

**MUSICAL PRACTICES IN THE BALKANS:
ETHNOMUSICOLOGICAL
PERSPECTIVES**

**МУЗИЧКЕ ПРАКСЕ БАЛКАНА:
ЕТНОМУЗИКОЛОШКЕ ПЕРСПЕКТИВЕ**

СРПСКА АКАДЕМИЈА НАУКА И УМЕТНОСТИ

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др ЈЕЛЕНА ЈОВАНОВИЋ

др ДАНКА ЛАЈИЋ-МИХАЈЛОВИЋ

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E d i t o r s

Academician DEJAN DESPIĆ

JELENA JOVANOVIĆ, PhD

DANKA LAJIĆ-MIHAJLOVIĆ, PhD

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Лектор за енглески језик
Јелена Симоновић-Шиф

Припрема аудио прилога
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Милош Рашић

Технички уредник
Горан Јањић

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FOREWORD

This book is comprised of studies presented at the international symposium *Musical practices in the Balkans: ethnomusicological perspectives*, held in November 2011 in Belgrade, Serbia. By organizing this international meeting, as hosts, we above all wanted to contribute to strengthening the existing ties among researchers involved with Balkan musics and to facilitate new professional contacts. Our intent was to create an opportunity for reassessment and improvement of each of our own shares in ethnomusicology, to contribute to the advancement of research by discussing various research strategies recently applied to Balkan musical practices, and to participate in the more efficient inclusion of ‘small’ disciplinary communities in the global ethnomusicologies by highlighting specific values and problems of ‘national ethnomusicologies’ in the Balkans. These, so to speak, general needs, were reinforced in circumstances of the growth of the ethnomusicology in Serbia, particularly in recent decades.

The interests in traditional folk music expressed through writings, notation, and recording of the same, followed by the first research studies by educated musicians—mainly composers, became institutionalized in Serbia (only) in 1948 with foundation of the Institute of musicology of Serbian academy of sciences (today Serbian academy of sciences and arts—SASA). Since its beginning, SASA has been a state institution, with its work regimen determined by the government culture and science politics and the scope of research output administered by a small number of researchers. The increase in number of ethnomusicologists employed by the Institute¹ resulted in an initiative to celebrate the SASA 170th anniversary by organizing an ethnomusicology conference, in the footsteps of a number of similar professional meetings coordinated by the Institute’s musicologists. This was at the same time the first narrowly specialized ethnomusicology symposium in Serbia, and consequently, in front of you is the first proceedings of such profile published in our country.² The substantial support received from the SASA Department of fine arts and music and the acknowledgement of the significance of such a meeting by the Ministry

¹ Today, the Institute employs four ethnomusicologists, a number which could be considered abundant compared to the equalling total number of ethnomusicologists employed full-time at this institution between 1948–2010 (without external associates). These data appear relevant for perceiving opportunities and possibilities for research production of ‘small ethnomusicologies’, as more elaborated in the Introduction to this volume.

² International symposium *Man and Music*, dedicated to the 75th birthday and 50th work anniversary of the esteemed Serbian ethnomusicologist, prof. dr Dragoslav Dević, was organized in 2001 by the Belgrade Faculty of music, Department for musicology and ethnomusicology. The symposium topics were accommodated for participation of both musicologists and ethnomusicologists, as evident in the subsequent book of proceedings (published 2003).

of education and science of the Republic of Serbia, including funding the event organization, were essential and indispensable prerequisites for the Symposium realization and publication of this book. As is usually the case, the extent of financial support and particularly deadlines, imposed limits on some of our ideas and professional desires. We are deeply grateful to our esteemed colleagues, members of the Symposium Program committee: Izaly Zemtsovsky, Jim Samson, Martin Stokes, Lozanka Peycheva, and Pál Richter. The Symposium immediate logistics duties were helpfully shared primarily with our colleagues, the Institute ethnomusicologists, Rastko Jakovljević and Marija Dumnić.

It was our satisfaction to have the opportunity to gather twenty-six ethnomusicologists from eleven countries: Bulgaria, Great Britain, Greece, Hungary, Lithuania, Macedonia, Russia, Slovenia, Turkey, Australia, and Serbia. We regret that due to objective circumstances, some of the Balkans researchers from other regions, whose experiences would unquestionably contribute to the quality of the Symposium and these proceedings, could not take part. The vast majority of the Symposium participants prepared their papers for publication. The readers are offered twenty-one studies that in different ways illuminate Balkan musical practices and testify to the breadth of current research interests and methodologies. The publication also includes a compact disc with useful audio and video examples, assembled with the idea to provide the reader with even more complete insight into the researched music and utilized approaches. In order to address a wider audience, the proceedings are published in English. Since the contributing authors could optionally submit an additional version of the paper in their native language, those versions are also provided on the compact disc.

Editing of this extensive and comprehensive publication presented a unique experience. We would like to thank all of the authors for submitting their papers and for their cooperation. We also extend our sincere gratitude to our reviewers. In this voluminous undertaking, we enjoyed the support of our colleagues at the Institute, but in particular, the encouragement from Melita Milin who offered a number of valuable suggestions. We truly appreciate the cooperation of Jelena Simonović Schiff (Portland State University, USA) in proof reading papers in English, Zoran Jerković in mastering of audio examples, Miloš Rašić in preparing of video examples, and Goran Janjić in technical preparation for print that exceeded standard duties and helped shape this publication.

Editors

Belgrade, November 2012

РЕЧ УРЕДНИКА

Ова књига садржи студије настале на основу излагања на међународном скупу *Музичке праксе Балкана: етномузиколошке перспективе*, одржаном новембра 2011. године у Београду. Организовањем скупа жели смо, пре свега, да као домаћини међународног скупа допринесемо учвршћивању постојећих контаката међу истраживачима који се баве музикама Балкана, као и да пружимо могућност за нова професионална познанства. У проблемском смислу, намера нам је била да створимо прилику за преиспитивање и унапређивање сопствених учешћа у етномузикологији, да дискутовањем о различитим истраживачким стратегијама примењиваним на балканске музичке праксе у новије време допринесемо унапређењу њихових истраживања, као и да скретањем пажње на специфичне проблеме, али и вредности етномузикологије, односно „националних етномузикологија“ на Балкану учествујемо у ефикаснијем укључивању „малих“ дисциплинарних заједница у светско етномузиколошко друштво. Овакве, у извесном смислу опште потребе, потенциране су околностима развоја етномузикологије у Србији, посебно последњих деценија.

Интересовања за традиционалну народну музику изражена кроз записе о њој, њено нотирање и снимање, а потом и прве студије образованих музичара, махом композитора, у Србији су (тек) 1948. добили институционално окриље оснивањем Музиколошког института Српске академије наука (данас Српске академије наука и уметности – САНУ). Од оснивања до данас то је државна установа, те је начин рада условљен државним културним и научним политикама, а обим научне продукције кључно је одређивао увек мали број истраживача. Повећање броја етномузиколога запослених у Институту¹ резултирало је иницијативом да се у оквиру обележавања 170 година постојања САНУ, након већег броја скупова које су организовали музиколози из Института, приреди међународни етномузиколошки скуп. То је, уједно, био и први специјализовани етномузиколошки симпозијум у Србији, а сходно томе, ово је први зборник таквог профила објављен у нашој земљи.² Комплексна подршка коју смо добили од САНУ –

¹ Данас у Институту раде четири етномузиколога, што је мноштво ако се има у виду да тај број одговара укупном броју етномузиколога који су у периоду 1948–2010. били стално запослени у овој институцији (не рачунајући спољне сараднике). Ове податке истичемо као значајну референцу за сагледавања могућности, односно научних продукција „малих етномузикологија“, о чему ће више бити речи у уводној студији.

² Међународни симпозијум *Човек и музика*, посвећен обележавању 75-огодишњице рођења и 50-огодишњице рада др Драгослава Девића, знаменитог српског етномузиколога, организовала је 2001. Катедра за музикологију и етномузикологију Факултета музичке уметности у Београду, те су теме омогућавале учешће и етномузиколога и музиколога, о чему сведочи истоимени зборник (публикован 2003).

Одељења ликовне и музичке уметности, као и признавање важности оваквог скупа од стране Министарства просвете и науке Републике Србије, што је подразумевало финансијску помоћ организацији, били су неопходни предуслови и за саму реализацију скупа, и за објављивање овог зборника. Као и увек, обим помоћи, а посебно рокови, били су лимитирајући фактори нашим идејама и професионалним жељама. Изражавамо нарочиту захвалност уваженим колегама који су били у саставу Програмског одбора скупа: Изаљију Земцовском, Циму Самсону, Мартину Стоуксу, Лозанки Пејчевој и Палу Рихтеру. Непосредне задатке из домена организације скупа делили смо првенствено са колегама-етномузиколозима из Института, Растком Јаковљевићем и Маријом Думнић.

Велико нам је задовољство што смо имали прилику да окупимо 26 етномузиколога из 11 земаља: Бугарске, Велике Британије, Грчке, Литваније, Мађарске, Македоније, Русије, Словеније, Турске, Аустралије и Србије. Жао нам је што, због објективних околности, на скупу нису могли да узму учешћа неки од истраживача музика Балкана са других подручја, чија би искуства несумњиво допринела квалитету симпозијума и зборника. Велика већина учесника скупа је приредила своја излагања за публикавање. Сада се пред читаоцима налази двадесет једна студија која на различите начине осветљава музичке праксе Балкана, сведочећи о ширини актуелних истраживачких интересовања и методологија. Издање укључује и вредне аудио и видео примере на приложеном диску, чиме читаоцима омогућавамо потпунији увид у истраживану музику и научне приступе. Обраћајући се ширем кругу читалаца, зборник је публикован на енглеском језику, али је ауторима остављена могућност да своје радове приложе и на матерњим језицима, па су ове верзије такође приложене на диску.

Уређивање овог обимног и комплексног зборника је било посебно искуство. Захваљујемо се свим ауторима за прилоге и сарадњу. Посебну захвалност дугујемо рецензентима студија. У овом обимном послу подршку смо имали од читавог колектива Музиколошког института, а нарочито од колегинице др Мелите Милин, која је имала мноштво драгоцених сугестија. Ангажовање др Јелене Симоновић-Schiff (Државни универзитет Портланда, САД) око лекторисања текстова на енглеском језику, Зорана Јерковића у припреми звучних примера, Милоша Рашића у обради видео-примера и Горана Јањића на техничкој припреми издања, далеко је превазишло базичне задатке, због чега смо им велики дужници.

Уредништво

Београд, новембра 2012.

INTRODUCTION

MUSIC AND ETHNOMUSICOLOGY

– ENCOUNTERS IN THE BALKANS*

DANKA LAJIĆ-MIHAJLOVIĆ, JELENA JOVANOVIĆ

Abstract: This paper presents an overview of the latest experiences in ethnomusicological research based on the texts incorporated in this collection of works. These experiences emanate primarily from the local researchers' works on music of the Balkans, with a heightened theoretical and methodological dimension. The distinctive Balkan musical practices, created through the amalgamation of elements from different cultures, ethnicities, and religions, made this geo-cultural space intriguing not only to researchers from this very region but also to those from other cultural communities. A theoretical framework for interpreting these practices together with the contemporary research methods stem from interactions of local scientific communities' experiences, sources and practices they deal with, circumstances, ideologies and politics, including the influences of the world's dominant ethnomusicological communities as well as researchers' individual affinities and choices. A comparison with the research strategies applied in similar, transitory geo-cultural spaces contributes to a more complex exploration of the Balkan ethnomusicologists' experiences.

Keywords: the musics of the Balkans, methodologies in ethnomusicology, Balkan national ethnomusicologies, fieldwork, interdisciplinarity.

Balkan musical practices, as sound images of a geo-cultural space whose distinct identity has been recognized both 'inside' and 'outside' are incorporated in the perpetual fascination and inspiration of the folklore researchers and ethnomusicologists. The recognizability that the region has acquired (not only) in ethnomusicology under the term *the Balkans*,¹ along with the motivation of the Balkan scientists to look into its ontology rather than its metaphoric meanings

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¹ Here are just a few, latest editions: Laušević 2007, Bohlman and Petković 2011, the title of the panel session which draw a substantial attention at the 39th world conference of the ICTM held in 2006, *History and perspectives of national ethnomusicologies and ethnochoreologies in the Balkans* and the title of the international symposium *The Balkan Peninsula as a musical crossroad* held in Macedonia in 2007, when the symposium participants initiated the formation of a regional study group within ICTM.

(more in Todorova 2006: 12), are reasons why on this occasion this term was given priority over the term *Southeastern Europe*.

The history of ethnomusicology in the Balkan countries was significantly and possibly primarily marked by characteristics of musical heritage. For a very long period of time, this region was under the influence of several great civilizations, which is why the stratigraphies of national cultural histories, including musical traditions and even the forms of scientific attention devoted to them, have so many similarities. The different combinations and levels of present traces of the region's early cultures however ('proto-Balkan', antiquity, Mediterranean), Slavic, Byzantine, Ottoman, and Central European – Austro-Hungarian components, make the Balkan musical traditions locally distinctive. Hence the ethnomusicological research in each of the Balkan countries was distinctively oriented in a thematic sense: music analysis (principles of form building, types of polyphony, tonal structures, and metric and rhythmic qualities), as well as instruments, their ergologic and sonic features, were interpreted with regard to the results of research in archeology, paleology and/or genealogy of languages as indicators of belonging to specific cultural layers (Rihtman 1955; Симоновски 1959; Bezić 1974; Petrović 1974; Девић 1996; Миљковић 1998; Вълчинова-Чендлова 2000; Dević 2001; Rakočević 2003).

In addition, the conceptualization of ethnomusicological activities substantially depended on cultural and scientific policies, strategies for utilization of folk music in strengthening national identity (and these strategies were undergoing changes as the state borders and boundaries between the spheres of political influence were changing), and influences of the prominent ethnomusicological 'schools'. In terms of methodology, the vibrant folklore practice primarily encouraged folklore-collecting activities, transcribing and recording, and later on analysis, classifications and comparisons, as strategies incorporated in the history of practically all Balkan ethnomusicologies. Nowadays, theoretical and methodological approaches also directly reflect the situation in practice. For example, the socialist era in Bulgaria saw the 'professionalization' of amateur folk musicians and formation of 'folklore philharmonic orchestras' (more in Buchanan 2006), while in Serbia industrially-produced instruments were given priority, above all the accordion (even though ethnomusicological research suggested the possibility and necessity of including traditional folklore instruments in the national television and radio orchestras, more on this in Vukosavljević 1979: 5). This led to a situation in which the focus of the similar folk instruments contemporary research significantly differs from one country to another (Rice 1994; Buchanan 2006; Atanasov 2002; Лажич-Михајловић 2011; Jakovljević 2012).

The 'openness' of the national scientific policies in the Balkans had a great impact on theoretic considerations, while the level of interactions with other countries' ethnomusicologists was measured indirectly through works, and especially directly, by participating in the symposiums and study visits

abroad. The spheres of political influence, especially evident after World War II, were also present in the field of ethnomusicology. Having worked in the country which belonged to The Non-aligned movement, ethnomusicologists from Yugoslavia had an opportunity to closely cooperate with colleagues from countries belonging to the Eastern Bloc as well as with the ethnomusicological communities from Central and Western Europe and the United States of America, which was considered a privilege in research circles back then. This is verified by the existence of numerous publications in Russian, Ukrainian, Bulgarian, German, and English from that period, found in the institutional libraries and bibliographic references in studies of the time. Awareness of the importance of constructive dialogue between experts resulted in formation of the Union of associations of Yugoslav folklorists, under which umbrella an extensive cooperation among researchers and experts from various humanistic sciences was organized throughout the second half of the twentieth century (1951–1990), while the annual congresses served as opportunities for colleagues from the region (Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria) and some farther (Czechoslovakia, Poland, USSR, Germany, and Denmark) as well as non-European countries (USA and Japan) to present their works. The works of the most prominent ethnomusicologists of the time from Serbia (D. Dević – more in Vukičević-Zakić 2003, Radinović 2003; and R. Petrović – see www.music.sanu.ac.rs), Croatia (V. Žganec, J. Bezić – more in Ceribašić and Marošević 1999; Starčević-Štambuk 1999), Bosnia and Herzegovina (C. Rihtman – more in Rihtman-Šotrić 1986), and Slovenia (Z. Kumer – Golež-Kaučič 2010), speak about numerous theoretical and methodological influences they absorbed during their professional development.

The turbulent historical and political events that took place in the late twentieth century and which, among other things, resulted in the break up of Yugoslavia, caused the cessation of the formal exchange of publications, while a priority was given to the use of English in all forms of communication at the local level², over the advantage of being able to communicate in mother tongues as far as the Slavic part of the Balkan research community was concerned. The mutual recognition and rapprochement based on common interests in musical phenomena and specific ethnomusicological issues present in the region that occurred at the international symposiums in 2006 and 2007 led to the reorganization of cooperation at this level through the formation of an ICTM Study group on music and dance in Southeastern Europe (ICTM 2012), while numerous international symposiums held in the Balkans in recent years and/or musical practices applied in the region were initiated for the same reasons. Almost by default, scarce resources allocated for organization of such events do not cover the

² The problems of languages of interdisciplinary/intradisciplinary communication have been lately addressed several times from different perspectives (Burckhardt Qureshi 1999: 317; Rice 2006; Psycheva and Dimov 2008: 46).

costs of interpretation services and thus fail to ensure the respect of right to communicate in mother tongue, and therefore English is used as a *lingua franca*.

The researchers from other scientific communities dealing with the music from this region greatly influenced the Balkan ethnomusicologies. Since the time when they, owing to technological advantages, made first recordings (by Bartok, see Dille 1970), performed specific analyses (Wünsch 1938), and pointed out some principles of re-creation in oral traditions (Parry and Lord 1953, Lord 1990), up to the modern research involving participative approach, their presence has left an indelible mark on both the studied cultures and local scientific communities. These developments have opened a number of ethical issues; however, beyond any doubt, they in general have led to some improvements in national ethnomusicologies and certainly promoted Balkan musical cultures. Additionally, the above mentioned practice of the Balkan ethnomusicologists' study visits, which nowadays mainly refer to countries in Western Europe and the USA, represent a way in which new ideas on theoretic framework and working methods reach the Balkans.

The selection of appropriate research strategies can be discussed at a theoretical level, even when based on the experience gathered from researches on different topics. Nevertheless, the most efficient and explicit form of selection of appropriate research strategies represents their comparison based on similar thematic circles. A large number of papers in this collection underline fieldwork as a predominant research method, some deal with fieldwork explicitly, while in some papers this is stated indirectly. Moreover, several papers indicate the presence of interdisciplinary research. As per topics, a substantial number of papers underscore the role of music in the process of identification and self-identification. Furthermore, research on the epic tradition, contemporary life of folklore music, including its revitalization and relations between folklore and popular music are singled out as up-to-date.

As far as the research of the musics of the Balkan is concerned, one has to bear in mind that these music cultures feature almost a half-a-millennium old written history (Bezić 1974, Stathis 1976, Stojkova Serafimovska 2008: 23), numerous ritual genres, and epics in the vibrant, oral tradition (Докмановић 2000, Закић 2009, Bohlman and Petković 2011). Therefore, the historiographical aspect is among the permanent ethnomusicological preferences (here are just a few: Pekka Pennanen 2008; Marušić 2007; Aksoy 2006).

The economic circumstances under which research is organized in many countries of the region practically limits local ethnomusicologists' choices of topics, especially if they include fieldwork. Namely, local scientific policies applied in cases when research is to be conducted in other countries do not consider it as the research of national interest and therefore the great majority of ethnomusicologists conduct research within their own country, except in cases of diasporal research. On the other hand, studies on ethnic minorities are in-

creasingly present (see, for ex. Ceribašić and Haskell 2006). The preservation of the oral tradition of music-playing in villages, and the forms which are considered as very archaic suggest the necessity for 'traditional', quantitative, comprehensive fieldwork with an aim to make recordings of the immensely valuable sound legacy of the Balkan nations. This material is subject to various forms of scientific interpretation – thus only more underlying previously predominant paradigm reflected in the 'fieldwork–transcription–analysis' triad (Vasić and Panić-Kašanski 2008; Golemović and Rakočević 2008; Peycheva and Dimov 2008), as well as to an entire scope of its individual dimensions' interpretations, up to its usage within the framework of applied ethnomusicology (Dumnić 2012). Today, fieldwork is conducted in urbanized rural and urban areas, as qualitative, in-depth research carried out through the application of various techniques, from observation and interviewing, to participating in the research practice. Finally, an option of 'fieldwork at home' (Stock and Chiener 2008), or 'not far from home' (see, for ex. Jovanović 2007), has been used to a great extent in monitoring cultural processes, permanent dynamic relations of the vibrant musical forms, the role of music in their evolution and changes music is undergoing, from the level of text to the level of culture. The availability of proportionally large databases that researchers may refer to and combine gained information with the results of their own fieldwork within the same areas, the researchers perceive as a potential in interpretation of the roles of different actors and how they influence traditions, their mutual relations from diachronic and/or synchronic perspective, as well as problems caused by different contextualizations. Ethnomusicological topics considered to be up-to-date all over the world are also present in the works of Balkan researchers, and therefore issues such as identity, minorities, cultural relations with special focus on relations between folklore and popular music, 'Balkan cosmopolitanism' (Buchanan 2007), new contextualizations – festivalization and mediaization (Baumann 2001: 9; Lundberg, Malm and Ronström 2003: 333), performance, and music industry have been addressed in different ways.

Complex problems require interdisciplinary team projects, which have not yet taken hold in the Balkans, at least not to a significant extent. Nevertheless, the awareness of ethnomusicology's distinctiveness reflected in the necessity of using all available forms of research (Nettl 1999: 288, 310) can be recognized in researches which tend to use the knowledge and strategies from other disciplines for ethnomusicological purposes. Therefore, there are some ethnomusicological works depicting music of the Balkans, in which one may often encounter, in one way or another, experiences and results of other disciplines such as anthropology, ethnology, history, history of literature, linguistics, archeology, but also psychology, sociology, semiology, cultural studies, and gender studies.

Among the topics which at the same time require and offer the opportunity of addressing some issues from different perspectives is certainly a relation

between music and identity as a field of general ethnomusicological interest (Rice 2007) and one of the predominant fields of work of ethnologists dealing with the music of the Balkans. If (only) a *place* where music is performed is taken as a criterion for determination of music identity (Stokes 1994: 3–10), the Balkans could be considered as a common identity determinant of musicians, regardless of their ethnic, national, religious or some other background. However, whereas the local character prefixes are predominant in the self-determination of the Balkan inhabitants, and bearing in mind a distinctive, cultural diversity of sub- and micro-regions, to determine identity based on a solely music criterion is rather challenging. On the other hand, throughout a very long cultural history, the inhabitants of the Balkans found themselves in a situation where they were continuously ‘going beyond’ the boundaries of identity determinants, in which music played an important role. The process, involving the inclusion and ‘naturalization’ of musical differences and playing a pivotal role in the formation of ‘musical ethnicity’ (Ibid. 1994: 17), eventually led to the creation of a specific musical amalgam. At a (greater) distance, this amalgam is often perceived as a unique music culture which is often not only identified but also interpreted as being ‘oriental’ or even ‘Ottoman’ (in line with the discourse of Balkanism, more in Todorova 2006: 311). However, the fact that eastern influences are present in deep layers of Balkan cultures, from times long before the arrival of the Ottomans in this area is often overlooked. Furthermore, the Ottoman culture *per se* represents an amalgam of different eastern cultures (Reinhard et al. 2001). In that respect, researchers who study the music of the Balkans often directly or indirectly focus their attention on interpretation of the elements of ‘music of the East’ in music of the Balkans, which is the case in several papers in this collection.

It is known that social changes have a significant impact on the (re)formation of music identities. They were especially intensive in the Balkans during the creation of nation-states, especially throughout the turbulent twentieth century which often witnessed sudden and drastic changes of political, economic, and social circumstances in the region. The complexity of cultural and social patterns along with musicians’ different communicative circumstances, led to the creation of their multiple identities that are undergoing a permanent process of mutual negotiation. A researcher’s cultural experience and ideological starting point have a great impact on the interpretation of identities of actors in musical practices, and serve as guidelines for research conceptualization.

The Balkan ethnomusicologists tend to increasingly focus on popular music, especially genres which refer to folklore music. This issue incorporates the discourse of Balkanism, that is, essentialized perception of the Balkan musics as ‘the music of the Balkans’/‘Balkan music’, which inevitably narrows the field of observation and suppresses the spontaneity in experiencing and interpreting musics from this region. Global ideologies influence the aesthetic imperatives’

profiling through the music industry and principles of the music market, thus also significantly influencing the production of popular music in the Balkans. It is in this way that the Balkan music space is getting closer to the global music space with the perspective of eventually joining it. Ethnomusicologists tend to analyze popular music in various ways in this sphere so as to be able to discover some music patterns and their cognitive interpretations which would serve as a base for cross-cultural comparisons (Roeder 2011: 3–4), they address interactions between global and local cultural policies, their actors, music products and influences on (re)shaping of cultural identities.

The papers that comprise this collection of works are not classified under any formal subject area, since, according to theoretical and methodological, and especially thematic criteria, they could be classified in various ways, and the order in which they have actually been presented is only one among ways of their possible mutual interconnections.

This book opens with a theoretic discussion by Martin Stokes on treating the measures of analyzed collectivities in ethnomusicology, with a focus on ‘large-scale communities’ sound making, with an aim to promote a ‘multiscalar ethnography’. Relying on social experience, the author addresses the terms *public(s)*, *mass(es)*, *crowd(s)*, and *multitude(s)*. A special contribution is his elaboration on the music codes and the role of sound in ‘large-scale communities’ chanting, in their mutual communication, and transfer of energy and emotions. By encouraging the changes in ethnomusicologists’ opinions, Stokes emphasizes the necessity of researching scalar dynamics and the question of how things are transmitted from (however imagined) ‘small’ to ‘large’, and vice-versa.

Lozanka Peycheva’s study presents an overview and interpretation of the approach and results of fieldwork in Bulgaria. The author highlights differences between the objectives and techniques of this form of research in the past, compared to the research conducted after the social changes took place in this country (1989), as well as the Bulgarian researchers’ experience from the field as compared to foreign researchers’ experiences. As per foreign researchers, she particularly focuses on the aspect of their adaptation to the studied culture and organization of work in a certain political context.

The methods of interpretation of the material collected in the field involving systematic recording of the regional musical practices are especially developed in the Eastern European scientific communities. Olga Pashina’s paper offers a sublimed experience of Russian ethnomusicology presenting methods, techniques, objectives, and the scope of areal studies. This methodology is based on formation of the dialects of traditional, folklore culture according to their structural qualities and their further comparison, and it aims at making certain historical and/or ethnogenetic assumptions, as well as at studying ‘diachrony scattered in space’ – the elements of musical structure in a diachronic dimension, whereas genres’ attributions play an important role. Areal studies

have been accepted by some ethnomusicologists from the Balkans, and Rodna Veličkovska's paper discloses its results and ways of its application in Macedonia. By discovering connections between the results of structural and typological analysis based on distinctive melodic and rhythmic types, she identifies the dialects of vocal folk music in Macedonia.

The collected material interpreted in such way provides a solid foundation for comparative research as well as for an interdisciplinary approach. Being encouraged by the existence of certain similarities between folklore traditions of the Balkans and the Baltic region, Daiva Vyčinienė started a comparative study that deals with the older layers of their vocal traditions. She took into consideration instrumental music, as well as an exhaustive list of references from other disciplines. The results of her research confirmed the existence of similarities, and contributed to the hypothesis on Balto-Balkan ethnogenetic relations.

Several papers address the participant-observation approach in fieldwork. Athena Katsanevaki's and Vesna Peno's papers directly address this approach by highlighting the importance of this kind of experience not only for the sake of research but for practical pedagogical work and revitalization of traditional music. Furthermore, these papers reveal that there are similar experiences in the fields of secular and religious music. Katsanevaki underlines the importance of participatory research experience in the folklore tradition of Greece, and at the same time highlights how this kind of synchronic research proved to be useful for diachronic research. Peno writes from the perspective of a researcher-church chanter, and based on the history of the Orthodox Church chanting research, indicates how scientific interpretation lacking certain practical experience can be misleading, as this kind of approach carries the risk of missing the very ethos of the text. Finally, Jelena Jovanović's paper describes the direct experience of a group of artists, who participated in two parallel processes—the restoration of the Byzantine chanting and bringing into light the *kaval* playing in Serbia in the late twentieth century. Within that specific context this instrument has been recognized and promoted as an element which reflects an attitude that the identity of Serbs belongs to a broader – Eastern Mediterranean, Orthodox cultural and religious space.

Different forms of interviews are also among the standard techniques of fieldwork. The papers dealing with the epics address this issue. Namely, the epics offer the possibility of choice of different research approaches, owing to the depth of its diachronic dimension and range of topics expressed through its contemporary occurrence. Miroslav Stojisavljević chose a standard form of interview for the purpose of studying the response to epic singing and identity-oriented interpretation of the *gusle* within the Serbian community in Australia. Relying on the methodology of sociological research, he interviewed the representatives of different (age, education, and other) categories of the audience. Iva Nenić's paper belongs to the gender studies, and deals with the position of

women in the tradition of epic singing with the gusle accompaniment in Serbia, and therefore the author combines reinterpretations of historic sources and the results of her own fieldwork. The technique of *in-depth* interview proved to be most efficient for obtaining specific personal information. Thus, the author presents the practice of the female gusle-player as a means of their self-actualization in the social and cultural community in which gusle playing is perceived as a predominantly male activity. Danka Lajić-Mihajlović's paper reveals an example of fieldwork conducted for the purpose of studying the gusle performance by applying an interdisciplinary approach. In this stage, the research was projected from a psychological perspective and focused on memorization strategies of gusle players, as a part of music cognition, especially important in the context of oral epic tradition. This pilot study confirmed the effectiveness of the research method, and the results provided sufficient information from the perspective of the cognitive anthropology of music. Mirjana Zakić's paper is among interdisciplinary-oriented studies and contributes to the application of the semiotic theory in ethnomusicology. It addresses three performances of a ritual, syncretic text in different ideological contexts (authentic, neotraditional, and popular), whereas relations are changing and music signs have different meanings within the *sign-object-interpretant* triad.

The complexity of the issue of identity is commensurate with the scope of its research methodologies. The diversity of up to date interpretations of the identity of tradition whose written trace represents sheet music in the epic *Ribanje i ribarsko prigovaranje / Fishing and fishermen' talk* by Petar Hektorović (sixteenth century) serves as a testimony to the influence of ideologies, and therefore encourages new interpretations of this document. Sanja Radinović gives her contribution to these discussions by combining the study of historic sources with meticulous melopoetic analysis. She concludes that these records serve as a testimony to a formative principle characteristic for the South Slavic folklore vocal music. The research of identity often refers to multinational and multicultural territories, where the range of responses to the multitude of 'the Otherness' enables application of different methods of their scientific interpretation. Selena Rakočević focuses on the musical practice of the Banat Bulgarians who settled in Vojvodina (Northern Serbia) in the seventeenth century, and this has not been the subject of any ethnomusicological research so far. Through the continuous cultural and religious contacts with other ethnicities in Vojvodina, the Banat Bulgarians underwent the process of identity reshaping, and the author singles out and discusses the symbols of their actual identity. Sanja Ranković's text addresses the issue of identity of the Bosnian Serbs (coming from the historic and geo-cultural region of Bosanska Krajina / Bosnian Frontier) who settled in Vojvodina throughout the twentieth century under different circumstances. Through the (stage) revitalization of traditional folklore of Bosanska Krajina, they tend to confirm their affiliation with the *krajiški / Fron-*

tiers' cultural identity. Special focus is on a man who plays a key role in the process of identity reconstruction, acting as an intermediary between different cultural territories and generations of people originating from the Bosanska Krajina. Finally, Pál Richter's text brings to light the ethnomusicological legacy of Tihomir Vujičić, a Hungarian ethnomusicologist of Serbian decent, which serves as a foundation for comparative interpretation of the South Slavic as well as other musical identities in the territory of the Pannonian Basin. In addition to the material collected in the field, Vujičić's classification and interpretation of this material is of special importance in terms of identity studies, as a product of the overall experience of this multitalented musician.

Rastko Jakovljević's study addresses the sphere of vernacular in the music domain, through the relations between traditional (folklore) and popular music. The author connects his conclusions with the musical practice in Serbia, while, nevertheless, this represents a universal issue. Freedom in interpretation of traditional music (under different contexts and motivations) inevitably leads to 'vernacularism', regardless of its geo-cultural identity. Thus, this study offers some additional food for further thoughts of rather focal relations. Thanks to the different kinds of sources, Ventsislav Dimov reconstructed the image of a tavern music practice of the first half of the twentieth century, as an umbrella determinant of the social life and entertainment throughout the Balkan region. Through a comparative interpretation, the author was able to notice a distinctiveness of communication through music within smaller and larger communities, and even to elaborate on the phenomena of music going beyond national boundaries. The author highlights the role of the Roma, as intermediaries in the process of conveying the musical elements and repertoire, as well as the important role of mass-media.

Studies of the new(est) popular music incorporated in this book also depict a variety of research approaches. The text by Ahmed Tohumcu, Gonca Girgin Tohumcu, and Merve Eken Küçükaksoy elaborates on the work of three Turkish musicians who act as mediators during cross-cultural encounters, combining in a characteristic way folk, classic, and popular music. The authors interpret the genesis and evolution of thus created hybrid genres with regard to the cultural policies on one hand, and artists' creative sensibility, on the other. Mladen Marković looks into the musical discourse as opposed to the discourse of music created by the most prominent *World Music* authors, that is, the creators and presenters of *ethno* music in Serbia so as to explore the relation between their compositions and Serbian traditional music. Namely, these authors explicitly claim that their compositions are based on traditional music. Analysis reveals that the quality of this relation positions *ethno* music deep into the popular music genre. Marija Dumnić's paper depicts the creation of the discourse of *autobalkanism*, as some kind of feedback on the discourse of Balkanism, present in the sphere of popular music in Serbia. The analysis of elements

of multimedia performance of the Serbian representative at the Eurovision Song Contest 2010 reveals how the auto-Balkan aspiration of the author of the song, that is the creator of the cultural policy, has been actually embodied.

Ethnomusicological encounters in the Balkans are substantially marked by mutual recognition and empathy both on a professional and personal level. The music of the Balkans, scientific and cultural policies offer a platform for networking, as well as for expressing distinctiveness on a national, and even individual level. Each study represents a national ethnomusicological community to a certain extent, but beyond that it is an individual act. In that sense, with regard to the choice of theoretical and methodological framework we can metaphorically refer to and quote Jim Samson: 'music analysis is as much form of self-analysis (raising all the familiar problems of the 'I' describing itself) as an empirical explanation of the other' (Samson 1999: 46). Pluralism of thinking and acting within the frameworks of national ethnomusicologies in the Balkans speaks volumes about the existence of some kind of democracy in expressing research identities. Above all, it reflects the breadth of motivation that Balkan musics extend to researchers.

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Данка Лајић-Михајловић, Јелена Јовановић

МУЗИКА И ЕТНОМУЗИКОЛОГИЈА – СУСРЕТИ НА БАЛКАНУ

Резиме

Рад доноси преглед новијих искустава у етномузиколошким истраживањима музика Балкана, првенствено на основу радова који чине овај зборник. Пажња је кључно усмерена на теоријско-методолошку димензију. Специфичне музичке праксе Балкана, формиране амалгамисањем елемената различитих култура, етницитета и религија, учиниле су овај геокултурни простор интригантним не само за истраживаче из самог региона, већ и за оне из других културних средина. Теоријски оквири у којима се оне интерпретирају и методе које се данас користе у истраживањима резултат су интеракција искустава локалних научних заједница, извора и пракси којима се баве, околности, идеологија и политика, укључујући и утицаје доминантних светских етномузиколошких заједница и индивидуалних афинитета истраживача. Комплексније разматрање искустава етномузиколога са Балкана остварено је поређењима са истраживачким стратегијама примењиваним на сличним, транзиторним геокултурним просторима.

HOW BIG IS ETHNOMUSICOLOGY?

MARTIN STOKES¹

Abstract: Ethnomusicology has often been understood as the study of the small-scale, but what scale really means, in musical contexts, and exactly ‘how small is small’ are questions rarely asked or answered. The article shows some of the epistemological, ideological and aesthetic stakes of ethnomusicology’s ‘small-scale’ commitments, and suggests some alternatives. Football terrace chanting and the sounds of the Tahrir Square demonstrations in Cairo provide case studies. A multi-scalar ethnography – the approach advocated here – opens windows onto some significant, but often over-looked musical phenomena. It also encourages reflection on some of ethnomusicology’s tacit theoretical predilections and biases, which may be inhibiting.

Keywords: scale, chanting, masses, publics, crowds, entrainment.

1. For Marilyn Strathern, “scale has been a headache for anthropology” (Strathern 1995: 15). Anthropological ‘conventions of scale’ have forced anthropologists to work with a problematically divided sense of their field. Such conventions imagine small-scale ethnography as appropriate for anthropologists; sociologists are equipped to deal with ‘the large scale’. More importantly, for Strathern, they drive a wedge between the embodied, intimate relational structures of kinship (the essence, in the conventional way of looking at things of ‘small scale’ social relations) and the abstract articulations of social order social scientists habitually register in terms of ‘the economy’, ‘the nation’ and so forth. Strathern argues for a view of social relations as being inherently multi-scalar, connected across scales.

I would make a similar argument about ethnomusicology.

But Strathern’s anxiety about the rival claims of another science of society – sociology – is not one ethnomusicologists generally share. Historical musicology, ethnomusicology’s disciplinary ‘other’, does not claim to be operating on a larger scale. Its claim is usually simply that it is working with more significant music. If anything, the relationship is reversed, with ethnomusicologists often representing, in discussions about the disciplinary field, a larger, i.e. global frame of reference. Ethnomusicologists have often found themselves

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echoing Voltaire, reminding colleagues working in Western Art Music that it is ‘we’, not ‘they’, who are the oddities, the exceptions, the ‘minority’.

Since the 1950s, ethnomusicologists, absorbing anthropological norms, began to focus on small-scale interactions and meanings. In-depth participant-observer fieldwork, an effort to understand colonized peoples ‘in their own terms’, thrived in the latter days of Empire. The generalizing and globalizing thrust of an earlier style of ethnography came to be understood as epistemologically untrustworthy and politically problematic. As the challenge, post 1950, came to be understood as one of dealing with ever-increasing scalar orders – city, nation-state, region, globe – anxieties about ethnomusicology’s appropriate scale grew. Many responded by reaffirming the priority of the local and the micro-social: villages, migrant community, neighborhood in the city; the local as ‘where the global happens’; micro-musics, like the ‘slow food’ movement, a creative and resistive response to globalization and the relentless media-accelerated pace of modern everyday life.

Moving up the scalar order – city, nation-state, region, Diaspora, network, globe – has *seemed* to require theoretical interventions, or importations, from ancillary fields: sociology, media and communication studies, critical theory, cultural studies, political science. ‘Theoretical’ discussion thus attains a kind of visibility, a marked quality as one moves away from the local, the micro-social. There is anxiety about this. Ethnomusicology, to some, seems no longer capable of producing, or prioritizing, ‘its own theory’ (Rice 2007).

The problems of ethnomusicology’s ‘small is beautiful’ outlook have been extensively discussed, and won’t detain me much here. The local, we now see, is often most productively thought of as being produced – and fetishized – within much larger systems. The ontological integrity of the sovereign subject and the face-to-face relationship – the foundation of many if not most anthropological and ethnomusicological conceptions of fieldwork - can no longer be assumed.

Ethnomusicologists sense of the value of ‘small’ persists, though, perversely, I’d say. Ethnographers of music continue to move excessively cautiously into the new culture-making spaces of digitization, downloading, file sharing, on-line fandom, and various kinds of virtual music-making, implicitly conceived as being too big, or diffuse in scale. And ethnographic questions about crowds, publics, masses are tough ones to crack. I’ll get to this later in the article.

2. Pressure on the ‘small’ value-system in ethnomusicology goes back quite a long way, though. Early ethnographies would usually start off with numbers. Beyond establishing some kind of objective, empirical ground (or, at least, lending an aura of objectivity and empiricism to what followed), these numbers involved complex claims. The tiny numbers of inhabitants of Lachmann’s Hara Kbirra (3,500) and Hara Sghira (1,500) on the island of Djerba, encountered in 1929, communicated authenticity, the rigours of a scien-

tific ethnography, and the predicament of Jewish culture on Europe's margins (Lachmann 1940). Alan Merriam's early articles were absorbed not only by the tiny numbers of Flathead Indians on the reservations of western Montana, but by the decreasing number of 'full-bloods' (303 out of 2,500). At issue: their imminent erasure, and the imperatives of salvage ethnography (Merriam 1951). Blacking's, on the Venda use numbers to make a rather different point. Far from disappearing, they were everywhere: on the Reserves, on the European-owned farms, and migrating to the towns and cities. One could hardly hope to understand South Africa without taking into account the fact that there were over a quarter of a million of them, i.e., a lot. Vendaland should not, in Blacking's view, be considered an insignificant margin of modern South Africa (Blacking 1967).

A different tone is struck in Gerd Baumann's 1987 study of the Miri of the Sudan.

The First Population Census of Sudan of 1955/6 took into account 115 languages spoken in the country, and its people's allegiance to 597 tribes and ethnic groups. The total population was almost equally divided between groups that on historical, linguistic, or cultural grounds identify themselves as 'Arab or Arab-Sudanese, and groups that on similarly diverse grounds are identified as African-Sudanese. (Baumann 1987: 1)

Baumann was a student of Blacking's, and the opening of this book has some of the dry, administrative tone of Blacking's *Venda Children's Songs*. But the figures communicate not a ground, but a problem that the ethnography goes on to address. In this extremely complex situation, local markers of ethnic difference follow context dependent and performative rules, making it difficult to say who is who, at least in conventional population census terms. He goes on in his book to show how music making is implicated in both in processes of ethnic differentiation and in national integration. Music-making is one of the ways in which one is able to *become* Miri, or Nubian in the Sudanese context, and Sudanese in the Miri or Nubian context.

In the early 1990s, numbers started to disappear – at least, in the form of these kinds of opening words. By an emerging convention – to take the opening of almost any recent monograph published by, for example, by the University of Chicago Press, Cambridge University Press or Wesleyan University Press – one finds an ethnographic vignette. As James, this was also the pattern in anthropological writing (Clifford 1986). The aims of such vignettes were substantially similar: to establish the authenticity of the account. In such vignettes the author says, I was there, I was part of this world, you can trust what I say, because I, dear reader, am an ethnomusicologist like you and share your sense of what is interesting and worthwhile. Authenticity is guaranteed not with reference to an objectively verifiable world, but with reference to the experience of an interlocutor.

At a certain level the disappearance of population figures from the opening pages of ethnographic monographs is hardly an issue. Ethnographers at-

tempt to grapple with large, dispersed and mobile populations; numbers, we all know, are estimates at best. They have also learned to question officially produced figures. But there are questions to be asked here. Is the gradual disappearance of figures that establish the size of the communities that we study simply the result of a distrust of empiricism, as outmoded and distasteful as measuring skulls to establish racial identity? Or a sign of the Strathern's 'headache' – a growing anxiety not just about method, but the very identity of the subdiscipline?

3. Broader ideological pressures have born on these 'headaches' about scale. Adorno's visceral reaction to mass-produced popular music is well known (Adorno 1941). Mid-twentieth century, ethnomusicologists depicted the fragility of Native American culture to emphasize its imminent erasure. Popular music scholars Roger Wallis and Krister Malm celebrated the 'Big Sounds of Small Peoples' (1984). Monumentalism in the western art music tradition continues to elicit disquiet at its entanglement with political authoritarianism (Rehding 2009). Big, in music study, has rarely been beautiful.

Such anxieties about scale are now entangled with neoliberal political discourse, the ideological soundtrack of our recent history. This has successfully shifted public debate in many parts of the world from large-scale questions about systemic inequality, underdevelopment, and the distribution of resources to small-scale questions about personal morality and the family. Such shifts have justified the thoroughgoing privatization of society and the fragmentation of political debate about society-wide issues. What remains of public space is now cluttered with images and discourses of threats to familiar morality and domestic security – images and discourses Berlant and Warner, amongst others, dub 'cultural intimacy'. This is, in their words, "the mechanism by which a core national culture can be imagined as a sanitized space of sentimental feeling and immaculate behaviour, a space of pure citizenship..." (1998: 549).

Popular music of the kind habitually labelled 'sentimental' has been thoroughly implicated in the images and discourses of cultural intimacy. National identifications, as many have shown, have been forged through kinds of affection imagined as small in scale: the scale of lovers, or spouses, or siblings, or parents and children. Think of the literature on *arabesk*, *enka*, *musica sertaneja*, *country music*, *tango*, *fado*, *conjunto*, *turbofolk*. As Berlant and Warner point out, such imaginations of the large-scale are inherently limiting. "A familial model of society displaces the recognition of structural racism and other systemic inequalities," as they point out (Ibid. 549). But they also circulate common sense and everyday notions of decency, reciprocity and mutuality whose political effects are far from obvious.

At the moment it is probably most productive to note the way such musical practices project private into public, and vice-versa. The dialectical and 'nested' properties of publicness and privateness of publicness and intimacy

have often been noted.² Such nestings have been enabled and enhanced by the technological transformations associated first by cassettes and then with the web (Facebook, You Tube, Spotify), where public music making is privatized and private music making is publicized in increasingly intense ways. The ethnomusicological question of scale today is entangled with questions about the relation of public and private – inextricably political and ideological.

4. Masses, crowds, publics. These reflections about the size of ethnomusicology lead me in two directions. One concerns me at the moment mainly in my efforts to characterize the history of ethnomusicology's distinctive – and to my mind rather debilitating – struggles with the idea of 'Theory'. As I've mentioned, ideas about the intrinsic small-scale-ness of ethnomusicology enshrine – *entirely problematically* – distinctions between Fieldwork (unmediated engagement with small-scale music-making) and Theory (the – as it were - highly mediated vehicle by which one expands these insights to deal with larger spaces of culture making). Such distinctions are, I believe, needless, inhibiting and epistemologically disastrous.

They have also pushed me to explore some ethnographic questions about musical signification and affect in what might – if one is to admit the legitimacy of any language of scale – be called 'large-scale' collectivities. I'll say a bit in conclusion about how this impacts on some of my broader interests in Middle Eastern music. Firstly, though, the terms habitually used to theorize such collectivities are heavily value laden. Publics – as we all know – have been a lively area of debate and discussion in the social sciences in recent decades, with masses and crowds imagined as their problematic other. Recent inquiry, emerging from critiques of Habermas, has involved a significant rethinking of these categories. I find this rethinking extremely productive for an ethnomusicology of (large) scale and I'd like to conclude my talk today by saying why.

Public formation has often been understood in terms of a language of scale: how large-scale solidarities, often, particularly, national solidarities, are formed, from smaller-scale solidarities, through mass media. But a public, thus conceived, is not only, or simply, a scalar order, a magnitude of social relation. It is, as Michael Warner puts it, a *kind* of sociability, oriented towards strangers through the circulation of texts. Habermas, particularly in his later work, stressed the rule-bound nature of this kind of social interaction.³ More recent critics have come to feel that this is a highly normative way of thinking of the public sphere, one that sits over-easily with his somewhat idealized picture of the emergence of the public sphere in Europe in the late 18th century, one in which the racial and gendered exclusions of this period are invisible.⁴ More re-

² See, for an important and recent collection of essays on the subject, Born and Rice 2011.

³ See, in particular, Habermas, 1984.

⁴ See for example Frazer 1990.

cent work has come to conceptualize the affectual and emotional elements of public formation, a view that produces ‘publics’ rather than a monolithic ‘public’, and admits the possibility that some of them might be in conflict with others, and with the dominant social order.⁵

The public’s opposite, since at least the time of Robert Park’s pioneering study of 1904, has been the unruly ‘mass’, with implications of, on the one hand, passivity and on the other a turbulent hyperagency associated with emotion, suggestibility, credulity (1972).⁶ For Park, sociological theorizations of *both* ‘public’ and ‘masses’ respond to an anxiety about scale, about understanding the collective life in societies in which the ‘social group’ “is not perceived by the senses as a physical unity’. But, for Park, the distinction between the two is crucial. Publics consolidate autonomous individuals, facts (“to which attitudes may profoundly differ,” *Ibid.*: 59), abstraction and reflexivity. They do the orderly work of modernity, in other words. Crowds, for Park, do the reverse. They involve a contagious emotional mimeticism that suppresses individualism and rational thought. Crowds are thus “always more or less disruptive and revolutionary” (*Ibid.*: 47). They do, in other words, modernity’s dirty work.

Park draws on an earlier sociology of the crowd, that of Le Bon and Tarde. Buried somewhere in his emphatic distinction between the two is a suggestion of the social principles that might connect publics and crowds. This is not, then, simply, an idealization of publics in terms that portray crowds as an abjected element, a ‘bad other’ in the analysis of modern collectivites and solidarities. Crowds and publics *both* involve a process of mutuality, a sympathetic principle that troubles the habitual understanding of the one in terms of reason and the other in terms of emotion. Thus understood, they might appear less as analytically separable objects, and more as connected ways of understanding the forging of modern solidarities: kinds of crowds might become kinds of publics and vice-versa.

A similar line of thinking is at work in William Mazzarella’s critical reading of Hardt and Negri (2010). Hardt and Negri’s theorization of ‘multitudes’ is a well-known attempt to recognize some kind of progressive agency in (post)modern life that works through collectivities, rather than autonomous individuals. As Mazzarella argues, this characterization of multitudes leaves certain nineteenth century sociological understandings of crowds unchallenged. The “mimetic contagion” of emotions that so disturbed Le Bon and Tarde in crowds is not necessarily opposed to reason and public behaviour, but, quite possibly, entangled with it, and perhaps, even, as eighteenth century sentimental philosophy averred, a condition for it. Social theory – drawing a line from Park to Mazzarella, and rooted in ways that have I believe yet to be

⁵ See, notably, Warner 2002.

⁶ The essay, ‘The Crowd and the Public’ was originally published in German in 1904.

explored in Smith and Hume – thus moves towards a conception of modern social solidarities as simultaneously emotive and reasoned, and as productive of complex kinds collective agency.

Alongside these traditions of inquiry might be set a view of public formation from the humanities. This has consistently stressed the role of emotion and affect in public formation in discussions, for example, of the sentimental novel, or of Beethoven criticism. Somewhere between these two traditions of inquiry we have the possibility of an intriguing account of modern social solidarities, and what it is that makes them compelling, believable and transformative.

5. A brief reflection on football terrace chanting might give us pause for thought. For here is a crowd that makes social process real and engaging through sound. Try turning down the sound when you are simultaneously attempting to watch football on television and trying to have a conversation with your spouse, or watching matches in countries where football is still not really understood and the crowds don't make much noise (like the USA), or watching when the familiar and reassuring sound of roaring and singing fans is drowned out by some 'alien' import – like the *vuvuzela* at the last world cup. At such moments one realizes just how important these dense, textured, patterned, overlapping waves of sound are. The players, of course, already know.

We recognize the 'crowdness' of a gathering by its sound. Elias Canetti was quick to recognize this fact (1962). The fundamental noise of crowds, for Canetti, is the sound of multiple feet on the ground. Each foot is a subtly differentiated sound-producing device – the sound of one's left foot, he observes, is quite different to the sound of one's right foot. In the sound of multiple feet one is able to imagine the size and power of the multitude, and the place of the individual organism-sound-producer in it. Canetti brings this intriguing analysis of crowd noise rather quickly to bear on his broader thesis: that crowds are vital scenes of collective self-fashioning in modern society, whose energies permeate modern institutions and public life. It is the sound of the crowd that we hear in marching and dancing, he suggests. Crowds, in the various shapes and forms, fuel modern subjectivities, and modern institutions: they are not their enemies.

We can extend Canetti's insight. Football chants do highly symbolic, coded, work, identifying fans and sub-groups of fans, commenting on the action on the pitch, the managers, the referees, voicing dissent and anger as well as providing humour, inventiveness and entertainment. Musical ensembles signifying national identity have become quite common at the world cup in recent years. Football chanting, it should be noted, is a relatively recent and highly mediated phenomenon, dating back not much earlier than the televised broadcasting in the 1950s. It has been an aspect of the marketing of local identity since then, and the commodification of football chanting in the form of cell

phone ringtones and so forth continues apace. Football chants, abstracted from the context of the game, *can* be thought of, rather straightforwardly, as more or less commodified signs of local or factional identity. Some interesting recent work proceeds along these lines.⁷

But we are often too caught up in fantasies of community and plenitude offered by crowd sounds to pause and ask how they come about.⁸ We need to place ourselves within these sonic masses, experience our own immersion, sometimes active, sometimes passive, in waves of sound of various dimensions, emanating from various locales, ranging from the proximate to the distant. We need to notice how chants are initiated, how they catch, how they build, how they confront opposition, how they overlap, interact, fizzle out. The processes are pretty complex and I don't feel we have crowd ethnography entirely up to the task just yet. But at least part of the picture will need to be built up from within, simultaneously listening to the crowd and being part of it.

A crowd thus imagined is not, exactly, the crowd of crowd theory. It is too localized and specific to be, quite, a 'mass', and too unruly to be, quite, a 'public'. As a listener one is neither, quite, subsumed by the totality – a mass subject. Experience suggests that one hears one's individual voice in the whole, and those of people immediately around you; one observes, even as one participates in, the relays and feedback loops by which singing will start up, gather pace, catch and sputter to a halt. And neither, too, is one entirely individuated – an autonomous subject. We find ourselves, somehow, doing what our neighbours are doing. We are all aware, with varying degrees of pleasure or discomfort, of the kind of sympathetic principles at play in crowds. Sound is the medium through which a complex kind of collectivity emerges, expanding, contracting, shifting in emotional tone and energy.

There is much here that puts me in mind of Hardt and Negri's 'multitude' – their expression for the networked, distributed, performative creativity that is taking shape under emerging globalized and postmodern conditions of labor (2004). But two quick pauses for thought. Firstly, the fiercely racist, misogynistic and violent tone of much football chanting should, of course, give us pause for thought about the potential radicalism of such soundscapes. Secondly, the entanglement of this sonic form with processes of mass mediation complicates Hardt and Negri's romantic attachment to the multitude's life force, its primal vitality. Anxieties about mediation and representation pervade their account of the multitude, as many have pointed out. We need a theorization of these scenes of large-scale collective culture making that capable of acknowledging their intricately mediated nature. (And, parenthetically, their anti-democratic potentialities.)

⁷ See, for example, Back 2003.

⁸ For an excellent critique, see Biddle 2009.

6. Tahrir square: a democratic moment, surely, even if, a year after the event, it is still hard to see exactly where it is heading. In scalar terms, it is particularly challenging. A crowd is involved, its numbers often exaggerated, but often clearly numbering tens of thousands. A wild romance has been played out in the western press, often focusing on particular individuals and groups – Ramy Essam, for instance, who penned Tahrir’s ‘anthem’, *Irhal*, or Tahrir’s highly photogenic ‘troubador collective’, picked out by the New York Times early in February 2011.⁹ The music of Tahrir has thus, at least in the press, been understood in rather individuated, atomized ways. The ethnomusicologists’ instincts, too, are to parse and sub-divide, to comb the soundscape for indicators of age, ethnicity, and class. I, at least, have found myself attempting to do so, and the material at one’s disposal, in this complexly mediated, reflexive and self-scrutinizing political movement, is extremely rich. Thus, the search for music in Tahrir, and the quest for its agency, its power, almost instinctively involves a reach for the microscope, an attempt to identify its smallest constituent parts.

The most identifiably ‘Egyptian’ sound of Tahrir square is the rhymed chanting, *hitafat*. Their wit and verbal dexterity has (rightly) been celebrated, and the object of academic attention. An interesting webpage produced by American University of Cairo students, called ‘Unsettling the dust’, deals primarily with problems of translation.¹⁰ It notes the Nasserite genealogy of some of these chants (i.e. long preceding the 25 January uprising), their connection with lyrics of the film musicals of the 1950 and 1960s, their play on the linguistic registers of formal and Egyptian Arabic, and other such matters. Chants are treated, then, as a kind of text, to be considered, ultimately, in the context of Egyptian literary culture. The authors, rather characteristically, seem more comfortable in the next section, which deals with revolutionary signs and banners. These afford more obvious scope for implicitly literary kinds of subtlety, humour and intertextuality.

Grasping these crowd sounds musically is difficult, though. One can, as I have done, ask participants to remember their favourites, break them down into units, explain and translate them. One is in a position to note some significant performative features. Take two simple examples:

Itisam, itisam / hatta yesqut an-nizam! (Endure, endure / until the fall of the regime!)

I - ti - sam, i - ti - sam, hat - ta yes - qut an - ni - zam!

⁹ On Ramy Issam, see www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-14254564. On the Troubadour Collective, see www.nytimes.com/2011/02/20/books/review/Creswell-t.html.

¹⁰ See their website at <http://translatingrev.wordpress.com/>.

This is, of course, a crude simplification of an intricate process. But we need some way of bringing this intricacy into focus, to see at least some of the things going on. Ethnomusicological habits of thought have not always helped, I've argued here. Part of this intricacy is addressed by a growing literature on entrainment, the falling into sync of bodies and sounds in spaces and places.¹² This is an important start. But we need to grasp scalar dynamics firmly: how things are transmitted from (however imagined) 'small' to 'large', and vice-versa; how things are entrained across domains marked by a significant scalar differential. One wants, in the end, to be able to see how handclapping and chanting might be instrumental in bringing down a government and changing the world.

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¹² See Brennan 2004. For an approach to entrainment drawing on cognitive psychology, see Clayton 2008.

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Мартин Стоукс

КОЛИКО ЈЕ ВЕЛИКА ЕТНОМУЗИКОЛОГИЈА?

Резиме

Етномузикологија је често схватана као наука о музици „малих” друштава или музицирања „мањих размера”. Шта то може значити и какве импликације имати за етномузиколошку теорију? Ово питање недавно је дошло до изражаја у дискусијама о глобализацији. Рад ће указати да „стварање размера” у данашњој етномузикологији захтева посебно разматрање. Ту мислимо на начине – да посегнемо за модерним изразима – конфигурирања и концептуализовања термина „микро” и „макро”. Разматрање ће бити закључено дискусијом о *гомили* и њеној музици, узимајући у обзир, поред осталог, Хартове (Michael Hardt) и Негријеве (Antonio Negri) скорашње теоретизације „мноштава” и звучног простора Тахрир сквера у Каиру.

ETHNOMUSICOLOGY CONNECTED TO BULGARIA – A VIEW OF THE FIELD OF FIELDWORK

LOZANKA PEYCHEVA

Abstract: The purpose and importance of fieldwork is obvious to every ethnomusicologist and needs no explanation. Yet, any ethnomusicologist would be interested to learn the fieldwork practices of their colleagues. A close examination of the fieldwork of ethnomusicologists united by their interest in the folk music of Bulgaria could be a basis for systematic review of common fieldwork problems. Different paradigms of fieldwork emerged as a result of different concepts and views of ethnomusicology as a scientific discipline. This paper will distinguish and partially interpret various approaches and achievements in the fieldwork of Bulgarian researchers on one side, and the contributions of researchers from Western Europe and Northern America on the other.

Keywords: Ethnomusicology, fieldwork, Bulgaria.

Introduction

Ethnomusicology fieldwork is a complex mixture of rational planning and emotional surprises that unfolds as a sequence of communicative events and operations in friendly or hostile environments. In his 2008 foreword to the *Shadows in the Field*, Bruno Nettl mentioned certain important surveys of fieldwork: “two massive chapters in Mantle Hood’s *The Ethnomusicologist* (1982 [1971]); two chapters in Helen Myers’s edited compendium *Ethnomusicology: An Introduction* (1992); six short chapters in my own *Study of Ethnomusicology* (2005); and McLeod’s comprehensive and thoughtful *Field Manual for Ethnomusicology* (1983)” (Nettl 2008: viii).

To quote Helen Myers, “Field work is the most personal task, required of the ethnomusicologist” and is accompanied by many foreseen or unforeseen challenges (1992: 21–2). According to Timothy Rice “the field is the metaphorical creation of the researcher” (2008: 48).

A proper introduction to the topic of fieldwork of ethnomusicologists connected to Bulgaria is not a simple task and will not be solved by the current text. The observations and thoughts presented here are based on my professional field experience and publications, which more or less speak about what is happening in ethnomusicological fieldwork in Bulgaria.

The main purpose of this paper is to note the differences in the field work of: (1) ethnomusicologists from Bulgaria during different historical periods; (2) and ethnomusicologists from Bulgaria and abroad. A conceptual separation of ethnomusicologists as ‘homeland’ and ‘foreign’ is used as a formal/abstract

construction for outlining different models of fieldwork activity, developed and applied in Bulgarian fieldwork in the discipline of musical ethnology.

Ethnomusicologists from Bulgaria: What is the history of fieldwork of Bulgarian ethnomusicologists?

Vassil Stoin (1880–1938) is considered the founder of the systematic fieldwork in Bulgaria. His fieldwork began in 1926, when he was sent from Music Academy to the National Ethnographic Museum as a leader and manager of a music-recording group, with a national task to perform recording of folk melodies (Тодоров 2002: 36–55). The previous year, in 1925, the first Bulgarian ethnographic society was founded at the Ethnographic museum in Sofia, with Ivan Shishmanov as chairman. At the request of this society, the Ministry of National Education paid 120,000 leva, an enormous sum in those days, “with the explicit note that they are used only for gathering the Bulgarian musical folklore” (Вакарелски 1969: 48).

Vassil Stoin and his coworkers organized their fieldwork with good pre-planning and in cooperation with local authorities. Before going to a designated location, Stoin through mail actively corresponded with the local authorities (district governors and teaching inspectors) and the local intelligentsia (teachers and cultural activists). In his letters he explained in detail the task of fieldworkers and asked the local authorities and intelligentsia for basic information on the matter (preliminary selection of proper informers and the list of songs to be recorded; Тодоров 2002: 42–3).

