičić is known regionally as Tifa and is a Bosnian rock vocalist who was known throughout the former Yugoslavia for a short stint in the 1980s as the lead singer of Bijelo dugme. Interest-

The first few years after the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina (1992–1995) were inspired by a local excitement at the hope of reconstruction, a new beginning. Many people who had survived the Sarajevo siege responded to the news of peace with celebration. To a certain extent, Sarajevans felt that local resistance had left their city victorious, although the Dayton Agreement softened the exhilaration of ending the war by either side through military might alone. Nonetheless, different factions continue to hold vastly diverse conclusions about who perpetrated the conflict and who was the victor.

While some scholars have located the cause of Yugoslavia's disintegration within economic factors or in international or nationalist agendas, others have emphasized the role of fine arts and popular music in animating cultural, political, and social difference (Wachtel 1998; Gordy 1999). Their arguments suggest that cultural policies have serious political and social ramifications beyond the stage. Scholars of the region have documented the ways in which, like most aspects of culture, music was used during the conflict to divide as much as it was used to unify (Laušević 2000a and 2000b; Pettan 1999; Maners 2000; Gordy 1999), as well as the cultural situation before the war. While these scholars have considered the cultural policies that preceded the unfolding of ethnic conflict and then inspired inter-war music, the effects of cultural policy in the post-war period have not yet been assessed in the Bosnian case.

In the field of anthropology, scholars such as Fisher (1997) and Yúdice (2003) have looked at globalizing ideas about civil society that have been introduced by Western-based programs for political and educational, as well as economic and cultural development. Parallel to this Bosnian case, ethnomusicologist Adriana Helbig notes that in Ukraine,

Following the notion of thinking globally and acting locally, such [foreign funded] programs are usually set up by transnational structures such as the World Bank, UNESCO, and the European Union, or global foundations such as the Open Society Institute, and put into practice by local actors, among them non-governmental organizations (Helbig 2008).

In the 2007 volume titled *Music and Conflict Transformation: Harmonies and Dissonances in Geopolitics*, several scholars, including ethnomusicologist Cynthia Cohen, puzzle through the role of music in conflict both as a fuel for violence and as a tool for reconciliation.

In the post-war era, a significant focus of the international community, in terms of the cultural sphere, has been music and its perceived ability to encourage inter-ethnic co-existence and tolerance. Organizers often define music from outside the region (often Western) as universal in its appeal and application. Following the war in Bosnia, urban cultural centers have been the sites of significant economic investment as well as local and foreign political struggles. Sarajevo, as the new Bosnian

ingly, the Yugonostalgia concert in 1996 was organized by a local newspaper and the majority Bosniak Democratic Action Party (SDA). I was unable to find any evidence that the concert was funded by any humanitarian bodies.

capital, has received the lion's share of this cultural support. Ironically, the international community's goal to encourage a multi-ethnic and democratic Bosnia resembles that of the Yugoslav project of "brotherhood and unity," which was promoted primarily through folkloric music and dance³ by Yugoslav cultural policy (Majstorović 1980), as both projects sought to transcend religious and ethnic divides. Post-war articulations of inter-ethnic co-existence funded by foreigners, however, differ from their pre-war socialist counterparts in that they incorporate various musical genres including Western-inspired rock (Ramet 1994), newly-composed folk music (Rasmussen 2002),⁴ folk music, religious music (including Muslim sacred music referenced in Laušević 2000b), popular music, and alternative music such as reggae, hip-hop, and classical music. Funds have been awarded to a vast array of musical events and projects and the consequences of these funding decisions have not yet been explored.

Several festivals, like the Future Festival (multi-venue alternative rock festival held in bombed out buildings), were founded after the war by citizens who sought foreign donor funding at the start of the post-war period and hoped that one day their event might become financially independent. Over the years, indeed some of the most successful and long-lasting festivals in Sarajevo have found a way to combine corporate funding (most often in exchange for advertisement opportunities) with development aid.

This article is devoted to the "festivalization" of Sarajevo after the signing of the Dayton Agreement and the donor environment that supported foreign rather than local performances. I highlight the tendency of donors to de-emphasize difference, be it ethnic, cultural, or religious, as a way of creating politically safe aiding strategies. Scholars who write about the impact of festivals on urban settings note that such events have the power to transform spaces, draw tourists, and impact the global and/or local image of the city (see Harvey 1991; Laopodi 2002; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998; Richards and Wilson 2001). In many cities across Europe, cultural organizers work with city officials to shape concerts and festivals. My emphasis is to uncover why the "festival model" was attractive to local and foreign cultural organizers. Here I write about the reorganization of the Festival Sarajevska zima (Sarajevo Winter Festival) as well as other festivals that existed before the war and continued to produce such events after the war. One of the figures, Ibrahim Spahić, the Director of the Sarajevo Winter Festival, commented to me that international involvement in Sarajevo had made it possible for him "to connect with the modern world especially after the war." Spahić's comments offer a personal narrative that helps to illustrate comparisons between the pre-war and post-war cultural climate and explain the conundrum organizers faced in drumming up support to put on their festivals. Spahić's narrative bears a strong resemblance to that of other cultural organizers who were active before

3 I speak here of the majority of such politically-inspired performances. By the late 1970s, the Yugoslav government also supported Western-inspired Yugoslav rock music. See Ramet 1994.

4 Newly-composed folk music (NCFM) is a popular commercial folk-based genre that rose in popularity after World War II and in the context of rapid industrialization and urbanization in Yugoslavia. For an extensive study of NCFM, see Rasmussen 2002.

the war and worked to establish themselves within the socialist system. His story illustrates the shift in support for cultural events from state funding under the pre-war socialist system in Yugoslavia, to what we could call “hybrid” support from foreign entities (embassies, organizations) and local governments. I argue that the expansion in festivals and more particularly international ones that took place following the conflict, was partly the result of Sarajevo’s new identity as a capital and post-war city, and the increase in international presence and funding that resulted.

The historical overview of the Sarajevo Winter Festival allows for comparisons of content between early festivals that were focused on local expression and post-war festivals that have been more “international.” The description of the festival is informed by my attendance in between 2005 and 2007, extensive conversations with founder and director Ibrahim Spahić and other employees, festival materials, as well as cultural critiques and media reports. I also underscore the lack of a partner relationship between the local organizers and the foreign funders of the Sarajevo Winter Festival, in particular, and other festivals like it. Staff explained to me that they are rarely in a position to choose or even recommend content based upon local interest rather than foreign input.

Because of the sensitivity of discussing ongoing foreign funding, one of the festival directors I spoke with opted out of being named. By the end of our candid discussion, he politely asked me not to use his name or that of his festival when referencing particular statements. His concerns underscore the smallness of the pool of cultural organizers, as well as a fear that individuals he deemed corrupt might withhold support for his events. In small communities such as this one, it is difficult to obscure an individual’s identity; nonetheless, I have attempted to protect his anonymity while including some details of his project. There were also others I spoke with about the topics of corruption and foreign funding who requested that I not attribute their names to their comments.

The Dayton Peace Agreement, as well as a general lack of government funds for culture, tied the hands of local governmental officials and left little incentive for them to support annual cultural events. These circumstances made it especially difficult for such figures to sustain the operating costs of cultural institutes and organizations. The festival model, of several concerts over a short period of time, offered local and foreign organizers the opportunity to make use of a multitude of active donors in the new capital of Sarajevo. The fact that some festival events bordered on being spectacles was, by and large, positive to foreign donors who sought publicity and prominence in their home countries and the city in exchange for their contribution. Several festivals were founded after the war by Bosnians who sought foreign donor funding at the start and hoped that one day their event might become independent. Over the years, indeed some of the most successful and long-lasting festivals have found a way to combine corporate funding (most often by beer companies or banks) with development aid.

By 2003, the variety and number of festivals was staggering. The following is a partial list, along with the approximate dates of operation of several post-war festivals:

Bašćaršijske noći (Nights of Bašćaršija, 1980s–2010),⁵ Sarajevo Jazz Festival (1997–2010), Internationalni muzički festival Bosna (Bosnian International Music Festival, BIMF, 2005–2010), Zetra festival (2005–2006), Sarajevo Snow Fest (2004), Internationalni dječji muzički festival (International Children's Music Festival, 2004–2010), World Oriental Music Festival (WOMF, 2005–2009), Dječji i omladinski muzički festival (Children and Youth Music Festival, 2006), MESS Theater Festival (1960–2010), Festival Sarajevska zima (Sarajevo Winter Festival, 1984–2010). The director of one of the festivals, Bašćaršijske noći, counted more than I had:

We have about 30 festivals in Sarajevo, right? So many! [Sarajevo] Art is the cantonal public cultural institution and is the executive director of two festivals. The biggest summer festival in the region is the summer cultural festival Bascarsija's Nights. It is organized for eleventh time since the war, although its content is smaller than it used to be before war and since the eighties, the middle of eighties (Kuburović 2006, interview with author).

In the above quotation, Kuburović explains that Bašćaršijske noći is one of two events he organizes through the concert agency Sarajevo Art and notes that his festival had existed since the 1980s. Of the many festivals I have listed above, only Bašćaršijske noći, along with the MESS Festival and Sarajevo Winter, pre-date the war. Before the war, these three festivals received government support which was contingent upon presenting inclusive content illustrative of socialist multi-ethnic ideologies.

In post-war Sarajevo, as government funds were limited, new foreign embassies were a rich source of cultural sponsorship. During the period of my research, the most active embassies in the cultural scene of Sarajevo were the Japanese, American, French, German, Turkish, and British. It is, however, difficult to pin down budgets on embassy funding and indeed my requests to my own embassy for their cultural budget were not honored. Most governments cycle cultural attachés and other foreign service officials through individual embassies at a fast clip. In my experience, some cultural attachés are fairly knowledgeable about the country in which they work, sometimes even speaking the language, while others are new to the region and its cultures. Many embassy staff, who are not from the region, live rather protected lives and socialize primarily with others from the embassy. For local festival directors who visit the embassies to gather financial support for their events from embassy officials, this makes it difficult to anticipate who will be the recipient of their requests from year to year. Several festival directors I spoke with asked me for insight about the American cultural attaché at the time of my research hoping that more information might help them to make realistic requests. They requested that, as an American, I act as an intermediary in their requests. I willingly engaged in negotiations between a festival director and the American cultural attaché to invite a brass group from New Orleans only later to find that the American official had decided that the cost of bringing

⁵ This festival was called Dani Bašćaršije (Days of Bašćaršija) before the conflict.

the band was too high. Even if they had developed close relationships with embassy staff, because of the constant turnover, festival directors found it almost impossible to predict what kind of funding they might garner from year to year.

There were also numerous rumors of festivals that were never actually organized. These include a rather humorous proposal to organize “Woodstock 3” “where everything that has a value in the world’s rock music should be gathered and which should be attended by 300,000 viewers.”⁶ In 2006, I met two young female students from Sweden who had been studying concert organization at their university. They arrived with high hopes and claims about the famous stars, including Bjork and Sting, that they would bring to Sarajevo. After meeting them, one of my Bosnian friends joked that she had met a lot of students “playing in Bosnia like it was their sandbox” (Fazlić 2007, interview with author). When I asked what she meant, she explained that Sarajevo was a good place to try out ideas without there being any ramifications. If the women succeeded in finding financial support and their invitations were honored, then everyone in Europe would know, but if not, nothing would be lost. A year later, I met film students from the Netherlands who wanted to found a film archive “to house all of the old Yugoslav films and art-house theater where they could screen them.” They were unaware that for the last fifty years the Kinoteka Bosnia i Hercegovina (Bosnian Film Archive) had been archiving Yugoslav and more recently Bosnian films. Anyone interested in watching films could visit the archive and watch the films in the building’s small theater.⁷ Some Sarajevans reacted to this kind of meddling negatively. The idea that some foreigners wanted to engage in developing new institutions or events when they only visited for short periods of time was offensive. The changes they proposed were often inconsistent with the cultural landscape of the time. A friend of mine commented:

They get in the media and everyone talks about them, and then a year later it just kind of ... well what happened? And those people at War Child or those festivals, they go back to their country and they say: “Oh, at the age of 21 I organized a festival,” you know they say, “What a great success!” and they never come back and what they did does not matter (ibid.).

In the previous scenario, foreigners stand to benefit more from their ill-informed efforts than people living in the city. This is one of the many examples in which the

⁶ This story actually made its way into *Dani* magazine in October 1997 with a description of the German politician Daniel Con Bendit as “one of the 1968’s leaders of the hippie movement.” The article continues, “According to him there is already an elaborate plan for the festival which is supported by, among others, Coca Cola, Volkswagen and the European Parliament,” at a time when few corporate sponsorships of anything were available. I could find no evidence that the event ever took place.

⁷ In 2010, one of the local theaters (Meeting Point Cinema) began showing a selection of Kinoteka’s Yugoslav films held and restored in the archive.

“gift” of a volunteer or donor can sometimes be more advantageous to the giver than the recipient.

It should be noted that the music festival model that I discuss here was, by no means, the only one for organizing musical events. After the conflict several large concerts, most notably those of U2 and Laibach,⁸ were held in Sarajevo. Speaking of the 1997 U2 concert held at Koševo Stadium in Sarajevo, which was attended by more than 40,000 people, Bosnia’s past ambassador and representative to the United Nations, Muhamed Sacirbey (Šaćirbej), said, “We are perfectly satisfied with the result of the concert which was held to promote a sense of normalcy, peace and reconciliation” (U2 Press Release 1997). In the celebratory and festive aftermath of the war, foreign, diaspora, and refugee musicians visited Sarajevo and other cities in the region to mark the conflict’s end. For many of these concerts, audience members were charged admissions fees that went to pay for the rental of equipment and venues, as well as musicians’ flights and staff.⁹

There were also several festivals which did not emphasize music specifically. The most noticeable of them are the MESS Theater Festival and the Sarajevo Winter Festival.¹⁰ Both carried on in line with smaller inter-war performances and showings by expanding their programs into multi-day festivals. Another category, which I do not address here but should be investigated in the future, is that of concerts organized by political parties. Based on articles in the local press and conversations with friends who were in Sarajevo in the period directly after the war, the Bosniak party called Stranka demokratske akcije (The Party of Democratic Action, SDA) was the most active party in this respect. Many of the concerts organized by the SDA showcased turbofolk musicians, some of whom were also active in wartime parties and concerts.

In the socialist period, most festivals and manifestations had domestic content and were locally and nationally funded. In 2000, when I began living in Sarajevo, I noticed a multitude of festivals, especially in the summer months when good weather made it possible to gather people in outside venues. Many of the posters and concert programs recognized foreign embassies and NGOs for their financial assistance. In the present situation, these festivals have a markedly more international flavor as they present musicians and artists from outside Bosnia with only a few performances by local artists.

Commenting on the number of embassies in the capital after the war, in 2001 journalist Aida Tabaković of *Dani* magazine included the following description:

⁸ The Slovenian avant-garde group Laibach is a music group formed in 1980 in Trbovlje, Slovenia. At one of their concerts in Sarajevo directly after the war, the group passed out fake passports to audience members as a political statement upon the inability of Bosnians to cross their country’s borders. For more on Laibach’s political statements though their musical performances, see Schneider 2009.

⁹ U2 concert tickets were sold at reduced prices for people living in some particularly poor neighborhoods.

¹⁰ Both of these festivals received extensive support from George Soros’s organization, the Open Society Fund. Along with the Sarajevo Jazz Festival, these festivals have become the most known and successful in Bosnia, drawing audiences from throughout Europe.

In the capital city of our old homeland [Yugoslavia] there was, and probably still exists, an elite street where almost all embassies and consular offices of friendly countries of that time were located. In the capital city of our homeland [Bosnia and Herzegovina] there is no such street. There are even more embassies than an ordinary citizen might guess, twenty-two in total (Tabaković 2001).

In my interviews, I also found it was common for the public to make claims that the cultural sector was rife with corruption and money laundering. A dominant local opinion is that money laundering is one of the primary goals of foreign institutions and governments when they invest in cultural events. Such claims have undermined some positive features of festivals such as gathering people together, reconciliation, and foreign/local exchange and have put into question the use of foreign monies for cultural events. I address these claims as well below. I attribute the generally pessimistic attitude regarding foreign involvement by many Bosnians to the long period of reconstruction following the war and also the cynicism many feel about the future.

IBRAHIM SPAHIĆ: WINTER'S SHOWMAN

*"This festival [Sarajevska zima] has an international character due to the many foreign participants performing in it."*¹¹

*"Sarajevo is today again a symbol of life, hope and belief in the future."*¹²

Ibrahim Spahić is the director of the Sarajevo Winter Festival which is often referred to as "Zima Festival" by locals. I interviewed Spahić on several occasions, each time finding him to be interested in my research and open to sharing information with me. Our discussions were always held in his private office, which doubles as the Sarajevo Winter Festival and the Građanska demokratska stranka (Citizen's Democratic Party, GDS) headquarters, in central Sarajevo. Spahić's name is also inseparably tied to the Sarajevo Winter Olympic Games of 1984 because of his role in organizing the events. Those who are old enough to have attended the Olympic ceremony often tell their histories in relation to that year in phrases such as "before the Olympics," just as they speak about the last twenty years as before or after the war.

Spahić's office was covered with past festival posters and photos of him with politicians and other famous people. CDs and DVDs were piled on his immense carved wooden desk and when, occasionally, he would refer in the interview to something he wanted to share with me, a frenetic search for the document or recording would ensue. He would summon his secretary and any other nearby staff to help in the search and then promptly dismiss them when the item was found. Each time he only allowed

¹¹ From an article in Dani introducing that year's Zima Festival (December, 23 1996).

¹² Comment by Daniel Tarschy, Secretary General of the Council of Europe, from Geneva, when Sarajevo Zima Festival became a member of the European Festivals Association, <http://sarajevskazima.ba>.

me to ask a few questions before he leapt into a monologue about his life, cultural policy, his festival, and anything else that he thought relevant. Perhaps because he doubles as a festival organizer and a politician, I sometimes got the sense that Spahić was more interested in presenting himself positively than anything else. But then I had anticipated this might be the case as he has held political office and had to present himself to the public from a young age as the director of several organizations as well as the Sarajevo Winter Festival. Although my transcripts of the interviews are riddled with interruptions from phone calls and his secretary's disruptions, in the end Spahić shared a good deal of his life, work, and opinions with me.

Throughout his long career, Spahić has held a large variety of positions, not exclusively in the cultural realm. To illustrate the span of his roles before the war, he was the President of the Council of the Daily Newspaper Sport, and was a member of the Executive Committee of the World Competition in Gymnastics as well as the Council of the Association of the People with Hearing Disabilities. He has held political positions in the two most powerful multi-ethnic parties in Bosnia. In 1990, he was the President of the Socijaldemokratska partija Bosne i Hercegovine (Social Democratic Party of Bosnia and Herzegovina, SDP), in the city of Sarajevo the President of the Građanska demokratska stranka (Citizen's Democratic Party, GDS) in 1993, and maintained that position on and off until the election in November of 2010. GDS is a marginal party that maintains very little power in Bosnia's government. Because Spahić led it in the past, many people have referred to it as the cultural party.¹³ In Spahić's life we see how the political world can intertwine with cultural life and through his comments I seek to illuminate one popular figure's understanding of the development of cultural events over time in Sarajevo.

Ibrahim Spahić was born on May 10, 1952 in Sarajevo where he also finished grammar school. He received his first degree from the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Sarajevo. At the age of fifty-two, when I met him, Spahić had a strong presence and a deep voice that made it possible for him to easily dominate the conversation. When I asked him about the first Sarajevo Winter Festival he organized, he responded by explaining to me his first involvement in Sarajevo with cultural events, beginning in the 1960s:

That was the year [1984] of one of the best Winter Olympic Games, some people say the best Olympic Games up until that moment; the Fourteenth Winter Olympic Games were held in Sarajevo in the month of February 1984. And inside the Olympics program there was one special program dealing with cultural festivals, cultural heritage and the presentation of cultural heritage of Bosnia. I organized the event. One generation of 1968, during the time of student riots in America and in the world, we made a new music scene

¹³ Filmmaker Danis Tanović, who was the winner of the Academy Award in 2002 for his film for his movie *No Man's Land*, recently founded a multi-ethnic party called Naša stranka (Our Party). Tanović has rallied several other cultural figures to join his party. Unfortunately, this tactic and the party's support for minority rights, a decentralized state and individual rights, only garnered the party four percent of the votes in 2010.

in Bosnia- Herzegovina in which there were, among others, the main figures of the music scene of ex-Yugoslavia and of the Balkans today. Like Goran Bregović,¹⁴ like music editors today on television of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Sinan Alimanović,¹⁵ who during the 1970s constructed, with our generation, the first professional jazz space in what is now St. Vinko Church in Titova Street.

We established Centar za kulturu studenata (Cultural Center of Students) in 1973 or 1974 at the time when I was leading the Organizacija studentskog vijeća (University Organization of Student's Council) in Sarajevo. That was the only university [University of Sarajevo] in Bosnia-Herzegovina in the 1970s.¹⁶[...] There was music, especially jazz and ethno music and other different projects that at that time corresponded with the modern music of Europe and the world. Also in Sarajevo during the 1960s and 1970s there used to be various local and regional festivals of music, which made Sarajevo the musical center of Yugoslavia. Among other things, there were guitar festivals, then various vocal instrumental ensembles, later rock, pop etc., until hip-hop, which is very interesting today.

During those years Kulturno-sportski centar Skenderija (Cultural-Sport Center Skenderija) was opened, and forming a part of it there was Dom Mladih (Youth House), which is now being reconstructed by some foreign organizations from Norway, together with volunteers from Sarajevo. Among others I joined them, because I started my first job there at 16 years of age exactly that year, 1968 (Spahić 2005, interview with author).

14 Born in 1950, Goran Bregović is a musician and composer originally from Bosnia who incorporates Serbian, Bosnian, and Romani musical styles into his compositions. He was one of the original members of Bijelo dugme (White Button), one of the most influential Yu-rock bands of the 1970s. He is particularly well known internationally for his compositions and performances in which he uses Romani brass band music. In addition to his musical releases and concerts around the world, Bregović has composed many film scores, including those for Emir Kusturica's films *Time of the Gypsies*, *Underground*, and *Arizona Dream*. During and after the war, many in Bosnia saw Kusturica's work as a proponent of Serbian nationalism. Bregović's association with Kusturica, several statements he has made in interviews, as well as his choice to live in Belgrade mean that many Bosniaks do not openly approve of him.

15 Sinan Alimanović is a jazz pianist who left Priština in the 1970s and then helped to develop the jazz scene in Sarajevo. In 1980 he founded the group Sinan Alimanović Quintet made up of jazz musicians from across the former Yugoslavia.

16 Since the war, several internationally funded universities have sprung up in Sarajevo including the American University of Bosnia, which also has campuses in Banja Luka and Tuzla, as well as two Turkish universities on the outskirts of Sarajevo in Ilidža. There are also several new universities that cater to specific national communities, including the University of Mostar which is attended by mostly Bosnian Croats and the University of East Bosnia with campuses outside of Sarajevo and in Pale for majority Bosnian Serb students.

One of the major performance and sports halls, Skenderija, was built in 1969, in front of which large socialist political gatherings and other events were held throughout the year. The hall was later remodeled and expanded for the 1984 Winter Olympic Games. Referring to the hall, Spahić noted, “in fact, that was the biggest, the most modern and the most interesting hall in the region of ex-Yugoslavia (ibid.)” Spahić experienced a kind of rebirth of the city as a member of a generation that strove to develop new institutions and modern scenes for art and music. As Sarajevo was to a certain extent in competition with other large cities in the former Yugoslavia, his answer also reveals the regional (Yugoslav) character of festivals, events, and the cultural scene in general. To explain his cultural activities as a student before founding the Sarajevo Winter Festival, Spahić described to me two events he organized outside official performance spaces, in already existing outside spaces in the old part of the city. That his events were not physically held in “official” venues makes both a local and political point about his attempts to work conceptually outside of the governmental structure of the time. For him, these events helped to frame cultural life within the context of the city rather than the state. According to Spahić, modern art exhibitions and performances by Yu-rock and jazz musicians transformed Sarajevo into an urban space:

And we shaped it [this concept] through two big projects before Sarajevo Winter Festival was even an idea. One of them was called *Zajedno* (*Together*) with the students of the art academies, and the other was called *Poetika prostora* (*Poetics of the Place*). These were with professional artists and with young people. That *Poetika prostora* is a project which I was doing for a few years in Baščaršija, in the old part of town, and that was when we discovered these culhans (small garden courtyards), and all of these... Well, all of the places they “were discovering” numerous times, but actually during the 1970s and 1980s we had discovered the places one by one, which means that the most important artists, the whole generation gathered around the group named *Zvono*, and the musicians from that period precisely identified the urban places of the old town. The spots where you could hold a program. And actually that is the first generation after the 1950s, after World War II, which identified the town as a cultural place. Not galleries, not music halls, but the town, the squares, the streets. That was my job, done with those friends of mine, colleagues, of my generation, younger or older (Spahić 2005, interview with author).

Spahić’s description of his involvement in grassroots or alternative cultural scenes is consistent with his later post as president of a minor political party and his involvement with student organizations who sought autonomy from the greater socialist structure while participating within it. It is fair to say that Spahić’s history of working within the socialist system made him an attractive figure in 1984 to organize the cultural section of the Olympic celebration and the festival which later became an annual event. After contextualizing his development, and that of the cultural scene in Sarajevo in the sixties and seventies, Spahić described for me the Sarajevo Winter Festival’s first event:

We started the festival twenty years ago with *Carmina Burana* by Carl Orff. And that became a hit for seven to eight years, not just in Sarajevo but in the whole region. And in 1999 we made that ethno concert of all ex-Yugoslav countries on the opening of Biennale in the National Theater. Practically it was the first gathering of artists from the former Yugoslavia. So, our festival has some social dimension, some kind of a direct intervention in the process of reconciliation, in the process of building trust and development. It is the truth, because ... For example, it is a festival that did not project connections with artists either during the war, or before, or after the war. So, it really performs an important function ... and it is noticeable, I mean, with the festivals, not because it has some concerts, performances, no. But because of an atmosphere. I don't know how well you have been following this year's festival. But if you visited five to six places, you could see that good atmosphere (ibid.).

The first Sarajevo Winter Festival acted as an extension of the Olympic events and lasted for almost three and a half months from December 21, 1984 to April 6, 1985. The long length of the festival, sometimes lasting as long as a month during the winter, has been a consistent characteristic of the festival. Spahić reliably holds hundreds of performances throughout the festival. Poets recite, musicians and dancers perform, artists exhibit, and filmmakers screen their films around the city. Despite the cold weather in the winter, the opening of the festival is usually held outside in a public space. All events are free of charge. Upon the twentieth anniversary of the festival, Sarajevo Winter published a large format coffee table book. Bosnian author and professor Tvrтко Kulenović contributed to the publication by writing the following sentences of his introduction that indicate changes in the character of performances from regional to international:

Founded in 1984, as a concurrent event of the XIV Olympic Games, the "Winter" did not stay in the background of the major event, although it was criticized a lot, but so was the Olympiad itself, and the question was raised "what do we need it for?" The further it went, the more justified its existence through the range of manifestations. At the beginning, it was not an international event: it involved participants only from Yugoslavia, a territory with a rich cultural and artistic heritage that had a lot to show (Kulenović 2005: 7).

The volume's first forty-four pages hold the greetings, memories and appreciation from Bosnian cultural figures and politicians. Many recount the horrors of war and tie the festival's life to that of the city's while others marvel at the sheer size and length of the event year to year. For Spahić the size of the festival is absolutely important:

[S]ince the very beginning that was the biggest event of Yugoslavia, because at the opening there were more than 100.000 people present on the 21st of December. A lot more than at the Olympics, for example. That was a first

class event and today people still talk about it and remember it, and in fact they did not recover from it yet, even after 20 years have passed (Spahić 2005, interview with author).

The festival's size has caused many critics to ask why it must be so large. Cultural critic and festival organizer Aida Kalendar explained to me that "[t]his is the type of festival where the producer of Zima Festival goes all over the cities to every embassy and asks 'what do you have for this position' and the response is 'ok, we have dancers.' And very often [the festival] does not have any concept, nothing to organize it" (Kalendar 2006, interview with author). Kalendar's claim is consistent with other critiques of this festival as well as the Festival Bašćaršijske noći, which mostly works with embassies to import folkloric musicians from abroad.