This correspondence allowed Stoin to prepare well for fieldwork. He and his colleagues recorded folk songs ‘by hand’, because a sound recorder was not available to the Ethnographic museum until 1938 – when a ‘Presto New York’ phonograph was bought by the Ministry of National Education (Качулев 1981: 26). In her memoirs about working with Stoin, Raina Katsarova describes the eleven years of walking the fieldwork tracks (“sometimes smooth, sometimes steep and stony”) as a job in “an uneasy, yet joyful and enthusiastic atmosphere, in which the first four collected works appeared – a child of the firm belief of Vassil Stoin in being on the right way” (Кацарова 1981: 14).

The fieldwork of Vassil Stoin and his collaborators is described as “one of the most important initiatives in our new cultural history” (Кацарова 1981: 14); “a great work” (Стоин 1981: 18); “a cultural feat”, “a major activity” (Кръстев 1981: 3); “strenuous fieldwork” (Пейчева 2010: 28); “inexhaustible heritage” (Земцовский 1981: 56); and an “outstanding achievement” (Крейдър 1981: 58).

In his fieldwork Stoin was most focused on transcription. As Jeff Titon wrote: “Not long ago, musical transcription was the distinguishing mark of our discipline....Transcription told us what we could know about music and how we could know it. Music was objectified, collected, and recorded in order to be transcribed” (2008: 25).

The undoubtedly remarkable endeavor of Vassil Stoin had its worthy continuation in the fieldwork of Bulgarian researchers from following generations during the period from 1940s – 1980s. The influential Bulgarian ethnomusicologists Raina Katsarova, Elena Stoin, Nikolai Kaufman, Todor Todorov, Todor Djidjev, Iliya Manolov, and others, continued to work in the field, guided by the two main tasks outlined by Vasil Stoin “recording folk songs and publishing collections of folk songs” (Кацарова 1981: 6).

The organizational and financial conditions for field research were better than in the previous stage. In the period from 1951–1954 the scientific associates of the Institute of Music at Bulgarian Academy of Sciences recorded with a phonograph a large number of folk songs and instrumental melodies, mostly from the Pirin region, and after 1954 the field recordings were made with tape recorders (Качулев 1981: 27). As Elena Stoin remarked, each associate-folklorist was provided with a tape recorder, a car, and cooperation of the administrative services in towns and villages (1981: 18). The goal was to maintain the purpose outlined by Vassil Stoin at “an accelerated pace” (Кацарова 1981: 6), which gave way to fieldwork focused on intensive gathering with clear task planning for organizing large-scale documentation of musical material. Nikolai Kaufman said about this process that “Now an army of folklorists is circling the country, following in the steps of Stoin” (Кайфман 1981: 22).

Some of these folklorists had certain criticisms of the models of recording fieldwork invented by Vassil Stoin: Todor Todorov criticized the musical indexes of Stoin’s collections and Nikolai Kaufman opposed his recording-based transcriptions/note-graphs to some of Stoin’s field-made transcriptions/note-graphs. He took into account mostly ornaments and writes Stoin and Bukureshtliev notated as outlined melodies of songs, including the primary ornaments, but did not notate many secondary *melismas* and vocal *tremolos* (Крейдър 1981: 63–5).

The approaches and techniques prepared and developed by Vasil Stoin for collecting, notating, and publishing of field-recorded musical material have progressed and evolved in the fieldwork of Bulgarian ethnomusicologists who worked during the period from 1940s–1980s. Bulgarian ethnomusicologists again paid more attention to transcription. As Jeff Titon emphasized, “Transcription – that is, listening to a piece of music and writing it down in Western notation – not only became a guild skill but also ‘wrote across’ lived experience, eliminated the life-world, and transformed what was left (sound) into a representation that could be analyzed systematically and then compared with other transcriptions so as to generate and test hypotheses concerning music’s origin and evolution” (2008: 25).

While certain criticisms, recognizing some of the weaknesses of the applied methodology in collecting and recording folk-musical material appeared in separate publications, a systematic critique of the fieldwork model used by Bulgarian ethnomusicologists for several decades (1950s–1980s) has not yet been presented.

Todor Djidjev, for example, noted that “the requirements for content and quality of a song registration were focused on the ability of the decoding musicologist to extract the verbal and musical text of the folklore creation. For this purpose (and for saving tape) it was considered sufficient to record an average of three strophes (musical stanzas respectively) of a folk song” (Джиджев 2009: 23). Djidjev criticized himself, describing the practice of fieldwork as a “compromise”, because in this way of recording “the documentation will be missing many elements of the living folk model”.

Elena Stoin (Ботушаров 2005b: 133) speaks in the same manner about the feverish and incomplete documentation of folk-music lyrics – “shorter singings were used, so that more songs can be collected”. Elena Stoin maintains that the technical haste to record large amounts of folk-music samples does not fit her understanding of a good fieldwork approach: “I’ve never been in the hurry to record a large number... Yet, I remember many young colleagues going to the director Staynov and telling him how many songs they’ve recorded, and he was pleased – “Urazhay, urazhay !”... I think that when I was in contact with my informers, I predisposed them to sing to me the song as it is. I did not hurry to record ten, twenty, thirty songs, but less, yet somehow more comfortably – in a calm communication with the informers” (Ботушаров 2005b: 132–3).

Obviously, Vassil Stoin’s passion for collecting work “as a farmer during harvest” (Качулев 1981: 27) was partly rejected by his daughter. And this is not accidental. Elena Stoin shares that her first steps in the field were under the guidance of the prominent Bulgarian ethnographer Hristo Vakarelski (“I was personally very close to Vakarelski”; Пейчева 2010: 28) and Raina Katsarova (“For me Katsarova was the boss and a friend. And I could always count on her”; Пейчева 2010: 28): “Vakarelski first took me to a field trip on Lazarus ... First, I observed the custom in its natural environment, then the second time I went to record the songs and document the game... And thus began my interest in folk customs” (Ботушаров 2005b: 130). This recollection demonstrates Elena Stoin’s understanding that the exploring of musical facts begins from their relationship with the ethnographic context, and that recording of folk songs and instrumental music just for the sake of recording is incomplete. Driven by his interest to understand the broader meaning and sense of folk-music samples, in her fieldwork Elena Stoin added a technique called “writing in the margins”: “And when I went to record songs, I asked about the customs – when they sung to me a wedding song I asked them to tell me about the wedding, how it proceeds, what song is sung at what stage and so... I could write in the margins” (Ботушаров 2005b: 130).

Elena Stoin criticized the speedy gathering as a huge quantity “with a lot of chaff” (Пейчева 2010: 29). She argues that her ‘young’ colleagues, carried away in an intensive gathering of folk-musical texts failed to notice and observe the experienced musical contexts, contents, and meanings, born in the direct

communication between researchers and the researched material in the field: “Then those who considered themselves purer scientific researchers said that they ‘do not waste time writing stuff in table fields, as you do with Katsarova’” (Ботушаров 2005b: 126).

After the political changes in 1989 the fieldwork of Bulgarian ethnomusicologists significantly changed. The Bulgarian state no longer acknowledged the funding of ethnomusicology field studies as a strategically important task. Since 1989, Bulgarian ethnomusicologists gradually shifted away from the positively oriented practice and centered on musical texts field practice. Jeff Titon wrote the following about this kind of field research activities: „Fieldwork is no longer viewed principally as observing and collecting (although it surely involves that) but as experiencing and understanding music” (2008: 25). The fieldwork approach, dominating until the end of the 1980s, with its goals to search for objective and consequential manifestations of musical expression is replaced by other impulses, interests, and cognitive perspectives. Among new approaches is the search for understanding and emotional connection, and mutually more open communication between ethnomusicologists and musicians in the field of knowledge about music. New ethnomusicology publications appeared, attempting to explain and understand music through interpretive descriptions (Rice 2004: 12) by seeking social, cultural, economic, artistic, and other meanings of the observed musical events.

The ethnomusicologist’s mission no longer consists only of mechanical, “feverish” gathering “in the shortest time” (Качулев 1981: 27). It contains other intentions – by focusing on communication in the field to find different levels of musical process and its results, to outline the individuality of the bearers and performers of music samples. Such refocusing of the interests of Bulgarian ethnomusicologists led to readjusting the field research methods and techniques. More often, ethnomusicologists seek ways and means to achieve convergence with their interlocutors, which results in more anthropological interpretations of the empirical results in the field.

New aspects and difficulties of the tasks faced by ethnomusicologist during fieldwork are articulated. Preliminary preparation and organization of fieldwork is carried out mainly by the ethnomusicologist’s self-organization. This suggests that ethnomusicologists increase their communicative flexibility and develop tuning capabilities to respond to unforeseen subjective circumstances that may emerge during fieldwork.

Ethnomusicologists from Bulgaria, which fall in ‘field’ situations full of surprises, where no one understands the others, have raised the issue of the mutual understanding between interlocutors and ethnomusicologists. Rosemary Statelova speaks of the “extreme hardship, with which the researcher has to deal in a distant ethnomusicological fieldwork location, almost straightaway closed for a person coming from abroad” (Стателова 2008: 104).

The efforts of some Bulgarian ethnomusicologists in utilizing methods and techniques for better understanding and connecting in communication with interlocutors in the field are met with controversy among other ethnomusicologists in Bulgaria. Lyuben Botusharov expressed distrust for the new approaches in the fieldwork, criticizing them for their limited productivity: “It seems that we forgot the mission of Vassil Stoin – forgot to rush to record, being carried away in exploring and writing (and society seems to require more of this from us). We tend to collect modern themes... But we have stopped recording globally aiming to cover Bulgaria, remove the white spots. No money? Rather, we have problems in the methods of recording...” (Ботушаров 2005a: 22). The critical view of Lyuben Botusharov to refocusing to new points in the fieldwork of the Bulgarian ethnomusicologists after 1989 is not surprising. This view reflects a multitude of complex relationships and viewpoints, and expresses the understanding of generations of Bulgarian ethnomusicologists that “the research interpretations may be outdated but recordings will remain” (Ibid).

Foreign ethnomusicologists

Bulgaria provided the fieldwork terrain to professional ethnomusicologists and researchers from Western Europe (Gerald Messner and others) and the U.S.A. (Timothy Rice, Carol Silverman, Donna Buchanan, Karen Peters, Angela Rodel, Martha Forsyth, Martin Koenig, and others).

In 1966, the ethnographer and Balkan dance specialist Martin Koenig embarked on his first trip to Bulgaria to research and document traditional Bulgarian dance forms in their original settings. Over a span of twenty years Koenig worked in villages throughout the country. He filmed, recorded, and photographed the endangered aspects of Bulgarian traditional culture he encountered (Koenig 2011). Martha Forsyth, Ives Moreau, and Ethel Raim also documented mainly village music in Bulgaria at the local level (Rice 2004: 113).

Timothy Rice conducted his field research in Bulgaria during the summer of 1969 (Rice 1994: 16) and has since been a regular visitor to Bulgaria. During these decades Rice observed, directly and in detail, different processes and phenomena related to Bulgarian folk music.

During the early 1970s Gerald Messner also conducted field research in Bulgaria. The purpose of his fieldwork was to find a natural explanation of the multipart singing practiced in the Bistritsa village of the Sofia region. Gerald Messner stated that for him the Bistritsa village was like a ‘magical place’ on the slopes of the mountain Vitosha near Sofia: “I had an overwhelming experience myself when I visited Bulgaria for the first time many years ago. Bistritsa changed my own life. Seven years after my first visit I started to write my dissertation about the songs of Bistritsa at the University of Vienna; and my connections with Bulgaria have since grown stronger” (Forsyth 1996: 19).

Since 1972, Carol Silverman has been a regular visitor of Bulgaria and carried out numerous field research trips connected with the ethnography of the Romani community life in relation to music (Silverman 2012: 4, 16).

In 1978, Martha Forsyth met for the first time with Linka Gergova and other members of the singing group known as 'The Bistritsa Babi' ('The gran-nies') in the village of Bistritsa (just outside of Sofia). Martha Forsyth is the author of a monograph about *baba* (grandma) *Linka* – "a singer with a rare and beautiful voice, possessing an awesome repertory of songs" (Forsyth 1996: 19).

In 1988 Donna Buchanan arrived in Bulgaria to begin her research activities, based on intensive fieldwork with professional Bulgarian folk musicians.

Various field researches related to doctoral dissertations were conducted in Bulgaria during the 1990s and 2000s by Karen Peters and Angela Rodel.

Foreign ethnomusicologists arrive in Bulgaria with their own theoretical ideas, tactical purposes and concrete individual work programs that always contain elements of preliminary selection and pre-interpretation. Coming to the unknown field, they go step by step toward its comprehension, finding themselves in ongoing situations of communication with the local people.

According to the established 'western' (anthropological) understanding of fieldwork, ethnomusicologists typically conduct a year or more of fieldwork. As Timothy Rice said, "During fieldwork we live with the people whose music we study and attend musical events, both participating in and observing them" (2004: 28). With such a fieldwork approach, ethnomusicologists try to perceive different aspects of their interlocutors' lives through mutual connection in the research process. This way of field research is focused on a concrete, observable musical object and is based on empathically-interpretative, rather than objectively-ordered (normative) approaches.

Each of the researchers has unique personal field experiences, during which they develop strategies and make compromises (Buchanan 2006: 52–3) in order to finish the research. Helen Meyers offered a very strong statement about personal challenges and complications caused by fieldwork: "The strength and weaknesses of our personalities are tested as we adapt to a foreign way of life and document an unfamiliar musical culture. By its very nature fieldwork provides a setting in which we feel awkward and disorientated" (1992: 22–3). In the context of such uncertainty and disorientation, Western ethnomusicologists learn not only about the others, but also about themselves. Positioned in an environment that provokes thoughts and experiences, the researchers and knowledge seekers expand their individual boundaries and horizons. As Rice puts it: "...the self is transformed and reconfigured in the act of understanding one's own or another culture.... I was neither an insider nor an outsider" (2008: 46, 51).

The daily life of fieldworkers is accompanied by satisfaction of coping with new situations and completing the planned tasks, but may also be marked by traumatic experiences, caused by the clash with a foreign, unknown reality.

The traumas of these western ethnomusicologists, caused by encounters with the 'foreign', Bulgarian musical cultures, are hidden behind their human and professional ethics. Mostly (with some exceptions) the researchers would not publish all of their detailed field notes and diaries, their interview transcriptions, accounts of day-to-day activities, audio and video recordings, photographs and pictures, which would present a wider and multifaceted picture of the satisfactions, sufferings, and trans-musical revelations in their fieldwork. The most open access to her immediate experiences is given by Donna Buchanan, who published part of her field experiences in Bulgaria from the late 1980s to the early 1990s, placing them in the interpretative frame of her research on part of the musical life of post-socialist Bulgaria (2006: 52–78, 179–223).

Although Western ethnomusicologists, who completed fieldwork in Bulgaria, have not published their ethnomusicology research confessions, some of their theoretical discourses slip in brief descriptions of embarrassing situations, anxieties, disorders, and painful realizations. While they are few and scarce, these descriptions offer particularly interesting material for analysis of the conscious suffering, hardship, and distress endured by the researchers, as well as the different types of problems faced by Western ethnomusicologists.

One commonly commented problem among Western ethnomusicologists, who worked in Bulgaria, is the attitude (rather anecdotic in a way) of the bureaucratic representatives of Bulgarian authorities towards their research projects.

Timothy Rice described his first impressions of Bulgaria from 1969 as an anecdote. On one side is an encounter with Bulgarian spontaneous live music and the understanding that it exists not only as studio recordings but in the lives of people who live in the village, and on the other side – a cooler brush with a representative of the municipal party administration in the town of Yambol, who categorically stated that “there is no folklore in Yambol region.” The American ethnomusicologist talks about the delights and disappointments, resulting from his fieldwork experience in Bulgaria during the communist period (1944–1989). He defines his work as a contradictory unity of joys and tensions, satisfactions and absurdities of fieldwork in Bulgaria during the communist period: “I found myself trapped between a love of the tradition, together with the naïve assumption that I could experience it on my own terms, and the communists’ desire to control my, and indeed everyone’s, access to it. I learned in a direct and unpleasant way of the limited powers of the individual in a communist society” (1994: 16–19). In one of his later publications, Rice again remarked on his frustrating experience with Bulgarian authorities: “...he was a member of the state security apparatus, with whom I had had a number of unpleasant run-ins” (2008: 53).

Donna Buchanan wrote about a fact known from numerous publications: “many foreign scholars who worked in socialist Eastern Europe have described how governmental institutions and procedures circumscribed their research in some fashion” (2006: 52). As Buchanan says, to be a (foreign) ethnomusicolo-

gist, doing fieldwork in Bulgaria, is a difficult task that creates a sense of confusion and frustrating emotions: “The frustrations I faced were merely typical of (often more serious) bureaucratic obstacles confronted regularly by my Bulgarian associates, and as such, were simply constitutive of socialist life” (2006: 53).

Another problem experienced by any foreign observer, who has worked in Bulgaria, is the cultural shock caused by the existing local conditions that define the daily lives of people. The clash with the principles and organization of life in Bulgaria, the revelation of the differences in lifestyles, the difficulties of entering and adapting to the realities in the field of work, change the internal state of the researchers. Being on foreign soil in Bulgaria, the observing ethnomusicologists highlight specific issues, which concern both the observers and the observed. As much as they are articulated in publications, these observations and interpretations are cautious, judicious, and delicately named. As indicated by Timothy Rice, the feeling of Western researchers is that in 1988 “Bulgaria was a rather poor country with communist government” (2004: 1). Donna Buchanan noticed that “Here I immediately encountered the effects of escalating inflation: the price of a single bus, trolley, or tram ticket had been 6 stotinki in 1988–89 and 5 leva in 1994”; “I knew that salaries had not increased proportionally and wondered how my friends, many of them now pensioners, were managing to live under such circumstances”; “The musicians with whom I worked led stressful, busy, demanding lives” (2006: 5, 74). In her fieldwork Carol Silverman has faced specific problems caused by the Bulgarian state policy of “mono-ethnism” in the 1980s (2007: 74), shown in the official rhetoric of musical purity (state policy of mono-ethnism). Silverman is critical of the observed manifestations of Bulgarian ethnocentrism that underscore the distinction between ‘Us’ and ‘Others’, and are reflected in the neglect and marginalization of the music performed by the Gypsy citizens of Bulgaria.

The ‘field frustrations’, rarely mentioned in the publications of Western ethnomusicologists, did not change their purposes or intentions to research different aspects of music in Bulgaria. Each of the ethnomusicologists, who performed fieldwork in Bulgaria, sought and found solutions to their problems and has in their own way disabled attempts of the Bulgarian government officials to control research.

Western ethnomusicologists usually do not express in their publications their innermost feelings and personal emotions generated as a result of uncertainty and unpredictability of field communications. However, scattered in some publications, one can read remarks that imply signs of mental pressure, to which researchers are subjected during fieldwork in Bulgaria. Donna Buchanan openly described the inner feeling of loneliness, while living in the field: “I felt lonely and isolated – especially during the initial months of my stay – and missed the rich, enculturative experience of truly living within my ‘field’” (2006: 53).

The visible (conscious and described) or the invisible (deeper and less conscious) levels of experience of the ethnomusicologists during field research have significant impact on understanding of the essence and complexity of the fieldwork. The 'field communications', in which people take roles of a 'scientific observer' and 'observed object', are as much controlled as they are spontaneous and unexpected. They create a dynamic mixture of scientific approach to understanding with intuitive sensitivity.

In her recently published book *Romani Routes: Cultural Politics & Balkan Music in Diaspora* Carol Silverman expresses her opinion that the field research, data and analyses are always a 'partial truth' and are result of 'collaborative ethnography'. In her case, "Studying a minority during the socialist and post-socialist periods highlights many issues of ethics, the role of the fieldworker, the power differential between fieldworker and informants, and give-and-take in relationship" (2012: 15). Silverman openly faced the fundamental questions, related to the field work of every anthropologist, ethnologist, folklorist, ethnographer, and ethnomusicologist: "As I accepted hospitality and knowledge from Roma, I continually asked myself, what my relationship to these people is? What am I doing for those who so generously taught me? How can I best discuss my own position in this research?" (Ibid.).

Conclusion

From the above outlined general contours on the topic of ethnomusicology fieldwork conducted in Bulgaria, it is clear that this question remains completely open to new readings, analysis, and interpretations. It is hardly possible to arrive at a final point where there is no room for more analysis, comments, and interpretations. On one hand, that is because fieldwork is not an inherently abstract deterministic consensus, but a process with many unforeseen ramifications, constantly updated in ongoing communications between the ethnomusicologist and their interlocutors. On the other hand, fieldwork is in its deep nature a highly specialized communicative process that unfolds in many situations of interaction, and therefore is always dependent on certain situational circumstances/characteristics/references. This could mean that communicative interactions in the field of ethnomusicology are incomprehensible in the conditions, procedural complexity and dynamics of their meaning, and therefore escape from the structured logic of abstract analytical schemes, paradigmatic classifications, and theoretical models.

In the end, I would like to quote a brief note from Gerald Messner's article published in the late 1980s, and associated with understanding that music (acoustic image in time) only exists in the human world of sensual perceptions and nowhere else, so that "all reasoning in the field of music is completely irrelevant, if the values of human experience, the relations between people through the communicative means of music are not taken into account in re-

search” (Mesner 1988: 379). The fieldwork of ethnomusicologists is also a point in the process of sensual perceptions and relations among people who share values of human experience, which comes to life and is promoted in new ways in the scientific texts of ethnomusicologists.

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Лозанка Пејчева

ЕТНОМУЗИКОЛОШКА ИСТРАЖИВАЊА У БУГАРСКОЈ
– ПОГЛЕД НА ПОЉЕ ТЕРЕНСКОГ РАДА

Резиме

За етномузикологе, сврха теренског рада је очигледна и не захтева посебна образложења. Ипак, сваки етномузиколог би био заинтересован да стекне увид у праксе рада својих колега на терену. Преглед теренског истраживања етномузиколога чији је заједнички именитељ интересовање за народну музику Бугарске, могао би бити основа за систематски увид у опште проблеме теренског рада. Различите парадигме теренског истраживања настале су као резултат различитих концепата и погледа етномузикологије као научне дисциплине. Овај рад ће покушати да направи дистинкцију и да делимично интерпретира различите приступе и достигнућа теренског рада бугарских истраживача и доприноса научника са тла западне Европе и Северне Америке.

THE APPLICATION OF THE SEMIOTIC THEORY BY CH. S. PEIRCE IN ETHNOMUSICOLOGY*

MIRJANA ZAKIĆ

Abstract: The semiotic concept of the American philosopher of pragmatism and founder of modern semiotics Charles Sanders Peirce presents the theoretical basis of this paper. In Peirce's view of semiosis, as a semiotic process in which something plays a role of the sign, the basic correlatives are: the sign ("something that stands for something else to someone in some way": qualisign, sinsign, legisign = Trichotomy I), the object (the icon, index, and symbol = Trichotomy II), and the interpretant (rheme, dicent, and argument = Trichotomy III). In the focus of this paper, semiotic potentials are interpreted in various performing – expression forms, specifically contextualised and differently positioned in Serbian musical practice. Pierce distinguished different characteristics of the sign types through the levels of emotional, energetic, and logical interpretation. This led toward the thinking about various effects of musical signs and toward a more precise categorisation of the semiotic potential of music.

Keywords: semiotic model by Ch. S. Peirce, *kraljica* songs, dances, interpretant.

The actuality of musical semiotics of different intensities from the 1970s is predominantly based on Saussurean structural linguistics, therefore, this methodological concept of musical semiotics is mainly aimed at drawing similarities between music and language. The particular limitations of such a concept are supported by the results of more contemporary scientific studies that point out differences between propositional, semantico-referential language and non-propositional sign system, such as music and dance (Turino 1999; Zakić 2009b).

Unlike the Saussurian binary semiotic-structural concept, which uses language as the primary modelling system, the pragmatic semiotic triadic model of the American philosopher and scientist Charles Sanders Peirce (1839–1914) defines the concept of a sign in the most exhaustive and flexible way that enables the use of many different types of signs outside the propositional language (1955, 1958, 1991, 1993). Ontologically speaking, a sign is not an object in an ordinary sense, but a functional and relational creation, whose individual aspects (correlations) should always be taken into account. For Peirce, semiotic processes (semiosis) have three basic correlates (Figure 1)¹: the *sign* ("some-

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¹ Figure 1 is taken from the paper of Thomas Turino (1999: 226).

thing that stands for something else to someone in some way”); the *object* (which is the “something else”, or entity, stood for by the sign, be it an abstract concept or a concrete object);² the *interpretant* (the effect created by bringing the sign and object together in the mind of a perceiver).

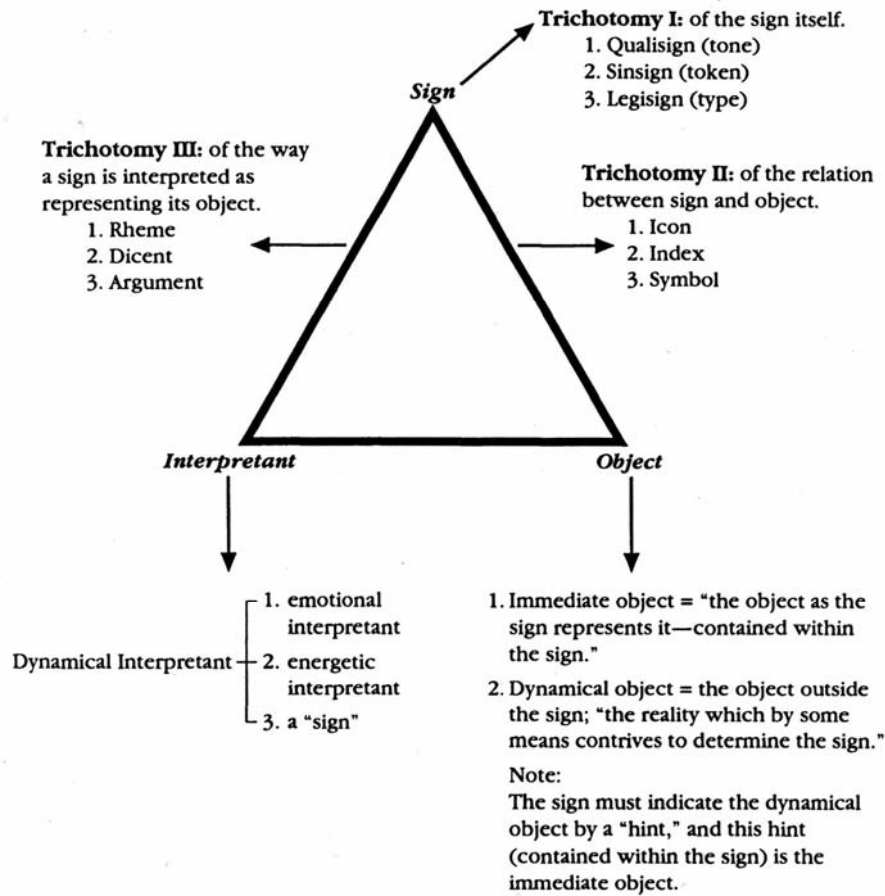


Figure 1.

The first trichotomy involves the nature of the sign itself (the first correlation) with three concepts: the *qualisign* (a pure quality of a sign; material feature of a sign); the *sinsign* (the actual specific instance of a sign; the singular occurrence of a sign); and the *legisign* (a general type of a sign).

² Peirce maintains that at least two types of objects should be distinguished (Figure 1): the *immediate object* (given independently of direct observation as an object of performance, as an imaginary object); and the *dynamical object* (which is in any way given realistically and is accessible to observation).

The second trichotomy which implies sign-object relations (the second correlation) includes: the *icon* (refers to a sign that is related to its object through some type of resemblance between them, and gives the image of an object in terms of a copy, model, scheme or a structure); the *index* (refers to a sign that is related to its object through co-occurrence in actual experience, and has real connections to an object and directly refers to it); and the *symbol* (refers to a sign that is related to its object by means of certain rules or habits, without copying or a direct reference).

The third trichotomy which implies the way a sign is interpreted as representing its object (the third correlation) includes: the *rheme* (a sign of qualitative possibilities for its interpretant, meaning that it can present the type of a possible object—a sign as a concept); the *dicent* (a sign of the real existence for an interpretant—a sign as a statement); and the *argument* (both symbolic propositions as well as the language-based premises upon which the propositions can be interpreted and assessed—a sign as a conclusion).

In the category of interpretants, Peirce differentiates three significant sign characteristics (Figure 1): an *emotional interpretant* (or feeling interpretant; direct feeling caused by a sign), an *energetic interpretant* (physical reaction caused by a sign), and a *logical (a sign) interpretant* (the effect of an “intellectual concept”; language-based concept; that which is interpretable in thoughts or other signs of the same kind in infinite series).

The broadness of interpretational possibilities represents the conceptual area of a sign (semiosis is a type of chaining process through time, since each interpretation causes further interpretations that follow) and is constructed from the signs of feelings, experience, and thinking. Such explanation of interpretants also indicates three ontological categories on which Peirce bases his semiotics, naming them *Firstness* (the first terms: qualisign, icon, rheme and Trichotomy I, and emotional interpretant pertaining to Firstness), *Secondness* (the second terms: sinsign, index, dicent and Trichotomy II, and energetic interpretant pertaining to Secondness), and *Thirdness* (the third terms: legisign, symbol, argument and Trichotomy III, and logical interpretant pertaining to Thirdness).

Beside this tripartite division, Peirce also established the ten-class table of signs, consisting of combinations of explained concepts (Figure 2)³. The capacity of a sign itself to represent three different types of objects in three different ways and to occur in three different modalities is the foundation of Peirce's sign trichotomy (Милијић 1993: 122). Furthermore, it is important to emphasise that the function of designation always precedes the function of meaning, that is, the relation between a sign and an object is the basis of the connection with an interpretant. All signs can be analysed by relations within existing trichotomies; in concrete analyses, the signs that are accentuated are usually those that seem

³ Figure 2 is taken from the paper of Thomas Turino (1999: 233).

most significant according to their function in semiosis or for the given objective of analysis. Thus the same sign can be named simply icon, or rhematic-icon, or rhematic-iconic-legisign, depending on the requirements of an analysis or description (Turino 1999: 231). “The triadic nature of semiosis, which is essentially dynamic, could be understood as chains of signs, since semiosis is a continuous process of interpretation” (Martinez 1997: 67).

Class of Sign	Trichotomy			10 Classes of Signs	
	1	2	3		
I	A	A	A	Qualisign (iconic rheme)	<div style="display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center;"> ↑ Firstness ↓ </div>
II	B	A	A	Rhematic iconic sinsign	
III	B	B	A	Rhematic indexical sinsign	
IV	B	B	B	Dicent indexical sinsign	
V	C	A	A	Rhematic iconic legisign	
VI	C	B	A	Rhematic indexical legisign	
VII	C	B	B	Dicent indexical legisign	
VIII	C	C	A	Rhematic symbolic legisign	
IX	C	C	B	Dicent symbolic legisign	
X	C	C	C	Argument	

A=Firstness; B=Secondness; C=Thirdness
 1=Firstness; 2=Secondness; 3=Thirdness

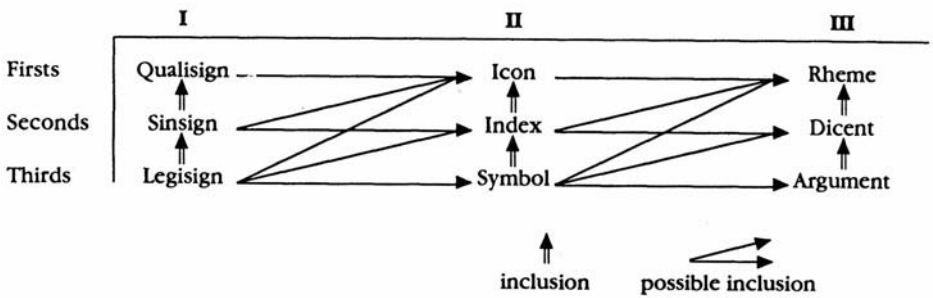


Figure 2.

Due to its meticulous differentiation of signs, Peirce’s complex semiotic model is applicable to numerous scientific theories. Partial credit for the breadth of such application also goes to Charles W. Morris, who on Ch. S. Peirce’s grounds developed a behavioural theory of signs, striving to integrate logical positivism and behavioural empiricism and pragmatism, and who considered semiotics metascience and an instrument of sciences (1975). The application of Peirce’s

concept in (ethno)musicological considerations of a musical text-context relation, as well as a musical meaning, is evident in the studies of Wilson Coker (1972), Raymond Monelle (1992), Eero Tarasti (1994), Robert Hatten (1994, 2004), José Luiz Martinez (1997), Thomas Turino (1999), M. Zakić (Zakić 2009a)⁴, and others. The use of specific terms is occasionally resisted by some scientists, especially those not familiar with Peirce's concept. Sometimes, however, as Turino emphasises, "new words are needed to think new thoughts and to approach old problems in radically new ways" (1999: 222). In the focus of this work, semiotic potentials (as essential segments of Peirce's model) are interpreted in the various performing – expression forms, specifically contextualised in the musical practice of Serbia. For a more convenient comparison, the exhibited case studies (1, 2, and 3) present examples of (re)interpretation of the *kraljica* songs, notated in southeastern Serbia (Leskovačka Morava region). These songs were, according to the previously stated, performed in different contexts and with different purposes.

Case 1

Case 1 presents the practice of performing *kraljica* songs and dances in the reconstructed process of the *kraljica* ritual, which, according to performers' testimonies (members of a given local community) faithfully reflects the performing of *kraljica* song and dances in the former authentic context of this ritual. The concrete example (Example 1), recorded in 1968,⁵ represents a reconstructed part of the *kraljica* ritual in Leskovačka Morava, with female participants performing it in its authentic context during the mid twentieth century. The ritual was usually performed around the summer solstice, on St. George's Day or at the time of the great Christian holiday – Pentecost (St. Trinity). The *kraljica* procession consisted of: four female dancers – 'a king', 'a queen', and two 'standard bearers' (the points of 'right' and 'left' standards were decorated with greenery, flowers, bells, and jingles) – and, usually four female singers (the 'fronts', who start the verses, and the 'backs', who repeat them). Ritual acts, along with songs and dances, were meant to provide the home with fertility and progress to all of its members. Beside their ruler-cult component, these 'fertility prayers' also contained strong elements of the marriage initiative. Certain personal, actional, and object systems refer to this notion (the participants are girls mature enough for marriage; a figure of 'a standard bearer' as a wedding omen and a figure of 'a king' – the girl who is, according to the folk narrative, expected to marry the very same year; giving of the flowers from the 'right'

⁴ Personal use of basic semiotic principals in the interpretation of rituals by M. Zakić represented the first attempt of correlation of semiotic apparatus with traditional ethnomusicological discourse in Serbian research.

⁵ This recording is an excerpt from the movie on seasonal customs and traditional music in the municipality of Leskovac. The movie was produced by ethnomusicologist Professor Dragoslav Dević and Radio Television Serbia in 1968.

bearer to the girl who is also ready for her new status), as does the poetic system (the lyrics abound in romantic and marital motives). In other words, in establishing the connection with the idea of a ritual as a specific object, iconic signs (the mapping of marriage ritual elements; and the use of bells and jingles which relate sonically to deafening sound atmosphere – noise, stemming from their sign-symbolic protective function, as they serve to repel demons) and index references are used (term determinants for female participants – ‘king’, ‘queen’, as well as refrain ‘lado’, which all directly pinpoint a ritual they are in a real causal relation with). Also, indexical designation of a song as one of the *kraljica* confirms the high contextual dependence of an index. Moreover, in establishing a connection with the general idea of a ritual, the idea of fertility as a universal object, iconic-indexical signs are used (floral elements which refer to fertility of vegetation, and by this to the universal fertility as well) (Zakić 2009a: 33–45). Ritual objects undoubtedly acknowledge the significance of a ritual for the status of individuals, their participation in a society and the existence of the entire community. Considering the function of the mentioned signs, it can be concluded that indexes and icons play an important role in the modeling of personal and collective experiences and constructing of individual and social identities. Common functioning of iconic and indexical signs represents a typical phenomenon in expressive (ritual) cultural practices (Turino 1999: 234–5).

Considering the essence of ritual syncretism as a “unique whole in interaction” (Leach 1983: 5–15), as unity of diversities among simultaneous texts which belong to different systems (temporal, locative, personal, actional, subjective, musical, poetic, and dance) (Толстој 1995: 141), it is clear that the sign quality of all texts is ‘interpreted’ in their mutual functioning (through intertextual exchange, that is, ‘dialogue relations’ of texts, according to Bakhtin’s terminology; in: Danow 1988: 243) that contributes to the shape of a unique ritual message. So, by functioning as dicent-index signs, the performing form of actional, musical, and especially dance texts, creates emotional and, to even greater extent, energetic effects. These effects facilitate the efficiency of a ritual act and its direct influence on the members of a community (as less active, or rather passive ritual participants) whose act of providing active participants, according to the reciprocity principle, signifies the accomplishment of a contact. Specific expression of every ritual text is indexically linked with an idea (an object) of a ritual. Such expression represents a primary inscription into music which functions and actualises its meaning as an index. Expressivity is accomplished through the special energy of female dancers by their alternate meeting and changing places in twos (which can, according to their index denomination, be interpreted as the establishment of balance between male and female principles with the aim of marital binding of life and creative energies), as well as through the impression of perpetual cyclic flow achieved by poetic circumscriptio (with the verse *Oj, ubava, mala moma*) and ‘canonic antiphony’.

Unlike musical and dance systems, which are highly modelling in their nature, that is, highly redundant (since based on a universal model or, in the case of music – only few models, in a community), the poetic system is diverse, since referring to separate, concrete entities within the general idea of fertility. Splitting and segmenting of the reality, which predominantly characterises language communication is linked to the communicative potential of language, thus to its basic principle of symbolic presentation of non-linguistic phenomena. So, the high numeric informativeness of the poetic system stems from the highly symbolic natural language which carries discreet (continual), conventional, and arbitrary characteristics. On the contrary, musical and dance systems, with a significant function of non-verbal- iconic and indexical relations, are perceived as simultaneous, integral and spatial systems, whose efficacy is grounded in the possibility of condensation of temporal flow into an integral perceptive experience (Закіћ 2009b: 148). Diverse functionality of these types of discourse, and, in this respect, complementarity as well, both demonstrate the differences between propositional, semantico-referential language, based on a conventional meaning of symbols, and non-propositional sign system such as music and dance, with the significant function of iconic and indexical relations (Ibid.; Turino 1999).

Case 2

Case 2 illustrates the practice of performing the ritual (*kraljica*) songs and dances by neotraditional groups (initially formed in urban areas) aimed at presenting (and evoking to a wider audience) the authenticity of musical and dance expressions in the most faithful way. A concrete example was recorded in 2004 in the Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade at the student concert of the Department of Ethnomusicology; the programme was organised by professors Olivera Vasić and Sanja Ranković (Example 2)⁶.

This kind of practical engagement of our students is aimed at reinterpreting traditional songs (and dances) as authentically as possible, an idea shared by some other non-traditional Serbian groups as well. The object is a traditional musical-dancing form treated as a *sinsign*, thus, as a concrete performance of general class (*legisign*) of a given genre. Literally referring in this case to the *kraljica* song and dance from Leskovačka Morava (whose lyrics speak of the romantic longing of the youths), the reinterpretation represents (a literal) musical and dancing quotation, therefore establishing an iconic connection with a traditional object. The iconicity is hence based on the knowledge and ‘copying’ of traditional *qualisign* characteristics in the reinterpretation of a song and dance. Of course, the performance is displaced from its authentic context and

⁶ This recording belongs to the phonoarchive of the Department of Ethnomusicology, Faculty of music, Belgrade.

manifests a public form of the stage presentation intended for a wider audience. The indexical function, which in the ritual contextual situation had dominantly been marked in terms of realisation of the fertility idea, was in this stage performance shifted to the interactive relation of performers themselves (singers and dancers) and their relationship with the audience. Indices, with the iconical representation of a traditional form, establish their relationship with the audience and the idea of transfer of the message's semantic level, but also with the aim of their own artistic presentation. Such a unique combination is also apparent in the performers' costume design. A musical-poetic and dancing message, in the case of complete displacement from ritual context, therefore gets more prominent autonomous features and a more pronounced aesthetic function. In other words, the former utilitarian function – where the effects of music and dance appeared „minor compared to the result of a social situation“ – has been replaced by the artistic one – where the very music and dance are „the key factor of experience“ (Blacking 1992: 59, 60). As evidenced by the audience reactions, the resulting effects are generally recognised as rheme and dicent signs with emotional and energetic interpretants. In the conditions of authentic ritual reference disappearance, these (same) signs may have distinctive meanings depending on personal experiences. In order to overcome „a cultural buzz“ (as a potential difficulty in understanding semantics of the *kraljica* musical-dancing message due to anthropological or historical listeners' distance; Meyer 1977: 188), this performance is accompanied with a verbal comment (at the beginning of the concert) that in the light of Peirce's argument represents a language-based concept. These additional explanations, along with emphasis on the importance of protection of the cultural heritage for survival of every nation, tell us all about the function of gathering around 'the idea of archaic', and primarily about the function of creating a particular national identity.

Case 3

Case 3 illustrates the examples within popular music which refer (in various ways) to the forms of traditional musical culture. The concrete interpretation of a *kraljica* song by the group "Vrelo" from Ruma was performed in 2008 at the Exit festival in Novi Sad (Example 3)⁷. The group was transformed from a vocal-instrumental ethno ensemble in 1999 to "a band" in 2003 which, as the band members emphasise, cherishes "an alternative ethno sound" or the style of "world music fusion". According to the "Vrelo" members who see themselves as solely traditional interpreters – like museum conservationists, the reason for this transformation was the necessity for modernisation of the traditional sound.

⁷ <http://vrelomusic.com/index.html>

From a traditional model, in the audio recording of the *kraljica* song from the village of Brza, Leskovačka Morava region,⁸ the band “Vrelo” (whose members are musically uneducated) overtakes the integral poetic text as an iconic quotation; the vocal component has been reduced and recognised only at the level of motives (at melodic-poetic caesura). The musical performance of the band is defined in the following: “The traditional music substance is no longer used as the basic element of their work, but they combine it with other modern music and stage forms. The minimalist approach, simplification and nakedness of the expression through only two instruments (bass guitar and drums) and backing tracks + loops at one side, and several female voices which move between old, inherited patterns and modern expression on the other side, make “Vrelo” a part of world music by relying on the identity and authenticity of Slavic music.”⁹ From these statements, and particularly after a long conversation with members of the group, it seems clear that they endeavour to not only creating musical-scenic models, personal and social identity, but on a much broader level – to creating a transcultural and multicultural role for music.

After winning the 2nd place in the prestigious BBC competition (2007) and cooperation with the director Emir Kusturica on the punk opera *Time of the Gypsies*, the popularity of the “Vrelo” has been growing in Serbia. Their concerts are attended mostly by young people.

Through ‘modernisation’ of tradition in a way close to the Western ear, and by the corresponding vocal-instrumental arrangements and visual iconography that in its members’ words actualises a contrapuntal relation with music, the “Vrelo” band creates a link with a style of world fusion. The features of costumes design – choice and uniformity – follow the idea of making people visible, impressive, and equal. In an interview with the author of this paper, the “Vrelo” members also pointed out: “We are all a part of the collective being, the story of the world – people identify more easily with this”¹⁰

The artistic representation of the group “Vrelo” is characterised by loud music, as an indexical legisign of rock culture, thus, it bears different meaning in regard to the references of the same (loud) characteristics in ritual performing. It is only one confirmation that the same sign can have a different meaning in a different situational context. Also, it abounds in dynamic and highly energetic movements. “Body language” – as the field of kinesics – “is a dicent-indexical sign, because it is interpreted as being a true or natural sign, and is the direct result of a person's actual attitude, thus apprehended as actually being affected by that object. Facial expression, body position, and gesture typically create effects at the levels of emotional or energetic interpretants” (Turino 1999:

⁸ From: Димитрије О. Големовић, 2000. *Рефрен у народном певању – од обреда до забаве*, Београд: Реноме – Бијелина, Академија уметности – Бања Лука, 225–6.

⁹ <http://vrelomusic.com/index.html>

¹⁰ The series of interviews with “Vrelo” were conducted during my research in 2011.

228–9). With the adequate synergy of music and dance, and their synchronous influence, dicent-indices create actual experiences of social identity, connection, unity and participation, which is also the main idea (object) of “Vrelo’s” performance. In order to achieve powerful emotional and energetic effects on the listener, all means applied at the musical, dancing, and poetic levels (lyrics repetition, exclamations, intensity, highly accentuated rhythmic pulsation, body movements, etc.) and juxtaposition of parts are included. The semantic level of the textual message is completely sidelined; occasionally “Vrelo” uses language-based signs as short declarations about the former function of a song. In terms of this *kraljica* song, signs of this kind are absent, which does not at all detract from the audience. One listener made a very illustrative statement: “I have no idea what this is, but it’s fantastic!”¹¹

The existence of different ideological concepts and treatments of tradition – that indicated in this work the keeping of tradition by its direct carriers, the continuation of tradition in its ‘authentic’ shape, that is, mimesis of tradition as an ideal-typical reconstruction (Ненић 2010), and the ‘modernisation’ of tradition or fusion of traditional and contemporary – presents a natural characteristic of the current transitional period which Serbia is in. The performance of *kraljica* songs under conditions of the disappearance of an authentic context (of the *kraljica* ritual) results in the change of an object and specific triadic relations among the sign, object, and interpretant. These three case studies have shown that, depending on situational context and personal experiences, the same sign can have radically distinctive meanings. Different treatments of music and dance in different contextual conditions have proven the specificity of musical and dance sign systems, which function predominantly within Peirce's categories of the First and the Second, with signs of feeling and experience and the crucial production of emotional and energetic effects.

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¹¹ The interviews with “Vrelo” were conducted during my research in 2011.

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Мирјана Закић

ПРИМЕНА СЕМИОТИЧКЕ ТЕОРИЈЕ Ч. С. ПЕРСА У ЕТНОМУЗИКОЛОГИЈИ*

Резиме

Семиотички концепт америчког филозофа прагматизма и утемељивача модерне семиотике – Чарлса Сандерса Перса (Charles Sanders Peirce), представља теоријску окосницу овог рада. У Персовом одређењу *семиозе*, као семиотичког процеса „у коме нешто игра улогу знака“, базични корелати су: знак (*квализнак, синзнак и легизнак = Трихотомија I*), објект (*икон, индекс и симбол = Трихотомија II*) и интерпретант (*рема, дицент и аргумент = Трихотомија III*). Таква тријадна концепција знака – којом су обухваћене различите димензије семиозе: синтактичка (подразумева формални међусобни однос знакова), семантичка (прати релације знакова према објектима које денотирају) и прагматичка (говори о односу знакова према њиховим интерпретантима, односно корисницима) – даје могућност обухватнијег сагледавања и прецизнијег означавања и позиционирања јединица и феномена у (музичкој) култури.

Лична примена основних семиотичких принципа у интерпретирању обреда, а првенствено у анализи поетског и музичког система у обредним песмама зимског полугођа југоисточне Србије, представљала је први покушај повезивања апаратуса семиотике са традиционалним етномузиколошким дискурсом у српској науци. Семиотички потенцијали у тумачењу разноврснијих и жанрова и извођачко-изражајних форми специфично контекстуализованих и различито позиционираних у музичкој пракси Србије, јесу у фокусу овог рада. Различито деловање типова знакова, које Перс диференцира кроз нивое емоционалних, енергетских и логичких интерпретатора, води ка промишљању о различитим ефектима музичких знакова – као могућим знаковима емоције, искуства, имагинације, персоналне и социјалне идентификације (у тумачењу Томаса Турина / Thomas Turino) – односно, ка прецизнијем утврђивању семиотичких потенцијала музике.

* Интегрални текст на српском језику доступан је на приложеном диску. / Integral text in Serbian is available on the attached DVD.

ETHNOMUSICOLOGICAL RESEARCH OF THE GUSLARS' MEMORY: A PILOT STUDY*

DANKA LAJIĆ-MIHAJLOVIĆ

Abstract: This paper concerns the research on guslars' memory (singers of epic songs accompanied by the *gusle*, a single-string bowed lute) in Serbia. In the context of research on improvisation—a principle of creating while performing, a comprehension of memorization strategies as part of music cognition is necessary. This kind of knowledge deems significant for deeper penetration into the centuries old survival of this genre in conditions of oral transmission. It is also a prerequisite for contriving measures for preservation of gusle singing, as one of representatives of intangible cultural heritage in Serbia and the Balkans. Particular attention in this paper is devoted to the actual research method—a specific solution as a result of work in one 'national and regional ethnomusicology' whose research strategies are determined not only by the primary focus on regional musical practice, but by general conditions of the discipline growth in this region. The author of the present study designed the field research according to experimental psychology research examples, and realized it as a pilot project.

Keywords: epic tradition(s), guslar, epics, memory/memorization, methodology.

Ethnomusicological research of the Balkan epics

As one of the common denominators of the Balkan's extant musical traditions, epics continues to attract research attention. The most recent testimonial to this is offered in the book of collected articles entitled *Balkan Epic* (Bohlman and Petković 2011). The book is highly informative in regard to the aspects of epic traditions that editors and researchers chose to present. Modern 'singers of tales' are primarily observed from cultural-anthropological and sociological perspectives, without a detailed discussion of the musical performing component—the musicological angle is in the background and in accord with the current dominancy of social sciences theories in ethnomusicology (Rice 2010). The editors, indeed emphasize the importance of the guslars' and rhapsodists' ex-

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traordinary memory for the process of creating and composing during performance, as well as “compositional-improvisational patterns” (formulas) at the basis of this process (Bohlman and Petković 2011: 8–9), but improvisation (determined as a balance between stable presence of established elements and characteristic markers of individual creativity and personableness) is discussed primarily in references to Parry’s and Lord’s theory of oral formulas, that is, in references to the poetic plane (more in Lord, Mitchell, and Nagy 2000). Even (cross-culturally oriented) psychology studies about memorization and playing by ear lean on the poetic aspect via the same bibliography reference (Lehmann, Sloboda, and Woody 2007: 120–21). The need for complementing knowledge acquired through research of the creative process in its musical dimension, here appears indubitable. Particularly valuable would in fact be results of research on Parry’s and Lord’s recordings of epic singers who, during their performances, create both the poetic and musical dimension of an epic song. Such knowledge would be particularly useful for understanding changes in guslars’ natural creativity that occurred mainly as a consequence of role-sharing between poets—as authors of lyrics for epic songs on one side, and guslars as their musical presenters, on the other. In reality, modern ‘singers of tales’ are by large literate people whose way of participation in preservation of epic tradition entails a strong imprint of the education and technology era. If the actual ethnomusicology paradigms could be summarized as ‘studies of people who make music’ or ‘studies of people who experience music’, as put forward by Jeff Todd Titon (2008: 29), and if creating music and its perception as a whole materialised interactive process, are among the paramount concerns in ethnomusicology research as identified by Clayton, Sager, and Will (2004: 2), then it is precisely the principles of learning and recreating of epic songs as much as communicativeness of their musical dimension, that present themselves as a key task for ethnomusicologists. In other words, it is our very discipline that owes and could contribute to situating the creation of the musical component in epic songs as related to ‘formulaic performances’ or improvisations (Turino 2009: 104–6). This kind of positioning could play an essential role in the discussion about the sustainability of singing with gusle tradition and about the ethical facet of idiolectal solutions in relation to the ‘rules and expectations of tradition’ (compare with Solis and Nettle 2009, especially Blum 2009: 241; Nettle 2009; Racy 2009: 317–19; Shehan Campbell 2009: 123–4; Turino 2009: 114; and also Kenny and Gellrich 2002; Thompson and Lehmann 2004: 149–52).

The omittance of a musicological aspect, even in the studies on epics delivered by ethnomusicologists in music education, appears indicative in scope of the problem’s delicacy and demands. My evaluation, based on years of experience in research of guslar tradition in Serbia and various forms and aspects of ‘epic events’ (Lajić-Mihajlović 2006; 2007, 2008, 2010a, 2011a; Lajić-Mihajlović 2010b, 2011b), is that the research of guslars’ musical comprehension

posits the most perplexing task. Since the psychology of music is, judging by the number of few researchers, still an underdeveloped discipline in Serbia, the lack of collaboration among ethnomusicologists and psychologists of music is evident and thereby presents a problem across the board (Nettl 1999: 303). Additionally, the unexplored principles of transmission and “create-as-you-play” strategies in guslar tradition appear as a consequence of circumstances in which no ethnomusicologist became engaged in this practice as a participant observer. In my case, the research of singing with gusle included ‘fieldwork close to home’ (the paraphrased expression “fieldwork at home”, more in Stock and Chiener 2008), which meant relief of all negative connotations of fieldwork (largely) dislocated from home and place of ‘academic life’ (already described by, among others, Carol Babiracki 2008: 168). Hence, even a minimal support stemming from fieldwork projects I was already engaged in, allowed me to conduct research for more than a decade. I spent a significant amount of quality time in guslar circles, attended various events, and forged close professional relationships with many guslars and other important partakers in this profession, and became fully aware of the guslars’ community expectations in terms of my advocacy for preservation of the tradition. As part of an implicit understanding between an ethnomusicologist and cooperator in research, this is especially delicate for ‘insider-researchers’ (Kaufman Shelemay 2008: 150). The actual masculine determination of this practice, not exactly tabooed but still strong at this time, convinced me to opt for the position of a ‘non-guslar ethnomusicologist’. The guslars reciprocated such respect for tradition—a very significant facet of their identity—by their utmost cooperation, where I believe my decision was a sound one and benefited me. A limited access of the female researcher to a dominantly male music tradition does not necessarily diminish an overall effect of a woman-researcher’s agencies (as described by Kay Kaufman Shelemay from her own perspective, 2008). On the contrary, it can stimulate the discovery of specific, novel research potentials. Thus, during my inquiry into the guslars’ memorization strategies, I fully took advantage of my ‘vetted admirer’ status.

Exploration of guslars’ memorization: from a task toward the method

The exploration of psychological aspects of oral dissemination and improvisation of guslar practice did not directly lean on ethnomusicological or (cognitive) psychology of music research in Serbia. The ethnomusicologists’ concerns for the folk musicians’ cognition have in fact been sporadic and did not result in exact methodological solutions, but indirectly pointed to the lack of verbal communication during research (Jovanović 2008, Tadić 2009). At the same time, research in the realm of psychology of music in Serbia focused on the nature and structure of music aptitude (Mirković-Radoš 1998) and psychological and environmental factors as contributing to the development of musical

ability (Bogunović 2010). The clearly conceived monograph entitled *Psychology of music* (Radoš 2010) exhibits an exhaustive overview of foreign authors' research in the domain of cognitive psychology of music, including processes of memorization, improvisation, and musical thinking, but the research of these topics conducted in Serbia, is still noticeably lacking. Following examples of experimental research applied in the psychology of music, in given circumstances I decided to communicate with guslars through music—that is, to convert my inquiries into music tasks to which they would respond by musicing. Especially compelling for this concept were research forms and conclusions about influences of musical-cultural systems on perception, laid out by John Sloboda (2005: 71–96) and David Temperley (2001: 276–79). Along with it, works collected in the book *Shadows in the Field* (Barz and Cooley 2008a) impressed on me entirely as an affirmation of diversity among first-hand field research methods. The advocating for principles of participant-observation, as one of the premises in current ethnomusicology fieldwork and factual experiences of Timothy Rice (2008), incentivized my reassessment for a researcher-academic musician—given their skills and experience—to serve as a medium in exploration of folk musicians' musical cognitive processes. In such situations, a process of cultural exchange becomes inevitable (as remarked by Rice, 2010: 138), and, essentially, groundwork for application of current, reflexive ethnomusicology (emphasizing in the foreground experiences of ethnographers within a researched culture, Barz and Cooley 2008b: 19–20). Thus, the researcher's (previous) 'music consciousness' upholds as indelible. The participant observation appears as a possible approach in that context, but the need for additional perspectives cannot be ignored. If, "[f]ieldwork is (...) portion of the ethnographic process during which the ethnomusicologist engages living individuals as a means toward learning about a given music-cultural practice", as stated by Barz and Cooley (*Ibid.*: 4), then, all methods of learning agreed upon by partakers may be considered justifiable. Particularly encouraging for my idea were writings about empiricism in musicology (Clarke and Cook 2004). They contain a very important explication also applicable to ethnomusicology, conveying that addition of a determinant 'empirical' does not deny empiricism of the entire musicology and does not predicate the distinction between empirical and non empirical or objective and subjective (*Ibid.*: 5). Particularly important, I consider the position that empirical approach should not be valued solely on an empiricist basis, but primarily by its potential efficacy to find or uncover something (*Ibid.*: 13). From another angle, the polemics initiated by Judith Becker's 'Ethnomusicology and Empiricism in the Twenty-First Century' (2009), published in the journal *Ethnomusicology* and involving Michael Bakan and Todd Titon (Bakan 2009; Titon 2009), as well as the debate between Nicholas Cook and Robert Gjerdingen (Cook and Everist 1999: 5–7; Gjerdingen 1999: 161–70), pointed to some possibilities of negative perception of my intention

and, to a degree, influenced my repositioning of the initial idea. Within that framework, I find necessary to underscore that I consider this research a pilot study aimed at defining the capacity of a particular research design—ethnomusicological research of the guslars' memorization process, grounded in an eclectic method of combined fieldwork and communicational model characteristic for experiments.

Exploratory research of guslars' memorization

The pilot-research was conducted in a single cultural context, in the town of Vrbas (Vojvodina, Northern Serbia), in an environment that nurtures lively and intensive practice of singing with the gusle. The research involved three guslars of approximately same age and educational level.¹ On an important note, all three guslars volunteered and were motivated to participate, for them in an unknown and in that sense uncomfortable mode of research, by virtue of their friendship and enthusiasm for epic practice in the main.

The research was comprised of four segments focused on different aspects of guslar memorization as an important stage in the course of oral traditions' cognitive processing, particularly in cases of large forms such as epic songs. On this occasion, a part of research directed at operative (short-term) memory² will be presented—an examination of auditory stimuli memorization (amount, accuracy, and the manner of memorization) according to the sequence input—process—output/product, via direct reproduction of stimuli.

The procedure consisted of playing a recorded task: one verse sang with gusle that the guslar-examinee is expected to immediately repeat in the same fashion—that is, to sing with gusle. While this expectation seems complex in a sense that reproducing a recorded excerpt requires guslar's engagement in both singing and playing, the choice was based on experience of 'guslar discourse' about (guslar) music (if the instrument is available) as being primarily vocal-instrumental. Every recorded task was played three times in alternation with the examinee's reproduction (on stimulus-reaction principle), introducing also into the focus along with memorization, the process of learning. The described procedure was realized to the greatest extent, and noted deviations included the inability to control situational circumstances in fieldwork conditions (above all the noise level) and

¹ Mirosljub Drakić (1971) from the town of Vrbas, member of the Guslar association (GA) "Njegoš" from Vrbas; Ljubomir Pavlović (1979) from Kula, member of the GA "Vuk Mandušić" from Vrbas; and Zoran Samardžić (1968) from Vrbas, also member of GA "Vuk Mandušić" from Vrbas.

² Since the cognitive system processes information both in ordinal (serial) and parallel (simultaneous) fashion, each structural description of the system components and process phases represents only an orientation in conceptualization and communication. Operative memory is commonly determined as memory domain designated for temporary storing of currently used information with limited capacities, and is (as distinct) discussed in relation to sensory and long-term memory (Костић 2010: 105, 54).

unintended communication between subject and the researcher (guslar's comments prior to the task reproduction, requests for additional repeats of the played recorded task, and repeated initial part—'stuttering' during reproduction).

The research sound material consisted of eight recorded tasks-verses, sang with the gusle (Examples 1–8, Figure 1).

1 Da- ni- ca se nje- mu od- go- va- ra:

2 "Ja sam bi - la, ja sam dan - gu - bi - la,

3 Dmi - tar u - ze ze - mlju ka - ra - vla - šku,

4 o - če - vi - nu svo - ju po - dje - li - še.

5 Dmi-tar u- ze do - nji kraj od gra - da

6 o - truj me - ni mog bra - ta Bog - da - na!

7 ej. ne smjem voj - na u dvo - ru če - ka - ti!"

8 Ej, mje-sec ka-(r)a zvi-je-zdu Da - ni- cu:

Figure 1: Notated task-verses.

The selected tasks were comprised of standard guslar melodies (more or less different variants of basic models, Лажућ-Михајловић, 2010a: 219–24, 232–9, 265). All tasks were extracted from a single performance in order to appear balanced in physical-acoustical parameters (technical quality of the recording, intonation, and vocal and gusle timbre).³ A potential influence of the performer's age or rather of his voice was taken into account; hence the selected recording featured a guslar performer of age similar to that of the examinee. Examinees' experience in relation to the recording was addressed by selecting the material essentially unfamiliar to the subjects. Having in mind that guslars can recognize other guslars' playing with certainty, a value judgment about the guslar whose performance yielded the selected excerpt was included as a latent impact.

The research results were read as related to the accuracy level of reproduction of the task's musical content. Considering that the singing was executed in a parlando manner with significant presence of melismas, it was difficult to precisely define criteria for accuracy of the length and pitch reproduction. Lacking the software that would compensate for this researcher's limited capabilities in recording the length and frequency of individual pitches, in this case, the estimation was conducted at a macro-level, based only on notable indicators: initial and cadential pitches and segments, and remarkable events in the melody. Such analysis of research results is appropriate in ethnomusicology discourse, although other ways of processing results to befit the needs of different research lenses are certainly possible.