It is difficult to generalize about the contents of the numerous performances and exhibitions that were part of the Sarajevo Winter Festival in the years between the Olympics and the fall of Yugoslavia. In fact, the huge variety of events deserve a detailed study. For the purpose of this article, however, is it critical to note that in the festivals before 1992 participants were almost exclusively from Yugoslavia. Throughout the festival programs it is clear that Spahić chose to highlight artists and musicians whose work was conceptually modern, although this emphasis was by no means exclusionary, as one can see in the festival programs numerous classical concerts by the Sarajevo Symphony Orchestra and classical chamber groups of Mozart, Brahms, and Chopin. The programs were divided into categories including Ceremonija otvaranja (Opening Ceremony), Pozorište (Theater), Koncerti (Concerts), Film, Kulturna baština (Cultural Heritage), Premijere (Premiers), Amateri (Amateurs), Poetika prostora (Poetics of Place), Kulturno-naučni susreti (Cultural and Scientific Meetings), Turističko-zabavni program (Tourism and Entertainment Program), "Zajedno" – Susret studenata umjetničkih akademija Jugoslavije ("Together" – Meeting of Students of the Art Academies of Yugoslavia), Gostovanje nacionalnih kuhinja (Visiting National Kitchens), and Program takmičenja na olimpijskim borilištima (Program of Competitions at Olympic Venues).

In 1986, there were three performances in the amateur section: Pjesmom i igrom kroz Istru (Songs and Dances from Throughout Istria),¹⁷ Jugoslavija u pjesmi i igri (Yugoslavia in Song and Dance), and Koncert hora RKUD "Vaso Pelagić," Banja Luka (Concert of the Choir RKUD "Vaso Pelagić," Banja Luka).¹⁸ That year, the national cuisine section included food from Hungary, The Netherlands, (West) Germany, as well as cuisines from regional cities and towns including Novi Sad, Subotica, and Vranje (all now in Serbia), although it is unclear how these national cuisines were chosen.

¹⁷ Istria is a peninsula on the Adriatic. It is shared by Croatia, Slovenia, and Italy and located between the Gulf of Trieste and the Bay of Kvarner.

¹⁸ Vasilije "Vaso" (or "Vasa") Pelagić (1838–1899) was an important revolutionary figure who participated in uprisings against both Turkish and Austro-Hungarian authorities. He was an early proponent of socialist ideas.

As a comparison, by 1999, several years after the signing of the Dayton Agreement, the categories in the program had been simplified as follows: Ceremonija otvaranja (Opening Ceremony), Teatar (Theater), Muzika (Music), Izložbe (Exhibitions), Književnost (Literature), Film, Kulturno-naučni susreti (Cultural and Scientific Meetings), and Ceremonija zatvaranja (Closing Ceremony). In the theater category for that year, groups from India, Venezuela, Italy, Greece, Poland, France, Great Britain, the Czech Republic, Belarus, the US, and Spain performed in Sarajevo. Of the thirty-three theater performances, only five were local productions, while three were from Slovenia and one was from Croatia.

The decision to create a program that centered around international acts was largely based upon the festival staff's ability to find more foreign than domestic funding. One of the Sarajevo Winter Festival staff members I spoke with explained the process of preparing for the festival each year. As part of their preparation for the festival, Spahić and his staff visited embassies in Sarajevo. Funding requests were almost always dismissed. However, they were almost always met with the suggestion that the embassy invite musicians from their respective countries. To generalize, embassies offered to pay for transporting artists and musicians to Sarajevo. The Sarajevo Winter Festival programs between 1997 and 2010 reflect this reliance on embassy funds. This is not to say that audiences did not enjoy some of the international concerts and exhibitions.

Before the war, locally and nationally funded music festivals took place in urban centers as well as towns and villages throughout the region. Noting the urban emphasis of much of the humanitarian aid, as well as cultural efforts, is important within the scheme of post-war national policy as it highlights the shift from Yugoslav policy to post-war ad hoc policy. These socialist supported national-in-character festivals have been overshadowed and replaced with a more centralized urban festival tradition. Foreign donors who subsidize the global orientation of these festivals aim to decentralize the everyday ethnic tensions they imagine may be present among festival attendees. By featuring international performers and musical traditions that are oriented towards the global, donors attempt to defuse attention placed on linguistic and cultural differences by highlighting cultural expressions that are seemingly neutral with regard to audience members. From the position of foreign sponsors, it is a foregone conclusion that the de-emphasis of difference, be it ethnic, cultural, or religious, is a politically safe strategy.

Year to year embassy support constantly shifts. Unreliable international funding allotments take on the characteristics of gifts, which some organizers feel must be reciprocated with corresponding offerings of VIP seats, invitations, and receptions. I believe that such exchanges are unbalanced and, in the end, detrimental to the goals of both the funders, who aim at cultural diplomacy, and the festivals that seek to organize viable and well-constructed events. Based on my question about the effect of embassy support, one of the Sarajevo Winter Festival's staff explained to me her frustration with the quality of the festival, especially in terms of the overall notion or theory behind the event: "So, in a sense Sarajevo Winter is... well, it is not a good festival anymore. Sometimes you have really good programs but the concept for the whole festival does not exist" (Sarajevo Winter Festival staff member 2006b, interview

with author).¹⁹ A Bosnian musician from Banja Luka who had attended the Sarajevo Winter Festival on several occasions echoes the staff member's thoughts: "Nobody thought of the overall picture of the festival, it is just made up of what the foreigners will give. It is sad" (Djeka 2006, interview with author). This is also confirmed by Ivan Lovrenović:

I have to say that I believe that all those projects that cost over a million of KM [konvertibilna marka, Bosnian local currency] for our situation are mega projects and a huge problem. That does not mean that we do not need festivals. We need them and they will remain, but if you sum up the expenditures of those festivals, you have spent all of our budgets. Given the situation we live in, when there is a lack of funds for pensions or salaries, it is difficult to offer a serious product in the area of culture (cited in: Seksan 2001).

Perhaps the final question is how embassy funds might have been used to establish long-term institutions rather than one-time events that might contribute to Sarajevo's cultural life throughout the year.

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Ерика Хаскел

ФИНАНСИРАЊЕ ФЕСТИВАЛА: ДОВОЂЕЊЕ СВЕТА У САРАЈЕВО

(САЖЕТАК)

У фокусу овог чланка налази се „фестивализација” Сарајева, главног града Босне и Херцеговине, у раздобљу након потписивања Дејтонског споразума (1995). Нарочиту пажњу посвећујем култури донаторства, којом је, међутим, више подржавано инострано него домаће извођаштво. У овом тексту документујем обрт од регионалних фестивала из предратног социјалистичког раздобља, до вишедневних послератних фестивала са великим бројем, преваходно иностраних, извођача, те указујем на тенденцију донатора да умањују значај локално-специфичних разлика, да би на тај начин креирали „политички безбедне” програме помоћи. Разоткривам због чега је „модел фестивала” био атрактиван и локалним и иностраним културним посленицима и продуцентима у овом периоду. Посебно се бавим реорганизацијом фестивала Сарајевска зима, као и других фестивала који су постојали у доба Југославије, али су наставили да постоје и у периоду након завршетка рата.

Кључне речи: Босна и Херцеговина, Сарајево, музика, послератно раздобље, фестивали, пост-социјалистички период, примењена етномузикологија

FROM PAIN TO PLEASURE: THE TROPING OF ELEGY IN THE RENAISSANCE ITALIAN MADRIGAL*

*Milena Medić*¹

Department of Music Theory, Faculty of Music, University of Arts, Belgrade

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ABSTRACT:

In the Renaissance period, melancholia emerged as a dramatic cultural phenomenon among the intellectual and artistic elites, with a locus in elegy that gave form to the Renaissance poetics of loss, pain and shedding of tears, expressing essentially the fantasy about death as a prerequisite for revival. The possibilities of confronting the threats of death were being found in its very nature whose inherent ambiguity was determined by the principles of Thanatos and Eros. The creative act of the troping of elegy proved to be an effective literary and musical strategy for the transcendence of death including the procedures of homeopathization, pastoralization, heroization and erotization of elegy. The elegiac tropic transcendence of death found its most complex expression in the madrigal which in turn added to its basic polyphonic procedure the opposing stylistic elements of the pastoral genres (canzonettas and villanellas) or heroic solo or choral recitations and it consequently acquired a hybrid form in the last decades of the 16th century, and thereby proved to be a cultural trope itself. The aim of this article is to examine the musical implications of the tropic strategies of facing death within Francesco Petrarca's, Torquato Tasso's, and Battista Guarini's poetic models of the art of loving death, using the remarkable examples of the Italian madrigal practice of the late Renaissance.

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¹ milena.medic@fmu.bg.ac.rs

KEYWORDS: renaissance, melancholia, elegy, madrigal, troping, transcendence of death

In his book *Stanzas: Word and Phantasm in Western Culture*, the Italian philosopher and aesthetician, Giorgio Agamben, argued that after the reappearance of court love lyric poetry among poets in the 13th century, “the first great return of melancholia in Western culture started with the Humanism” (Agamben, 1993: 14, n. 3). It started, as is known, with the revision of Galen’s physiological-psychological discourse according to which the melancholic temperament, caused by the fluctuation and predomination of black bile (*melas khole*) and exhibited in the typical symptomatology – from dry, cold, hard, heavy, slow, lonely, sad, evil to earthly, autumnal, old, dark, rot, deadly – had a negative predisposition since it lead to the pathological state of *mania*. Such a revision took the course of the Platoization of Aristotle’s notion of natural or ingenious melancholia stated in his *Problemata XXX.1* with the famous question: “Why is it that all men who have become outstanding in philosophy, statesmanship, poetry or the arts are melancholic, and some to such an extent that they are infected by the diseases arising from black bile?” (Radden 2000: 57). Attributed by Aristotle to all ingenious people (*literarum studiosi*), melancholia was then, within Renaissance Neoplatonism, related to divinely inspired cogitations and contemplative, introspective cognition of the divine (*divine furore*). An elite “disease” thus became the designation of intellectual exclusivity and spiritual greatness, which, however, unlike Aristotle’s recognition of diversity as the only characteristic that distinguishes ingenious people, also meant the fulfillment of their moral (Christian) virtues. In addition to human and natural causes, melancholia also received a heavenly cause.

The epochal leap of melancholia from clinic to culture, from a medical condition to a discursive practice, was initiated by the Florentine philosopher, doctor and composer Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499). He outlined the confluence of the ancient ideas of the Saturnian temperament and melancholic genius in his medical-astrological treatise on life (*De vita triplici*, 1480–89) and widely elaborated the concept of love as the key of theology, epistemology and ethics in his influential treatise on love (*Commentarium in convivium Platonis de Amore*, 1474–75). Above all, Ficino emphasized something that will prove to be indicative of a cultural identity of Renaissance humanism. This is the idea of separation, loss and absence. This thanatological idea acquired an ambivalent status in the Renaissance philosophy and art – of the subjective source of love melancholia (in a negative medicinal sense) and the objective recourse of divine furor (in a positive Platonic sense). According to Ficino’s neoplatonic vision, the interrelation between love and melancholia is woven into polarity between the magical-demonic and the angelic-contemplative nature of fantasy – a polarity which is personified in the double manifestation of Venus: as *terrestris/volupta* and as *celestis/contemplativa*. In the first case, love leads the melancholic to necromantic fascination (*Venus oppositus Saturn*), and in the second, to the ecstatic radiance (*cum Venus Saturn*) (Ficino 1944: 142–143, 191–193). In contrast to

the Platonic ethos of *furor divinus* as “contemplative love” of melancholic genius for the divine knowledge, the close relationship between the pathos of “vulgare love” and the melancholia is expressed particularly in their common characteristics, *disiunctio* and *excessus*. Ficino explains that this characteristically “happened usually to those who, neglecting contemplative love, have turned to a passion for physical embrace,” recalling the fact that even “the ancient physicians observed these phenomena, they said that love was a kind of melancholy humor and passion of melancholy,” so that “anyone who is naturally of that temperament is more susceptible to love” (*ibid.*, 195). *Amor hereos* was the name for a kind of pathological madness resulting from an embrace of the defect of heart and affliction of body. It affects “the desperate in love.” The ethos of contemplative, celestial melancholia and pathos of love, terrestrial melancholia received in Renaissance humanism its paradigmatic cultural expressions, the former in Ficino’s neoplatonic philosophy and the latter in lyrical poetry of Francesco Petrarca (Francesco Petrarca, 1304-1374) and his followers, Petrarchists.

Humanistic privileging of loss and absence revealed, consequently and importantly, melancholy attitude to *eros*, because what is lost and absent becomes an unattainable object of nostalgic desire and yearning (*eros*). It is precisely desire and yearning which give the loss as absence a status of presence (*eros* as copula). As Thomas M. Greene points out, “The humanists of the quattrocento did not suffer so intimately or so intensely from the knowledge of loss, partly because they devoted so much of their careers to the repossession of the lost” (Greene 1982: 8). It was possible only in the fantasy of the regeneration by means of efforts to integrate the loss into a new etiological myth that could define the historical birth of the epoch. For Renaissance culture in general, objects of melancholic *eros* were antiquity, the idealized figure of a non-corporeal woman or a primordial oneness with God. The affirmation of the male-oriented subjectivity of melancholic *eros*, through legitimizing the expressiveness of his melancholy was attained in the forms of cultural production and artistic representation.

Perceiving melancholia as a privileged, exclusively male form of creation and expression naturally resulted in the fixation of the woman only in the utterly domestic context of funereal mornings and lamentations. According to Sharon T. Strocchia, “Petrarch was the first to decry the ritual license of grieving women and to emphasize their need for greater public decorum” (Strocchia 1991: 167) and he supported privatizing “the visible expression of grief such as ritual laments, tears, and gestures of despair, for which women were primarily responsible” (*ibid.*, 166). As Strocchia puts forward, the only public mourning practice, albeit without the visible showing of emotions, referred to the Latin funereal orations and consolatory letters (*ibid.*, 164). The latter represented, so to speak, paradigmatic cultural expressions of the principle of *logos* and encomium elevating the deceased upon which rests funereal, personal melancholia. However, the possibility of male appropriating the expressive signs of ritual lamenting from fragile and sensitive female subjectivity necessitated the conversion of this mourning pattern into a cultural performance through the occupation of the literary space of fiction as a privileged form of male expression of personal grieving and suffering. Indeed, in both cases of either the exclusion of femininity (funeral and contemplative melancholia; the Ficinian model) or the acquisi-

tion of female characteristics (love melancholia; the Petrarchan model), the woman is obviously always absent. Or, to put it differently, she is present only as a lost or unattainable object of male desire and yearning.

In funereal, contemplative and love-like evocation of the Saturnian temperament it is *eros* which also makes a demand for overcoming the loss, for a relation with the transcendent whose threshold is *thanatos*. Ambiguity, inherent to melancholia, is driven by the principles of Eros and Thanatos, as well as by desire for transcendence of one or another. Since ancient times – from school of Dorian elegists (VI century BC), through bucolic elegists and neoterics (III–I century BC) to elegists of the August Roman imperial period (I century AD) – it found its cultural expression and form in the literary procedures of the lyric genre, elegy. The endeavor of Renaissance humanists to have “re-possessed the lost of the antiquity” illuminates the reason for Renaissance culture being flooded with a reflective, mournful poetic form connected with ideas of death, loss and pain. The Elegy immortalizes that ambiguity in the dynamism between the reality of physical death (in a personal funereal elegy), or an amorous loss as a symbolic death (in a subjective love elegy), and a hope and faith in (spiritual) life after death (in a divine elegy). This is at the same time the dynamism between the *logos* (the praise of the deceased), *pathos* (the lament) and *ethos* (the consolation) of melancholy. Since in Ficino’s neoplatonism melancholy was understood as a temperament of death, and death was celebrated as life because it was regarded as a step towards the original divine unity, hence only the melancholic *genius* could find comfort (*consolatio*) in contemplating the eschatologically implied death, while the melancholic *vulgus* succumb to affectational lamenting (*lamentatio*) when confronted with the mundane implications of death, loss and passing. Therefore, in contrast to the metaphysical demand of contemplative melancholy to transcend *eros*, the loving melancholy was based on the fixation of *eros* (love) in *thanatos* (the mortal beauty of the beloved), while the funereal personal melancholy idealized the loss and sorrow somewhere between *eros* and *thanatos*, in the equilibrium between praising the virtues of the deceased (*laudable*) and lamenting his death (*deplorable*).

The elegiacally expressed dynamics of melancholy between the extremes (divine-human, angelic-demonic, celestial-terrestrial, soul-body), or within the dichotomy inherent in the Saturnian temperament, had a strong cultural parallel in the fruitful crossing of renaissance music composition with the theory of four temperaments and the theory of passion (*pathos*) and character (*ethos*). In Ficino’s philosophical considerations of the correspondences between *spiritus humanus*, the mediator of the human body and soul, and *spiritus mundanus*, the intermediary between matter and soul of the world, the concept of melancholy (as a state of mind, soul and body) is associated with music, thanks to the pneumatological perspective of music first and foremost, that is, to the understanding that the nature of the sound resembles the aerial (spherical) nature of spirit (Ficino / Farndell 2010: 52). In light of this, Ficino specifies that “musical spirit touches and acts within the spirit as an intermediary between the soul and the body, impacting on any of these by its estuary of affect” (Ficino 1980: 162). Furthermore, music not only runs the human spirit because it is itself a movement, not only music enlivens it because it is itself like a living organism – by which the ancient view of music *pathos* and *ethos* reveals itself as a driver of one of the most

powerful fantasies of the musical Renaissance. Above all, the song (*cantus*) is regarded by Ficino as

esse imitatore omnium potentissimum. Hic enim intentiones affectionesque animi imitatur et verba, refert quoque gestus motusque et actus hominum atque mores; tamque vehementer omnia imitatur et agit, ut aedem imitanda vel agenda tum cantatem, tum audientes subito provocet [the most powerful imitator among all things. It displays the intentions and desires of the soul and the words, while it also represents human physical gestures, movements and actions, as well as their characters, and it imitates and performs all of these so forcefully that it immediately provokes both the singer and the audience to imitate and perform the same things] (Ficino 1998: 359).

The music that Ficino had in mind was based on his psycho-anatomical concept of *concentus*. This concept assumes a harmonious articulation of many different *melos* (the anatomical notion of any piece, article or body of the body, which Ficino takes over from Homer and Plutarch) – ranging from high and low tones, via the intervals (*ratio*), tetrachord (*diatessaron*), pentachord (*diapenta*) and octachord (diapason) to modes (tonoi) and melody. In such a composite sound organ, which is alive and rational like body and soul, “numerous voices properly commingled produce together a resonance which is the basis of a new and wonderful power,” while “a single form arises from many, full delight arises from a single form that is likewise produced harmoniously from many” (Ficino, Farndell 2010: 60). It is quite obvious that Ficino’s concept of *concentus* did not imply the melodic aspect of the antique monody, but the contrapuntal aspect of contemporary polyphony. Thanks to being filled with *spiritus aerius* and imitative ability, a polyphonic song allows production of a musical physio-psychognomy of temperament. As such, it can evoke *pathos* and *ethos* of “Saturn voices” through the attributes of *melan-khole* (black bile) among which Ficino include *stardas*, *graves*, *raucas*, *querulas* (“slow, deep, harsh, and plaintive”) in the listener’s body (as *motus*), soul (as *affectus*) and mind (as *significatio*) (Ficino 1998: 361). Since these attributes presume the disturbance of the psycho-physical balance, exhibited in the heart contractions and catatonic and *grave* passions, Renaissance musical melancholy is characterized by a predominance or excess of non-consonant intervals, i.e. imperfect consonances (3, 6) and dissonances (2, 4, 7). It is equally characterized by the qualities of the renaissance *stile grave* including the intervallic, melodic and repercussive movement *catabasis* and the deep (*gravis*) voices and the lower (terrestrial) register of the voices, then, the techniques of *note longe* and *note nere*, *genere chromatico*, *cantus mollis*, *modus plagialis*, *diatessaron*, *comixtio modi*, as well as formal-syntactic principles of *concentratio*, *circulatio*, *oscillatio*, *oppositio* (cf.: Boccadoro 2004).

However, when it comes to the modal aspect of Renaissance musical grammar of melancholy, it is necessary to emphasize the restrictiveness of the dichotomous

nature of melancholy between the ethos of the Mixolydian mode and the ethos of the Phrygian mode. In the Renaissance modal cosmology, as shown by the musico-theoretical discourse of that time, the Mixolydian mode, being the highest among the modes, was associated with the influence of the most distant planet, Saturn, and the muse Polyhymnia (The one of many hymns), obviously for the reason of wishing to stress the celestial and intellectual nature of melancholy, which is the basis of the ingenious ascents of contemplation and imagination (*melancholia generosa*). Heinrich Glareanus (1488–1563) in particular (*Dodecachordon*, 1547) emphasized the ecclesiastical tradition and the religious sphere of the use of the seventh mode, and the related affects of *pietas, honesta, dignitas, severitas* propelled by it. On the other hand, although the Phrygian mode had been attached, first by Franchinus Gaffurius (1451–1522; *De harmonia*, 1518), to the planetary influence of the fiery, choleric, feisty and passionate Mars and the muse Erato (The desired one) and described by a Martial affective configuration of *ira* (wrath, anger, rage, vengeance) from Glareanus via Gioseffo Zarlino (1517–1590; *Le institutioni harmoniche*, 1558) to Jan Pieter Sweelinck (1562–1621; *Über die acht, respektive zwölf Tonarten*, 17th century), it was nevertheless regarded as a mode that provoked sadness, crying, lament (*trenos, commovere al pianto, piene di lamenti, sono lagrimevoli*) (cf.: Smith 2011: 166–232).

Together with the Hypodorian, Hypophrygian, Aeolian and Hypoaeolian modes, the Phrygian mode was well suited to represent the earthly and human nature of melancholy (*melancholia miserabila*), above all in a love elegy, mostly because of their common constructive element — the Phrygian *diatessaron*. The specificity of this constituent lies in a distinctive position of the dissonant terminal interval *fa-mi*, whose melodic gesture of *catabasis* produce an unmistakable effect of the finality. In that sense, if we take into consideration that the relation *fa-mi* is the primary *locus* of the Phrygian inflection, then other types of catabasic intervallic/melodic aims, and the *gravis* of vocal and register moves in the depths of the sound space – for *grave* is the place of death – can adopt the Phrygian quality and to express the thanatological ideas in music as gestures of Phrygian inflection (cf.: Kimmel, 1980).

The fulfillment of loving melancholy's demand to face death, loss and pain, that I will focus on in this article, was, however, possible – as revealed by the Renaissance practice of loving elegy from Francesco Petrarch via Torquato Tasso (1544–1595) to Giovanni Battista Guarini (1538–1612) – thanks to the creative acts of troping the elegy, because only tropes, as deviations of meaning, can undermine the death threat and evoke the transcendence of *thanatos*. Towards the end of the 16th century, three models of the lyrical *ars moriendi* crystallized in a unique poetic-musical transformation of the Renaissance elegiac discourse on the lost love: the Petrarchian model (*tristitia amoris*) with its roots in the lyrical cycle *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta* (*Canzoniere*, 1327–1374), followed by Tasso's model (*militia amoris*) with its source in the epics *Gerusalemme liberata* (1575, 1581) and *Gerusalemme conquistata* (1593), and the Guarinian model (*voluptas amoris*) with its origins in a pastoral tragicomedy *Il pastor fido* (1580–84) and his *Rime* (1598). These models were shaped with special literary strategies of tropic transcendence of death which can be described by metaphor (in the sense of homeopathization), epic fight and narrative distance (in the sense of heroization), as well as metonymy, irony and synecdoche (in the sense of pastoraliza-

tion and erotization). The line of emergence of melancholic models is in accordance with the transformation of the melancholic *eros* from *pathos* via *agon* to *pothos*, that is, from pain via struggle to pleasure.

The elegiac tropic confrontation and overcoming of death possibly reached its most complex expression in the musical madrigal of the late sixteenth century. Since the second half of the sixteenth century, it gradually adopted into its basic motetic, polyphonically constituted procedure and *stile grave*, the opposing characteristics of the homophonic procedures and *stile piacevole* of the light musical genres such as canzonetta, villanella, villanesca and such, or the *stile eroico* of the heroic soloist and choral recitations. Thus embracing a hybrid form, the musical madrigal also affirmed itself as a particular cultural trope. My aim here is to examine the musical implications of the tropic strategies of facing death within the aforementioned poetic models of the art of loving death, using the remarkable examples of the Italian madrigal practice of the late Renaissance.

PETRARCH'S MODEL OF LOVE MELANCHOLIA

Petrarch's poetics of lost love and the rhetoric of lament and weeping, with a mortal woman, Laura, as a pretext, as well as with a biblical and Dantean lamentations as an intertext for the poet's melancholic voice, became the foundation of the institutionalization of the male melancholic *eros* in Italian Renaissance poetry and music. The elegization of *eros* is generated in Petrarch's imagination by an internalizing identification of the poet's lyrical I with a designated female source of loving sorrow. Namely, by acquiring the expressive ritualistic signs of sorrow (crying, tears, screams, anger, fear, sighs, silence etc.) which have a female denominator, Petrarch and his *cinquecento* followers shaped their melancholic lyrical discourse by means of the trope of (female) sensitivity. An absent woman (an idol carved into a live laurel) or a cruel woman (a melancholic merciless lady) open up the space of a metaphor of male pain and sorrow. A confrontation of the very poetic creation (singing or writing verses) of death happens in a particular linguistic and rhetoric moment, as a tropic epiphany of the linguistic eloquence, of the simultaneity of singing and crying, or, otherwise, silence. The markedness of a specific musical moment of facing the thanatologic issue of saturnation with a Phrygian inflection and *stile grave* precisely implies the Paracelsusian homeopathic principle of *similia similibus curantur* as a way of overcoming death.

The poetics of Luigi Tansillo's (1510–1568) love elegy in his *ottava rima*, *Dolorosi martir*, rises from the appropriation and interiorization of the female position of lamenting and the pathos of loss. The poet's excessive agony expresses his longing for transcendence, because it converts itself into a creative melancholic state from which the woman, as the verses demonstrate, is explicitly excluded. Through the emphasized use of the rhetoric figures *epitrochasmus* (a quick illumination of numerous things) and *enumeration* (enumeration), the ritualistic signs of lament (anguish, fierce suffering, sorrowful voices, lamentation, screams, weeping, bitter tears) reveal themselves as the signs of poetic eloquence ritual. The male amorous loss regenerates itself *in* the song as a privileged form of inspired male expression.

*Dolorosi martir, fieri tormenti,
 Duri ceppi, empi lacci, aspre catene,
 Ov' io la notte, i giorni, hore e momenti
 Misero piango il mio perduto bene:
 Triste voci, querele, urlì e lamenti,
 Lagrime spesse e sempiterno pene
 Son' il mio cibo e la quiete cara
 Della mia vita oltr' ogni assentio amara.*

(Grievous torture, fiery torments,
 unyielding fetters, cruel snares, bitter chains,
 with which I lament my lost love
 through the nights, the days, hours and moments;
 mournful cries, complaints, shrieks and groans,
 heavy tears and everlasting agony
 these are my nourishment and the hard-won
 peace of my life more bitter than wormwood) (Steele 1996/I: 42).

Luca Marenzio (1553/54–1599) chooses the Phrygian mode in *cantus durus* together with the melodic and the register realization of the Phrygian inflection, i. e. the Phrygian tetrachord, the *fa-mi* semitone as the initial or terminus of the phrases, the melodic descent, the descending interval spiral, the descending voice repercussion, low register. He abundantly uses the tone perfections (*accidentali duri*) and semitone chromaticism, as well as the rhythmic articulation of the phrases/verses structures in the manner of dichotomy originating in the tension between the *note longe* and *note nere* and resulting in the aesthetic *gravità* (long, slow, grave, dark, like the Saturnian quality and concurrently the quality of melancholic furor). In such a way the composer illuminates in his music nothing else but the thanatological semantic matrix of Tansillo's elegy (the trope of funereal female sensitivity) (Example 1).-

With his introspective lyricism, Francesco Petrarch transforms, in *Canzoniere*, the practice and rhetoric of lament into encomium (hymn, song of praise), for the triumph of female death immortalizes the male experience of love loss and anguish in the poetical language, i.e. through the celebrated rhymes. In the *sestina stanza*, *Amor, I' ho molti*, the poet turns his confession of Love (*Amor*), that he has for many years lamented over his grave love loss in an anguished poetical style (*in doloroso stile*), to the prayer to Death (*pregar Morte*), to make him happy by rising him skyward, to the bode of Laura, the epitome of female absence and the metaphor of masculinized pain, so that he may sing there, and weep as well in love verses (*canto e piango in rime*).

*Amor, i' ho molti et molti anni pianto
Mio grave danno in doloroso stile,
Né da te spero mai men fere notti;
Et però mi son mosso a pregar Morte
Che mo tolga di qui, per farmi lieto,
Ov' è colei ch' i' canto et piango in rime.*

(Love, many, many years I have shed tears
for my grave loss and in a grieving style
and there's no hope you'll make less cruel my nights;
and so now I have turned to begging Death
to take me from this place, and make me happy,
to her for whom I am sing and weep in rhymes) (Steele 1996/V: 111).

However, in the case of Marenzio's music in Phrygian mode, the redirection of the poet's invocation from love to death does not imply varying (*varietas*) in terms of difference in kind, but transformation (*variatus*) in terms of difference in degree, since the basis (E-D) of the same melodic figure of the Phrygian inflection (G₁-F sharp₁ in *canto*) – underlying these key words by the use of a sharp accidental – shifts from the bass part (with the exclusion of tenor), upward, as it were, to the tenor part (with the exclusion of bass) remaining at the same time in the same terrestrial register and the grave rhythm of four-voice homophony – as another of the same. This shifting is underlined in the music by a parallel reduction of the sequence of contrapuntal imitations *in note longe* and *in note nere* respectively to a single (isolated, solitary, melancholic) voice (alto) performing the mentioned melodic figure of the Phrygian inflection (G₁-F sharp₁). The continuity between the lamenting of love loss on the earth (*pianto mio grave danno in doloroso stile*) and the singing or verse-making in heaven after death (*canto e piango in rime*) reveals death itself as a metaphysical trope, for it highlights its eschatological implication (Cf.: Medić 2013) (Example 3).

In the poem *Io tacerò* by an anonymous poet, written in the poetic form of cinquecento madrigal, the extreme male suffering, expressed in silence by tears and sighs, suggests the failure of language to express that suffering, so that silence and death, given eventually voice by the poet, become a sonorous trope in language, and consequently the poetic creation itself becomes the locus of inexpressiveness.

Example 3. Luca Marenzio, *Amor, l'ho molti*

*Io tacerò, ma nel silenzio mio
 La lagrime i sospiri
 dirann i miei martiri.
 Ma s'a verrà ch'io mora,
 Griderà poi per me la morte ancora.
 In van dunque, o crudele,
 vuoi che'l mio duol e'l tuo rigor si cele,
 poi che mia cruda sorte
 dà la voce al silenzio ed a la morte.*

(I will keep quiet, yet in my silence
 my tears and sighs
 shall tell of my pain.
 And if I should die
 Death shall cry out for me once again.
 Thus in vain, oh cruel one,
 yearn you for my pain and your harshness to be hidden
 since my cruel fate
 gives voice to silence and to death) (Céster 2005: 22, 24).

To the lyrical pathos of the poet's anguish, Carlo Gesualdo (1566–1613) assigns the musical character *molle* by transposing the Dorian mode into *cantus mollis* and emphasizing the essential tone B flat and the accidental tone E flat, as well as by using the conventional signifiers for tears and sighs in madrigals, like the interval of the minor sixth (as an ascending leap and as an intervallic frame for the descending melodic motion) and the descending dissonant suspension (4–3, 7–6 and 9–8) and furthermore by the categories of *gravità* like the deep register, lower voices, descending melodies and voice repercussions. The 'voice' of silence is articulated by pauses as the locus

of the poet's silence, and the 'voice' of death by the Phrygian half-tone *fa-mi* relation as the primary terminus of the melodic lines which thereby creates an aura of macabre sonority. By doing this, the composer dives deeply into the sonorous interiority of the poet's language and its inexpressiveness (Example 4).

Example 4. Carlo Gesualdo, *Io tacèro*

TASSO'S MODEL OF LOVE MELANCHOLIA

In his epic *Gerusalemme conquistata* Torquato Tasso does not display the melancholic fragility of male identity in the first person, that is through a Petrarchian adoption of the ritualistic signs of female lamenting into the Self of male protagonists (Tancredi, Rinaldo). On the contrary, he literally embodies his own melancholic fragility through the voices of lacrimose women (Armida, Erminia and Clorinda). The poet does so in the third person, by matching the narrative tendencies of the epic storyteller with lamenting female narrators who tell or write their own stories about pain and loss. By identifying himself with their tearful narrations, the poet himself established a metonymic relationship with them. Especially when it comes to creating the character of the Antiochian princess Erminia, whose Italian root of the name (*erma*) means alone or lonely, Tasso also creates a self-portrait of a melancholic writer. In a double act – that of Erminia carving (*incidere*) a painful autobiography into a hard core of a shady tree and that of her repeated reading of her own notes while crying tears (*spargere di pianto*) – a symbiosis of an elegiac writing/reading and a melancholic lamentation (that is, words, sighs and tears) makes the first appearance explicitly in the sixth ottava rima, *Piange e sospira*, from the eighth *canto* of Tasso's epic. However, the melancholic transformation of the tearful Erminia into an elegiac writer unfolds in a Petrarchian literary key stemming from his sestina *Giovene donna sotto un verde*

lauro (*Il Canzoniere*, no. 30). Erminia performs it with the name of her hopeless love Tancredi (*segnò l'amato nome in mille guise...in dura scorza incise*) – somewhat similar to what Petrarch, with a river of tears (*lagrimosa riva*) does with the entire being of his hopelessly loved Laura, when he says *l'idolo mio scolpito in vivo lauro*.

Piagn' e sospira; e quand' i caldi raggi
 fuggon le gregi a la dolc' ombr' assise,
 ne la scorza de' pini o pur de' faggi
 segnò l'amato nome in mille guise;
 e de la sua fortuna i gravi oltraggi
 e i vari casi in dura scorza incise;
 e in rilegendo poi le proprie note
 spargea di pianto le vermiglie gote.

(She wept and sighed, and when her flocks
 fled the sun's rays to rest in softest shade,
 a thousand ways she carved her lover's name
 in the bark of pine and beech trees,
 and further carved the tales
 of all the blows dealt her by fate.
 And when she read over her own words,
 tears bestrewed her rosy cheeks) (Longhini 2005: 20).

In the case of Erminia, Tasso remodels in an emulative way Petrarch's metonymic playing with names *Laura/lauro* (Laura/laurel) into *il pianto/la pianta* (crying/plant), because he creates an extension of Petrarch's arboreal imagery in a direction wholly opposite to the encomiastic incarnation of the idol in the famed rhymes. This is the direction of conversion of a tree as a *locus semiosis* or a place of the signs of sorrow written into a tree as a *locus sepulchralis* or a funereal place of death, in short, from *scripta* (*scritta*) into *cripta*, because Erminia will soon call her arboreal texts her tomb. According to Lynn Enterline, "just as Erminia declares these arboreal texts to be her own 'tomb' and to announce her 'martyrdom,' Tasso collapses the self, the lament, and trees when he writes his own name and his paternal family name into the epic by turning it into the common noun for tree of death it signifies" (Enterline 1995: 144), and that is *il tasso* or the yew tree. She further elaborates on this idea when she claims that "classical and medieval poetry, natural history, and cosmological speculation consistently associate the yew tree, the *taxus*, with death and the underworld." Enterline states Ovid's association of the yew tree with *sepulchres* (tombs) and the attribute *tristis* or sad by Pliny the Elder used for poisonous juice and the yew tree berry (*ibid.*, 144–145).

At the same time, through Erminia's scriptural elegiac commemoration of loss and pain, Tasso also shows that to be lamented or to exist as a male object (Tancredi) of female lamenting (Erminia), means to be pulled away from oblivion that equals death; furthermore, to be immortalized by carving a name in the bark of a tree means in effect to receive immortality, and thus to transcend death. By doing so, in an epic, distant manner, totally outside of the time and place of the event, Tasso – himself

a confirmed practitioner and theoretician of melancholy – metonymically and in mimicry opposes to Thanatos not the lyrical *pathos* but the epic *agon*.

The madrigal can surpass loss and pain by means of the *stile eroico* shaped in the tradition of epic *recitar cantando* as the counter-style to the *stile grave*, just as the epic poem itself is basically a counter-genre to elegy. Along the line of the tropic genre and stylistic positioning as an evident expressive intent, Claudio Monteverdi (1567–1643) firstly decides on the juxtaposition of the *stile grave* for the first verse and the *stile arioso* for the second verse. While the *stile grave* is realized with the melody whose initial chromatic ascent (for *piange*) in long note values subjects itself to the imitative contrapuntal procedure, while the terminus is determined by the Phrygian *fa-mi* relation (for *sospira*), the *stile arioso* is embodied in the declamatory syncopated melody over the descending-ascending fourth pattern, quite similar to the so called *aria per cantar ottava rima*, which was a basis for improvised solo singing of the narrative or lyrical verse (Haar 1998: 223) (Example 5). After that, the composer superimposes the *stile grave* (of the first verse), the *stile arioso* (for the verses 2-4) and the *stile eroico* for verses 5–6 (embodied in a monotonic melody in semi-breves and semi-minims, characteristic of epic declamation). In such way, the composer produces a kind of tropic collision of stylistic types in this functional location (Example 6).

The image shows a musical score for five voices: Canto, Quinto, Alto, Tenore, and Basso. The score is divided into three systems. The first system shows the beginning of the piece with the tempo marking 'grave'. The second system shows the middle of the piece with the tempo marking 'arioso'. The third system shows the end of the piece with the tempo marking 'arioso'. The lyrics are in Italian and are written below the vocal lines. The score includes various musical notations such as clefs, time signatures, and dynamic markings.

Example 5. Claudio Monteverdi, *Piang' e sospira*

Avoiding cadences until the exposition of the two last verses/phrases, conceived in a strict heroic recitation homophony with simultaneous cadences in all voices when the mode of the composition (Dorian in *cantus durus*) is definitely confirmed, Monteverdi maintains narrative continuity in his music. Concurrently, using the so called multi-thematic counterpoint, Tasso exposes the scene from the heroic past all at once, and with his increasingly dominant epic narrative distance, transforms it into a live happening. Taking on a heroic position of impersonality and objectivity is agonal mode of transcendence of death (Example 7).

GUARINI'S MODEL OF LOVE MELANCHOLIA

The mediation of tropes in elegy enables the Renaissance Italian poets to confront death both by means of the idyll/bucolic (in pastoral elegy) and the erotic (in erotic elegy). According to Giuseppe Gerbino, the literary pastoral, which experienced a cultural explosion in the final two decades of the 16th century, while the musical madrigal experienced a pastoral turn with a consequent change of thematic and stylistic ranges, “imposes itself as one of the main symbolic systems that shaped Renaissance aristocratic identity, finding space between the chivalric tradition of the noble warrior and the Petrarchist construction/deconstruction of the self” (Gerbino 2009: 193). In the light of the cultural appearance of the pastoral as “the third fundamental field of self-representation” (ibid., 247), the pastoral-erotic pathos posed new challenges before lyric and dramatic genres (as well as secular music). These were the demands for a stylistic variation of the court erotology and for a serio-ludic reshaping of Petrarch's dominant poetic code. Petrarch's loving oxymoron (*atra voluptas*) of the Augustinian order, with its imagery of shadow and death, is parodically inverted into a Guarinian loving oxymoron (*voluptas dolendi*) of the Ovidian order, with a discovery of a new, arcadised eros sunk into the joy of the pain of a carnal desire and the loss of the darker, deviant and subversive side of the erotic desire. The epochal transfer of stress from Petrarch's introverted and solipsistic tension of a platonic love to Guarini's extrovert and communal exaltation of a sensual love has shed light on a melancholic loving experience of death, loss and mourning in Renaissance poetry and music, moving from being wounded to being joyful, from pain (*pathos*) to pleasure (*pothos*).

The origin of such a possibility for confronting death through constructed pleasure lies in the paradoxical nature of death itself, for it needs not be only bitter and painful but may also generate the states of inexplicable delight and joy. That is when Thanatos performs, in a metonymic manner, the ecstasy of Eros/pothos. If the encounter with death is possible through the metonymic renaming of dying into a sexual desire and the very moment of death into the moment of sexual climax, so that the time of dying is revealed as the pastoral-erotic *tempus amoenus* (the time of pleasure), then it follows that the semantic and expressive ambiguity of death gives the poet a possibility to create a fiction of transcendence – the transcendence of death by means of death (of sexual ecstasy).

The madrigal may sweeten the pain by the *stile piacevole*, characteristic for the so called folklore genres – canzonettas, villanella, villanesca/villotta, as well as dance song. They make real, in a purely musical sense, the ideal of pastoral simplicity through a short melody, lively rhythm, consonant harmony and homophonic texture, but in a specific way, through a reduction of a complex four-part or five-part singing, as a stylistic norm of an aristocratic polyphonic madrigal, to a singing style for two (or three) voices. When discussing the stylistic *topoi* of villanesca/villotte, Gerbino explains the preference for two voices (soprano and tenor): “despite its visibly erotic overtones” (ibid., 156), primarily as “a way of singing closer to nature than culture” (ibid.) and hence as “a metaphor of this yearning for the natural” (ibid., 157).

In the poem *Deh, vezzose del Tebro amate Ninfe* by an anonymous poet, articulated in the *trecento* madrigal form, the shepherd invokes to the gracious river nymph, surrounded by tiny Cupidos (Eroses), to decorate with floral wreath the golden hair of the shepherdess Phyllis, so that he may die in the sweet traps of her curls.

Deh, vezzose del Tebro amate Ninfe,
 Ch' ad hor' ad hor scherzate
 Co' pargoletti Amori
 Intorno a chiare Linfe,
 La mia Filli honorate
 E di leggiadri fiori
 Tessete un cerchio a le sue trecce d' oro:
 Dolci lacci ond' io moro.

(Ah, graceful and beloved Nymphs of the Tiber,
 who sport from hour to hour
 with the tiny Cupids
 around the clear waters,
 honor my Phillis
 and weave a circlet of graceful flowers
 around her golden tresses:
 The golden snares in which I die) (Steele 1996/II: 91).

Luca Marenzio places the shepherd's invocation in the rhythmic and textural frame of the canzonetta shaped by consonant and block-like homophonic groups with two or three voices in the form of imitation or dialogue and in the fast rhythm. He follows in the paratactic manner, together with repetitive phrasing and clear cadences, the logic of juxtaposition of the poetic images. The composer makes clear the point of the poem, sweet dying, by using *Aria alla Romanesca*, a popular descant melody of pastoral and dance provenance, with the characteristic *diapente* descent (D-C-B flat-A-G) above the recognizable fourth pattern in the bass (B flat-F-G-D). In the 16th century, the melody represented one of the so called *modi da cantar versi*, i.e. one of the distinctive ways of singing poetry, characterized by Vincenzo Galilei as “an exciting sound” (Palisca, 1994: 361) (Example 8).

Example 8. Luca Marenzio, *Deh, vezzose del Tebro amate Ninfe*

The two-part format of an epigrammatic erotic madrigal by Giovanni Battista Guarini, *Cor mio, mentre mi viro*, reveals semantic parallelism between *expositio* and *acumen* (resourceful point), quite apparent in the dynamism of the poet's observation of the beloved (the evocation of the dual nature of beauty), of the metamorphosis into the beloved (rebirth through beauty) and of his soul vanishing in one sigh (dying through beauty).

*Cor mio, mentre vi miro,
visibilmente mi trasformo in voi,
e trasformato poi,
in un solo sospir l'anima spiro.
O bellezza mortale,
O bellezza vitale,
poiché sí tosto un core
per te rinasce, e per te nato more.*

(My heart, as I gaze upon you,
visibly do I become you,
and then, thus transformed,
in a single sigh give up my soul.
O mortal beauty,
O vital beauty,
so quickly is a heart reborn
for you but; once born, it dies) (Longhini 2005: 15).

The basic paradoxical dualism between the Thanatos-like transformation and the Eros-like expiration, embodied in two lovers and in the idea of their separateness and unification, gave rise to Monteverdi to express it through a stylistic opposition as well as a melodic and hexachordal dualism in the context of the d mode. The poet's identity is represented in the first verse/phrase by a typical homophonic trio texture of the popular villanella with two parallel voices in the thirds (canto and alto). After the initial "Phrygian" motion A₁-B flat₁, their melody descends to the tone E₁. Together with the bass line this melody reveals the presence of a soft hexachord (F-G-A-B flat-C-D). Conversely, the identity of the beloved in the second verse/phrase is demonstrated by the imitative polyphonic five-voice texture of the (otherwise originally court) madrigal, within which the basically ascending melodic line reaches up to E₂ as the culmination tone, before it descends to the confinalis A. However, the total tone foundation reveals the presence of the natural hexachord (C-D-E-F-G-A). Due to the domination of hexachord and cantus over mode, the explicit appearance of B flat and B as the essential tones obscures, at the very beginning of the madrigal, the identity of the D mode, which is neither Aeolian nor Dorian, thereby illuminating the process of the transformation and unification of lovers. The movement towards a culmination of this eros-oriented process "in one sigh" is quite logically upheld. Firstly by the tenor melodic line with the verse on transformation is overtaken as the bass foundation for the return of the initial "Phrygian" semitone A₁-B flat₁, again in

the trio texture, used now to connect directly the beloved one (*cor mio*) and the sigh (*in un solo sospir*). Secondly the music flow, all along the four times expressed verse on expiration, shifts from the soft to natural hexachord. The very moment of death, as the metonymy of the sexual climax, is underlined by the reduction of the texture to only two voices performing the so called evaporating cadence (*clausula evaporata*). It is called evaporating because the finalis tone (D), in the unison, is reached on the last, unaccented beat lasting the crotchet, in other words, lasting literally as long as one single Eros-like sigh/Thanatos-like expiration (Example 9).

Example 9. Claudio Monteverdi, *Cor mio, mentre vi miro*

The figurative ambiguity of the trope, which shapes the experience of death transcendence, may be tied in a synecdochical representation *pars pro toto* (a part instead of a whole). Guarini's madrigal *Ohimè se tanto amate* establishes, in its epigrammatically recognizable two-part form with a closing accutezza, a dichotomy between the sigh as a ritualistic indication of grieving (Thanatos) and the sigh as a cathartic indication of pleasure (Eros).

Ohimè, se tanto amate
 Di sentir dir „Ohimè“, deh perché fate
 Chi dice „Ohimè“ morire?
 S'io moro, un sol potrete
 Languido e doloroso „Ohimè“ sentire;
 Ma se vita ho da voi e void a me,
 Havrete mille e mille dolci „Ohimè“.

(Alas, if you love so much
 To hear the words alas, ah, why do you cause
 Those who say alas to die?)

If I die, you will hear
 Only one languid and sad alas;
 But if I gain life from you and you from me,
 You will enjoy thousands and thousands of times sweet alas) (Steele, 1996/II: 49).

This semantic and affective dichotomy becomes central to Monteverdi's and Marenzio's musical setting of the word *Ohimè* in terms of style and expression. In the case of Monteverdi, the "languid and sad alas" is represented in two-part writing, in the descending parallel thirds and iambic meter, all in the context of Dorian mode in *cantus mollis*. Delimited by pauses, the registrally contrasting two-part groups establish a sequential dialogue founded on the dissonant interval of the seventh. The lyrical *grave* expression is intensified by the bass line which, broadly developing the sequence of the ascending fifths (G-D, B flat-F, C-G) with the ending on the Phrygian semitone B flat-A, reveals the descending thirds as dissonant suspensions, showing them as exclamations as well. Along the lines of Monteverdi's choice of the *stile grave*, Marenzio insists on the threnodic descending fourth in long notes and in the context of Phrygian mode in *cantus durus*, separating from the five-voice choral ensemble the solitary high voices. (Example 10 a and 10b)

Example 10a. Claudio Monteverdi, *Ohimè, se tanto amate*

Example 10b. Luca Marenzio, *Ohimè, se tanto amate*

Dico per tanto che la Tragicomedia, si cole l'altre anch' essa ha due fini: lo strumentale, ch' è forma risultante dell' imitazione di cose Tragiche e Comiche miste insieme; et l' architetonico, ch'è il purgar il animi del male affetto della maninconia. Il qual fine è tutto Comico, e tutto semplice, ne può comunicare cosa alcuna col Tragico; perciocchè gli effetti del purgare son veramente oppositi infra loro: l'un rallegra, et l'altro contrista; l'un rilascia et l'altro restringe. Moti dell' anima ripugnanti: concio sia cosa che l'uno va dal centro alla circonferenza, l'altro camina tutto all' opposto, et questi sono quei fini che nel drammatico si possono chiamare contraddittori [Thus I say that Tragicomedy, like others /Comedy and Tragedy/ also has two ends: the instrumental, which is the form resulting from the imitation of tragic and comic things mixed together, and the architectonic, which consists in purging the soul from the evil affect of melancholy. That end is all comic and all simple, nor is it in anyway akin to the tragic end, for the reason that the effects of /tragic and comic/ purging are truly one the opposite of the other: one relaxes while the other tightens. These are opposite movements of the soul, as one were to move from the center to the circumference and the other in the opposite direction, and such ends, in drama, we may call contradictory] (Guarini, 1603: 22–23).

From this one may deduce that it is precisely an oxymoronic combination of the instrumental goals of both tragic and comic imitations (*gravitas* and *piacevolezza*, *miserabile* and *riso*) that aims to fulfill its ethical purpose (*fine architetonico*) by purifying the audiences from the poisonous aspect of melancholy, whose only two certain final consequences are madness and death – the aspect called *mestizia* (sadness) by Guarini. However, a purification of the affliction of the epoch by means of a comic/pastoral pleasure (*diletto*) did not only materialise in the public sphere of performance – in the post-Renaissance tragicomedy as a *terza spezie*. During the same decades when Tasso's *Aminta* and Guarini's *Il pastor fido* were created, a parallel mixture of the tragic (madrigal) and the comic (canzonetta) flooded the field of secular music too. The new, hybrid music *terza spezie*, canzonetta-madrigal, simultaneously contributed in the private sphere of performances to a fulfillment of a unique moral therapeutic function of late-Renaissance art. Guarini's understanding of the purification, not in the sense of obliterating and extinguishing (*obliterazione*, *estinzione*) of the excessive affects, but their moderation and temperation (*moderazione*, *temperamento*), towards a natural symmetry of life (*simetria della vita*) (18), finally recontextualized Ficino's recommendation of the allopatric temperation (his favourite word) of a malefic Saturnian melancholy spirit, by means of beneficial gifts from "Three Graces of Heaven" (Ficino 1980: 99) – Hypolydian *Venus voluptas*, born for the delight and music, Lydian *Jovis laetus*, born for the comic laughter, and above all Dorian *Apollo Phoebus/Sol*, born for musical therapy.

Translated by Milijana Grkajac and Ivana Medić

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Милена Мегућ

ОД БОЛА ДО ЗАДОВОЉСТВА: ТРОПИРАЊЕ ЕЛЕГИЈЕ У РЕНЕСАНСНОМ ИТАЛИЈАНСКОМ МАДРИГАЛУ

(РЕЗИМЕ)

Велики повратак меланхолије у ренесансном хуманизму био је означен ре-визијом медицинског Галеновог и филозофског Аристотеловог дискурса о меланхолији, која је, последично, поред људског и природног, укључила такође небески или божански узрок афликтије епохе. Скок меланхолије из медицинског стања у дискурзивну праксу покренуо је фирентински неоплатонички филозоф, лекар и композитор, Марсилио Фићино, продубљујући га перспективом о љубави.

Међуоднос љубави и меланхолије био је укореењен у танатолошкој идеји сепарације, одсуства и губитка, која, као важан, осветљава однос меланхолије према *еросу* у смислу копуле која оно што је одсутно држи у присутности и оно што је изгубљено претвара у недостижан објект носталгичне жеље и жудње. За ренесансну културу, објекти меланхоличног *ероса* били су антика, идеализована фигура декорпореалне жене или пак исконско јединство с Богом. У погребној, контемплативној или љубавној евокацији сатурнијанског темперамента *ерос* је тај који поставља такође захтев за превазилажењем губитка, за односом са трансцендентним, а чији је праг управо *ѿанайѿос*. Афирмација мушког субјекта меланхоличног *ероса* била је постигнута позакоњењем изражавања његове меланхолије у формама културалне продукције и уметничке репрезентације.

Елегија, као рефлексивна, меланхолична песма повезана с идејама смрти, губитка и туге, овековечује амбигвтет, својствен меланхолији, у динамици између стварности телесне смрти (*logos* похвале врлина умрлог у погребној персоналној елегији), љубавног бола као симболичке смрти (*pathos* афективног туговања у љубавној елегији) и наде и вере у (духовни) живот после смрти (*ethos* есхатолошке утехе у божанској елегији). Суочење са смрћу, као поетски захтев праксе љубавне елегије од Франческа Петрарке

преко Торквата Таса до Батисте Гваринија, било је могуће помоћу креативних чинова тропирања елегије. У јединственом поетском преображају ренесансног елегичког дискурса о љубавном губитку, од бола (*pathos*) до задовољства (*pothos*), искристалисала су се три модела лирске *ars moriendi* – петраркистички модел *tristitia amoris*, тасовски модел *militia amoris* и гваринијевски модел *volupta amoris*. Ови модели су обликовани нарочитим стратегијама тропичног превазилажења смрти које се могу описати у смислу хомеопатизације помоћу метафоре, хероизације помоћу епске борбе и наративне дистанце и пасторализације и еротизације помоћу метонимије, ироније и синегдохе. У подручју световне музике, тај преображај је укључио усвајање, у основни, полифоно конституисан проседе и *stile grave* мадригала, опонентних карактеристика хомофоног проседеа и *stile piacevole* (канцонета, виланела) ил^и пак *stile eroico* (соло или хорска рецитација).

Гваринијево теоријско разматрање етичке сврхе новог, хибридног драматског жанра, трагикомедије, у прочишћењу (*purgare*) отровног аспекта меланхолије, *mestizia* (туга), баца ново светло на паралелну микстуру трагичког и комичког кôда на подручју световне музике, наиме, у новом, хибридном музичком жанру, канцонета-матригала позног XVI века. Оно је на крају ренесансне епохе реконтекстуализовало Фићинову препоруку алопатичне температуре малефикног сатурнијанског темеперамента помоћу пасторално-еротског и модалног *ethosa* „три небеске Грације” – хиполидијске *Venus voluptas*, рођене за задовољство и музику, лидијског *Jovis laetus*, рођеног за комички смех, и надасве дорског *Apollo Phoebus*, рођеног за музикотерапију.

Кључне речи: ренесанса, меланхолија, елегича, мадригал, тропирање, трансцендирање смрти

DRAGUTIN GOSTUŠKI AND THE SEMIOTICS OF MUSIC*

*Katarina Tomašević*¹

Institute of Musicology of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Belgrade

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ABSTRACT

The main goals of this article, devoted to the contribution of the prominent Serbian musicologist, composer and aesthetician Dragutin Gostuški (1923–1998) to the semiotics of music, are the following: 1) to show the evolution of semiotic ideas in Gostuški's work; 2) to reconstruct the circumstances under which preparations for the First International Colloquium on the Semiotics of Music took place; and 3) to encourage new research that would re-examine Gostuški's major theoretical opus in the historical context of the discipline.

KEY WORDS: Dragutin Gostuški, Gino Stefani, Institute of Musicology SASA, First International Colloquium on Semiotics of Music, "Réalité. Musique. Langage"

The First International Colloquium on the Semiotics of Music, held in 1973 in Belgrade, in the Great Hall of the Student Cultural Center, was undeniably an important and remarkable event in the history of music scholarship, not only in the former Yugoslavia and Belgrade in particular, but also in the broader global context. More-

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over, being the first gathering of the leading music semioticians at that time, it marked a special milestone in the development of the discipline.

The main goal of this article is to draw attention to the important role that Dragutin Gostuški (1923–1998) and the Institute of Musicology of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (SASA) played during the preparation and organization of the Colloquium. It is more than obvious that contemporary music scholars have not yet paid adequate attention to Gostuški's overall contribution to semiotics in the early years of the discipline. Since the task of giving a comprehensive and precise answer to such a complex question surpasses the limited scope of this paper, on this occasion I decided to focus on several, still uncharted aspects of Gostuški's close connections and relations to the main issues that music semiology has faced from its very inception. These connections will be formatted as a "bio-bibliographical" summary – from Gostuški's early works on music theory to his theoretical and aesthetical achievements in the late 1960s, published before the Belgrade Colloquium in 1973. These will be presented in the first part of this article. In the second part of the article, I will provide insight into the documentary material concerning the "history" of the Colloquium. This precious collection belongs to Gostuški's Legacy and has been preserved at the Institute of Musicology SASA.

In the next section of this article, entitled *Imaginary dialogues...*, two folders from the aforementioned Legacy (*Semiotics* and *Linguistics*) containing Gostuški's carefully prepared, meticulous extracts, together with his sharply insightful comments – will be "opened" here for the first time, in order to show the relevance of the literature that Gostuški researched while preparing his own paper for the Colloquium. By summarizing the standpoints of Gostuški's lecture delivered (in French) under the title "Réalité, Musique, Langage. Contribution à l'étude du problème de la signification" in the concluding part of this article, I hope to encourage music semioticians and other scholars to take part in the process of estimating the relevance of Gostuški's conclusions for the further development of the discipline in the years after the Belgrade Colloquium had already become legendary.

DRAGUTIN GOSTUŠKI – TOWARDS THE SEMIOTICS OF MUSIC

Born in 1923, Dragutin Gostuški² graduated in the early 1950s from two faculties: the Faculty of Philosophy (Art History) and the Belgrade Music Academy (Composition). From the very beginning of his work at the Institute of Musicology (1952), where he was employed until his retirement (1988), Gostuški became one of the (then) very rare young Yugoslav and particularly Serbian scholars interested in both music theory and aesthetics. The collection of his early published texts confirms his intense curiosity about the questions of theory of rhythm, aspects of musical memory, rhythm perception and, especially, the notion of musical time.³ In the early 1960s, this

2 For the main bio-bibliographical data on Gostuški, cf. Томашевић 2010, 2016, 2017. For further reading cf.: Палавестра 2001; Томашевић 1999, 2001; Трајковић 2001.