It is foremost important to emphasize that, to the recorded task determined as a 'sung verse' and played directly without (instrumental) interludes that delineate vocal-instrumental segments of the integral performance, guslars reacted by spontaneously adding instrumental introduction. The instrumental part here acts as a distracter, diverting the direct reproduction of stimuli and turning it into indirect. These introductory segments are of various durations, but never longer than the time span considered sufficient for retention of material in operative memory (18–20 seconds, Костић 2010: 113). At the same time, their function is pragmatic, that is, they serve to establish intonation in the pitch area of the instrument's current tuning (see Example 9). Consequently, there are two durational values of reproduction: an overall which includes introduction, and the actual sung part. While it is possible to also record the postponement values, in this case I concentrated on the essence of response—the vocal-instrumental segment.

In the aspect of duration, the reproduction is generally observed as longer than original (see Figure 2). The first reproductions do not exhibit a systematic individual relationship toward the time line: the accuracy of the reproduction duration is not correlated with the task duration or its content (the type of melody).

³ The traditional folk song in question is *Dijoba Jakšića* [*The Apportionment among the Jakšić brothers*], performed by guslar Boško Vujačić from Belgrade.

Task duration	5"	5.5"	5"	5"	5.5"	5"	9.5"	15"
Reproduction duration								
Guslar a (M. D.)	7	10.5	8	7	7.5	8	12.5	12
Guslar b (Lj. P.)	6	6.5	6	5.5	5.5	6	11.5	(13)
Guslar c (Z. S.)	7.5	8	6	/	(6.5)	6.5	11.5	17

Figure 2: Durations of tasks and reproductions.

In the rhythmic aspect, unlike the pitches of similar durations in the middle of an assigned exercise, all participants exhibited better perception and memorization of pitches distinguished by their duration at the task's beginning and end (longer than the following or previous, respectively). This confirms the correlation between pitch position in the series and quality of memorization. As the most common type of rhythmic shaping of sung verses implies exactly the „rhythmic leveling”—longer initial and ending pitches than the following or the previous one (Lajić-Mihajlović 2006), this also indicates the correlation between operative and long-term memory. The high degree of accuracy in reproduction of durational relationships in initial and cadential segments, even when rhythmically shaped differently, confirms however yet in another way a general (positive) correlation of durational perception and position in the series (Kostić 2010: 120).

An analysis of results of the intonation component reproduction accuracy significantly singles-out one examinee, while the other two render relatively similar results (with illuminating comparison among first renditions of the initial task, Examples 10–12, Figure 3).

1 Da - ni - ca se nje - mu od - go - va - ra:

1a Da - ni - ca se nje - mu od - go - va - ra.

1b Da - ni - ca se nje - mu od - go - va - ra.

1c Da - ni - ca se nje - mu od - go - va - ra.

Figure 3: Notated tasks 1 and reproductions 1a–c.

In the first three assigned tasks featuring a melody based on a repetitive pitch, the first examinee (persistently) re-played descending melodies, while the other two exhibited minimal deviations from the original (Figures 4 and 5). On the other hand, the examinee with the overall best achievement even verbalized his observation about similarities of the first group's task exercises ("these are more or less all the same melodies").

2 "Ja sam bi - la, ja sam dan - gu - bi - la,

2a Ja sam bi - la, ja sam dan - gu - bi - la.

2b Ja sam bi - la, ja sam dan - gu - bi - la.

2c Ja sam bi - la, ja sam dan - gu - bi - la.

Figure 4: Notated tasks 2 and reproductions 2a-c.

3 Dmi - tar u - ze ze - mlju ka - ra - vla - šku,

3a Dmi - tar u - ze zem - lju ka - ra - vlaš - ku.

3b Dmi - tar u - ze zem - lju ka - ra - vlaš - ku.

3c Dmi - tar u - ze zem - lju ka - ra - vlaš - ku.

Figure 5: Notated tasks 3 and reproductions 3a-c.

It appears indicative that deviations from the repetitively-shaped melodic line of the first task take place in pre-cadential places, practically instigating in guslar performances frequently used and “natural” way of reaching melodic cadential points by descending motion (such as, e.g., in the second and third task from Figure 1), which points to the influence of long-term memory (further discussed later in this paper).

In a considerable number of replays, the initial pitch is realized by a glissando from a lower range, whereas this indicator does not relate to issues of perception and memorization, but should rather be interpreted as out-of-context performance—instrumental introduction by the ending pitch, largely on the free string, and directing the appearance of the voice. Repeated replays of the same tasks testify to the importance of vocal technique level, where the examinee holding the best overall results produces the desired pitch in following replays directly.

Through repeated reproductions, the cognitive strategy conclusively appears guided from the beginning toward the end. In fact, the guslar is primarily focused on the beginning, which is in some situations explicitly revealed by their premature start of replay even before the task’s end. When, according to their self-evaluation, the guslar successfully replays the assignment’s initial part, their attention refocuses on the ending, a shift confirmed by their passing remarks (e.g., “this last trill...the end, I know it’s not the same, it sort of escapes me”). The cognitive strategy is related to allocation of semantic informativeness of the guslar melodies’ segments matching a certain verse—the key communicativeness is achieved through the initial segment, the cadential part functions as a form signal, and the medial section is filled in accordance with the ‘guslar language’ syntactic norms (cf. Лажич-Михајловић 2010a: 261–2).

The repeated replays also demonstrate that during the third opportunity for perceiving and reproducing in the course of memorization, attention is still focused on remarkable events—the melodic frame, even when the intention is to realize a literal reproduction, being only a single verse. These results serve as sufficient indicators of (im)possibility of the (‘verbatim’) plagiarism in guslar performances and as clear evidence of the involved degree of improvisation in this practice in general.

Further, it was found that the relationships between task durations and quality of replay were not consistent. The quality of reproduction is not primarily contingent on the task duration, but rather on its content—the melody. The tasks are ordered according to melodic complexity: from those based on a single pitch and minimal oscillation around it, through gradual convex motion, to rather elaborated descent from the upper register of the gusle range. Surprisingly unsatisfactory from this perspective, were reproductions of simpler tasks and of proportionally higher quality were those of more complex tasks. It should be emphasized, though, that this paradox was more pronounced in participants with lowest overall scores, as clearly evident from comparison of their initial replay of the first three assignments with the quality of reproduction in

the last task (compare notated tasks 1 and reproduction 1a, Figure 3, with the pair of tasks 8 and reproduction 8a, Figure 6):

8
Ej, mje-sec ka-(r)a zvi-je-zdu Da - ni- cu:

8a
Ej, mje - sec ka - ra zvi - jez - du Da - ni - cu.

Figure 6: Notated task 8 and reproduction 8a.

Similar research of verbal content found that meaningfulness represents a key factor for its memorization (Sloboda 2005: 74). This explanation, however, cannot be applied to musical content due not only to the denotative non semantics of musical contents, but also, due to connotative possible characterization of all used series of stimuli as meaningful, given the fact that they all belong to the standard—commonly used (guslar) musical language.

In this case, the motion through the sound space as determined by traditional premises (by the instrument construct features, playing technique, and relationship between vocal and instrumental parts) turned out to be more cognitively relevant than the variants of an unremarkable repetitive melodic model. By its presumed tendency of interpreting stimuli as a prototype variant (Huron 2000), the so called ‘anchoring effect’ plays an important role in memorization of the more complex series. The evidence for this claim and additional information supporting the concrete case was presented in the part of research related to process of learning a song from a printed sheet.⁴ The semantics of typical guslar melodic tasks, as a kind of experience stored in long-term memory, could be read through the primary, affective melodising of an assigned excerpt (Костић 2010: 149). The connecting of data from these two segments of research leads to a noticeable correlation between the hierarchy in successful memorization of a group of tasks and the function of melodic patterns in ‘intuitive’ music making: melodies that at the start or end feature a remarkable position in a series are memorized more successfully during intuitive musicing. Also, a connection between overall success in memorization and variety of melodic patterns in ‘intuitive’ music making was established, meaning that guslars who in their (long-term) memory store a larger number of melodic patterns are able to easier memorize given melodic content (the order of pitches is identified as

⁴ The examinees were assigned to master an excerpt of an epic song with printed lyrics, in the way customary for such situations. They all immediately set the text to music and memorized it as singing verses, which automatically included multiple repetitions of entire sung (syntactic) units.

known, already memorized model since operative memory functions by grouping individual stimuli in one entity according to the Gestalt principles—ordinal (serial) operation of cognitive system, but at the same time refers to the contents of long-term memory—parallel (simultaneous) data processing within the realm of different system components, Костић 2010: 52–3; Ginsborg 2004: 124–5).

It was observed during the research that, in the course of formation of mental representations, guslars in their memorization strategies combine auditory and tactile (kinesthetic, motoric, and muscularly) memorization (more about memorization strategies in Aiello and Williamon 2002: 167–8; Ginsborg 2004: 128–9). In fact, while listening to the played assignment tasks, all guslars held their instruments in active, usable position—a seemingly pragmatic solution, given a series of subsequent tasks. Moreover, one of the guslars was evidently moving his fingers, thus demarcating a melody on the string (Example 13). Aside from this, based on the task of memorization of the epic song's written excerpt by a preferential method, it was observed that all guslar participants opted for adoption of poetic content set to music (during the memorization process they, on their own initiative, added a music component to written text), justifying the choice of vocal-instrumental reproduction within the task of direct, immediate replay. It seems obvious that guslars experientially reached solutions recommended in the broader realm of music psychology research: the quickest way to retain music-poetic works is through their memorization as syncretistic tasks (Ginsborg 2004: 135–7).

The reading of research results in relation to the idiographic profile yielded a series of correlation type indications, such as for instance, that the quality of these guslars' operative memory stands in correlation with: other/previous musicing experiences, auditory manner of adopting a new song as a preferential method for memorization of this kind of sound material, and the engagement in this activity regarding time commitment. While their general music aptitudes were not tested (by standardized test batteries), positive correlation between 'experience-based judgment' and successes at various competitions by older guslars on one side, and results realized during this research on the other, seem ascertained. The indicated influences of basic musical aptitudes and experience on functioning of the guslars' (operative) memory could be linked to the research results on the correlation of basic musical aptitudes and overall intelligence, as well as to musical aptitude as a highly specialized factor within the framework of general psychology of music (Mirković-Radoš 1998: 169). The following factors of influence could also be linked to the research results: self-confidence, overall and that built upon reputation in guslars' circles; the degree of interest for collaboration and level of focus on the given task; and the notion of one's own style as related to models and replication.

Pilot research of guslar memorization as a methodological experience

The realization of fieldwork and results gained in connection with the guslar memorization confirm validity of the described research strategy and the value of such examinations in the context of guslars' musicianship studies. Even a small sample demonstrated that the functioning of guslars' operative memory depends on cultural experience, the manner of adopting tradition, and engagement in that tradition as a constituent element of shaping the tradition's mainstay. Along with the need for testing these results on a larger sample, an entire line of questioning emerges in regard to the relationships of operative and long-term memory, memory and performance, and a creative-performing act. This line of thought continues the direction traced by Blacking (1995), referring on one side to cognitive anthropology and cognitive anthropology of music, having in mind the insisted upon importance of acknowledgement of a musician's character, identification of determinants that shape that character, and effects of their correlation as interactions of 'sociability', 'culturedness', and 'humaneness' (Žikić 2008: 137). On the other side, referential is crosscultural psychology which acknowledges that 'people bring their autobiographical and cultural baggage into the laboratory', thus no experiments occur in a cultural vacuum (Tajfel 1981, according to Petrović 2011, 16). Ethnomusicology research directed in this way opens the possibilities for perception of social relations among 'people who make music' or in other words, of the aspects of the social psychology of music (Hargreaves and North 1997; Kemp 1997), as an often emphasized psychological, emotional effect of improvisation on the musician and their surroundings (Kenny and Gellrich 2002: 118). Such research lends itself to the study of performance by also enabling the focus on expressivity as a 'micro structural' specificity of performance (through durational variations, dynamics, timbre, and/or the register) in the context of musical experience (Juslin and Persson 2002: 221–7); and negotiation between the intellectual-emotional plane and realization of intent through physical activity—singing or playing an instrument by a (folk) musician (Cook 1999: 251), and thereby serving the study of performance.

The described method ensures a referential representation of musicing of auto-portrayal nature—musicians represent themselves by music. This method also complements the emic representation in verbal form. The perspective involved in this method is different from the one which considers communication by music in a manner manifested by the concept of bi-musicality—that is, through participant observation in a given musical culture. Namely, the method applied in this study crucially differs in considering psychological profiles' specificities, which is musicians' cognitions in oral traditions, not only those musically illiterate, but also those musically considerably less experienced as related to academic and trained musician-researchers. In other words, this ap-

proach yields primacy to the psychological parameter over the (artistic) language of communication. These two approaches are not competitive, but are rather complementing and collaborative.

Given the fact that the fieldwork organized in a described fashion is oriented on musicing—a performing aspect—the cultural-anthropological dimension is present in referring to context already at the level of designing and organizing. The linkage established between acquired data and overall experience of such fieldwork, interpretation of data in network of information and impressions, all add another dimension to results achieved by other methods and certain anthropological quality to the research. For example, a spontaneous verbal or non-verbal guslar reaction to their own music response during research appears indicative for some results. Negative self-evaluation of reproduction testifies to the experience of self-regulative learning and perception of certain deviations, thus low quality repeated reproductions (sometimes self-evaluated as unsatisfactory) point to a weaker functioning of operative memory and discord between cognitive processing of stimuli and performing skills. Certain limitations of the performed research method were compensated by additional information gained through cumulative fieldwork experience and informal relations with guslars. In such context, a follow-up comment made by one guslar about a personal problem inflicted hindrance (otherwise undetectable in his general attitude at the time) pointed to an important confounding variable that became crucial for understanding results in his case (which, as unexpectedly unsatisfactory could lead to misinformation in validity assessment of the overall approach)⁵. This event testifies about the complexity and delicacy of research on musical thinking and acting processes, and consequently about the leverage of judgment involving the general terms ‘style’, ‘tradition’, and ‘practice’.

The context deems referential not only for researched musical attitude, but also for the research itself. As Bruno Nettl found when discussing the institutionalization of musicology from an ethnomusicology perspective, it is the difference between concepts of ‘music’ as a universal phenomenon and the world of music as a conglomeration of separate musics that establishes relationship between musicology as a universal, overreaching discipline and culturally specific musicologies (1999: 290). The constituting of regional study groups within The International Council for Traditional Music serves as a confirmation of existence of the specific areal ethnomusicology discourses. Conditions in which ethnomusicologies in developing countries operate are, as a rule, rather limited, and so are locale-specific research endeavors, which in any sense should not ultimately limit their magnitude of areal reach. The criterion for approach evaluation should not be based on the actual research form, but on re-

⁵ This was a rehearsal session, conducted to test the potential (negative) influence of unknown communicational circumstances on the guslar’s attitude. The disparities in this guslar’s achievement compared with the research conducted two months later were significant.

search potential, as generally considered of empiricism by Cook and Clarke (2004: 13). A commonly recognized degree of hesitation among musicologists and ethnomusicologists toward music research void of cultural and historical context and subjectivization of music and musical activities in the realm of soft, but especially hard sciences, exemplifies, according to Nettl, one of the main reasons for marginalization of psycho- and socio-musicology (1999: 303). It appears however, that previous experiences profess proof-based research as a significant reference to ethnomusicological interpretations of certain phenomena in psychology of 'people who create and/or experience music', and encourage further quests for ways of recognizing complexity of cognitive music processing through mental representations of music works typical for oral traditions. Furthermore, the presentation of this experience is aimed at encouraging the inventiveness of 'small' ethnomusicologies that function locally and dominantly in local languages, and as result are marginalized across the broader academic scale (see more in Burckhardt Qureshi 1999: 318–23). Due to the fact that the 'idiographic research' (Rice 2010: 108–10) is often based on copying or adopting research strategies, even when they are not (sufficiently) productive in given context, it is necessary to remind that the deep devotion to research of specific, 'local' topics carry a potential for innovative methods and original contributions of 'culturally specific', 'local' ethnomusicologies to disciplinary theories. Cross-cultural encounters impress on our discipline not only in the plane of a research topic, but are indeed part of understanding and acceptance of the collegial 'otherness'.

Translated by Jelena Simonović Schiff

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Данка Лајић-Михајловић

ЕТНОМУЗИКОЛОШКО ИСТРАЖИВАЊЕ
ГУСЛАРСКЕ МЕМОРИЈЕ: ПИЛОТ СТУДИЈА*

(Резиме)

Рад је посвећен спознавању меморисања гуслара у контексту проучавања импровизације – принципа стварања у току извођења. Оваква сазнања неопходна су и за дубље проницање у начин вишевековног опстајања овог жанра у условима усмене предаје, али су и предуслов осмишљавања мера очувања певања уз гусле, као једног од репрезентативних елемената нематеријалног културног наслеђа Србије и Балкана. Посебна пажња посвећена је самој истраживачкој методи, као специфичном решењу које је продукт рада у једној националној етномузикологији, чије су истраживачке стратегије детерминисане не само примарним усмерењем на локалне музичке праксе, већ и општим условима развоја дисциплине на овом подручју. Ауторка је теренско истраживање осмислила по узору на експериментална психолошка истраживања и реализовала га као пилот пројекат. Дошло се до две врсте резултата: егзактних вредности, али и одређених квалитативних показатеља, а за етномузикологију посебно вредна сазнања даје њихово унакрсно ишчитавање. Исход експлоративног истраживања сугерише да ова метода има шири потенцијал у психолошки оријентисаним етномузиколошким студијама музичког извођења. У складу са овим искуством, ауторка заговара инвентивније приступе у оквирима „локалних“ етномузикологија, нарочито у проучавању „домаћих“ тема, из чега могу произићи и оригинални доприноси дисциплинарним теоријама.

* Интегрални текст на српском језику доступан је на приложеном диску. / Integral text in Serbian is available on the attached DVD.

AREA STUDIES IN ETHNOMUSICOLOGY: ON THE PROBLEM OF IDENTIFICATION OF MUSICAL DIALECTS

OLGA PASHINA

Abstract: This paper deals with the methodology of area studies used by Russian ethnomusicologists. It is intended to shed light on the following aspects: (1) what is the mapping unit – rhythmic and melodic types of tunes, forms of coordination of structural types and their relations with the cultural function of folk music texts; (2) inner structure of areas conditioned by the fact that every rhythmic and melodic type exists within a system of versions and can change its genre attribution in various local traditions; (3) coordination of rhythmic and melodic types within the limits of their areas attests to the possibility of combining a single melodic type with several rhythmic ones and vice versa; the structural components may play different roles in the formation of the semantic field of a tune, depending on the inner organization of the musical dialect; (4) principles of identification of the borders of folk music dialects based on the groups of isolines situated close to each other on the map.

Keywords: area studies, mapping unit, folk music dialect

For more than three decades, Russian ethnomusicologists have been interested in area studies based on the method of mapping. This interest was particularly inspired by the success of linguistic area studies. The creation of atlases reflecting the linguistic ‘landscape’ of specific areas, as well as a successful use of cartographic methods in related sciences (such as archaeology, ethnography, and ethnolinguistics) were seen as a good reason to anticipate similarly productive results in folk music studies. This sort of research is fundamentally different from area studies as defined in the U.S.A. The work of American scholars could be said to belong to the sphere of local studies, in that their attention is focused on the in-depth study of large historical, geographical, or cultural regions. The goal of ethnomusicological area studies as developed in the Eastern Slavic lands, has instead been to draw the borders on the expanse of specific musical and folkloric phenomena; consequently various research centres in Belarus, Ukraine, and Russia began to undertake cartographic studies as early as the 1970s (Гошовский 1971; Ефименкова 1980).

The first scholar to draw attention to the importance of geography when studying musical folklore was Kliment Kvitka, more than fifty years ago (Квитка 1971a; 1971b). Later, Evgenii Gippius was extraordinarily successful in using area studies in the field of musical folklore studies, having come to the conclusion that this sort of research allows one to re-evaluate existing material

and take a new approach to problems of a typological and historical-genetic nature (Гиппиус 1982). On his initiative, an interdisciplinary conference dedicated to area studies in folk spiritual culture was held in 1980. The conference aimed to familiarise musicologists with the cartographic methods used by ethnolinguists and ethnographers, and to examine the possibilities of using these methods for musical material.

Results were soon forthcoming. From the 1980s onward, work on mapping musical folklore began, although separate experiments of this sort did already exist. Particular success was achieved by Belarusian researchers, who established a range for practically all the kinds of ritual melodies (Кабашникаў and Ялатаў 1980; Мажэйка 1985; Можейко 1985; Тавлай 1986, Васілевіч and Варфаламеева 1986; Мажэйка and Варфаламеева 1990). Russian ethnomusicologists also became involved in area studies in the field of musical folklore (Пашина 1988; Шишкина 1989; Краснопольская 1991). Finally, in recent years ethnomusicologists from the Kiev conservatory, led by E. Efremov, produced very valuable work by using area studies to study material from the Ukrainian Polesye (Клименко 1996; 1998).

Since the maps created by researchers are not always comparable, a common method for area studies in ethnomusicology does not yet exist. An attempt to solve this methodological problem has been made by the staff of the Laboratory of Traditional Musical Cultures at the Gnesin Academy of Music, Moscow, as part of their project *The Eastern Slavic Ethnomusicological Atlas* (Пашина 1999a).

The priority tasks can be stated as follows: (1) to define the borders of dissemination of specific folk music phenomena; (2) to reveal the regularities and the dynamics of their geographical distribution; (3) and to propose a historic-cultural interpretation of the results obtained.

The frontal examination of a given territory according to programs specially devised to register the performed repertoire, together with its ethnographic context (in which the folk music functions in all its genre varieties) as comprehensively as possible, represents an indispensable condition for any area study.

One of the basic problems of area study lies in the choice of a mapping unit. As experience of linguistics attests, the success of mapping largely depends on the principles behind the description and analysis of the object of comparison itself – in other words, on the choice of the structural characteristics on which the area study should be based (Толстой, Толстая 1983: 15). The efficiency of the cartographic method in linguistics is derived from the fact that linguists have created a universal system for the description of natural languages with a single means of categorisation. From the 1960s onward the principles behind the analysis of natural languages, developed in structural linguistics, began to be used productively in structural anthropology for the study of different sign systems and, latterly, in ethnomusicology as well. Obviously, the

area study of folk music texts should rely on an integrated system of purely musical categories.

In my opinion, as far as area studies are concerned, the most promising approach for analysis of folk music texts is the structural-typological method which enables an adequate choice of relevant characteristics for mapping. The method in question helps establish structural models without which the systematization of such empirically various material is impossible since the number of such models is finite while the number of their interpretations is in principle infinite (Енговатова, Ефименкова 2008: 7). Since any folk music text is a result of the coordination of two main components, rhythm and melody, the structural invariants must be modeled on these two levels. This way, categories of rhythmic and melodic types have been developed; they are accepted as the units for mapping. Both rhythmic and melodic types are complex, hierarchically organized models, and every such model is a generalization of a certain group of related folk music forms.

The type's constant characteristics are those which remain unchanged by any kind of transformation. With regard to the rhythmic type, the constant characteristic can be defined as a fixed set of constructive rhythmic units (rhythmic formulae), based on the rhythm of vocalization of the verse, plus the set of rules according to which such formulae can be varied and combined to form larger units (syntagms). The variable characteristics, such as the modifications of rhythmic formulae, related to the splitting, augmentation, or reduction of a sung syllable's duration, and the form of the stanza (musical syntagm) define the versions of a given rhythmic type, which show a tendency to territorial fixation. The map is intended to reflect the whole system of versions of a rhythmic type, with due regard for the hierarchy of their differentiating characteristics. In other words, any good map must show not only the area of a rhythmic type as a whole, but also the territorial distribution of its particular versions; this allows one to make judgments about an area's inner structure (Пашина 1988: 178; Figure 1). Thus, the area of a rhythmic type is characterized not only quantitatively, i. e., by its size and configuration, but also qualitatively, through its segmentation into subareas and through their relation to each other. The same applies to melodic types as well.

As became clear during the structural-typological systematization of the material that preceded its mapping, both rhythmic and melodic types are structurally rather independent of each other: a melodic type can be coordinated with several rhythmic ones and vice versa. In any event, however, these phenomena must be mapped as elements of an integral folk music system.

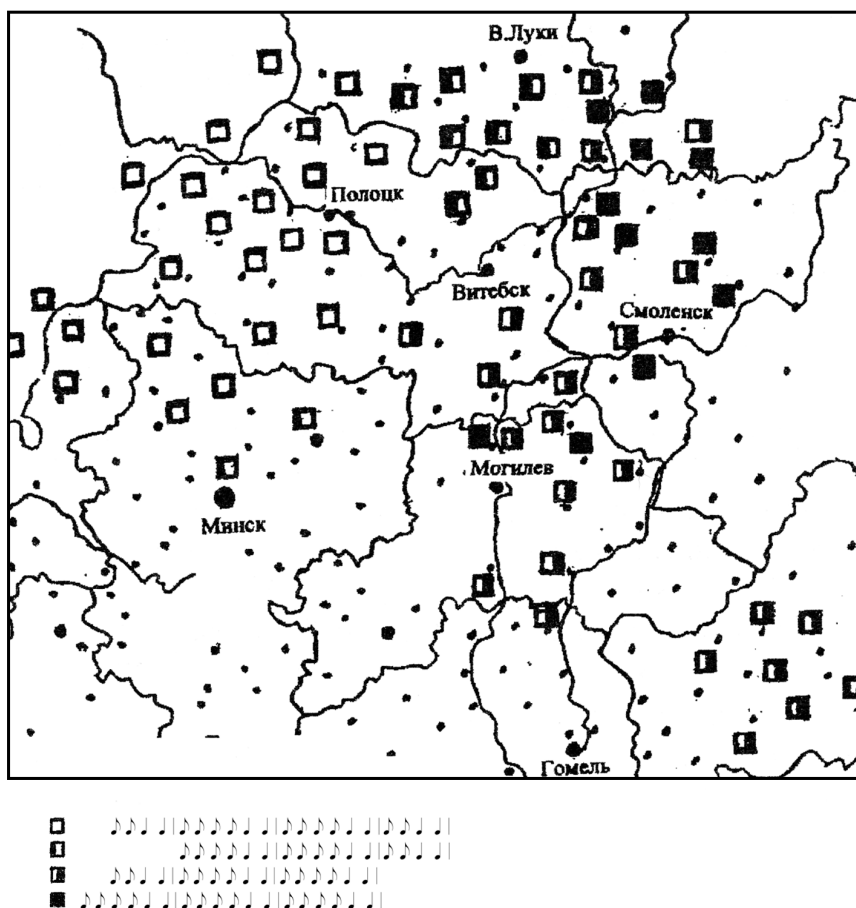
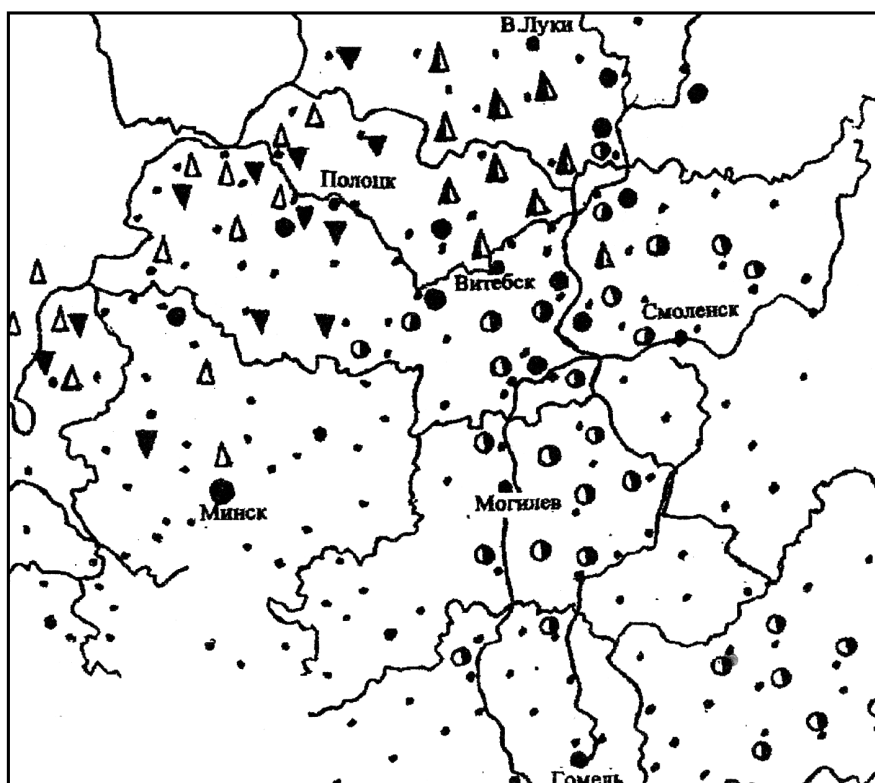


Figure 1: Territorial distribution of the versions of harvest songs' rhythmic type: the inner structure of the area.

A map can also reflect the level of coordination of rhythmic types with melodic styles. The areas of rhythmic types, as a rule, are more extensive than those of melodic types. Let us examine the situation when a single rhythmic type is combined with several melodic ones. In such a case the following pattern is especially widespread: different melodic types supersede each other while moving through the territory, every such type being localized in a certain part of the area of the given rhythmic type. Thus, the level of correlation of a rhythmic type with a melodic one enables an additional segmentation of its area (Пашина 1988: 179; Figure 2). It is important to underline that the borders of melodic subareas do not necessarily coincide with dissemination borders of different versions of a rhythmic type. Though different melodic types in coordination with a single rhythmic type may coexist within a single zone, such a situation occurs only rarely.



Designations of the first melodic type and its versions:

- △ tunes within the range of fifth, with a system of basic tones 1-1-II-1
- ▽ tunes within the range of fourth, with a system of basic tones 1-1-II-1
- ▲ tunes within the range of fourth, with a system of basic tones 1-1-II/IV-1

Designations of the second melodic type and its versions:

- tunes within the range of fourth, with a system of basic tones 2-1-1
- tunes within the range of fourth, with a system of basic tones 1-1-2

Figure 2: The structure of the area of harvest songs' rhythmic type in coordination with melodic types¹.

Now let us look at another situation, when a single melodic type correlates with several rhythmic ones. This can be usually seen within a single local tradition, where the melodic type serves as an integrating, 'cementing' principle. In this way, the modes and forms of the correlation of rhythmic and melodic types can be revealed in their spatial distribution.

¹ The degrees above the main basic tone (1st degree) are marked with Arabic numerals, while those below the main basic tone – with Roman numerals. In each case, the numerals shows the distance (interval) from the 1st degree.

Another important parameter which must be taken into account while mapping the structural types of folk music texts is their cultural function. As is well-known, in spoken language there is no rigid correlation between a lexeme and its function (meaning); likewise, in folk music the correlation between structure and genre-defined function is variable and appears as a sign of dialectal difference. This can be attested by the phenomenon of the so-called genre reconsideration (Пашина 1999: 15), when one and the same tune or structural type influenced by ethnographic context and musical environment, changes its genre attribution in different local traditions (Пашина 2005: 317; Figure 3).

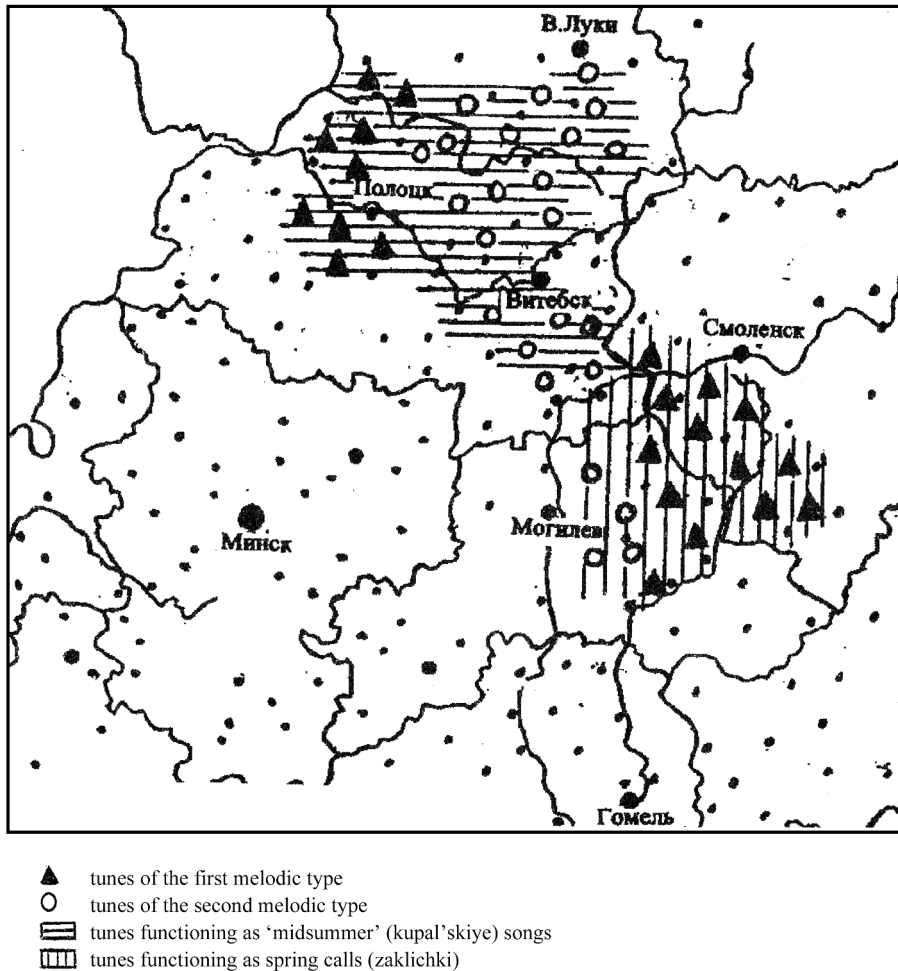


Figure 3: The area of rhythmic type (♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩) in correlation with areas of melodic types and with those of the genre designations of tunes.

This means that musical structure acquires symbolic meaning only in correlation with other elements of a folk music system. The territorial borders revealed on the level of coordination of structural type and function can either coincide or not coincide with the borders of the type's versions, or the borders reflecting the level of intersection of rhythm and melody.

System analysis has shown that different structural components can take unequal parts in the formation of the semantic field of tunes. The parts in question depend on the inner organization of the system itself. At the genre level, the most common differentiating characteristic is the pitch structure. This means that within a given local tradition, all folk music texts belonging to the same genre have, as a rule, a similar melodic organization, but can differ in regards to their rhythm. The spring calls (*zaklichki*) of the Smolensk region can serve as a good example: they are represented by fourteen rhythmic types united by the same melodic style (Пашина 2003: 27–40).

On the other hand, some systems have been found differently organized. For instance, in Russian villages of Ukraine, the tunes of all genres have similar melodic structure, strikingly contrasting with all that can be heard in villages with Ukrainian population (Дорохова 2008: 22). This is related to the Russians' desire to oppose themselves to their non-Russian surroundings. In such case, the differentiating genre characteristic is the tunes' rhythmic form.

The features of the areas themselves, too, are highly informative. For instance, the size of an area almost invariably corresponds to the stage of the development of the mapped phenomenon. Archaic musical forms, as a rule, have small areas, while more recent ones are disseminated more widely. Further, areas can be continuous or discontinuous, or else focal, thus reflecting the character of the dispersion of ethnic groups – bearers of a given folk musical culture – as well as the character of migratory processes. The area's configuration, too, can be revealing, especially when compared with the data of related sciences.

Finally, area study methods can help solve one of the most difficult problems that require a systematic approach, namely the problem of dialectal borders. It is quite possible that it can be solved using experience acquired in dialectology. In dialectology, the dialectal border is defined by a group of adjacent isoglosses rather than by a single isogloss. The importance of dialectal opposition directly depends on the number of isoglosses included in the given group (Терновская 1975). Therefore, the borders outlined by isoglosses will have different hierarchical values, some of them corresponding to principal dialectal areas and others to minor, subordinate ones. When approaching the identification of dialectal borders in such a way, scholars proceed from real, objective territorial segmentation based on a range of differentiating characteristics inherent only to the very object of study. Such a method is entirely suitable for folk music material as well.

This is attested by a recent publication in the field of area studies. Its author, L. Vinarchik, successfully explored the melo-dialectal structure of the Smolensk re-

gion, west Russia (Винарчик 2000). Her research is based on the mapping of the tunes of Trinity (*troitskiye*) songs – a dominant genre within the local tradition. The comparison of maps reflecting the dissemination of structural types of Trinity songs throughout the Smolensk region has shown areas of some of these types to be similar not only in their size and configuration, but also in their inner structure. At the same time they show different geographical and ethno-cultural orientations: some of them gravitate rather to the more Western Belorussian tradition and others to the more eastern tradition of the upper reaches of the Oka. The groups of isolines (‘isomels’ and ‘isorhythms’), obtained as a result of mapping, have served as the criterion of the Smolensk region’s dialectal segmentation for the author (Винарчик 2000: 234; Figure 4).

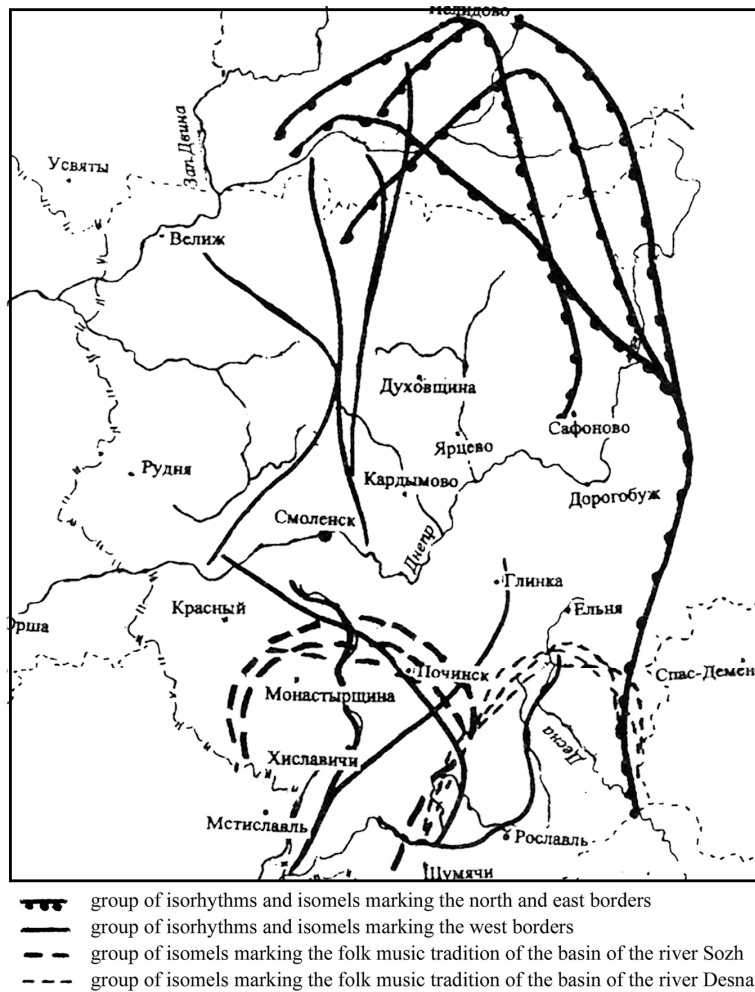


Figure 4: Groups of isomels and isorhythms marking the borders of the dissemination of structural types of Trinity (*troitskiye*) songs in Smolensk region.

Thus, when identifying the borders of folk music dialects it is necessary to take into account a set of parameters that reflect the organization of local tradition as a system: (1) the ethnographic context conditioned by a multitude of historical, economic, and other factors; (2) the system of folk music genres engendered by this ethnographic context; (3) and the specific set of structural (rhythmic and melodic) types characterizing each genre, as well as forms of their correlation with each other.

When using the cartographic method, it is necessary to remember that, as with any other research method, it is not entirely universal, but can solve specific, concrete tasks in elucidating the spatial distribution of musical and folkloric phenomena. Moreover, the results acquired using this method can often prove to be surprising even for researchers themselves, because, having a relatively objective character, they reveal the organisational principles behind musico-folkloric culture as a sign system.

The results of area studies should be reflected in an ethnomusicological atlas – a collection of maps that show the systemic links between different components of musico-folkloric texts and their functions. Comparing these maps with scientific data from complementary disciplines in the future would allow researchers to interrogate the question of the historical and ethnogenetic interpretation of musico-folkloric phenomena – currently one of the most complex, but also vital problems, facing the study of musical folklore.

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Олга Пашина

АРЕАЛНА ИСТРАЖИВАЊА У ЕТНОМУЗИКОЛОГИЈИ:
О ПРОБЛЕМУ ИДЕНТИФИКАЦИЈЕ МУЗИЧКИХ
ДИЈАЛЕКАТА

Резиме

Рад је посвећен методологији ареалних проучавања којег примењују руски етномузиколози. У њему ће бити осветљени следећи аспекти: (1) шта је јединица картографисања: ритмички и мелодијски типови мелодија, форме координације структурних типова и њихових односа са културном функцијом музичко-фолклорних текстова; (2) унутрашња структура ареалā условљена је чињеницом да сваки ритмички и мелодијски тип постоји унутар система верзија и може мењати своју жанровску атрибуцију у различитим локалним традицијама; (3) координација ритмичких и мелодијских типова унутар граница ареала показује могућност комбиновања једног мелодијског типа са неколико ритмичких, и обротно; структурне компоненте могу играти различите улоге у

образовању семантичког поља једног напева, зависно од унутрашње организације музичког дијалекта; (4) принципи установљења граница музичко-фолклорних дијалеката засновани су на групама изолинија које су на карти међусобно блиско распоређене.

AREAL INVESTIGATION AND TYPOLOGICAL SYSTEMATIZATION OF THE MACEDONIAN TRADITIONAL RITUAL FOLK SINGING

RODNA VELIČKOVSKA

Abstract: Within areal researches, the consideration of material is based on a typological basis, i.e. on the formation of characteristic types of singing. This is done in order to determine the areas of distribution of forms of Macedonian traditional folk singing on a larger scale, with special attention paid to the formation of characteristic types of singing as models or patterns based on similar songs, structured of a verse and various degrees of close melodic variants. On the basis of accurate analysis it has been discovered that the model of organization of musical texts is present on two levels: rhythmic and melodic. This is manifested in their mutual correlation. Using research modeling, one structural (rhythmic or melodic) type is achieved and expressed as a paradigmatic and syntagmatic relationship between the structural units from the groups of texts, unified by the similarity of their structure. The most important elements that directly affect the shape and structure of the singing type are: the metro-rhythmical and harmonic component.

Keywords: Systematization, areal investigation, Macedonia, tradition, rituals, folk singing.

Musical and folkloric areas have their own specific characteristics, which have been created and determined over the centuries and appear in different kinds of songs. Their place in human life, the content of the texts, poetic metrics, metro-rhythm, tonality, melodies, and ornaments, along with numerous local specifics of the performance style are of undoubted importance to each individual. Areal studies in musical folklore provide an opportunity for deeper insight into the essence of musical folk traditions, by concurrently following characteristics of certain kinds of songs and connections between them.

With the help of formal, functional, and structural analyses it is possible to reconstruct the phenomena of traditional folk singing, which also helps explain the specifics of existing types of folkloric expression in the recent past, and a good deal of today's situation. The method of analysis and synthesis of the main elements makes it possible to cast a deeper look into the genesis, dynamic structure and musical dialects' 'combination', so that we could obtain a more precise terminological attribution of the songs, which significantly facilitates and improves the flow of the study.

In the areal studies in the field of ethnomusicology, most promising appears the structural-typological method based on adequate selection of relevant

benchmarks in the ethnomusicological mapping (Пашина 1999: 6–22). The essence of the structural-typological method, according to Pashina, is reduced to examining the phenomenon in the domain of culture as double-layer phenomena that have a surface and depth structure (Ibid.: 9). The task of the researcher should not only consist of a simple description of the empirical colored material, but also of identification of structural models, with defined quantity, while the number of their interpretations is not limited by anything. Accepting the research methods from Olga Pashina,¹ I would like to point out that the structural-typological method offers the best perspective in the field of areal investigation of Macedonian folk ritual singing. This method provides a possibility for an adequate choice of relevant marks in the mapping, i.e., rendering the corresponding maps of its distribution (Figure 1).

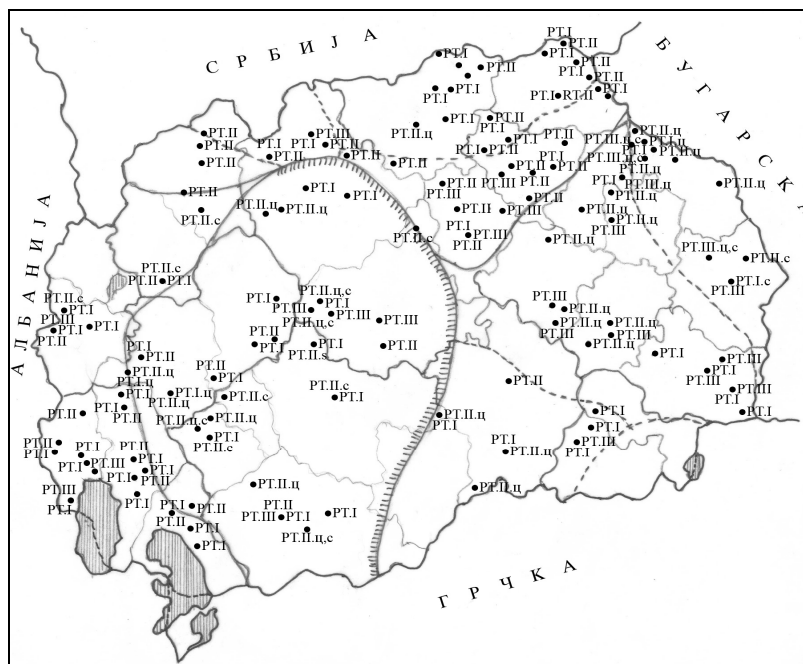


Figure 1: Distribution zone of rhythmic types (RT/PT: PT.I – giusto; PT.II – rubato; PT.III – aksak; S – segmented rhythmic types; C - caesural types).

The essence of the structural-typological approach, in this concrete case, consists of an analysis of the elements of Macedonian rural vocal tradition, more specifically, of determining the zone of genre distribution² of Macedonian

¹ See O. Pashina's article in this publication.

² It is about songs of the calendar cycle: Christmas (carol songs), songs of Epiphany, Saint-Lazarus, Saint-George, rainmaking (dodole) songs, Saint-John songs, which are, at the same time, songs of the springtime-summer cycle, i.e. *letoechke* songs. To these songs have to be

folk singing and its musical and poetic texts. Consideration of the material is on a typological basis,³ i.e., on the basis of formation of characteristic singing types in order to determine the areas of distribution (territorial, spatial or geographical dissemination) of the traditional singing ranges in Macedonian traditional folk singing. Special attention is paid to the formation of characteristic singing types that are models / patterns that unite songs—variants with different degrees of mutual similarity, with a common verse structure.⁴

The establishment and examination of singing types is of great importance for the character of folk songs of a region, through which one can identify its musical dialect. The musical dialect has its own melopoetic types, which are in music form expressed by specific structural principles, e.g. through metro-rhythmic and melodic structure, ornamentation, or style of performance. When considering the songs of one melopoetic type, the general rhythmic and melodic structures that function as models for a greater number of songs, have been highlighted. Thanks to this we can successfully determine the genetic link that exists between different tunes. Research show that it is easier to determine the rhythmic relationship between songs of a singing type on the criterion of general rhythmic models (RM), than based on criterion of the relationship of melodic models by general melodic models (MM). This is probably due to the greater rhythmic stability of a song compared with its melody. By the research of melopoetic types of each genre we can have a clear picture of traditional folk singing.

On the basis of an analysis it has been discovered that the model of organization of musical texts is present on two levels: *rhythmic* and *melodic*. This is manifested in their mutual correlation. Using the research modeling a structure type is obtained (rhythmic or melodic), expressed as a paradigmatic and syntagmatic relationship between structural units from the groups of texts, made on the basis of the similarity of their structures.

numbered the *tsrepnareske* (for making earthenware lids, used in baking bread) and harvest songs. Following the calendar rhythm, the Saint-Paraskevi (as the day of preparation for Friday) songs should be mentioned, while only the wedding songs are studied from the life cycle.

³ When analyzing the vast material of typological regularities of the calendar songs of all Slavic and neighboring peoples, I. Zemtsovsky proved the perspective of one of his working concepts-symbols – the melodic type (MT); for example, the structural-melodic type is chosen as the “model of the entire musical and poetic stanza.” As the model of the entire class of melodies, the MT is determined as a melody (tune)-formula in its various forms of texts, but in relation to musical thinking, as its stereotype (1975: 22). According to Pashina, the structural-typological method is the most promising one in these researches, because it allows an appropriate selection of relevant benchmarks by the mapping (Пашина 1999: 6-22).

⁴ In relation to the study of music variants (music variability) in tradition, I focuss my attention on the methodological introduction to this issue of I. Zemtsovsky, in which the author stresses the terms ‘music variant’, ‘poetic variant’, and ‘variant of the song in the whole’ that often do not match (1980: 37). For a relevant feature by the mapping, Pashina highlights the notion of variability, which due the oral way of transmission of information represents one of the characteristics of folk spiritual culture (1999: 10).

The most important elements that directly affect the shape and structure of the singing types are the metro-rhythmical and harmonic components (Golemović 1987).

Metro-rhythmical component

The types of songs of a genre are determined depending on the type of song verse, as well as on characteristic rhythmic patterns of their tunes.⁵ Usually, such subtypes or diverseness of songs occur as a result of change of the verse proportions through ‘repetitions’ as its integral part, through ‘supplements’ with refrains, or by formation of a new kind of rhythmic scheme, which is formed as a rhythmic model (RM). Refrain, as a means of forming a folk song (Golemović 2000: 32) can clearly point out its affiliation to a certain genre, because it always features a stable vocabulary. Thus, for example, an obligatory component of the *dodola* or rain songs is the prayer, which in most cases ends with a refrain, of *lesser* or *greater* extent, closely related to the prayer: *Oj dodo, oj dodole, oj, dodo mili Bože, oj!* (Figure 2), or *Oj, lije oj, vaj, dožde, vaj!* with vocabulary used only in the village of Radožda in the Struga region in Macedonia. Refrains with larger volume contain many rhythmic periods and represent the autonomous part of the song, as for instance in the Saint-George's song *Đurđe le, i, Đurđe le, i! Ljeljo, i!* (Figure 3). Also, in the Macedonian ritual singing, the refrains with *smaller volume* come as an additional component. Such are, for example, ‘the additions’ with refrains of smaller volume that are mostly present in the Easter songs, and especially in the refrains of the type *dos* or *doz*, while in the songs for rainmaking, depending on the dialectal characteristics, the most frequent are the refrains of the type *vaj, dodole; oj lije, oj* or *oj lule oj* (Figure 4), or in the songs called *Krsti* (*Crosses*), where the refrains are *Gospodi pomiluj!* (*Merci, oh God!*) (Figure 5). Beside these refrains, in the Macedonian ritual singing there are inserted refrains; such are the ones in songs of Saint-Lazarus of the type *Lazare; Jo Lazare* or *Zaru*, with the local vocabulary of the Prespa musical-dialectal region (Figure 6). Alongside refrains, in Macedonian traditional folk singing there are also the refrain environments (Re), of the type *Ej, ubava, ubava devojko; Joj, jubava, jubava devojko* or *Oj, ubava, ubava devojko* (*You fair, fair girl!*), characteristic for the wedding singing of the Kumanovo region, or more precisely for the Kratovo regional group and also the Skopska Crna Gora. (Figure 7).

The function of longer and shorter refrains is different, which is not accidental. For example, the longer refrains of the rainmaking (*dodole*) songs de-

⁵ Stalev, in his book *The Macedonian verse*, says that the regularity of folk verse and meter conditions the melody, and the “folk singer often knows in one and the same tune how to coin a number of various songs.” For the establishment of the meter in the Macedonian folk verse the author uses folk melodies (Сталев 1970: 34).

marcate only a part of the prayer for rain. Apart from this, the longer and shorter refrains may indicate periods of the main meaningful point in the song.

The refrains are used in different ways. The longer refrains are mostly used as bearing wholes of the main point, too. In a series of cases, especially the longer refrains strongly modified in the basic structure are realized in pure form, while the shorter refrains are rhythmicized thanks to their additional time in the rhythmic period of the song. The following examples schematically shows how the shorter and longer refrains fully express the prayer for rain:

	A	
a	a1	r1
4	4	<u>Oj, Lule, oj</u>
or:		
	A	
a	a1	R1
4	4	<u>Oj, dodo, oj dodole,</u> <u>oj, dodo, mili Bože, oj!</u>

In this way the form of *dodole* song may contain shorter and longer refrains at the end of the song; in this case it is about the existence of a suffixed refrain (Golemović 2000: 282).

The *rhythmic types* in Macedonian traditional folk singing depend on the way of interpretation and the metric structure of verses and beats. They are characterized by a great diversity: in a large number of metro-rhythmic types there is a matching of poetic and musical accents. Almost every song has its own specific rhythmic pattern that occurs as a consequent repetition of the rhythmic cells, from which similar rhythmic types on the basis of the melodic phrases are developed.

In Macedonian vocal tradition there are three main groups of rhythmic types (RT), defined by way of interpretation and metric structure of verses, as well as their 'division' (Dević 1986: 15). Special attention is paid to 'caesural' and 'segmented' rhythmic forms,⁶ according to which the rhythmic types' territorial distribution (geographical dissemination) is pointed out.

The first group of rhythmic types (RT I) – is based on the rhythmic formula of *giusto* beats that exists both in caesuric and segmented version; the second group of rhythmic types (RT II) – has the *rubato* rhythms for its basis, while the third group of rhythmic types (RT III) – is represented by the asymmetric *aksak* rhythms, in which all units of measure are not equal, and with trochee and dactyl as its basis (Figure 1; listen to the Examples 1–3).

The main characteristic of RT I is the strong prominence and stability of the accents' positions in the song, in which the strikes fall on the first music

⁶ There is an entire study on caesural and segmented rhythmic forms in the Russian vocal tradition (Ефименкова 2001).

beat. In the melostanza all grammatical accents appear significant, which mainly coincide with the musical rhythmic strikes (Examples 2, 4 and 5). The main characteristic of the RT II is their mobility based on the syllabic groups, which understands frequent modifications, and thus increasing or reducing of the number of syllables. A greater variation of the structure occurs then, while the rhythmic form becomes a little unstable. Also, in this group, the rhythmic types can occur both in caesuric and segmented form (Examples 3, 7, 8 and 9). In the asymmetric (*aksak*) rhythms (RT III) the main trait of the metro-rhythmic structure is the stability of the accents' positions in the song. In the Macedonian traditional singing they are mostly in 5/8, 7/8 and 7/16 beats and are practically not subjected to any modifications. They appear in a segmented form, such as, for example, a three-part segment in 7/8 beat with the emphasis falling on the first accented beat, on the basis of which trochee and dactyl lie (Examples 10, 11 and 12).

The convergence of the two groups of RT is shown by typological affinity of certain rhythmic structures. This requires the existence of intermediate forms, whose modifications occur in one of the types. It is important to mention that in all songs the melodic component takes priority and conducts modeling of the verse in different ways, so certain 'adaptive effects' have been recognized (Smokvarski 1998: 157). These are 'interruption', 'non-completion', and 'discrepancy' of poetic and musical caesurae, return to the already sung parts of the text, dilatation with inserts, refrains, and the like.

The structure of songs in Macedonian tradition has arisen from ritual and magical functions. Within a ritual, they may occur several times as refrains-formulae, and in different texts (Земцовски 1968: 61–9), which is typical for example, of Saint George Day singing in the Prilep area or of Epiphany singing in the Kumanovo-Kratovo regional group, as well as for the wedding singing through entire Macedonian area.

The most common form of folk singing is the repetition. Repetition of the text is generally associated with the repetition of melodies, with smaller or larger scale changes (Golemović 2000: 32). This phenomenon is fairly widespread in Macedonian traditional singing, which speaks of its archaic forms. The musical parts are often repeated in a variation form, developed by the principle of similarity – repeatability (Смокварски 1998: 159). In relation to the parts of the verse – shorter⁷ and longer – it can be said that the longer part or the article of the verse can be 'torn' (Dević 1986: 15), which results in delay both in the melody and text. The interrupted part is then repeated and continued in the next verse and usually represents part of the melody / tune⁸ (Examples 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12).

⁷ In almost all patterns of the epic decasyllable (4, 4, 6) or (4, 4, 4, 6), the short member of the verse shows a uniformity, and its rhythmic cells are identical (Examples 7, 8, 9 and 10).

⁸ The repetitions of a verse, in which the second half of the stanza has an added break, and which Zemcovski calls a 'coupled stanza', indicating thereby that this structure of stanza is widespread in the Macedonian, Serbian, and Bulgarian ritual singing (Земцовски 1968: 61).

Melodic and harmonic components of the songs

The features of the tune as its tonal structure, as well as melodic types, belong to melodic and harmonic component of the songs. The tonal structure of the ritual songs is expressed through a pitch order, whose typical features are: (1) narrow tone ambitus, which usually does not exceed the fourth, and (2) clearly expressed cellular structure of melodies.

The pitch series is determined on the basis of sound relations in the melody, both in horizontal and vertical dimensions (in melodies, this is done through harmony/chords). It is in a direct way related to the type of diaphony, although in some regions the indirect connection to the melodies of the vertical movement through harmony can also be expressed purely melodically – through internal syllabic turns. It can be assumed that the types of pitch series have an areal distribution too. The diatonic systems are considered dominant, and in some zones, the diatonic-chromatic scales are represented besides diatonic (Figure 13).

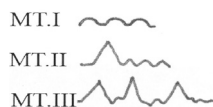
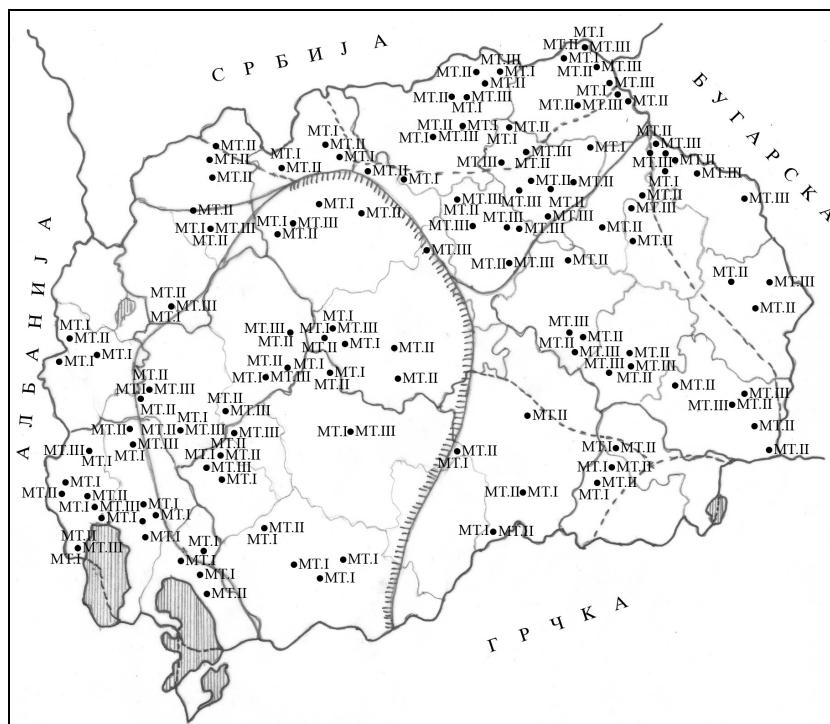


Figure 13: Distribution zone of melodic types (MT).

The *melodic types* (MT) are mainly determined according to melodic structure of the tunes. In Macedonian tradition three main groups of melodic types have been recognized:

To the first melodic types – MT I – belong tunes, with a wavy melodic line, almost without leaps. All tunes that form the core of the first group are of mono-cellular structure and are formed on the basis of repetition of the variations; the ambitus in some instances is a minor third, and in others a fourth (Examples 2, 3, 5, 6 and 7).

To the MT II belong the melodic lines that leap upwards, and achieve a melodic culmination. All songs of the mentioned melodic type are of multi-cellular structure and contain, as already pointed out, closed and open cells, which are helpful for the formation of the cadences (dynamic and static). The tonal range of the melody can also be larger than a fourth (Examples 8 and 10). The MT III is formed by tunes having common features with melodies from the first and the second type. Preserving the pitch order in the range of fourth, and in some cases an augmented fourth at the beginning of the cell (characteristic of the songs from the MT II), they are characterized by the presence of (seemingly) two or more culminations (Examples 9, 11 and 12).

In my research these rhythmic and melodic types are marked as mapping or cartography units. Their territorial affiliation also confirms their relatively high autonomy and independence. Hierarchically organized models determined on several levels appear in the frames of each of these structural types (rhythmic and melodic). They provide the scientific interpretation of typologically close melodies found within various genres.

The zone of distribution of these types is still quite broad, and it is dissolved in multiple local traditions, where their larger part provides an expressively pronounced picture of interconnection. The types form groups of related traditions and transitional groups (inter-traditions) which allow tracking of these overlapping phenomena.

The structure of diaphony⁹ in the two-part singing regions is achieved exclusively through the ‘drone diaphony’, by which the sounds that perform specific functions in the melodic type begin to be distributed between the voice parts (Величковска 2002: 82–6). It is founded on the harmony of a second, where the leading voice does not fall below the accompanying voice, or when the harmony of the second is formed by crossing of voices between the 7th and the 1st degree and which, in general, arises in the caesura of the verse and in the cadence. Then, a change of these similar, wavy contours of the melody arises, because after the caesura, a lowering to hypofinalis and finishes in unison in hypofinalis and finalis usually occurs (Величковска 2008: 111; Examples 2, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12). Each of the different metro-rhythmic and melodic-harmonic components has its own dynamics of spreading across a territory.