3 See: Гостушки [Dragutin Gostuški] 1956a, 1956b, 1957a, 1957b, 1957c, 1958, 1959.

comprehensive research resulted in a voluminous treatise *Kontrola muzičkog vremena* [*The Control of Musical Time*]. Unpublished to this day, this study served as a basis for Gostuški's next step into the field of comparative aesthetics.

Using Etienne Sourio's results as his departure point (cf. Tomašević 2000), by 1965 Gostuški had finished his doctoral dissertation entitled *Umetnost u evoluciji stilova* [*Art in the Evolution of Styles*]. Having defended it the same year at the Faculty of Philosophy, he became the first doctor of musicology in Yugoslavia after World War II. Three years later, in 1968, the amended and revised thesis appeared as the book *Vreme umetnosti* [*The Time of Art*] (Gostuški 1968).

In this synthetic, complex study, which represents the accumulation of the author's previous theoretical and aesthetic achievements, Gostuški formulates three basic hypotheses:

1. on the acceleration of historical processes;
 2. on the periodic return of classicism and
 3. on the stylistic retardation of music in times of changes of aesthetic principles.
- (Cf. Tomašević 2017: 16)

Essentially focused on the problems of form and style, Gostuški offers a new stylistic periodization of music history. However, the dense counterpoint of ideas that Gostuški skillfully steers towards a general synthesis offers numerous answers to the questions of style(s), realism, nationalism in music, relationships between Eastern and Western art concepts and the idea of progress in its relation to the evolution of art. Having in mind the author's later contribution to the First International Colloquium on the Semiotics of Music, one can easily conclude that all the author's basic concepts had already been laid out in his major book *The Time of Art*.

Simultaneously with this, from the beginning of the 1960s, there appeared a series of Gostuški's articles devoted to the problems of time/space (1960/1961), style and music (1962, 1963), the relationship between art and nature (1967), and – what is particularly important for his further contribution to the field of music semiotics – to the dimensions of poetic language (1967).

Gostuški won a special recognition for his theoretical and aesthetic efforts in 1969, when his article “The Third Dimension of Poetic Language” appeared in the prestigious American journal *The Musical Quarterly* (Gostuški 1969). This was the first notable success of national musicology in internationally recognized periodicals after World War II. Also in 1969 Gostuški participated in the Brno Colloquium *Music and Word* with the report “Quelques analogies entre le langage poétique et langage musical.” The papers from this conference were published four years later (Gostuški 1973a).

The year 1973 was also quite important for the Institute of Musicology SASA: the Institute celebrated its 25th anniversary with a number of public events (an exhibition at the Gallery of SASA and a Ceremonial Academy). On the same occasion a collection of papers written by the researchers employed at the Institute was published, including one of Gostuški's most important texts: “Les sciences musicales – modèles de méthode interdisciplinaire de recherche” (Гостушки/Gostuški 1973b).

In the mid-1970s Gostuški reached the zenith of his career. From 1974 to 1978 he was Director of the Institute of Musicology. From 1974 he initiated and ran an interdisciplinary panel *Discussions about Sciences and Arts* – locally known as *Tuesday Academy* – which had a special place in the cultural history of Belgrade and among the intellectual elite of the time.⁴

However, an important question arises: which key musicological, theoretical and aesthetic issues Gostuški was dealing with from the beginning of the 1950s until the moment he was recognized as President of the Organizing Committee of the Belgrade Colloquium on Semiotics of Music, a member of its Scientific Committee, as well as one of its most prominent speakers?

If one should try to compile the list of main topics that Gostuški was occupied with in the first two decades of his work according to the chronology of published articles, it becomes evident that his central topics were: musical memory, qualitative rhythm, accent in music, the psychological perception of *time* with its relation to musical tempi, *time*... and... *space(s)* of *art(s)*, questions of the dimensions of *time(s)* of *arts*, concerning the evolution of styles, and – last but not least – the issues related to *musical meaning*, as articulated within the author's discussions on realism, artistic progress, the relationship between Western and Eastern art histories and also within the most delicate topic of universality in the processes of artistic evolutions.

It is very important to stress several other facts concerning Gostuški's fundamental theoretical/aesthetical standpoints. Being the only and – it is worth mentioning – in many respects a very unconventional representative of *comparative morphology aesthetics* in the former Yugoslavia and the Balkans, Gostuški acted alone, as a kind of a modern-day lonely Pythagorean, firmly believing in several basic *truths/laws* that

4 This unconventional, 'open university on free thinking' (Mladen Srbinović) was conceived by Gostuški as a sort of renewal of the idea of the Renaissance Camerata, as a lively, dynamic laboratory of the mind, where leading musicians, painters and art historians, linguists and ethnographers, physicists and mathematicians, biologists and psychologists, philosophers and psychiatrists, cultural anthropologists et al. were "joining forces and breaking spears"... Over the course of 145 debates, which were always preceded by a lecture delivered by a selected keynote speaker, the topics of discussion related to the origins and the future of arts, the essence of Being, human genetics, the mentality of our people, black holes, the revolving nature of the direction of time and "other incredible things that are, unfortunately, permitted by scientific and philosophical thought, despite the views of normal people (Gostuški)" (Tomašević 2017: 20). On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the *Discussions ...*, on 6 June 2013, the Historiography Department of the Serbian Broadcasting Corporation (RTS) and the team behind the TV show *Trezor* [Treasury] (with its Editor-in-Chief Bojana Andrić) filmed two programs at the Club of SASA entitled *Utornička akademija Dragutina Gostuškog* [Dragutin Gostuški's Tuesday Academy]. The show was hosted by Prvoslav S. Plavšić who talked to the one-time participants about their recollections and assessments – among them: psychiatrist Prof. Dr Vladeta Jerotić, philosopher and sociologist Dr Miloš Nemanjić, nuclear physicist Dr Vladimir Ajdačić, linguist Prof. Dr Ranko Bugarski, composer and academician Vlastimir Trajković, psychiatrist Prof. Dr Stevan Petrović, art historian Prof. Dr Žarko Vidović and the author of this text, Dr. Katarina Tomašević. The programs first aired on 12 February 2015 (Tomašević 2017: 20–21).

governed the world of arts from ancient to modern times. The first of his *laws* was that the phenomenon of *beauty* is an absolute, irrefutable and indestructible aesthetic fact. His second *belief/rule* was that a basic constituent of *beauty* for all the arts is *harmony*, and the third was the necessity to fulfill a complete program of artistic evolution in all of its disciplines – as a kind of a universal generative process, similar to mathematical analogues: algorithms, recursions, and the like.

During the 1960s, following the latest development trends in the humanities with great curiosity (naturally, with an accent on the science of music) and the results of the (then) new and promising discipline of cognitive psychology, in addition to being vividly and broadly interested in the discoveries in the fields of mathematics and natural sciences – from physics, astronomy and acoustics to cybernetics, molecular biology and genetics – Dragutin Gostuški developed an attraction to the latest results in contemporary linguistics. The beginnings of modern linguistics in Serbia can also be traced from the early 1960s, thanks to the key contributions of Dr. Pavle Ivić and Dr. Milka Ivić, and later, in the early 1970s – with the work of their very prominent successor, Dr. Ranko Bugarski – the discipline reached one of its peaks. Bugarski, whose name today is internationally recognized in linguistic circles, collaborated closely with Dragutin Gostuški in the early 1970s, when the question of music semiotics came into focus. As the author of the report on the First International Colloquium on Semiotics of Music, published soon after the end of the Colloquium in the journal *Kultura*,⁵ Bugarski was Gostuški's main consultant on the topics and methods of contemporary linguistics.

Recently I had the wonderful opportunity to learn directly from Bugarski that Gostuški was quite well acquainted with the key concepts and history of linguistics, from Ferdinand de Saussure, to the representatives of the Prague School – Jan Mukařovský and Roman Jakobson – to Noam Chomsky and his revolutionary achievements of *formal languages* and *formal grammars*. We should mention that the work of Chomsky was preceded by investigations of formal systems in mathematical logic, where syntactic formalism – a full formalization, with the method of interpretation of one formal system in another as part of the investigations of the fundamental properties of mathematical theories and corresponding semantics, *the model theory* – was fully achieved earlier, after a long history of conceptual development.

THE FIRST COLLOQUIUM ON THE SEMIOTICS OF MUSIC

The questions of the delicate relationship between contemporary linguistics and the semiotics of music were not at all new to Dragutin Gostuški when, in May 1973, he received a letter from Pesaro, signed by Maria Augusta Pecchia. This letter has not been preserved, but, from Gostuški's answer (dated 22 May 1973), it is obvious that the subject was the invitation to participate in the First Colloquium on the Semiotics of Music [Figure 1].

⁵ This important review (Bugarski 1973) will be discussed in more detail toward the end of this article.

Belgrade, le 28.5.1973.

Chère Madame,

C'est avec plaisir que j'accepte votre aimable invitation de participer au congrès - séminaire "Sémiologie de la musique".

Je dois vous informer d'ailleurs que je suis, depuis longtemps déjà, au courant de toutes les préparations pour le congrès. Sachant que je m'occupe des questions esthétiques concernant les thèmes du congrès, M. Delibašić s'adressa à moi dès le début afin de me consulter sur plusieurs problèmes. Ainsi je me sens un peu comme l'un des organisateurs.

Le sujet de ma communication comprendra les correspondances entre les notions de musique de réalité et de langue. Puis-je vous prier cependant de m'attendre un peu pour le titre définitif? Je serai occupé un certain temps encore par un travail très important. Aussi vous serai-je très reconnaissant si vous pourriez m'indiquer la longueur maximum du texte.

En vous remerciant encore, je vous prie, chère Madame, de recevoir l'assurance de mes sentiments les plus distingués.

D^r Dragutin Gostuški

Letter of Dragutin Gostuški to Maria Augusta Pecchia

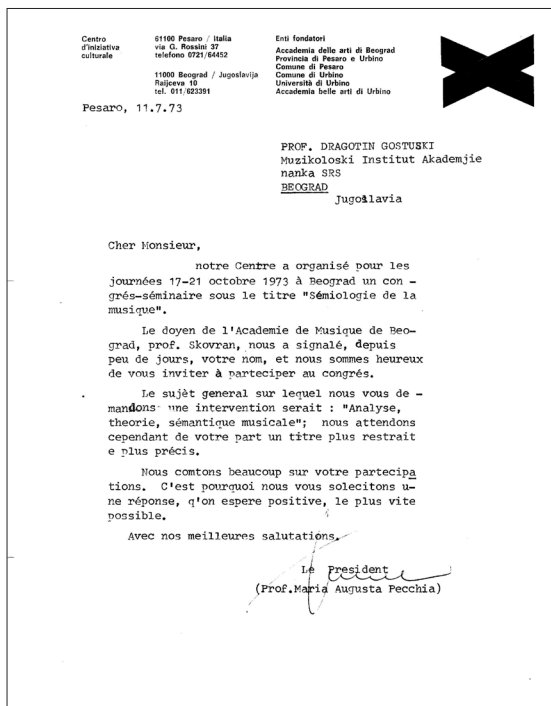
In his polite response, Gostuški expresses his warm thanks for the invitation, indicating the topic of his future paper. However, in order to reconstruct the “history” of the Colloquium, and, particularly, the background of Gostuški’s appointment as President of the Organizing Committee (in front of the Institute of Musicology) and a member of the Scientific Committee – whose other two members were Prof. Gino Stefani and Prof. Pino Paioni – it is important to emphasize that in his answer Gostuški says that – thanks to Mr. [Predrag] Delibašić – he was by that time “broadly familiar with the initiative” and already felt like “a member of the organizing team.”

In order to answer the question “Who, then, was Mr. Predrag Delibašić, who introduced Gostuški to the initiative?,” another small research was required. Delibašić was a film and theatre director, who, upon graduation in Belgrade, went to Rome in 1959 to study at the Experimental Cinematography Center (Centro Sperimentale di Cinematografia), shortly after being appointed Professor at the Faculty of Dramatic Arts in Belgrade. Thanks to his fruitful collaboration with his Italian colleagues, in 1970 Delibašić initiated the establishment of the Center for Cultural Initiative (Centro di Iniziattiva Culturale), based in Pesaro. The founders of this institution were the University of Arts in Belgrade and the University of Urbino (Italy). The Center was active from 1970 to 1974. Among other activities, the same institution organized exhibitions of Yugoslav artists in Italy, a concert of Belgrade’s leading female choir “Collegium

Musicum” with its conductor Darinka Matić-Marović, career retrospectives of prominent film directors Živojin Pavlović and Dušan Makavejev; and the First Colloquium on the Semiotics of Music was an achievement of the same institution.

Prof. Dr. Maria Augusta Pecchia, on the Italian side, and Prof. Dragoslav Stojanović-Sip (also a member of the Organizing Committee of the Colloquium), on the Yugoslav side, were appointed to head the Center. However, it seems that all credit for the initiative for the first international gathering of music semioticians went to Gino Stefani – at that time appointed professor at the Conservatori di Pesaro, L'Aquila e Parma. The confirmation for this assumption can be found in Jean-Jacques Nattiez and Katharine Ellis’s article “Reflections on the Development of Semiology in Music” (Nattiez & Ellis 1989). Possibly, the first list of invited speakers was also made by Stefani.⁶


From the next letter Gostuški received from Maria Augusta Pecchia (dated 11 July 1973), [Figure 2] we can reconstruct that, in the beginning, Prof. Dušan Skovran, Dean of the Belgrade Music Academy, was the main correspondent with the organizers in Italy. Later on, and, particularly in the final stages of the preparations for the Congress, Gostuški became the leading person from the Yugoslav side as one of the main organizers at the Institute of Musicology.



Maria Augusta Pecchia's Letter to Dragutin Gostuški

⁶ In 1977, three years after the Belgrade Colloquium, Prof. Stefani founded the Department of Music Semiotics in Bologna, and later – in Rome.

As to the next letter, with the Colloquium's first preliminary program, I would like to point out several details. First, the initial idea was that the Colloquium would start with Gino Stefani's keynote lecture; all the other participants' presentations were divided into sessions. A report by Carl Dahlhaus entitled "Theorie der musikalischen analyse" was scheduled for the second day. From a later letter (signed by Dr. Francesco Sorlini), found in Gostuški's Legacy, we learn that "because of a misunderstanding, Carl Dahlhaus was obliged to revoke his participation." The first round table, on the topic *Semiotics, Theory and Analyses*, and with the leading Slovenian musicologist Dragotin Cvetko as its chairman, was planned for the third day of the congress. In the final part of the letter, it was stressed that the official languages of the Colloquium would be French and English; there was also a note saying that "it is essential that the participants submit the texts of their papers in English, French, German or Italian, by September 15. All texts will then be translated into English, French and Serbo-Croatian, and distributed to the participants at the beginning of the Colloquium." It was also said that simultaneous translation from English and French into Serbo-Croatian would be provided, but only at the request of the audience during the discussions [Figures 3/1 and 3/2]

Centro d'indagine culturale	61100 Pesaro / Italia via G. Rossini 37 telefono 0721/6452	Enti fondatori Accademia delle arti di Bergamo Provincia di Pesaro e Urbino Comune di Pesaro Comune di Urbino Università di Urbino Accademia belle arti di Urbino	
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Circolare n. 2

COLLOQUIUM SUR LA SEMIOTIQUE DE LA MUSIQUE

A' la suite de nctre précédent^e circulaire, nous vous informons de la date exacte du Colloque: celui-ci se déroulera à Belgrade du 17 au 21 octobre 1973.

Sur la base des adhésions parvenues à ce jour, nous pouvons vous proposer un plan de travail, même s'il n'est pas encore définitif:

→ 17 octobre, à 10 h:
Ouverture du Colloque
GINO STEFANI : situazione della semiotica musicale

18 octobre:
9h: DIEGO CAMPITELLA: Metrica e ritmo nel canto di tradizione orale;
SIRHA ARON: La méthode distributionnelle en ethnomusicologie;
ERHARD KARKOCHKA: Ueber die Exaktheit der musikalischen analyse;

→ 18h: DAVID OSHOID-SMITH: Formal iconism in music
CARL DAHLHAUS: Theorie der musikalischen analyse
JEAN JACQUES HATTIZÉ: De l'analyse distributionnelle à la formalisation stylistique

19 octobre:
9h: MARIO LARONI - CARLO JACOBONI: Un'analisi computazionale dei corali di Bach;
BJORN LINDBLAD - JOHAN SUNDBERG: A generative theory of Swedish Nursery Tunes

→ 11h - runding table ronde sur la présidence à été offerte à DRAGOTIN CVETKO: sémiotique, théorie, analyse

16h DRAGOTIN GOSTUSKI: Analyse, théorie, sémantique (sujet provisoire)
DUSAN KOSTIC: Musique et communication (sujet provisoire)
BORIS POJHNA: Musique/société: une question sémiologique ?

20 Octobre:
9h NICHOL INBERTY: Sémantique de la musique: approche structurale, approche expérimentale

Maria Augusta Pecchia's letter to Gostuški (August, the 3rd) with preliminary Colloquium program

Notes found in Gostuški's Legacy confirm that Gino Stefani visited Belgrade in early October. According to Gostuški's preparatory notes for the meeting, it is very likely

that the meeting of the Organizing Committee was held on 4 October. The second version of the preliminary program shows some of the outcomes of that meeting [Figure 4]

<p>→ 17 octobre 17 octobre</p> <p>16,30 h 4,30 p.m.</p> <p>Salut du Recteur de l'Académie des Arts de Belgrade et du Président du Centro di Iniziativa Culturale de Pesaro. Welcome of the Director of the Academy of Art, Belgrade and of the President of Centro di Iniziativa Culturale, Pesaro.</p> <p>Gino Stefani (Roma): Situazione della semiotica musicale / Situation de la sémiotique musicale / Trends in semiotics of music</p> <p>Dragutin Gostuški (Beograd): Musique, langage, réalité / Music, language, reality.</p> <p>18 octobre 18 octobre</p> <p>9,30 h 9,30 a.m.</p> <p>Jaroslav Jiránek (Prah): Situation de la sémiotique musicale en Tchécoslovaquie / Trends in semiotics of music in USSR.</p> <p>Diego Carpitella (Roma): Sistema metrico e sistema ritmico nel canto popolare / Système métrique et système rythmique dans le chant populaire / Metric and rhythmic systems in folksong.</p> <p>Símha Árom (Paris): La méthode distributionnelle en ethnomusicologie / The distributional approach in ethnomusicology</p> <p>18,30 h 4,30 p.m.</p> <p>David Osmond-Smith (Brighton): Iconic relations within formal transformation / Relations iconiques dans la transformation formelle.</p> <p>Erhard Karkoschcka (Stuttgart): Ueber Exakt theit in Musikanalyse / Méthodes exactes dans l'analyse musicale / Exact methods in musical analysis</p> <p>Jean-Jacques Nattiez (Montreal): De l'analyse taxinomique à la caractérisation stylistique / From Taxonomic Analysis to Stylistic Characterization</p>	<p>19 octobre 19 octobre</p> <p>9,30 h 9,30 a.m.</p> <p>Björn Lindblom, Johan Sundberg (Stockholm): A generative theory of swedish nursery tunes / Une théorie générative d'un recueil de chansons enfantines suédoises</p> <p>Mario Baroni, Carlo Jacoboni (Bologna): Un'analisi computazionale dei corali di Bach / Une analyse computationnelle des chorals de J.S.Bach / A computer analysis of J.S.Bach's chorals</p> <p>Table ronde: Sémiotique, théorie, analyse (président possible: Reiner Kluge, Berlin DDR)</p> <p>→ Round table: Semiotics, theory and analysis (possible chairman, Reiner Kluge, Berlino DDR)</p> <p>18 h 4,20 p.m.</p> <p>Dusan Kostić (Beograd): Musique et communication / Music and communication</p> <p>Boris Porena (Roma): Musica/società: una questione semiologica? / Musique/société: une question sémiotique? / Music and society: a semiotic problem?</p> <p>Boris Gasparov (Tartu): Some descriptive problems of musical semantics / Quelques problèmes descriptifs de la sémantique musicale</p> <p>20 octobre 20 octobre</p> <p>9,30 h 9,30 a.m.</p> <p>Iván Vitányi (Budapest): Semiotics of standard musical language / Sémiotique des langages musicaux de masse</p> <p>Tibor Kneif (Berlin BRD): Theorie der Bedeutung in der Musik / Théorie de la signification en musique / Theory of meaning in music</p> <p>Otto E. Laske (Utrecht): Basic problems of a procedural semantic theory for music / Fondements d'une théorie sémantique procédurale de la musique</p>	<p>Michel Imberty (Paris): Sémantique de la musique: approche structurale, approche expérimentale / Semantics of music: structural and experimental approaches</p> <p>16,30 h 4,30 p.m.</p> <p>Ivan Focht (Zagreb): Esthétique et sémiotique / Aesthetics and semiotics</p> <p>Ivo Supčić (Zagreb): Problèmes de la signification en musique / Problems of the meaning in music</p> <p>Célestin Deliège (Bruxelles): Théorie et pratique de l'analyse structurale / Theory and practice of structural analysis</p> <p>21 octobre 21 octobre</p> <p>10 h 10 a.m.</p> <p>Table ronde: Conclusions (présidée par Pino Paioni, Urbino) Round table: Conclusions (chairman: Pino Paioni, Urbino)</p>
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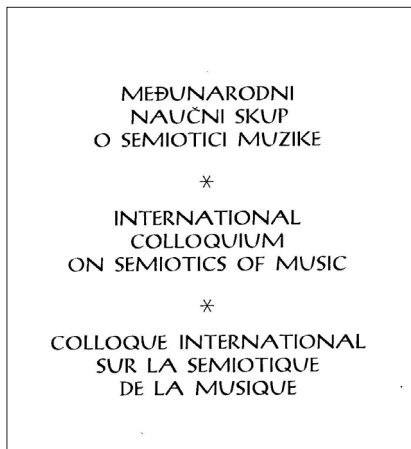
First International Colloquium on Semiotics of Music: second preliminary program

It is quite possible that the program was printed in Italy, on the very eve of the Colloquium. Until then, full texts of the reports were available to the members of the Scientific Committee; having a full insight into the contents of the reports, they were able to make a completely new program. According to this version, the first two introductory lectures were supposed to be delivered by Gino Stefani and Dragutin Gostuški. Prof. Dr. Reiner Kluge (Berlin) was announced – instead of Dragutin Cvetko – as a “possible chairman” for the round table on *Semiotics, Theory and Analyses*.

When the Colloquium was about to start, the final version of the program, printed in Belgrade, was waiting for the participants and numerous invited guests⁷ [Figures 5 and 6]. It should be noted here that the Center for Cultural Initiative and the Institute of Musicology SASA are listed as the two main organizers.

An inspection of records from Gostuški's Legacy clearly shows that Gostuški himself took care of many of the required activities. For instance, it contains a copy of the original invitation [Figure 7], the accompanying letter [Figure 8], and a long list with the names and addresses of the invited guests from Belgrade and other university and cultural centers of the former Yugoslavia.

⁷ Cf. also the web archive of Studentski kulturni centar [Student Cultural Center]: <http://www.arhivaskv.org.rs/hronografije-programa/muzicki-program/43-1973102/4682-17-21-oktobar-1973.html>



First International Colloquium on Semiotics of Music: final program; front page

<p>Centar za kulturnu inicijativu 11000 Beograd/Jugoslavije Rajčeva 10</p> <p>Centro d'Iniziativa culturale 61100 Pesaro/Italia via G. Rossini 37</p>	<p>Otvaranje skupa u Koncertnoj dvorani Studentskog kulturnog centra, Beograd, Maršala Tita 46, 17. oktobra u 18.00 časova</p> <p>Muzički program Hor Muzičke akademije Colloquium Musicum dirigent: Danika Č. "nić Marović</p> <p>18. OKTOBAR 9.30 čas.</p> <p>Početak rada skupa Gino STEFANI (Roma): Situacija u muzičkoj semiotici Dragutin GOSTUŠKI (Beograd): Realnost, jezik, muzika Henri POUSSÉUR (Liège): Analiza, teorija, semantika Jaroslav JIRANEK (Praga): Situacija u muzičkoj semiotici u ČSSR Diego CARPITELLA (Roma): Metrika i ritam u tradicionalnim uslojcima pesara Simha ARON (Paris): Distribucionalni metod u etnomuzikologiji</p> <p>16.30 čas. David OSMONDS-ITH (Brighton): Formalni ikonizam u muzici Erhard KARKOSCHKA (Stuttgart): Naučni metodi u muzičkoj analizi Jean Jacques NATTIEZ (Montreal): Od distribucionalne analize do stilističke formalizacije</p> <p>19. OKTOBAR 9.30 čas.</p> <p>Björn LINDBLOM-Johan SUNDBERG (Stockholm): Generativna teorija švedskih uspavanki Reiner KLUGE (Berlin, DDR): Kompijuter i analiza Mario BARONI-Carlo JACOBONI (Bologna): Kompjuterska analiza Bahovih korala OKRUGLI STO: Semiotika, teorija i analiza</p> <p>16.30 čas. Dušan KOSTIĆ (Beograd): Muzika i komunikacija Boris FORENÀ (Roma): Muzika/društvo: semiotičko pitanje? Boris GASPÁROV (Tartu): Neki deskriptivni problemi ruzičke semantike</p>	<p>20. OKTOBAR 9.30 čas.</p> <p>Ivan VITANYI (Budapest): Struktura općih idioma u muzici Tibor KNEIF (Berlin, BRD): Teorija značenja u muzici Otto LASKE (Utrecht): Osnovni problemi proceduralne semantike teorije u muzici Michel IMBERTY (Paris): Semantika muzike: strukturalni pristup, eksperimentalni pristup</p> <p>16.30 čas. Ivan FOČIĆ (Zagreb): Estetika i semiotika Ivo ŠUPČIĆ (Zagreb): Problemi značenja u muzici Célestin DELIEGE (Bruxelles): Teorija i praksa strukturalne analize</p> <p>21. OKTOBAR 10 čas.</p> <p>OKRUGLI STO: Zaključci (Predsedava Pino FAIONI — Urbino)</p> <p>Stampa - Sirokstamp - Beograd, Dobričina 8</p>
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First International Colloquium on Semiotics of Music: final program; inner pages

Odbor Međunarodnog naučnog skupa za semiotiku muzike

moli

*da prisustvuje svečanom otvaranju skupa i koktelu koji će se održati
u sredu, 17. oktobra u 18 časova.*

Dvorana Studentskog kulturnog centra, Maršala Tita 48

Invitation for the Colloquium opening ceremony and buffet

Od 17. do 21. oktobra održaće se u Beogradu, u sali Student-
skog kulturnog centra međunarodni naučni skup na kome će se ras-
pravljati o semiotici muzike. Podsećamo Vas da se radi o jednoj
novej ali trenutno veoma aktuelnoj naučnoj disciplini, koja osim
musikologije veoma široko uključuje i druge oblasti, pre svega
filozofiju i estetiku, a posebno lingvistiku. Organizatori skupa
su Centar za kulturnu inicijativu i Musikološki institut Srpske
akademije nauka i umetnosti. Dodajemo, u koliko Vam to možda nije
poznato, da pomenuti centar predstavlja organizaciju čiji je cilj
uspostavljanje stalne umetničke i naučne saradnje između beograd-
ske Umetničke akademije s jedne strane, a s druge italijanskog
grada Pesara i univerziteta u Urbinu.

Molili bismo Vas, da upoznate saradnike Vaše ustanove sa
ovim pismom. Bili bismo veoma srećni ako bi neko od njih bio
sainteresovan da učestvuje u radu skupa, pre svega u diskusijama.

U prilogu dostavljamo program. U koliko imate potrebe za
naknadnim obaveštenjima možete se obratiti na sledeću adresu:

U kolegijalne pozdrave

dr Dragutin Gostuški
predsednik Odbora

Invitation letter (scetch), "signed" by Dragutin Gostuški as a president of the Organizing committee

The list of invitees speaks of the great thoughtfulness, devotion and ambition that went into the preparation of the congress. It is worth giving an overview of the invitees. First of all, scholars from several departments of the Belgrade Faculty of Philosophy were invited (Department of Serbo-Croatian Language and General Linguistics; Department of World Literature; Department of Yugoslav Literature; Department of French Language and Literature; Department of Oriental Studies). Personal invitations were sent to leading linguists – Prof. Dr. Pavle Ivić and Prof. Dr. Milka Ivić, Prof. Dr. Ranko Bugarski, and eminent professors Dr. Nikša Stipčević and Dr. Pera Polovina. The list of institutions includes Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb (personal invitations were sent to Prof. Dr. Zdenko Škreb and Prof. Dr. Radoslav Katičić) and The Institute of Literature and Arts, Belgrade (a personal invitation was sent to Dr. Predrag Palavestra). Personal invitations were also sent to: leading art historians (Prof. Dr. Dejan Medaković and Prof. Dr. Miodrag Protić); leading philosophers and aestheticians (Prof. Dr. Sveta Lukić, Prof. Dr. Dragan Jeremić, Prof. Dr. Mihailo Marković, Prof. Danko Grlić⁸); distinguished writers and literary historians (Dr. Milorad Pavić and Dr. Svetozar Brkić); leading journalists who prepared features on art in printed and electronic media (e.g. Dragoslav Adamović, Olga Božičković, Feliks Pašić); finally, leading persons in the state, republic, city and the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts administration (Dr. Aleksandar Dedijer, Nemanja Madžarević – secretary of the SASA; Živorad Žika Bogdanović, Dr. Miloš Stambolić et al.).

Being the first international scientific conference on music organized in Belgrade after World War II, the Colloquium was, in Gostuški's mind, certain to become an important date in the history of national humanities and music scholarship. Moreover, its importance in the wider international context is highlighted when we take into account that it preceded the first, the biggest and the most important world gathering of semioticians – the First Congress of IASS/AIS (International Association for Semiotic Studies) – held in Milan in 1974.⁹ During the Belgrade Colloquium, leading scholars from eleven countries, both from the West and the East, delivered twenty-two lectures. Here are the names of participants whose papers were presented (some of them could not be there in person, but sent their texts), listed by countries:

- Belgium: Célestin Deliège (Brussels);
- Canada: Jean-Jacques Nattiez (Montreal);
- Czechoslovakia: Jaroslav Jiránek (Prague);
- Germany (both FDR and GDR): Erhard Karkoschka (Stuttgart), Reiner – Kluge (Berlin), Tibor Kneif (Berlin);

8 At that time Grlić taught at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade; in 1974 he transferred to the Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb, where he served as Head of the Department of Aesthetics until his death in 1984.

9 In his "Preface" to the Proceedings of the Milan Congress, held under the title *A Semiotic Landscape* (Chatman, Eco & Klinkenberg 1979: v), Umberto Eco clarifies the objectives of this very first IASS-AIS Congress. Both the organizers and the participants "had a fundamental and 'archaeological' task: they not only had to discuss the state of the discipline but also 1) the right of the discipline to exist, 2) its history, and 3) the possibility of providing the discipline with a unified methodology and a unified objective." See: <http://iass-ais.org/congresses/world-congresses/>

- Hungary: Iván Vitányi (Budapest);
- France: Simha Arom (Paris), Michel Imberty (Paris), Henri Pousser (Liege);
- Italy: Mario Baroni (Bologna), Diego Carpitella (Rome), Carlo Jacobini (Bologna), Pino Paioni (Urbino), Boris Porena (Rome), Gino Stefani (Rome)
- Netherlands: Otto Laske (Utrecht);
- USSR: Boris Mihailovich Gasparov (Tartu);
- United Kingdom: David Osmond-Smith (Brighton);
- Yugoslavia: Dragutin Gostuški (Belgrade), Dušan Kostić (Belgrade), Ivan Focht (Zagreb), Ivo Supičić (Zagreb).

The overall interdisciplinarity was secured by the fact that the list of participants included distinguished linguists, aestheticians, philosophers, sociologists, physicists, musicologists and composers. It was of the greatest importance for music semiotics as a discipline that the Colloquium was a venue for the encounter and vivid discussions of many scholars who would go on to assume leading positions by giving valuable contributions to the field (e.g. Mario Baroni, Michel Imberty, Jean-Jacques Nattiez, David Osmond-Smith, Gino Stefani).

IMAGINARY DIALOGUES

While researching Gostuški's Legacy, I discovered two folders with extensive excerpts from the author's reading material while he was preparing his Colloquium report *Réalité, musique, langage. Contribution à l'étude du problème de la signification*. The material in each of them includes over two hundred pages of manuscripts, from which it was possible to reconstruct accurately the full list of sources. These folders provide evidence that Gostuški was very well acquainted with the biographies and works of some of the most prominent participants and that he was preparing himself for the upcoming meetings with them with the fullest attention. However, even more interesting and provocative parts of the excerpts are Gostuški's sharply insightful and visionary critical comments: in his imaginary dialogues with other authors, Gostuški often reflects on his own, already established views, observations and conclusions.

Here is the list of works carefully studied and commented on by Gostuški:

Folder SEMIOTICS (*Selection of sources*)

1. Jean-Jacques Nattiez (1971) "Situation de la sémiologie musical." *Musique en Jeu* 5: 3–18.
2. Nicolas Ruwet (1967) "Musicologie et linguistique." *Revue International des Sciences Sociales* XIX/1: 83–93.
3. Pierre Schaeffer (1966) *Traité des object musicaux*. Paris: Editions du Seuil.
4. Roland Harweg (1971) "Langage et musique. Une approche immanente et sémiotique." *Musique en Jeu* 5: 19–30.
5. Jean-Jacques Nattiez (1973) "Trois modèles linguistique pour l'analyse musicale." *Musique en Jeu* 10: 3–11.
6. Nicolas Ruwet (1972) *Langage. Musique. Poésie*, Paris: Editions du Seuil, col. "Poétique".

7. Charles L. Boilès (1973) "Sémiotique de l'ethnomusicologie." *Musique en Jeu* 10: 34–41.
8. Robin Cooper (1973) "Proposition pour un modèle transformational de description musicale." *Musique en Jeu* 10: 70–88.
9. Deryck Cooke (1959) *The Language of Music*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
10. Leonard B. Meyer (1967) *Music, the Arts, and Ideas*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
11. Roman Jakobson (1973) "Musicologie et linguistique." *Musique en Jeu* 10: 57–59.
12. Bruno Nettl (1973) "De quelques méthodes linguistiques appliquées à l'analyse musicale." *Musique en Jeu* 10: 61–65.
13. William Bright (1973) "Points de contact entre langage et musique." *Musique en Jeu* 10: 67–73.
14. George P. Springer (1971) "La langage et la musique parallelism et divergences." *Musique an Jeu* 5: 31–43.
15. Umberto Eco (1971) "Pensée structural et pensée serielle." *Musique en Jeu* 5: 45–56.
16. François-Bernard Mâche (1971) "Méthodes linguistiques et musicologie." *Musique en Jeu* 5: 75–91.

The list in the folder LINGUISTICS is much shorter, although no less relevant:

Folder *LINGUISTICS (Selection of sources)*

1. Etienne Souriau (1970) "La musique est-elle un langage?" *The International Review of Music Aesthetics and Sociology* 1: 97–99.
2. Ferdinand de Sossir (1969) *Opšta lingvistika*. [Translated by Sreten Marić. Foreword by Sreten Marić: Sosirova lingvistika i misao o čoveku (IX–XLI).] Beograd: Nolit (Biblioteka „Sazvežđa“) [N.B. The first translation of de Saussure's book *Cours de linguistique générale* into Serbian, according to the second edition (1949), Paris: Payot.]
3. Blanka Horacek (1964) *Kunstprinzipien der Satzgestaltung. Studien zu einer inhaltbezogenen Syntax der Deutschen Dichtersprache*. Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
4. Roman Jakobson (1966) *Lingvistika i poetika*. Beograd: Nolit. [N.B. A collection of Jakobson's seminal studies translated into Serbian, with a Foreword by Milka Ivić.]

The list of sources shows convincingly that Gostuški's research was focused on the most up-to-date and relevant achievements in both fields. However, his comments in the margins and in separate sheets with notes and observations clearly indicate that he was preparing for a confrontation with the directions in which the semiotics of music was initially steered. What generally differentiated Gostuški from the majority of musicologists, aestheticians and theorists of music of his time, as well as music semioticians, was the fact that he was also a composer. His direct insight into the nature of the creative process of "making music," paired with his rich experience and broad knowledge in the field of music perception, provided the base for

the emerging of his specific approach to the semiotics of music, which differed quite radically from the views of his distinguished contemporaries, including those who would participate in the Colloquium. Delivering his lecture immediately after Gino Stefani's speech, Dragutin Gostuški openly invited his present colleagues to rethink and revise the initial methodological standpoints of the discipline.

ECHOES OF REALITY – MUSIC – LANGUAGE

Together with the majority of lectures/texts by other participants, Gostuški's Legacy at the Institute of Musicology SASA houses several typewritten copies of his own talk. The original text was written in French; there are also several copies in Serbian, translated by the author himself, and several Summaries, translated into English by an (unknown) professional translator. Here is Gostuški's Summary:

Dragutin Gostuški
Reality, Music, Language
A Contribution to the Study of the Problem of Meaning

As the situation today shows, to speak about the semiology of music means to speak primarily about the relation between music and language.

Theoretically, linguistics and musicology seem to have entered into partnership in order to solve problems of common interest: in practice, it is a question of the application of linguistic methods in music. But such a procedure can be justified neither historically nor scientifically. Language is indifferent to linguistics, but music is not indifferent to musicology.

The basic question in music, the problem of style, has a correlative in linguistics, a fact that disqualifies linguistics as a method applicable in musical analysis.

We are confronted with the stretching out of a science whose subject is not precisely defined – the language, towards art. The creator of the code is a musician. The decoder is a linguist. The remaining problem is whether or not such a procedure is legitimate. No serious attempt has yet been made to prove that a linguistic code has something in common with a musical one. Furthermore, as is well-known, linguistics has not yet settled its relations with the art which is much closer to it – poetry.

Up to the present, every endeavor to use music as an experimental field of linguistics has produced little beyond certain rudiments of the stylistic analysis of compositions that are already part of the history. It is necessary to point out that music has little need of new procedures of that kind. What is really necessary for music, in a highly dramatic form, is help in the construction of new system which will be as firm and logical as it was the system of functional harmony.

The theory of the screen. – The fundamental function of language is representation. This function is realized through the symbolization of objects, phenomena and states. This characteristic makes language (at least theoretically) far

more akin to painting and sculpture than music. It is the necessary judgment of aesthetical thought which ought to prevail in this matter.

Direct communication with the world of positive facts is called "realism." Between the so-called "real world" and its interpretation (artistic, linguistic, scientific) stands a determined system, constructed beforehand with its own laws. It represents a kind of a screen on which every fact received is diffracted, as though according to the laws of diffraction. So, for example, the construction of poetry is in every respect analogous to the construction of the other arts and, consequently, all aesthetic laws should be equally valid here. The theory of the screen is thus valid for all the arts without exception, because it is, *inter alia*, one of the general laws of perception.

Having in mind Gostuški's path towards the semiotics of music, discussed in the first part of this article, and the seriousness of his research depicted in the previous part, one can easily conclude that *the theory of the screen* quoted above is the author's most important and most mature theoretical achievement. At the same time, with this theory, elaborated in detail during the lecture, Gostuški offered one possible methodological tool for future semiotic investigations. What were the echoes of his attempts can be learned from two important reviews that appeared shortly after the end of the Colloquium.

The author of the first, already mentioned review, published in Belgrade's renowned journal *Kultura*, was the distinguished linguist Ranko Bugarski. Commenting on the animated and sharp polemical discussions between the participants of the Colloquium, Bugarski calls attention to the fact that the main reason for the debates was the strong tendency among the guests from abroad towards neglecting the results of contemporary philosophical-sociological and experimentally psychological research. Moreover, as Bugarski says, "without any serious competition, the approach from the perspective of theoretical and descriptive linguistics dominated" (Bugarski 1973: 148).

Fundamentally opposed to this mainstream, Gostuški's contribution apparently gave the strongest impulses for discussions, which resulted – as we read in another, more elaborated review by Ljiljana Kristl – in dividing the participants into two opposing groups (Kristl 1974). One, obviously larger group was gathered around Jean-Jacques Nattiez and his conception which "evolved from the Saussurian notion of semiology, considers linguistics to be applicable in nonlinguistical systems of signs as a scientific pattern of precise models for the language analysis" (*ibid.*, 334). Views similar to Gostuški's were shared by the Hungarian sociologist and aesthetician Iván Vitány (b. 1925), the leading Yugoslav sociologist Ivan Supičić (b. 1928), and, significantly, by the young, then very promising and quite polemical British semiotician David Osmond-Smith (1946–2007).

Looking at how both reviewers estimated the final results of the first scientific meeting devoted to the semiotics of music, it seems that the immediate echoes of Gostuški's lecture and his proposal for a methodological revision of the starting points of the discipline made quite an impressive contribution to the general atmosphere of the Colloquium. However, in spite of my careful and meticulous research into the

entirety of Gostuški's Legacy, including his correspondence, one question will remain unanswered: Why wasn't his lecture published in the Colloquium Proceedings, published in Pesaro two years later, since we know that the text had been completely finished by the beginning of the meeting?¹⁰ The confirmation of the presumption that the author was fully satisfied with the content of the lecture can easily be found in the fact that its full, unchanged version appeared in 1977 in the prestigious journal *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* (Gostuški 1977),¹¹ whose initiator and its first Editor-in-Chief was the world-famous sociologist Ivo Supičić – one of the Colloquium's most prominent participants from Yugoslavia.

Dragutin Gostuški's theoretical contribution to the field of the semiotics of music has since been awaiting expert evaluation from the angle of the discipline's development trends. I hope that my efforts to draw attention to the author's major theoretical achievement will instigate new and fresh interest in his overall work, particularly having in mind his great enthusiasm and devotion, expressed during the organization of the Belgrade meeting, as well as his ambition to provide – with his own contribution – a platform for frank and critical dialogues among the leading music scholars, at a time when music semiotics as a discipline was in its infancy, more than four decades ago.

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- Гостушки, Драгутин (1956a) "Битне карактеристике ритма у оквиру проблема музичког времена." *Гласник САН VII*: 114–116 / Gostuški, Dragutin (1956a) "Bitne karakteristike ritma u okviru problema muzičkog vremena." *Glasnik SAN VII*: 114–116 ["Important Characteristic of Rhythm Observed in Relation to the Problem of Music Time"].
- Гостушки, Драгутин (1956b) "Суштина и функција експресивног акцента." *Гласник САН VII*(2): 231 / Gostuški, Dragutin (1956b) "Suština i funkcija ekspresivnog akcenta." *Glasnik SAN VII*(2): 231 ["The Essence and Function of the Expressive Accent"].
- Гостушки, Драгутин (1957a) "Основне одлике квалитативног ритма." *Гласник САН IX*(2): 193–194 / Gostuški, Dragutin (1957a) "Osnovne odlike kvalitativnog ritma." *Glasnik SAN IX*(2): 193–194 ["Basic Characteristics of the Qualitative Rhythm"].
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Кайшарина Томашевић

Драгутин Гостушки и музичка семиотика

(САЖЕТАК)

Упркос чињеници да је Драгутин Гостушки (1923–1998) био један од иницијатора, као и председник Организационог одбора Првог међународног научног скупа о семиотици музике, одржаног у Београду 1973. године, савремена наука о музици још увек није посветила одговарајућу пажњу значајној улози коју је Гостушки остварио у развоју дисциплине како у националном, тако и у међународном контексту. Још увек није у довољној мери истражена ни еволуција његових теоријских погледа и доприноса проучавању проблема *значења, времена и сйшила* у уметностима, а која се може пратити почев од његових најранијих теоријских радова с почетка педесетих година XX века.

Научник ерудитског знања, композитор и историчар уметности по образовању, теоретичар, музиколог и естетичар по вокацији, такође и истакнути музички критичар, Драгутин Гостушки несумњиво припада интелектуалној елити свога доба. Утемељивши своје интердисциплинарно промишљање о кључним проблемима уметности и, посебно – музике, у методама компаративне естетике, Гостушки је у своје погледе врло рано интегрисао и достигнућа тада савремене лингвистике; с посебном пажњом промптно је и критички реаговао и на прве, интернационално запажене резултате музичке семиотике. О релевантност његових теоријских концепата *значења, времена, форме и сйшила* у уметностима, као и о уверљивости његове анализе односа између поетског језика и музике, најочигледније сведочи његова капитална књига *Време уметности* (1968). Нажалост, упркос својевременим напорима аутора, ова значајна студија ни до данас није објављена ни на једном од светских језика, те је, уз запажене изузетке, изостала и обимнија рецепција у међународним круговима.

Достигавши почетком седамдесетих година прошлог века зенит професионалне зрелости, Гостушки је 1970. постао и директор Музиколошког института САНУ. С жаром и ентузујазмом покренуо је исте године *Разговоре о науци и уметности*, својеврсан научни форум посвећен најактуелнијим питањима из области природних и хуманистичких наука, као и уметности. Проблеми односа између *језика и музике*, као и између *лингвистике и музикологије* такође су, као централни, били разматрани приликом више ових сусрета, којима су претходила уводна предавања водећег лингвисте Ранка Бугарског. Чињеницу да је музичка семиотика у то време ушла у саму жижу пажње

Драгутина Гостушког, потврђују и подаци о његовом великом залагању да се у Београду, 1973. године по први пут организује сусрет тада водећих светских семиотичара музике. На самој Конференцији, Гостушки је изложио реферат под називом „Реалност. Музика. Језик. Прилог студијама проблема значења” [Réalité, musique, langage. Contribution a l'étude de la problem de la signification], у којем је ушао у отворени критички дијалог са водећим ауторима и поставио основу сопствене *теорије екрана* као предлог оптималног методолошког полазишта за будуће музичко-семиотичке стратегије.

Овај рад има за циљ да укаже на еволуцију семиотичких идеја у опусу Гостушког, затим, да испита и реконструише околности под којима су се одвијале припреме за одржавање Првог међународног научног скупа о семиотици музике, као и да охрабри нова истраживања која би размотрила централне теоријске опусе Гостушког у историјском контексту музичке семиотике као дисциплине.

Кључне речи: Драгутин Гостушки, Ђино Стефани, Музиколошки институт САНУ, Прва међународна конференција о семиотици музике, „Реалност. Музика. Језик”

МОКРАЊАЦ У ДЕЛИМА НАСЛЕДНИКА – ОД ЦИТАТНЕ ИМИТАЦИЈЕ ДО ЦИТАТНЕ ПОЛЕМИКЕ

*Саша Божидаревић*¹

Факултет уметности Универзитета у Приштини са привременим седиштем у
Косовској Митровици, Факултет уметности Звечан - Косовска Митровица

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АПСТРАКТ

Руковейи Стевана Мокрањаца представљају својеврстан културни канон, чији су примарни постулати уграђени у хорска остварења готово свих потоњих српских композитора који су стварали дела инспирисана фолклором. Овај део Мокрањчевог стваралачког опуса био је предмет разноврсних музиколошких, музичкотеоријских и других врста стручних анализа. Аналитички домети таквих радова послужиће као парадигма за примену специфичне методологије и терминологије преузете (и делимично редефинисане, у складу за захтевима музичког дискурса) из *Теорије цитатности* Дубравке Ораић Толић (Ораић Толић 1990). Циљ рада је да се, уз помоћ теорије цитатности, препознају, истраже и класификују различити појавни видови и варијанте Мокрањчевих стваралачких принципа у руковетима и сродним формама српских композитора, Мокрањчевих наследника.

Кључне речи: Стеван Мокрањац, фолклорни цитат, руковети и сродне форме, теорија цитатности, српски послератни композитори

Руковейима Стевана Мокрањаца често су се бавили музиколози, етномузиколози и музички теоретичари, разноликих профила и стручних опредељења. Стваралачка личност овог великана разматрана је у музиколошким, теоријско-аналитичким, етномузиколошким и другим студијама посвећеним *Руковейима*, из различитих угла и са разнородних полазних становишта (Конјовић 1920; Милојевић 1926; Вучковић 1968; Пејовић 1968; Ређић 1969b: 303); проучавана је узајамна веза

између фолклора и савременог схватања музичке уметности, кроз однос мелодије и њене надградње у *Руковейима* (Ђурић-Клајн 1981; Коњовић 1984), као и однос музике и текста у сфери питања о уметничкој оригиналности (Мосусова 1971: 111–135; Херцигоња 1971: 171–183; Bingulac 1988). Обрађен је и аспект формалне структуре *Руковейи*, на основу композиционих поступака, музичког језика и начина уобличавања музичког тока (Живковић 1957; Перичић 1969a). Овакви радови представљају извор корисних информација, јер се у већини њих истиче парадигматски утицај Мокрањчевих *Руковейи* на сва потоња остварења из ове категорије. За потребе истраживања спроведених у овој студији, међутим, значајнији су резултати радова о Мокрањчевим *Руковейима* у којима је аналитичка пажња усмерена на оне сегменте музичког тока помоћу којих се успоставља цитатна комуникација. Радови ове врсте обухватају низ проблема везаних за готово све компоненте и планове музичког тока: макроформалну организацију (Марковић 1996: 93–119; Николић 2006: 115–130), поступке рада са текстом и мелодијом у односу на фолклорни оригинал (Коњовић 1965: 46–47; Девић 1971: 40), хармонски језик и хорску фактуру (Деспић 1999), обраду фолклорних записа и њихову уметничку транспозицију (Маринковић 1991: 90–91; Маринковић 1996: 93–119), процес обликовања песама у *Руковейима* (Сабо 2006b: 131–155), форму на нивоу унутрашње организације песама (Сабо 2006a: 4–9), текстуално-музичку драматургију (Стевановић 2006: 101–113). Критичком сагледавању Мокрањчевих *Руковейи* у великој мери су допринели и истраживачи који, на иновативан начин, применом савремених методолошких поступака, расветљавају недовољно истражене аспекте музичке организације *Руковейи* и културног контекста у којем су ове композиције настале. Њихови прилози у блиској су вези са циљевима овог рада (Томашевић 2010; Поповић-Млађеновић 2011: 2–20; Милановић 2014; Атанасовски 2014).

ИЗБОР ТЕМАТСКОГ (ФОЛКЛОРНОГ) МАТЕРИЈАЛА У РУКОВЕТИМА

У обиљу цикличних дела инспирисаних фолклором, жанр *руковейи* заузима централно место. За разлику од сродних хорских остварења (*збирки, њошћурија, циклуса, кола, свийа*), у Мокрањчевим *Руковейима* се са посебном пажњом приступа избору и обради фолклорног материјала. Соња Маринковић истиче да их „одликује сјајан избор и промишљено комбиновање мотивског материјала, истанчан осећај за јединство поетске и музичке замисли, целовита музичко-драматуршка концепција дела, изванредна фактура хорског става, богата палета изражајних средстава, посебно у хармонском језику” (Маринковић 2006: 25). Мокрањац је, очигледно, приликом конструисања макроформалног модела *Руковейи*, водио рачуна о могућности обједињавања појединачних песама у организациону целину вишег реда, на основу више критеријума: територијалног, стилског, тематског и сл. Приликом избора фолклорног материјала, захвата се шири простор фолклорне ризнице, из које се црпу напеви различитих старосних и стилских карактеристика — од оних старијих (аутохтоних), уског амбитуса, до оних новијих, насталих на основи дура и мола. Селекција песама се заснива на територијалном, стилском и интонационом јединству. Петар Коњовић приписује

такав префињени однос и осећај Стевана Мокрањца за музички материјал који се композиционо обрађује његовој „нарочитој способности да из масе фолклорног материјала одабере све оно што је типично”, као и да свој материјал органски слије и стилизује (Коњовић 1999: 39). Мокрањчева тежња за стилским јединством музичког материјала, по мишљењу Милоја Николића, исказује се у његовом настојању да се, већ приликом избора песама, обезбеди „кохерентност њиховог скупа”. Николић даље истиче да је Мокрањца настојао да чвршће спољашње и унутрашње јединство поетско-музичког садржаја оствари начелним избором песама из „једног, релативно уског, фолклорног подручја” (Николић 2006: 117). У контексту цитатних разматрања и проблема постављених у овом раду, Мокрањчев однос према избору материјала који се уметнички уобличава послужиће као једна од упоришних тачака у успостављању интертекстуалне комуникације са руковетима насталим после Мокрањчеве смрти, а прецизније у раздобљу после Другог светског рата.

УМЕТНИЧКА ОБРАДА ФОЛКЛОРНОГ ЦИТАТА У МОКРАЊЧЕВИМ РУКОВЕТИМА

Приликом уметничке обраде фолклорног цитата, Мокрањца настоји да задржи највећи део изворне фолклорне мелодијско-ритмичке и звучне структуре преузете из народне песме, како би будући слушаоци могли да препознају фолклорни цитат, или бар његову стилизовану мелодијску линију. То, међутим, не значи да је Мокрањца дословно преузимао изворне обрасце у својим делима. Упоређивањем његових фолклорних записа са музичким цитатима из *Руковейи*, открива се да је Мокрањца приступао разноврсним поступцима композиционе обраде фолклорног материјала. Од оних који се могу именовати као незнатни, у којима се одриче украсних тонова (мордената, трилера и сл), све до оних сложених, који у већој мери трансформишу народни напев. Циљ наведених интервенција био је да се, у још већој мери, истакне лепота народне песме, али, првенствено, да се изграде компактнији односи између песама, чиме је обезбеђен висок степен кохерентности целине *Руковейи*. Композициона обрада напева реализује се „на неколико засебних планова: промена текста песама, метричке измене, мелодијско-ритмичка трансформација напева, измена облика песме и посебна сенчења смисла песме различитим хармонским и фактурним решењима” (Маринковић 2006: 26). Разноврсне интервенције у (мело-ритмичкој) структури фолклорног цитата Мокрањца обавља у припремној (претпартитурној) фази рада са музичким материјалом, док се у партитури *избрушени*, стилизовани музички цитат појављује у првој строфи. Достигнути ниво трансформације фолклорног цитата потврђује се у наредним строфама, готово без изузетка у свим песамама Мокрањчевим *Руковейима* – како оним у којима се обрађује фолклорни цитат, тако и оним у којима је музички цитат настао као једна врста контрапункта на изворни музички материјал (*Биљана њлаино белеше из Десејте руковейи*). Очигледно је да питање *оригиналности* фолклорног цитата није приоритетно у разматрању поступака Мокрањчеве композиционе обраде. Та чињеница није битно утицала на њихову перцепцију, јер се сви прихватају као обраде цитата и репрезенти су народне уметности.

Очување духа и разумевање народне уметности може се уочити и у раду са народним текстовима. Попут музичког цитата фолклорног оригинала, и текст задржава релативно висок ниво очуваности извора, али се, такође у складу са захтевима и потребама уметничке конструкције и образовања збирног (макроформалног) текста, често приступа његовом редефинисању. Процес текстуалне реконструкције у Мокрањчевим *Руковейима* обухвата промену појединих речи (уз очување њиховог смисла), као и изостављање мање важних стихова, односно, њихово сажимање – које, по правилу, захвата простор целокупне уметнички представљене песме. Мокрањчеве поступке рада са текстовима народних песама, како ће се касније потврдити у овом раду, доследно опонашају аутори руковети, припадници прве генерације која ствара после Другог светског рата. Њихова дела представљају врло захвалан полигон за успостављање приснијих цитатних односа између сродних остварења, насталих у различитим временским епохама.

Други (сложенији) тип композиционих интервенција на фолклорном тексту обухватније захвата његов формални простор; нпр. умећу се рефренски делови (припеви, упеве, запеви), понављају се парцијалне структуре текста, додају садржински квазифолклорни делови, који у већем обиму (од оног изворног) кореспондирају с карактером мелодијског музичког цитата, али и садржински и смисаоно унапређују изворни текст. Мокрањчеви радикалнији резони у уметничком обликовању фолклорног текста само поткрепљују чињеницу да се у *Руковейима* приступило обухватнијој и промишљенијој организацији овог плана музичког тока. То *Руковейи* квалитативно издиже у односу на сродне хорске облике (*збирке, њошћурије, циклусе, кола, свиће*).

МОКРАЊЧЕВЕ РУКОВЕТИ И ЊИХОВИ КОНСЕКВЕНТИ – ТИПОВИ ЦИТАТНОГ ПОВЕЗИВАЊА

Често истицан, и у многим музичко-теоријским радовима потврђен, утицај Мокрањчевих *Руковейи* на готово сва потоња остварења ове врсте послужио је као полазиште за стварање разних аналитичких претпоставки и креирање посебног система проучавања овог значајног корпуса хорских композиција у оквиру интертекстуалности и теорије цитатности. У контексту разматрања интертекстуалних односа постављена су начела будуће цитатне комуникације и представљени цитатни системи и модели, у којима су термини из књижевне теорије добили своје музичке синониме. По мишљењу аутора овог рада, теорија цитатности Дубравке Ораић Толић пружа значајну теоријску платформу за идентификацију и класификацију различитих појавних видова цитатности у жанру руковети, те отвара могућност критичког сагледавања (са указивањем на алтернативна решења и тумачења) постојећих аналитичких интерпретација наших еминентних стручњака у овој области, заснованих на традиционалној методологији и терминологији.