⁹ The term ‘structure of diaphony’ is related to its harmonic element (Големовић 1983: 124).

Regional surveys impose their own typology, but they also require the use of the local (emic) musical and performing terminology,¹⁰ for Macedonian traditional singing abounds with its own musical terms that are most often local expressions of a particular area. Also exclamation (shouting) as a means of expression is of great importance in shaping the songs, which helps determine the typology by areal research.

Finally, it should be mentioned that the results of application of the melopoetic materials analytical method obtained by the study in Macedonia have to be considered through comparative investigation of the vocal traditions of Slav and Balkan peoples.¹¹ This research should be done according to the same principles in relation to genre distribution and structural-typological systematization. This approach would demonstrate cultural kinship and/or cultural relations among Balkan peoples. Further perspectives on the method of areal investigation are opened by this, and in combination with knowledge from other sciences, would allow uncovering deeper problems associated with the genesis of traditional singing in general.

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¹⁰ For example, we can meet the so-called *glasoechki* (voiced), *vikoechki* (cried out), *vikanechki* (shouted out) or *singing with heightening of the voice*, which are used in professional circles for the songs of the two-part singing with exclamation. For the singer who sings the first voice it is said that she *leads, turns, spells* and she is the *leader, the turner, the middle singer*, while for the singers it is said that they *accord, drone, trail* and they are called *accorders, buzzers, singers that stand at the end*.

¹¹ In the Balkans, the same methodology has also been applied in recent ethnomusicological research in Serbia (Јовановић 2010).

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Се забиле два јоблака¹²
(Two clouds have clashed)

с. Гоновица, Гостиварско

Се за - би - ле — два јоб - ла - ка, —
Ој, до - до, Ој, до - до - ле, Ој, до - до,
ми - ли бо - же, ој, и!

Се забиле два јоблака,
ој, додо, ој, додоле,
ој, додо, мили Боже, ој, и!

Ми се моли наша дода,
да заврни тифка роса,

да навадит берикетот,
да навадит пчениците,
да навади виногради,
да се ранат сираците,
Наша дода бога моли ...

AIF (Archive of the Institute of Folklore in Skopje), tape (from a tape recorder) nr 2180, from the village of Gonovitz, near Gostivar. Recorded in 1971. Sings Mara Miloshevska with a group of singers. Recorded by Zhivko Aleksoski; noted and transcribed by Rodna Velichkovska. Rainmaking (*dodole*) song.

Figure 2.

¹² Noted by Gorancho Angelov.

Чије моме на нишалче
(Whose is that little girl on the swing)

Rubato ♩ = 104 с. Крапа, Порече

Чи - је — мо - ме — на ни - шал - че, —
 Ѓур - ге - ле и!, Ѓур - ге, ле и!
 ље-љо, — и!

Чије моме на нишалче,
 Ѓурге ле, и!
 Ѓурге ле, и!, љељо и!

Мајкино е таткино е.
 Го промени, го накити,
 г' испратила на нишалка.

AIF, tape nr 1067, from the village of Крапа, in the region Poreche. Sung by Mitra Dukoska (12 years old) and Verka Dukoska (14 years) from the same villate. Recorded and noted by Milan Risteski; transcribed by Rodna Velichkovska. Saint George's song. It is sung when the children go to swing.

Figure 3.

Да заросит ситна роса (Let a tiny rain fall)

♩ = 104 с. Ложани, Струшко

Да за - ро - сит — сит - на ро - са, — ој, — ли - ле, — ој —

Да заросит ситна роса,
 Ој, луле ој,

ситна роса берикетна ...

AIF, cassette nr 3909/1, from the village of Lozhani, near Struga. Sings Spasa Popovska (born 1933 in the village of Moroishta, near Struga). Recorded, noted and transcribed by Rodna Velichkovska in 2002. Rainmaking (*dodole*) song.

Figure 4.

Крсти крева бога мола
(I am holding holy crosses and praying God)

♩ = 84 с.Елшани, Охридско

Крс - ти кре - ва бо - га мо - ла,
Гос - по - ди по - ми - луј.

Крсти крева Бога мола,
Господи, помилуј!

Да дај Господ ситна роса,
Ситна роса-дар берикет,

дар берикет вино-жито,
вино-жито мед и млеко.

Да се ранат сирачиња.
Кај што врват Чесни Крсти,
Чесни Крсти Ристосови.

AIF, cassette nr 3906, from the village of Elshani, near Ohrid. Sings Marika Blazheska (born 1945). Recorded, noted and transcribed by Rodna Velichkovska. Rainmaking ('on crosses') song.

Figure 5.

Берејте се лазарки
(Get together Lazaritza girls)

Rubato ♩ = 144 с. Сопотско, Преспа

Бе-реј - те се Ла - зар-ки, — за-ру, да си — ој-ме Ла - за-ра.

Берете се лазарки, *Зару,*
да си ојме с' Лазара!

Не је кат' ден Лазара,
тук по једнуш в година.

AIF, tape nr 3310, from the village of Podmochani, in the region of Lower Prespa. Sings Zorka Sharkoska (born 1941) in the village of Sopotsko, in the region of Lower Prespa. Recorded by Tatyana Kalichanin; noted and transcribed by Rodna Velichkovska. Lazarus song. Sung when the Lazaritza girls make their circle through the village.

Figure 6.

Зберете се мој верне другачке
(Get together my true fellow girls)

Rubato ♩ = 116 с. Шупљи Камен, Кумановско

Ој у - ба - ва _____ ју - ба - ва де - вој - ко _____

ој у - ба - ва ју - ба - ва де - вој - ко.

Ој, убава, убава девојко, и!
Ој, убава, убава девојко!

Зберете се мој верне другачке,
зберете се моје миле сестре.
да месиме тај бела погача,
да жениме моје мило брате!

AIF, tape nr 2126, from the village of Stratzin, near Kratovo. Recorded in 1973. Sings Dobrila Josifovska from the village of Shupli Kamen. Recorded and noted by Dushko Dimitrovski; transcribed by Rodna Velichkovska. Wedding song. It is sung while the girls are making the ritual bread.

Figure 7.

Ја излези бабо губерјје
(Come out granny fancy dressed)

♩ = 80 *Rubato* с. Моштица, Пијанец

Ја из - ле - зи _____

ба - бо гу - бе - - - - ра

јо _____ и! ја из - ле - зи _____

ба - бо гу - бе - - ра јо. _____

Ја излези бабо губерјо, и!,
Ја излези бабо губерјо.

Да пречекаш моми Варваруши,
да пречекаш и да ги даруваш.

AIF, tape nr 3920, from the village of Moshtitsa, in the region of Pijanets, near the mountain of Osogovo (2002). Sing Yangja Ivanovska (born 1954, 'leads'), Stoyna Gavrilova (1942) and Dobrinka Zlatkovska (1955). Recorded, noted and transcribed by Rodna Velichkovska. 'Varvarusha' song, 'kamenitsa' singing).

Figure 8.

Добре дошле китени сватови
(Welcome adorned wedding guests)

с. Лески, Кочанско

(и) До - бре - дош - ле -
ки - те - ни сва - то - - - -
(о) - ви - - - - до-бре дош - ле - ки - те - ни
сва - - - - то - ве.

Добре дошле китени свато-(о)-ви,
добре дошле китени сватови.

Сто дојдовте, сто еден ојдовте.
– Слегни Маро од враната коња!

Ја другарки велат и говорат:
– Не слегнувај, Маро, не слегнувај,
додека ти свекоро не таксуваа,
свекор такса крава со теленце.

AIF, tape nr 3329, Vinitza 1988. Sing Lozena Eftimova (42), Elena Mitevka (44) and Mira Simeonova from the village of Leski, near the city of Kochani. Recorded by Trpko Bitsevski; noted and transcribed by Rodna Velichkovska. Wedding song that is sung on Sunday.

Figure 9.

Кралъ Димитар мила сина жени
(King Dimitar marries his son)

$\text{♩} = 302$ I гр. Берово, Малешевско

(и) Кралъ Ди - ми - тар, мо - ре, мил - на си -
на _____ же - ни мил - на си - на _____
же - ни; _____ (е) Кралъ Ди - ми - тар, мо - ре,
мил - на си - на _____ же - ни, мил - на си -
на _____ же - ни

Кралъ Димитар, море, мила сина жени,
милна сина жени.

Сина жени шчерка препродава,
шчеркини му свáтове испра́шча,
синови му сватове пресри́шта.
Па минáја през гора зелéна,
сретнáја се млáдите неvéсти,
шура зета ко́е размени́ја,
снаја з'лва – тенките прекрóви,
до два кума, два златни прстена,
два девера, два зелени венца...

AIF, tape nr 2, Berovo (1953). Sings a group of women. Recorded by Gancho Paytondjiev; transcribed by Risto Prodanov; noted by Zhivko Firfov. Dancing song; it is sung in two voices during various holydays.

Figure 10.

Извикна́ мома од поле
(A girl cried out from the fields)

♩ = 196 Каменица, Пијанец

Из - вик - на мо - ма од по -
- - - - - ле мо - ре, јод -
- по - ле мо - ма јод жет - ва.

Извикна́ мома од поле, море,
јод поле мома јод жетва.
- Дочуј ме мамо јод дома,
изгорев, мамо, за вода,
за вода, мамо, јод жешко!
Не ја дочула мајка ѝ,
тук ја дочуло јовчарче
од високата планина:
- Дојди, си моме, при мене,
при мене вода студена,
при мене сенка ладена.

AIF, cassette nr 3918, Kamenitsa, Piyanets (2002). Sing Stoyka Milchevska, born in the village of Tsera, near Kochani ('cries out'), Tanaska Ilchova, born in the village of Tsera, near Kochani and Tsvetanka Hristova, born in the village of Sasa, Piyanets (in the region of Osogoviya). Recorded, noted and transcribed by Rodna Velichkovska. Harvest song ('Tsera' singing).

Figure 11.

Ѓурѓице, кадан јубáва
(Gjurgjitse, fair lady)

с. Ињево, Радовишко

♩ = 224

Ѓур - ѓи - це - ка - дан
ју - ба - ва, ле - ле
Ѓур - ѓи - це - ка - дан
и!
ју - ба - ва
и!

Ѓурѓице, кадан јубáва, леле,
Ѓурѓице кадан, и!, (е) јубава, и!

Та што си толко јубáва.
Дал си од бога падна́ла,
дал си од земја никна́ла?
– Нит сум од бога падна́ла,
нит сум од земја никна́ла.
И мене мајка роди́ла,
и мене како и тебе.

На Велигден ме роди́ла,
на Ѓурѓовден ме крсти́ле,
Ѓурѓа ми име тури́ле,
с рујно ме вино бајна́ле,
пресно ме млеко дойле
на топо́ла ме лула́ле.
За тој сам тенка висо́ка,
за тој сам бела црвѐна.

AIF, tape nr 2706, village of Inievo, near Radovish (1979). Sing – ‘middle singer’: Stoyka Vasileva (1946), ‘singers from both sides’: Goritsa Ristova and Verka Vitanova (1932). Recorded Gjorgjiev; noted and transcribed by Rodna Velichkovska. Saint George’s Day song.

Figure 12.

Родна Величковска

АРЕАЛНО ПРОУЧАВАЊЕ И ТИПОЛОШКА
СИСТЕМАТИЗАЦИЈА У МАКЕДОНСКОМ
ТРАДИЦИОНАЛНОМ НАРОДНОМ
ОБРЕДНОМ ПЕВАЊУ

Резиме

Најбоље перспективе на плану ареалног проучавања музичко-фолклорних текстова нуди структурно-типолошка метода. Она даје могућност адекватног избора релевантног узорка при картографисању (исцртавању одговарајућих карата распрострањености). Структурно-типолошка метода, у конкретном случају, спроводи се анализом појава у македонском традиционалном народном певању; реч је о утврђивању зона жанровске заступљености и музичко-поетских текстова. На тај начин се изграђује хијерархијски систем у којем се степен заједничких елемената одређује према територији њихове распрострањености, и то према (1) одређеним ритмичким типовима (посебна пажња је посвећена цезурираним облицима и неравномерним ритмичким обрасцима који се деле на подгрупе, откривајући тенденцију ка територијалној одређености); (2) мелодијским типовима (звучни материјал се представља кроз мелодијске моделе) и (3) појединим стилским особеностима македонске вокалне традиције.

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN LITHUANIAN AND BALKAN *SCHWEBUNGS-DIAPHONIE*: INTERDISCIPLINARY SEARCH KEY

DAIVA VYČINIENĖ

Abstract: The second, multi-voice phenomena of Lithuanian and Balkan nations unite features not typical of other nations' vocal traditions. They concern not only the sharp second sounds, but also their mounting 'rough' singing, with the voices 'striking' to sound 'like bells'. In this folkloric 'school' listening, seeking harmony and singer 'specialisation' are very important. The apparent musical and paramusical similarities shared by Lithuanian and Balkan singing traditions are discussed in this paper, referring to the obtained results and gained insights from other scientific fields such as linguistics, archaeology, history, mythology and genetics. Several hypotheses related to ethnogenetic and territorial relations of the Balkan and Lithuanian second multi-part singing are put forward.

Keywords: *sutartinės*, second interval, diaphony, *Schwebungs-Diaphonie*, Balkan, Balts, *Balcano-Balto-Slavica*.

Lithuanian polyphonic songs *sutartinės* have been localized in the North-eastern part of Lithuania (Figure 1). There are three main categories of *sutartinės* depending on the number of performers and style of performance: *dvejinės* 'twosomes' (counterpoint), *trejinės* 'threesomes' (strict canon, Examples 1, 2), and *keturinės* 'foursomes' (antiphonal counterpoint).

Sutartinės are distinguished for the richness of their imitative refrains: *tūto*, *titivity*, *lingo*, etc. (Example 2). At the same time multi-part singing concerns not only interaction of different melodies, but also two different sets of lyrics interlaced in performing *sutartinės*: the main text and the refrain (or interjected onomatopoeic words; Figure 2). One main feature is the abundance of sharp dissonant seconds, which greatly pleased the old performers. *Sutartinės* are not only chanted, but also performed on various instruments: *daudytės* 'long wooden trumpets', *skudučiai* 'multi-pipe whistles' and a five-string *kanklės* 'zither'. The instrumental music was solely men's activity. From older times *sutartinės* were mostly sung and danced by (two, three, or four) women¹.

Sutartinės correspond to the 'criteria' for common, archaic, second interval, multi-part music not only in terms of their abundance of second concordance and narrow melodic range, but also in terms of the musical aesthetic that

¹ From the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth, the spread of *sutartinės* underwent some essential changes and the stylistics of a locale's multi-voice singing altered. In north eastern Lithuania homophony replaced the second polyphony of *sutartinės*.

covers large territories. Gerald Florian Messner and Rudolf Marija Brandl, who researched second interval multi-part songs as widely spread phenomena, used the special term *die Schwebungs-Diaphonie* ‘the beat-diaphony’, thus defining its psycho-acoustic fundament that is universal to the human ear (Messner 1980; Brandl 1989).

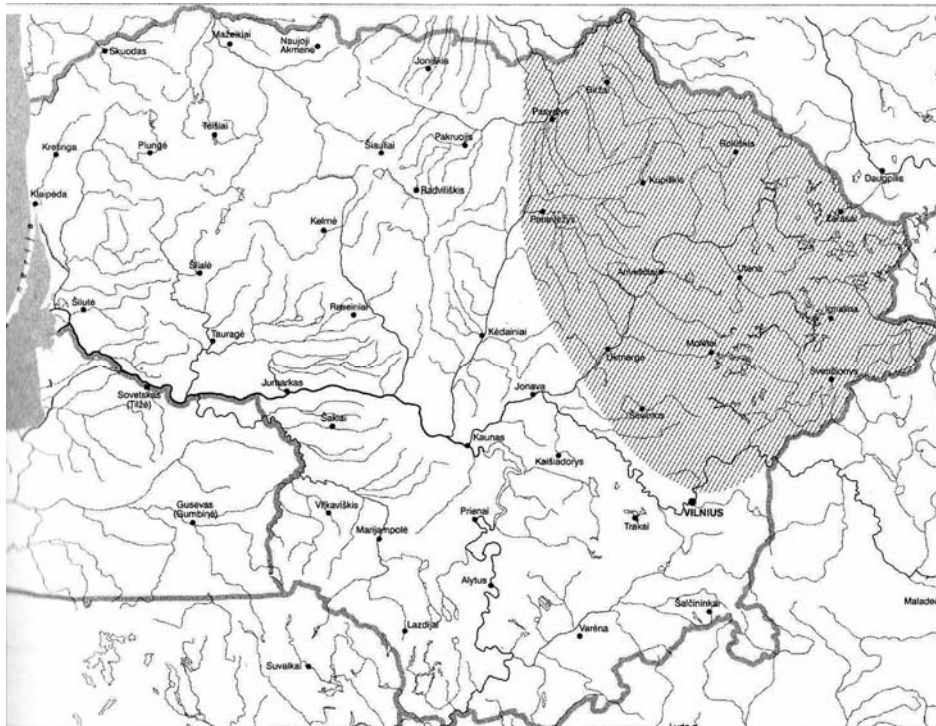


Figure 1: Area of the *sutartinės* (Račiūnaitė-Vyčiniene 2000: 45).

R.
 Kas ti kert', kas ti rumč', le - li - jėl, ta - ta - to.

P.
 Lioi le - li - jei - la, lioi ta - ta - tei - la.

Figure 2: *Kas ti kert*. Foursome sung by Lūkėnienė and Januškevičienė, Nemunėlio Radviliškis district, Biržai region. Written down by Adolfas Sabaliauskas in 1911 (Slaviūnas 1959 III, nr. 1462).

Hence, on the one hand, Lithuanian sutartinės (undoubtedly – like other nations' multi-part samples – with their own national quirks), retain the *Schwebungs-Diaphonie* samples (Ambrazevičius 2005; Račiūnaitė-Vyčiniene 2002a, b, etc., 2003; Kunst 1960, etc.). On the other hand, however, researching the genesis of sutartinės forces us to consider the hypothesis that there are ethnogenetic links with other nations – primarily, the possibility of multi-part phenomena shared with the Balkans.

Surely there arises the issue related to the phenomenon of *universality* and *locality* relationship under investigation, which appears to be extremely complicated in the domain of ethnomusicology. It is possible to pose various questions here. For instance, to what extent are sutartinės uniquely 'Lithuanian', and to what extent are they universal? Why have they been chosen to be compared mainly with the Balkan diaphony, but not with, for example, similar examples of polyphony prevailing in Papua New Guinea or Flores Island? Do only universal (let's say biological or psychoacoustic) *Schwebungs-Diaphonie* features relate sutartinės and the Balkan diaphony, or does there exist a territorial or ethnogenetic relationship among them? And eventually, is a consistent historical and genetic research on these two singing traditions feasible, or is only typological comparison possible?

It is understandable that similar musical and paramusical features, which have been distinguished by the author as being inherent to Lithuanian and Balkan diaphony, can be found in other traditions. Still, Lithuanian and Balkan archaic multi-part singing are interrelated not by individual features but by a *unity of certain characteristics*. Furthermore, similar features encompass all the components of the singing process: they are intrinsic not only to musical expression but also to the way of performance, to singers' terminology, and the like. It is obvious that both traditions embody an archaic musical perception which does not conform to the laws of European music culture. It allows one to assume that the second diaphony we take an interest in can reflect very old times and point to the past close territorial (ethnic) relations of Lithuanian and Balkan nations.

So, although Rudolf Brandl criticises this nationalist hypothesis² of related second interval multi-part phenomena originating from particular ethnic groups (2008: 281), I will turn my attention to the possibility and importance of this hypothesis. This is supported by a number of factors. One of them is the contact between ancient Balkan and Baltic nations, the possibility of which has been confirmed by researchers in many diverse fields.

² The multi-part origins hypothesis has been posed by (ethno)musicologists of various countries, namely Cvjetko Richtman, Viktor Beliajev, Dragoslav Dević, Vassil Stoin, Nikolaj Kaufman, Doris and Eric Stockmann, and others.

Balcano-Balto-Slavica

The researchers from various scientific fields showed interest in Balkan, Slavic, and Baltic relations hundreds of years ago. Jonas Basanavičius was the first in Lithuania to observe and investigate the similarities between Lithuanians and Bulgarians. (Basanavičius 1898, 1921) At present the research on Balto-Slavic (Balkan) relations has gained new impetus.

A lot of attention is placed on the Balto-Slavic at the *Institute for Slavic Studies* (Moscow). Viačeslav Ivanov and Vladimir Toporov often emphasised the importance of Baltic studies in researching various problems of Slavonic studies (linguistics, history, culturology, mythology).³ The book about modelling semiotic systems of the Slavic languages (Ivanov and Toporov 1965) became the foundation for semiotic investigations in the domain of the Balto-Slavic antiquity⁴ (selection among numerous studies dedicated to this subject: Гринцер, Топоров and Цивьян 1994; Иванов 1981; Иванов and Топоров 1965; Toporov 1973a, 1986, 2000, et al).

Particular attention is given to comparative studies of Baltic and Slavic languages (Dini 2000, 2007; Groković-Mejcor and Radovanović 2010; Karaliūnas 2004, 2005; Kortland 1989, 2009; Loma 2010a, 2010b, 2010c; Mayer 1993; Откупщиков 2004, 2006; Петрухин 1994; Schenker 1985; Stadnik-Holzer and Holzer 2010; Stojić 2006; Toporov 1964, 1975–1989, 1982, 1986, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1997a, 1997b; Toporov and Trubachev 1962; Vanagas 1966, 1981; Vasilyjeva and Radakovich 2009; Zinkevičius 1984, 2005, 2011, et al.). Referring to linguistic ideas, we can speak about direct and indirect relations that existed between Baltic and old Balkan tribes at that time. Researchers have found many linguistic similarities shared between the Balts and the Thracians, Phrygians, Illyrians, Dacians-Moesians (for instance, Birnbaum 1988; Bonfante 2008; Dini 2000, 2007, 2009; Duridanov 1969; Ivanov 1981; Karaliūnas 2004, 2005; Katičić 1976; Krahe 1963, 1964; Laučiūtė 1982, 1988; Loma 2010b; Mayer 1992; Mažulis 1981; Olteanu 2012; Откупщиков 1986; Paliga 2002; Pokorny 1969; Puzinas 1951, 1957; Room 1992; Serafimov 2007; Toporov 1972, 1973a, 1973b, 1977; Wilkes 1992; Zinkevičius 1984). Following research is the basis for further studies of the ethnogenetic relationship.

At present there are various hypotheses in *archaeology*, associated with the origin of the Balts and their relations. Marija Gimbutienė's theory on the origin of the Balts is now officially adhered to (Gimbutas 1963, 1971, 1994,

³ Recently the research on the Balkano-Baltic mythology is significantly increasing (Beresnevičius 2003, 2004; Ivanov and Toporov 1974; Laurinkienė 2008; Lowmiański 1979; Mikhailov 1995, 1996, 1998; Razauskas and Civjan 2003; Sudnik and Civjan 1978, 1981; Toporov 1978, 1983, 2000).

⁴ Since 1981 the annual collection of *The Balto-Slavic Research* began to be regularly published. It was written by three major publications: *The Balto-Slavic Collection* (1972), *The Balto-Slavic Research* (1974), *The Balto-Slavic Ethnolinguistic Contacts* (1980).

1996; Renfrew 1989; Vyčinas 1994). In the last decades, Algirdas Girininkas' alternative theory of the origin of the Balts is being evolved (Girininkas 2002, 2005), which belongs to the Paleolithic Continuity Theory that is gaining popularity these days (it is being developed by Italian linguists Mario Alinei, Gabriele Kosta, by German and Belgian prehistorians Alexander Hausler, Marcel Otto, and others). Developing this theory it is mainly referred to the paleogenetic findings of scientific investigations, demonstrating that approximately 80 percent of present Europeans were descendants of old autochthonous Palaeolithic Europe, while archaeological investigations show an incessant continuity of their development. Such theory was confirmed by the latest research in *genetics* (for instance, Ambrasienė and Kučinskas 2003; Bramanti et al. 2009; Kasperavičiūtė and Kučinskas 2004; Kasperavičiūtė et al. 2004; Skulj 2005, 2007, etc.).

So far *ethnomusicology* has been left aside from the research focused on examining Balto-Slavic, and especially Balto-Balkan ethnocultural and ethnogenetic relations. The importance of comparative research on the Balto-Slavic and Balkans (especially) was highlighted in certain articles by Izaly Zemtsovsky (see for instance 1983, 1987). He regarded *Balcano-Balto-Slavica* as an indispensable object of ethnomusicological investigations (1983).

It is however true to say that special ethnomusicological investigations related to the present issue – the relations of Lithuanian sutartinės and the Balkan diaphony have been conducted very rarely. Virtually, sutartinės are concisely mentioned not only by one ethnomusicologist who is researching the examples of European multi-part singing. Others think that sutartinės are unique, having no equivalents (Elscheková 1981: 240; Brambats 1983: 26). Other musicologists still find some similarities related to particular traditions of multi-voiced singing. Nikolai Kaufman notes that despite the difference in the number of voices used in their performance, sutartinės are akin to Bulgarian two-voice songs from Shopi (1968: 172–174). In Alice Elscheková's opinion, it is possible to observe the patterns, being close to sutartinės, of multi-part singing in Bosnia and Herzegovina (both traditions are combined by the second dyads formed as a result of interaction of two separate voice parts; Elscheková 1981: 240) The similarities that Bulgaria, Serbia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina shared with sutartinės were examined by the author of the present article (2002a: 250–257 etc.).

The insights related to music of the East Slavs and its possible ethnogenetic relations (we will touch upon it further) are of immense significance in investigating Balto-Balkan multi-part singing. In Svetlana Kondratyeva's opinion, the research on folklore of Southern Russia would be of great value while generally dealing with the issues related to the formation of folklore of both nations – Bulgarian and Russian – and to their ethnogenesis⁵ (1971: 70). The

⁵ Referring to similarities of ancient multi-part singing of the South Slavs with multi-part singing of the East Slavs, Serbian ethnomusicologist Dragoslav Dević makes an assumption that

drone songs in the Starodubov region and Bulgaria can represent some relict art common to the present Bryansk region and South-Western Bulgaria (Ibid: 168).

Latvian researcher Martiņš Boiko concludes that drone polyphony of the Upper Dnepr represents the legacy of ethnic music of the eastern Baltic tribes in the musical folklore of the Eastern Slavs. (Denisova and Boiko 1990, etc.). These ethnomusicological investigations prove the importance of the Balts' substratum in the ethnogenesis of the East Slavs.

The present article does not seek to expound on all the similarities of Lithuanian and Balkan nations' ancient songs of multi-part singing or disclose their territorial and ethnogenetic relations (moreover, alongside general features there are local elements of melody, rhythmic, versification, etc., inherent to certain places in different traditions). The article only focuses on the necessity to fully examine the ancient polyphony (diaphony), and the possibilities of ethnomusicologists contributing to general studies of the *Balcano-Balto-Slavica* ethnocultural area.

Territorial distribution and general characteristics of ancient two-part singing in Balkan

Ancient two-part singing in the Balkans is mainly concentrated in ethnocultural regions of the Dinaric mountain system, of the Shopi (Šopluk) area, and region of the Pindus Mountain. In this study, the focus will be on old singing of Dinaric and Shopi.

In a broad sense, the Dinaric two-part singing occupies a large territory that spreads between the Adriatic coast in the west, the Sava and Drina basins in the north and east, and Prokletije Mountain (so-called Albanian Alps) in the south east. Thus it is widely spread in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, southern parts of Croatia, and reaches the northern islands of Dalmatia and Istria (Dević 2002: 33–34; Marušić 2007), but also western, south western, and (partly) central Serbia, Šumadija region (Dević 2002: 35, Jovanović 2002: 105; Petrović and Jovanović 2003: 16).⁶ Together with flows of migration, crossing the Sava and the Danube, the Dinaric region inhabitants reached a certain part of Vojvodina⁷ (Dević 2002: 35, 2001; Golemović 1991, 1996, 2011; Ivkov 2004 et al.).

the Balkan archaic multi-part singing is grounded by the elements of the ancient Slavs' multi-part singing (2002: 44).

⁶ The features of the Dinaric music culture are also found in Southern Serbia (Jovanović and Radić 2009: 164).

⁷ A distinctive archaic diaphony exists in Gora – a mountain range linking three countries: Serbia, Albania and Macedonia. *Gorani* or *Goranici* women and girls have preserved old ritual songs characterized by abundant dyads of both major and minor seconds (Dević 2002: 38, 49; Traerup 1972).

The Shopi archaic singing embraces the central part of the Balkans: partly Eastern Serbia, mostly Western Bulgaria and Northeastern Macedonia. In Serbia the Shopi region occupies the territory from Vardenik Mountain and the Suva Planina to the Stara Planina (Dević 2002: 36, Дончева Денкова 2011: 7).

The Balkan, Dinaric, and Shopi old two-part singing is united by certain general features: prevailing two-part singing (three types are known: heterophony, heterophony-drone, and drone); limited number of tones in melodic lines (2-5); dominating non-tempered chromaticism or a diatonic scale; and the second interval is of great importance (Dević 2002: 39; Дончева Денкова 2011: 8).

The main characteristic of Dinaric types of two-part singing is the interval of the second between the two voices, particularly in the cadence between the final tone and the major second beneath it, achieved by the voice crossing (Barjaktarević 2008: 181–84; Elscheková 1981: 211; Dević 2001: 127, 2002: 39; Golemović 1990, 1995, 2011; Jovanović 2002: 69; Petrović A. 2011: 122; Petrović R. 1990: 164, 166, 167; Figure 3).

Figure 3 displays three systems of musical notation for heterophony-bourdon singing. Each system consists of a vocal line (top staff) and a bourdon line (bottom staff). The tempo is marked as quarter note = cca 54. The lyrics are: "Ja po - sa - di, ja po-sa-die. e. eve - će po - kraj Dri-ne, e(j). ja po - sa - di. ja po-sa-di. a. e. i."

Figure 3: Heterophony-bourdon singing from North-West Serbia (Golemović)

www.mdw.ac.at/ive/emm/index.php?id=111&L=http%3A%2F%2F

www.npk-spb.ru%2Fimages%2Fcircle.gif%3F

In ‘Shop’ type of two-part singing (with the interval of second) the accompanying voice has a distinct function of the drone with the cadence in unison (Abrasheva 1968a, 1968b, Дончева Денкова 2011: 8; Dević 1990: 453, 1992, 2002: 39; Petrović R. 1989: 138; Radinović 1997; Figure 4).

♩ = 52 Слободно

За - жни за - пеј, мо - ри, тен - ка

Ру - же ле, за - - жни за - пеј пеј,

(и) ле - ле, тен - ка Ру - же, и!

Figure 4: *Zažni, zapej, tenka Ruže*. Macedonian rye reaping song sung by Rajna Jovanova (*vrtička*), Tana Mladenova and Lena Lazereva (*bučički*), Konče, Radoviško, 1979. Transcribed by Rodna Veličkowska, AIF m. l. 2708 (Veličkowska 2002: 138, nr. 29).

Relationship between sutartinės and Balkan two-part singing

Clear similarities with Lithuanian sutartinės can be seen in the Balkans and many components that unite various national singing traditions can be distinguished:

(1) *The second as consonance* (Dević 1990: 453; Petrović A. 2000, 2011: 122; Petrović R. 1989: 66–67; Psycheva 2011b; Radinović 1997).

(2) *Performance similarities: singing in small groups; strict division of parts – singers’ particular ‘roles’*. The singer performing the main part of the sutartinės text is called the *rinkėja* ‘collector’ (she ‘collects’ text, creates it), *sakytoja* ‘speaker’, and the singer repeating the refrain is called the *pritarėja* ‘accompanist’ or *giedotoja* ‘chanter’. In Midwestern Bulgaria, the singer who knows the song *kazhuva, izgovara* (speak), and the singer who does not know it only *poe* (sings; Psycheva 2011a: 265). In Bosnia and Herzegovina, the singer performing the first part is spoken of as he who ‘cuts’, ‘chooses’, ‘collects’ the voice, whereas the two remaining singers ‘led’, ‘followed’, ‘accompanied’. (Rihtman 1970: 99) In western Serbian regions the leading voice can either ‘re-

cite', 'pronounce', or 'cut in' and in the central Šumadia the leading voices 'lead', and another voices 'follow' (Jovanović 2002: 62). It is also said that the accompaniment 'chases', 'interrupts' or 'deepens' (Dević 2002: 38–39; Golemović 2011). In Bulgarian diaphony the singer of the upper melodic voice is called *okachka*, *izvikuvačka*, and the singers of the lower bourdon voice are called *vlachachki*, *pomagachki* (Peycheva 2011a: 264; 2011b).

It is worth mentioning the terminological and semantic accordance in the use of the same terms in different traditions. Namely, the word 'a couple' (Bulg. *chift*, Russ. *para*) often concerns participation of more singers or players. In Bulgaria, the antiphonal singing of multi-part songs by two groups of singers is called *otpeva* (Peycheva 2011a: 286), *na otepev*, and the two groups are called *cheti*, *tri po tri* (Middle West Bulgaria), *chiftove*, or *chingure* (Pirin region).⁸ Lithuanian antiphonal songs *keturinės* 'foursomes' means: (1) singing of the counterpoint *sutartinės* by four paired singers, where the second pair repeats what the first pair had just sung (Figure 2); and (2) performing *pakaitinės* 'alternation' hymns by four (or more) women as they sing in strictly alternating turns—the first pair (two or sometimes three or four singers) chant the text and the second pair (two to four singers) reply in assent with the refrain (Račiūnaitė-Vyčinienė 2011b: 401–4). In Russia, one of the sets of *kugikly* 'multi-pipe whistles' in the tradition of Kursk province, called *para* always consists of five pipes and in Briansk province of three pipes⁹. It may be that at one time particular polyphonic songs (music) were performed exactly by four members (two and two, 'in pairs'). Obviously, that seemed to be an important number.

(3) *Special importance of listening (singing, playing) together*. In Lithuanian tradition of *sutartinės* the verbs *sutarti* 'to attune with another person, to agree or reach accord, to be in harmony' are widely used in the vernacular to describe the performance of both vocal and instrumental *sutartinės*.

The people of the Dinaric region regarded multipart songs as a collective product: "All the singers were of equal importance for good song delivery" (Petrović A. 2011: 118). In Southwestern Bulgaria (the Pirin region) the coincidence of the voices, the orderly harmonious singing is called *glashene*, *shojdenie*.¹⁰ The term *da se pogažadat* (*da se sglašat*, *da ti se udara glaso*) means 'to understand one another, to be well synchronized while singing, to sing harmoniously and in synchrony' (Peycheva 2011b: 266–8).

(4) *Prolonged call at the end of 'calling' lines of the melody or at the end of the whole piece*. The *sutartinės* (usually the *trejinės* 'threesomes') are finished with a call, or a shout. Usually the voice sounds in an *ooh ooh ooh*, and less frequently in an *ee ee ee* (begins in a high voice and glides downward over a line of tones; Figure 5).

⁸ Peycheva 2008.

⁹ Velitchkina, Olga (1996). 'The role of movement in Russian panpipe playing', in *EOL 2: A new generation of ethnomusicologists*; www.umbc.edu/eol/2/velitch/velich2.html#6b (access: 20th August 2012).

¹⁰ Peycheva 2008.

1
2. Du jau - ni bro - la - liai vais - ke - ly iš - jo - jo, vais - ke - ly iš - jo - jo.

2
Tū - toj tū - toj, tū - toj ly - lio, tū - toj ly - lio.

3, 4

1, 2

3
2. Du jau - ni bro - la - liai vais - ke - ly iš - jo - jo, vais - ke - ly iš - jo - jo. Ū!

4
Tū - toj tū - toj, tū - toj ly - lio, tū - toj ly - lio. Ū!

Figure 5: *Du žaliūs berželiai*. Forsome sung by Petras Lapienė, Marė Jakubonienė and Ona Striužienė from Biržai in 1935 m., LTR pl. 189a, c (1). Transcribed by Jadvyga Čiurlionytė (Slaviūnas 1959 III, nr. 1233).

The technique of ascending fast glissando to a sound approximately one octave higher than the final tone of a song is used mainly in women's ritual songs (wedding and seasonal) and is considered to be one of the archaic features of many Slavic traditions (Zemtsovsky 1974: 153). Similar vocal gestures are found in most archaic layers of traditional music in Slovenia, Bulgaria (*provikvane*) (Karanlikov 1972: 181; Peycheva 2011b: 301), Serbia (*izvikivanje*, *ikanje*, *rucanje*, *vrištanje*; Dević 2001: 127; Jovanović 2002: 76; Petrović R. 1989: 140; Zakić 2011a: 78, 2011b), and Macedonia (Gjorgjiev 1985; Figure 6).

(5) *Similar aesthetics of singing; voices 'like bells'*. People experienced the harmonic major second as a powerful interval which provides great dynamic intensity. In Lithuanian, it is expressed by the terms 'chopping' (*kapotinė* is one of the convertible terms of the *sutartinė*; from the verb *kapoti* 'to chop'), 'clucking' (the singers *kudakuoja* 'cackle like hens')¹¹ and 'hiccup' ('Four-

¹¹ The expression '*kaip vištos kudakuoja*' ('cackling like hens') on the one hand reflects the main characteristics of performing *sutartinės*: quick 'scampering' from one pitch to another, accenting separate voices, as well as distinct melodies and texts sounding at the same time (*Trijos. Kaip ir vištos ir kudoja* [*The threesomes. They cackle like the hens.*]; written down by Stasys

somes are not sung, but rather *žaksi* hiccupped”¹²; Račiūnaitė-Vyčiniene 2002a: 266–267; 2011a: 196–7, 2011b: 404–6). In Bulgaria some songs are performed to ‘broken’ or ‘chopped-up’ melodies (*secheni glasove*)¹³. Singers of the Dinaric culture regard prestrikes as the chief feature of the Ganga genre, calling them as *sjecanje* and *jecanje* (Petrović A. 2011: 120–21).

The image shows a musical score for a Serbian song. It consists of two systems of two staves each. The first system has lyrics 'Вен - че, И! здрав - (а) - (а) - че, И!' and '(че) че'. The second system has lyrics 'Бе - ру ли те мо - ме И!' and a triplet of notes above the first staff.

Figure 6: Serbian song from Shopluk sung by Mirjana Vukičević-Zakić, village Yarsenovo, 1991 (Dević 2002, Figure 10).

Good performance had to create the bell-like sound¹⁴ (Brandl 2008: 281; Karanlikov 1972: 181; Peycheva 2011b: 228; Petrović A. 2011: 120–21; Petrović R. 1989: 139; (Račiūnaitė)-Vyčiniene 2002b: 60–61; 2011b: 400, 407 etc.).

(6) *Close connections between vocal and wind instrument music, with singing dominated by women and instrumental music by men* (Dević 1986: 13; Golemović 1990: 20–5; Miljković 1985; Petrović and Jovanović 2003: 21–2). Quite a few researchers had expressed ideas about commonalities between

Paliulis in 1936 (Slaviūnas 1958, nr. 233). On the other hand, the twentieth century brought a change in the aesthetic sense. People began poking fun at these singers. ‘When they mocked them for clucking like chickens, then they’d sing as one (i.e. not polyphonically, but in ‘one voice’, in unison – *D. R.–V.*)’, explained Elzbieta Janavičienė-Tamėnaitė, born 1841, written down by Stasys Paliulis in 1936 (Paliulis 1959, nr. 334; Račiūnaitė-Vyčiniene 2011a: 196).

¹² Sung by Ieva Kaukėnienė, age 80. Written down by Juozas Aidulis in 1933 (Račiūnaitė-Vyčiniene 2011b: 433).

¹³ Bulgaria (2010), in *Music Encyclopedia*; www.operas.com.ar/Music-Encyclopedia/12542/Bulgaria-pag.20.htm (access: 15 March 2011).

¹⁴ R. Brandl believes that the similar acoustical traits cause the singers to associate the sound with bells (Brandl 1989: 59).

multi-part singing and instrumental music (Bonifačić 1996, Golemović and Vasić 1994, Paliulis 1984, Petrović and Jovanović 2003, Rihtman 1981a, b). In Lithuania the singing of sutartinės is often compared to performing on *skudučiai*. The syncretism of the Lithuanian multi-part music is shown by the verb *tūtuoti* ‘to toot’ or ‘to pipe’, ‘to sing sutartinės’; *sutūtuoti* ‘to have tooted’ – ‘to come to agreement’ (Račiūnaitė-Vyčinienė 2011a: 191; Figure 7).

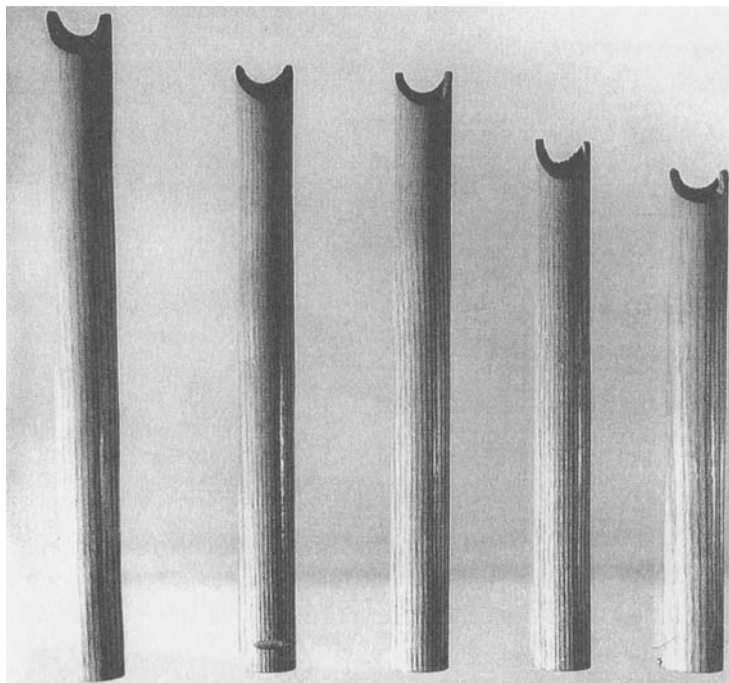


Figure 7: Set of five *skudučiai* ‘multipart whistles’. Unknown photographer. Sėla museum of Biržai Lands (Personal archives of Stasys Paliulis).

On the origin of Sutartinės and Balkan second two-part singing

It has been observed that the entire territory where the sutartinės had disseminated were the lands inhabited by the *Sėliai* (Selonian) peoples¹⁵. In the process of researching the phenomena of Latvian songs, which are related to the sutartinės, Latvian musicologist Martin Boiko observed that they have survived in only a few locales of Latvia, most likely linked with the ancient *Sėliai* culture (Boiko 1992 a.o.; Figure 8).

¹⁵ The Selonians were a tribe of Baltic peoples who lived in Selonia, located in south-eastern Latvia and north-eastern Lithuania, until the fifteenth century.

BC; Račiūnaitė-Vyčinienė 2008; Figures 10, 11, 12, 13). Statements supporting this hypothesis suggest that the Baltic territory could have been the place of origin of the major third trichord melodies and the epicentre of their existence; this gives rise to the possibility of concentration of trichords in some parts of Russian and Ukrainian territories, drawing attention to the fact that the multi-part traditions in the mentioned territories are characterised by the cohesion of two major thirds (or major third trichords) in a decisive vertical second consonance (Altshuler 2007; Bojarkin 2004; Bojarkin and Gippius 1981; Goldin 1977; Ivanov A. 1993; Pashina 1996; Riutiel 1977, 1994; Savelyeva 1995; Shchurov 1971; Zhulanova 1977; Example 2, Figures 2, 14, 15).

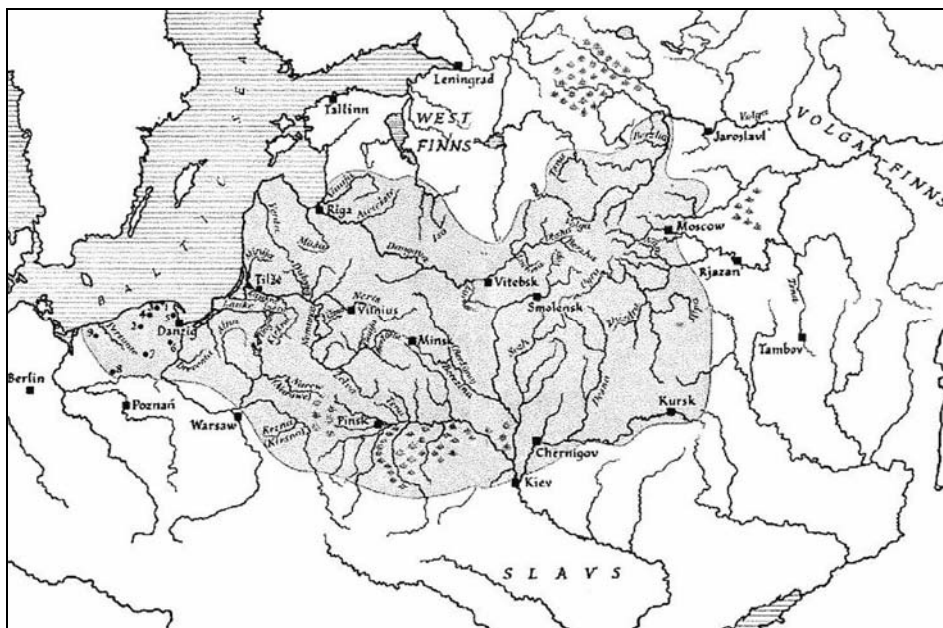


Figure 9: Area of the Baltic river names (Gimbutas 1963: 30–31, Figure 2).

♩ = 100. Eloignez vous nuages en voitures à deux roues, soleil reviens en carosse.

Nu - va-žiuk, de - be - sël, Su dvi - ra-čiais, su dvi - ra-čiais. At - va-žiuk,
sau - le - le, Su ka - rie - ta, su ka - rie - ta.

Figure 10: Shepherd song from North-Eastern Lithuania, in Sabaliauskas, Adolfas (comp.), *Lietuvių Dainų ir Giesmių Gaidos* [Notes to the Songs and Hymns of Lithuanians], Helsinki, 1916, nr. 436.



Figure 11: Mordvinian instrumental melody called *Ваньцянь моро* 'Shepherd song' recorded and transcribed by A. Väisänen in 1914 (Bojarkin 2006: nr. 52; from Väisänen, A. *Mordwinische Melodien: Phonigraphisch aufgenommen und herausgegeben von A. O. Väisänen*, Helsinki 1948).

♩ = 108

1. И - ля - день за - ря, ма - туш - кай,

Шоб - да - вань за - ря, ма - туш - кай!

Мак - со - ка тон шум - бра - ши!

Нол - да - ка тон па - ра - ши!

Figure 12: Mordvinian wedding song-incantation sung by P. Mineikina, b. 1918. Written down by Nikolaj Bojarkin in 1975 (Bojarkin and Gippius 1981: 122, Figure 44).

1 Я_б_ло_нь_мо_я. я_б_ло_нь_мо_я ку_д_ря_ва_я.
я_б_ло_нь_мо_я ку_д_ря_ва_я,
ла_до, ла_до, ла_до мо_ё.

Figure 13: The spring song from Suzemka district, Bryansk region: 'pillars of the seconds' (Saveljeva 1995: 11).

На_ш(и) ко_ро_вай по_зас_то_ль_ю по_ше_л(ы),
на_ш(и) я_ро_вой са_бе ме_с(ы)_то на_шел.

Figure 14: The wedding song from Kharkov district, Ukraine: bitonality of two major thirds (Shchurov 1972: 311, Figure 10).

The musical score shows three staves labeled I, II, and III. Each staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The music is in 2/4 time. The lyrics are written below the notes. The first measure contains the lyrics 'Ty - ti - ti' for voice I and '1. Ti - ti - ty' for voice II. The second measure contains 'ta - ta - toj,' for both voices. The third measure contains 'kas ti gra-žiai' for both. The fourth measure contains 'triū - bi - jo?' for both. Voice III has rests in all four measures.

Figure 15: Fragment of sutartinė *Tititi tatato* sung by Petras Lapienė, Marė Jakubonienė and Ona Striūžienė from Biržai in 1935 (Slaviūnas 1958 I: 710, nr. 484a): bitonality of two major thirds.

Most Balkan researchers almost unanimously agreed that second multi-part is one of the remaining traits of ancient tribes that used to live in the Balkans (Širola 1930: 220; Dević 1990, 1992, 1996, 2001, 2002). It is however fascinating to learn how many cultures have left their traces in the population of Illyrian, Romanic, and Slavic origins (Janković 1995; Curta 2001, 2008). Several authors (for example, Stoin 1956) connected Croatian two-part singing (either directly or indirectly) with folk singing in the Rodopi Range in Bulgaria. Theories about an Illyrian¹⁷ stratum in traditional music by Cvjetko Rihtman (1958: 99) and Thracian-Illyrian stratum by Nikolai Kaufman were developed (Кайфман 1966: 3–9).

The possibility for relations of the Balto-Balkan second diaphony

For now, the features common to the second sutartinės and the Balkans remain open to speculation. It is not clear whether there were direct relations between the eastern Balts (from whom the sutartinės probably originated) and ancient Balkan tribes.

Balkan second singing arose from the *Illyria* theory which allows us to search for possible territorial/ethnogenetic connections with Lithuanian sutartinės. The truth is that it has not yet been conclusively established who the forbears to the Illyrians were: “The position of Illyrian remains unclear” (Kortlandt 1989: 134).

It is supposed that the western Balts (mostly inhabitants of former Prussia) became Slavs in the Balkan region by moving to the south west between 500 BC and 300 AD (Mažiulis 1981; Toporov 1975–1989). However, it is not clear where the Illyrians, who later moved toward the south, began. In spite of this, language and archaeological data show that in the very distant past the

¹⁷ About Slavic–Illyrian connections see: Malevany 1983.

Illyrians used to be neighbours of the Balts¹⁸. These connections are reflected in toponimics and hidronimics, and in some suffixes (Karaliūnas 2004, 2005; Paliga 2002: 637, 645, 648; Room 1992; Zinkevičius 2005: 57). In the frame of the ‘Ancient European’ linguistic community (during the end of the 3rd millennium and the start of the 2nd millennium BC), the Illyrian and the Venets might have been neighbours with the forefathers of the Balts and Germans and could have intensively communicated with Italic and Celtic tribes.

Research by the archaeologist Voldemaras Šimėnas shows that around the fifth-fourth century BC a new, poly-ethnic tribe appeared in Prussia and Western and Central Lithuania. Their culture was close to Gothic and the provinces of the Roman Empire on the Lower Danube (Cit. from Bonfante 2008: 415; also see: Bliujienė 2002). Thus, we can hypothesise about certain tribes (of a poly-ethnic tribal group) moving to the modern-day territory of south-western Lithuania and bringing the particular form of singing. But how then can we explain the sutartinės’ (localized in the north-eastern part of Lithuania) similarity to the Balkan second diaphone?

This assumption that concerns bringing a particular form of second singing from the Balkans to the Baltic territory (to Prussia and Western Lithuania) in pre-historic times seems unproven. Additionally, it partly refers to an equivocal ‘Pan-Illyrian’ notion of the ancient Illyrians. While explaining the possibility of ethnogenetic relations between sutartinės and Balkan diaphony, other hypotheses are worthy of consideration. In the first instance one should not reject the possibility of Thracian origin, taking into consideration the abundant parallels, observed by philologists, of Dacians, Thracians, and Balts. Kaufman wrote about feasible origin of old Balkan diaphony; to prove this postulate he advanced some arguments stating that multi-part signing is not characteristic of the major part of Bulgaria and is not present in “northern parts (and elsewhere)” of the East Slavs (1968: 12–13).

A comprehensive review of north eastern Lithuanian melodies allows me to raise the precondition that it contains ancient Baltic-Finnish and Baltic-Slavic reflections¹⁹. There is thus another postulate that second singing developed not in the ancient Balkans, but, most probably, in the Balto-Slavic stratum and widely spread in the Balkans during the epoch of the Migration Period. This postulate would partly coincide with Dević’s insights. He presumes that the Balkan archaic multi-part singing is grounded by the elements of multi-part singing of the early Slavs (2002: 44). Still, an abundant amount of ‘baltisms’ in the South Slavic languages together with some data on onomastics, allows hypothesizing about traces of waves of immigrants and inhabiting mountainous

¹⁸ The Illyrian concept of Baltic languages prevailed in the linguistics of the 16th and 17th centuries (Dini 2009).

¹⁹ The eastern Balts were in active contact with the Finno-Ugrians, Cimmerians, proto-Scythians, and early Slavs (Gimbutas 1963: 54–5).

regions in the central part of the Balkan Peninsula, from the early affiliated Baltic and Slavic peoples' area that roughly coincides with the territory of the Krivichs.²⁰ It has also been noted by Kondratyeva that: "this polyphonic musical culture may well be common to agricultural countries, including the Eastern Slavic and Eastern Baltic Seacoast countries, such as the Lithuanian sutartinės" (1986: 168).

Then, can we hypothesise that the second singing spread through the Balkans by early Slavs – who brought it from the Balts? The findings of the author's research suggest that melodies of a narrow scope with deep second chords are inherent to singing traditions in certain territories – Bryansk, Kursk, Belgorod, Voronezh, Lipetsk, and Kharkov – belonging to the East Slavs (Russians and Ukrainians). Presumably, they should be an old heritage of the Balts or the result²¹ of their huge impact in the above-mentioned territories. As we remember, the drone singing in *Polesia* of Russia and Ukraine is distinguished by sharp chords. The Polesie region is extremely significant in the history of old contacts between Balts and Slavs (Laučiūtė 2003). The history of Slavs dwelling in Polesia is in a sense the history of assimilation of prehistoric Baltic tribes living there.²² Here, it is worthwhile mentioning the results of the research conducted by M. Boiko (Denisova and Boiko 1990 etc.).

Still, the postulate that the second multi-part singing might have spread into the Balkans with the help of immigrants from the early affiliated Baltic and Slavic peoples' areas also raises certain doubts. If multi-part singing were really 'brought' in the Balkans by the early Slavic peoples, it is presumable that the traces of multi-part singing being close to sutartinės would be striking on the path of these tribes' migration. Now, we can find the traditions of multi-voice singing that are closest to Lithuanian sutartinės in the Balkans – mostly in the Dinaric and Shopi regions. It urges one to recur the hypothesis about feasible direct relations of the Baltic and ancient Balkan nations. Perhaps, when we look at the archaic nature of the second multi-part, this root should be sought in Old European culture?

It is true that it is not possible to answer the question: "What nations can the archaic multi-part singing of the Balts (Lithuanians and Latvians) be associated with?" One should moreover pay attention to the fact that the latter itself is not homogeneous. Lithuanian sutartinės, on the one hand, seem to be closer to the Shopi tradition – here a second has the status of consonance and there pre-

²⁰ Many scholars (Toporov and Trubachev 1962; Vanagas 1981 et al.) and archaeologists (Juškova, 1996; Sedov 1974; Vaškevičiūtė 2007 a. o.) point to the Baltic Krivichi substratum.

²¹ Linguist Algirdas Vanagas found the Baltic hydronymies in the surroundings of Bryansk, Oriol, Kursk, and Tchernigov (Vanagas 1981).

²² Laučiūtė, Jūratė (2009). 'Polesė – 'Pamiškė', 'Palemkė' ar 'Didelių pelkių kraštas'? [Polesie: 'Along the forest', 'Along the Valley' or 'Land of great swamps'? Summary], www.polissya.eu/2012/01/polesia-etymology-polesie-toponim.html (access: 20 August 2012).

vails an antiphonic way of singing in pairs (Dević 2002: 39; Kaufman 1963a: 23, 1963b), whereas the drone multi-part singing dominates in the Shopi region (Dević 2002: 39). The drone is a predominant form of Latvian multi-part singing (Brambats 1983); it is true to say that this form is uncongenial to the Lithuanian sutartinės' tradition (the seconds, however, are not so typical of Latvian drone songs). On the other hand, the relationship of two-voice parts in sutartinės reminds us more of the Dinaric diaphony than the Shopi one: often, the voices are able to intertwine with one another (the melody of the first part is lower than that of the second melody; Petrović R. 1990: 164, 166, 167; Dević 2001: 127; 2002: 39). As mentioned before, it is precisely the intertwining of the voices that is the primary feature attesting to the relatedness of the Lithuanian sutartinės with the diaphony of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Elscheková 1981: 240), and also of western and south-western Serbia and Montenegro (Dević 2001; Petrović R. 1990; Golemović 1995; Marjanović 2011; Figures 16, 17, 18) – it is also inherent to the Lithuanian sutartinės' tradition (*dvejinės*). For now, this question remains open.

The image shows a musical score for a two-voice setting of 'Apynelis auga'. It consists of two systems, labeled I and II. Each system has two staves: a treble clef staff for the upper voice and a bass clef staff for the lower voice. The time signature is 2/4. The lyrics are written below the staves. The melody is simple and repetitive, with a drone-like quality. The lyrics are: '4. A-py-nė-lis au - ga tē-ve-lia pa - kluo - nėj. Sa - dau-to, sa-dau-to, sa - dau-to, sa-dau-to.'

Figure 16: *Apynelis auga*. Forsome sung by T. Gimbutytė-Urbonavičienė, age 78, Dusetos, Zarasai region. Written down by Jadvyga Čiurlionytė (Slaviūnas 1958 I, nr. 86).

$\text{♩} = 120$

Moj kre - ve - tu ne valjati spre ma, moj kre - ve - tu

ne val - ja - ti spre - ma kad u te - bi mo - ga - lo - le ne - ma

moj kre - ve - tu ne val - ja - ti spre - ma kad u te - bi

mo - ga - lo - le ne - ma, moj kre - ve - tu, ne val - ja - ti spre - ma ijl

Figure 17: The crossing of voices in two-part singing from Bosnia and Herzegovina (Elscheková 1981: 211, Figure 12a).

$\text{♩} = 80$

Ко по-ди-же сла-ву Бож-ју на да-на-шњи

да-ан, на да-на-шњи дан.

Figure 18: *Ко подиже славу Божју*. Serbian wedding song from Dobroselica, Zlatibor (Jovanović 2002, from Petrović R. 1989, Figure 41).

Undoubtedly, there is no absolute clarity and convincing evidence to such type of reconstructions, and therefore, there can be various interpretations. In the last decade a completely new word in ethnogenetic investigations has been uttered by the geneticists. For instance, it is clear nowadays that animals and people came to the present territory of Lithuania from two directions – the northeast and southwest. Lithuania is generally a contact area of these two directions. Lithuanians are partly characterized by the features inherent to the nations inhabiting Central and Eastern Europe.²³ The representatives of the factor IX gene haplotype (the carriers of paleolithic Swiderian and Baltic Magdalenian archaeological cultures) who are regarded to be genetic ancestors of roughly 95 percent of present Lithuanian women must have come to Lithuania from the northern Balkan-Carpathian region and Western Europe, i.e., with the first waves of human migration into Eastern Baltic states after Ice Ages; whereas, genetic ancestors of a big group of Lithuanian men happened to come to or invaded the present territory of Lithuania from the northeast (perhaps from the western foothill region of Northern and Central Ural; Ambrasienė and Kučinskis 2003, Bramanti, Thomas, and Haak 2009).

A prevalence of ancient mitochondrial (mt) DNA sequences that appeared in Southern Europe during the last maximal glaciation, is found in the present day Lithuanian population and can prove the fact that the influence of inhabitants who came after the postglacial period on the Baltic population is of great significance (Girininkas 2005: 66). The northern Indo-Europeans spread through North Europe during the postglacial period (in Lithuania after 13,000 BP) most likely from those southern territories in Europe, where forests were growing during the period of the last maximal glaciation (southern Carpathians, the Alpine foothills, Balkan and Iberian peninsulas) and conditions favored for living (Ibid.: 68).

So, the latest works of geneticists and paleoarchaeologists prove the contacts between the Balkan and present Lithuanian peoples (especially – women) which refer to very old times. They might as well verify possible significantly earlier relations between Balkan diaphone and sutartinės, rejecting the hypothesis related to the spread of second multi-part singing in the Balkans by the Slavic people.

Conclusions

Beside Balkan diaphone and Lithuanian sutartinės sharing a common interpretation of *Schwebungs-Diaphonie*, it is possible that they also share ethno genetic links, the potential existence of which can be confirmed by the latest research in several fields (archaeology, linguistic, genetics, and so on).

²³ ‘Who are Lithuanians?’, in *Atgimimas*, 26th November, 2005. Ričardas Čekutis’ discussion with a geneticist professor Vaidutis Kučinskis.

It is obvious that second multi-part singing of Lithuanian (Baltic) and Balkan nations which is interpreted by many researchers as an exceptionally old phenomenon, needs to become a serious object of scientific investigations into *Balcano-Balto-Slavica* historic and ethnic relationships.

It is impossible to resolve here the unusually complex and intricate issue of the supposed genesis of Balkano-Baltic second diaphony.

Most of the ideas expressed in this article are new ones. At the moment they are only hypothetical preconditions, requiring more in-depth research. When there is no extensive research, some theories on the genesis of second multi-part singing in the Balkan-Baltic territories are hitherto possible: (1) its spread through the early Slavic tribes during the migration of peoples in the Balkans; and (2) the existence of the pre-Slavic period in the Balkans and in the nearby territories. It is now impossible to unilaterally maintain which of these postulates is more accessible. Both migration and communication processes of peoples are extremely complex. It may furthermore be the case that the Balkan second diaphony reflects both the heritage of pre-Indo-European nations inhabiting that territory and a posterior 'contribution' of the Slavic people (the Balts assimilated by the Slavic people). In the meantime, *sutartinės*' ethnogenesis should be associated not only with early Balkan relations but also with Balto-Finno-Ugric interaction (it is demonstrated by an archaic tradition of multi-pipe-whistles *skudučiai* whose equivalents are present in traditions of the East Slavs, in the territories of Kursk, Bryansk, Tchernigov, Charkov, Belgorod, Kaluga) and the Komi people. In order to explain the links between Balkan and Lithuanian (Baltic) ethnic music, it will be necessary to draw on the research of specialists from various nations.