У оквиру жанра руковети, од Мокрањца до његових наследника, заступљени су различити видови цитатног повезивања. Степен интертекстуалног контакта између учесника цитатног процеса пресудно је утицао и на методолошку

поставку овог рада, па су у складу са овим начелом класификоване изабране композиције, у смеру од јачег ка слабијем интензитету цитатне везе. Цитатни тип највећег интензитета, у којем цитати у личном тексту експлицитно и недвосмислено указују на текст-узор (подтекст), Дубравка Ораић Толић означава као *илусијрајивни*.² Цитатни контакти између консеквента и антецедента у овом случају се реализују према начелу *цијтајине имитације*.³ Слабији интензитет цитатне везе (у односу на описани), где цитатни текст креира нов (властити) смисао, док су цитати туђих текстова само повод за реализацију личних значења, детерминисан је као *илуминајивни ијииј цијтајиносии*.⁴ У оквиру овог типа цитатности контакт се остварује на два начина: као *цијтајини дијалој* или *цијтајина јолемика*. Ова два универзална типа цитатности (*илусијрајивни* и *илуминајивни*) представљају погодан почетни оквир за сагледавање сложених цитатних релација у композицијама на које је примарно усмерен овај рад.

ЦИТАТНА ИМИТАЦИЈА – ПОВЕЗАНОСТ НАЈВЕЋЕГ ИНТЕНЗИТЕТА

Цитатна имитација представља тип интертекстуалне комуникације помоћу које се реализују најприснији контакти између млађих и старијих текстова. Овај вид цитатности је присутан у хорским остварењима у којима је уочљив највиши степен цитатне мотивације и усмерености на Мокрањца. У композицијама обухваћеним овим радом, тај тип своје најјаче дејство испољава на релацији Мокрањчевих *Руковетиј* и *руковетиј* и *сродних форми* насталих у првим деценијама након завршетка Другог светског рата. Између ових композиција успостављају се цитатни односи у готово свим сегментима музичког тока и на свим формалним нивоима, при чему се доследно поштују обликотворна и организациона начела Мокрањчевог руковетног текста у текстовима консеквентима (видети табелу 1). Читање Мокрањчевог текста у руковетима прве поратне декаде могуће је већ на нивоу збирне (макро) форме јер су, приликом њене конструкције, аутори

2 По дефиницији Дубравке Ораић Толић, ово је основни тип цитатности „... у којему на плану сематнике доминира начело мимезе, аналогије, метафоричности и адекватације (цитатна имитација), на плану синтаксе начело субординације властитог под туђе, на плану прагматике статична оријентација на познато читаатељево искуство, а на плану културне функције начело презентације туђег текста и туђе културе” (Ораић Толић 1990: 43–44).

3 „Када семантичка детерминација иде од туђега према властитом тексту, па цитатни смисао настаје по начелу мимезе, аналогије, адекватације и метафоричности, ријеч је о цитатној имитацији” (Ораић Толић 1990: 40).

4 Овај тип цитатности по мишљењу Дубравке Ораић Толић био би „...инверзија првог и остваривао би на плану семантике начело отуђења, контраста или хомологије, метонимичности и креације нових смислова на подлози старих (цитатна полемика и цитатни дијалог), на плану синтактике начело координације међу равноправним партнерима, на прагматичком плану динамичну оријентацију на ауторово непознато виђење културне традиције које разбија уходане рецептивне навике, а на плану културне функције начело презентације властитог текста и властите културе без обзира и често усупрот туђим текстовима и туђој култури” (Ораић Толић 1990: 40).

млађих текстова преузели нека битна организационаначела и правила уобличења појединачних песама у музичку целину вишег реда. Доследно поштовање Мокрањчевих принципа, на овом нивоу формалне организације, најочљивије је у погледу избора и броја песама које се уметнички обрађују. Композитори прве поратне генерације у конструисању збирног (макроформалног) текста најчешће преузимају Мокрањчев модел од пет песама⁵ (Радосав Анђелковић: *Прва руковей* = А – Б – Ц – Б₁ – Ц₁ + кода; Властимир Перичић: *Прва руковей* = А – Б – Ц – Б₁ – Д + кода). Приликом одабира песама (у претпартитурној фази), аутори овог периода воде рачуна (баш као и Стеван Мокрањац) о њиховим стилско-генетским карактеристикама. У организациони систем вишег реда (руковет) песме се групишу по принципу припадности одређеном географском подручју – дакле, обједињују се песме из истог краја (видети табелу 2).

Хомогенизација појединачних песама у оквиру цикличне конструкције одвија се и помоћу њихове мотивско-тематске сродности. У *руковейима* и *сродним формама* овог периода доминирају (као и у Мокрањчевим *Руковейима*) љубавне песме, док други типови лирске поезије бележе готово симболично присуство. Са друге стране, у апострофираним композицијама видљива су и извесна одступања од парадигме, која доприносе незнатном 'унапређењу' руковетног модела. Као пример ове врсте, у којем је испољена очигледна тенденција ка другачијем осмишљавању формалног лука, издваја се *Друја руковей* Боривоја Симића. У овој композицији Симић реконструира Мокрањчев модел, примењен у *Руковейима* са већим бројем песама – више од пет. Оба аутора понављају одређене песме или њихове делове, чиме се стварају приснији односи унутар форме. Но, за разлику од Мокрањаца, Боривоје Симић у макроформалну конструкцију инкорпорира увод и на тај начин, у извесном смислу, допуњује Мокрањчев формални план (видети табелу 3).

Известан квалитативни помак у односу на Мокрањаца, начињен у делима појединих композитора овог раздобља, представља и појава песама из оних (нових) подручја која нису обухваћена његовим *Руковейима*: Стојан Андрић: *Трећа руковей – Песме из Дубочице*; Боривоје Симић: *Прва руковей – Песме из Пиројиа*. У контексту цитатних односа који се реализују у оквиру *нейојийуних цийајиа*,⁶ одступања од Мокрањчевог принципа евидентна су само у једном сегменту – географском избору материјала.

Делимична реконтекстуализација Мокрањчевих образаца у формирању збирног текста у делима композитора ове епохе, евидентна је и у погледу одређења према врсти темпа, карактеру и броју ставова у оквиру цикличне форме (Љубомир Бошњаковић: *Први сјлеј* – Стеван Мокрањац: *Десетиа руковей*). У макроформалним шемама ове две композиције уочавају се минималне разлике у

⁵ Мокрањчеве *Руковейи* са пет песама: II, VI, VII, X, XII, XIV, XV.

⁶ Дубравка Ораић Толић цитате по опсегу подударања дели на потпуне, непотпуне и вакантне или празне. „У потпуним се цитатима фрагмент туђег текста у цијелости може придружити изворноме контексту, у непотпунима придруживање је могуће само дјеломице, а у вакантнима уопће није могуће” (Ораић Толић 1990: 18).

ознакама темпа, тј. њиховом карактеру, па се и у овом случају реализује цитатна имитација слободног типа на релацији подтекст-власити текст (видети табелу 4).

Преузимање Мокрањчевих (руковетних) принципа уметничког обликовања поетско-музичких садржаја од стране аутора који стварају у првој деценији после Другог светског рата, евидентно је и на нижим формално-организационим нивоима руковети (у оквиру појединачних песама). Из мноштва интертекстуално сродних принципа медиоформалне организације, заступљених на релацији између текстова антецедената и консеквената, издвојићемо само оне најзначајније.

А. Доследно поштовање неповредивости музичке структуре и форме фолклорног цитата представљеног у почетној строфи

У првим поратним делима руковетне провенијенције, фолклорни цитат се у нетрансформисаном облику пласира у свим формалним конституентима, аналогно начину примењеном у Мокрањчевим *Руковейима*.⁷Евентуална промена изворног мело-ритмичког или формалног обрасца одвија се у припремној фази, пре његовог представљања у партитури уметничке обраде.

Б. Сажимање (скраћивање) текстуалног садржаја (избор појединих строфа које не поштују увек редослед фолклорног изворника)

Приликом избора текстова, у већини случајева се, као и код Мокрањца, не преузимају целовити (комплетни) текстови, већ само појединачне строфе које своју делотворност исказују на плану збирног текста.

В. Најчешћа употреба два медиоформална модела у фактурној надградњи фолклорног цитата: *сїрофичної цїїїаїа са сїрофичном їрайїном* (Љубомир Бошњаковић: *Први сїлей – Русанке, моме Русанке*; Душан Трбојевић: *Прва руковей – Шїо си Лено на їолемо, Оївори ми, бело Ленче*) и *сїрофичної цїїїаїа са варирано-сїрофичном їрайїном* (Љубомир Бошњаковић: *Први сїлей – Сокол ми їева, їриїева*; Душан Трбојевић: *Прва руковей – Файїише коло врањске девојке*; Властимир Перичић: *Друїа руковей – Синоћ ми дојде лудо, младо и др*).

Г. Варирано-строфична форма првенствено настаје променама у фактури хорског става и тзв. хорској оркестрацији, док су утицаји хармонских и динамичко-артикулационих средстава на поступак варирања изражени у знатно мањем обиму

Претварање базичне строфичне форме у варирано-строфичну одвија се првенствено у складу са потребама тумачења релевантних (семантичких,

⁷ Општепознато је да Мокрањца готово никада није мењао мелоритмичку структуру фолклорног модела постављеног у првој строфи. Један од ретких изузетака је песма *Славуј їиле* из *Тринаесїе руковейи*, у којој има извесних трансформација мелоритмичке структуре фолклорног цитата почетне строфе, испољених на плану орнаменталног варирања.

драматуршки и сл.) момената текстуалног садржаја. Виши ниво формалне организације (варирано-строфични) од оног који је преузет из фолклора, утиче на додатну динамизацију музичког садржаја у оквиру става (песме) и, по правилу, заступљен је у песмама састављеним од већег броја строфа (најмање три). У таквим примерима, цитатни контакт између цитираног (Мокрањчевог) и личног текста није потпун, упркос високом нивоу њихове подударности. Разлог томе су извесна, често површинска, одступања, видљива у појединим сегментима музичког тока консеквента, најчешће у фактури хорског става.

ЦИТАТНИ ДИЈАЛОГ – ПОВЕЗАНОСТ МАЊЕГ ИНТЕНЗИТЕТА

Цитатни дијалог је цитатни систем у којем се посредством цитата (схваћених као неутрална зона) преузетих из подтекста, одвија слободни међукултурни дијалог на принципу поштовања семантичких уређења личног текста и подтекста, сопствених и традиционалних културних вредности (Oraić Tolić 1990: 40). Елементи личне креације и одступања од традиционалних модела у композицијама овог цитатног система најевидентнији су у појединачним ставовима (песмама), док се на нивоу збирног текста, готово по инерцији, приступа преузимању стандардних решења и типова макроформалне организације. Тежиште композиционих активности и највиши ниво ангажовања (од стране композитора) видљив је, дакле, у унутрашњем простору песме, где се примењују сложенији поступци и нова решења у сфери медиоформалне и микроформалне организације. У жељи за достизањем виших формалних стандарда и постизањем приснијег односа између музике и текста, композитори често употребљавају иновативнија музичко-композициона средства, која стари (традиционални) смисао и значења репрезентују на потпуно нов начин. У оквиру овог цитатног система, репрезентација туђих (културноприхваћених) вредности у млађем тексту се остварује упоредо са презентацијом сопствених, при чему није увек лако прецизно утврдити места њихових цитатних додира, простор у којем испољавају своју аутономију и утицаје на усмерење цитатног интекста.

Један од изразитих примера овог типа цитатног повезивања, у коме се одвија својеврсно презначење основних значења Мокрањчевог руковетног текста, без угрожавања основног места фолклорног цитата, представља композиција Љубице Марић *Три народне*. У овом циклусу обрада народних њесама Мокрањчев утицај је најочљивији у сегментима музичке обраде где се, начелно, прихватају стандардни (традиционални) поступци рада са фолклорним текстом, док се лични креативни елементи, у највећој мери, исказују приликом преобликовања традиционалног модела мелострофе. Љубица Марић, као и Мокрањац, не користи целовите фолклорне текстове, већ само њихове делове. Цитатни сигнал који указује на интертекстуалну повезаност ових аутора јесте заједнички принцип скраћења текстуалног садржаја. Упоредо ли се поступци рада са текстом у Мокрањчевим *Руковейима* и *Три народне* Љубице Марић, уочиће се извесне аналогije. Тако, на пример, у оба случаја поједине песме се граде на основи текстуалног садржаја једне строфе. Стеван Мокрањац овај принцип примењује у песмама: *Бојо ми*, *Бојо*,

Ирари се врани коњи из Прве руковети; Смиљана из Друје руковети; Лейо њи је Јавор уродио из Треће руковети, док је код Љубице Марић заступљен у песмама: *Цавији божур* и *Лиле, Лиле*. Начин њихове презентације и функција коју остварују у макроформалном тексту, међутим, потпуно су различити код ових аутора. Код Мокрањца се текстуална строфа са музичком пратњом у песми појављује само једном. Композитор се свесно одриче дела текста са циљем постизања његовог већег збирног јединства (видети пример 1). Љубица Марић, за разлику од Мокрањца, на основи садржаја једне текстуалне строфе сачињене од два мелостиха конструише четири музичке строфе. Почетна строфа (модел) своју физиономију (мелодијско-ритмичку и формалну) у потпуности задржава и у трећој строфи, док се у парним (другој и четвртој) врши орнаментално варирање модела, које као крајњу консеквенцу производи и промену форме строфе. Тако се у збиру афирмише *варирано-стирофични модел са рејетийивним обележјем* и са јаким ослонцем на строфичну форму (видети пример 2).

Извесне подударности између цитатног (Љубице Марић) и цитираног аутора (Стевана Мокрањца) и њихових текстова (композиција) уочљиве су и у примерима сродних принципа у конструисању варирано-строфичног модела. У песмама *Цавији божур* из *Три народне* и *Славуј-јиле* из *Тринаесете руковети* Стевана Мокрањца медиоформални модел настаје орнаменталним варирањем музичког цитата, при чему се не ремете његове граничне линије нити његова формална целовитост. С друге стране, на релацији ових композиција евидентне су и разлике, посебно у обиму трансформације фолклорног цитата и фактурном уређењу унутрашњег формалног простора песме. Тако, на пример, у млађем тексту (*Цавији божур*) фолклорни цитат доживљава незнатне промене у деловима друге и четврте строфе, док у старијем тексту (*Славуј јиле*) промене ове врсте захватају простор три од укупно четири строфе. Нееквиваленције ова два текста (композиције) уочљиве су и у фактурној надградњи фолклорног цитата. Стеван Мокрањац примењује динамичан вид хорске пратње, комбиновањем хармонске полифоније, октавних педала инструментације мушких гласова. Љубица Марић, насупрот томе, инсистира на остинатном типу пратње, у коме се употребом ритмизованог квинтног педала постиже ефекат архаичне звучности.

ЦИТАТНА ПОЛЕМИКА – ПОВЕЗАНОСТ НАЈМАЊЕГ ИНТЕНЗИТЕТА

Циџајина њолемика, као један од субверзивних видова интертекстуалности, своје дејство испољава не само у књижевности, већ и у музици, па чак и у жанровима попут хорских руковети, које су примарно оријентисане на фолклор. У теорији цитатности Дубравке Ораић Толић цитатна полемика је дефинисана као интертекстуални модел комуникације, у којем властити текст негира, или потпуно руши, смисао подтекста, са циљем наметања сопствених културних вредности. Овакав однос млађег (личног) текста према узору (подтексту) готово да у потпуности субвертира изворна начела текстуалне организације, те намеће нова садржинска, структурна и формална правила. Презначено у сферу музичких релација и цитатних повезивања реализованих између Мокрањчевих *Руковети* и њихових консеквената, *циџајина њолемика* у свом најстрожем (најдоследнијем)

виду испољава крајње ограничено дејство тек у мањем броју остварења обухваћених овим скупом. Овај вид цитатне комуникације у композицијама фолклорне провенијенције углавном је присутан у својој блажој варијанти, коју аутор овог рада дефинише као *цијиайни дијалої са елементима цииайине йолемике*. У овом прелазном цитатном систему, интертекстуално повезивање властитог текста и подтекста реализује се на принципу њихове неравноправне (несразмерне) заступљености у креирању смисла и значења цитатног текста. Делови подтекста у личном тексту заступљени су сразмерно малом обиму и то, углавном, у експозиционим деловима музичког тока (изузетак је композиција *Из сїарих зайиса Сїевана Сїи. Мокрањца 1876. йодине* Акила Коција). У њима се, по правилу, обезбеђује релативно висок степен препознатљивости музичког цитата, компонованог по угледу на оригинал, уз извесна скраћења, варирања и проширења у сигналима краја и сл. С друге стране, доминација личног текста евидентна је у свим аспектима композиционог рада са поетско-музичким материјалом. Најјаче дејство, међутим, консеквент испољава у фактури хорског става, где се на релацији између текстуалних и музичких планова, али и у оквиру сваког од њих појединачно, одвијају оштри полифони сукоби тематских и пратећих музичких садржаја (*Песме расїанка, Крес* Лудмиле Фрајт). Такви композициони поступци, уз додатно присуство више паралелних музичких слојева (*Крес* Лудмиле Фрајт) са различитим усмерењем и трајањем, утичу и на промену традиционалног модела строфе.

У 'најекстремнијим' примерима ове врсте, попут композиције *Из сїарих зайиса Сїевана Сїи. Мокрањца 1876. йодине* Акила Коција, применом алеаторичких поступака потпуно се разграђује традиционални облик строфе, па се на тај начин доводи у питање и само постојање цитатног узора (подтекста). Потпуно нова значења у личном тексту, у овом случају у Коцијевој композицији, настају негацијом постојећих (традиционалних) на начелима цитатне полемике, што истовремено означава и највиши степен самосталности властитог текста (цитатног дистанцирања) у односу на подтекст. Полемички тонови, који се у датом случају реализују између Мокрањчевог изворног записа и Коцијеве уметничке обраде последица су примене алеаторичких средстава којима се изједначавају сви материјали који се композиционо обрађују: мелодијски, говорни, звучни, метричко-ритмички и др. Акил Коци се у највећој мери цитатно дистанцира од Мокрањца, али се свака појава нецеловитог фолклорног цитата (мелодије без изворног метра, текста без припадајуће музичке пратње и сл.) у уметничкој обради, или његовог асоцијативног вида, може сматрати сигналом интертекстуалног усмерења на цитатни узор. Тако се у првој звучној слици (условно: одсеку) Коцијеве верзије Мокрањчевог записа препознају делови изворног фолклорног текста, представљени у инверзном поретку (у односу на оригинал) без мелодије (видети пример 3).

Насупрот претходном примеру, утицај подтекста на лични текст сведен је на минимум у трећој звучној слици (условном одсеку), где се Акил Коци у уметничкој обради Мокрањчевог записа народне песме *Тикве баба йосејала* у потпуности одриче мелодијске и метроритмичке компоненте фолклорног цитата. Међусобна цитатна комуникација, овом приликом, реализује се само

захваљујући присуству делова изворног текста у личном (Коцијевом) тексту. Преузети садржински предлозак, међутим, у млађем тексту бива стављен у дијаметрално различит текстуално-музички контекст, са функцијом остваривања звучног контраста у односу на претходну фактурно-звучну целину. То додатно умањује његов цитатни капацитет и ограничава поље интертекстуалног деловања (видети пример 4).

ЗАКЉУЧАК

Интердисциплинарним усмерењем ка Руковетима Стевана Мокрањца и консеквентима насталим у српској хорској музици после Другог светског рата, ослањајући се на Теорију цитатности Дубравке Ораић Толић, надовезао сам се на досадашња разноврсна аналитичка искуства наших еминентних стручњака у овој области. Уз критичко сагледавање постојећих аналитичких интерпретација, у овом раду је указано на алтернативна решења и тумачења увек актуалних питања организације музичког тока руковети и сродних форми у готово свим релевантним текстуално-музичким сегментима. Проблемски полазећи од феномена интертекстуалности и цитатности, онако како их је образложила Дубравка Ораић Толић, рад је усмерен ка класификацији њихових различитих појавних видова на релацији: руковети Стевана Мокрањца / руковети и сродне форме друге половине XX века, а уједно и ка прецизирању аналитичких метода и њиховој стваралачкој примени у сагледавању појединачних хорских дела. При томе су извесни другачији видови интертекстуалне комуникације у руковетима различитих генерација захтевали прецизније одређење, односно надградњу и редефинисање постојећег термиолошког фонда теорије цитатности, те увођење нових термина. Одабрани анализирани узорак, поред дела која данас чине основу концертног хорског репертоара, укључује и композиције које су у већем обиму запостављене и ређе привлаче пажњу, како извођача, тако и музичких теоретичара. Аналитичка и истраживачка питања размотрена у овој студији изнова су указала на важност Руковети Стевана Мокрањца као парадигме за ствараоце друге половине XX века, те потврдила виталност његовог композиторског доприноса српској музици. На тај начин је додатно учвршћен став о опусу Стевана Мокрањца као темељу развоја савремене српске музике.

ПРИЛОЗИ УЗ РАД ТАБЕЛЕ

Табела 1. Категоријални критеријуми ироујао – типови цитата у оквиру модела слободне критеријне имитације

Стеван Мокрањац						
Цитирани текстови	II, X – руковет	-----	1. II, VI, VII, X, XII, XIV, XV руковет 2. VIII, XII руковет	I, III, IX, Приморски напјеви	II, III, V, VIII, IX, X, XI, XIII – руковет	1. II, VI, VII, X, XII, XIV, XV 2. X, XV руковет
Аутори цитатних текстова	Никола Сударевић	Љубомир Бошњаковић (1891–1987)	Радосав Анђелковић	Боривоје Симић (1920–2001)	Душан Трбојевић (1925–2011)	Властимир Перичић (1927–2000)
Цитатни текстови	Подринке	Први сплет	1. Прва руковет 2. Друга руковет	Друга руковет	Прва руковет	1. Прва руковет 2. Друга Руковет
Цитати по цитатним сигналима	Ш и ф р о в а н и са експлицитним кодом					
Цитати по опсегу подударача	Непотпуни					
Цитати по функцији	Референцијални примарно оријентисани на Подтекст					

Табела 2. Руковети прве поратне деценије и њихови цитатни узорни – припадност одређеном географском подручју

Цитирани текстови (Руковети Стевана Мокрањаца)	Цитатни текстови	Аутори цитатних текстова	Географско подручје цитираног и цитатног текста
1. Десета руковет Петнаеста руковет 2. Осма руковет, Дванаеста руковет	1. Прва руковет 2. Друга руковет	Радосав Анђелковић	Македонија Косово
Девета руковет	Друга руковет	Боривоје Симић	Црна Гора
1. Десета руковет, 2. Петнаеста руковет	Друга руковет	Властимир Перичић	Македонија

Табела 3. Недословна цитатност: Стеван Мокрањац – Боривоје Симић

Цитирани текстови (Руковети Стевана Мокрањаца)	Макроформална шема цитираних текстова	Цитатни текст (Руковет Боривоја Симића)	Макроформална шема цитатног текста
1. Прва руковет ----- 2. Трећа руковет ----- 3. Приморски напјеви	А Б А' Ц Д Е Ф Г Х пА Ц' И ----- А Б Ц Д Д1 прелаз Е Д2 Е1 Д3 Ф Г Х Ф1 ----- А Б Ц Д Е Ф Р Е Ф Г	Друга руковет	Увод А Б Ц Д Е Д1 Е1 А1 Е2

Табела 4. Распоред и карактер темпа: *Десета руковет Стевана Мокрањаца – Први сљеи Љубомира Бошњаковића*

Име аутора	Стеван Мокрањац	Љубомир Бошњаковић
Назив композиције	Десета руковет	Први сплет
Број ставова	Пет	-----
Распоред и карактер темпа	Allegretto grazioso Adagio con espressione Allegro Andante Allegro	Allegretto con brio Andante sostenuto e espressivo Allegro moderato Adagio molto espressivo Allegro giocoso

Музички ПРИМЕРИ

Пример 1. Стеван Мокрањац: *Прва руковей – Ијрали се врани коњи*

Lento [M.M. ♩ = 58-63]

f Ој! *mf* Иг - ра - ли се вра - ни ко -
Oj! *Ig - ra - li se vra - ni ko -*

f Ој! *mf* Иг - ра - ли се вра - ни ко -
Oj! *Ig - ra - li se vra - ni ko -*

f Ој! *mf* Иг - ра - ли се вра - ни ко -
Oj! *Ig - ra - li se vra - ni ko -*

f Ој! *mf* Иг - ра - ли се вра - ни ко -
Oj! *Ig - ra - li se vra - ni ko -*

f иг - ра - ли се *mf* се
ig - ra - li se se

f иг - ра - ли *mf* се
ig - ra - li se

f иг - ра - ли *mf* се
ig - ra - li se

f иг - ра - ли *mf* се
ig - ra - li se

p вра - ни ко - њи.
vra - ni ko - ni.

p вра - ни ко - њи.
vra - ni ko - ni.

p вра - ни ко - њи.
vra - ni ko - ni.

p вра - ни ко - њи.
vra - ni ko - ni.

Пример 2. Љубица Марић: Три народне – Цвџи божур (прва и друга строфа)

прва строфа

$\text{♩} = 84$

Цвџи бо---жур на плани--на Лепеле откини га

mf

Цвџи бо---жур на пла-

mf

друга строфа

ми-ри-ши га дра-го-ле

ни-----на

pp

VAR.

Цвџи бо---жур
от-ки-ни га

Ле-по-ле

pp

Ле-по-ле

pp

Ле-по-ле

pp

на плани---на цвати бо---жур Лепо-ле Цвати бо---жур
 ми-ри-щи га от-ки-ни га Драго-ле Драго-ле Драго-ле Драго-ле

Драго-ле Лепо-ле Драго-ле Цвати бо---жур
 Драго-ле Лепо-ле Драго-ле Лепо-ле
 Драго-ле Лепо-ле Драго-ле Лепо-ле

f
f
f

Пример 3. Акил Коци: Из старих зайиса Стивана Сив. Мокрањца 1876. године – Посејала баба њикве (увод)

CORO I

Tempo Rubato
 Sussurando

Mf. Po-se-ja-la po-se-ja-la

Mf. Po-se-ja-la po-se-ja-la

Mf. Po-se-ja-la po-se-ja-la

Mf. Po-se-ja-la po-se-ja-la

f, *gliss* *ff.*

f, *gliss* *ff.*

f, *gliss* *ff.*

f, *gliss* *ff.*

f, *gliss* *ff.*

САША БОЖИДАРЕВИЋ

МОКРАЊАЦ У ДЕЛИМА НАСЛЕДНИКА – ОД ЦИТАТНЕ ИМИТАЦИЈЕ ДО ЦИТАТНЕ ПОЛЕМИКЕ

1 CORO II
A tempo
Sussurando

S.
10
Ba-ba tik-ve ba-ba tik-ve

A.
10
Ba-ba tik-ve ba-ba tik-ve

T.
8
Ba-ba tik-ve ba-ba tik-ve

B.
8
Ba-ba tik-ve ba-ba tik-ve

Пример 4. Акил Коџи: *Из сѝарих зайиса Сѝевана Сѝ.* Мокрањца 1876. године –
Посејала баба ѝикве (трећа звучна слика)

F. Po-se-ja-la, ba-ba ti-kve,

F. Po-se-ja-la, ba-ba ti-kve,

F. Po-se-ja-la, ba-ba ti-kve

Po-se-ja-la Ba-ba ti-kve

Po-se-ja. la ba-ba ti-kve

Po-se-ja la, Ba-ba ti-kve

Po-se-ja-la, ba-ba ti-kve

Parlando

PARLANDO

PARLANDO

PARLANDO

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Saša Božidarević

MOKRANJAC IN THE WORKS OF HIS SUCCESSORS – FROM THE CITATION IMITATION TO THE CITATION POLEMICS

SUMMARY

Using the interdisciplinary approach to Stevan Mokranjac’s *Garlands* [*Rukoveti*] and his successors in the Serbian choral music after World War II, while simultaneously relying on Dubravka Oraić Tolić’s *Theory of Citation* (1990), I have continued the work of distinguished scholars in the field of Serbian postwar music and their diverse analytical experiences. Whilst critically evaluating the existing analytical interpretations, in this article I have pointed to the alternative solutions and interpretations of the relevant issues of the organisation of the musical flow of *Garlands* and related formal types in almost all relevant musico-textual segments. Departing from the problems posed by the phenomena of intertextuality and citational procedures as elaborated by Dubravka Oraić Tolić, in this article I focus on their different embodiments as established in the relation between Stevan Mokranjac’s *Garlands* and *garlands and similar forms of the second half of the 20th century*; I also specify analytical methods and their creative application on the analysis of individual choral works. During this process, certain different types of the intertextual communication in the *garlands* written by members of

different generations required more precise definition, i.e. additions and redefining of the existing terminology of the theory of citations, and an introduction of new terms. The selected analysed sample incorporates both the works that nowadays constitute the basis of the choral concert repertoire, and the works which are nowadays mostly neglected and not so attractive to performers and music theorists. Analytical issues discussed in this study have repeatedly pointed to the importance of Stevan Mokranjac's *Garlands* as a paradigm for the authors of the second half of the 20th century, and repeated the vitality of his creative contributions to Serbian music. This has, in turn, reinforced the common knowledge on the work of Mokranjac as the fundament for the development of contemporary Serbian music.