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Даива Вичиниене

ОДНОС ИЗМЕЂУ ЛИТВАНСКЕ И БАЛКАНСКЕ
SCHWEBUNGS-DIAPHONIE: ИНТЕРДИСЦИПЛИНАРНИ
ИСТРАЖИВАЧКИ ПРИСТУП

Резиме

Предмет истраживања у овој студији су примери *Schwebungs-Diaphonie*, познати Литванцима (*супартине*) и балканским народима – Словенима, али и другим. Откривајући свеукупне музичке особености у традицији Литванаца, Бугара, Срба, Македонаца и других народа, ауторка, с једне стране, признаје њихову универзалност. С друге стране, она даје претпоставку о испољавању могућих етногенетских веза које се огледају у секундној певачкој традицији. О етногенетском заједништву балканских Словена и балтичких народа сведочи мноштво истраживања спроведених последњих деценија у области компаративне лингвистике, семиотике, митологије, археологије и генетике. У овој фази истраживања музичко-фолклорних веза, оне тек потврђују оправданост различитих хипотеза о давним контактима између балтичких племена и древних народа Балкана – Илира, Трачана, Фригијаца и других. Истраживања традиционалне музике и, пре свега, архаичног секундног вишегласја, морају постати важан део научне области именоване као *Balcano-Balto-Slavica*.

TRADITIONAL SINGING:
FIELD-RESEARCH OR – A PERFORMING ART?
COMBINING RESEARCH METHODS AND TEACHING
METHODS IN ONE FIELD (AN INTRODUCTORY NOTE)

ATHENA KATSANEVAKI

Abstract: Singing is, as a European art, usually considered a performing art developed by methods aiming to promote technical and performing skills. When it comes to traditional music, singing as art stems from personal experience, the embodiment of traditional forms, and the simultaneous promotion of singing skills required by the music itself. Since historical and oral traditions have already been incorporated in well-known historical musical forms of Western music, contemporary ethnomusicology research is not generally considered part of a methodology aiming to form and promote a singing style or a special skill. On the contrary, such research combined with the study of historical sources (in order to define the characteristics and aesthetics of an oral tradition) promotes orality as an educational tool.

Keywords: traditional singing, authenticity, vocal mannerisms, fieldwork, experience, embodiment.

Introduction, or: Some notes on the context of a research model

The very beginning of ethnomusicology research and studies in Greece coincides with the establishment of the first musicology University department in 1985–1986¹. Until then, the fieldwork in small-scale communities in Greece was conducted by folklorists or musicologists with special relationships to the folklore or music and dance archives. Foreign and Greek researchers involved with music or musicology had already accomplished some very important work in several areas in Greece.² On the other hand, up until then some young researchers preparing their Ph.D. dissertations abroad completed some very important research in the area of anthropology of music, though much restricted to very specific small-scale communities or urban musics (see Footnote 2).

What seemed to be very important but missing in Greek ethnomusicology was fieldwork which would fully and carefully map an area and provide a model for similar studies. This would enable us to uncover various unexplored musical systems in Greece and their relationships or interactions with each other

¹ The School of Fine Arts, Department of Music Studies at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki.

² For an overview on the topic of dance and music research in Greece, see Katsanevaki 2008. For an overview on ethnomusicology in the Academy in Greece, see Kallimopoulou 2009.

and with different areas in the Balkans, while revealing at the same time their aesthetics and social functionality wherever there was a special reason. This was completely new because by this time most researchers had decided to present at least a basic picture of the different musical idioms in Greece and were making sample fieldwork that presented solid initial pictures of different areas, but not a detailed report and description of the musical system, its geographical distribution, its numerous varieties, and its coherent character in the case of wider regions or large cultural zones. In order to reach this point, the geographical distribution of a musical system had to be followed by means of joining the social lives of small-scale communities of these areas, moving from village to village and doing basic fieldwork in most of them (developing a personal network), in order to be better informed and involved in the lives of these people and the musical system that they esteemed and appreciated as representative of their aesthetics.

On the other hand, some young researchers were involved with the anthropology of music but without mapping the wider area first. In such cases there was always a danger to present simple musical matters as social reasons. In the case of my work, I started from music and developed my research toward society instead of the contrary, because I realized the danger of talking about or, trying to interpret music that you have never performed before or have never been seriously involved with as a performer, in and outside the societies that gave birth to it.

Additionally many areas in Greece were absolutely unknown in terms of music, and ethnomusicology in Greece lacked a holistic picture and larger musical context as framework in which these musical cultures developed and evolved. For this reason I decided to follow a model of regional study and fieldwork which I described in detail elsewhere,³ and which stemmed from my personal experience of the special characteristics and needs of the area I was involved with. I performed this model of fieldwork in about two hundred villages in the wider area of northwestern Greece, starting from the very central part (the Pindus Mountains) and extending to its two slopes (west and east) in Epirus and Greek Western Macedonia.

The distribution of melodic variants in large number of villages and the inner laws of the musical system revealed, because of personal engagement with the vocal performance of the melodies from the very beginning of this research (in 1990; see also Κατσανεβάκη 1998, Part I: 65–73) was the main reason for realizing the great age of this system and its relationship with described phenomena already found in ancient Greek sources. For these reasons as a prerequisite of the music itself, I had to combine three fields of music studies (consi-

³ A full description of my method of fieldwork and purpose as I was mainly involved with vocal music (which was the vast part of oral tradition in Western Greece), is already presented in Katsanevaki 2007.

dered to be different at the time: historical research, ethnomusicology research, and traditional singing as a performing art), and later perform them in my teaching method. Regardless of how different and isolated these three fields seemed to be at that moment, in the writings of many authors considered basic representatives of scholars who supported their isolation, it was exactly this difference and isolation in these fields that was seriously disputed.

The collaboration of historical research and contemporary ethnomusicology as an important presupposition for the development of our understanding of musical practice

For a long time historical musicology research was considered to be a scientific field different from ethnomusicology, with which ethnomusicology and social sciences involved with contemporary societies did not have any direct link. Today nonetheless, it becomes clear that historical research is indispensable for investigation of the reasons responsible for the genesis or the development of certain social phenomena and thus cannot stay away from their study and interpretation. Additionally it becomes more and more clear that though history is incorporated in special styles of music in a way that makes these styles more widely known as historical styles of music codified in ways that do not need any support by ethnomusicology research, historical musical styles present such difficulties of interpretation that at least some type of ethnomusicology research is necessary. Behague (1992: 172–3, also referring to Charles Seeger) describes how historical musicology research has diversified the field of ethnomusicology to interpret different old forms of European music, thus supporting the fact that all methods important to ethnomusicology research equally concern European music. Also, that all music written with musical notation needs to develop some kind of ethnomusicological method, since notation does not offer any information about how music sounds or how to make it sound.

The different dimensions in ethnomusicology as well as the respective methodologies that usually combine different disciplines have troubled this field from its very beginning. Bruno Nettl presents this problem in his short essay (1991). Timothy Rice refers to the contribution of historical research in the field of ethnomusicology in a way that supports a contemporary, synchronic – community-based history: “Historical research has increasingly become important in our field and yet I would argue, its core principles have arisen from synchronic, ethnographic research. This core practice then seeps into the kind of history we write. That is, historical studies tend to be community based and thematically focused. Someday it may become more difficult to make this argument confidently, but one of the signs of the ascendance of historical study in ethnomusicology will graduate curricula with courses on historical as well as on fieldwork methods” (2010: 107, fn. 13). Antony Seeger on the other hand refers directly to the difficulty of many ethnomusicology studies combined with other disciplines

where it becomes necessary (1987: 50–1). Alan Merriam's words also reflect a similar problem (1964: 3). Thus, those who present ethnomusicology studies (why not anthropology studies as well?) as a separate field are just participants in a scientific dialogue that has not reached (and probably never will) its final point, and that seriously disputes isolation.

Contemporary, synchronic research as a means for the interpretation of historical phenomena

Apart from the need of knowledge from the past (necessary for the justification of current social phenomena), social anthropology has recognized that the links between present and past are multiple. Thus, contemporary social phenomena can become a means for the interpretation of similar phenomena from the past.

As Clifford Geertz stated in his work *The Interpretation of Cultures*: “By looking closely at what happens on this peculiar little island over the next several decades we may gain insights into the dynamics of religious change of a specificity and an immediacy that history, having already happened, can never give us” (1993: 189). He presents the necessity for contemporary, synchronic research in order for an interpretation of special historical phenomena to become possible.

In that way, a musical system which offers the mentioned possibility presents itself as a type of music with common and constant aesthetics in time, while ethnomusicology offers the possibility to develop our musical understanding. Contemporary, synchronic ethnomusicology research uncovers history, revealing ways and ‘cases’ (where) “music not only makes history but constructs the future helping to unite the present with both the past and future in an intelligible way” (Seeger 1993: 34). On the other hand, “The performing arts, including narratives and music, may occupy a special place in small-scale, nonliterate societies where history can only be created and interpreted through repeated performances” (Seeger 1993: 24). If this is true, it is the only reason I believe that we find contemporary practices with their cultural, aesthetic, and oral historical or mythical information so that they become both equivalents and ways of interpreting the very distant past. Thus, continuity instead of being described as a linear imitative process becomes a creative recycling and re-evaluating of experience. In the same way the term ‘traditional’ does not refer to a steadily formed cultural expression or style of life invented by different ideologies or political structures for governmental or other reasons (see Coplan 1993: 36–7) but to re-cycling and re-evaluating of aesthetics, serving some ever re-tested social purposes and socially aesthetic values. Coplan stated in his conclusion that “a closer examination of contemporary forms, however, reveals the survival and even the progressive development of the distinctive principles, values, and structures of cultural tradition” (1993: 47). This re-evaluation and

recycling of cultural aesthetics becomes very important when it comes to a learning process in or out of the field, and a performing experience as we might perceive it later.

Ethnomusicology research in Western Greece as a research model

A special type of field research that focuses on the small-scale community or village (a type of *community defined geographically*, see Rice 2010: 109) and which one might call ‘micro-research’ as it moves from community to community in order to cover and search a geographic and cultural area,⁴ reveals common aesthetic values found in common characteristics and practices both in social and musical contexts together with an extended musical system expressed in smaller musical dialects bound to each other. All are found in the different cultural dimensions of a musical system. These multiple dimensions are vitally important in their historical dimension since they become a mediator for the description and interpretation of similar cultural musical phenomena in the past (Κατσανεβάκη / Katsanevaki 1998, 2005, 2011).

Such a case study is the musical system found in Western Greece, which offers us a series of different dimensions of aesthetic values developed in a time process with their relative equivalents found in ancient Greek sources: (1) Pentatonism (in Epirus, anhemitonic, see Περιστέρης 1958; Peristeris 1964; Baud-Bovy 1967, 1971, 1978, 1982; Λάβδας 1958; Liavas 1994; described by Aristotle in his Problems, see in Κατσανεβάκη 1998, Part I: 168–88, Katsanevaki 2012); (2) Pentatonism (anhemitonic-hemitonic in Western Greece in general, see in Κατσανεβάκη 1998, Part I: 91–124, 192–204, also in Katsanevaki 2012); (3) Cyclic development of the melodies around a central tone in this pentatonic system (the concept of the *Mese* in Aristotle) and its importance for the creation and development of the system as a whole as well as the diatonic system of the area (Κατσανεβάκη 1998, Part I: 168–76; 2012); (4) The predominance of the accented syllable of the verse in the musical composition (*logodes melos* in Aristoxenus, see Κατσανεβάκη 1998, Part I: 55–65); (5) The importance of the accented syllable for the development of the heterophonic style (Ibid.: 392–97); (6) Words-music and dance steps as an aesthetic unity in the area of Western Greece and as an important factor for the development of the musical meters, choral singing, heterophony and later polyphony (Ibid.: 64–83). (7) A constant aesthetic preference for a clear, open, and flexible voice (*ligyra voice*: a voice which sounds “like a nightingale”, see West 1992: 42). The voice of the

⁴ Rice describes a similar process “When ethnomusicology theory is written within local community studies, that theory can in turn contribute to broader, beyond-the-local theorizing about music in the same or similar communities” (Rice 2010: 109 and 107-8, figure 1). See also *Interlocal theory about musical processes in related communities* (Ibid.: 2010: 120).

nightingale as an aesthetic concept of style and quality of the voice appeared repeatedly during field research in the area of Pindus. Common expressions are the following: “the voice must sound like a nightingale”, “It must *tzintzilizei*” – a verb that imitates the sound of the voice when it turns round on a high pitch so that the quick and high frequencies mix together ‘hitting’ each other. This practice refers directly to the voice of the nightingale as well.

While philological research has demonstrated that in the case of special categories of Greek Demotic songs their texts go back to the eighth and ninth centuries,⁵ extensive ethnomusicology research in Western Greece performed by this writer has, on the other hand, demonstrated that the codified melodies of the songs in their current form (as they are being performed today with identical melodies or similar variations in many villages in the same area) must trace their origin to the same era, meaning the ninth and tenth centuries. This way it is possible to identify chronologically the texts of the songs with their codified melodies. Such a widespread musical and cultural system, as well as the already presented results about its affiliation with historical sources, reveals its common characteristics as a system of special aesthetic value which should be highly appreciated and promoted during the learning process along with its systematic organization during the lessons.

Considering the case of Western Greece as a research model that offers such possibilities due to the aforementioned reasons, which might be applied as a research model in different areas of the world, we can conclude that these results support a constant re-evaluation of the aesthetics of a given cultural system precisely because of the combination of these two types of research: historical and synchronic field research. The results of such re-evaluation become the main factors for the promotion of musical practice during the learning process. But how is this achieved?

How synchronic research in musical practice reveals the re-evaluation of constant aesthetics in time and offers a model of teaching method in the performance of traditional singing

Ethnomusicology research helps locate the special musical variants which as variations of the same melodic form reveal the distant past of the oral tradition. Through varieties of vocal mannerisms following similar melodic patterns and the same musical system, the same distant past is revealed, this time in its horizontal dimension instead of the vertical one.

While musical variants develop the musical experiences during the learning process, deepening at the same time the musical cognitive abilities of the students, varieties of vocal mannerisms reveal the different dimensions of

⁵ For example the Border-guard (*Akritika*) Songs originating in Asia Minor, in Cappadocia (Kyriakidis 1978: 171–2).

the human voice and its abilities. By developing these two dimensions during the learning process, students succeed in summarizing the historical and contemporary dimension, or else the past and present, in one same progressive experience: performance.

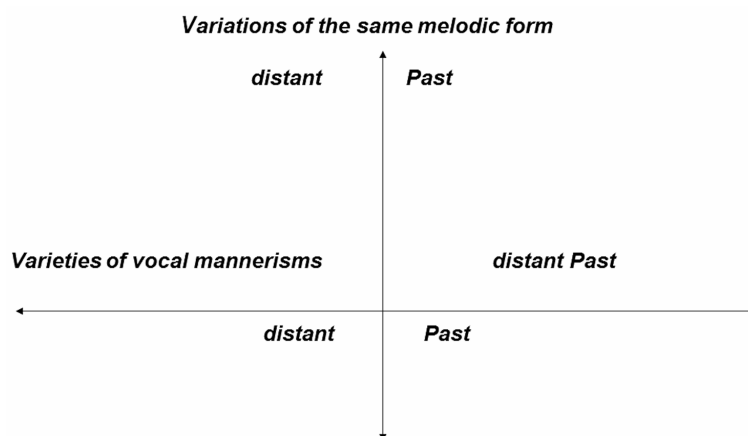


Figure 1.

Such a process that summarizes the past and present of a vocal culture can indeed become a continuity of oral tradition, instead of an imitative representation. The reason is the social context broken down, due to the social change and being responsible for the embodiment of the past in the present in small-scale societies, substituted in this case by a conscious process of research, which brings about the main reason responsible for the embodiment of the historical past in contemporary small-scale communities: *respect* (Katsanevaki 2010: 83). Thus *respect* can be the main purpose of the learning process because it can be the main path towards the aesthetics of an oral tradition: the problem of creation and embodiment in oral traditions is not based just on social terms but also on morals-ethics and the purpose and interaction between them. It is worth saying that field research stems just from respect of this kind.⁶

On this course, extensive experience in the field becomes an important factor for the development of musical understanding in regard to a specific musical style, while on the other hand it provides multiple examples for studies in vocal practices. Most important of all is that together with the researcher's participation in the field and the multiple experiences acquired regarding singing or other practices, an embodiment of the musical style in question is the result, precisely because of the gradual embodiment of the culture in question by the ethnomusicologist.

⁶ Jaap Kunst calls it "intuition and tact" (1959: 19) and Mantle Hood "an abiding concern for other human beings" (1982: 9) which according to him is indispensable for ethnomusicology research.

This embodiment provides the possibility to decipher the laws of a system and reveal the diachronic dimension by the analysis of synchronic variants, making it possible to help and support the performing style. The following explanation will show the process of investigation of case 4 mentioned above (“the predominance of the accented syllable of the verse in the musical composition in this area”) and will make this point clear.

When I became involved with the music of Pindus in Northwestern Greece as a researcher, I was completely unable to understand the differences between the melodies of different songs. The reason was that the melodic formulas of the songs resembled each other so much that it was impossible to distinguish their peculiarities. In fact one had to recognize the song by the different succession of these formulas rather than by a completely different melody. It was also almost impossible to understand the reason for making the melody this way as most of the melodies sounded like a repetitive incomprehensible ascending and descending motion that left no space for any speculation about its meaning or reason for doing so. From 1990 I have been trying to understand and comprehend this peculiarity and interpret the reason for this kind of oral composition without any information from the locals about this characteristic (it was always like that), except for some expressions referring to the other mysterious part of this music – the heterophonic style of the area, that the singers explained like this: “You know (...) in older times when there was a good companion and the voices matched each other one started the song and everybody sang and they made different voices (...) and one raised his voice and the other sang lower (...)” (excerpt from fieldwork interviews in the village of Kalloni, Grevena region, July 1993).

These words, though referring to the heterophonic style of the area and the development of its different voices, in fact had some affiliation with what I realized later about the melodic formulas of this music. At the beginning, in 1990 while trying to perform these songs and transcribe them in musical notation, I realized their strong basis in language and the poetic meter, and later realized that the raising of the voice which led to a perfect fourth or perfect fifth over the tonic followed and described the accented syllables of the words and the accentual poetic meter. This practice is especially clear in melodies of the laments of the area of Pindus. Even though clear enough (in the case I described), an experimental analysis by means of transcription and performance of many melodies or melodic forms of the area revealed that it was the basic norm for almost all melodies that formed this oral tradition. In many cases these formulas were hidden in ornamented variants in a way that was very difficult to recognize. The deciphering of numerous melodies resulted in a series of charts which presented many different formulas that described the combination of accented and unaccented syllables starting from their initial ‘simplified’ form and ending in the most ornamented and unpredictable forms. It was thus revealed

that almost all melodies in their vast majority consisted of these melodic formulas and that the main composition law of this system regarding melodic movement (and not the intervallic relationships) was the description of the accented syllable by raising the voice to the unpredictable interval of a perfect fifth or fourth at almost every accented syllable. As a result, these melodies consisted of a succession of upward and downward intervals of perfect fifths and perfect fourths. (Κατσανεβάκη 1998, Part I: 55–65, 397–429). This is not a simple or easy movement for the human voice and a special aesthetic reason is required to adopt it.

What was revealed by the synchronic research, performance, and musical analysis by means of musical practice, opened some new insights when I realized the affiliation of this aesthetic law with a musical practice in antiquity called *logodes melos* (speech melody). This practice was based on almost the same laws: the accented syllables in the ancient Greek melodies in their most archaic forms had to be described musically by a raising perfect fifth (on the *oxeia* accent) and descending perfect fifth when the syllable was unaccented (*vareia* accent), while following a slower movement when there was a *perispomeni* that lasted two beats (Κατσανεβάκη 1998, Part I: 55–65). What was impossible for the locals to explain to me because it was ‘from time immemorial’ was explained to me by historical research revealing that this ‘everlasting’ aesthetic law existed because it was ‘too old’ to change (though it was very much elaborated) and too old to be able to explain why it was kept like this! I had to accept that there was not a reason to dispute it. On the contrary, its ‘eternal’ existence would probably open some new perspectives about the combination of word and melody and the ways that the voice might be formed in order to perform these songs, or rather about the *relationship between the movement of the melody and pronunciation of vowels and the style of voice in the tradition of these areas of Western Greece* but also as I realized later, in many other Greek speaking areas in Greece in general.

As part of the melodies’ aesthetic laws, these melodic formulas and composition components could be basic melodic movements that might help train the voice for performance of this and many relevant styles of Western Greece (derived from or based on this basic musical language). So the third part of this process (after synchronic research, personal experience, and historical research), namely the performance and teaching method came about.

The performance and teaching method

Personal experience and analysis provided me with basic formulas that I realized, were unique for voice training because they could help in many ways: (1) To keep the muscles of the larynx open as they had to perform the successive up and down intervals quite often. (2) To form open vowels in a way very close to the traditional way of pronunciation in Greek and other related lan-

guages (for example Latin), which were also part of the culture of this area. One might also find a reason to explain why open vowels and an open relaxed larynx were part of the 'traditional' pronunciation in these songs and in Greece in general: these melodic movements and flexible ornamentation of the voice could not be performed in any other way. Additionally flexibility and open muscles of the mouth and open and clear voice is the ideal for vocal music of these and other areas in Greece. (3) These formulas actually helped the voice to reach the head and develop techniques in a way related both to traditional and European singing. (4) When these formulas were fully perceived by the students, they would be well prepared to sing any melody belonging to this musical system. They would also be able to make a musical and verbal analysis automatically while their voice is ready to perform. Additionally, these melodic movements prepared and helped formation of the 'traditional' pronunciation; it was the pronunciation that made the melody sound 'traditional'.

Coming to a conclusion one might say that the results of a field research elaborated by means of personal experience were interpreted in a way that contributed to a diachronic and historical perspective of aesthetics. At the same time they were interpreted as a teaching method of a performing art and an oral tradition which could be transmitted through education.

**The holistic experience of vocal music in the field
and the possibility of locating the so-called 'traditional style'
(as a concept and a special characteristic)**

To define the so-called 'traditional style' it is necessary to come to the major theme of music and identity⁷ and define it as a musical identity developed in small-scale communities (as it bears developed aesthetics based on human and social life in the small community). This represents a common musical identity with shared aesthetics of common life values and dimensions in a large (if not vast) number of small-scale communities in an area. Changes that follow this common basis are usually due to "gradual musical changes that come about in small-scale isolated communities as they are absorbed into wider political⁸ entities" (Stokes 1994: 17). Though 'art' music is usually not considered part of this 'traditional' style, we might remember John Blacking's statement that both 'art' and 'folk' music can be found in both tribal and industrial societies⁹. This

⁷ On this major theme see an overview by Rice (2007).

⁸ We might add 'aesthetic' entities.

⁹ Blacking refers to the two distinguished styles of music: folk and art music. As he states "there can be 'art' music in tribal societies and 'folk' music in industrial societies. Both types of music comment on the human condition: in folk music the comment is expressed by the accompanying social situation and not by the music; in art music it is expressed by the music and not necessarily by the social situation. The only useful distinction which the terms 'folk' and 'art'

statement opens a new field as it questions the differences between art music and the respective aesthetics in tribal (in our case small community or rather small-scale) and industrial societies. On the other hand it permits us to add that these two different processes (art music in tribal community societies and art music in industrial societies) stem from a different context in the cases of both tribal or industrial societies, so the two processes start at a different point each time and end with a different aesthetic result in each case. This result affects the style of the voice in these two different contexts and gives a more individual character to an 'art' voice coming from an 'industrial' society than to an 'art' voice coming from a tribal society, including the respective tribal 'art' vocal music in the core of so called 'traditional' vocal music as the main concern of this study.

Just because 'traditional style' is based on common aesthetics in small communities it is possible to locate it. Ethnomusicologists have the potential to hear and experience different personal vocal characteristics presented in the singing style of various singers, and can locate the common characteristics that 'never' change (in the cases of different singers and voices as well as generations) in opposition to those that change without affecting the 'traditional' style of the voices. This way, the exact nature of the voices or the style that gives the singing its 'traditional' character can be defined. The possibility to listen and record different variants of the same melody in different communities sung by different voices or the different melodies that nonetheless are subjected to similar musical laws, offers the ethnomusicologist a possibility to decipher the common characteristics and aesthetics in a vocal style or a song form in diachronic perspective. This is possible because the distribution of the system or a melody reveals the process in time necessary to come to this distribution in space. At the same time the possibility to decipher their aesthetics reveals their historical perspective.

Summarizing numerous performances through personal experience of listening and participating in the process of field research enables the field researcher to 'define' the common aspects of these voices and performances and come to a personal interpretation and performing style because they have been part of a long listening and experiencing process 'at home' or 'in the field' (Rice 2008: 47). After that moment, the ethnomusicologist becomes a mediator between two different generations (the participants in small-scale communities and the students) that participate in different social contexts: the community context in the case of the student has been substituted by education. If they succeed in experiencing the process of 'being an ethnomusicologist' then the respective comment by the listeners may be that "Yes! This is old, but also new"!

might express are difference of process, of the ways in which the experiences of individuals in society may be expressed" (1995: 52).

Being in the field and being in the song

The process of ‘being in the field’ might be explained by the words of Rice: “Could for example, the transformative moment in one’s ‘being in the world’ – in one’s self, as it were – from nonethnomusicologist to ethnomusicologist be understood as a particular example of more general transformative experiences during fieldwork that lead to new understandings?” (2008: 46–7). Rice describes the process of embodiment as a discarding of the ethnomusicologist’s persona by the ethnomusicologist fieldworker. Additionally he later implies that methodology should not take itself for granted, but rather leave space for personal relationships among insiders and ethnomusicologists which would provide us with the possibility to re-evaluate our methodology and make it part of our field instead of keeping a distance between field and method.¹⁰ Regardless of how different these two processes of ‘being in the field’ or ‘being in the song’ seem to be, they nonetheless follow the same basic norm. ‘To be in the field’ means ‘to participate’ to ‘experience’ in a way of becoming a part of (and also of interacting with) the society and culture in question. To succeed in this requires a respective ‘discarding’ of what seems to be one’s ‘self’ or ‘culture’. Instead of coming to a field that becomes ‘an experimental place to test theory’, he rather makes the field his experiential place. In fact, the word ‘fieldwork’ means that we put emphasis on ‘fieldwork’ personal experience, ‘to be there’, rather than on fieldwork methods.¹¹

‘To be in the song’ means to abstract all these habits of the voice that complicate it or support the concept of ‘its self’ and help the voice remove whatever ‘self-ambitious’ persistent characteristic as to become a deterrent to any other musical experience or expression that does not personify the ‘expression’ itself but instead, leaves space for the musical meaning, carried by the music itself, to come up. It is actually a process of *abstraction* similar to Rice’s description in regard to fieldwork, but also Gregory Barz’s comment regarding

¹⁰ “If the self rather than the method were the locus of explanation and understanding [...] might this realignment contribute to the reformulation of theory and method? On the other hand could theory and method, which take for granted a fixed and timeless ontological distinction between insider and outsider, be recorded within an ontology that understands both researching and researched selves as potentially interchangeable and as capable of change through time, during the dialogues that typify the fieldwork experience?” (Rice 2008: 47).

¹¹ As Rice states referring to Nettl: “We believe in fieldwork. Fieldwork for what? Not apparently as a place to test and work out theory, an experimental place in other words, but a place to become an ethnomusicologist, an experiential place. This third aspect implies the belief that the experience of fieldwork, whatever its methods or even in the absence of methods, constitutes the sine qua non of the state of being an ethnomusicologist. In this credo we have the privileging of ontology (being there) over epistemology (knowing that), and the beginning of a potentially fruitful turn away from fieldwork methods toward fieldwork experience. According to this credo, sometime during or after fieldwork, one becomes an ethnomusicologist. In effect, the self is transformed and reconfigured in the act of understanding one’s own or another culture” (2008: 46).

field notes.¹² It is worth saying that a similar process of ‘abstraction’ is the very beginning of every kind of *experiential interpretation* and that ‘traditional singing’ is similarly such an experiential interpretation so it follows a similar process: instead of experimenting with different vocal mannerisms or techniques in order to approach the ‘traditional style’ one first experiences the traditional style by coming to the field of this style, abandoning whatever complicates the voice or becomes a deterrent in the process. This way a process similar to that of emic-etic musical expression takes place. The voice gets released from etic (ambitious) expression to reveal the emic (musical) expression found in messages conveyed in the melodies. As the ethnomusicologist adopts an emic concept in order to reveal the hidden messages in contemporary societies, so the performer adopts an emic concept in order to reveal the hidden messages of the music itself.

As this division of emic-etic analysis has already been discussed in ethnomusicology (Rice 2008: 50–1), following the above process we also find at the end of the path, that this division probably no longer exists: “After talking of a cultural insider [...] I was not, at least it seemed to me, a ‘Bulgarian’ [...]. My understanding was neither that of an outsider nor that of an insider. [...] I fell right [...] into a theoretical ‘no place’ that felt very exciting [...]. The perspective that I had acquired in the process of learning to play competently (not necessarily well) was neither emic nor etic. It was my own” (Rice 2008: 51). As the voice is released from any kind of imitative behavior, it becomes ‘itself’ but in a way that permits it to embody the experiences of the traditional style. My favorite instruction to students who wish to perform ‘traditional’ singing had always been that: “You have to become naïve as a child and wise as an old man in order to perform this style”.

That is, naïve in order to clear the field of your voice, and wise in order to use the deep knowledge experienced in historical research and ethnomusicology fieldwork. This concept might deviate from what we ‘traditionally’ consider as an ‘authentic’ voice (a concept that follows traditional singing as a simple matter of outside sound imitation) *presenting as ‘authentic’ a voice that is field ready to embody the musical and aesthetic meanings of the ‘traditional style’*.

The combination of an extensive experience in the field together with vocal abstraction in order to leave more space to experience and embody the characteristics of ‘traditional’ singing as a vocal mannerism and mainly as a cultural concept, seem to be one way of coming to the field of traditional singing as a

¹² Discussing the role of field notes during the fieldwork as a reflexion which becomes the mediator between field research (experience) and ethnography (interpretation), Gregory Barz refers to John Chernoff’s discussions: “Although contemporary ethnomusicology no longer embraces the utopian desire to interpret the reality of the world Chernoff nevertheless accurately defines the interpretative act as a process of abstraction. In this chapter I posit that field notes serve as just such a critical ‘textual structure’ in the initial stages of *epoché* or an abstraction from and back to experience” (2008: 209–10).

vocal practice. This dimension is also supported by historical research in order to reveal the constant aesthetic values found to be the basis of oral tradition as revealed in the example described before.¹³

As the researcher becomes part of a culture in the ways described before and is 'in the song', he essentially functions not as a mediator between himself and his students but as a 'functional generation' of the society in question which is not based on blood ties as it usually happens in small-scale communities, but on relationships and personal experience. His experience though, transferred in time and space is not an imitation but instead a living experience which transfers symbols, relationships, aesthetics, geographical and natural space and whatever involves culture, to the students as they become the next 'functional generation'. The interaction with them produces another re-evaluation of this living tradition which instead of being experienced in the process of a ritual of the community life, is experienced during the teaching process as a personal relationship and interaction between students and the teacher. This relationship and interaction might enrich the ethnomusicologist with new insights regarding the ways that make this transfer of experience possible. The reason is that as a practical experience and teaching process the student follows the same process followed by the teacher-ethnomusicologist, a process that might be described simply by the following two stages: (1) Simplifying the voice (Examples 1 and 2); (2) Getting into the style (Examples 3–8).

As the teacher – ethnomusicologist introduces a student to the same process he/she followed, they have an opportunity to re-evaluate their own experience and see how vocal phenomena are brought about and function in practice. Both processes mentioned above appear together and interact with each other summarizing a holistic experience of a performing style which in regard to research and educational and performing processes provides us with the possibility to promote orality as an experience and as scholarship.

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¹³ This concept was the main reason I combined three fields in one teaching process: historical research- ethnomusicology field research with traditional singing (see also in *Introduction* to this paper). Three perspectives were important for educational purposes: firstly, the students accomplish restricted but personal fieldwork in order to build a personal relationship with people who are mediators of first-hand experience of their local cultures. Secondly, they participate in courses with special affiliation to historical sources of contemporary culture. And thirdly, they combine these personal experiences with a voice training aiming to release the voice from any kind of stress or additional characteristics, and make it easy to embody the character of traditional singing.

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Атина Кацаневаки

ТРАДИЦИОНАЛНО ПЕВАЊЕ: ТЕРЕНСКО ИСТРАЖИВАЊЕ ИЛИ ИЗВОЂАЧКА УМЕТНОСТ? КОМБИНОВАЊЕ ИСТРАЖИВАЧКИХ И ЕДУКАТИВНИХ МЕТОДА НА ЈЕДИНСТВЕНОМ ПОЉУ (уводно разматрање)

Резиме

Певање је, као европска уметност, обично сматрано извођачком уметношћу, развијеном поступцима чији је циљ унапређење техничке и извођачке вештине. Поред тога, у случају традиционалне музике, певање као уметност потиче из личног искуства и као отеловљење традиционалних форми, а истовремено и као унапређење певачке вештине на начин који изискује сама музика. Будући да су историјска и усмена традиција у музици Запада већ инкорпориране у историјске, добро познате музичке форме, и будући да оне представљају њен саставни део, савремено етномузиколошко истраживање, генерално, није схваћено као део методологије чи-

ји је циљ да обликује и промовише певачки стил или нарочиту вештину. Насупрот томе, када је етномузиколошко истраживање комбиновано са истраживањем историјских извора (са циљем да се дефинишу карактеристике и естетика усмене традиције), оно омогућује усмености да постане едукационо средство.

METHODOLOGICAL CONTRIBUTION TO THE RESEARCH OF SERBIAN CHURCH CHANT IN THE CONTEXT OF BALKAN VOCAL MUSIC*

VESNA PENO

Abstract: The describing, defining and adequate estimating of basic parameters of the Serbian Orthodox chant cannot give correct and reliable results if the methodological approach is not adjusted to the unique principles of traditional vocal/ecclesiastical and folk Balkan music. This paper discusses current problems in ethno/musicological research concerning the monophonic Serbian church chant among other church music traditions in the Balkans. The advisability of different methodologies will be discussed from the point of view which implies immanent features of the Byzantine and late-Byzantine church music as the basis and main source from which all other – “national” variants of the church chant on Balkans were formed.

Keywords: Orthodox church chant, Serbian, methodology, folk, mode, *glas*.

Monophonic Orthodox church chant, more or less fostered in similar ‘national’ variants in Greece, Bulgaria, Romania, and Serbia, has for long been groundlessly interpreted within the domain of historical musicology. It is vocal music which, in spite of precisely regulated liturgical rules, has been shaped and cultivated since the first centuries of Christianity and throughout history, chiefly in accordance with orally transmitted traditional principles. Just like other so-called ‘exotic’ musical practices, it is characterized by a specific poetic and music system which is hard to understand without taking active part in the very chanting process. However, under the influence of the Western European school of musicology founded at the Danish Royal Academy in Copenhagen¹ which commenced more intensive research of the Byzantine chanting tradition in the 1920s, many scholars in Romania, Bulgaria, and Serbia, and very few in Greece approached the Orthodox psalmody in an *ex cathedra* manner. Namely, the founders of *Monumenta Musicae Byzantine* (MMB) intended primarily to reconstruct the ancient sound trapped in the neumatic manuscripts which were to be deciphered. To reach such a goal, they had to make many preparations: (1) to collect the necessary elements that would provide a comprehensive insight into the history of church chant; (2) to evident and describe manuscripts dated to

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¹ www.igl.ku.dk/MMB/

early Middle Ages up to Byzantine and early Post-Byzantine time; (3) to classify and establish adequate principles for the analysis of church chant; but, first and foremost (4) to attempt to find out an efficient method of transcription of old neumed systems the church melodies were written in (See Velimirović 1964; Strunk 1967; Touliatos-Banker 1985; Alexandru 2007; see also Footnote 1). This approach corresponded to the prevailing ethno-musicological tendencies at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries, which, according to Nettle “aimed to provide a proper sampling of the music of a culture, to describe its style in a way that might be applicable to many of world’s music, and to provide transcriptions in Western notation” (1992: 376).

By insisting on transcription as a proof of documentation and valid evidence of the existence of music (like Western art music whose existence was regarded as residing primarily in its notated form), without wondering whether it is possible and to which degree to properly understand a musical system outside one’s own religious – liturgical context (Ibid.), Western European and American experts in Byzantine psalmody found themselves in imminent danger of partial or erroneous “reading” of neumatic documents. Governed by the more familiar chant of Gregorian musical tradition and approaching the Byzantine chant using “European tools”,² they understood the system of eight echos – *Oc-toechos* primarily as groups of characteristic melodic formulas with characteristic initial and final tones, exclusively within the diatonic scale system (Tillyard 1935; Strunk 1942).

A particular problem in their methodology was that they adamantly and without substantial evidence supported a standpoint that original Byzantine music had undergone radical changes under the influence of the Ottoman invaders after the fall of the Byzantine Empire (Wellesz 1923). They believed that the so called chromatic modes with untempered intervals greater or smaller than a whole-tone or semitone, as well as new – melismatic ‘oriental’ melodies that seemed distasteful and non-authentic, started to occur in the system of *Oc-toechos* in the Post-Byzantine tradition. For the Copenhagen school of musicology, the whole psalmody after the fall of Constantinople and especially music

² Although among the European scientists of the time there were those who understood how necessary it was to analyze contemporary Greek church music within the “Eastern music sphere” (as Guillaume-André Villoteau did), neither the MMB founders nor their followers from the Orthodox lands gave up interpreting notation in the analytic system following the rules of tempered European music. About the ethnomusicological doubts that arose concerning the reliability of exclusively European musical concept and tools see Elingson 1992: 115–8. It should be mentioned that neither Byzantine nor modern church chant ever became a topic of ethnomusicologists’ interest, for unknown reasons, though ritual music plays an important part in ethnomusicological research, for which, generally speaking, there is a very defined and developed ethnomusicological research apparatus. The Byzantine and recent orthodox monodic church traditions have not been mentioned even in studies which deal with different ethnomusicological approaches and methodology (cf. Stone 2008).

practices of the early nineteenth century, along with the latest reform of the neumatic system and church chant theory effective in the wider region of the Balkans, became a non-representative sample, futile in any comparison with the original samples of Byzantine chant (Lingas 2004). The fact that church chant in general and liturgical chant as a part of it, are not prone to radical changes in even extremely complicated historical circumstances, did not seem convincing to them at all (Στάθης 1972, Peno 2011b). This way, the representatives of the Copenhagen school of Byzantine musicology and their Balkan disciples limited their researcher's perception to wordless rather than wordy neumatic manuscripts, refusing to interpret hardly fathomable 'symbolic' notation in certain phrases as potentially prescriptive (that is stenographic – mnemotechnic), thus narrowing their analytical scope to some, but not primary aspects of the Octoechos (Ellingson 1992).

On the other hand, Greek scholars (Peno 2011c) fostering a radically different approach, may justly be claimed pioneers in the field of historical ethnomusicology, which Richard Widdess defines “as a discipline that might well take as its twin objectives the uncovering of historical events, and the study of their relationships in terms of processes of change, taking into account all available evidence, including that of socio-musical continuity and change observable today” (1992: 220). For Greeks, naturally, the Orthodox Church tradition, the very liturgical space and its atmosphere, represented a civilizational basis that provided a more secure journey to the medieval music past. Being convinced that the Orthodox Church chant tradition is “the temporary result of continuing historical processes that can be observed in both the recent and the more remote past and that include less profound changes than significant continuities” (Ibid.: 219), in their endeavours, they relied on theoretical knowledge grounded on current church-chant practice and personal chanting experience modelled in the liturgical context in which chanting was primarily learned, perfected, and then further passed on. Being well acquainted with the rules and knowing how to apply the system of Octoechos (which is the basis of Orthodox church hymnography and music; Ψάχος 1980) in different liturgical services, and since they were highly skilled in interpretation and fully obeyed the Typicon which defines the order and structure of various religious services, while searching for answers to many dilemmas, Greek theoreticians applied a method very familiar to modern ethnomusicology.

On one hand, the accessibility of sources – various types of music manuscripts and theoretic treatises in language which was no barrier at all, and an opportunity to fuse summoned experience and the theoretical principles of church, that is, contemporary music practice which surrounded them everywhere on the other hand, gave them a prestigious insider role in this study field. In analysis of both Byzantine chants from the manuscripts for the study of which historical documents could not offer common solution, and the church

melodies of the newer date which they had a chance to hear in the interpretation of many psaltoi, these Greek scholars firmly adhered to original notation – the neumatic one, which, in spite of its centuries long development, has preserved its immanent rules to the present day. The neumatic system enabled notation of untempered intervals and tonal sequences that represent something between ‘major and minor’ (Ψάχος 1878², Στάθης 1975, Αλεξάνδρου 2010). The void in Byzantine companions concerning the very scale system and intervals in church melodies, the Greek theoreticians strived to bridge studying antique – Hellenic, Persian and other writers as well as their contemporaries from the Middle East (Προυσσαέως 1990², Αλυγιζάκης 1990, Μαυροείδης 1999, Katsanevaki 2011). They found the proof of existence of various interval combinations in the comparison of church and folk melodies and built their theoretical premises on consistently enforced tonometric researches.³ As early as the nineteenth, and throughout the twentieth century, in the Greek chanters’ circles, musicians from Constantinople were particularly praised, and their chanting style was frequently not only a subject topic of music journals but also a standard for other chanters in Greece (Peno 2009). Chanting codices with melodic variants from the Great church in Constantinople used to be published (Χατζηθεοδώρου 1998), and with technological advancement, their live performances were recorded in numerous sound media.⁴ Greek theoreticians were assured, as Hornbostel was in his domain (1909: 15–16), that the best technique in transcription of written or oral music sources would be to learn how to perform the music from a qualified teacher in the tradition, and to obtain feedback and evaluation from discerning listeners in concrete culture (cf. Widdess 1992: 145). A permanent mark of church chanting among the Greeks in general could be defined with the maxim *πράξις επίβασις θεωρίας* – meaning through practice to theory. In other words, this method, which started from a ‘look from inside’ provided more acribic results than those ‘ex cathedra’ ones of West-European musicology scholars.⁵

But, although this decades-long dispute between the two methodologies was in the meantime overcome in the interdisciplinary study of monophonic chant tradition (both in synchronic and diachronic approach) in favour of the

³ Such investigations were especially carried out during the second half of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century. One of the most relevant studies, among others published in the theoreticon of church chant or in the articles in music journals, was the 1881 one prepared by the Ecumenical Patriarchate music commission in Constantinople (Μουσική Επιτροπή 1978²).

⁴ Manoles Hatzeyakoumes (Μανώλης Χατζηγιακούμης) compiled one of the greatest audio archives and for the several last years has published a series of CDs (over 50) featuring most distinguished psaltoi from each nook and cranny of Greece today, and from the regions which became a part of Turkey after 1922. See: Χατζηγιακούμης 2000/2001.

⁵ This particularly came in focus with the theories referring to hymnographic, aesthetic and poetic features of Octoechos modes, which is directly associated with the question of neume transcription before the latest reform at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

latter one, outdated approaches are unfortunately still present. They are maybe most evident in the Serbian folk church chant. This music tradition has long been in deep crisis, as witnessed by those well acquainted with the situation in the domestic chanting practice in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Peno 2011b), by many studies written so far (Peno 2000a; 2005; 2006a), but also by the poll I carried out among Serbian psaltoi for the purpose of this paper.⁶ It is absolutely necessary to recognize and adopt an adequate approach in pedagogy and in theoretical explanation of the rules governing church chant in the domestic environment. A method based on analysis of existing music notated documents (from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and which are, incidentally, very scarce), on recognition and description of those music elements which in the process of interpretation became secondary and useless, has been exhausted so far (see: Барачки 1938; Новак 1998; Перковић-Радак 2004; Марковић 2006; Божић 1987). However, the method which enables essential recognition and adequate interpretation of immanent principles of chanting art as a whole, and by this of the so called Serbian tradition, implies a holistic approach. For acribic reading of notated Serbian monophonic chant documents, for its adequate interpretation within the context of vocal tradition in the Orthodox Balkans, and in order to find a key to current problems in chanting practice, it is necessary to take into consideration the following: (1) centuries long development of Christian psalmody, liturgics, hymnography, and general tendencies in the History of Church and its sacred art, (2) the evolution of chanted repertoire (various melopoetic genres and chanting books) as well as the development of neumatic notation, (3) the latest tendencies in shaping of the so called national chanting variants in the Balkans, in a wider socio-cultural context (surely not neglecting specific chanting migrations and particularly contacts with the Russian tradition), and above all, an insight into (4) the results of the theoretical reform that was carried out in Constantinople at the beginning of the nineteenth century by three respectable musicians, Chrysantos, Chourmouzos, and Gregorios (and which were adopted by Romanian, Bulgarian, but very few psaltoi of Serbian origin). The eight mode system – *Octoechos*, which was for the first time explained in detail in the Chrysantos's *Great Theoreticon* (Χρυσάνθου 1832), represents a universal model evident in many musical parameters of vocal church tradition in the Balkans, and in recent Serbian chant as well (Peno 2000a). To prove its existence in the chanting practice of Orthodox churches is surely not a goal. However, it is necessary to impartially look into the reasons that created a situation in which already adopted scientific truths about what constitutes the system of modes are being checked through

⁶ The poll was carried out among 40 students of the Faculty of Orthodox Theology in Belgrade. Among examinees, 32 finished secondary ecclesiastical school (18 in Belgrade, 10 in Sremski Karlovci and 4 in Foča – Republic of Srpska). During five-year school program they were attending the subject *church chant with rules*.

music material which, unfortunately, some professional musicians, scholars and especially amateurs have claimed to be a Serbian exclusivity.⁷ As I will hereafter show, clarifying the approach in the examination of material implies clarification of the effects of these vestigial principles in oral tradition fostered for a few centuries. In other words, to understand and overcome this petrified and almost useless method of examination, by which some Serbian researchers were governed in their analytical studies, we have to point out that some, less important elements of the eight mode system in the Serbian chanting practice have become primary ones, whereas some more relevant were neglected or discarded.

There are a few important facts concerning Serbian chant that we have to be aware of. Medieval monophonic vocal practice in Serbian churches was almost exclusively transmitted orally, as it has been the case in recent history. It is certain that Serbian church chant was Byzantine derived, as is the case with other church chants in the Balkans as well. Accordingly, it is certain that despite some resemblances, Serbian chant is in its final tonal impression evidently different from the monophonic vocal practice still being used in Greek, Bulgarian, and Romanian churches. During the second half of the nineteenth century, in accordance with the prevailing tendencies to favour everything supposedly representing Serbian nation, the term *srpsko narodno crkveno pojanje* (Serbian folk church chant) was officially adopted to stand for the chanting practice of the Serbian church. Some authors of studies on chanting dating from the end of the nineteenth century, without any grounded argument claimed that this vocal tradition was genuine. Those more moderate tried to prove that this tradition was in its roots related to Byzantine psalmody, but it later went through independent transformation, adjusted to vernacular language and national feelings (Peno 2000b). Serbian musicology adopted a notion, which has not been fully proved, that chanting practice in Serbian church was established in its present form at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century, after the great migrations of Serbs to the region north of the Sava and Danube took place (Petrović 1985: 88–90). Nevertheless, to date, no systematic research aiming to indicate or disprove connection between Serbian church chant and Russian monophonic chanting tradition in recent history has been carried out yet. A comparative analysis of monophonic Serbian and Greek melodies from the Oc-

⁷ Recent past, and especially the last two decades of the twentieth century were marked by an urge to return to patristic theology and the revival of traditional ethos in the Divine Service and church chant. Some of the faithful and part of the clergy proclaimed themselves to be representatives of the Serbian vernacular church chant, especially those whose music taste was inclined to polyphonic choral music. Among them there were also some, otherwise scarce, musicologists dealing with church music who, despite the serious development of their science in the meantime, remained faithful to the MMB founders' beliefs. This specific social and cultural phenomenon certainly deserves to be looked into in a separate study. I emphasize that exaggeration and bias were quite common in the speeches of the supporters of the two antagonizing sides, as mentioned in my text (Peno 2005).

toechos proved many similarities between these two traditions, but also showed some differences stemming from the different nature of neumatic and western notations, as well as other discrepancies which were a result of absolutely different approaches to learning process of chanting and its performances in Divine services. Namely, the analyses of Serbian *Octoechos* melodic notations and my two-decade long field experience – in services in many churches and monasteries wherever Serbs live – brought me to a conclusion that music and liturgical ill-education of Serbian chanters (and the above mentioned mistaken way they learned about chant over the past two centuries) played the decisive role in the shaping of Serbian church chant.

Teachers lecturing in *Church chant with the rules (Crkveno pojanje sa pravilom)* at Serbian theological schools during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were solely focused on practical training of their disciples, without providing the previous theoretical basis of the eight mode system (Peno 2006b). The same fashion is followed in modern, far more improved conditions in which Serbian theologians are being thought and trained. A criterion by which one's chanting mastery was and is estimated, is the so called 'tailoring' (*krojenje*) – correct singing of entire melodic patterns, to the whole verses or lines of a given text (in the best case). To make it simple, it is singing according to a chosen mode, in a folk manner. The consequence of this 'formative principle' in Serbian monophonic church chant is more or less a strict following of the scheme by which the melodic patterns ensue. In analyzing *Octoechos* by Stevan Mokranjac, who was undoubtedly the most significant transcriber of Serbian chant, Egon Wellesz believed to have discovered a key to the analysis of neume notation and to Byzantine chant in general (Wellesz 1919–1920). Due to this, the Serbian chanting style (in which a melodic formula wrongfully substituted all other parameters that make the Octoechos a complex poetic system) was partially 'responsible' for the initial methodological approach of Western scholars. Detection, classification and description of melodic formulas of the eight mode system has for long been in the focus of Western scholars. Thorough and meticulous analyses of tonal content, deprived of any wonder for its purpose, still preoccupy some Serbian and Russian musicologists.

However, it is necessary to master far more melodic patterns if one wishes to chant at kliros during various services (such as Matins and Vespers). There are three types of forms in terms of versification and melody. The symbol of *automela* (the self melodies, model melodies) refers to model melodies according to which most other hymns are chanted – so called *prosomoia* melodies. Another type comprises the so called *idiomela* (unique, independent melodies), different from others in rhythm, metric and melodic characteristics. In liturgical books, these, and mode symbols serve to direct psaltoi to chant a specific melody. In other words, it means that, before approaching the kliros, a chanter should master the entire repertoire of various automela and idiomela melodies in each mode and within the whole Octoechos system.

Since we are here dealing with oral music practice in which the use of notation readings is rather restricted by the very nature of religious services, a chanter's memory plays a very important role. The way a chanter activates his memory at a specific moment is in direct correlation with the final result – the chanting process, which should be continual and uninterrupted during the church service. What is more, a wrong mode or melody choice is more justifiable than a pause between the priest's exclamation (at the end of a prayer) and the response of chanters, and distraction of the faithful, because the chanter repeatedly attempts to enter the mode and particular melody. It is true, though, that experienced Serbian chanters are able to start the tailoring of a mode without serious difficulties if they only sang in advance the beginning of that melody – the model of that specific mode. However, in this automatized 'copy-paste' chanting manner, in which it is most important to adjust text to melody, a chance to emphasize content of a prayer and to make it understandable is irrevocably lost. Therefore, if we want the church chant to function as musically stylized form of speech, it is necessary to rewrite learning methods and change the way chanting skill is used in Serbian church music practice, starting from basic rules.

A general premise of Orthodox psalmody is that the *Octoechos* is a regulated system of tonal phrases with specific tonal intervals. As proof of this, many Byzantine neume manuscripts contain various illustrative schemes of intonation formulas, so called *apichima* which help a chanter to enter a particular mode accurately and quickly. Furthermore, there are some Byzantine music theories and numerous manuals on Post-Byzantine and recent chanting practice in the Balkans. There are also a few levels of mode identification regarding scale parameters (Μαυροεΐδης 1999) (1) Structure, ambitus, the position of tones used; (2) Main tones are by rule final tones in melodic formulas and they follow the conclusion of a specific semantic phrase (they therefore occur when there are punctuation marks in the text); (3) Gravitational tones, which may or may not shift from their intonation basis towards those main tones (depending on chanter's style); (4) Tones which enable shift from one into another intonation field (similar to modulation).

A mode, which is beforehand determined by features of the given scale, is additionally differentiated from other modes because of the melodies it comprises. Modes are also different in terms of rhythmic and melodic patterns and due to tones used and their intervals. The scale factor again appears to be primary. At last, mode uniqueness has been established through melodic and rhythmic units – formulas, in the Byzantine, Post-Byzantine and contemporary chanting practices in the Balkans. Apart from *apechemas* – those intonative formulas which come before any hymn, the main anchorage in the memory of any chanter, are micro-melodic formulas. They make chant improvisation seem well-conceived and regulated. One should bear in mind that certain rules about

occurrence of some formulas in specific places in melody may be well identified (especially if these are recognizable final formulas which, just as main tones, coincide with the semantic and syntactic phrases of a hymn). Nevertheless, if it is clear that in church chant words prevail over melody, then it is also clear that skilful combining of formulas by any scheme (be it even a justified one in the analyzed sample), is not a sign of a successful interpretation. On the contrary, any presence of schemes points to the lack of chanter's capacity and inventiveness which should create original and personal expression of unchangeable sacred text using given melodic potential.

The method described above implies appropriate musical notation both for the learning process and analysis of the melodies learnt. Once being put into staff notation, Serbian melodies lost the modality features which had definitely existed at the time Mokranjac wrote them down while listening to acclaimed chanters.⁸ Comparative analysis of Serbian melodies in European notation and of Post-Byzantine – Greek melodies in reformed neume notation showed that, in spite of essential differences between the two systems of notation, the described method of learning and analysing church melodies is universal (Пећо 2000). Although Serbian transcribers and contemporary scholars treated those melodies in Western notation according to Western scales theory, the comparisons they made with modal melodies in neume notation showed strong resemblance in almost all music elements. This of course, provided that we consciously neglect the constraints of tempered notation, following the trace of previously described parameters which make the picture of used tones – scale code, complete. What should be said is that Serbian chanters have never fully adopted any of these systems of notation (neither old neumes nor European notation or reformed analytic neume notation of modern times). Therefore, the role of existing notated texts proves to be secondary in the revival of Serbian chanting tradition and especially in application of effective analytic methods in the future. From poetic, theoretic and liturgical perspective, the chant notations from the second half of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century offer a rigid and inadequate interpretation in light of Orthodox chant tradition. A new form of transcription might confirm that now, there exist two tendencies in the practice of Serbian church: the first is unfortunately prevalent, decadent and goes towards total collapse of already impoverished chanting practice; another could be called reformative, attempting to establish true criteria in approach to the chanting process, both in terms of learning and application.

According to the results of the poll, chanters themselves are to be held responsible for the first tendency; they fall into the following categories: (1) Those who have no formal music education, who are musically illiterate or

⁸ He himself wrote in the Preface to his *Octoechos*, pointing to the chants of 2nd, 4th, and 6th modes, that Serbian chanters sing in non-tempered tuning, using neither micro nor major third, but something in between (Mokranjac 1996: 10).

comprehend European notation in a simplified manner (in the staff system, they recognise only upward and downward melodic movement and almost nothing else); (2) Those who have no insight into fundamental theoretical principles of church chant and know nothing of chanting history in the Orthodox East (they support certain stereotypes, such as one that claims ‘our’ chant being different from the so called Byzantine, with an ungrounded belief that after the Fall of Constantinople this Byzantine chant went under influence of oriental music. They have heard of Mokranjac, a few have heard of the other famous church musician, Nenad Barački, but not of any other Serbian chant transcriber. They have not perused any specialised literature on church chant); (3) Those who learned chanting playing by ear and by heart, and have memorised a very restricted number of melodies (they usually know standard chants that occur regularly in weekly cycle, making no distinctions between *automela*, *prosomoia* and *idiomela* melodies and their standardised texts); (4) Those who think that chanting skill is the skill of ‘tailoring’; they are aware that melody should match a semantic phrase, but admit they are often unable to perform it; furthermore, they admit not being aware of the sequence of melodic formulas, and that they can hardly follow this sequence. However, they assume that the final part of a melody is most important, and most other chanters agree it is one of the dominant mode features; (5) Those who are not capable of following all Typicon rules and can chant properly only with assistance of another chanter or priest (without making mistakes in the choice of modes and chants), or who can chant in case the Service is considerably shortened (when they can sing a few standard hymns, relying often on their own choice); (6) Those who can hardly or partially understand Church Slavonic text; (7) Finally, those who did not understand most of the asked questions and gave no reply at all.

Those who support another tendency in Serbian chant individually try to change the acquired tradition, directing it towards liturgically more appropriate and aesthetically profiled chanting art. They are those who have European music education or are acquainted with the rules of the reformed neume notation and the theory of Post-Byzantine chant. Although they show different affinities regarding Serbian chant written in European notation and toward chanting practice in the Balkans (which is colloquially called traditional, Byzantine or Greek), they still share the same opinion when it comes to the most important thing. Since those chanters are aware of the role music has in the liturgical context, they try to emphasize the words, interpreting the text in an accurate melodic manner so that everyone in the service could sing with one mouth and one heart. If we eventually agree that this principle is a guideline in church chant, then it is absolutely clear that we need vigorous and practically applicable investigation into current Serbian chanting conditions.

Beside those questions on the nature of Serbian chanting practice, which were, by the way, mostly answered in Serbian sources, I am of opinion that it is

more important to ask why it is the way it is, and to attempt to make it more appropriate and upgraded. It is the difference between the methodology of historical musicology and current ethnomusicological approaches that Nettl pointed out: “Ethnomusicologists are indeed concerned with seeing how, in general, music changes, by what mechanism and with what regularities” (1992: 381; cf. also Rice 2010). To understand church chant within the liturgical, as well as its social and cultural context, the insider position of scholars is almost necessary. A widely adopted belief that even minimal participation in performance process provides an appropriate background for more serious research (Stone 2008: 136–44) is also expected in the new investigations of Serbian monodic church music. Without a *learning-teaching* process it is hardly possible to find out proper answers to the question of how the Serbian chant is taught, learned, and transmitted in recent history. Being actively present during chanted liturgical services provides comprehension of the complex system of *Ochtoechos*, Typikon rules, richness of hymnographic genres and all other elements that constitute the Orthodox psaltic tradition.

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Весна Пено

ПРИЛОГ МЕТОДОЛОГИЈИ ПРОУЧАВАЊА
СРПСКОГ ЦРКВЕНОГ ПОЈАЊА У КОНТЕКСТУ
ВОКАЛНЕ МУЗИКЕ БАЛКАНА*

Резиме

Описивање, дефинисање и адекватно процењивање основних параметара православног српског црквеног појања не може дати исправне и поуздане резултате уколико методолошки приступ није прилагођен јединственим принципима традиционалне вокалне – црквене и народне музике на Балкану. Анализе тзв. *осмогласја* – система осам *гласова*, који је иманентан православној појачкој традицији у целини, у досадашњим истраживањима су спровођене у два правца. *Глас* је посматран превасходно као група сличних мелодија које су детерминисане одређеним мелодијским формулама и главним тоновима који представљају особени оквир гласа. Комплекснији начин подразумева да се глас анализира као специфично интонационо поље – група употребних тонова који образују конкретан тонски низ, истовремено и као скуп мелодијских образаца у напевима који се, према различитим врстама химнографских текстова, разликују по својим ритмичким структурама. Овај методолошки приступ обезбеђује свеобухватнији увид у црквено појање уколико је теоретичар који га примењује истовремено и практичар, способан да појачку вештину примени у конкретним богослужбеним околностима у којима своје премисе и закључке може да провери.

У раду су размотрени актуелни проблеми у етно/музиколошком проучавању једногласног српског појања унутар црквено-појачких традиција на Балкану, пре свега византијске, поствизантијске и новије грчке. Оправданост различитих методологија ће бити размотрена са аспекта који подразумева иманентна својства древне псалмодије (византијске и поствизантијске) која је представљала основ и главни извор за све остале – „националне“ варијанте црквеног појања обликоване на Балкану. Посебан нагласак стављен је на актуелне српске појачке прилике. Како показује спроведена анкета, усмено предање представља код нас још увек и готово једини начин усвајања појачке вештине, из чега произлазе и сасвим конкретни проблеми. Афирмисање адекватног научног метода у проучавању затеченог стања истовремено би могло да користи и побољшању методике наставе црквеног појања, самим тим и подизању нивоа појачке праксе.

* Интегрални текст на српском језику доступан је на приложеном диску. / Integral text in Serbian is available on the attached DVD.

IDENTITIES EXPRESSED THROUGH PRACTICE OF *KAVAL* PLAYING AND BUILDING IN SERBIA IN 1990s*

JELENA JOVANOVIĆ

Abstract: This paper discusses the circumstances under which the building and playing of the *kaval* became topical in Serbia (Belgrade) at the end of twentieth century: the work of the Byzantine choir “Saint John of Damascus” and expressions of personal and group identities participating in the process, through indication of the elements of music structure related to the principles in eastern music cultures.

Keywords: Serbia, the *kaval*, Byzantine chanting, Macedonian *ezgija*, culture of the eastern Mediterranean, the musical East.

Reasons for writing this paper; the aim of the paper; theoretical concepts and methodological assumptions

It may be said that the aerophone instrument *kaval*, a long labial end-blown flute which falls into the group of semi-transverse flutes (Цуцев 1975: 17), has been promoted to a representative item in Serbian music tradition in current public discourse, which is the subject of a musicological study discussing it from its current positions (Atanasovski 2010: 1, 4). On the contrary, both the domestic and international scientific circles have been, until the present date, almost entirely unfamiliar with how interest in the *kaval* arose in Belgrade in the 1990s and the position it occupied in the given context at the time. This paper reveals some data about the protagonists in the process, and their motives¹ in the period between the beginning of the 1990s and 1999.²

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The preparations of this paper for print understood taking into account many welcome remarks, questions and suggestions from my colleagues after the presentation at the Symposium in 2011, especially due to the fact that the topic has not been elaborated in Serbia before. Thus, the work on the paper understood including many additional explanations and elaborations, and the volume of the text expanded to a measure that could not be accepted for printing within the frames of this book. Printed paper is its shortened version, and the integral versions of this text in English and in Serbian are given on the DVD attached to the volume.

¹ On this occasion, I express my gratitude to all *Damaskinians*, gathered around the choir *St. John of Damascus* in Belgrade, for helping me collect numerous data included in this paper. Special thanks I express to f. Goran Arsić for his immeasurable support for work on this subject.

² The later segment of the life of the *kaval* in Serbia was covered in literature on several occasions (for instance, Atanasovski 2010). With the appearance of this instrument at the Euro-

The context in which playing the kaval became topical in Serbia in the 1990s, even its very treatment, is so specific that it is difficult to explain it by terms used for classification relating to ‘revitalization’ of folklore practices. This phenomenon could not be called *restoration*, because at this moment there are no grounds to suppose that it is about a restored continuity of existence of this instrument in Serbian tradition. Thus, this phenomenon should be more properly treated as bringing the kaval into light in Serbia, for the reasons given in the following text.

The aim of this paper is to fill the gap in understanding of this phenomenon in the domestic and international scientific public, to try and answer the question of why kaval is so interesting for listeners and performers of traditional music in Serbia, and to offer a picture different from the essentialized ideas of Serbia and its music during the period of wars in the 1990s. Namely, the existing literature on music from the war-ridden territories of former Yugoslavia (see, for instance, Gordy 1999) gives very little or no attention to anything that must have preceded any possible use or abuse of tradition, which is initial motivation and authentic need of the very exponents of tradition and followers of the idea in the full sense of its revival. This would imply an *integristic*, as opposed to the *instrumental* approach to tradition (the terms taken from: Наумовић 1997: 111).

Tackling the issues, provocative at numerous levels, the kaval and its bringing to life in Belgrade are an attractive topic for a variety of reasons. They cannot possibly be paid due attention within this paper. This is why attention will here be paid to certain parts of the issue only, primarily the role and position of the kaval in the development of identities of the group of its protagonists in Serbia in the 1990s. This is about a phenomenon occurring in specific conditions of crisis caused by armed conflicts and forced changes of political boundaries in the territory of former Yugoslavia. In Serbia, there occurred a crisis of the Yugoslav identity and search for establishment of new identities, a process the literature states as common in periods of crisis (Todorova 2006: 15, 128). The phenomenon of rekindling the interest for the kaval in Serbia will be discussed according to the model offered by Marija Todorova, from the standpoint of *perception of historic heritage*: as “articulation and re-articulation of perceptions of various individuals or groups within the group in different periods of time” (2006: 24).

In Serbia, the *kaval* became topical thanks to “interactions of specific individuals” (Stock 2001: 5) who, while undergoing a difficult time of crisis in the 1990s (as were other citizens of Serbia) and at the same time seeking the way to express their own and artistic identity, had to make decisions in terms of

vision Song contest in 2004 (in Z. Joksimović’s song *Lane moje* with player M. Nikolić), interest in it soared.

both personal and music choice. Thus, the paper is also comprised of music biographies of the protagonists of this phenomenon. The paper is also partly of an autobiographic nature, because in writing it I started from an insider position, as a member of the community in which kaval playing was 'discovered' and became popular, and thanks to which it gradually got to the sphere of playing in public in Serbia. The aspect of interaction between the individual and the collective is also of extreme importance for the paper; in brief, it is about "the individuals whose interactions imply conscious or unconscious adapting to continual development and creating and resignification of social identity" (Dženkins 2001: 100–1).³

For the purpose of this paper, kaval playing was observed with a reason, as "the medium not only reflecting and encoding meanings related to identities, but also participating in creation thereof" (Милановић 2007: 125). Secondly, the concept of collective identity is important for this paper, according to Born and Hesmondhal, as "kind(s) of imaginary identification or discursive subjectification through music", a type of identification connected to "*emergent, real forms of sociocultural identity or alliance*", "when the musical imaginary works to *prefigure, crystallize or potentialize*" the emerging entity "so *re-forming* (or reconstructing) the boundaries between social categories, between self and other" (2000: 36, 35). Furthermore, the case of the kaval in Serbia in the 1990s confirms Martin Stokes' thesis about music as a symbol, but also as means of social boundaries, "of constructing trajectories rather than boundaries across space" (Stokes 1994: 4). On one hand, kaval playing marked the boundaries of the social group, but also the tendency to overcome the current national, ethnic, even confessional boundaries, and to shift the meaning of the notion of 'others' in this context (a phenomenon also usually occurring in times of crisis; see Said 2000: 446; Todorova 2006: 20). Due to a range of circumstances which will be discussed further in the paper, here the issue of perceptions of the terms 'the East' and 'east' will become topical in musical and verbal discourse of the protagonists of kaval practice in Serbia in the 1990s.

The perception of kaval players and builders of kaval, as well as its scientific interpretation are given in narrative forms as recorded during interviews with the protagonists (see the integral text on the DVD), based on the repertoire and through analysis of musical components. The paper was written from the standpoint of a participant-observer, based on personal experience in encountering members of the community, but also in acquisition of new musical perceptions through the 'musical being' (Cooley and Barz 2008: 20). The aspects of kaval life in Belgrade presented in this paper include the time, place, specificities of the kaval as an instrument, its place in the specific context, emotional and spiritual attitude of the players and listeners, the ethos it implies, and the place

³ This sentence has been translated into English from Serbian translation of Jenkin's book.

which, according to the perception, it occupies in music culture of the Balkans and Serbia. Documentary audio and video recordings form several rehearsals and concerts are supplied (Examples 1–3).

About the kaval and literature on the kaval in former Yugoslavia

It is likely that the etymology of the word ‘kaval’ may be sought for in Arabian language⁴ (Muftić 1997: 1248). In the Balkans, and not only there, the term implies a one-part (more rarely three-part) aerophone instrument with an open cylindrical body, 630–800 mm long (Dević 1977: 37). In the Balkans, the single-part instrument of the kind is nowadays widespread in Macedonia, South Serbia and Montenegro, Greece, Albania, Turkey, a part of Bulgaria, Hungary, and Romania (see for ex. Dević 1977: 36; Линин 1986: 71–5; Ανωγειανάκης 1991: 62, 149, 151), while related instruments may be found in the traditions of Southeastern Europe (Вертков 1975), the people from the Caucasus, North Africa, Asia, the island of Borneo (Marković 1987: 40), and in the Near East (Czekanowska 1981: 187, 201, et al.).

When it comes to the position of the kaval in the musical tradition of Serbs and the related narrative, they are problematized by several important facts: the kaval has retained its presence in the live musical practice of Serbs only in one village in Kosovo, at the border territory of the Serb national and ethnic space. This is important for the possibility to perceive the instrument as part of the national identity (compare Мациевский 2007: 166–70); it is also a fact that, despite its popularity, the kaval in Serbia has not always been unquestioningly perceived as a part of Serbian musical tradition, both in the recent past and at the present moment.⁵

From the standpoint of the knowledge accumulated from the 1990s onwards, this paper necessarily needs to provide a review of the data on the kaval in domestic ethnomusicological literature at the time of the former Yugoslavia. Nowadays it is clear that although these data provide a picture on geographic distribution of the kaval in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, there is nothing about its occurrence in traditions of individual nations occupying its territories (Gojković 1989: 11). In its original or skilfully moderately stylized form, traditional music of Macedonia was considerably promoted in media and

⁴ According to the report of Ivan Kostić, an Arabist from Belgrade: “From the verb لاق (root: word ل و ق [qw’l]) which means *to say, to tell, to narrate* comes from the word لاقوق (pronounced literally *kaval*) with regular male plural لاقوق, which means *folk singer* (or *poet, reciter*”. I cordially thank Mr. Kostić for this information, precious for further work on this subject in domain of Serbian ethnomusicology.

⁵ The issue of chronology of presence of the kaval in the Balkans or its position in Serb musical tradition. will be discussed in another paper, which is being prepared.

in public both within the borders of former Yugoslavia and farther.⁶ Practically, the only audio recordings of kaval playing from the territory of former Yugoslavia available for professional and broader public via media and, far less, through ethnomusicological issues were the recordings of (extraordinary) kaval players from Macedonia. Recordings of Albanian players from Kosovo and Metohija were available to a slightly lesser extent. The presence of the kaval in Serbian tradition at the border areas of Serbia was first acknowledged by wider professional audience in the 1980s, while full interest in this topic was not raised before the late 1990s.

**The appearance of the kaval in Serbia (Belgrade);
Byzantine chanting and the religious identity of members
of the choir “St John of Damascus”**

If we say that the bringing the kaval into light in Serbia in the 1990s appeared spontaneously, this must be taken conditionally: on one hand, it was caused by the general state of facts the country was faced with at the time; on the other, it was not directed by any kind of external pressure, but occurred as a result of joining of individual efforts of a group of artists in their practical approach to religious and folk art. It was a part of a broader movement aimed at search for religious, national, regional, and personal identity in Serbia, as a specific personal resistance against the then state of deep political, social, and economic crisis in the country. The kaval was also revived as one of the symbols of a specific group musical entity. The phenomenon may be regarded as part of the global turning to traditional knowledge and a new reading of canonical work of culture (Said 2000: 465), as a reaction to globalization trends.

The initiative to bring the kaval into light was born among the members of the Belgrade congregation of artists and singers “St John of Damascus”, founded in 1989. Their leading idea was to restore East Christian, e.g., Orthodox, Byzantine church art: icon painting, fresco painting, and church chanting. This is about a phenomenon which fits into a higher discourse of *Byzantinism* which implies affiliation to Orthodox denomination (see Todorova 2006: 311, 315–16), and which, in this case, starts from the assumption of continuity of existence of certain elements in Balkan traditions, from the time of Byzantine and Ottoman Empires until present date (Ibid.: 310, 339, 342). The same approach was applied when it comes to restoration of church chanting as currently present in the part of the Eastern (Orthodox) Christian Church (Попмихајлов 2007: 17). More broadly, such practice in the Balkans is mostly encountered in Greece, and in certain places in Bulgaria and Romania, but also in Constantinople,

⁶ Here, Macedonian folklorists had an exceptional role in cooperation with the extraordinary exponents and connoisseurs of various segments of Macedonian musical tradition as, for example, with a renowned dancer, choreographer, and instrumentalist Petre Atanasovski (1928-1996).

Jerusalem, Syria, and Cyprus. Experts legitimately use the term Byzantine⁷ for this type of singing, having in mind its origin and connection to medieval Byzantine liturgical singing tradition.⁸



Figure 1: Male choir “St. John of Damascus” with friends (June 1993).

Since 1993, there are two choirs within the congregation: the male and female chanters (Figures 1, 2), under the leadership of Vladimir Jovanović (1956),⁹ composer (see also Благојевић 2005: 165). The choir members learned from him to chant after the Byzantine chanting, after the contemporary neumatic notation.¹⁰ The aim was to take active part in chanting during church

⁷ See, e.g., Hercman 2004.

⁸ The manner in which the artists in Serbia understood this term, corresponds to the interpretation of Th. Stathis: „Byzantine music is a live and inseparable part of the Orthodox liturgy [...]. It should never be understood as museum art or listened to with a ‘tourist’ mentality and feeling diminishing value of everything [...]. Tradition is not static, but has its live presence” (Στάθης 1972: 401–2).

⁹ Jovanović explained his attitudes in a lengthy interview (Вукашиновић s.a.: 22-8) and in a separate paper (Jovanović V. 2004).

¹⁰ Jovanović skilfully translated liturgical texts of post-Byzantine tradition from Greek into Church Slavonic: identical musical formulas were applied in corresponding places and adapted to differently distributed accents and phrase lengths, in line with different language rules (Стефановић 1994: 28). The choir had an audio cassette issued (1997) as well as one CD (2002; see Благојевић 2005: 165).

services¹¹ (Example 1). Jovanović's role model was the practice of two particular singing brethren at Holy Mountain. Besides affiliation to Serbian Orthodox Church (SOC), the identity of promoters of Byzantine singing also implied affiliation to a broader Orthodox community, based on original scripts of the Holy Fathers where, unlike the current prevailing ethno-filetistic understanding, national affiliation is not a criterion relevant in terms of affiliation to the Orthodox Church. It is about restoration of ecumenical identity which implies affiliation to the transnational community of Orthodox peoples, primarily in the territories where Christianity was originally conceived, in the East Mediterranean. In its discourse, the group insisted on common elements of traditions in the whole region, including the Balkans, rather than on differences; thus, the direction was exactly contrary to nationalistic, which authors of papers dedicated to similar topics insist on (see, e.g. Penannen 2004: 2).



Figure 2: Female choir "St. John of Damascus" (June 1993).

It is important to emphasize that this is not about a politically orchestrated movement, and that the choir "Saint John of Damascus" (hereinafter: the choir) never belonged to the church mainstream. Its chanting was received with various reactions by members of the SOC, "from enthusiasm to banning and

¹¹ The initiators of interest in Byzantine chanting in Serbia are covered into more detail in Благојевић 2005.

proscription” that occurred in 2001 (Благојевић 2005: 153–4, 167) exactly because intellectual and musical concepts of its members did not fit with the then current trends of ethnification of the Church, which is why many church fathers experienced this chanting as ‘Greek’ (Ibid.: 154, 167). Because of their chanting manner, members of the choir, sometimes mockingly called ‘the Byzantines’, as the not always welcome ‘internal others’.¹²

This is the context in which the interest for kaval was rekindled in Belgrade: in the course of an individual action in social area under specific circumstances. This is about individuality which should not be mistaken for individualism (Stock 2001: 10), about the personal endeavour of highly educated individuals, especially artists (Ibid.: 166) with rich intellectual and practical experience in their walks of life, this time united by a common goal. “The wish to restore church life [...] is closely connected to the inclination to return to original values and authentic traditions of the Church” (Ibid.: 169). Having in mind that the fresco painters and members of the male choir mainly made fresco paints by themselves, using natural materials, it is not surprising that in 1991, wishing to play, they started constructing wind musical instruments, such as the pipe and different double pipe types; as of the second half of 1994, fascinated by audio recordings of Macedonian players, they also learned to build the kaval; at that time they did not know how or where they could possibly procure it from.

The first champions of this practice from the 1990s were two painters, icon and fresco artists, Predrag Stojković, now hieromonk Lazarus, and Vladimir Kidišević. Their followers and pupils were the then students Marko Dabić, Vladimir Simić, and Vasilije Sekulić, including Miloš Nikolić (the only one of the stated instrumentalists with formal music education; see their short musical biographies in the integral text). Interest in the kaval was reinforced by audio recordings of playing of Macedonian kaval players, which were kindly extended by Goran Arsić and Jelena Jovanović. The importance of the choir in the restoration of not only church, but also traditional art in Serbia, is exceptional: they generated the restored kaval and groups performing traditional Serb and Balkan music, “Moba”, “Iskon”, “Ved”, and “Belo platno”.

Place; time; ethos and the social role of the kaval

The Belgrade kaval players from the 1990s performed only privately and on occasions which could be called public: in church courtyards or presbyteries of certain Belgrade churches, after services in which the choir would perform. Besides church and folk singing, this spontaneous playing had the role of an important emotional and cohesive element among the members of the group,

¹² Thus, the activity of the choir may not be connected to ethno-clericalism in Serbia (a phenomenon entirely opposite to the one described in Perica 2002: 214). A brilliant criticism of the biased and essentialized outsider perceptions to the issue was provided in Павићевић 2009.

where their personal identities interacted. We can say that the sound of the kaval in this context represented a point of emotional encounter, opening the sphere of contemplation in the situation after the religious service as a specific extension of the liturgical experience of the community. This collective emotional experience consisting of a multitude of individual experiences with the aim to reach internal tranquillity in the conditions of close war destruction and general crisis was of exceptional importance for the members of the community. It left a deep impression in many, helping them, in difficult conditions, to preserve faith in virtue and steadiness of virtue, reified through liturgical unity and emotional closeness. Marko Dabić, a priest, describes it like this: “We used to stay together long after the liturgy, singing and playing music (...). When the kaval was being played, everyone was silent. This silence (...) was more (...) meaningful than many conversations” (Дабич 2011). Such an experience may be related to the manner in which Martin Clayton interprets a direct experience of time among listeners of music from the East (Indian *ragas*) and the importance of synchrony in listening, in this context, with listeners regarded as specific ‘bounded entities’ (2001: 3, 6). Certainly, it may be rightly said that such an experience confirms Martin Stokes’ thesis that “a society (...) might also be usefully conceived as something which ‘happens’ in music” (1994: 2).

In the period between 1994 and 1999 there were very few public concert performances of Belgrade kaval players. A guest performance of “Pece Atanasovski”, a young orchestra with traditional instruments from Skopje, Macedonia (in 1997) had major importance for further affirmation of the kaval and its use in concerts, as well as joint playing of members of the orchestra and Belgrade kaval players and singers (Figures 3–6). The young Macedonian group was following the model of arrangement of traditional melodies which were developed and covered by media in the second half of the twentieth century. At the same time, a number of choir members founded a vocal-instrumental ensemble in which the kaval had an important role. The acquaintance and friendship with the young players from Skopje, as well as the discovery of numerous possibilities to play music together, encouraged preparations for concert appearances: the group, under the name *Iskon*, had its only concert in December 1998. The repertoire of this group, songs and instrumental melodies of the ‘Slav South’, i.e., south Serbia and Macedonia, was composed after the repertoire of the young Macedonian orchestra, but with emphasis on a non-stylized traditional sound, unlike their Macedonian counterparts. The selection of songs was made not according to the ethnomusicological, but aesthetic and ethical criteria. These were the kaval *egzijas*¹³ (Example 2), round dances and songs with accompaniment of the kaval (Example 3), drum, and handmade *tambouras*, as well as

¹³ The term *ezgija* originates from the Arabic-Turkish word *ezgi* (tune, melody, tone) and is used at the territory of Macedonia.

songs *a cappella*. The role of the kaval in the ensemble was identical to that in Atanasovski's arrangements.



Figure 3: A photograph taken during the concert of ensemble "Pece Atanasovski" from Skopje, Macedonia (Belgrade, Ethnographic Museum, 27 December 1997).

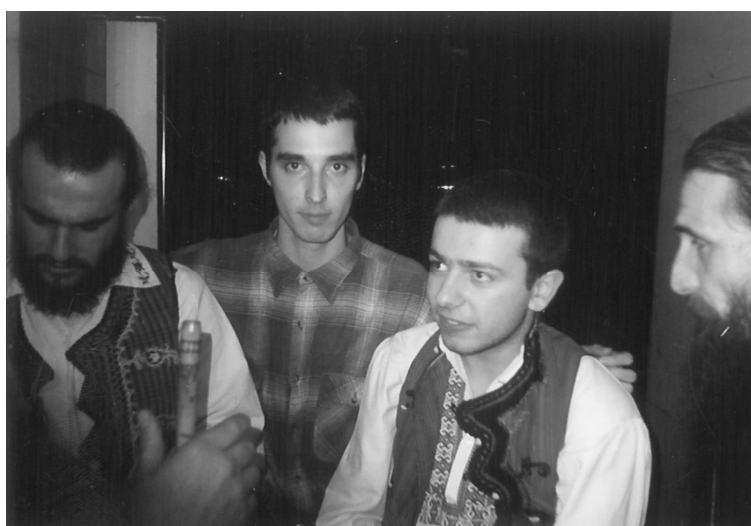


Figure 4: Acquaintance of *kavalists* from Skopje and Belgrade: Gjorgji Donev, Vladimir Simić, Risto Solunčev and Vladimir Kidišević (Ethnographic Museum, Belgrade, 27 December 1997).



Figure 5: Viktor Siljanovski and Predrag Stojković
(Belgrade, Ethnographic Museum, 27 December 1997).



Figure 6: Jelena Jovanović, Predrag Stojković and Gjorgji Donev
(Belgrade Ethnographic Museum, 27 December 1997).

The repertoire of the Belgrade kaval players at the time was comprised of melodies learned after the recordings of Macedonian players. Their favourite melodies were improvisations – *ezgije*, where the sound and nature of the kaval could be fully exercised. It was not clear that this instrument indubitably belonged to Serbian tradition too (today we can respond to this question

affirmatively). However, beside fascination with the kaval, awareness of the religious, cultural, ethnic and regional closeness of the peoples of Serbia and Macedonia, along with Byzantine singing, were of crucial importance, and it was the Macedonian manner of playing of the kaval which was experienced and adopted as a part of own identity, to confirm affiliation to common religion and unique cultural surroundings.

Textural and structural elements linking Byzantine chanting and kaval playing

The members of the choir were attracted to the Macedonian kaval and permanently attached to it because of the structural elements of Macedonian music which indicate a large level of similarity with Byzantine chanting. These are as follows:

Two-part texture which includes bourdon (drone / ἴσον / ἰσοκρατημα), the phenomenon of a long-retained tone which accompanies the melody, encountered in folklore and religious traditions in various parts of Europe and worldwide; after one assumption, it was established in the early period of development of musical systems of western Asia (Baines 2001: 598). The champions of rekindling of the kaval in Serbia recognized bourdon as an element that occurs in the music traditions of a large part of the Balkans as well, which is subject to ethnomusicological studies (Vukičević-Zakić 1994/1995:18–19; Deutsch 1981), but also as a link with traditions of non-European nations, in territory including the Middle East all the way to India. In Byzantine chanting it was interpreted by Orthodox theologians as the “mystic depth of inexpressibility” (Lazić 1984: 240), and by theoreticians that interpret drone in Indian tradition as the “timeless absolute” (Brandl 1976: 2).

In Macedonian tradition, the kaval is played in duet; one player plays the main melody, while the other is accompanying him usually on one long tone. According to Brandl, it is about a constructional, arrhythmic, changeable bourdon. As this element is of exceptional importance for our topic, it is necessary to provide parts of Brandl’s description of the given phenomenon here. According to him, such type of bourdon is “an inseparable unity with the melody (in performance and reception) [...] a psychophysical subsidiary system constantly referred to by all melodic tones, thus presenting the character and hierarchy of tones and melodic segments. [...] The constructional bourdon from the point of view of its reception, fuses with the melody and often has a psychologically stimulating effect on the performer” (1976: 10).

Non-tempered intervals: By changing the intensity of air emission, the kaval may generate tones of different tempered pitches with the same finger position. This provides a wide range of non-tempered intervals specific to Byzantine chanting, but also scales in traditions of the Balkan and eastern ethni-

cities (в. Baines 1991: 181; Czekanowska 1981: 180–3, 192–8, 206–7; Touma 1975: 38–56).¹⁴

Scales: The kaval stands out in Serbian and Macedonian sets of traditional instruments as a specific aerophone instrument with a chromatic tone series and exceptionally broad possibilities of obtaining scale structures of natural intervals in a very large tone range. The practice of our players, which implies experience in terms of listening, singing, and playing, confirmed that the scales Macedonian *ezgijas* were founded on, are fully compatible to the modal system of standardized scales of the Byzantine chanting tradition: diatonic, chromatic, and, hypothetically, enharmonic, which, in turn, originate from ancient music (Пећо 2008: 102–3 and Fn. 6, 108). This experience is a very precious argument in favour of my hypothesis that the kaval and Byzantine chanting belong to mutually related music idioms, without a trace of influence of west-European music tradition.¹⁵ This fact was of most decisive importance in establishment of the perception that it was the exceptionally rich tonal possibilities, i.e., potential of the kaval, that preserved the lost continuity of Serbian church singing tradition using Byzantine chanting scales – more precisely, its specific “oriental timbre”, as characterized by Stevan Mokranjac (1964: 6–8). The richness of scale structures in the kaval considerably surpasses the reach of all the known scales used so far in shepherds’ melodies in free rhythm in Serbia (see, for ex., Vukičević-Zakić 2001). The modal scale system used in Byzantine chanting and Macedonian kaval playing is compatible with the systems in traditions existing at a broad geographical area from the Balkans via the Middle East to India.

Melody and form: For the moment being, the issue of mutual relationship between melodic and formal shaping in Byzantine singing and Macedonian *ezgijas* has remained undiscovered; a comparative analysis that could prove or refute relationship of these parameters has not been done until the present date. However, it is the presence of the principle of modal scales with more or less variable tones which, as Brandl put it, becomes “a given melodic structure as in the cases of *taksim* or *raga*” (1976: 9; also see Touma 1975: 57–9, 63–8; Zannos 1994), which may be encountered both in Byzantine singing and Macedonian *ezgijas*, that provides grounds for research in this direction. Furthermore, it is important that in Eastern traditions the manners of melodic and formal shaping are inseparable (Powers and Widdes 2001: 830), such a creative principle being named in science as the “maqam-principle” (Szabolsci 1959), general for

¹⁴ This property of the kaval and the new experiences of Belgrade players stemming out of it chronologically coincided with the time when interest in micro-interval values and non-tempered tonal systems generally grew in Serbia among scientists of different profiles.

¹⁵ This practical experience was so clear that the Belgrade kaval players used the terms taken over from Byzantine chanting in their communication during the process of learning how to play; thus, it was easier for them to understand certain scale structures, which they played on their kavals in turn.

Eastern musical systems, including contemplative systems of Christian, Moslem, Jewish, and Hindu traditions. They are closely connected by the manner of melodic and formal shaping in Byzantine chanting. Development of Orthodox *Ochtoechos* is closely connected to “the calendar, rites, theological and musical conception” is Assyrian culture; namely, this is about a principle in composition based on melodic and scale patterns carrying a certain ethos: in Byzantine tradition, the pattern is called *the mode* (ἵχος), in the Middle East it is called the *makam/maqam/meqam*, and *raga* in India. This principle, “which first occurs in Asia, encompasses the whole Mediterranean civilization where from it stretches northwards” (Петровић 1982: 3–5). This is why the assumption about melodic and formal likeness between Macedonian kaval *ezgijas* and Byzantine *Ochtoechos* tunes is not unfounded, even though for the time being there is no concrete evidence to corroborate it.

The ethos of the kaval play: Based on their own experience, the players have a unanimous position about this aspect. It may be summed up in the following manner: kaval playing has some specific captivating power, it is calming, pervading, contemplative, and generates an impression which may be compared to the praying state (for instance: “They [Macedonians] call the kaval the ‘angel instrument’. (...) The kaval is frequently successfully encountered as an accompanying tone for male and female songs which speak about deeper conditions and relations of human soul”; Стојковић 2011).

On the notion and content of notions ‘the East’ and ‘eastern’ in this context

The coinciding of certain elements identified as ‘eastern’ in numerous musicological and ethnomusicological studies, which exist in the kaval playing in the Balkans and in Byzantine singing as well – presents a large and intriguing topic. Belgrade kaval players expressed certain perceptions on the issue. The most important features of these perceptions coincide with the positions of researchers of culture and tradition of the Balkans as part of a broader cultural area.

It is an undeniable fact that there is a long continuity of cultural and economic contacts of the Balkans with settings of the Middle East, and from there on with geographically considerably farther cultures of Persia and India. Certain papers point to six millennia of history of culture in the Middle East, crossroads of various influences through history and mutual contacts of the cultures of Greece, Iran, Caucasus, India, even North Africa and the Balkans, with foundations in cultures of old civilizations (Czekanowska 1981: 159–161, 214–5, 218, 415); here both the ancient Greek culture and theory of music had an important role in such crossings (Zaks / Sachs 1980: 304; Ростовцев 1990: 163–4, 201; Hiti 1988: 169, 244, 255, 257, 389; Ђурић 1955: 80, 81, 91; Тоума 1975: 34). Sachs describes such contacts as a “cosmopolitan permeating” at “a connected (geographical) area”, permeating which was not jeopardized either by the histo-

rical shift of empires which ruled certain areas for long periods of time, regardless of the fact that the peoples settled in such areas were not united either in terms of race or nationality (Zaks / Sachs 1980: 64, 65, 303). Such findings were also corroborated in the course of more recent field research in ethnomusicology (Chabrier 1995: B). It is also the fact that the term “eastern musical practice” is used in literature in terms of melodic organization of tunes (Пећо 2010: 163).

The members of the congregation “St John of Damascus” perceive the ‘eastern’ tone of Byzantine chanting as its natural property related to its continued existence and development in eastern geographic and cultural regions with which, at least theoretically, the Balkans and thus the ethnicities populating it, have been in a long and close relationship of interwoven cultures and traditions.

Conclusion: Metaphors

The fact that in the 1990s the kaval was rekindled in Belgrade as a result of investigative efforts of individuals dedicated to religious art, speaks a lot about its important role in this context, in development of not only individual identities, but also the one of the group. This specific role of the kaval was facilitated by its specific sound, the manner in which the tone is produced, and coincidence of the structural elements of Byzantine chanting and Macedonian kaval ezgijas. Following the conceptualization of Timothy Rice, statements of the protagonists of kaval playing in Belgrade and the circle of people of the same mind in love with this music, imply that they perceive playing the kaval in a manner corresponding to the following metaphor: “music is a symbolic system or text capable of reference not only to existing music but also to a world beyond the music” (Rice 2003: 166). Importantly, this finding is complementary to the result of studying the approaches of other performers of traditional music in Serbia, who also launched their activities during the last decade of the twentieth century (Zakić and Rakočević 2012: 321).

The latest interpretations of the role of kaval in confirming Serbian national identity seem to be simplified, since they neglect the important fact: from the beginning, for the bearers of rekindling of interest for kaval, national identification, even though of primary importance, was too narrow to enclose all the aspects in which they recognized their personal identity and the identity of the social group in which they socialized and created. Without knowing about the sources that show the presence of kaval in Serbian tradition, they accepted Macedonian kaval, thus confirming their belonging to a wider cultural milieu, than solely national (and nationalistic) frames could possibly allow. In other words, in the conditions of the crisis of identity in the given context, Byzantine chanting and the kaval were revived as parts of a reference framework broader than the already existing one (compare Todorova 2006: 128).

The playing possibilities of the kaval helped recognize ‘eastern’ properties of the Byzantine church chanting in an entirely different manner. It is important to state that all the enumerated elements of musical text in European musicology were characterized as ‘exotic’, “coming from (or referring to, or evoking) a place other than here” (Locke 2009: 1, 12, 51–4; Baines 1991: 181, 233, 234), which makes them ‘alien’ from the standpoint of a ‘western’ listener. Unlike such perception and experience, according to which any trace of the ‘oriental’ is characterized as ‘alien’ and in line with the general perception of the East as the ‘other’ in Western civilization, Belgrade champions of Byzantine chanting and kaval playing accepted these properties as ‘their own’, as a reflection of their own affiliation to the culture of the Mediterranean basin and wider. This confirms the international character of a musical style, the existence of which was pointed out by Sachs (Zaks 1980: 303), and which is also supported by the view on the Balkans as on a “sub-region of the broader Mediterranean area” (Todorova 2006: 343). It seems that the kaval in Belgrade in the 1990s was experienced and became the favourite as a specific Balkan ‘window’ to music logic, music idiom, aesthetics, and ethos of the well-known and close *East*, now perceived in a new manner.

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Јелена Јовановић

ИДЕНТИТЕТИ ИЗРАЖЕНИ КРОЗ АКТУЕЛИЗАЦИЈУ СВИРАЊА И ГРАДЊЕ КАВАЛА У СРБИЈИ 90-ТИХ ГОДИНА XX ВЕКА

Резиме

Током 90-тих година у Србији се, у оквиру покрета обнове националног и религијског идентитета, јавило појачано интересовање за традиционалну музику, па и за свирање и градњу појединих сеоских инструмената. Међу њима посебно место заузима *кавал*, инструмент из групе лабијалних свирала, који припада традицијама више балканских народа, укључујући и Србе. Питања везана за нарасло интересовање за њега у Србији на специфичан начин проблематизује чињеница да је он заступљен на рубном подручју српског националног и етничког простора.

Почетни импулс за обнову свирања кавала и његову градњу у Србији настао је у редовима следбеника обнове византијског црквеног појања у Београду. Реч је о својеврсној фасцинацији музичком традицијом шире схваћеног (православног, али и иноверног) *Истока* – источног Средоземља, Блиског и Средњег Истока и Индије. У овом раду, наратив о актуелизацији кавала у Србији 90-тих година ослања се на тумачење помоћу ових парадигми, чији идеолошки оквири нису били део званичне политике владајућих (политичких или црквених) структура у Србији тог времена. Идентитети који су изражени кроз обновљену наклоност кавалу вишеструки су и указују на потребу за њеним вишеслојним тумачењем.

NOTES ON PHYSIOGNOMY AND IDENTITY
OF SONGS FROM HEKTOROVIĆ'S
*FISHING AND FISHERMEN' TALK**

SANJA RADINOVIĆ

Abstract: The question of national belonging, and folk and authored origins have always been disputable points with the oldest known layer of Serbian and (to a lesser extent) Croatian epics. Owing to her position of an ethnomusicologist, binding in regard to perception of melody-void and sung folk song text structures, the author of this study attempts to shed light on these issues. The cause and powerful stronghold were found in Hektorović's sixteenth century musical transcriptions in which the author of this paper identifies the roots of certain long-lasting fallacies about the textual structure of *bugarštice* (pl.), delivered as early as 1878 in the influential study by Valtazar Bogišić.

Keywords: Petar Hektorović, *Fishing and fishermen' talk* [*Ribanje i ribarsko prigovaranje*], Valtazar Bogišić, first music transcriptions of Serbian folk songs, *bugarštice* (pl.), melopoetic shaping.

The beginning of Serbian ethnomusicology background occurred in a time and place long ago and far from Serbia—in 1555, on the Adriatic island of Hvar. The Renaissance nobleman and poet, Petar Hektorović, set off in a fishing boat from Stari Grad to a three-day cruise among the islands of Hvar, Brač, and Šolta. He travelled in the company of two fishermen, Paskoj Debelja and Nikola Zet. Hektorović idyllically depicted this journey in his renowned epic *Fishing and fishermen' talk* [*Ribanje i ribarsko prigovaranje*], describing the two fishermen not only as his loyal crew, but as wise conversationalists and skilled singers of folk songs.

Hektorović's pastoral travelogue unfolds in three sections in evenly rhymed dodecasyllable verses, each section describing one day of the journey. Genre-wise, this work is considered an eclogue-epistle for Hektorović's relative, the Hvar nobleman, humanist and poet, Hijeronim Bartučević. The epic was completed in 1556 and a year later appended by a letter to friend Mikša Pelegrinović, another poet from the island of Hvar. The *Fishing* was first published in 1568 in Venice.¹

* This study was realized within the project *Music and dance tradition of multiethnic and multicultural Serbia* (no. 177024), and funded by the Republic of Serbia Ministry for education, science and technological development.

¹ The subsequent editions were published in 1638, 1846, and 1874, and then another ten times during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, mainly in Croatia. An edition from 1988, equipped with translation to modern language was used for this occasion (cf. Hektorović 1988).

Following mannerisms common in the Renaissance literature, Hektorović weaved into this epic six folk poems he had heard from the two fishermen: three honour poems, two *bugaršćice* (*Dva mi sta siromaha dugo vrime drugovala* and *Kada mi se Radosave vojevoda odiljaše*), and one lyrical-epical *pisan* poem (*I kliče devojka, pokliče devojka*).² These poetic interpolations, and especially *bugarštice* (pl.)³ and *pisan* texts, dynamize the middle part of the author's narration, not only in the aspect of content, but also form, for several reasons due to: their conspicuously contrasting meter in relation to the *Fishing* dodecasyllable; their non-strophic poetic formation opposing Hektorović's evenly rhymed distiches; the fact that unlike Hektorović's authored verses, they represent texts of sung songs;⁴ and the Shtokavian [štokavski] dialect with Chakavian [čakavski] insertions, unlike prevalently Chakavian with Shtokavian elements, in which Hektorović wrote his work (Mladenović 1968; Tomelić-Ćurlin, Ćurković 2011). It is of particular historical importance for ethnomusicology that at the end of the *Fishing*, Hektorović in an addendum dedicated to Mikša Pelegrinović, provided musical transcriptions of *bugarštica* and of *pisan* (1988: 121–2), in the late Renaissance mensural system. By doing this, he thereby secured the preservation for future centuries of not only some of the earliest recorded texts of the South Slavs' folk songs, but also their, up to now, oldest known musical records from the area of the 'second' (socialist) Yugoslavia (see Figure 1).⁵

From an ethnomusicological aspect, two of the statements Hektorović communicated in his letter to Mikša Pelegrinović deserve considerable attention: concerning his approach to transcribing and his thoughts about oral transmission of these songs. In the first statement, he verifies that he notated the songs absolutely true to the original, and avoided creating them on his own as not to jeopardize readers' trust in the accuracy of historical events. In the second statement, he conveys that his fishermen friends, as men of sea and always

² Featuring various levels of input of lyrical and epical components, all of these texts belong to the framework of heroic poetry.

³ In place of the Chakavian *bugaršćica* (sing.), a commonly and conventionally accepted Shtokavian equivalent *bugarštica* (sing.), introduced into research discourse by Valtazar Bogišić in 1878, will be used further in this paper (Богішић 2003: 32).

⁴ It is necessary here to consider the difference between poetic (invariant or melody-void) and sung versions of folk song text. Hektorović's transcriptions relate to sung versions that owe their strophic design primarily to the music component. Without the music component, these texts are, in their purely poetic and melody-void form in fact non-strophic (non-stanzaic) (for their verses are not unified in a strophe by either content, rhyme, or some metric scheme), and thus contrast the strophic formations of Hektorović's authored lines. As a reminder, such contradiction between poetic non-strophic and musical strophic forms in folk songs represents an important distinct feature of the South Slavic folk music heritage, consequently resulting in a characteristic melopoetic form labeled in ethnomusicology as *quasi-strophic* (which will be further discussed; see more in Радиновић 2011: 355–87).

⁵ Due to the volume of this study, all the Figures are given within its integral versions in English and in Serbian on the attached DVD (*Note of the editors*).

travelling, most likely heard and learnt these songs from others, rather than others learning from them (Ibid.: 108–9).

Equally valuable is also information Hektorović provided about the bugarštice and pisan origins and way of performing. Thus, as a disclosure of appended bugarštice texts, Hektorović's epic contains verses that testify that these songs were performed 'in Serbian way' [*sarbskim načinom*]⁶—unquestionably meaning 'on Serbian melody'⁶—whereas both fisherman were 'bugaring' [*bugarila*] them individually:⁷ *Recimo po jednu, / za vreme minuti, // bugaršćinu srednu / i za trud ne čuti, // da sarbskim načinom, / moj družu primili, // kako me družinom / vasda smo činili!*⁸

The verse that follows thereafter, *Sam Paskoj pokliče ča može najbolje*⁹ [*'Paskoj shouts, best he can'*], leads to the conclusion that bugarštice were sung with a powerful voice, while the appendix, located just before the musical record, contains information about the 'Serbian way,' in the context of Hektorović addressing his friend Mikša Pelegrinović: "Here, admirable and honourable sir Mikša, I am sending you the Serbian way (notated below) which Paskoj and Nikola each used to sing a bugaršćica for themselves. Enclosed as well as is the way for the song *I kliče devojka* that they both sung together."¹⁰

Important verses describe the pisan as well. The fishermen performed it quietly, in a slow tempo, and likely in a two-part bourdon, which can be drawn from the following: *Naprid se tiskoše / dobro napirući, // obadva kličoše, / pisan začinjaći // potiho, ne baržeć, / svaki vesel i vruć, // jedan niže daržeć, / drugi više pojuć.*¹¹

The first transcription of these melodies in modern notation, and the first comments about them were left by Croatian musicologist Franjo Kuhač,¹² who

⁶ More detail about the meaning of this expression is available in other writings (Bezić 1970: 219–20; Љубинковић 1972a: 588–94; 1973: 458–60).

⁷ The notation relates to the bugaršćica performed by a younger singer, Nikola Zet (*Kada mi se Radosave vojevoda odiljaše*), but Hektorović indirectly remarked that the melody would be the same for both (see further).

⁸ 'The Second day', verses 517–20. In modern Croatian translation these lines read as: *Da nam prođe vrijeme, recimo po jednu // Zgodnu bugaršćicu, da napor ne osjetimo; // Ali srpskim načinom, moj družu predragi, // Kako smo među družinom vazda činili* (Hektorović 1988: 35) [*To pass the time, let's each say one // Handy bugaršćica, no effort required; // But, the Serbian way, my dear friend, // As we've always done among friends*].

⁹ 'The Second day', verse 522 (Ibid.: 34–35).

¹⁰ This is a translation of the text presented in the previous facsimile (Figure 1) (Ibid.: 111).

¹¹ 'The Second day', verses 694–7. Translated to modern Croatian language: *Naprijed se otisnuše dobro se naprežući, // Obadva zapjevaše pjesmu počinjaći // Potiho, ne brzajući, svaki veselo i zanesen, // Jedan niže držeći, drugi više pjevajući* (Ibid.: 43) [*They set off, forward, with lots of effort, // Both started singing // Quietly, without rushing, each of them cheerful and exalted, // One holding the lower note, the other signing higher one*].

¹² According to data provided by Lovro Županović, there is one existing transcription of pisan older than Kuhač's. It was published without specified date and place of publication, in a lithograph edition of Charles Zaluski. The transcription and harmonization were realized by Carlo

published them in Zagreb in 1874,¹³ and then again in 1880.¹⁴ A critical review of Kuhač's work produced in 1969 another two transcriptions: one by the Croatian musicologist Lovro Županović (1969: 480–2), and the other, as an ethnomusicology insight by Jerko Bezić (1969: 77–8, 83). Following is the version by Županović, more often present in literature (see Figures 2 and 3).

As noticeable appears the recitative character of *bugarštica* (sing.), built upon the major hexachord, featuring final pitch as the lowest tone in the series. The melo-strophe consists of six melodic phrases, each containing one sung verse (the penultimate, fifth verse, ends with a unique short addition, the so-called 'priložak'—see later in paper); the non-strophic poetic text results in a quasi-strophic melopoetic form.¹⁵ The seventy-eight verses of this poem require as many as thirteen repetitions of transcribed music.

While the verses are of similar rhythmic structure, *pisan* is a lyric-epical poem of a different type and character.¹⁶ The *pisan* is realized within the range of a major ninth, is considerably melismatic, and is usually explained as based upon alternating Mixolydian and Phrygian modes. The text is significantly shorter, requiring only seven sung strophes—conceived in three parts, also upon a non-strophic text, thus also rendering a quasi-strophic melopoetic form. Hektorović's own words testify to differences between *bugarštica* and *pisan*, pointing to slow tempo, quiet singing, and two-part performing, although the transcription obviously does not provide the accompanying part.

* * *

Unlike the *pisan*, which attracted little attention from the experts on literary folklore, numerous studies, both in Serbia and Croatia, addressed *bugarštice* from Hektorović's as well as other authors' transcriptions. We will review the most pertaining facts and prevailing views from our surroundings, and the most important points of dispute.

Bugarštice (*bugarskice*, *bugaršćice*, *bugaršćine*, *bugarkinje*, *bugrake*, and similar; but also *popijevke* and *davorije*) are, in our literary folklore sometimes also called long-verse poems.¹⁷ The etymology of predominantly used names

Catinelli Bevilaqa-Obradić or Obradović (1807–1864), whose date of death certainly falls before Kuhač's activities with Hektorović (2001: 271–2).

¹³ Within the following publication: Franjo Š. Kuhač, *Pjesme Petra Hektorovića i Hanibala Lucića*, Stari pisci hrvatski, knj. VI, Zagreb, JAZU, 1874. (cf. Županović 1969).

¹⁴ Harmonized, with piano accompaniment, as well as arranged for men's choir (Kuhač 1880: 181–2, 190–1; in the mentioned collection, examples 995 and 996).

¹⁵ See Footnote 4.

¹⁶ Hatidža Krnjević calls it a *lyrical bugarštica* (1986: 43–60). Such equation, perhaps appropriate in the domain of text comprehension, is however, not acceptable as related to musical characteristics of the *pisan*, largely different from those manifested in *bugarštica*.

¹⁷ This is according to a suggestion by Nenad Ljubinković, the author of a series of significant writings on this topic from 1972 and 1973. Ljubinković's term was derived from his

has not yet been completely explained. It is usually linked to the verb ‘bugaring’ [*bugariti*], meaning ‘to sing in a sad voice’, but also entails other possible meanings.¹⁸ Beginning at the end of the fifteenth and until mid-eighteenth century, a total of eighty-seven examples were transcribed.¹⁹ The first bugarštica was transcribed in the town of Gioia del Colle, south Italy, 1 June, 1497, by the poet Rogeri de Pacientia who heard it from “some Slavs” from the Smederevo vicinity, probably Serbs who had escaped from the Turks.²⁰ Except for the two examples notated in the island of Hvar, all others were transcribed in Dubrovnik (forty-one) and Boka Kotorska (forty-two). Only one has been preserved outside of this region, in the legacy collection of the Croatian viceroy and poet, Petar Zrinjski.²¹

Bugarštica are poems of the syllabic-tonal versification,²² and they represent the oldest known layer of oral epic poetry among Serbs (and to a lesser extent Croats), eventually extruded by the decasyllabic epics. Their verses are not of a consistent length, whereas they can contain between thirteen and nineteen syllables (according to some authors, it is twelve to twenty), but prevalent are fifteen- and sixteen-syllable verses. Non-contingent on the verse length, the second semi-verse, mostly comprised of eight syllables, features a sturdier structure. In numerous examples, the endings of certain verses carry a short appendage, the so called ‘pripevni prilozak’,²³ usually made of six syllables.²⁴ The

critical analysis of conventionally adopted terms and relies on the fact that they are rather rare in transcriptions and relate to melody and not to metric organization of the texts. In that sense, Ljubinković’s attempts to interpret the origins of words ‘bugarštica’ and ‘bugariti’ deserve full attention (Љубинковић 1972a: 588–94). On the other hand, Miroslav Pantić rejected Ljubinković’s terminology proposal arguing that: “Even if all bugarštica indeed were long-verse poems, not all long-verse folk poems, were, by no means, bugarštica.” (Пантић 1998: 240). Similar view was also expressed by some other authors (Bošković-Stulli 2004: 33).

¹⁸ Other interpretations link these names with the Latin expression ‘carmen vulgare’ or Italian ‘poesia volgare’, which denote common folk songs or poetry, but also with words ‘Bugarin’ [‘Bulgarian’] and ‘bugarin’ [‘bulgarian’], implying a member of a certain nation, or a serf, peasant or shepherd.

¹⁹ It is largely held that they afterward disappeared, although according to some opinions, their traces are found in later periods, for example in Macedonia and on the island of Krk (Љубинковић 1972b: 28–31).

²⁰ Rogeri de Pacientia was a modestly gifted poet, but reliable and meticulous chronicler. He included the mentioned bugarštica text in his epic entitled *Lo Balzino*, in which he exhaustively described the travels of the Neapolitan queen Isabella del Balzo through southern Italy during 1497. According to his record, the song was performed in the queen’s honour with singers dancing while singing, turning around and peculiarly skipping. An extraordinary discovery of this oldest preserved bugarštica, interpretation of its content and historical circumstances of its record was provided by Miroslav Pantić in the late 1970s (cf. Пантић 1984).

²¹ It is uncertain if the song in question was notated in Zadar, at the Croatian Coastland, or somewhere in the Croatian mainland.

²² The accent principle is considered dominant over a syllable principle (Богишић 2003: 12–17; Bošković-Stulli 2004: 30).

²³ This, in the literature most frequently used term was introduced by Bogišić (Ibid.: 4, 21–4).

‘priložak’ content is mostly variable, and as stemming out from the immediately preceding text, it deepens the stated expression.

Bugarštice, for the most part, convey narratives about Serbian heroes and events from the fourteenth, and even more, fifteenth centuries, although there are some based on later developments.²⁵ Compared to younger decasyllabic poetry, they are thought to evince a higher degree of historicism and a more accurate picture of life and poetic sensitivity of the medieval nobility class. Bugarštice are in general less narrative and more lyrical—in fact, their plots are often reduced to the framework for ballade-like contents of deep and delicate sentiment, with ballade-type topics in some of them not linked to famous epic characters. The prevailing notion in our literary science is that, although they were recorded in Catholic areas, bugarštice originated among Serbian Orthodox people.²⁶ Such conclusion is anchored in persuasive facts: expressly prevailing Shtokavian dialect;²⁷ presence of Turkish-isms; specific themes, heroes, and recognizable toponymy; frequent elements of Serbian Orthodox content (e.g., *kumstvo* [relationship of a godfather], Sveta Gora [Holy Mountain], *krsno ime* [celebration of patron saint], etc.). The data that follow the oldest records (by Rogeri de Pacientia and Petar Hektorović) also explicitly implicate Serbian origins of bugarštice.²⁸

In connection with the creation, dissemination, and extinction of bugarštice, the seemingly prevailing notion in our region is that they originate from the Serbian medieval courts, where they were fostered by the court minstrels who sang about their sovereigns. This is hence the basis for an assumption about the genetic link between bugarštice metrics and the Byzantine Political verse. Following the ongoing historical developments, the themes of these songs were changing concurrently with the relocation of Serbian state territories and their administrative

²⁴ In Hektorović’s writings, ‘priložak’ is mostly made of four or five syllables, and is always located after the penultimate, fifth, verse of a melo-strophe, anticipating in that manner the melo-strophe’s ending (see further).

²⁵ Bugarštice by large depict the Christian resistance to Turkish conquerors, who, at the specified time overran Serbian statehood and forcefully invaded the Balkan Peninsula.

²⁶ While the referred Catholic and Croatian areas have not been in Serbian possession for centuries, the fact that Serbs first inhabited them and lived there from the mid-seventh century, that is, from the time of Slavic migrations to the Balkans—as exhaustively reported by the Byzantine Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus in his renowned work *De administrando imperio* (chapters 30–36)—should not be overlooked.

²⁷ In particular examples, Shtokavian dialect was later layered with elements of Chakavian and Kajkavian dialects as characteristic for the Croatian-speaking area.

²⁸ It is however, necessary to account for the important remark made by Nenad Ljubinković that the notion of a folk, primarily epic poem’s national belonging emerged only in the nineteenth century, during the era of Romanticism and struggles of numerous nations for their rights of nationality and independence. Since “...long-verse poems and songs were not created at the end of eighteenth or in the nineteenth century, and by no means reflect national-nationalistic alignment (while different religious affiliations do exist), they cannot be nationally designated after the fact” (Љубинковић 1972a: 577–8).

centres northbound (Kruševac, Smederevo, and Srem). Lastly, subsequent to cessation of Serbian state in the Middle Ages and wave migrations of displaced refugees toward west and south due to Turkish invasion, bugarštice ended up in the coastal area and even in southern Italy. The local population adopted and embedded them with their own themes and language characteristics, thus creating, according to the formulation by Miroslav Pantić, a “common epic heritage, Serbian and Croatian”. Over time, new texts were born in the circles of learned poets, but those newer, faux bugarštice by their poetic worth, for the greatest part could not measure up to the old ones (Пантић 1998: 242–4).²⁹ Moreover, these artificial imitations were so unavailing, pedantic, and obvious, that, unsurprisingly, for many, they would “shake the faith in bugarštice of the first oral origins, and even in the very possibility that they ever were” (Ibid.: 30–31).

While bugarštice comprise a relatively small poetic corpus, they were extensively written about in Serbian and Croatian literary science. Despite this, many questions were not conclusively or acceptingly answered. Those questions include: etymology of the name, metrics, language, origination and national belonging, connections to decasyllable epics and artistic achievement, art value, historicism of content, and time and conditions of dissipation from the living practice, among others. Probably, the most delicate and disputed questions concern their origination and national belonging. And while the dilemma about bugarštice being an authentic offshoot of Serbian or Croatian cultural space sharply (and certainly not impartially) polarizes Serbian and Croatian research camps,³⁰ the question of their folk or non-folk origins occasionally surfaces as a divisive issue in both.

These two contentious issues also gave expression in the works of Croatian and Serbian musicologists and ethnomusicologists, that are nonetheless far less numerous than the writings addressed in the literary discipline. The main reason for periodic confrontations of views ensued from the fact that the melodies from Hektorović’s *Fishing* share little in common with thus far known Serbian and Croatian tunes, notated over the entire region of these peoples since the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The first contribution from Serbia was provided by Radmila Petrović in 1965, on the eve of the 400th anniversary of the *Fishing*’s first publication. The significance of this modestly sized study, devoted mainly to describing notated melodies, lies primarily in its publication in English language, in the periodical *Studia Musicologica*, a body of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, thus making the information about this valuable part of Serbo-Croatian heritage availa-

²⁹ “Such imitations, produced after the model and in the fashion of old bugarštice, began to multiply at the time when the old ones started to slip into oblivion, to languish, and to increasingly parish from life. There are plenty of them in manuscript books from Dubrovnik and Boka Kotorska...” (Пантић 1998: 244).

³⁰ An overview of confronted positions—also not lacking bias—is offered in the study by Maja Bošković Stuli (2004: 22–9).

ble to the international public (Petrović 1965). After this, Hektorović's writings would again gain some attention in Serbian ethnomusicology as late as 2001, when Dragoslav Dević included Županović's transcriptions (examples 100 and 159) in his *Anthology of Serbian and Montenegrin folk songs*, furnishing them with extensive comments (cf. Девић 2001: 135–6, 196–8, 354, and 357).

Croatian authors were, on the other side, far more resourceful. Long after Kuhač's nineteenth century writings (see before), the textbook and encyclopedia articles by Božidar Širola and Vinko Žganec appeared during the mid-twentieth century (cf. Širola 1940: 13–14; Žganec 1958: 210–12; 1962: 33–4). The latter author enhanced a basic factual account by objectively observing *bugarštica* as reminiscent of singing with the *gusle* [a specific kind of folk fiddle], “and at the time, that was marked by struggles with Turks, the *guslars* [*gusle* players] certainly came from the east, particularly from Serbia, hence our fishermen could've learnt from them this way of singing, which they used for singing their folk songs, *bugarštice*”. Further, in regard to the completely different melody of the *pisan*, Žganec believed that it could be linked to nowadays Croatian folk singing nurtured in bigger towns on the islands and along the Dalmatian coastline (1958: 211).

Toward the end of the 1960s, around the time of celebration of the *Fishing* 400th anniversary, the interest in Croatia soared even more. It was during that time, when a significant polemic between the musicologist Lovro Županović and ethnomusicologist Jerko Bezić (that would resonate until the mid-1990s), took place. In 1968 and 1969, Županović proposed that the melodies from the *Fishing* are not of folk origin, but are in fact ‘folklorized’ leading parts of a madrigal, and that Hektorović's comment about the ‘Serbian way’ could only relate to the songs' texts.³¹ (Shortly afterward, in the course of his overly bold attempt to reconstruct the Perast *bugarštice* melody, the Montenegrin historian Miloš Milošević supported Županović's view, cf. Milošević 1975). In 1969, 1970, and 1971, Bezić reacted to such ideas with countering arguments, maintaining the course of Žganec's beliefs. In the first instance, Bezić demonstrated that the ‘Serbian way’ represents an unambiguous specification for a folk melody and concluded that Hektorović would certainly not designate such a term for a madrigal part. Based on an analysis, he then determined that both melodies, but especially *bugarštica*, manifest some similarities to the presently known vocal and vocal-instrumental forms from the mountainous and coastal Dalmatia. He also contended that, at the time, on the island of Hvar existed another, ‘domestic’ Hvar melody for *bugarštice*, and that the ‘Serbian way’ entered middle Dalmatia in the sixteenth century, probably from the inland, along with the population escaping Turks (Bezić 1969: 85–7). Finally, concerning the question that despite Hektorović's efforts to notate authentic folk tunes, melodies from the *Fishing* nonetheless also feature characteristics of renaissance music, Bezić offered

³¹ Županović first wrote about this in the daily paper: Lovro Županović, ‘Najstariji hrvatski madrigali?’ *Telegram* (Zagreb), year IX, no. 444, 1 November, 1968 (cf. Županović 2001: 272), and then also in professional periodicals (cf. Županović 1969: 487–95).

the following explanation: “Hektorović wrote down the melodies according to his comprehension and knowledge of renaissance music at the time (...) Only today, when experts are able to record examples of traditional folk music with the reel tape recorder, we can provide truly authentic recordings and accurately document creations of folk music” (Bezić 1969: 87–8). When he next addressed this topic, following Županović's minor reaction from the same year, 1970,³² Bezić also reminded that folk melodies could also originate in towns, proving that such melodies certainly existed in Hvar towns of Hektorović's time (Ibid.: 220–21).³³ Hard to hear all of Bezić's argumentation, Županović in the 1980s went even further, trying to prove by comparative analysis, nothing less than Hektorović's authorship of both the pisan and bugarštica—now, almost without even mentioning the ‘Serbian way’, hence undermining the poet's own explicit statements that he acted as a fully genuine transcriber.³⁴ Bezić for the last time revisited his opposing stance in 1996 (p. 76–8).

* * *

According to available material and presently known accompanying information, it looks as if reliable answers to many questions posed in the ethnomusicology and literary science domains will remain forever obscured by the darkness of history. On the other side, and mostly owing to Hektorović's musical record, we were presented an opportunity—from the perspective of ethnomusicology knowledge and with a high degree of certainty—to correct a long lasting error regarding the strophic structure of bugarštice, strongly rooted among our textologists, even to present day.

In his influential 1878 study published together with his important and up today most complete collection of bugarštice (cf. Bogišić 2003), Valtazar Bogišić conveyed an incorrect viewpoint. Bogišić's misconception concerns his inadequate comprehension of the strophic structure of these poems, due to his erroneous interpretation of the ‘priložak’ position. Namely, this author correctly maintained ‘priložak’'s significant structural role in shaping the bugarštice strophe, but he misplaced it, claiming that: “In its content, ‘priložak’ is not of a great value, except for dividing strophes (...) Against a simple verse order, decasyllable without strophes, here in bugarštice, we can find a complete

³² Regarding the following article: Lovro Županović, ‘O nekim netočnim navodima u muzikološkom zborniku *Arti musices I*’, *Telegram* (Zagreb), year XI, no. 512, 20 February 1970 (cf. Županović 2001: 287).

³³ Bezić's ensuing 1971 encyclopedia article (reprinted in 1984: 117) on bugarštica did not present new knowledge, but rather summarized known facts (p. 264–5).

³⁴ In the following writing from 1985: Lovro Županović, ‘Glazbena komponenta starohrvatskih crkvenih prikazanja i najvjerojatiji autor sačuvanih napjeva’, *Dani hvarskog kazališta. Srednjovjekovna drama i kazalište. Eseji i građa o hrvatskoj dramati i kazalištu*. Split: Književni krug, 486–503 (Županović 2001: 273, 293), and then in 1988 (cf. Županović 1988) and 1989 (cf. Županović 2001).

strophe alignment (...) every two main lines are followed by a ‘priložak’, which serves as a border between strophes. The exceptions to this rule are the first and last verses of every poem, the first always being followed by a ‘priložak’, but the last never succeeded by one” (2003: 21, 24). In other words, Bogišić thought that one lone verse ensued by a ‘priložak’ is stated at the beginning of a poem, followed from beginning to end by strophes consisting of two lines and one ‘priložak’, and finishing the poem again with a single line, void of a ‘priložak’. So, Bogišić groundlessly believed that a ‘priložak’ is always located at the strophe's very end, and formed his explanation according to the fact that in most of the notated examples (always in those from Boka Kotorska and less often in others) the strophe is comprised of two verses. This interpretation, which unfortunately survived until present day (cf. Љубинковић 1973: 455, 461; Килибарда 1979: 6; Пантић 1998: 238–9; Воšković-Stulli 2004: 30; Де-ретић 2007: 363), could be depicted as it can be seen (see Figure 4).

The opening of the bugarštica *Smrt despota Vuka* [*The Death of despot Vuk*], recorded in Dubrovnik in the mid-seventeenth century can serve as an example³⁵ (see Figure 5).

According to Bogišić's erroneous view, this poem's strophic arrangement (for this occasion marked by interrupted lines) would be as it is shown (see Figure 6).

Such a demarcation of strophes seems completely unnatural and illogical, but above all wrong. On the contrary, the appropriate separation means that every strophe is comprised of two verses, but separated, not concluded by a ‘priložak’. In that case, all the strophes are entirely equal, without the beginning and ending bulging out with its odd construct. Therefore, the correct blueprint in a large number of bugarštice, imposed from the beginning to the end is in fact as it can be seen (see Figure 7).

Befitting this interpretation, the correct presentation of the opening strophes from the mentioned Dubrovnik example would be read as it is shown (see Figure 8).

At this point, the natural reassessment question would be: what arguments support our interpretation and prove Bogišić's erroneous?

The answer consists of several points. One of them is displayed in the facsimile of the Dubrovnik example document (Пантић 2002: 79). While it is not easy to decipher all letters and words in the picture below, the specific, repetitive order of adjacent pairs of verses separated by the ‘priložak’, is clearly discernible. As a matter of fact, every even line is moved to the right, whereas the transcriber wanted to underscore the strophe's layout that we declared correct (see Figures 9 and 10).

³⁵ The transcription of this bugarštica, a part of the well known Dubrovnik manuscript from the convent of Mala Braća [Small Brothers] (manuscript, B. 262, page 175^v) was completed by the Dubrovnik merchant and marine captain Nikola Ohmučević (Пантић 2002: 79).