KEYWORDS: Stevan Mokranjac, folklore citation, garlands and related forms, theory of citation, Serbian postwar composers

IN MEMORIAM

ВЛАСТИМИР ТРАЈКОВИЋ

(БЕОГРАД, 17. ЈУНИ 1947 – БЕОГРАД, 4. ЈАНУАР 2017)

Композитор који је својим опусом умногоме обележио српску музику последње четири деценије, Властимир Трајковић, изненада је умро на самом почетку ове године, не навршивши седамдесет година живота. Од изненађујуће зрелог дипломског рада *Tempora retenta*, студије за велики оркестар (1971), композиције другачије од свега што је тада стварано на српској (и југословенској) музичкој сцени, до *Шпанске свиће (Успомене на дејиниство)* за флауту и петнаест гудача (2016), дела премијерно изведеног само три месеца пре његове смрти, у којем се још једном афирмисало његово композиторско мајсторство, Властимир Трајковић је градио свој карактеристични музички свет, увек спреман да својом имагинацијом открива нове пределе музичког дејствовања.

Властимир Трајковић одрастао је у музичкој породици, у којој је рано препознат његов дар за музику. Његова мајка Гордана, пијанисткиња и музички педагог, била је кћерка познатог српског композитора и музиколога Милоја Милојевића и његове супруге Иванке, концертне певачице и музичке педагошкиње. Паралелно је ишао у музичку школу и Класичну гимназију пре него што се уписао на студије композиције на београдској Музичког академији (данас Факултет музичке уметности), у класи Василија Мокрањца. После дипломирања (1971) имао је прилике да се усавршава код Витола Лутославског у Грожњану (1977) и Оливјеа Месијана у Паризу (1977–78). Педагошку каријеру је започео као професор у Музичкој школи „Станковић” (1971–75), а наставио на Факултету музичке уметности, где је имао своју класу за композицију и где је остао до пензионисања 2012. године. Од бројних студената нека буде споменуто бар неколико њих – Катарина Миљковић, Исидора Жебељан, Огњен Богдановић, Александра Ања Ђорђевић, Александар Седлар-Богоев.

За своје композиције награђен је Христићевом наградом (*Tempora retenta*, 1971), Мокрањчевом наградом (*Клавирски концерти*, 1995) и Априлском наградом града Београда (*Пет њесама Стефана Малармеа* за глас и оркестар, 2006). Дописни члан Српске академије наука и уметности постао је 2000. године, а редовни члан 2009. Део његових композиција објављен је у Србији (Удружење композитора Србије и ауторска издања), а део у иностранству (*Éditions Max Eschig*, Париз; *Gérard Billaudot, Éditeur*, Париз; *Bèrben, Edizioni musicali*, Анкона, Италија).

Већ прве композиције Властимира Трајковића добиле су изванредне похвале од стране Оливјеа Месијана и Александра Тансмана, који су у њима учили неке вредности које ће бити карактеристичне и за касније опусе: „Властимир Трајковић је југословенски композитор веома великог талента. Уметник је поетске имагинације (...) који влада изврсном оркестрационом техником. (...) Његов Дуо за клавир и оркестар, веома снажног, моћног писма (...) свакако је дело изузетне лепоте (...)” (Месијан); „За мене је сусрет са Властимиром

Трајковићем откриће неупоредивог талента, талента снажне индивидуалности који обједињује моћну виталност и веома узбудљиву поезију. (...) Његово дело је дивљења достојна (а данас ретка) синтеза интуитивне инвенције и контролисане стваралачке интелигенције – синтеза у којој нема произвољности (...)” (Тансман).

За разлику од велике већине композитора своје генерације, Трајковић није био привучен видицима које је отварала пољска авангардна школа, као што га ни други авангардни токови тог времена нису интересовали. Имао је снаге да, следећи сопствене музичке афинитете и уверења, изабере да буде нека врста дисидента и да се стваралачки надовеже на богату заоставштину Клода Дебисија и Мориса Равела, на првом месту. Његова дела показују да је био осетљив, мада у мањој мери, и на импурсе из других стилских сфера музике XX века, укључујући експресионистичку и минималистичку. Као резултат његових трагања за сопственим композиторским ликом настао је опус доминантно постимпресионистичког стилског лика и претежно класицистички објективистичког израза; са добро усаглашеним елементима различитих стилова, јасним, прегледним и избалансираним формама, сложеном и рафинираном хармонском (претежно модалном) основом, гипком, фино диференцираном ритмиком и инвентивном инструментацијом. Због мноштва примењених стилско-техничких идиома и уклањања граница између „високих” и „нискних” музичких жанрова (џеза и других форми популарне музике), могуће је сагледавање Трајковићевог опуса из постмодернистичке визууре.

Сам Трајковић је 2011. написао да су од тридесетак његових музичких дела, „поред *Ариона, нове музике за њујорк и гудаче*, најуспешнији још и *Дуо, за клавир и оркестар* [1971], затим *Четврти емиротини за клавир* [1983], па *Одбрана нашег града, ода за тенор соло и велики оркестар*, на стихове Миодрага Павловића [1984], па *Соната за флауту и клавир* [1986], *Пеј њесама Стефана Малармеа за џаз и оркестар* (написаних двојезично, на француском оригиналу и у српском преводу-препеву аутора музике В. Т.) [2003], те најзад *Canto ridato*, за соло гитару”. Овом најужем избору би се свакако могла додати и следећа дела: *Дан*, четири химне за оркестар (1976), *Соната за виолину и виолу* (1987), *Концерт за клавир и оркестар у Бе-дуру* (1990), *Концерт за виолу и оркестар у ге-молу* (1993), *Зефилов њоврајак* за флауту, виолину и клавир (2001), као и његово последње дело, *Шпанска свиџа (Успомене из дејиншсџива)* за флауту и 15 гудача (2016).

Свет франко-латинске Европе увек је био близак Властимиру Трајковићу, а поред тога је у неким делима показао високо уважавање античког грчког наслеђа, нарочито митолошког. Једна појединост би могла додатно осветлити Трајковићев нарочити однос према старој грчкој култури. Он је инсистирао, наиме, на томе да се наслови трију ставова његовог Концерта за клавир и оркестар у Бе-дуру (1990) увек пишу на грчком, у оригиналу или транскрипцији. У неким његовим другим делима, пак, наслови су у свом „званичном” виду на француском или италијанском. На пример, ставови Сонате за флауту и клавир имају италијанске називе, и то не оне који се односе на темпо или агогику. Наслови су француски или италијански у *Поврајку зефира (Le retour des zephyres / Zefiro torna)*, а искључиво француски у *Тесџијама и кондирима*

(*D'aiguieres et d'alcarazas*). Сви ови пажљиво смишљени називи на језицима који су му блиски, указују на специфичне светове културе који су најсроднији Трајковићу, оне са којима се осећао највише повезаним. По сведочењу самог композитора, он је наслове давао накнадно, после завршетка компоновања. То се односи и на *Арион* и *Зефиров њоврашак*, укључујући називе ставова, глосе и посвете које је Трајковић сматрао кореспондентним у суштинском смислу са музичким текстом. *Арион, нове музике за њишару и њудаче*, амблематично дело Властимира Трајковића, изазвало је на премијери фасцинацију која траје и даље. У композицију су уткане нити које је повезују са античком грчком и римском митологијом и поезијом, као и са покретом ренесансе. За похвалу је што композитор није експлоатисао тај успех рециклирањем примењених проседа, већ се окренуо новим видицима.

Свој композиторски идентитет Трајковић је утврђивао не само кроз изражавање своје блиске повезаности с наслеђем античке Грчке и народа латинске Европе, већ и афирмишући српско присуство у тој моћној традицији. Примери за то се могу наћи у *Одбрани нашег њрада*, делу заснованом на остинатним ритмовима гуслања (како је приметила Неда Беблер), у стилизацијама српског кола у неким другим делима, као и у употреби модалности коју је називао „архајском српском и хибридном“ у ставу „Код Пеоњана...“ у *Тесњијама и кондирима*.

Властимир Трајковић је имао четири врло запажена ауторска концерта, сва четири у Коларчевој задужбини у Београду: концерти симфонијске музике 1997. и 2007, концерт инструменталне и вокалне, камерне и камерно-оркестарске музике 2010, и концерт музике за гитару на *Ѓишар арти фестиву* 2011. године. На два ауторска компакт диска у издању СОКОЈ-а 1995. и ППП РТС-а 2001. године објављена су најзначајнија дела која је до тада био компоновао. Његова дела су извођена како у земљи, тако и у иностранству, мада не толико често колико заслужују. Током последњих месеци живота могао је да ужива у успешној премијери *Шпанске свише*, изванредном извођењу оркестарског дела *Дан* на концерту композитора академика, као и у одличном концерту камерних дела свог деде Милоја Милојевића, у чијој је припреми активно учествовао.

Импоновала је ширина и темељност Трајковићевих знања из различитих области (не рачунајући, наравно, музику, што се подразумева) – од историје и филозофије до књижевности и ликовне уметности. Са великом посвећеношћу писао је прилоге за музиколошке зборнике (о композиторској заоставштини свог деде композитора Милоја Милојевића и о музичком модернизму, а, нажалост, није завршио обимну студију под насловом *Музика*, у којој је теоријски осмишљавао своје аналитичке увиде у дела неких значајних композитора као што су Дебиси и Вагнер, расправљао о кичу, критиковао Адорна, позивао се на Ханслика, Ортегу и Гасета, Гостушког. Неке делове ове студије укључио је у своју приступну беседу коју је прочитао на свечаном скупу после свог избора за редовног члана САНУ, марта 2010. године.

Трајковић је још од младости повремено писао текстове о савременим кретањима у музици, о музичкој критици, као и о неким делима Зорана Ерића и Југослава Бошњака, о Сергеју Рахмањинову и Драгутину Гостушком, а аутор

је и поговора за превод на српски збирке текстова Мануела де Фаље *Зайиси о музици и музичарима*. У овим текстовима, као и у другим приликама, исказивао је независност мишљења, борио се упорно за своја уверења, умео да буде контрадикторан, није бежао ни од провокација да би изоштрио своје ставове. Није случајно што је Властимир Трајковић изабрао да му корисничко име у електронској пошти буде *vis creatrix*, односно *сйваралачка моћ*. Он је ту моћ поседовао у високој мери, користећи је да изгради музички опус који ће га дуго надживети.

Мелита Милин

REVIEW

LIZ MELLISH AND SELENA RAKOČEVIĆ (EDS.)

METHODOLOGIES AND WORLD ANTHROPOLOGIES: DANCE,
FIELD RESEARCH, AND INTERCULTURAL PERSPECTIVES. *THE EASTER
CUSTOMS IN THE VILLAGE OF SVINIȚA*

Pančevo: Kulturni centar Pančeva, 2015. ISBN 978-86-918261-1-6

“It happens that something happens, that something happens to us.”
Alain Badiou, *On Beckett* (2003: 77)

To quote from Alain Badiou’s book on Samuel Beckett to introduce a book on Easter village customs may seem a tad exaggerated, but this is how folk performance scholar Peter Harrop describes the experience of witnessing any folk performance (2013). In his text “The Antrobus Soulcakers,” Harrop is drawing on a lifelong experience of encountering English folk customs, most notably mumming, in investigating or trying to summarize the nature of the *performance event*. But how does one connect Beckett, a master of the absurd, with the grounded, repetitive force of a traditional custom? The answer to this question seems to open further questions... According to Harrop:

[...] traditional performance is using the site and time, repetition and return to construct a portal where the ‘here’ of place and ‘when’ of calendar can intersect. We put ourselves in a place where the present can be invaded by shafts of involuntary and unexpected memory. I suggest this underpins the efficacy and popularity of calendar customs (Harrop 2012: 273).

So, in a way, writing about the performances of calendar customs is all about understanding and *feeling* a special relationship between the people, memory and site. But how do we theorize memory, which is too fleeting, or feeling, which is too intimate? Indeed, how do we theorize “being there” where “something happens to us?”

This is the core question of performance ethnography and this is what the book *Dance, Field Research, and Intercultural Perspectives. The Easter Customs in the Village of Svinița* addresses most directly. Despite the wealth of theoretical approaches, performance still incites challenging debates about methodology – and this is exactly what the editors of this book, Liz Mellish and Selena Rakočević, tried to address with this diverse collection of texts: “The ethnographic and reflective writings provide a unique overview of methodological approaches by scholars from a broad range of academic and experiential dance backgrounds” (7).

The book itself came to life after a brief field trip by members of the ICTM (International Council for Traditional Music) Study Group on Ethnochoreology, together with several other, loosely affiliated, researchers. The group went to the Serbian-popu-

lated village of Svinița (Serbian: Svinica), located in Romania, during the Orthodox Easter period. The village itself is interesting for its unique historical and geographical characteristics; in May 2013 the researchers had a chance to observe and experience the famous *hora de pomană* ritual. The book offers six essays, all of which reflect on different methodological approaches, theoretical interests and personal sensibilities. Indeed, although the purpose of the field trip was to observe the *hora the pomană* calendar custom with its accompanying activities, the essays mostly reflect on the methodological and epistemological uncertainties that inevitably accompany performance ethnography. In the words of Anca Giurchescu, one has to question “whether this reality is perceived as similar to all of us, or each of us is seeing something different, something we wanted to see or search” (16). Accordingly, all texts are written from different angles and express different feelings. Anca Giurchescu (Romania/Denmark) reflects on her long research career that has allowed her to observe *hora de pomană* in this particular village from a diachronic perspective, over a forty-year span. Sadly, she passed away not long after this book came to life, so this was one of her last field trips and the very last published article.

Selena Rakočević (Serbia) discusses the intricacies of fieldwork performance methodology by reflecting on advantages and disadvantages of the two basic methods in dance research and ethnochoreology – filming and participation — in the context of this particular *hora de pomană*. Liz Mellish and Nick Green (UK/Romania) endeavor to situate the *hora de pomană* they encounter in Svinița within the wider contexts of the surrounding regions of Serbia and Romania. Their rich and long engagement with forms of social and traditional dancing in Romania with considerable data collected, allows them to situate this ritual in diverse contexts with different layers of meaning. Sara K. Schneider (USA) is interested in exploring the dynamic of the fieldwork, understood as “an encounter of different approaches” (9), but also as a clash of different sensibilities. Rather than observing *hora de pomană*, she prefers to observe the dynamics of the fieldwork as such, with the main research protagonists being the members of the research group themselves. She supplements this research by interviews conducted with each group member after the field trip. The team also included Mladena Prelić (Serbia) and Maria Varendt (Sweden) who did not contribute to this volume, which instead contains an essay on the history of Svinița, written from an archeological perspective by Ilie Sălceanu and Nicoaie Curici, the Mayor of Svinița. Although their *long-durée* historical perspective is slightly at odds with other essays, its inclusion in this volume testifies to the commitment of the editors to truly include different voices and perspectives, including the voices of the *informants*.

So, what can these 150 pages offer to an unsuspecting reader? To begin with, this edition represents a truly diverse group of researchers and an eclectic collection of perspectives that reflect on different scholarly histories and traditions. By means of their insistence on framing the book through the questions of methodology, the authors truly explored the boundaries of “world anthropologies” (Brković and Hodges 2015). In their discussion of different fieldwork designs (such as extended stay and back-and-forth fieldwork), Brković and Hodges suggest that “ethnographic

research (rather than national intellectual traditions) can be used as the criterion to differentiate between world anthropologies” (107). The following observation by Sara K. Schneider (whose research agenda was fieldwork *as such*) summarizes the extraordinary diversity of participants and methodologies:

Although I arrived for a fieldwork experience assuming that a shared research agenda and a centralized methodology would be given or negotiated or would emerge, in fact we remained during our days together within our individual research agendas. Indeed, each of us, whether as academic, academic-dancer, or independent choreographer, had our own highly developed expertise. As this volume of essay shows, differences in our methodologies, as well as in our nations of origin and residence, language, intellectual traditions and training, generation, relationship to Serbian or Romanian folk dance, and reasons for being interested in Svinița, have led to quite different sets of observations about the phenomena we observed during the days we spent together (48).

This book will certainly generate further interest in the discussion about methodology in the local academic landscapes. In the context of Serbian ethnomusicology and ethnochoreology, the perspectives that offer open reflections on methodology while doing fieldwork have thus far been rare to non-existent; so one must hope that this new trend will thrive and continue.

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JELENA NOVAK

POSTOPERA: REINVENTING THE VOICE-BODY

Ashgate, Surrey, 2015. ISBN 978-14-7244-10-34

Following the latest tendencies in theoretical fields of musicology, opera and performance studies, as well as voice studies, it seems that the issue of the singing body, or, more precisely, the singing body as the site of mutual, complex and intricate production of both the carnal and semantic (musical) component of the opera performance has become increasingly important. It has proved to be a field that should not be ignored or overlooked, whilst opening up the challenge of redefining the very fundamental concepts of the singing body itself, its relation to the music and dramatic narrative, and the terminology applicable to the present-day works in the (post) operatic field.

Jelena Novak's book *Postopera: Reinventing the Voice-Body* pinpoints this theoretical issue, thus revealing itself as both relevant and innovative, while at the same time demonstrating the author's competence by incorporating already developed hypotheses by Lehmann, Tambling, Žižek, Dolar, Caverero et al. into an original theoretical work.

According to Novak, the four principal objectives of this book are: (1) to extend the cultural analysis of opera to the singing body; (2) to identify the interaction between the singing body and the voice in opera as a site where different discourses are encoded; (3) to enrich the field of opera studies with a body/voice theory; and (4) to define the concept of postopera in relation to a set of case studies (4, 149).

The singing body, or, the body that sings has been neglected for a long time in historical and modern opera studies. In a way, it was taken out of the musical structure, extracted from it, so that – paradoxically enough – music could be “cleaned” of its carnal presence. In other words, in both historical and modern opera studies, the body of the singer was rarely seen as such; it was the dramatic narrative of the operatic character that was deemed more important. Also, an illusion of pure music had to be preserved; hence the listener, as well as the musicologist, were trained to detach the singing body from the music – because the body unmasked an irreconcilable discrepancy between the body itself and the sound it produced and vice versa.

Through a number case studies that Jelena Novak defines as postoperas, she works with different theoretical problems regarding the intersection of the singing body and its voice, as well as the singing body and the listening body, which also brings out the

question of the uncertainty of the subject's position itself. Is the subject the body that sings or the voice that delivers the semantic message? Is the singing body objectified by the listener's ear or just the opposite? What is happening with the gap between the singing body and its somehow spectral voice, and what if this gap is exactly what is performed and acted upon in these postoperatic works? And what is exactly postopera in Jelena Novak's theoretical apparatus?

According to Novak, the term postopera can be applied to a "wide range of operatic practices that have appeared in Western musical theatre since the last quarter of the twentieth century" (4). For Novak, this is not an entirely new theoretical platform; she already tackled it in her MPhil thesis, *Opera in the Age of Media* (later published as *Opera u doba medija*, Izdavačka knjižarnica Zoran Stojanović, Novi Sad, Sremski Karlovci, 2007). Novak responds to Hans Thies Lehmann's term postdramatic theatre, noticing that the introduction of a new term such as postopera is vitally important when speaking about newer operatic practices that included a shift from the dramatic operatic element towards the complexity of (often deliberately incongruent) performance elements. This includes the dissolution of dramatic text, musical narrative and the singing body, often visibly split between the singer's body and the operatic character's body. The term postopera also designates the (post)operatic work that is not simply a postmodern piece, nor the opera in the age of postmodernism. It is a work both postdramatic and postmodern at the same time, a musical (post)narrative that actively problematizes the very media of body and (its) voice, pointing to the gap between them, pointing to the friction of technology and body in/over the voice, the ventriloquism effect, the friction of gender of voice and body, the destabilization of the body, the voice as the prosthesis of the body, the voice without the body, the voice in regards to *écriture féminine*, the vocalic body in relation to vocal travesty and vocal drag and so on (13–17).

The book is divided into four parts (Part I, Focusing on Body Singing; Part II, Voices Beyond Corporeality: Performing Singing as Upgrading; Part III, Throwing the Voice, Catching the Body: Opera, Ventriloquism, and De-synchronization; Part IV, Singing Gender as a Performance). Novak analyzes six chosen contemporary postoperas – *La Belle et la Bête* (Phillip Glass), *Writing to Vermeer* (Louis Andriessen, Peter Greenaway), *Three Tales* (Steve Reich, Beryl Korot), *One* (Michel van der Aa), *Homeland* (Laurie Anderson), and *La Commedia* (Louis Andriessen, Hal Hartley), exploring the ways in which these postoperatic and performance pieces work both with the traditional forms of opera and with the possible outcomes of a performance that involves vocal/voice activity produced by the bodies on and off the stage.

Part I: Focusing on Body Singing brings out the theoretical questions of postopera and the singing body, leading up to defining the aims of the book. Novak's term postopera is positioned with respect to some preexisting theoretical solutions (Lehmann's postdramatic theatre, Tambling's post-opera), but also to the more traditional musicological approaches. Novak also examines the phenomenon of ever-present ventriloquism in the vocalic body, while dissecting Slavoj Žižek and Mladen Dolar's hypotheses and pointing to the inevitable gap between body on the one hand and voice on the other as a nodus point of the postopera genre which reinvents the singing body.

Part II: Voices Beyond Corporeality: Performing Singing as Upgrading introduces the problem of friction between the vocal and the linguistic, and also between the performance and the performer's body, using the example of Van der Aa's postopera *One*. In this case the vocalic body is reinvented through de-synchronization, simulacrum and multiplication of identity, alongside with music which affects the intelligibility of the text. Novak also shows how monstrous singing can be taken as a politics of vocal existence (57) through Reich's and Korot's postoperatic work *Three Tales*.

In Part III: Throwing the Voice, Catching the Body: Opera, Ventriloquism, and De-synchronization Novak examines Philip Glass' postoperatic technique of operating the film (79) in his postopera *La Belle et la Bête*, and the problems of body without voice and voice without body. In this case the singing body is discussed and dislocated by problematizing both film and opera in the specific creative reinvention of the body-voice gap in the age of multi- and inter-media (91, 92). Part III also introduces the way in which the subject-object dynamics and positions are questioned in postopera, and also the potential of tracking the écriture feminine through Andriessen and Greenaway's *Writing to Vermeer*.

Part IV: Singing Gender as a Performance involves the study of Andriessen and Hartley's *La Commedia*, and also of Anderson's *Homeland*. Using these postoperatic pieces Novak explains how voice and gender may and may not stand apart, alternately overlapping and separating from each other through the postoperatic reinvention of the singing body. Thus the body/voice/gender relations are reassessed through the reassessment of the vocalic body, together with the other presupposed categories of the bodily and subjective conceptual existence. Part IV also leads to the conclusion, which summarizes the author's hypotheses and opens up new and relevant theoretical questions related to the emerging yet already broad field of voice studies.

By cutting through, across and beyond body, voice, performance and theatre studies, Jelena Novak's book *Postopera: Reinventing the Voice-Body* positions itself at the center of the contemporary operatic theory; it can be recommended both to professionals and to those who are yet to delve into the transdisciplinary field of voice studies.

Dragana Stojanović

LJUBICA AND DANICA JANKOVIĆ

NARODNE IGRE, IX BOOK

Belgrade: National Library of Serbia, 2016, 352 pp, appendix, dance notations, musical notations, index. ISBN 987-86-7035-387-9

The ninth book from the series *Narodne igre (Folk dances)* by the sisters Ljubica (1894–1974) and Danica (1898–1960) Janković was published in 2016 almost forty-five years since it was prepared for the press. The Janković sisters made a fundamental contribution to the collection, preservation and academic research of traditional village dances in Serbia and former Yugoslavia. Their main work was published in eight books in the series *Folk dances* (published from 1934 to 1964) and in numerous academic articles in Serbian and, some of them, in English and French. The ninth book of *Folk dances* was not published during Ljubica's life time even though it was prepared for publication in the early 1970s. Until recently it was kept within the massive archival collection, the "Legacy of Ljubica and Danica Janković" in the National Library of Serbia, which, according to the explicit request in Ljubica's will, was forbidden to be explored for forty years after her death. Along with the comprehensive, vividly written ethnography and one hundred and ten notations of the individual dances from several regions in the western and central parts of the present day Republic of Macedonia (the so-called "Special part" of this book), this long-awaited publication containing two theoretical articles (the so-called "Theoretical part") represents an extraordinary publication because it also reveals unknown data about the development of ethnochoreology and folk dance research in this part of Europe.

From the very beginning of their work in the early 1930s both of the sisters were interested in the epistemological and methodological issues of dance research which they considered as an independent scholarly discipline called ethnochoreology from 1958. After Danica's death in 1960, Ljubica was dedicated to the preparation of the field research material from the present day Republic of Macedonia, which she had collected together with her sister between 1936 and 1938 and after World War II, that was initially planned for their ninth book. At the same time, as an outstanding scholar in her most mature period of theoretical thinking, she was devoted to discussing fundamental methodological issues concerning ethnochoreology. She expressed all of her innovative ideas within two articles included in this publication: "The living creative process of the *oro* tradition" ("Živi stvaralački proces orske tradicije") and "Some ethnochoreological questions" ("Neka etnokore-

ološka pitanja”). Both of the articles, written most probably in the late 1960s or early 1970s and completely unknown until now, highlight the importance of field research as a distinctive feature of ethnochoreological research, discuss and hierarchically position methods of acquiring knowledge about dance, emphasize the syncretism of kinetic and musical dimensions of dance and point to the importance of their simultaneous investigation.

In the article “The living creative process of the *oro* tradition” Ljubica Janković points to the complexity, fluidity and variability of village dance (*oro*) tradition, which she signified with the comprehensive syntagm “living creative process.” Believing that tradition should be considered as vital and continuous, Ljubica identified many changes in the step patterns and musical components of traditional dances convincingly illustrating her observations with well-documented numerous examples from all over former Yugoslavia. With these clearly stated attitudes, Ljubica Jankovic in the later years of her life, intuitively, but also probably under the influence of the current scholarly writings from the 1960s, anticipated changes in ethnochoreology that would shift its thematic focus from the evolutionary theories and hypothetical determination of the primary, oldest dance forms to their interpretation as hybrid and processual.

Some of methodological nodes of ethnochoreological investigation, which were largely ahead of the time in which they were written, were also considered in the article “Some ethnocoreological questions.” Here Ljubica Jankovic stressed the necessity of developing an interdisciplinary approach to dance research, that is, as she formulated it, the application of “combined methods” in scholarly work on dance. She believed that traditional dance notation which she designed together with her sister is based on the mathematical way of thinking and that, as such, it is sufficiently precise and “elastic” for further structural dance analysis. She was a big opponent of the usage of Labanotation in ethnochoreology, which at that time was used by many dance researchers all across Europe, because, as she believed, this notation is inadequate for proper recording of the specificities of the Balkan dances. Developing further her theoretical considerations, Ljubica Janković discussed the individual methods of field research, emphasizing the necessity of acquiring a personal somatic experience of dancing. She stressed: “No real ethnochoreologist only uses the method of observation, neither the method of listening, neither the method of speaking about dance, nor the method of recording, but also the methods of own performance and participation in everything which is happening during the fieldwork – for the sake of personal experience of kinetic and musical components of dance in their completeness and evolution.” These ideas appear for the first time in the European academic tradition of dance research during the 1970s, and it can be said that Ljubica, despite her old age, was following the latest developments within the discipline.

In the continuation of this complex text, Ljubica Janković focused on the two basic step patterns of round and chain dances that have been recorded under many names all around Southeastern Europe. She names them using the terms from the 16th century writings of the French dancer and choreographer Tuano Arbo – *branla simple* and *branla double*. Ljubica Janković considered those step patterns as the

older layers of dance traditions, and recognized them in many individual dances. According to her attitudes their identification opens the possibility of recognition and interpretation of many intercultural processes and historical relations, and thus, as she strongly believed, ethnochoreology can make a significant contribution not only to other academic disciplines, but also to understanding cultures and societies in general.

Along with detailed ethnography of dance traditions from the present day Republic of Macedonia and numerous notations of individual dances from this area, the theoretical articles of Ljubica Janković, although written over four decades ago, give the ninth book of *Folk dances* contemporary relevance. I hope that this work will be translated in English soon and initiate further theoretical discussions in ethnochoreology and dance research.