The next argument concerns rules of melopoetic shaping. Precisely, this example as well as some other bugarštice, features a specific procedure within the build-up of the sung text, well known in Serbian, Russian, and the ethnomusicology of the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The procedure concerns repetition of the last verse of the previous melo-strophe at the beginning of the next one, a phenomenon I elaborated elsewhere, calling it a ‘complete chain’ [‘potpuni lanac’] (cf. Радиновић 1989; 1993; 1997). In its consistent execution from the song’s beginning to end, it is also distinctive for certain calendar ritual genres in southeastern Serbia, possibly as bearer of a magical function. However, it sporadically appears in various non ritual songs, and in such cases, it is usually due to constructive reasons, as is the case with this particular bugarštica. Namely, such sporadic repetition of a verse which ended the previous melo-strophe, the folk singer usually utilizes to prevent starting the next strophe from the midst of a syntactic unit, which would obscure understanding the song’s textual content. For this reason, the complete chain in such places serves to bridge a potential ‘gap in the meaning’.³⁶ The described procedure, also recognized in the bugarštica *Smrt despota Vuka*, confirms that the borders between sung strophes are exactly established in consistency with the pattern we regard as correct (see Figure 11).

The third argument is derived from the comprehension of the ‘priložak’'s constructive role. We will for a while remain on the text structure of Hektorović’s records, considering the example also provided in musical transcription. It is noticeable that strophes are here longer than in any other recorded bugarštice³⁷ (see Figure 12).

Remaining convicted that each strophe must end with the ‘priložak’, Bogišić here again established incorrect borders among them (2003: 25–6), thus, according to his belief, the first strophe features five verses and ‘priložak’, every subsequent one contains six verses and ‘priložak’, while the last line is void of ‘priložak’, standing on its own, not built into the strophe (see Figure 13).

The correct pattern however, means that each strophe from the first to last, contains six sung verses and that the ‘priložak’ always comes just after the penultimate line. This lay out faithfully unfolds from the song’s beginning to its end,³⁸ matching the one used as basis of developing melo-strophe of the previous, and many other bugarštice of simpler form (see Figure 14).

³⁶ Izaly Zemtsovsky interpreted this phenomenon in the same way as early as 1967, in relation to the Russian *protjažna* song (1967: 53–7, 158–9).

³⁷ The entire text of this bugarštica *Kada mi se Radosave vojevoda odiljaše* (also known by the title *Vojvoda Radosav Siverinski i Vlatko Udinski*), can be seen in Hektorović (1988: 38–42). The selected excerpt is outfitted with several punctuation marks.

³⁸ The number of 78 lines in this Hektorović’s bugarštica divided by six equals exactly thirteen identically shaped melo-strophes, in each of which the ‘priložak’ always appears after the penultimate, fifth verse. The same occurs with another, somewhat shorter bugarštica from the *Fishing*, *Dva mi sta sirhomaha dugo vrime drugovala* (also known by the title *Marko Kraljević i*

By being always introduced after the penultimate sung verse in a melo-strophe, as an anticipation of the strophe's imminent ending, the 'priložak' thus has a clear and consistently executed 'signalling' constructive function during the melopoetic shaping.

It was already emphasized earlier that the bugarštice texts in their purely poetic form (invariant or void of melody) appear as non-strophic (non-stanzaic), while in their sung form assume a strophic physiognomy.³⁹ The presence or absence of a 'priložak' serves to determine the actual version in each concrete example. The transcriptions of Petar Hektorović and those from Boka Kotorska feature *prilošci* (pl.) regularly and consistently, whereas these examples can be identified as genuine representations of the sung text. It is not rare in other examples that the 'priložak' is either completely omitted or appears irregularly and sporadically, indicating that some transcribers (or those who previously participated in the chain of oral dissemination) considered it an inessential addition from a narrative aspect,⁴⁰ and that they were indubitably interested solely in the textual and not musical component of a poem. In such cases, what we encounter is either a poetic version of the text or some sort of irregular combination of both poetic and sung possibilities. These very facts, only seemingly less important, substantiate the significance of the 'priložak's constructive role during the melopoetic shaping—that is, corroborate its primarily 'musical function', as long ago hinted by Bogišić himself (2003: 23, 64).

The distinction between the sung and poetic forms of a bugarštica's text is established, as was seen, based primarily on the presence or absence of *prilošci*.⁴¹ The text without *prilošci*, whether actually existing without them or simply perceived as such by removing the existing *prilošci*, clearly reveal their poetic non-strophic nature: the dramatic narrative composites follow each other as in decasyllabic epics, expressed by a different number of lines and unbound by the poetic strophe moulding. On the contrary, numerous transcriptions unambiguously point to a concurrently present repetitive musical strophe mould, always defined by the same number of verses—two as a rule and only in Hektorović's examples, six. Under the circumstances in which borders of a musical strophe do not match borders of syntactic units and consequently, bluntly 'cut off' the narrative flow,⁴²

brat mu Andrijaš) (1988: 34–8). This song contains sixty lines equaling ten identically shaped melo-strophes.

³⁹ See Footnote 4 and my study *Form and word* (Радиновић 2011: 222).

⁴⁰ Possibly due to prevalent redundancy of its content, neglecting unfortunately, not only the 'priložak's important constructive function, but also the fact that it very often exhibits pronounced expressiveness as means of repeating, highlighting and/or supplying the already told narrative (Љубинковић 1972b: 31–9).

⁴¹ The previously described verse repetition within the complete chain is certainly one of the indicators of a sung version.

⁴² As earlier explained, these situations are sometimes overcome by introducing a 'complete chain'.

the ‘priložak’ seems to assume yet another constructive role, this time in the domain of poetic plane,⁴³— the role of a device for pretense and ‘artificial strophe-zation’ of a non-strophic text.⁴⁴

The last and most convincing argument is found in the very musical transcription by Hektorović. It unambiguously demonstrates that the border of the first melo-strophe—unquestionably acting as a structural pattern of all others—takes place exactly after the sixth verse, while the fifth ends with a ‘priložak’ (‘my dear town’ [‘moj divni grade’]), and it is even written down in a separate line (see Figure 1). This utterly obvious fact was long ago identified by Jerko Bezić: “Although, according to Baltazar Bogišić, priložci demarcate the ending of a certain strophe in bugarštica, in his transcriptions of bugarštica texts consisting of six-verse strophes, Hektorović introduces the ‘priložak’ with the fifth, penultimate verse in the strophe” (1969: 76).

Bogišić, one of the first and by all means, very meritorious researchers of this old layer of our epics, was aware that his work would inevitably contain some omissions and errors (2003: 1–3). Certain experts in literary folklore, literary history, and language have already expressed their views on some deficiencies in his study and accompanying collection.⁴⁵ The still powerful influence of Bogišić’s authority on one side, and insufficient interest by textologists for comprehending a poem as a syncretic, sung entity, and for precise understanding of the differences between poetic and sung version of a text on the other, led to Bogišić’s flaw discussed here to remain undetected and transmitted to generations as a proper and accurate solution.

In relation to this, another consequent oversight by textologists concerns their omission to notice that Bogišić’s comments on the bugarštice strophes’ structure address sung strophes made up of the text which is in its purely poetic aspect unequivocally non-strophic (also applicable to pisan, the second song Hektorović enclosed in the notated example of his work). This very fact impli-

⁴³ Naturally, a folk song is in its essence a syncretic creation, in which the text and music, in general, come about and coexist—together. Having that in mind, the separation of poetic and musical planes is thus only a necessary analytical abstraction, even more justified when written transmission and infringement of the syncretic existence take place, as is the case here.

⁴⁴ In that sense, the role of ‘priložak’ is rather akin to various procedures of the so called ‘working with the text’ from the South Slavic vocal heritage, where a sung verse in its length, structure, and content differs from its poetic version. This primarily relates to partial verse repetition and introduction of refrain. In fact, it seems that ‘priložak’ is an entity that unifies characteristics of both. By its content it looks like a repetition of a partial verse, but in its constructive aspect, it ‘behaves’ as a short refrain, which in numerous examples of other songs in different ways often features a ‘signaling’ role during the shaping of a melo-strophe.

⁴⁵ As an example, Aleksandar Mladenović considers Bogišić’s edition of bugarštice very unreliable, due to being “very far from the original, full of mistakes, independent interventions, and omitted words” (1968: 151). This view is shared by Ljubinković who researched the issues with Bogišić’s collection in detail, and found out that due to uncritical attitudes among researchers, Bogišić’s statements still enjoy the status of axiom (Љубинковић 1972a: 578).

cates an ultimately critical conclusion accessible by an ethnomusicologist's eye, that could be formulated in the following way: given that the purely poetical text of Hektorović's songs is non-strophic, and is artificially 'strophe-sized' by the 'priložak' device and by being built-in in to the strophic musical form, these vocal entities undisputedly exhibit their 'genetic' connection to the South Slavic music folkloristic legacy. This is because, the shaping of the strophic melopoetic structure based on non-strophic text represents one of the most striking, and in fact, most distinctive features of the South Slavic music folklore heritage in relation to all close or distant European peoples. This was persuasively proved at the conference organized by the Study Group on Analysis and Systematization of Folk Melodies of the International Folk Music Council (IFMC, later ICTM) in Radziejowice, Poland, as early as 1967. Based on analysis of extensive material from various European countries, three large and clearly differentiated European regions were mapped out at this meeting: (1) The Balkan, as a region of the syllabic versification and non-strophic poetic texts embedded in so called quasi-strophic musical forms (traditions of the South Slavs and Romanians); (2) East-Central region, with syllabic versification and strophic poetic and musical form (Hungary, Slovakia, Moravia, and Poland); (3) North-Western region, with accentual versification and also strophic poetic and musical form (Austria, Germany, and Sweden; Bielawski 1973: 182).

This classification transparently substantiates the presence of certain correlations between conformation of the poetic matrix and musical, that is, melopoetic, shaping of a folk song of European nations. According to this, it could be stated that the connection between non-strophic texts and quasi-strophic melopoetic form, explicit in Hektorović's musical transcriptions and indirectly perceivable in other bugarštice examples through the distinct physiognomy of the sung text, does not allow any room for doubt: here, it is also the melopoetic expression derived from the folkloristic heritage of the South Slavs.

Translated by Jelena Simonović Schuff

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Сања Радиновић

ЦРТИЦЕ О ФИЗИОНОМИЈИ И ИДЕНТИТЕТУ НАРОДНИХ
ПЕСАМА ИЗ ХЕКТОРОВИЋЕВОГ *РИБАЊА И РИБАРСКОГ*
ПРИГОВАРАЊА

Резиме

Почетак предисторијата српске етномузикологије обележен је појавом два значајна музичка записа, остварена позном ренесансном мензуралном нотацијом. Сачинио их је песник и властелин Петар Хекторовић с острва Хвара у средњој Далмацији и унео у свој чувени спев *Рибање и рибарско приговарање*, објављен у Венецији 1568. године. Хекторовићево песничко дело представља идиличан путопис, настао на основу његовог тродневног крстарења у друштву двојице рибара, који су били песникова верна посада, мудри саговорници, одлични певачи поменутих народних песама, и уједно први чија имена (Паској Дебеља и Никола Зет) памти историјат наше науке. Поједини делови Хекторовићевог спева, испуњени песниковим коментарима о начину певања и његовом приступу бележењу, постали су драгоцен извор додатних сазнања о сачуваним мелодијама.

Прошло је већ готово сто педесет година откако Хекторовићеви записи ових песама (у оригиналу названих *бугаршићица* и *писан*) привлаче пажњу стручне јавности – и то више текстолога него етномузиколога, и више у Хрватској него у Србији. У бројним написима интензивно су разматрана најразличитија питања, посебно у вези са бугарштицом која припада малом корпусу најстаријег познатог слоја епског наслеђа Срба и Хрвата. Упркос томе, многа су и даље остала крајње спорна – првенствено питање српског или хрватског, те народног или ауторског порекла стихова и мелодија.

После детаљног представљања конфронтираних ставова у српској и хрватској етномузикологији, који су били и предмет вишегодишњих полемика, ауторка своју пажњу усмерава на извесне укорењене заблуде о структури поетских и певаних текстова бугарштица. Прилазећи овом питању са становишта етномузиколога – који, насупротив текстолозима, увек имају у виду разлику између демелодизираних и певаних верзија текста народне песме – она доказује нетачност извесних ставова Валтазара Богишића, писца још увек веома утицајне студије о бугарштицама, објављене у другој половини XIX века. На основу бројних аргумената, међу којима посебно место припада управо Хекторовићевом музичком запису, испоставља се да је дуго одржавана Богишићева заблуда проистекла из његовог неадекватног сагледавања структуралне улоге тзв. *прилошка*, особеног текстуалног дотатка којим завршавају неки стихови бугарштица. Напослетку, на основу откривања карактеристичне спреге стихичних текстова и квазистрофичне мелопоетске форме – што је иначе важна дистинктивна

одлика јужнословенског (и нарочито српског) вокалног наслеђа – ауторка закључује да је овде недвосмислено реч о мелопоетском изразу који изви-ре из фолклорне традиције Јужних Словена.

MUSICAL PRACTICE OF THE BANAT BULGARIANS: A BRIEF GEOPOLITICAL MAPPING*

SELENA RAKOČEVIĆ

Abstract: The Banat Bulgarians or Palčeni are a distinct ethnic minority group which settled in the Banat region in the eighteenth century, from the territories of north and northwestern Bulgaria. Unlike most other Bulgarians, Palčeni are Roman Catholics. They speak the so-called Banat-Bulgarian or East Bulgarian dialect of the Bulgarian language. This codified Bulgarian dialect, with its standardized spelling, has been shaped under the lexical influences of German, Hungarian, Romanian, and Serbian languages. Considering the fact that the musical practice of the Palčeni has not been a subject of ethnomusicological research in Serbia, the main aim of this paper is to present its specifics for the first time. The focus will be on a brief geopolitical mapping of the musical practice of the Palčeni in relation to their 'country of origin', but also on the Banat multi-ethnic and multicultural environment.

Keywords: Banat Bulgarians, Palčeni, Banat, geopolitical mapping, music.

Introduction

The so-called Banat Bulgarians are a distinct ethnic minority group settled in the Banat during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries from the territory of northwestern Bulgaria, where they are also known as Pavlikijani. Considering their Catholic faith and distinctiveness of their language within the multi-confessional and multiethnic cultural context of the Banat region,¹ the scholars, particularly those from Bulgaria, generally label this minority group as

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¹ Banat is a geographical and historical region of the Central Europe and the Pannonian Plain bordered by the rivers Muriş to the north, Tisza to the west, the Danube to the south and Carpathian Mountains to the east (Popović 1955: 7). In cultural terms, it is a multi-confessional and multiethnic area that nowadays extends across northern Serbian (part of Vojvodina), southern Hungarian, and eastern Romanian territories.

the Banat Bulgarians (see Нягулов 1999: 5). This general term will also be used in this study. Within the local dialect form in Serbia, however, the Banat Bulgarians call themselves Palčeni or, rarely Pavličani.

The term Pavlikijani originated in the early Middle Ages, when it was used for members of the Christian heresy (Нягулов 1999: 15–16; Янков 2004). Pavlikijani started to receive Catholicism in 1604 and this process lasted for nearly a century (Нягулов 1999: 17). After 1688 and the collapse of the Čiprovec uprising, the Bulgarian Catholics, i.e. Pavlikiani, from the Čiprovec area migrated to the Banat region, which during that time belonged to Austria-Hungary (Младенов, Жочев и Нягулов 1994: 78–79; Nikolin 2008: 16). It was the so-called first wave of migration of Bulgarian Catholics from Bulgaria to Banat (Нягулов 1999: 10). ‘The second wave’ of migration occurred thirty years later, between 1726 and 1730, and consisted of Pavlikijani from villages along the river Danube (Нягулов 1999: 10) (Figure 1).

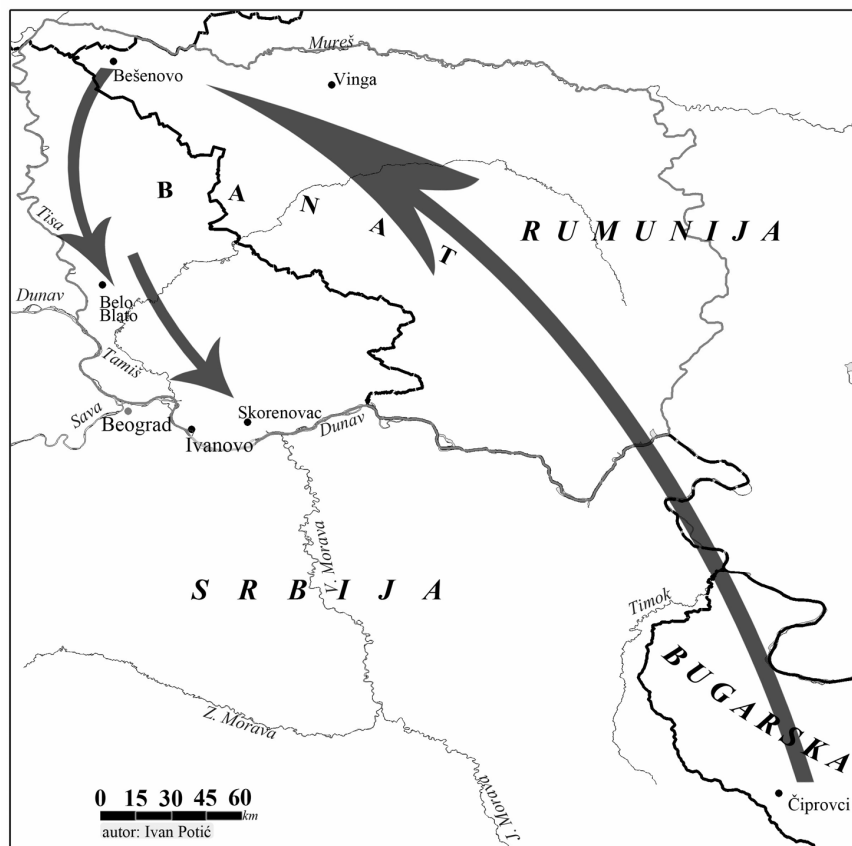


Figure 1: Ivan Potić 2011.

Source: Wikipedia.org/Military geographical institute. 1988.

The liberation of Bulgaria from Turkish rule in 1878 and establishment of a modern nation-state with its pro-European confessional politics enabled some of the Banat Bulgarians to return to Bulgaria (Нягулов 1999: 85). After WW I and the dissolution of Austria-Hungary, the 'Banat' Bulgarians found themselves within three countries: on both sides of the newly drawn Yugoslav-Romanian border and in Bulgaria. Although the notions of their national and micro-ethnic identity would start to differ in the coming decades, depending on the minority politics of each of the countries, the Catholic faith remained an infrangible bond among them.

Next to the Catholic faith, the Banat Bulgarian or East Bulgarian dialect of Bulgarian language has also always been one of the basic markers of the Banat Bulgarians' collective identity. Separated from the Bulgarian language in the first half of the eighteenth century, the Banat Bulgarian dialect evolved in a foreign linguistic environment and was thus shaped under the lexical influences of German, Hungarian, Romanian, and Serbian languages. Contrary to Bulgarian, it is written in the Latin alphabet and its spelling, standardized by Jozef (Jozu) Ril in 1866 is phonetically based (Vasilčin Doža and Kalapiš 2011: 35). Along with its usage in the domestic environment, the Banat Bulgarian dialect has also been used in Catholic religious books since 1851 (35).

Despite a common religion and language, the complex and changing internal minority policies of the nation-state countries in which Banat Bulgarians found themselves, influenced and shaped their sense of belonging and collective identity.

According to the historian Blagovest Njagulov, beginning with the first decades of the twentieth century, despite their Catholic faith within the prevailing Orthodoxy, the Banat Bulgarians in Bulgaria developed an ideology of the Banat Bulgarian 'national' belonging,² while in Romania different discourses about their origin and history could be found (Нягулов 1999: 98, 164–166; Нягулов 2008: 5). Among Palčeni in the Serbian part of Banat, however, their self-identification as a homogeneous and distinct micro-ethnic group prevailed (Нягулов 1999: 315; Vučković 2008a: 339; Vučković 2008b: 8). My field study of the village of Ivanovo confirmed this attitude. Due primarily to language and faith, but also to distinct musical and dance forms and geographical separation from their country of origin, Palčeni from the village of Ivanovo developed the self-identification of a micro-ethnic group, a specific and different one, although very close to that of Bulgarians.

According to the Republic of Serbia 2002 Census, there were only 1,259 members of the Palčeni minority in Serbian Banat (*Popis stanovništva 2002* 2003).³

² In Bulgaria they insist on being called 'Banat Bulgarians' and do not want to be confused with other Bulgarians of Christian Orthodox faith (Нягулов 2008: 5), but they also showed great patriotism and loyalty to the state of Bulgaria during World Wars I and II (Нягулов 1999: 98).

³ The official results of the ethnic structure of population census in the Republic of Serbia in 2011 were not published at the time this paper was submitted for print.

The settlements where Palčeni live in Serbia are the villages of Ivanovo (the biggest and most active Palčeni community today), Skorenovac, Belo Blato, Jaša Tomić, Stari Lec, and Konak (Vučković 2008b: 3). All villages where Palčeni traditionally lived were multi-ethnic since the time they were founded, mostly in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Figure 2).

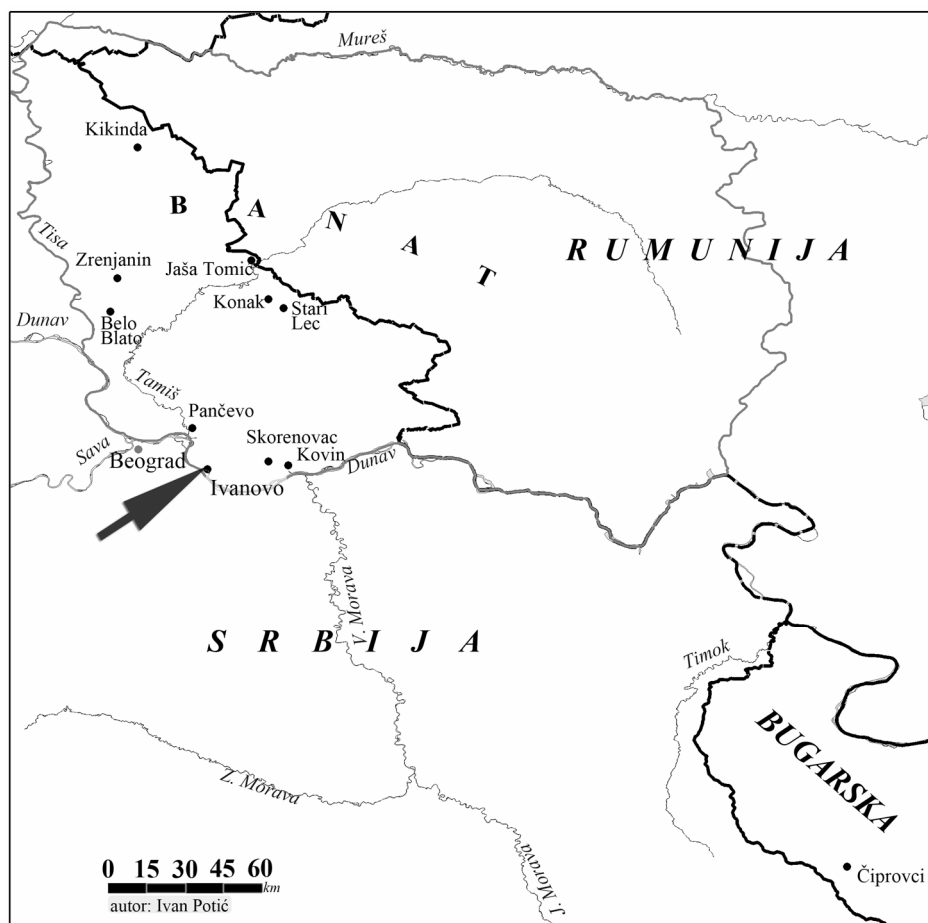


Figure 2: Villages where the Palčeni live in the Serbian Banat and the village of Ivanovo. Ivan Potić 2011.

Source: Wikipedia.org/Military geographical institute. 1988.

In their communities, Palčeni mixed with Hungarians, Germans and, to a much lesser extent, with Serbians and Slovaks. During the twentieth century when rural-urban migrations began, the Palčeni were also found in larger towns (Pančevo, Vršac, Kovin, Zrenjanin, and Kikinda). Their communities, nonetheless, have been ethnically compact only in the villages. Starting in the 1960s

and 1970s, many of the Palčeni migrated to Western European countries, mostly to Sweden, Germany, and Austria.⁴

Unlike the linguistic research (Sikimić 2008; Vučković 2008a and b; Vučković 2010), the Palčeni musical and dance practices have not been the subject of any ethnomusicological or ethnochoreological research in Serbia. The focus of this paper will be on the ethnography of the musical and dance practice of the Palčeni from the village of Ivanovo, within the Banat multi-ethnic and multicultural environment. In social sciences, the term geopolitics is traditionally used as a theoretical concept which indicates links and causal relationships between political power and geographical space (Ostervud 1988: 192). I am using here the adjective form 'geopolitical' on purpose, because it opens a wider and, in some way, softer interpretation of the noun (192). My main intention with this paper is to depict certain relations among geography, history, and political power that influenced musical and dance practices of the Palčeni from the village of Ivanovo. I want to show that, along with the Banat Bulgarian language, specific musical and dance forms had an important role in the never-ending processes of constructing the distinct collective identity of this minority group.

Demography of the village of Ivanovo

The village of Ivanovo is a farming community located on the banks of the river Danube. The Austro-Hungarian authorities founded this village by a so-called imperial decree in 1868 (*Karakteristični podaci o Ivanovu* 1985: 3). The first inhabitants were Banat Bulgarians (approximately 200 families settled in Ivanovo from the eastern areas of Banat, most probably from the town of Staro Bešenovo⁵) and Germans (approximately 10 families). According to legend, the settlement was named after the Banat Bulgarian merchant Ivan Guran, who ran a market in the centre of the village. Between 1883 and 1886 the so-called Székely Hungarians from Bukovina (approximately 800 people) moved to the village (Vasilčin Doža and Kalapiš 2011: 17). Along with the Banat Bulgarians who were primarily farmers and fishermen, Hungarians were handed over some land from the Austro-Hungarian authorities when they came to Ivanovo and began to cultivate the land. All three ethnicities also made their living as builders of the big Danube embankment (17). Settling the three ethnic communities of the same religion within a newly founded village on the outskirts of the empire was certainly a consequence of the internal policy of the Austro-Hungarian authorities.

Significant demographic changes occurred in the village of Ivanovo after the WW II, when most of the German population was forced to emigrate to

⁴ For example, more than 700 people from the village of Ivanovo migrated to Western Europe (*Karakteristični podaci o Ivanovu* 1985: 6).

⁵ Staro Bešenovo (Banat Bulgarian: Stár Bišnov) is a town in northwestern Romania. Since 1968 it is called Dudeştii Vechi.

Germany and Austria. The Palčeni and Hungarians remained the only inhabitants of the village until 1970s when more than 100 people, mostly Serbians, settled in the village for various reasons (*Karakteristični podaci o Ivanovu* 1985: 3–11): in the first place, the empty houses of those who had migrated to Western Europe were inexpensive; on the other hand, the geographical location of the village was convenient – it is located on the banks of the Danube, the surrounding land is fertile and only 20 km away from a large oil and chemical industry factory complex, and close to the city of Pančevo. The capital of Serbia – Belgrade is also quite near. The homogeneous community of the Palčeni had begun to change through mixed marriages with Hungarians and Serbs. According to the 2002 Census, Hungarians accounted for 39.96%, Banat Bulgarians (Palčeni) 27.14%, and Serbians 19% of the village population (*Popis stanovništva 2002, 2003*). The rest declared themselves as Yugoslavs, Slovaks, Macedonians, Croats, and Romanians, among others.

Far away from their country of origin, surrounded by Hungarians, Serbians and until WW II also Germans, Palčeni from the village of Ivanovo kept alive not only their language, but also some forms of traditional music and dance as markers of their distinct collective identity. Among those musical forms are spiritual songs.

Church music practice

All three ethnicities originally settled in the village were Roman Catholics, but they only had one church. The church building was erected in 1890 and from the beginning, services were held in only two languages: Hungarian and Croatian. There are many reasons why Croatian was used in worship (see more in Vučković 2010). Some of the pragmatic reasons are that during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the Catholic Church books were published in Croatian, and Catholic priests who served in the Ivanovo church were Hungarians and Croats who did not speak the Banat Bulgarian language. Due to similarities between Croatian and official Serbian languages,⁶ which are used in school and at work,⁷ the Palčeni community are fluent in both. Even the struc-

⁶ The attitude of the Palčeni community towards the use of Croatian language within church services is positive. Linguist Marija Vučković claims that: “It seems (...) that the Banat Bulgarian community in Ivanovo expands the notion of what it considers to be its own language to embrace in the religious sphere the language they call Croatian, Serbo-Croatian, or even Serbian” (Vučković 2010: 258). My own field research of the musical practice of Ivanovo held during 2011 fully confirmed those statements.

⁷ Within the village primary school, which in the village of Ivanovo began with work in 1888, classes were conducted in Hungarian, German (until the end of WW II), and Serbian. Modern Bulgarian language was taught in school during WW II for one year and classes of the Banat Bulgarian dialect became an elective subject only a few years ago. The linguistic field research of the Palčeni from Serbian Banat, held and subsequently analyzed by linguists Biljana Sikimić and Marija Vučković, also showed that Palčeni have been fully bilingual in Bulgarian and Serbian/Croatian languages (Sikimić 2008: 29; Vučković 2010: 258).

ture of serving Holy Mass in the village of Ivanovo is that one week it starts in Hungarian and ends in Croatian and next week the order of languages is reversed. Spiritual songs, however, can be performed in both languages, but also in the Banat Bulgarian dialect.

Regardless of the longtime use of Hungarian and Croatian languages during worship, due to the policy of the Catholic Church, the Banat Bulgarians succeeded to keep alive distinct spiritual songs performed in the Palčeni dialect, as one of the most important markers of their micro-ethnic identity. Spiritual songs performed in the Banat Bulgarian language have functioned as a musical symbol, which made the Palčeni community equal to other communities not only within the ecclesiastical, but also within a wider social context. In other words, even though they had to participate in church services in Hungarian and Croatian, by letting them perform spiritual songs in the Banat Bulgarian dialect, the Catholic Church authorities allowed a certain distinctiveness that created some kind of balance of power among different ethnic groups in the village.

The field research of the *krizma* ritual held in the village of Ivanovo church on 3 October 2011,⁸ revealed many peculiarities about spiritual songs used in worship. Some of these songs can be performed in all three languages, but some are performed only in one. Regardless of language, the songs are mostly in major keys and all of them are performed in slow two-beat meter. The form of all songs consists of verse and refrain. Accompanied and guided by a female organist, they are performed by group in the monophonic style. The singers are reading lyrics from text books which helps them switch languages. The practice of using church prayers in the Banat Bulgarian dialect has a long and continuing tradition, given the fact that the first church book with chants and prayers in this dialect dates from 1860 (Vasilčin Doža and Kalapiš 2011: 35), and one of the latest editions was published in 1990 (*Katuličánsku molitvenu knigče* 1990). One of the songs used in every Holy Mass is the so-called *Sacrament of the Altar* (Banat Bulg. *Sakraménat ud ultársćija*). This hymn is well known all over the Hungarian-language area.⁹ During the *krizma* ritual in the village of Ivanovo this hymn was performed in the Banat Bulgarian language (Figures 3 and 4).

⁸ The ritual of the *krizma* or the Confirmation, together with the Baptism and the Eucharist, makes the whole 'sacraments of Christian initiation'. Confirmation, as the name suggests, is the sacrament by which a person acknowledges their faith and church affiliation. Due to a small number of inhabitants in the village of Ivanovo, Confirmation is in this village performed every four years.

⁹ The first publication of this hymn could be dated to 1797 (Katólikus Kar-beli 1797). This hymn is also found in the nineteenth-century publications in Hungarian language (*Katholikus Egyházi Énektár* 1855: 66). During the conversation with the musicologist Richter Pál, I found out that this hymn was seemingly used among the Roman Catholics all over the old Hungarian Kingdom and that it has been sung during the communion all over the Hungarian-language area until today.

Transcription: Selena Rakočević

Zdrá - vu pre - sve - tu U - táj - stvu i ču - do - vi - tu bo - žan - stvu,
 5 sas sar - ci - to ti se klá - na, na - preć pre - sto - la te slá - va.
 9 Zdrá - vu ba - di svet' U - táj - stvu, mlo - gu pa - te ni - iz - broj - no,
 O, I - su - se!

Figure 3: The melodic line of the *Sacrament of the Altar* in the Banat Bulgarian dialect performed during the *krizma* ritual in the village of Ivanovo on 3 October 2011.

Sakraménat ud Utársćija

1. Zdrávu presvetu Utájstvu
 i čuduvitu božánstvu
 sas sarcito ti se klána
 napreć predstola te sláva.

Refrain:

Zdrávu badi svet' Utájstvu
Mlogu pate, niizbrojnu,
O, Isuse.

2. Sas sarcá ud sate svetci
 i sas jazici ángjelsći,
 O da bi te áz puzdrável
 i dustojno tébe fánil.

3. Ulejmi u sarcu mila,
 Zami me sas sata sila,
 O tájnu ilá vaz méne
 Sarcito da te prejéme.

The Sacrament of the Altar

1. Oh, Sacrament most Holy,
 oh, Sacrament Divine,
 I adore you with my heart,
 and praise before the throne.

Refrain:

Oh, Sacrament most Holy,
many times innumerable,
oh, Jesus.

2. With hearts of the saints
 and angelic tongues,
 oh, I would gladly welcome you
 and praise you worthily.

3. Instill grace in my heart
 take me with all the power;
 oh, holy secrecy, come to me,
 my heart will receive you.

4. Ud tuje mila s uslába, Ud svet oganj se iztupa U tujé sarci da stanuvam Sartsarcnu da te milvam.	4. Your sweetness makes me weak, all that fire makes me being melted; in your heart to live and cherish you with all my heart.
5. Žuvota mi gá se svarši, Ničist duh da ni me mači Pomušnić mi zámánj badi I ud satu zlo me brani.	5. When my life ends, unclean spirit will not bother me. Always be my assistant, and defend me from all evil.

(*Katuličánsku molitvenu knjigče* 1990: 121–2)

Figure 4: The lyrics of the *Sacrament of the Altar* in the Banat Bulgarian dialect and English.

Secular musical practice

We do not know much about secular musical practices of the village of Ivanovo during the late nineteenth and first decades of the twentieth centuries. We know that the local swineherds and cowboys used wooden flutes during their work. According to the memories of Lenka Kalapiš (1936) and Augustin Kalapiš (1945), a brass band was founded in the village in the 1940s and played mostly dance music during various social occasions: weddings, dance events (*igranke*), and funerals. The players came from all the ethnicities (Hungarians, Germans, and Palćeni). The founding of a multiethnic band was something quite new for the local community since before WW II all dance events were ethnically segregated and organized at different places in the village (Vasilčin Doža and Kalapiš 2011: 82). This significant change in the musical life of Ivanovo was certainly one of the consequences of the newly established cultural policy in socialist Yugoslavia which proclaimed the ideology of ‘brotherhood and unity’ based on presumption of equality, but also mutual diversity of all Yugoslav ethnicities (see more in Maners 2002: 79–93).¹⁰

Beside the brass band instruments and even before them, the accordion was also popular among the village musicians during the 1940s and 1950s. Various popular music, mostly Viennese *waltzes* and *czardas* were performed at the dance events, but not music of Bulgarian origin.

¹⁰ Deeper analysis of the dynamic relationships between official cultural policies of Austria-Hungary, Yugoslavia and Republic of Serbia and, on the other side, musical life of the village of Ivanovo are beyond the scope of this paper. I truly believe that this will be one of the topics of my future work.

This multi-ethnic and multicultural musical practice has continued in later periods, only the instruments and dance music repertoire were changed. During the 1970s and 1980s, several electric bands were formed in the village and the bands from other places also started to perform.¹¹ The dance events (*igranke*) were organized on Sundays in the local pub (*kafana*) and in the Hall of the village Cultural centre (Dom kulture).¹² Popular dance music was performed, but *waltzes* were played much less frequently; they have been replaced with other popular dances (*tango*, *foxtrot*, *kolo*, and *polka*).¹³ It could be said that, as opposed to spiritual songs, the secular musical practice of the village of Ivanovo fostered an intercultural communication of its inhabitants throughout the second half of the twentieth century.¹⁴ Taking into account the spatial discontinuity with their country of origin and relative isolation from the Banat Bulgarians in Romania and Bulgaria during the socialist period,¹⁵ it appears that in the secular musical practice of the village of Ivanovo, Palčeni have neglected their traditional music in favour of popular music that served as a bridge between ethnic communities. In other words, the popular music repertoire performed during joint music- and dance-making events enabled a sustainable way of living together in everyday life context within the multicultural environment of the socialist society.

There were, however two exceptions – the so-called Bulgarian hymn, a song *Oj, mumiče mamnu* (Oh, mum's little girl) and the so-called *bugarska igra* (the Bulgarian dance). Because of their semantic distinctiveness, both of these musical and dance pieces formed a major part of the stage repertoire of the village 'folklore groups' since 1962, when the first of them was founded.¹⁶ The creation of the village folklore group was yet another consequence of the so-

¹¹ For example, the electric band from the village of Ritopek, nested on the Danube's other bank, often performed in the village of Ivanovo during 1980s. The musicians were crossing the river by ferry.

¹² Cultural centre "Žarko Zrenjanin" was founded in 1961 and renovated in 1983 (Vasilčin Doža and Kalapiš 2011: 92–3).

¹³ According to memoirs of local teachers and musicians Augustin Kalapiš (1946) and Kašlik Pal (1948) Macedonian songs were very popular at weddings during the 1980s. Dance events had distinct order of dances during that period: *tango*, *waltz*, *foxtrot*, *kolo*, and *polka*. The last dance was usually something fast: *kolo* or some march. They also played hits of the newly composed music, various romances, even hits of Serbian rock bands such as 'Riblja čorba'.

¹⁴ The prefix *inter* is used here as "an indicator of encounter and coexistence of cultures" (Đurić Bosnić 2011: 6).

¹⁵ The joint village gathering with the village Bardarski Geran (Бърдарски Геран) in the northwestern Bulgaria, organized in 1974, has not influenced the secular musical practice of the Palčeni.

¹⁶ The first folklore group was formed in 1962 as part of the Cultural centre "Žarko Zrenjanin". Both Palčeni and Hungarians participated in it by performing traditional dance and music of each ethnicity. During 2000s the group split and separate, Palčeni and Hungarian folklore groups were founded.

cialist cultural policy of Yugoslav authorities: the so-called cultural amateurism of working people was promoted through founding and endorsing various village folklore ensembles (see more in Hofman 2009: 10–11; Zakić and Rakočević 2012: 314).

The song *Oj, mumiče mamnu* is popular among all Banat Bulgarians, not only in Serbia, but also in Bulgaria and especially in Romania. In the village of Ivanovo this song is well known among all generations of the Palčeni community. It can be performed on various occasions such as family celebrations (name days and birthdays) and weddings, but also as a representative song in every performance of the folklore groups (Figures 5 and 6).

Transcription: Selena Rakočević

♩ = 80

Oj, mu - mi - če má - nu, di - sim snoš - ti hod - lu?

Oj, mu - mi - če mam - nu, di - sim snoš - ti hod - lu?

Má - li mi - la, mál mu - ja, u gra - di - na - ta.

Má - li mi - la, mál mu - ja, u gra - di - na - ta.

O.F.

Figure 5: The melodic line of the song *Oj, mumiče mamnu* performed by Kašlik Pal. Recorded on 23 September 2011.

Oj, mumiče mámnu

Oh, mum's little girl

1. Oj, mumiče mámnu,
Di si m snošti hodlu?
Máli mila, mál muja,
u gradinata.

1. Oh, mum's little girl
Where were you last night?
Mother, dear mommy,
I was in the garden.

2. Oj, mumiče mámnu,
kako si tám právlu?
Máli mila, mál muja
Cveći sam brálu.

2. Oh, mum's little girl,
What did you do there?
Mother, dear mommy,
I was picking flowers.

3. Oj, mumiče mámnu, Na koga si brálu? Máli mila, mál muja Na ljubovnika.	3. Oh, mum's little girl, Who did you give it? Mother, dear mommy, I gave it to my lover.
4. Oj, mumiče mámnu, Sirmá ij ništu néma. Máli mila, mál muja, Ás za gu užéna.	4. Oh, mum's little girl, He's a poor fellow with no property. Mother, dear mommy, I'll take him anyway.

Figure 6: The lyrics of the song *Oj, mumiče mamnu* in the Banat Bulgarian dialect and English.

Even though it could be played by musicians of different ethnicities, the *bugarska igra* has been performed exclusively during the night hours of Bulgarian weddings as an exceptional musical and dance symbol of the Palčeni ethnic identity. Accompanied by distinct melodic lines, it is usually performed in the couples and triplets, but also in the circle. During the performance, genders are strictly differentiated (the men dance-perform in an active manner with jumps, stomps, and heel clicks, while women dance-perform in a reduced manner, using small steps and continuously flexing their knees). Although both the music and kinetics of the *bugarska igra* are based on a distributive two-beat meter, their interior rhythmical structure is non-congruent.

This time I will not analyze contextual and structural dimensions of the song *Oj, mumiče mamnu* or the *bugarska igra*, because these specific musical and dance forms with their complex symbolic meanings for the Palčeni community deserve special attention and analysis, and will be a subject of my future work.

According to the state politics for promoting European standards and cultural values implemented by different institutions¹⁷ within Serbian contemporary post-socialist transitory society, but also in Bulgaria and Romania, in the last ten years, the Palčeni minority from the village of Ivanovo turned to the musical forms which would apparently express their ethnic identity. The aim of those activities is affirmation of the specific features of the Palčeni traditional culture as a type of political act. This helps construct and promote the idea of Eastern European countries as part of the New Europe represented by emerging minorities and their distinct musical identities. Although Palčeni still do not have an active position within a broader society, the significant shift in terms of visibility of this 'hidden minority' in the public sphere is certainly taking place (Sikimić 2008: 23).

¹⁷ Local and regional administrations, NGO organizations, etc.

Thanks to the support of authorities of the city of Pančevo, and Romanian and Bulgarian institutions, the various inter-state village gatherings which connect Banat Bulgarian communities in all three countries have been continuously organized in the last several years.¹⁸ Although the local musicians searched for Palčeni traditional songs in various songbooks even earlier, the recent joint gatherings of the Banat Bulgarians, as Kašlik Pal told us, have broadened their musical repertoire. At first, the Banat Bulgarians began to share CDs of Romanian artists who perform not only the old Banat Bulgarian songs, but also songs of other origins in the Banat Bulgarian language exclusively. One of the singers from Romania, popular among Palčeni community of Ivanovo, is Jáni Sofrán.

Conclusion: a brief geopolitical tracing

In final remarks, we can say that the geopolitical tracing of particular musical practice defined as embedding of causal relationships in geographic space, history, political power, and music, could be one of the useful methodological frames for the minority music studies. Even though the ethnomusicological research of minorities and their music has been explored to a great extent up until now, especially within the 'Music and Minorities' Study group of the International Council for Traditional Music,¹⁹ I argue here that the relationships between minority music and certain geopolitical context should be examined more in the future. Even in this time of fast communications and internet, together with other possible manifestations of 'nested locales', the geographic location powerfully impacts phenomenology and history of a particular musical experience (Rice 2003: 160), i.e., musical practice. This is even more obvious among diasporal communities. In simple terms, we can say that in the case of diasporal communities, geography determines history, and that conversely, the historical portion of the particular minority group has been basically and inevitably designed by its 'displacement' (Scheding and Levi 2010: 9). Such is the case of the Palčeni community from the village of Ivanovo.

¹⁸ For example, the village of Ivanovo was fraternized with the village of Staro Bešenovo (Romania) in 2006. This project was supported by the Serbian (Serbian Government, the city of Pančevo) and Bulgarian institutions (Bulgarian Government, Committee for Diaspora and Bulgarian Embassy in Serbia).

¹⁹ The Study group Music and Minorities of the ICTM was officially founded in 1997. The group organized seven symposiums and published four specialized publications focused on the music of the minorities (see more at www.ictmusic.org/group/music-and-minorities).

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Селена Ракочевић

ГЕОПОЛИТИЧКО МАПИРАЊЕ МУЗИЧКЕ ПРАКСЕ БАНАТСКИХ БУГАРА

Резиме

Банатски Бугари или Палћени представљају бугарску мањинску групу пацију католичке вероисповести, која говори тзв. банатскобугарски или источнобугарски дијалекат бугарског језика. Специфичности тога бугарског дијалекта, који има стандардизован правопис, јесу велики лексички утицаји немачког, мађарског, румунског и српског језика. Палћени су на простор Баната насељени у XVII веку с територије северне и севернозападне Бугарске. Према незваничним подацима, у румунском делу Баната живи око 12.000 Палћена; према попису становништа Републике Србије из 2002. године, у Србији их живи свега 1.658. Места у којима Палћени живе у Србији јесу Скореновац, Иваново, Јаша Томић и Конак. Према досадашњим сазнањима, у селу Иваново је, под покровитељством града Панчева, последњих година веома активно удружење „1868. Културно-уметничко друштво Бугара Палћена“. Оно управо има за циљ афирмацију етнички

специфичних одлика палћенске традиционалне културе. С обзиром на то да музичка пракса Палћена до сада није била предмет етномузиколошких истраживања у Србији, циљ овога рада јесте да се, најпре, стручној јавности представе специфичности њихове традиционалне музичке праксе. Поред тога, учињен је покушај да се кроз синхронијско и дијахронијско позиционирање палћенске музичке праксе у односу на „земљу матицу” и, с друге стране, кроз мултикултурно и мултиетничко окружење у Банату, њене структурне и семантичке посебности геополитички мапирају.

(RE)CONSTRUCTION OF THE KRAJINA
MUSICAL IDENTITY: THE CASE OF THE VOCAL
PRACTICE OF THE FOLKLORE ENSEMBLE
“PETAR KOČIĆ” FROM ČELAREVO*

SANJA RANKOVIĆ

Abstract: Bosanska Krajina¹ is one of the largest cultural and geographic areas of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The traditional vocal corpus of Bosanska Krajina is defined as *krajiški* and refers to the vocal practice of Serbian population of this region – *Krajišnici*. The population from the Bosnian Krajina forms a significant segment of the multicultural milieu of Vojvodina in northern Serbia. There are two ways for reconstruction of vocal practice of the Bosnian Serbs from Čelarevo in Vojvodina. The first is in this paper illustrated by melodies adopted from older performers from the village, and defined as part of heritage found in ethnomusical literature. The second way of (re)constructing refers to the examples that members of the Čelarevo folklore ensemble learned from the Krajina second generation transplant, Svetozar Kačar, as their only source. The repertoire created by Kačar has become a paradigm of the music from Krajina in Vojvodina owing to artistic abilities of the performers he worked with. Many groups of young people from other folklore ensembles of similar orientation identified themselves with repertoire of the Čelarevo group as part of their own musical identity from Krajina.

Keywords: reconstruction, music identity, Bosnian Krajina, *na bas, groktalice*.

Erik Erikson was the first to include the term ‘identity’ in modern scientific circles, defining it as an ability to preserve the inner equivalence and continuity (2008). His epigenetic theory of identity emphasises an important role of society (including continuity and stability) in a dynamic process (Ibid.: 8–9). Identity is expressed as individual and collective (Halpern, Rualno-Borbalan 2009: 7), built through relationships with the environment and others within different groups (Dženkins 2001: 127).

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¹ Bosnian Krajina, with its almost unique cultural model is one of the largest areas in Bosnia. For the needs of this paper, the vocal corpus of this area is defined as ‘Krajina’ and refers to the vocal practice of the population of the Bosnian Krajina – *Krajišnici*.

The modern understanding of identity is based on the work of the Norwegian anthropologist Fredrik Barth, whose ideas represented a turning point in ethnicity research (Putinja and Stref-Fenar 1997: 216). According to him, belonging to an ethnic group is not the content of culture but the group ability to symbolically define its borders in relation to other groups of the same type. Barth pointed to the fact that borders of ethnic groups do not correlate with cultural borders. Since the terms identity and culture are often equated, it is very important to define their relationship (Halpern and Rualno-Borbalan 2009: 11–12). The process of cultural identification enables an individual to operate well within complex social relations and identities. In American anthropology, the integration of an individual into communities and cultures is defined through patterns of culture, which were considered constant categories (Ibid.). Modern research, however, regards cultural identity as an open function, whereas the phrase *pattern of culture* is used in a meaning of an open structure. In that sense, the concept of identity represents in social sciences an individual's awareness of their own characteristics, not necessarily innate, but acquired through cultural and social processes in interactions of an individual with social structures (Eriksen 2004: 289).

The concept of identity attained its position in contemporary musicological and ethnomusicological narratives during the last twenty years, and post-modernist discourse, in particular, brought forth a number of analytical concepts (Милановић 2007: 119–34).

In their analysis of the relation between music and socio-cultural identities, Georgina Born and David Hesmondhalgh pointed to two models (2000). The first, essentialist model, sees music as a phenomenon that reflects basic social structures and relations. The second model interprets the role of music by construing, negotiating, and transforming socio-cultural identities. Given the opposed models, the solution needs to be sought by observing identities in a dynamic process within which music can reflect, as well as construe the socio-cultural identity. Recognising identity through music requires establishing borders toward others, as particularly emphasised by Martin Stokes (1994: 3–5). Starting with Barth's ideas, Stokes analysed the relationship between subordinate and dominant groups, and researched the issue of using music in setting borders. Searching for adequately explicative possibilities that would more precisely identify the relation between music and identity, Timothy Rice attempted to synthesise previous research results in the field (2007: 2010). By sublimating ethnomusicological narratives on the issue, he pointed to an insufficiently developed theoretical apparatus and suggested that using experiences gained by related disciplines would lead to more significant results (2010: 322).

Serbian ethnomusicology has, only during the last few years, been current on the issue of the relation between music and identity, particularly through an interdisciplinary approach in analysing individual (Lajić-Mihajlović 2007), collective (Ranković 2009), and gender identities (Hofman 2011). A special

contribution to identity analysis is presented in the works by Mirjana Zakić and Danka Lajić-Mihajlović, who dealt with the negotiation of identity as a consequence of intercultural and transcultural processes (Zakić and Lajić-Mihajlović 2012). They focused on the problem of multiple musical identities in an individual, consequent to both self- and social identification in modern age, and the arising circumstances of mixing and connecting different cultural patterns.

Among numerous possibilities that the analysis of the relationship between identity and music yields, this paper is directed at identifying the process of (re)construction of a subculture within a community's traditional musical identity. The emphasis on the musical identities of specific social groups is particularly obvious in cases of their identity crises and threatened existence. A cultural identity crisis occurs in situations of direct conflict among existing cultural patterns, therefore causing confusion in terms of desirable paradigms (Golubović 2007: 549–50). Under such conditions, maintaining traditional musical expression (and the inevitable [re]construction of musical creations) in order to affirm the self becomes vital. This process is expressly evident with migrants who, during the last century, came to northern Serbia – Vojvodina, from certain Western-Balkan areas. Among the most numerous were settlers from different regions in Bosnia, particularly Bosanska Krajina (Đurić 1953/54: 737). One of the largest cultural and geographic areas in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bosanska Krajina (Bosnian Krajina) extends from Potkozarje in the northwest over the river Sava as its north border, to the river Vrbas in the east, and Kupres in the northwest. Along with Serbs, this area is also inhabited by Bosniaks, Croats, Roma, and Ukrainians, among others. For the purpose of this paper, the vocal corpus of this area is defined as *krajiški* and refers to vocal practice of the Serbian population of Bosnian Krajina – *Krajišnici*. The population of the Bosnian Krajina (especially from the area of Bosanski Petrovac) constitutes a significant segment of Vojvodina's multicultural milieu. They settled over the course of several cycles, most intensely after World War II and during the 1990s following the civil war in the former Yugoslavia. Over time, a new environment imposed big changes in their lifestyle, modifying the contextual aspect of their musical performance and reducing the repertoire. Regardless, *Krajišnici* were not influenced by other ethnic groups and preserved their own musical identity.

Folklore ensembles founded after the last war bore a significant role in maintaining the continuity of original musical language. The settlers' musical practice became institutionalised and dislocated from circumstances of rites into various stage forms. This process was stimulated by folklore festivals and seminars, organized in Vojvodina, which supported certain concepts of public presentation of traditional music. We can analyse the very process of (re)construction of specific musical forms through a study of a similar case— an example of the folklore ensemble “Petar Kočić”² from the Čelarevo village in Vojvodina (near Bačka Palanka).

² The folklore ensemble “Petar Kočić” was founded in 1948 in Čelarevo.

Svetozar Kačar, of a second generation of Krajina settlers from Bosnanski Petrovac, had a significant role in this process. His work significantly influenced the (re)construction of the musical corpus of Krajina settlers in Vojvodina during the last few decades. This process resulted in musical creations, promoted and adopted as paradigmatic models of the mentioned vocal practice.

Kačar obtained an early knowledge of his parents' homeland traditional music in his family and joined the folklore ensemble "Petar Kočić". He eagerly became involved in reconstruction of the musical identity of Krajina settlers in his village through a number of activities such as: field research, attending seminars, and creating programmes for stage performances, which, according to the criteria of both the local community and expert public, made him a competent representative of the Krajina musical and dance idiom. Through all of this, Kačar established his aesthetics of traditional music and its presentation. By searching for his own identity, through various musical performances, he significantly influenced the creation of a collective identity of the whole community. His competence was additionally confirmed by ethnomusicologist and ethnomusicologist experts, who highly valued his work in various folklore festivals.

Based on his own knowledge of traditional musical forms of the Bosanski Petrovac area and with help of the local community (i.e., the first generation of settlers), Kačar created the entire repertoire of young performers from Čelarevo. The sustainability of the musical language brought from their homeland could be analysed based on insights into the contextual dimension, repertoire, and melopoetic characteristics. According to the content and function, the poetic aspect of the Krajina melodies performed by Čelarevo singers could be divided into several genres dominated by: *svatovske* (wedding), *čarojice*, *božićne* (Christmas), *kraljice* (queen), *vučarske* (wolfmen), *đurđevdanske* (St. George's day), love, and patriotic songs. Apart from these poetic groups there are also examples of vocal expression, not present for a long time until now, in the musical-poetic corpus of the Krajina settlers in both Vojvodina and Bosnia (Vidaković 2004: 41–2; Ranković 2007).

The repertoire of the Čelarevo performers indicates that apart from the songs that had a specific ritual function in the past, present are also examples related to rituals not established in the area of Bosnian Krajina or with other Bosnian settlers in Vojvodina. Several examples representing two ways of reconstruction of the Bosnian Serbs' from Čelarevo diverse vocal practice will be displayed. The first is illustrated by melodies adopted from older performers from the village, defined as part of the heritage also found in ethnomusicological literature, such as *vučarske* songs (Figure 1 and 2) or love songs with a specific vocal quiver *groktanje* (Figure 3). The second way of (re)constructing consists of examples the members of the Čelarevo folklore ensemble learned from Kačar as their only source. So far, these examples have not been notated in any of the ethnomusicological studies and are not known to other performers from

the same parts of Bosnia. They represent new forms which Kačar interpreted as part of his own fieldwork. It is thus almost impossible to establish whether they were actually part of the Krajina vocal repertoire or a product of desire for stage uniqueness. These songs belong to the *kraljica* ritual (Figures 4 and 5) adapted for stage performance, and are known as representatives of the Krajina vocal dialect.

Domaćine, dome moj

Čelarevo

♩ = 70

Do-ma-ći-ne, do-me moj, c-vo vu-ka pred tvoj dvor. Vu-jo je os-ta-ri-o, ču-di je pro-me-ni-o,
u po-lje do-la-zi-o, i ra-ne za-do-bi-o. Te-raj te ga od ku-će, ni-je do-bar kod ku-će.

Domaćine, dome moj,	u polje dolazio,
evo vuka pred tvoj dvor.	i rane zadobio.
Vujo je ostario,	Terajte ga od kuće,
čudi je promenio,	nije dobar kod kuće.

Figure 1.³

Aoj, vujo, jadan si ne bio

Čelarevo

♩ = 96

A - oj, vu - jo, ja - dan si ne bi - o,
a - oj, vu - jo, ja - dan si ne bi - (j)o(j).

Aoj, vujo, jadan si ne bio,	Aoj, vujo, jadan si ne bio,
aoj, vujo, jadan si ne bi(j)o(j).	vide šta si danas doživeo.
	Mala moja, prtinu napravi,
	ide vujo, da te ne udavi.

Figure 2.⁴

³ Recorded and transcribed by Sanja Ranković.

⁴ Sanja Šipka, *Dvoglasno pevanje na bas Dinaraca u okolini Kikinde*, example 2.

Svaka gora čeka lista svoga

Čelarevo

♩ = cca 87

Joj, sva - ka go - ra če - ka li - sta svo - ga, a ja mla - da lo - le

Sva - ka go - ra če - ka li - sta svo - ga,

su - de - no - ga.

sva - ka go - ra če - ka li - sta svo - ga, a ja mla - da lo - le su - de -

no - ga, a ja mla - da lo - le su - de - no - ga. Joj.

joj.

po - tok vo - da žu - bo - ri, mo - mak cu - ri go vo - ri, po - di cu - ro za me - ne, da ti sr - ce ne ve - ne.

<u>Jo</u> j, svaka gora čeka lista svoga, a ja mlada lole suđenoga. Svaka gora čeka lista svoga, svaka gora čeka lista svoga, a ja mlada lole suđenoga, a ja mlada lole suđenoga. <u>Jo, joj, potok voda žubori,</u> <u>momak curi govori,</u> <u>podu curo za mene,</u> <u>da ti srce ne vene.</u>	<u>Jo</u> j, evo mene koja nemam lole, nemam lole, ni na srcu bole. Evo mene koja nemam lole, evo mene koja nemam lole, nemam lole, ni na srcu bole, nemam lole, ni na srcu bole. <u>Jo, joj, urodilo sitno voće</u> <u>dođ' doveče mlado momče,</u> <u>dodi, dođi ne varaj,</u> <u>dodi ne spavaj.</u>
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Figure 3.⁵

Sve kraljice u polje

Čelarevo

♩ = 80

Sve kra - lji - ce u po - lje, sve kra - lji - ce u po - lje.

Bež' - te zmi - je u mo - re, bež' - te zmi - je u po - lje.

Sve kraljice u polje, sve kraljice u polje.	Sve su redom otišle, samo jedna ostala, i ona se nabola na dva trna glogova i četiri šipkova.
Sve kraljice u polje, bež'te zmije u more.	

Figure 4.⁶⁵ Recorded and transcribed by Sanja Ranković.⁶ Recorded and transcribed by Sanja Ranković.

Ustaj, domačice

Čelarevo

♩ = 80

I melostrofa

Us - taj, do - ma - či - ce, do - do - še kra - lji - ce, lje - ljo, lje - ljo.

II melostrofa

Mi do - do - smo o - de, pred kra - lje - ve dvo - re, lje - ljo, lje - ljo.

VI melostrofa

Či - sta, pre - či - sta, do - bra, pre - do - bra, lje - ljo, lje - ljo.

Ustaj, domačice, dodoše kraljice, ljeljo, ljeljo.

Ustaj, domačice, dodoše kraljice.
 Mi dodosmo ode, pred kraljeve dvore.
 Kraljevi su dvori skoro sazidani,
 skoro sazidani, zlatom okićeni,
 i po njima odi prelijepa djeva,
 čista, prečista, dobra, predobra.
 Oko tebe, djevo, smilje i bosilje,
 udjeli nam, djevo, jednoga krajcera,
 jednoga krajcera, jednoga taljelja.

Figure 5.⁷

The songs that were in the past part of the *vučare* procession in Bosnia today are performed by the Čelarevo performers exclusively on stage, and adapted by Kačar.⁸ The ritual procession in which men visited village households carrying the skin of a killed wolf stuffed with reed is adapted for stage performance, consequently curtailing the time for demonstration of performed rituals, dance, and songs. The lyrics depict offering gifts to the wolf in return for not attacking the flocks during the year, thus referring to protection from the

⁷ Recorded and transcribed by Sanja Ranković.

⁸ The wolfmen processions are typical in the mountainous area of Bosnia, and are widespread throughout the Western Balkans.

wolf (Vasić 2004: 87–8). The two representative examples of the *vučare* vocal practice from Čelarevo (Figures 1 and 2) have different versification and musical characteristics. One is based on a septisyllable meter and has a recitative character, while the other has a decasyllable meter and is performed as a newer vocal practice – *na bas* (Figure 2). The second example has a specific way of ornamenting the final interval of fifth known as *cikobas*, i.e., singing *sa cikom*, as performers call it. It occurs when one or more accompanying performers sing the lower tone of the interval of fifth an octave higher, doubling the bass. Singing with the ‘false’ bass in cadence has also been recorded with other settlers from the Bosnian Krajina, hence, it may be considered a paradigm of the Krajina vocal dialect in Vojvodina (Čosić-Dragan 1991; Golemović 2001; Panić-Kašanski 2001; Ivkov 2008). What is intriguing here is that Kačar combined songs of the older, recitative way of performing (Figure 1) and a newer vocal style (Figure 2). Their poetic content also points to opposition to the lyrics with ritual (Figure 1) and mostly humorous content (Figure 2). The use of older and newer musical paradigms serves the function of fulfilling the ritual frame and stage expectations of the audience. The ritual itself refers to its past significant, even mythical, role, but now modified for stage and in accordance with new aesthetic needs directed toward a broader community, and expressed through singing *na bas*.

Like the *vučarske* songs, some other genres also display performance characteristics that represent the continuity of musical practice transferred from Bosnia. One of the most transparent features of the vocal heritage of Bosnian Serbs recorded in the research is the performance of *groktalice*.⁹ Their name refers to the singing technique based on a specific continual quivering of the voice within a complex musical form. While exclusively male songs in the past, *groktalice* presently could be performed by representatives of both genders (Milosević 1956: 11). This vocal practice requires extraordinary singers, so Kačar organized teaching the young the skill of *groktanje*. Women and men, the first generation of settlers in Vojvodina, demonstrated this skill and trained the young in stage performance.