Selena Rakočević

ИВАН МУДИ

МОДЕРНИЗАМ И ПРАВОСЛАВНА ДУХОВНОСТ У САВРЕМЕНОЈ МУЗИЦИ(Ivan Moody, *Modernism and Orthodox Spirituality in Contemporary Music*)

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Ова књига доноси узбудљиву, провокативну и, уназад неколико деценија, веома актуелну тему. У њој се истражује процес стваралачког укрштања два феномена, модернизма и православне духовности, у савременој музици. На први поглед, због начелне удаљености постављених одредница, тај сусрет не претпоставља степен плодности који се кроз конкретно стваралаштво „националних” школа и појединаца објективно остварује. Док модернисти генерално искључују присуство хришћанске духовности у уметности, а православни аутори бивају сумњичави према свему што излази из уметничког црквеног канона и дефинисане традиције, у самој уметничкој пракси настаје значајан број успешних остварења, која најбоље демантују претходно назначене „супротне” позиције. Иван Муди, као православни свештеник, композитор, диригент и музички писац, захваљујући својим специфичним талентима, у позицији је да пред читаоца изнесе причу о слојевитим музичким остварењима која, махом, припадају пољу ванлитургијске музике. За разлику од „строжијег” богослужбеног жанра – који, по правилу, мање интензивно спаја традицију и модерна композициона решења – према Мудију, паралитургијска дела, односно, музика намењена концертном извођењу, представља „праву арену” за садејство ова два елемента. Писац студије се углавном фокусира на репертоар XX и XXI века, али често одлази и у XIX век, да би обезбедио неопходно разумљив хронолошки контекст.

Пре самог излагања о националним специфичностима и појединачним доприносима, у уводном делу Муди дефинише две кључне премисе из наслова књиге. Тумачећи традиционално схватање уметности унутар православне цркве, он наводи став О. Александра Шмемана „да црквена уметност нема други смисао него ли да одређеним средствима објављује тајну литургије која се пројављује кроз празнике и светитеље”. Сходно томе, „у традицији православне цркве нема простора за индивидуалност; супротно, уметник постаје канал за рецепцију и трансмисију божанске реалности”. Ипак, писац констатује да је сама црквена уметност увек била отворена за „различите манифестације модерног”, те је омогућавала простор за иновације заједно са историјским, естетским и духовним вредностима наслеђене традиције.

Са друге стране, образлажући потребу једног броја модерниста да се приближе пољу православне духовности, Муди цитира став Питера Гаја „да се ранг религиозног веровања и неверовања међу модернистима кретао у веома широком спектру и да је био потпуно на зависан од конвенционалних елемената у уметности”. Из тога следи пример „да један Игор Стравински није напустио принцип оригиналности, док је, по сопственим речима, трагао за редом”. Потпуно је јасно да су поменуте потраге „за редом” код сваког аутора биле веома различите, као и саме манифестације модернизма од земље до земље, односно од једне православне музичке традиције до друге. Такве комбинације „моделирале” су и условљавале модернистичке компоненте у оквиру православног света, у разумевању идеје стварања потхрањене традицијом.

Прецизно гледано, у самом тексту техничка музичка анализа заузима успутне позиције, као и чисто теолошки диспути, који не подразумевају естетске или социолошке елементе. У томе свему Муди следи савременог иконографа и теоретичара иконе о. Стаматиса Склириси, чије речи у великој мери могу да стоје као мото ове књиге: „Потребно је да смо способни да ценимо лепоту Рембрантових дела или Бетовенових симфонија на исти начин како разумемо онтолошке елементе изражене кроз византијску икону, без фанатизма и опсесије хришћанско-православног аспекта, или пак западњачке ароганције према и највишим доприносима Византије, умногоне сличним начину на који православне теологија најчешће негира достигнућа западног духа”.

Први део студије бави се традиционално православним земљама (Грчка, Србија, Бугарска, Русија), док други део укључује искуство Финске, у којој православна традиција није довољно интернационално позната, и два одвојена поглавља о Арву Перту и Сер Џону Тавенеру. Ова двојица аутора добила су значајно издвојене позиције, као (начелно) западни аутори који су се свесно приближили православној цркви, као и због чињенице да је мало тога до сада написано о њиховим зрелим стваралачким дOMETИМА, било са позиција модернизма или православне духовности. Као резултат избора потписника овог приказа, у наставку одабрани коментари појединих националних школа, ауторских рукописа и описа композиција имају два циља: да прикажу разноврсност остварених дела више или мање познатих православних аутора XX и XXI века и да, изнад свега, дочарају изузетно деликатан и маштовит аналитички приступ аутора студије.

Када су у питању модерне тенденције у Грчкој, Муди запажа да је појава заинтересованих аутора за византијску музику (Манолис Каломирис 1883–1962, Костис Паламас 1859–1943) коинцидирала са идејом грчког национализма током првих деценија XX века. То је био пример процеса који је „неговао” оба елемента, традиционалну духовност и уметничку модерну. Ипак, национална афирмација није значила искључиво повратак традицији старе Грчке или византијске културе. Једнако важно било је и прихватање авангардних тенденција изван Грчке: то се огледало у поезији Гиоргоса Сефериса (1900–1971) и на сликарским платнима Константина Партнениса (1878–1967), која представљају синтезу антике, модерне и византијских елемената, у покушају да се апсолутно одбаце западни утицаји, при чему је достигнут сликарски гест

умногоме дуговао бечком и француском сликарству. За разлику од почетака модерне међу грчким композиторима, у стваралаштву Михаела Адамиса (1929–2013) византијска музичка традиција апсолутно заузима централно место: његово дело је кроз прихватање етоса византијског појања постало изузетан медијум за преношење православне теологије. По Ивану Мудију, на многе начине Адамисово дело припада „морфолошки супротном полу од Западне уметности”. То се не примећује само на нивоу духовних димензија, већ и по томе како сама музика егзистира у времену, односно ван времена: јавља се одсуство елемента развоја у стилу канона западне музике. Држећи се источне мисли и идеје о преуређењу космоса тренутком Христовог Васкрсења и победом над смрћу, у таквој концепцији елемент „развоја” времена не може да има пресудан значај. Муди закључује да бесконачне могућности симултаних структура Адамисове полиметричке, полиритмичке и полимелодијске технике делују као једини адекватан уметнички гест. Као такав, он до краја рефлектује основу православне антропологије, која се везује за индивидуу, човека као онтолошку *υἱοσύνη*, у чијој се удаљености препознаје Господ и који искључиво у заједници са браћом хришћанима достиже свој потенцијал, иначе неостварив у духовној изолацији.

За нас српске читаоце, од посебне важности представља изузетно дубоко профилисано поглавље „Србија/Песме простора”. Аутор студије врло креативно повезује сличне процесе на општем пољу црквене уметности (архитектура – сликарство – музика), где изразити „византијски модернизам” једног броја архитеката (Момир Коруновић, Бранко Тенезић) доводи у везу са „музичким експресионизмом” композитора Миленка Живковића у његовој *Византијској лирици*. Муди исправно примећује да српски аутори црквене хорске музике међуратног периода примат дају уметничкој страни, са знатно мањом мером подвргавања чистој утилитарној, црквеној функционалности. На тај начин се целокупно српско музичко искуство у овом жанру с краја прве половине XX века у потпуности уклапа у кључни аспект ауторовог сагледавања односа модерног и православно духовног, кроз недвосмислено доминантни концертни модел, као трансформисани вид претходне „изворне” праксе (Станковић, Мокрањац) и кроз уметнички, извесно индиректан, мисионарски аспект друштвеног деловања. Најбољи међу њима (Тајчевић, Христић) постигли су готово савршен склад између хијерархијских односа композиционих поступака и типологије усаглашених композиционих техника, као помирени однос између „етичких” православних и „естетских” својстава, која су се манифестовала као „оправослављени” западни и модерни европски елементи. Најзад, Иван Муди одлично дефинише историјски тренутак православне црквене хорске музике у времену пред Други светски рат, када је разбујало стваралаштво српских аутора несметано текло у односу на драматичне промене у Русији 1917. године, чиме су дела домаћих аутора, објективним сплетом околности, преузела барјак најзначајнијих жанровских остварења укупне светске продукције у овој области. Посебно је истражен феномен „имагинарног црквеног фолклора” и то у стилско-концептуалном контексту, где таква решења надилазе поље модерне, заузимајући постмодернистички однос у најширем смислу речи. Овде аутор поставља питање које, заправо, извире из његовог личног композиторског искуства, чиме још јаче

бива подвучено суштинско сагледавање креативног поступка унутар ове врсте стваралаштва: како да композитор одговори актуелним потребама литургијске музике високог квалитета ако, с једне стране, прихвата наслеђене традиције Цркве, а са друге, жели да задовољи идеју личне афирмације као аутора у свету у којем се сви ови репертоари доживљавају као уметност са знацима навода.

Модерна акултурација једном доживљеног корпуса црвених мелодија као дела „културе” дозвољава потоњим уметницима у махом концертним решењима, дочаравање атмосфере или „ауре” једног духовно-историјског етоса као крајњег стваралачког циља. Муди добро запажа да код Љубице Марић елементи прошлости и садашњости нису супротстављени појмови. Напротив, они у међусобном дејству оснажују једно друго, заједно се развијају и израстају у нешто ново. Заокружујући „српски део” студије, аутор констатује да достигнућа Марићеве леже у достизању синтезе, у којој је архаична страна домаће музичке културе, као дела византијског наслеђа, осветљена и оснажена личним језиком, који се, опет, не устручава да искористи све расположиве савремене композиторске технике. Избегавајући да подлегне процесу планског откривања речника, који ексклузивно изражава само елементе светог у уметности, Љубица Марић без трага контрадикторности, полази од већ постојећег дубоког дела свога духовно свесног, кроз оно што сама сматра уметношћу, те открива светост, коју доживљава као идеју „продужену кроз време, као непрекидно вечно сада”.

Према Олегу Тарасову, чија студија *Икона и њобожност: духовни ѝросѝори у царској Русији* представља својеврсну естетско-аналитичку подлогу поглављу „Русија/Повратак икони”, средином двадесетих година прошлог века у Совјетском Савезу догодио се феномен *ѝромене иконе*. У знаковном систему авангарде религиозни символ изгубио је свој мистични садржај: знак је постао себи сврха. Трансформација иконе догодила се и у музичкој уметности: Лењин је заменио Христа као објект обожавања. Хиљадугодишња традиција духовне музике, дубоко руске, није једноставно могла бити поништена у потпуно новом преосмишљавању културног света: уместо тога, била је преточена у нову духовност, мит и свест. Пример Георгија Свиридова (1915–1998) доноси случај својеврсне „рехабилитације” аутора, односно „реафирмације иконе”, кроз његово окретање духовној тематици у времену после изразитог про-совјетског стваралачког опредељења. Поставши, по речима Владимира Моросана, „лучоноша духовне музике у традицији Московске синодалне школе из 1917. године”, неки од опуса овог аутора, попут скривеног хорског триптиха у позоришној музици за представу *Цар Феодор Иванович* Алексеја Толстоја (1973), у псеудо-литургијском маниру и стилу музике блиске старим напевима, те уз последњи став у коме се објективно јавља знамена мелодија, одиста представља пример стваралачког процеса обнове „звучне иконе”. У случају украјинског композитора Валентина Силвестрова (1937), аутор књиге позива се на сличан „постлудијумски” свет једног Густава Малера. За разлику од Малеровог амбициозног доживљаја симфонијског жанра, који би, по његовим сопственим речима, требало да „све собом обухвати”, тешко да би и сам велики симфоничар могао да замисли шта све под том свеобухватношћу подразумева Силвестров, када читаво искуство музичке историје позиционира у свет сенки постлудијума, у метамузику, у

стање изнад или иза музике. За разлику од Силвестрова, Владимиру Мартинову (1946), као „православном минималисти”, прихватаће ранијих музичких стилова значи само „ритуално понављање” различитих музичких речника. Пре него се повлачећи у „постлудијумски” свет и тиме вечно продужавајући трагедију постојања и стварања, попут идеје Силвестрова, Мартинов свесно подвлачи линију испред могућег новог и оригиналног стваралаштва и, рачунајући на укупне цивилизацијске токове данашњице, чека коначни исход „наше личне издаје”. Од значајних нових, постмодернистичких аутора средње генерације (Дмитри Смирнов/1952, Александар Раскатов/1953, Александар Левин/1955), на посебно деликатан начин Иван Муди описује стваралаштво украјинске композиторске Галине Григорјеве (1962). Покушавајући да одреди „меру” њеног постмодернистичког приступа као „бесконачне недовршености свих значења”, аутор студије је проналази у тумачењу Зигмунта Баумана да је „суштина постмодернистичке уметности у стимулсању процеса стварања новог значења у односу на опасност досадног заустављања; да води ка слободној полифонији значења и свим појединостима интерпретације, да делује као врста интелектуалног и емотивног антифриза, спречавајући замрзавање хладног канона, који заробљава протицање могућности”.

Упркос снажној првобитној доминацији утицаја руског вишегласја (петербуршки дворски стил или, колоквијално, „обиход”), одређени број финских аутора трудио се да унесе више индивидуалног стила Финске цркве, понекад са изузетним успехом (Пека Атинен, Петар Мирољубов, Леонид Башмаков, Тиму Роутинен, Мико Сидороф). Ипак, најзанимљивији композитор са једним специфичним делом јесте Еинојухани Раутавара (1928–2016) и његово *Светоћно бденије* (1971). Композиција настала као поруџбина Хелсиншког фестивала и Финске православне цркве, прва извођења је имала као богослужбена музика, да би временом постала најизвођенија национална концертна уметничка композиција ван границе земље. Прилично је извођачки сложена, уз речитативно-псалмодијски третман солиста, у којој хорски ансамбл поред конвенционалног певања, говори и шапуће. Мада композитор формално није био православни верник, нити је у тренутку компоновања ишта знао о богатој традицији овог жанра, одређени елементи латентно упућују на традицију: химнографија као кључни стваралачки подстицај, трагови византијске монодије, појава исона као једног тона или шире акордске структуре, хомофони приступ близак руском црквено-хорском стилу. Ипак, највећа вредност дела је управо Раутаварин слободан, креативан приступ „споља”, који му је и омогућио највиши степен личног доживљаја православне певане молитве. Заокружујући ово поглавље („Финска и Раутавара”), аутор студије препознатљивом контексту у који се најчешће смешта православна црквена музика – *lux ex oriente* – у случају ове, објективно мале, заједнице и њених композитора на северу Европе, додаје ново „арктичко” светло, проширујући мозаик ове планетарно давно распрострањене духовне музичке баштине.

Сложен постмодернистички опус данас најизвођенијег светског савременог композитора Арва Перта (1935), Иван Муди дефинише кроз најтипичнија остварења, у којима проналази кључне параметре специфичног ауторовог

модернизма „обухваћеног” општехришћанском тематиком и посебно православном теологијом, кроз деликатно синхронно вођену уметничку естетику. Тако на пример, у одређивању врсте једноставности и дубине израза у делу *Tabula Rasa* (1977), аутор закључује да читавим током композиција тежи тишини, док други став („*Silentium*”) представља контемплацију духовних слојева самог физичког појма тишине. Перт то реализује апофатички, готово православно исихастички и сасвим извесно, на јединствен начин у читавој музичкој историји. Анализирајући такође апсолутно оригиналан приступ композитора у *Пасији* (1982), Муди опажа да нема трага емотивног уплитања током читаве јеванђељске приче и да тиме Перт, у односу на друге савремене ауторе, остварује невероватан степен сличности са литургијским певањем. Силабична поставка текста, блиска грегоријанском коралу или техници органума, остаје на самој музичкој „површини” неекспресивна. Таква концепција води у другу форму слушања, ка контемплацији у вишим димензијама. У *Пасији* аутор третира садржај црно-белом техником и открива његове тајне само онима који су припремљени да до крају уђу у дух дела; то је мистерија и стога је и процес слушања мистичан. Попут одсуства перспективе у икони, која смешта свој садржај ван земаљске реалности, тако и мистична музика ствара „дводимензионални” ниво, кроз који покренута поједностављења метафора омогућавају разумевање мултидимензионалне мистерије која се представља. Негирајући да ствара медитативну музику, Муди цитира кључне Пертове речи које, можда, до краја досежу суштину његове уметности: „медитација је за мене нешто празно и безбојно, нешто неодређено... Ја бирам другачији пут: онај који од не-тела води ка успостављању тела – хришћански принцип инкарнације (прим. Б. Ђ.) – онај који одлуку чини виши концентрисаном. Мој циљ је да пишем музику која је супротна од медитације, а то је концентрација”. Коначно, тишина је део тог процеса, попут монашког тиховања у молитви. Према Ивану Мудију, тишина за Арва Перта заправо представља активну контемплацију.

Релативно сличан арсенал појмова и позајмљених уметничко-жанровских „духовних метафора” (звучна икона, течна метафизика, паралитургијска драма) користи Иван Муди описујући и креативни свет Сер Џона Тавенера („*Towards Silence: John Tavener*”), који у концепту паралитургијских остварења покушава да музиком представи своје лично виђење хришћанских, а при крају стваралаштва и универзалнорелигијских мешавина кључних цивилизацијских философских и духовних постулата. Сам аутор на једном месту каже: „Ако неко музику доживљава као духовно путовање, као што сам то чиним, онда је покрет стално усмерен ка напред и сматрам да се на крају мора стићи до тишине. То код Штокхаузена никад нисам разумео: зашто тамо нема никад краја у тишини. Можда ће једном и бити. Сматрам да мора да се заврши у тишини, да прерасте у молитву која представља вишу форму креативности”. Узимајући као пример изузетно софистицирано камерно дело *Скривено лице* (1997), Муди описује идеју композитора, који крајње етеричним начином излагања појачког материјала, између контратенорског гласа и инструмената (обое) изнад „исона” гудача, овековечује Адамов пад и данашње човеково стање. Услед дејства наслеђених, интелектуалних и других софистицираних „одпадака”, човеку је немогуће да

Бога види директно, лицем у лице. Иако оваква концепције представља најдаљу тачку од идеје модернизма, односно савременог наглашеног појма „ега”, Иван Муди уочава парадоксалност чињенице да се, ипак, сама музика одмах открива као Тавенерова. Она, која иза ексцентричне поставке крије претходно искуство уметника модернисте, као и дубоку свесност музичког развоја, оличену кроз одабрану фазу „ране музике” на коју нас контартенорски глас тако јасно асоцира. Снажно звуче цитиране Тавенерове речи: „Рај је био место мира, тако да је Адам могао да чује Божански Глас. То је сада немогуће. Морамо да одбацимо... и погрешну идеју Бога, коју собом носи савремени човек, и да слушамо срцем, које је постало тако нежно да Лице више није Скривено. Али смо тек на почетку, тако да наслов остаје *Скривено лице*”.

Оно што студију пред нама чини тако убедљивом и што јој извесно одређује и постмодернистички оквир, јесте принцип довољно различитих (истовремено и најприменијих) методолошких приступа свакој националној школи, односно значајнијем аутору, који, у спрези оригиналних елемената, на генерално сличан, али и деликатно различит начин, својим стваралаштвом обухватају подручја модернизма и православне духовности. Управо степен „искричавости” и ниво међусобног плодносног естетско-конструктивног сусрета, или својеврсног „суживота” ова два плана у већем броју изабраних стваралачких радионица и конкретних дела, пружа узбудљив музиколошки дискурс, ка разумевању динамичног односа између поштовања култа и уношења нових елемената ка јединственом новом, уметничком виђењу древних хришћанских истина. То је коначно и врлина овог текста Ивана Мудија, у коме се сустичу два његова доминантна лица: свештеника, који разуме не само литургијски поредак „изнутра”, већ и све његове симболе нижих и виших слојева, односно уметника, композитора, диригента и музичког писца, свесног нужности креативне слободе, оригиналности и снаге личног приступа унутар ограничених правила уметничког елемента у традицији хришћанске православне цркве. Захваљујући таквој, рекли бисмо, идеалној позицији аутора у односу на тему којом се бави, ова књига постаје пример изузетног савременог музиколошког штива, које за основу има природу уметнички оплемењене певане молитве, као истовременог дара освештане традиције, оног неухватљивог оностраног и конкретно сада и овде, наталоженог искуства креативног уметника, савременика и компетентног сведока међу нама.

Богдан Ђаковић

Лиз Мелиш (LIZ MELLISH), Ник Грин (NICK GREEN) и Мирјана Закић

*MUSIC AND DANCE IN SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE: NEW SCOPES OF
RESEARCH AND ACTION*

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Зборник радова *Music and dance in Southeastern Europe: New scopes of research and action*, ново је, четврто по реду, издање које сведочи о раду Студијске групе за музику и плес Међународног савета за традиционалну музику (The International Council for Traditional Music – ICTM, the Study group on Music and Dance in Southeastern Europe). Симпозијум на који овај зборник реферира одржан је у Београду и Петници, у Србији, па је издавач, како је уобичајено, локални организатор скупа – Факултет музичке уметности у Београду. Пре свега велико интересовање етномузиколога и етнокореолога за учешће у раду ове студијске групе, а уз то и идеја да издање буде целовит документ догађаја, укључујући његов програм, фотографије и омаж Оливери Васић (1946–2015), има за резултат обимну књигу од 352 странице великог (А4) формата. Публиковано је 39 засебних радова и 8 радова из 3 симпозијумска панела, а излагања учесника скупа који нису припремили радове за зборник представљена су пријавним апстрактима. Теме којима су овом приликом истраживачи посветили пажњу и наслови потпоглавља јесу: „Импровизација у музици и плесу Југоисточне Европе” (“Improvisation in music and dance of southeastern Europe”), „Професионализација музике и плеса Југоисточне Европе” (“Professionalization of music and dance of Southeastern Europe”) и „Интердисциплинарност/постдисциплинарност у етномузикологији и етнокореологији” (“Inter/postdisciplinarity in ethnomusicology and ethnochoreology”).

Првој теми посвећено је 14 радова, чиме је и након сразмерно бројних разматрања импровизације као креативно-извођачког принципа у музици и плесу, потврђена њена неисцрпност. Овом приликом аутори су се посебно фокусирали на релацију импровизације и институционализације представљања, те на однос импровизације и извођачке формације – индивидуалног и колективног перформанса (Иванчић Дунин / Ivancich Dunin, Иванова-Нибберг / Ivanova-Nyberg, Грин / Green, Екен-Кучукакој / Eken-Küçükaksoy). Указано је на комплексност разматрања импровизације у односу на музичке и плесне врсте, жанрове, особености вокалних и инструменталних израза, на опште друштвене промене, али и на персоналне

квалитете и афинитете извођача (Влајева / Vlaeva, Кацаневаки / Katsanevaki, Радулеску / Radulescu, Оздинчер / Özdinçer, Тохумку / Tohumcu). У појединим радовима се аутори у већој мери него други задржавају на теоријском разматрању импровизације, шта она јесте или није у (регионалној) традиционалној музици и плесу (Пејчева / Peuceva, Грин, Кацаневаки). Док већина аутора пише на основу истраживачко-посматрачке перспективе, поједини радови доносе партиципаторска искуства и визуру (Кузман / Kuzman, Стојисављевић / Stojisavljević). Импровизација је разматрана на основу дескриптивно изнетих запажања, али и на основу структуралне анализе записа плеса и музике (Леваи / Lévai, Петак / Petac, Кацаневаки, Радулеску).

Друга тема је привукла далеко највећу пажњу – чак 23 рада у овом зборнику баве се професионализацијом музике и плеса. Аутори су широком палетом обрађених случајева одговорили на позив да се пажња посвети економском аспекту професионализације, па су из перспективе комодификације сагледаване професионализација извођаштва и стваралаштва (Беисингер / Beissinger, Мелиш / Mellish, Петковски / Petkovski), професионализација преноса знања (Ранковић / Ranković), фактори од утицаја на професионализацију одређених активности (Церибашић / Ceribašić). Разматрани су различити аспекти професионализације традиционалне музике и плеса у контексту дијакхронијских промена (Ангелов / Angelov, Келеш и Доџан / Keleş and Doğan, Думнић / Dumnić, Б. Куртишоглу / B. Kurtişoğlu, Гутиез / Gutiérrez, Шенер / Şener, Сумбул и Арсланташ / Sümbül and Arslantaş), указано је на поимање професионалности у традиционалном окружењу (Озбингил / Özbilgin), а дискутовани су и односи професионализације појединих актера у савременој пракси (Јовановић / Јовановић). Захваћена је проблематика рода (Д. Кучукебе / D. Küçükbe), односа центра и периферије (М. Кучукебе / M. Küçükbe), утицаја медија (Јилдиз / Yildiz). У оквиру ове теме презентована су чак два панела, па је тема професионализације традиционалне музике и плеса у Србији разматрана на примерима реконтекстуализације плесних перформанса – њиховом приређивању за сцену (Бајић Стојиљковић / Bajić Stojiljković) и критеријумима квалификације професионалности у случају свирања на кавалу (Красин / Krasin). Поред тога, комплексно су сагледаване улоге професионалаца у националним ансамблима Хрватске и Македоније од здруженог тима истраживача из ових земаља. Указано је на околности и начин на који су професионалци допринели стандардизовању стила певања, односно репертоара као националног идентификатора (Ћалета / Ćaleta, Стојкова Серафимовска / Stojkova Serafimovska), а потом и на професионализацију преноса плесног знања које води ка професионалном извођаштву (Нијемчић / Niemčić, Опетческа-Татарчевска / Opetcheska-Tatarchevska).

Најмањи број истраживача је прилоге посветио промишљању о својим дисциплинама у светлости интердисциплинарности, односно постдисциплинарности – њих десет. Ипак, допринос теми је значајан, с обзиром на то да се ради о комплексним разматрањима интеракција

више друштвених и хуманистичких наука (социологије, антропологије, филозофије, политикологије, лингвистике, културологије, музикологије) са пољима етномузикологије и етнокореологије. Конкретније, у фокусу су били потенцијали етнометодологије, кинестезије, теорија афекта, теорије интонације, концепата (музичких) заједница, (музичке) сцене и друге тачке сусрета тих наука и студија музике и плеса (Куртишоглу / Kurtișođlu, Њаради / Njaradi, Живчић / Živčić, Зорић / Zorić, Шугерман / Sugarman). Дискутовања концептуалних и методолошких питања истраживања плеса вођена су у правцу сагледавања етнокореологије као својеврсне „интердисциплине” (Ракочевих / Rakočević), а „нове етномузиколошке алијансе” биле су предмет пажње панела који се у зборнику представља радовима посвећеним (етномузиколошкој) семиотици (Закић / Zakić) и преиспитивању епистемолошког оквира етномузикологије у циљу њеног (јаснијег) успостављања као интервенцијске праксе (Ненић / Nenić). Истакнута је вредност нових медија за музичку антропологију детериторијализованог Балкана (Димов / Dimov), а указано је и на мултифункционалност плесне праксе (Хнараки и Алигизакис / Hnaraki and Aligizakis).

Број прилога по темама одсликава не само афинитете истраживача, већ и актуелност тема на основу савремених музичких и плесних пракси као фактора обликовања истраживачких политика. Другим речима, специјализација различитих актера – извођача, стваралаца, педагога и комерцијализација њихових делатности, али и опште економске околности успостављене институционалним утицајима, све су значајније теме у односу на савремени живот традиционалног плеса и музике и њихову одрживост. Тако и овај зборник носи снажан печат идеологија, политика и економија времена у коме је настао.

Уредници Лиз Мелиш, Ник Грин и Мирјана Закић, следећи конвенцију примењивану у претходним публикацијама ове студијске групе, радове су устројили према ауторима – алфаветски. Тако је изостала назнака додатне корелативности прилога, каква је сугерисана груписањем излагања у оквиру сесија на самом симпозијуму, те се чини да ову праксу треба ревидирати за наредне прилике у правцу уобличавања (поли)тематског зборника.

Сложеност издања као документа догађаја има вредност не само као зборник радова, дакле као непосредан траг о појединачним искуствима, промишљањима, резултатима истраживања етномузиколога и етнокореолога, већ и као сведочанство утицаја Савета (ICTM-а) на историјат ових дисциплина. Скупови студијских група, посебно регионалног профила, каква је ова за Југоисточну Европу, прилике су да се успоставе (или рехабилитују) професионални контакти, да се укрсте „инсајдерске” и „аутсајдерске” перспективе, да се упореде политике и праксе „локалних” и „мејнстрим” истраживања. Тако посматрано уочава се и питање односа врсте и доприноса издања, зборника радова базираних на излагањима са скупова и уобличених само на основу дискусија (Proceedings), какви практично представљају директнији одраз ауторских позиција у науци, наспрот

издањима ревидираних радова с потенцијално значајнијим присуством визура и искустава уредника и рецензената као ауторитета. Амбивалентност ефекта рецензирања јасно се уочава поређењем доприноса формирању научног подмлатка кроз унапређење текстова младих или непрофесионалних истраживача, са вредношћу представљања „аутономних”, „нерецензираних” резултата истраживања као вида легитимисања вишеструкости приступа и материјализовања (научних) интегритета (сходно постмодерним тенденцијама). Ово се испоставља додатно важним у односу на формално, институционално вредновање резултата истраживања у различитим националним оквирима, па тако у Србији овакви зборници имају мању вредност у односу на рецензиране тематске зборнике. У том смислу се ова дигресија у односу на критички приказ зборника у ужем смислу треба читати као допринос критици ауторитарности у домену продукције знања и поштовању оваквих, свеобухватних издања.

Данка Лајић Михајловић

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