The love song, given as a representative example, contains all of the characteristics of this vocal form (Figure 3). A poetic image is expressed through the repetition of decasyllable meter and the second final refrain (Example 1). The *groktalica* is basically characterized by participation of two solo performers, one of which sings first – *poziva* (‘calls out’), while the other *preuzima* (‘takes over’) and *grokti* with support of a group that performs only one pitch. The present *bordun* is usually a combination of the continual and

⁹ Ludvik Kuba notated very few two-part melodies, one of them from Ribnik, where the leading vocal part contains a long trill that could presumably be considered *groktanje* (1984: example 1012). Other authors also notated *groktanje* as a vocal trill (Rihtman 1953: example 98, 102, 105; Milošević 1956, 11).

rhythmical *bordun* (Rihtman 1953: figure 97, 105). *Groktanje* also features a musical halt which connects two opposite musical and poetical parts (the verse and refrain).

Apart from stage adaptations that established their continuity due to elements which have not lost their importance in the local community, Kačar also (re)constructed rituals that were almost unknown in the Krajina practice. One of them, the ritual *kraljica* is not recorded in the literature referring to Bosnia (Example 2). Its stage adaptation is based on a narrative about a female procession visiting village households on Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday while singing and dancing (Figure 4 and 5).¹⁰ The first of the two melodies, based on a septisyllable meter is performed while the procession is walking around the village. The second song, in hexasyllabic meter is sung in the courtyard of the host. Its refrain *ljeljo, ljeljo* corresponds to the *kraljice* examples found north of the rivers Sava and Danube.¹¹ A decasyllable poetic structure *čista, prečista, dobra, predobra* ('pure, the purest, good, the best') is performed at the end of the melody.

According to Kačar, the ritual of *kraljica* relates to Lazarus Saturday, i.e., the time when *lazarice* were performed in other parts of the Balkans (e.g., southeastern Serbia).¹² The name of the ritual and refrain are however identical

¹⁰ According to Svetozar Kačar from Čelarevo, the ritual *kraljice* was performed in the mountain Vitorog area and in Janje, until the end of the nineteenth century. The procession that went around the village was comprised of: the 'queen', girls who follow her, four men, and the leader of the procession. The 'queen' was a girl of fourteen or fifteen years of age, chosen by the villagers. The other girls, about ten of them, were between ten and fourteen. In the procession, the leader went in front, followed by four men carrying a hand barrow where the 'queen' was sitting. She was not allowed to walk on the ground as it was believed that Virgin Mary was brought to Joseph in the same way. The 'queen' was followed by other girls singing *Sve kraljice u polje, / bješte zmije u more* (*All the queens to the field, / snakes run to the sea*) due to the belief that 'the snake was being killed' this way. The first part of the song is sung on the road, the second part when they would put the queen down in front of a house, and the third when they danced around it. During the dance the girls walked to the left, and the housewife would gift them with presents. In the first household they visited, the housewife would give the 'queen' an icon of Theotokos which the queen carried during the procession. On the following day – Palm Sunday, the 'queen' was carried to the village church. They would usually put a towel in front of the 'queen' to walk on from hand barrow to the church. She would leave the icon of Theotokos in the church, to remain there until the following year.

¹¹ Based on the verse and the refrain metrics, *kraljicke* songs could be divided into two categories. Apart from the songs which have a six syllable meter structure from the areas above the rivers Sava and Danube, in the southeastern part of Serbia, the *kraljicke* songs had an eight syllable meter with the refrain *lado, lado* (Јовановић 2008: 160–1).

¹² Apart from the parallels that could be drawn between *lazarice*, a correlation between the ritual actions typical of St. Jeremija's day is obvious. This means drumming keys on a pan with a recitative: *Beži zmijo plazara / eto svetog Lazara / i on nosi ključe / da ti glavu stuče* (*Snake, run away, / here comes St. Lazarus / bearing keys / to hit you on the head*). According to the settlers from Nakovo, during World War II, the Krajina settlers in Vojvodina performed the ritual of chasing snakes away.

with notions of 'queen' in other parts of the Balkans (Јовановић 2008: 157–77). An interesting fact is that *kraljice* from Krajina were not recorded in Bosnia or with the Bosnian settlers in Vojvodina. This slightly calls into question the credibility of the ritual and the assumption that its stage adaptation is in fact the artistic imagination in function of creating an identity and its expression. The only connection to the musical idiom of the homeland is the two-part singing based on *bordun*, similar to the recordings of Ludvik Kuba and Cvjetko Rihtman.¹³

The given vocal examples from the Čelarevo performers' repertoire became a paradigm of the Krajina music in Vojvodina, owing to the artistic abilities of the performers. By creating stage adaptations and organizing trainings in traditional forms of dancing and singing, Kačar evolved from a bearer and enthusiast in Krajina musical practice into a professional. Consequently, his stage adaptations of 'rituals' and dance performances became included in the repertoires of other folklore ensembles, even the national folk ensemble 'Kolo'. Other groups of younger folklore ensembles of similar orientation in Vojvodina identified themselves with repertoire of the Čelarevo group. Kačar became the intermediary in keeping the continuity of Krajina musical identity and its transmission in the local community. He played an important role in transmitting traditional music from the older to younger generation, and in providing preservation of numerous performance forms. This dynamic process inevitably led to 'innovations' that particularly influenced performances of the *kraljice* ritual, which was fully (re)constructed, including the lyrics. Regarding the *vučare* ritual and its reconstruction, the majority of changes occurred in a contextual aspect, but not in lyrics. In this sense Kačar played a significant role in (re)shaping the Krajina musical identity. This process was largely directed by the 'expert public', giving legitimacy to his work. When doing this, the 'authenticity' of the presented performance forms was not questioned, because the expert public considered Kačar competent. In further transfer of traditional music, the groups performing the Čelarevo ensemble repertoire showed it as part of their own musical (Krajina) identity. This is the case with young performers from Banatasko Novo Selo, Mladenovo, Bač and other settlements. The (re)constructions, as products of organized teaching by experienced individuals or an individual's imagination, became a legitimate part of the Krajina musical heritage, continually passed on to younger generations for over a decade. In this context, the vocal identity of Krajina in Vojvodina is a 'product' that connects them to the past of their homeland. It is part of the cultural heritage of the geographic area it was transferred from, and through its several decades of existence in a new environment, has become a part of its cultural basis.

¹³ Compare with: Kuba 1984: example 532, 1005, 1006; Rihtman 1953: example 95, 96, 103.

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Сања Ранковић

(РЕ)КОНСТРУКЦИЈА КРАЈИШКОГ МУЗИЧКОГ ИДЕНТИТЕТА У ВОЈВОДИНИ

Резиме

Становништво из Босанске Крајине представља значајан сегмент у мултикултурном миљеу Војводине. Оно се насељавало у више таласа, а најинтензивније након Другог светског рата. У новој средини временом је дошло до великих промена у начину живота што је условило модификацију музичких творевина и редукцију репертоара. Значајну улогу у одржавању континуитета матичног музичког језика имала су културно-уметничка друштва оснивана након рата. Музичка пракса досељеника постала је институционализована и измештена из обредних ситуација у различите сценске форме. Фолклорни фестивали и семинари организовани на подручју Војводине додатно су стимулисали одређени концепт јавне презентације традиционалне музике.

Један од начина (ре)конструкције крајишког музичког идентитета биће приказан на примеру рада КУД-а „Петар Кочић“ из Челарева. Значајну улогу у том процесу имао је Светозар Качар који представља другу генерацију крајишника насељених из околине Босанског Петровца. Он је креирао програм КУД-а осмишљавајући певачке нумере и сценске адаптације обреда на основу казивања своје баке, старијих жена из села и сопственог теренског искуства. Поједине извођачке форме су постале плод поновног успостављања континуитета, уз неминовну (ре)конструкцију традиционалне праксе на основу личних и општих естетских критеријума. Репертоар који је осмислио Качар постао је парадигма крајишке музике у Војводини захваљујући извођачким способностима певача и играча са којима је радио. Друге групе младих из КУД-ова у Војводини, сличне оријентације, идентификовале су се са репертоаром групе из Челарева препознајући у њему сопствени музички идентитет. У даљем процесу преношења, групе које су изводиле репертоар КУД-а из Челарева приказивале су га као део сопственог музичког (крајишког) идентитета.

(UN)DISCIPLINING GENDER, REWRITING THE EPIC: FEMALE GUSLE PLAYERS*

IVA NENIĆ

Abstract: Female players of the *gusle* (a bowed lute of the Balkans) have not received sufficient attention in up-to-date ethnomusicological and anthropological research in Serbia. Their position within the tradition is usually represented as something rare or exceptional, and therefore the entire tradition of singing with *gusle* is portrayed as an exclusively male domain. In this paper I strive to deconstruct this position by referring firstly to historical data that, albeit conclusive, still remain insular and out of the main current of ethnomusicological interest, due to the work of dominant cultural ideology of representation 'mirrored' by science. Secondly, I discuss my own fieldwork with female *gusle* players, concentrating on a particular woman with whom I conducted in-depth interviews, in order to depict the models of identification of *guslarka* that are not shadowed by the societal regulative practices. Gendered identity that is performed by taking part in tradition of *gusle* playing is thus seen as contingent and changeable, moving from the logic of 'lack' vs. 'surplus' that applies mainly to representations of blind *gusle* players and 'mannish women', to more open contemporary insight into female identification that simultaneously follows and challenges the canon.

Keywords: *gusle*, female *guslar* / *guslarka*, gender, music, blindness.

Blind ancestresses

In Serbian and Balkan genre of epic song accompanied by the *gusle*, a male musician is depicted as an exemplary bearer of tradition. Frequently named as a 'Serbian Homer', the popularized figure of Filip Višnjić functions as an epitome in the discourse of national culture, a highest standard: a blind singer with the *gusle* in his lap whose heroic posture, old age with its wisdom, and above all gender-specific, male virtue, grant him a position of the 'Voice of the People'. On the other hand, Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, a collector of Serbian folk poetry had stated in his *Introduction* to the first volume of *Serbian folk songs* that heroic (male) songs are mainly performed in Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro and in the southern mountainous parts of Serbia, emphasizing that in these areas it is hard 'to find a man who does not know how to fiddle (*koji zna guđeti*), and that many women and girls also know [how to do it]' (Караџић

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1985a: 529). Four of the known performers of epics from whom Vuk Karadžić wrote down songs were women, all with the epithet of ‘blind’: Živana, Jeca, Stepanija, and a woman from Grgurevci (*slepa iz Grgurevaca*, a village in Srem).¹ In comparison to their male counterparts, much less is known about women’s lives: only a few scattered notions survived until nowadays, mainly regarding Živana and Jeca who both lived in the town of Zemun and forged a teacher-student relationship. The actual data left by Vuk about Živana is a brief note saying that she ‘settled down in Zemun, and that she was born somewhere in Serbia and as a blind woman [she] travelled even throughout Bulgaria’ (Караџић 1985c: 29). Apart from that statement, the next one concerning Živana’s biography is actually a confirmation of her death in the correspondence between Vuk and his friend and confidante Vasilije Vasiljević. In his 1898 letter to Vuk, Vasiljević stated that both Jeca and Živana had died: ‘Jeca the blind died four days ago during childbirth...her mistress (*majstorica*), baba Živana died a fortnight before her; now there is no one to sing here in Zemun, if only somebody would come from another place’ (Караџић 1909: 150). The data concerning Jeca however, are more particular in the matters of playing the instrument and categorically confirm that she was, indeed, a true gusle performer: ‘This song was sung with *gusle* by some blind Jeca in Zemun, as she was begging from one house to another. When she would come in front of someone’s house, she would start singing with gusle (in order to be heard, that she is before the house). When something was given to her or if she was told not to expect anything, she would pause there where she sang’ (Караџић 1985a: 132-33). We also know that her full name was Jelisaveta Jovanović.²

It took more than a century for a more careful reassessment of the role of female epic singers in the Balkans to appear, as in the work of a Slovene scholar Matija Murko. In his opinion (based on extensive field research undertaken several times, but notably from 1930 to 1932 together with the survey of literature at that time), female epic singers both with or without gusle were largely under-represented due to the ‘exaggerated cult of a male guslar’ (Murko 1951: 190). In the first tome of the two-volume study *Tracing the Serbo-Croatian Epic Literature*, Murko dedicated a chapter to female singers of epic from Serbia, Novopazarski Sandžak, Montenegro, Bosnia, Dalmatia, and Boka Kotorska. Although Murko’s aim was to stress that the epic singing without instrumental

¹ He mentions one unnamed woman from whom he learned the song *When Vlačić Radule gets married* (*Kad se ženu Vlačiću Radule*): ‘I copied it (*prepisao sam*) from an old woman in Kragujevac’ (Караџић 1985b: 375). In Vuk’s unpublished legacy one more woman is mentioned as a source for the song *Deacon Stefan and two angles* (*Ђакон Стефан и два анђела*): it was written down by Georgije Kirjaković according to the singing of Stana Lukić from Sremska Mitrovica, who was born in Dolovo, Banat (Недић 1981: 79). In both cases there is not enough evidence to conclude if these women sang or recited the song with or without the gusle accompaniment.

² According to the data collected by Ilija Nikolić in 1964 and quoted by Nedić (Недић 1981: 73-4).

accompaniment by women functions as an important, yet fairly neglected form of epic culture, he also briefly portrayed several female singers *with* gusle, like Montenegrin Darinka Radunović from Andrijevića municipality or Serbian Kata Odsokolić from the municipality of Dragačevo. He also mentioned a blind female guslar Jakica Ceronja from the upper Dalmatia, who was photographed singing during the Christian Orthodox celebration of the Ascension of Jesus, as possibly the last documented *slepica* (blind female gusle player) Murko leaves only a short note stating that she was the widow of a deceased Ante from Promina and that she had listened to songs and knew around ten of them (Murko 1951: 212).

In further portraying a female side of epic poetry, Murko also quotes the ethnologist Mitar Vlahović who described several female gusle players from Eastern Serbia (the Pirot district). Indeed, among Vlahović's other findings in Pirot surroundings reported in 1936, three women from the same village (Velika Lukanja) were highlighted as good singers with gusle: one of them was Seva Tošić (née Ristić), who began playing gusle as a maiden and continued to do so after she was married. Vlahović writes that 'everyone would eagerly listen to her, and therefore she was called to sing before the guests on patron saint feasts (na slavama)' (Влаховић 1936: 155-6), which is among the earliest confirmations that a woman could be praised by a community for performing with gusle in public. These facts are interpreted as important, yet somehow surprising by Murko, in light of his proclaimed statement that female singers of the epic (mostly without the instrument) are far more common in the western parts of the 'epic zone' (Murko 1951: 190-91). Thus albeit documenting the practice of female gusle players, Murko actually repeats the presumption that female singing with gusle is an exceptional case, adding that it is especially rare in Serbia.

Besides their relatively small number that led many researchers to label them as an exception to the rule, female singers with gusle were also subjected to strategies of representation other than those reserved for male performers, let alone a scarce amount of data on their lives and musicianship³ This manner of 'omission' is evident in the representational discourses concerning position of a blind female guslar. Vuk's singer Živana was among his finest informants according to Vladan Nedić, a prominent Serbian literary historian and the redactor of the critical edition of Vuk Karadžić's *Collected works*. Nedić points out that Živana's song *The death of Kajica the duke (Smrt vojvode Kajice)* is a perfect example of a 'how a blind woman-guslar, as it were, created an everlasting

³ Due to lack of sufficient data it is impossible to compare with certainty, for example, individual styles of performance of historical male and female guslars, such as thorough verbal descriptions of music or musical transcriptions. Certain researchers (e.g., Murko), however, do compare 'good' female performer's style to a male standard: "she bows 'as man'", which does not speak of the stylistic or aesthetic features in themselves; rather, this, in my opinion, reveals the strategy of the phallogocentric representational discourse.

work from nothing' (Heđiћ 1981: 46), and credits her and Serbian oral poetry with a superb achievement for this and similar songs dedicated to 'family love'. Tešan Podrugović, an informant who was considered by Vuk and many later scholars as perhaps the most important source on the epic poetry at the time, told Vuk twenty-two songs and two stories. On the other hand, the analysis of recurrent themes and oral formulae of some songs by unknown authors in Vuk's collection adds ten of them to a corpus of seven clearly authored Živana's songs, raising her legacy to a total seventeen songs (Heđiћ 1981: 45). If the poetic achievement was sufficient and the number of written songs significant, then why was not this singer modelled at least as an important bearer of tradition or an outstanding persona in popular and scholarly discourses? Also, what about her direct and implicit 'lineage' – latter in the wriggly lines of other female singers with gusle who carried the tradition until nowadays?

To answer this, let us begin with a stance by Veronica Doubleday, who rightfully pointed out that some musical instruments are 'heavily invested with power' (2008: 5); it is precisely the ground to explain why female mastership over the gusle – an instrument whose surrounding narratives were recently constructed in order to support the ideology of sole male heroic supremacy – cannot be included in the canon. A discourse on gusle playing that was constructed in the nineteenth century, during the rise of nation-states in the Balkans, centred on heroic maleness, and it is quite plausible that many female players were ignored or forgotten for that reason.⁴ But what strikes even more is the fact that blind Živana was a 'mistress' (*majstorica*) of blind Jeca according to Vuk: this is probably the earliest report of *matronage* in gusle playing (transmitting from one woman to another) ever recorded.

The identities of two singers – a mistress and a student in the pair Živana-Jeca, are formed around a double play of a lack: the lack of eyesight, and a lack of 'correct' gender traits, being a woman in the public male dominion. Singing and playing in the public, for an audience, was not something easily done by a sole woman in the patriarchal societies of the Balkans; however, it seems that the blind women were miraculously tolerated. Why? As Svetlana Slapšak notes, the blindness symbolically denies the visibility of female body, but also endows it with a special status similar to the mythical figure of Teiresias – a blind prophet who was once changed by gods into a female as a form of a punishment (2005).⁵ *Not to see* allows one to *be seen* (and heard) and provides these women

⁴ This is a speculation, since we can today only trace the scattered data on female musicianship through the written records before twentieth century. Thesis concerning a special public status of *slepica* that ceased together with the rise of (male) guslar into a national symbol and a degradation of female public performer (*pevačica*) starting from the late nineteenth century, is convincingly elaborated by gender scholar and anthropologist Svetlana Slapšak (Slapšak 2005).

⁵ Slapšak makes a fine structural parallel between gender-bending (transsexual) Teiresias and the gender construction of the *slepica*.

with a special status in the pre-industrial patriarchal societies of the Balkans. On the other hand, there is an interesting published field note by Vuk, by which he tried to explain how female singers of lyrical songs who were reluctant to perform in the first place, sought to justify their unwillingness to sing. He quotes them saying ‘we are not the blind women (*slepice*) to sing and tell the songs to you’ (Kapaџић 1985b: 377). In other words, the blind female musicians were seen as not-quite belonging to the honour of their own gender and yet their ‘incomplete’ womanhood was precisely what was stopping them from entering the representational practices in the way the male gusle players did. This fate of never achieving a ‘full identity’ also presents a perfect case of Derridean play of *différance*: a blind female guslar as a ‘scandalous’ instance that due to its shocking un-belonging openly exposes a logic of any identification, a very deferral that engenders binaries and hierarchies.

Something must hold, something must give

If the blind women with gusle were permissible, yet isolated practice of female public musicianship of pre-industrial societies of the Balkans, does the same logic of representation apply to female gusle players who were (or are) not blind? In what follows I shall discuss examples of so-called ‘gender bending’ but also of ‘correcting of gender’, that apply almost as a rule to that which is perceived as an act of a woman’s gender transgression. Let us begin with the term of a ‘mannish woman’ (*muškarača*, *muškobanja*) used in twofold manner. It firstly describes a transgender person (*virđžina*, *tobelija*, *tombelija*) who is biologically female but socially transitions to male, which is a phenomenon characteristic of an earlier ‘tribal type of patriarchy’ formation in the Balkans.⁶ Also, this designation may be used to describe a woman who would adopt certain masculine traits in her behavior but, nevertheless, would personally and socially identify with the female gender.

A well-documented case of Tonë Bikaj, an ethnic Albanian *virđžina* (a sworn virgin) born at the beginning of the twentieth century who played *lahute* (Albanian bowed lute), could serve as a paradigm for this. As *virđžina*, that is, a transgender person who is a biological female but fully assumes the social role of a male, Tonë was allowed and even cheered by her/his community for mastering a ‘male instrument’. The following account of Tonë’s musicianship by anthropologist René Grémaux is based on the testimonies of secondary informants who were once close to this musician: ‘Among the Albanians living on the Montenegrin side of the border Tonë gained considerable popularity as a singer and a musician... Like a genuine male he used to sing “mountaineer songs“ holding one hand behind the ear, and he performed other traditional

⁶ A detailed discussion of the distribution of the *virđžina* phenomenon and its relation to the tribal patriarchy was recently published by Jelka Vince-Pallua (2007)

songs accompanying himself on lahute or gusle, a bow-and-string instrument' (Grémaux 1994: 255). In this case, a biological sex is considered as less important than (socially constructed) gender and the person's 'new' gender identity is fully approved by a traditional community, finding also its expression in the act of music-making.

However, a boundary between a mannish woman and a sworn virgin is not always visible. A good example is the historical case of a certain Jaglika *muškobanja* (Jaglika the virago), an informant who was quoted as a source for several songs written down by Sima Milutinović Sarajlija, a Serbian poet and philologist from Bosnia, in his collection entitled *Pjevanija crnogorska i hercegovачka* from 1837 (Милутиновић 1990). In order to become a suitable player of gusle, then, it was essential that a woman adopts masculine traits and rather derogatory 'naming' that depicted her behaviour, as they pointed to a lack of femininity that could be understood as a social ambivalence concerning the status of female guslar.

The women with gusle who stepped from the private domain but otherwise more or less stayed within their primary gender roles were, similar to the previously discussed instance, frequently perceived and represented as some sort of tolerated 'gender benders', frequently characterized by a certain tomboyishness (*muškarače*). A singer Kata Milivojević with a nickname Ajdučica (a 'highwaywoman') from the early twentieth century who, 'sang well with gusle' represents quite a good example. Through a brief description left of her, we learn that she spent time with male outlaws (*hajduci*) and that she was even caught with them; it is also emphasized that she 'had smoked a pipe like men and had done all the male occupations' (Murko 1951: 202). A similar description was given in case of Darinka Radunović (1913) who had sung with gusle since she was thirteen. Matija Murko states that 'she holds gusle with her left hand, bows and sings rather energetically, as a man... people say about her that "she conducts herself as a male". She tells her mother "I will get married"' (Ibid.: 194). Sometimes, the women were teased or even ostracized for playing the instrument: this was evident in the case of Stevanija Dragaš from the village Seljašnica near Prijepolje whose community mocked her by saying 'a woman, yet guslar' (Figure 1).⁷

On the other hand, the strategy of more recent discourses of ethnographic representation starting roughly from the mid-twentieth century consists of a specific reaffirming of female identity of gusle player.

⁷ I quote from the data left by ethnologist Mirko Barjaktarović on the backside of the photograph of Stevanija Dragaš. The photograph belongs to the Collection of music instruments of the Ethnographic museum in Belgrade. Hereby I would like to thank the Ethnographic museum for the permission to reproduce their archival data and also the curator Miroslav Mitrović for his kind assistance during my research in 2011.



Figure 1: Stevanija Dragaš from Seljašnica near Prijepolje

This identity is no more seen as ‘opaque’, a mere inscription of heroic maleness into a blank female body, but as a fullness by stressing a *specific female ability* to keep the tradition and in doing so, promoting a certain female knowledge of a tradition into an exemplary, yet exceptional specimen of local or national culture. This is evident in the renowned case of ‘Milena guslarka’, a short groundbreaking study (Antonijević 1960) and the first attempt to describe and analyze both performer’s identity and repertoire in their own, gender-specific terms. Ethnologist Dragoslav Antonijević created an ethnographic portrait of Milena Rakić (née Živadinović), a gusle player from the Serbian district of Aleksinačko Pomoravlje. In his account we do not find an insistence

on female musician's transgressive traits. On the contrary, the author stresses that Milena as a woman has a better grip on older strains of traditional music than nearby male guslars: a trait she shares with other female singers of epic songs without gusle in her area of residence (Ibid.: 29). Another specific female feature singled out is the fact she had sung several songs with strong elements of avunculate – a special relation formed between an uncle and his sister's children. This fact is further linked to supposed elements of a matriarchy: 'it follows the logic of things that exactly women are the carriers of these motives of epic folk culture, in storing the archaic characteristic of matriarchal relations and the bonds between uncle and nephew and otherwise' (Ibid.: 16). So in stepping from a subaltern position reserved for women in patriarchy, the identity of female guslar is again tightly framed within her own gender. It is also worth mentioning that, in Antonijević's words, Milena learned to play gusle and sing epic songs from her father and other gusle male players in her home village of Veliki Šiljegovac, which puts in doubt the thesis on alleged matriarchal traits, and further questions the plausibility of some 'primordial female identity' that functions as a bearer of the most archaic cultural forms. As such, representation of Milena's identity as gusle player confirms the trope of exceptionality of a woman with gusle, but also adds a new feature by approving of her musicianship seen as a product of some 'natural' femininity. As Nedić tried to do with Živana and Jeca – namely, to 'defend' the value of their femaleness in terms of poetic artistry, other scholars like Antonijević also strived to compromise between what was seen as an overstepping of one's alleged gender boundaries and at the same time keeping the most important traits of one's gender.

Her Voice Heard: Towards the identity of a guslarka

In my own, recently conducted field research of women who play gusle, I have been very much focused on self-representation and the terms of auto-identification of guslarke. Still, I hesitated to tackle the question of transgression in my in-depth interviews, mainly because I was afraid that I would impose a stance that a woman who plays gusle must either clearly conform to her gender or overstep it. This figure, while widely disseminated, is something that, in my opinion, functions as a cultural and discursive means of preserving one particular form of a selective tradition that tends to present itself as 'ahistorical', and in which the patriarchal canon equates male guslar with a central position, the Master signifier, seeing the presence of women as an intrusion. Its 'either-or', binary logic is what was and still is troublesome: is it possible to speak of female guslar (guslarka) in terms of an identity that is flexible, changing and, most importantly, that is not confined to a rigid conception of being dictated by a desirable vision of gender? The women of older generation I have met and worked with while doing research for this paper, displayed in the interviews

more subtle and certainly far more complex view on their self-identities than the whole previous body of literature had ever hinted.⁸ One of them, guslar Kosana-Kosa Marić (1946) from Loznica⁹, is a woman who certainly does not fit a 'traditional' female role at first glance: she took the matters of schooling in her own hands by secretly attending classes, was married twice, and during the interviews quite often made bold remarks concerning both psychological and physical bravery. In telling of how she began to play gusle, Kosa quickly revealed that her mother used to beat her when she would find the girl playing the instrument while hiding in a barrel. 'Why would she do that?' I asked. Kosa replied that her mother would say that gusle were not meant for a female hand (*gusle nisu za žensku ruku*). Later on she recalled a talk between her parents: in answering to her mother complaining of Kosa playing gusle, her father replied 'You got what you wanted. She knows how to cook, how to knit, how to do needlework. It is now okay that she would play gusle'. This logic of a surplus – a woman who in order to gain access to a male dominion must previously be clearly marked as *the woman* – is piercingly evident in a description of the tomb of female guslar Đeva Jovanović who died approximately at the beginning of the twentieth century. According to a description by Antonijević, her tombstone carries two engravings – one of gusle, and the other of a spindle, the latter being there 'in order to be clear that it is a woman guslar' (Антонијевић 1960: 3).

But Kosa's narratives led me to a clue that, although she could be at first sight seen as 'mannish' by her own community, her musical behaviour displays deeply idiosyncratic relations in terms of a female guslar's identity.¹⁰ Firstly, the dichotomy of public vs. private playing did not hold: Kosa does play in public without a blink of an eye, but likes more to do so in private, not because she feels uncomfortable or restrained but because she experiences an immense

⁸ As of this moment, I was able to determine several patterns concerning status, social position, and overall goals of female gusle players, drawing both on my research and on recent data by fellow scholars. Older female gusle players usually look favourably on certain aspects of traditional patriarchy although they are also highly critical of the stance that woman is not suitable to sing with gusle. In my present sample of older generation musicians, that consists of five older women guslars, all the informants belong to lower middle class and usually hold at least secondary education degree or a college diploma. They are aware of some other female players (although of recently), yet perceive themselves as sole figures in the gusle community.

⁹ The series of interviews with Kosana Marić were conducted during the autumn of 2011, and the research process is still ongoing.

¹⁰ 'Identity' is here understood not as a set of discernible 'objective' characteristics that could be grasped or fixed (in time or in space) in terms of an individual or a group. Rather, it is used to stress the processuality as its main structural drive of identity of a subject or social actor. *Gender* identification is, in case of the *gusle* player I talked to, as well as in general identification models, taken in terms of Judith Butler's famous account of gender as a performance: there is no stable, pre-given observable 'identity' of a 'person' behind the acts – vice versa, the acts themselves *are*, or, constitute, identity. „Discursive performativity appears to produce that which it names, to enact its own referent, to name and to do, to name and to make“ (1993: 107).

feeling of joy while listening to gusle and playing the instrument while alone. 'Either the cassette plays or I play' she said to me, adding 'When I hear the sound of gusle I levitate, like those drug junkies'. On the other hand, a normative effect of a cultural practice could be seen in a description that preceded her performance during the recent anniversary of folklore society *Vuk Karadžić* of which Kosa is a member (Figure 2).



Figure 2: Kosa Marić from Loznica.

The lyrics that announced her stage appearance were '*And that hero, gentle as a dew / Kosa Marić stands in front of you*' (*A taj junak, a nežna k'o rosa / pred vama je, evo, Marić Kosa*). Here, the gender dichotomy is clearly underlined and the woman guslar is 'disciplined', reminded of her own gender. Kosa is also well aware that the quality of her performance maybe not be the best by the merits of highly competitive male gusle players, but she does not mind, as long as she finds her own joy in the instrument: 'there is a certain power, a certain beauty, it gives you the chills...here, I got chills now as we talk of it' – these were her words in one of the first conversations we had.¹¹ The

¹¹ Of course, this is not to be understood that Kosa for some reasons dreads public performance. On the contrary, in the interviews and during the live performances she seemed very confident in terms of public playing. The reasons why she didn't play frequently in public could be attributed to the fact that she entered the local *gusle* society quite late in her life (she became active during the 1990s), and that she was 'expected' by fellow (male) guslars not to 'expose herself' too much in order to be accepted.

intensity she displays while talking about gusle, her decision to play the instrument against all the obstacles she had faced, the amount of time and energy dedicated to gusle – all of that convinced me that it is precisely gusle playing that forms one of Kosa's main overall identifications, that she is actually interpellated, constituted as a subject by the ideology of the epic and the related ideology of the national. And while being interpellated, that is, invited *as a subject* by an ideology, she is also capable of simultaneously changing that very ideology, by the simple fact of entering the area of the forbidden and acting as a *bricoleur*, a builder of her own identity, whether gendered or some other. Moreover, this identity (*any* identity, for that matter) is never complete and identical in-itself: rather, it is, as Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak terms it, a 'multitude of repetitions', *idamvada* (1992: 773-4). Applied to the identification of guslarka, this could mean that different acts of music-making, identifying with and *enjoying* the gusle, do not make an undivided whole, but allow the subject (of a musical practice) to emerge or to construct herself in very different, even contradictory ways.

In the end, I will briefly point out three different approaches towards identity of female *guslar* (Figure 3). The first two are 'historical' and the last one is my proposition for future research of which I, in contrast to previous scholarly discourses, do not seek to define a 'core' or an essence of 'femaleness' in gusle playing. I draw conclusions on the first approach mainly by referring to historically distant practice of blind gusle players, of whom some were women.

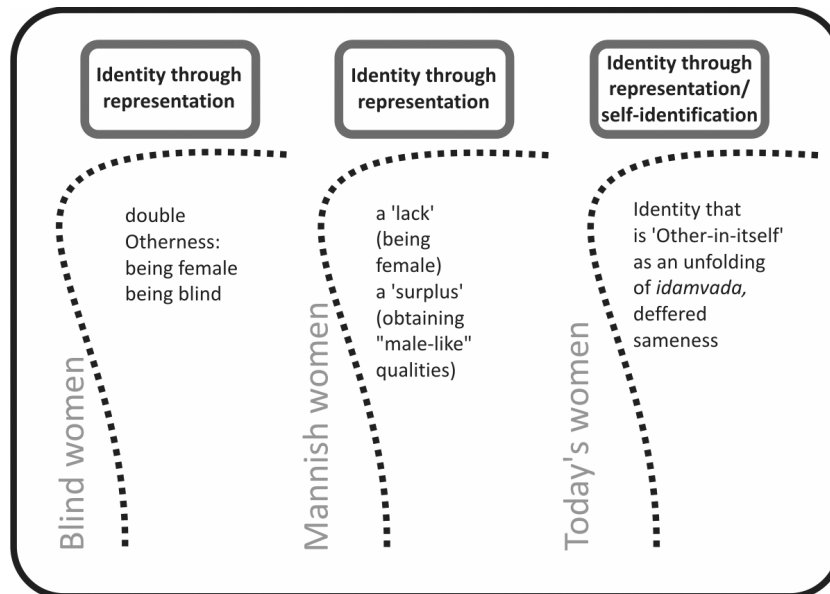


Figure 3: Three different approaches towards identity of female guslar.

Their position was specific, being a woman, that is, belonging to a gender that is 'marked', and also being blind: a woman's public persona thus appeared both gendered and somehow altered, almost *unheimlich*, to borrow a Freudian term. The blindness, in other words, might be something that helped conceal otherwise delegitimizing femininity in terms of public display and performance. The second model of representation concerning 'mannish women' exemplifies rather similar logic, as feminine traits were meant to be covered or justified by real or imaginary bending towards the male gender. But here the 'mannish' behaviour is not a justifying lack (as the blindness was), but an excess, addition, something that puts a subject of (musical) practice in-between appraisal and abomination and also positions a supposedly female subject in the uncertain border zone within the gender dichotomy. Here we still speak about cultural representations, because the historical data before the twentieth century, as well as the more recent ethnographic interviews, rarely make an attempt to cover a woman's personal point of view. However, the third model concerning the current practice (as well as revisiting and deconstructing the previous known instances) does seek to reconcile inner perspective of having or expressing one's identity, and 'outer' point of view, namely, in perceiving or representing the very same identity. The outer perspective is built on a critical reassessment of both popular discourses on certain female figures and the response of their communities, as well as a researcher's own reflective findings, that heavily rely on feedback and verification by the collaborators involved in the research process. That said, I opt for a model of identity deeply grounded in the experiences and self-narrations of my collaborators that does not create a picture of an undivided whole. It is possible, in other words, to be *guslar* without conforming to a dominant ideology, and the task for ethnomusicology is to critically open up its discourse as much as possible in order to do justice to the subjects of representation.

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Ива Ненић

ЖЕНЕ ГУСЛАРИ: (РАС)КРОЋЕЊЕ РОДА, ПОНОВНО ИСПИСИВАЊЕ ЕПСКОГ

Резиме

„Случајеви“ женских гуслара бележени су претежно на маргинама научне и есејистичке акрибије локалне етномузикологије и антропологије. Позиција женског гуслара у епској традицији Балкана најчешће је доживљавана као изузетак или, пак, као случај специфичне трансгресије у смеру пожељнијег (мушког) рода – у виду преузимања одређених маскулиних или „мушкарачких“ карактеристика, у одређеним случајевима и преко усвајања трансродног идентитета (вирцине). Жена гуслар, оличена у фигури 'Милене гусларке' (у инаугуралном опису етнолога Драгослава Антонијевића), приказана је као редак и засебан случај који не угрожава патријар-

хални поредак, већ му, напротив, пружа подршку принципом *exsertio probat regulam*. Но, шта уколико се ова ненаписана и немогућа историја женског уласка у забрањену област (мушког) епског израза гради на нечему што није проста дихотомија фигуре трансгресија/повиновање? Шта уколико учествовање у музичкој пракси свирања на гуслама не служи да обнови хетеронормативне обрасце понашања, већ и да доведе у питање женску субалтерну позицију у патријархалном друштву, чинећи то на посебан и (чак) продуктиван начин? У разматрању специфичне женске позиције унутар епског канона Балкана, служићу се различитим историјским и савременим примерима који показују како музика и окружујући дискурс делују као означавајуће праксе, у којима се кључном испоставља „игра разлике“ (*différance*). Анализом одабраних примера – у распону од Вукове казивачице слепо Живане до данашњих извођачица, настојаћу да прикажем како је женски родни (и извођачки) идентитет конструисан као међуигра између једног „мањка“ (слепило, мање-од-мушког, Другост) и симетричног „вишка“ (жена гуслар која је оваплоћење или *imago* идеализоване етничке женскости/женствености).

THE LEGACY OF TIHOMIR VUJIČIĆ

PÁL RICHTER

Abstract: Tihomir Vujičić (Vujicsics Tihamér), a member of the Serbian minority in Hungary, composer and folk music researcher was born in Pomáz (Hungary) in 1929, and he died in an air crash in Damascus, Syria, on 20th of August, 1975. He graduated in studies of music at the Ferenc Liszt Academy of Music in Budapest. He attended lectures on the folk music of Zoltán Kodály, thus he first studied Hungarian folk music, and later as a researcher investigated the folk tradition of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes living in Hungary. As an ethnomusicologist he took Béla Bartók's direction in comparing folk music of different ethnicities and regions. Cataloguing of his legacy has already been under way at the Institute of Musicology in Budapest. Detailed content of his manuscripts, notebooks, and collections offers an accurate picture about his achievements in ethnomusicology and opens new perspectives of comparative studies on Hungarian, Serbian, Croatian, and Balkan folk music.

Keywords: Tihomir Vujičić (Vujicsics Tihamér), South Slavic minorities, Hungary, folk music.

This study would like to draw attention to the folk music heritage of the talented and multi-faceted musician, Tihomir Vujičić (Vujicsics Tihamér 1929–1975), a Hungarian musician of Serbian origin (composer, ethnomusicologist, and an outstanding performer). His name is mostly known within the ethnomusicological society and mainly among the older generation. His principal work on folk music, *The musical tradition of the Southern Slavic people in Hungary* was printed posthumously in 1978 (Vujičić 1978). While he was internationally primarily known as an ethnomusicologist, in his native country, Hungary, he was rather regarded as a composer. Along with a folk music revival group that plays an important role in preserving the Southern Slavic folk music tradition, at present, the Szentendre Music School and an intimate small square next to the Serbian church (Preobraženska) in Szentendre and also in Siklós bear his name.¹

He studied under Sándor Veress and Ferenc Farkas at the Franz Liszt Academy of Music in 1948. He attended the folk music classes of Zoltán Kodály but was soon exempted, with Kodály saying “there is nothing he could learn from me...”.² In 1949 the communist regime broke his carrier off; he was ousted from the Music Academy because of his origins. His father Dušan Vu-

¹ More detailed list about places and organizations bearing the name of Tihomir Vujičić: Gracza 2007: 88; www.vujicsics.hu/tortenet/VujicsicsTihamer.

² Marietta Vujicsics: *Vujicsics Tihamér – Tihomir Vujičić*. Curriculum vitae. www.vujicsics.hu/tortenet/VujicsicsTihamer.

jičić (1903-1990) was a Serbian orthodox priest and an Episcopal vicar, so Vujičić was labelled as a dubious person of the clerical reaction. His Serbian nationality was another minus for him as Yugoslavia, governed by Tito turned against Stalin, and was counted as the main enemy of the countries of the former Soviet Bloc, including Hungary. After his expulsion from the Music Academy, he continued his studies at the so-called Nemzeti Zenede (National Music School). There, he studied composition with Rezső Sugár. In 1949 the Nemzeti Zenede was transformed into the Béla Bartók Music Secondary School. He only had short periods of steady employment in his life and had worked for the State Folk Ensemble for a short time, after which he became musical director of the Ice Theatre. He was a distinguished parodist in music which was a good way of popularising his own music and the music of others. From 1959 onward he composed the soundtracks and accompanying music for several films, TV, and radio plays. On several occasions, he even appeared on screen in the films for which he composed the music. He played an anarchist pianist in one of the TV series (*Bors*) and a conspirator in another (*Sirocco*), in which he performed on an out-of-tune piano outdoors. Another of his appearances is again as a pianist playing his instrument on the bank of the Danube in the film *Concert* (1961) by the Oscar-winning director István Szabó. He worked on his chief work in the movie industry, the dance film *Az életbe táncoltatott lány* [The girl, who was made dance into life] directed by Tamás Banovich for more than half a year.³ The rich heritage of his oeuvre consists of a unique folk music collection (Macedonian, Serbian, Šokac, Albanian, Hungarian, and Persian), ethnomusicological studies and recorded material, musicological works on Southern Slavic folklore, and compositions: dance suites, occasional compositions, 137 soundtracks, and an opera.

As a Hungarian composer whose mother tongue was Serbian he mainly collected the folk music of the South Slavs. He did his most important fieldwork in 1952–53 together with Antal Kricskovics (folk dance choreographer), in 1954–55, and in 1957–60. His main field, in the footsteps of Béla Bartók, was comparative ethnomusicology; his top priority was Hungarian–Balkan–Eastern musical relations. He was doing research into the migration of the motif of the famous Rákóczi March known all-over the Carpathian Basin⁴ when he was killed in the tragic plane crash in Damascus in 1975. He popularised the music of the Balkans in Hungary through several of his arrangements of written thematic dance suites (*Palóc Fantasia*, *Kalotaszeg Concerto*, and *Dances of Drágszél*).

Vujičić was a true polymath. He was interested in all the musical instruments he came into contact with; he experimented with these instruments and

³ Banovich's memorials about Tihamér Vujičić see Gracza 2007: 17–20.

⁴ See the famous musical settings of the melody: F. Liszt *15th Hungarian Rhapsody*; H. Berlioz *La damnation de Faust*.

learned how to play a number of them at quite a high level, especially folk instruments (he played piano, peasant flute, tambura, bagpipe, fiddle, accordion; Figure 1).⁵ Beside his Serbian mother tongue, he spoke ten languages—Hungarian and the languages of the Slavic minorities living in Hungary at a near-native level.



Figure 1: Vujičić plays peasant flute (of newer type).

⁵ His peasant flute was inherited by his friend, the composer Emil Petrovics. Much later, in the first decade of the twenty-first century Petrovics presented the instrument (see Figure 1, Vujičić plays this peasant flute) to the young folk musician, flute player, Salamon Eredics, a member of the Söndörgő ensemble who plays South Slavic and Balkan folk music.

As a composer he was fascinated by almost all the genres: beat, jazz, classical music, contemporary, and folk music. He uniquely combined modern sonority with folk sound. Musical relations represented his main field, especially the migration of various motifs and motivic structures. His knowledge of the music of the Balkans is beyond dispute and many of his compositions, chiefly his choir works, are undoubtedly rooted in this music. However, only a few of his compositions are available in printed form. He was a real bohemian, he gave most of his autographs away, and presumably a good part of them will never be discovered. Recordings of his improvisations were rarely made, however a few were found within his legacy, attesting his musicianship to future generations. The clearest evidence of his masterly style exercises are the parody of the folk song *Little bird Árgyélus* in various styles, or the radio cabaret *Midnight Call*. The story of the birth of the latter one is symbolic as well: he did not finish the music in time, so he was locked in a studio of the Hungarian Radio from where he provided the finished pages of the score at such a tempo that would have made even Mozart envious (Kiss 2006: 14).

As his colleagues, Emil Petrovics and Sándor Szokolay⁶ portrayed him: he was a real wizard, the late descendant of minstrels and troubadours, a vagrant who could whip up a storm. And he did whip up a storm: with his scintillating life, and in particular, with his compositions based on improvisation and zig-zagging between musical genres and styles. Who else would have dared to look out of the composition citadel onto the popular music of the age, pop and beat? He was demonic: not in the sense of “deriving from demons” but because of his virtuosity. ‘Igric’ is a term that means an old troubadour in Hungarian. The word originates in the Slavic languages and its meaning is quite close to the Slavic original: ‘musician-actor’.⁷ For Vujičić it’s a befitting attribute.

It is to be seen that Vujičić had all the talent to continue with comparative studies, one of the most significant fields in Hungarian ethnomusicology. Following in Bartók’s footsteps, he had a methodical approach to collecting and examining the South Slavic musical and folklore tradition. He travelled to Transylvania (Romania) and other regions where Hungarians live, to get acquainted with Hungarian folk tradition in its essence. His favourite destinations for field collecting were villages in Pest, Bács-Kiskun, Baranya, Zala, Vas, Csongrád and Békés counties where Serbs, Croats, and Slovenians lived. In the early 1970s he had an opportunity to work for the Folk Music Department of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and was about to join the Institute of Musicology formed by the 1974 merger of the Bartók Archives and the Folk Music Re-

⁶ Emil Petrovics (1930–2011) and Sándor Szokolay (1931–) are Hungarian composers who wrote memoirs of Tihomir Vujičić (Gracza 2007: 55–7, 98–102).

⁷ Igric means minstrel from the Middle Ages. In Hungarian language it is a borrowed word from one of the Slavic languages (cf. player, musician in Slovenian, Czech, Russian dialects). The word goes back to the Slavic *igr-* (play) stem (Zaicz 2006: 328).

search Group, when he abruptly died in that tragic accident. His first and only publication on folk music printed during his lifetime was *Naše pesme* [Our Songs] in 1957, in which he published 100 folk songs and 20 kolo melodies (Vujicsics 1957). His posthumously published book *The musical traditions of the Southern Slavic people in Hungary* (1978) bears testimony of his ethnomusicological abilities. Though he emphasizes in the introduction that his aim was to present music for playing rather than produce a scholarly work, it is the most complex and highest quality publication on the topic to have been compiled in Hungary so far. The introductory study reads well; it is clear and compact and discusses the most important points. The publication is an excellent selection of musical material and the notation is fully appropriate for representing the author's original purposes (Figure 2).



Figure 2: The title page of Vujičić's book.

Vujičić sorted the folk music of the Southern Slavic people living in Hungary into four big dialects. These musical dialects correspond linguistically to the South Slavic languages, and thus the system shows the close relationship, the inherency between linguistic and musical dialects and their complementar-

ity. The division is in accordance with the territories of different South Slav ethnicities of Hungary.⁸ The first group, 'A' includes the music of the Vends (Slovenians living within the region of the river Rába), the second one, 'B' contains the music of the Croats living on the side of the river Mura, the third one, 'C' contains the music of the Croatians living on the western border of Hungary and in Burgenland, and the fourth one, 'D' comprises the music of all the other Slavic ethnic groups living in Hungary: the Croats living within the Dráva region, the Bosnians and Šokac people living in Baranya county, the Bunjevci living in Bácska, the Rác, the Dalmatians living in Szentendre, and all the Hungarian Serbs living in Baranya county, along the river Danube and around Budapest, as well as in Banat (around Szeged). Vujičić also defined the characteristics of these groups:

“The folk songs of dialect 'A' are less investigated, mainly because they were thought to have German-Austrian origins due to their interpretation of two parts moving in thirds and sixths. [...] we have to consider this an old alpine tradition retained in Slavic (Slovenian) texts, which later undoubtedly suggested and impregnated the 'functional thought' of the composed music of Western Europe” (Ibid.: 15–16).⁹

“The material of dialect 'B' is fairly special; pentatonic melodies of old Hungarian or rather, as Bartók would put it, Northern Turk-Tatar origin are over-represented. Besides preserving the melodies note by note, present in the Hungarian tradition as well, there are a number of pentatonic melodies which can not be found within the Hungarian material, and vice versa. [...] Pentatonicism has remained powerful up until today, combined with an extremely forceful and highly expressive interpretation. [...] Considering those mentioned above, it is still enigmatic that pentatonicism in this specific dialect is preserved *lucidly* and not in the peculiar Transdanubian form” (Ibid.: 16).

“The material of dialect 'C' is the most heterogeneous. It is as if the melodic structure and, by now even the texts, would have been forgotten even though in the middle of the last century [i.e. the nineteenth century] a full volume of the texts of epic and other texts were published. [...] On the other hand (in view of the situation today) correspondence with the Bohemian and Western Moravian musical material is strikingly strong, as well as with the Slovakian material, regarding both melody and text. In views of some musicologists, Haydn and Beethoven excerpted

⁸ “T. Vujičić did not arrange his material according to nationalities, and it is completely understandable; music and songs respect neither frontiers, nor strict dividing lines between nationalities. As opposed to that the differences in language and dialect seemed to be more characteristic of Southern Slav folk songs. Since some of the Serbs and Croats of Hungary equally speak the 'što' dialect, the basis of the common literary language, T. Vujičić adopted a heterogeneous classification thus creating four groups: Slovene songs, songs in 'kaj', 'ča' and 'što' dialect” (Stevanović 1978: 404).

⁹ English translation of sections from Vujičić's book is provided by the author of this article.

their Slavic themes (*London Symphony* or *Pastorale* for instance) from this tradition. Though these were notated and published at the end of the last century [the nineteenth century] I have not yet managed to trace them. What seems certain is that if there is an Eastern European ‘folk music jargon’ (Bartók’s term), then it is principally this kind of music. Operettas or snippets from them, Hungarian *hallgató* [lyrical song, only for singing or listening, but not for dancing] and *bakanóta* [soldier’s song], full-length or a fragment, folk-like but composed Hungarian songs get on placidly with each other, swallowed, digested, and fit to become their own, according to the local taste. [...] Long epic texts with many strophes are very popular. [...] The preponderance of the new layer is striking” (Ibid.: 16–17).

The fourth dialect, which is the largest regarding territory, is divided into several parts in Vujičić’s grouping:

„Since it was the singers of dialect ‘D’ who settled last, their musical and poetic peculiarities are traceable in minute detail. They constitute one large musical [...] dialect: the former military frontiers, groups of yeomen, peasants without land. [...] Practically speaking, there are four layers:

a) Besides setting the formerly untempered songs (two-part or, rarely, one-part) to diatonic, preserving the traditional poetic forms, [...] and the emergence of a strong leaning towards three-part singing, a new genre sprang up: a *chastushka*-like, rhyming pair-verse [...].

b) The melodies connected to folk customs and the songs of the calendar year are preserved, though not in all of the sub-regions [...].

c) The folk-like or folkloristic church music of Byzantine inspiration [...].

d) There are plenty of examples for merchant-clerk-artisan lyrical poetry, a sort of ‘Slaviano-serb’ Biedermeier can be found as well” (Ibid.: 17–18).

Though the categories set up by Vujičić are quite wide in some cases and rather narrow in others, still, there is a strong coherence of musical, historical, and stylistic criteria. The complexity of his approach is up-to-date in a modern sense as well.


In 2011 the Folk Music Archive of the Institute of Musicology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences was given the opportunity to review the bequest of Vujičić, which had been there before only on trust. Beside the books on music and folk music, it contains a set of musical manuscripts (50 notebooks and a lot of separate note sheets) and about 35 tapes of collected folk music. Presumably it partly contains the sound recordings of the songs and instrumental pieces already published in the book. Such is the case of Croatian wedding songs *Pomozi Bože* and *Ako li joj* from Lakócsa / Lukovišće, connected to the bridal wreath (Ibid.: 136–7; Example 1, Figure 3).

Maestoso
Duetto



Po - mo - zi Bo - že i Gos - pa i Gos - pa,

Tutti



Po - mozi Bo-že i Gos - pa i Gos - pa . . . I . . hu hu hu hu!

Pomozi Bože i Gospa, I ovaj neteg zeleni,
I Gospa I ovaj končec bijeli,
I - Huuu! I ovo vino rumeno . . .

Con moto (Quasi PROPORATIO)
Duetto



A - ko li joj dob - ro bu - de,

Tutti **Solo Falsetto**



A - ko li joj dob - ro bu - de, Iii - huuu..

Ako li joj dobro bude,
Sve u dobru zaboravi,
Ako li joj dobro ne bu: Lukovišće (Lakócsa)
Ona neće nigdar dalje. 1953
Narodna družina
Kad se pletu venci od zimzelena, peva se
stoječki
M: K. Kovács László

Figure 3: Folk songs from Lakócsa printed in Vujičić's book.

However, among the legacy field recordings there are data not recorded in the book and vice versa. The Serbian songs from Battonya/Batanja published in the book have no sound recorded sources in the discovered part of the legacy.¹⁰ It could have happened because the field recordings of published data in the book were made in 1958–1960, and around that time researchers could use magnetic tapes several times according to the financial position. After field research, the collectors transcribed recorded material, and then re-used the tape in the next fieldwork.¹¹ Nevertheless, among the legacy recordings there are folk tunes not present in the book. None of the preserved Serbian melodies recorded in Battonya / Batanja that form a part of the legacy, do not appear in the book. They were collected by Vujičić on 29th of October, 1957. From this sound material a few songs were selected in Examples 2, 3, 4. More metadata of the recordings (apart from the location and the date), unfortunately, have not come to light yet.

The whole collection is in quite bad condition (Figure 4, 5), but is very significant because of its size: this is the greatest collection of the South Slavic ethnic groups in Hungary. After cataloguing, digitizing, and entering data, a selected publication of the entire collection will be prepared.

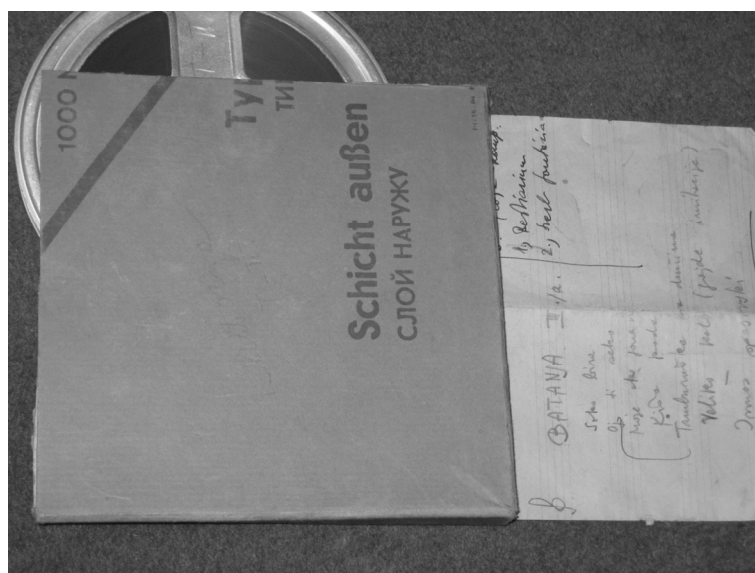


Figure 4: Battonya / Batanja tape from the legacy.

¹⁰ None of the published examples from Battonya/Batanja (Vujičić 1978: 188–9, 198–9, 200, 208–9, 219, 238–9, 284–6, 288–9, and 320–1) have the sound recordings among the reels of the legacy.

¹¹ This was the practice in the Népművelési Intézet [Institute of Culture] at that time.



Figure 5.

Another way to promote the heritage of Vujičić if we follow his intention (see the introduction of Vujičić 1978: 19) could be to present this music tradition for playing-singing, rather than produce material for ethnomusicological research. We need special training for reproducing the tradition, that is, to interpret folk music in an adequate way. Folk music training has been present in university education (at the Liszt Ferenc University of Music) in Hungary since 2007. The need for training in vocal and instrumental folk music was brought to the surface by the dance-house (*táncház*) movement. This culture found its markets and became self-supportive about thirty-five years ago, a few years after Vujičić died. The first- and second-line descendants of the first dance-house generation are going to dance-houses today. Therefore a spontaneous social need appeared and the educational system had to respond to it. As of recently, more than seventy-five students attend the faculty at Liszt Academy (among them students from Hungarian minorities of the neighbouring countries and students from the minorities of Hungary) receiving education in the footsteps of Béla Bartók and Tihamér Vujcsics, based on the folk music traditions of Hungarians and their neighbouring nations. From the beginning it has been one of the most important priorities of Hungarian ethnomusicology to examine the folklore of neighbouring nations in the Carpathian basin, which is indispensable for investigating Hungarian folklore. We intend to amplify this originally theoretical method on practical music playing. One of the aims of the training is to develop abilities of comparing traditions and folk music dialects in order to demonstrate the differences in interpretations. Béla Bartók collected folk music

from Serbs in the Banat two times in 1912 (Eredics 2004). During the second occasion, in late autumn of 1912, he recorded two pieces from a bagpipe (gajde) player in Sáralfalva (Sarafola, according to Bartók's notes following the transcriptions). One of the students in the Folk Music Department (Liszt Academy, Budapest), Balázs Istvánfi learnt to play these two melodies (a Serb folk song and *Srpski madjarik*) according to the sound recording and Bartók's transcriptions (Example 5, Figures 6, 7).

17

17. *Melodie d'un chant (gajde?) [cornemuse]*

Quasi parlando, ♩ = 138
Introduzione

M. F. 2061 B, Sarafola (Torontal), un homme, XI, 1912.

Figure 6: Bartók's transcription of bagpipe / gajde melody from Banat, 1912.

16. „Sárosi madjarik” („gajde”) [danse, - cornemuse]

Tempo giusto, ♩ = 152

M.F. 2061a, *Sarapala* (Torontal), *un homme*, II. 1912.

Figure 7: Bartók's transcription of bagpipe / gajde melody from Banat, 1912.

Main compositions of Tihamér Vujcsics¹²

Kalotaszegi concerto [Kalotaszeg Concerto] (1953)*

Drágszéli táncok [Drágszél Dances] (1954)*

Makar Csudra (1955) – dance ballad (based on a short story by Maxim Gorky)*

Az életbe táncoltatott lány [The Girl Who Was Made Dance Into Life] (1956)*

Pásztor botoló [Shepherd's Dance with a Stick] (1958)*

Kádár Kata (1958) – folk ballad*

Csodafurulyás juhász [The shepherd with his magic flute] (1958)*

Svatovac (1965) – Serbian wedding song*

Maros és Küküllő mentén [Along the Maros and the Küküllő rivers]*

Palóc fantázia [Paloc Fantasia]*

Árgyélus kismadár [Little Bird Árgyélus] – musical parody

A béke arca [Peace's Cheek] – musical parody for beat music, jazz band and the new organ of the Liszt Ferenc Music Academy

Unfinished compositions:

Árgirus – oper

Piano Concerto

Books, folk song/music collections

Naše pesme (1959) – folk song collection

The musical tradition of the Southern Slavic people in Hungary (1974, posthumous published in 1978)

Significant movie soundtracks

Koncert [Concert] (1961) [<http://kgy.nava.hu/collections/szfe/koncert.html>]

Kertes házak utcája [The Street of Cottages] (1962)

Öröklakás [Freehold Flat] (1963) (TV film)

Az életbe táncoltatott lány [The Girl Who Was Made Dance Into Life] (1964)

Miért rosszak a magyar filmek? [Why Hungarian Films Are Bad?] (1964)

A Tenkes kapitánya [The Captain of the Tenkes] (1964) (TV film)

Fény a redőny mögött [Blaze behind the shutter] (1965)

Minden kezdet nehéz [Beginning is Always Hard] (1966)

¹² The works signed with * were written for the Hungarian State Folk Ensemble (www.heritagehouse.hu/mane/), and the manuscripts of the compositions (scores, parts) are stored in the library of the Hungarian Heritage House, Budapest. Two of the compositions (*Drágszéli táncok* and *Pásztor botoló*) are running till today.

Princ, a katona [Prince, the Soldier] (1966) (TV film)
Téli sirokkó [Winter sirocco] (1969)
Büntetőexpedíció [Penal expedition] (1970) (TV film)
Szép magyar komédia [A Nice Hungarian Comedy] (1970)
A dunai hajós [The Danube Pilot] (1974)

After cataloguing the legacy we will have more detailed information about Vujičić's compositions and works, about their sources, and about the missing scores as well.

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Пал Рихтер

ЗАОСТАВШТИНА ТИХОМИРА ВУЈИЧИЋА

Резиме

Двадесет трећег фебруара 2013. године Тихомир Вујичић, композитор и истраживач фолклорне музике, навршио би 84 године живота. Рођен је у Помазу (Мађарска) 1929, а погинуо у Дамаску (Сирија), у авионској несрећи, 20. августа 1975. године. Био је музичар у пуном смислу речи, изузетно даровит; свирао је на неколико инструмената и владао неколицином

музичких стилова; изводио је и своје сопствене композиције. Дипломирао је на Музичкој академији Франц Лист у Будимпешти. Похађао је предавања Золтана Кодала о народној музици, тако да је изучавао првенствено мађарску музичку традицију, али се касније као истраживач посветио фолклорним музичким традицијама Срба, Хрвата и Словенаца на територији Мађарске. Као етномузиколог следио је пут Беле Бартока у компаративном приступу народној музици различитих етницитета и регија. У време када је изгубио живот проучавао је мотиве *Ракоцијевог марша*, трагајући за њима у културама Мађарске, Балкана и Истока. Његова заоставштина у Архиву народне музике Музиколошког института у Будимпешти сада је доступна и њена каталогизација је у току. Детаљан садржај Вујичићевих рукописа, нотних свесака и збирки даје прецизну слику о његовим достигнућима у етномузикологији и отвара нове перспективе за упоредна проучавања мађарске, српске, хрватске и балканске народне музике.

THE ROLE OF AUDIENCE IN CONTEMPORARY GUSLE PRACTICE OF THE SERBIAN-AUSTRALIAN DIASPORA

MIROSLAV STOJISAVLJEVIĆ

Abstract: The aim of this research is to contribute to a long-term cultural maintenance of the *gusle* (one string bowed lute) performance and to examine the different meanings that music, instrument, and poetry have for the contemporary Serbian-Australian audience in Melbourne, Australia. The research seeks an understanding of the extent to which the contemporary Serbian-Australian audience recognises cultural and historical significance of the *gusle* performance. This is conducted by attempts to establish the levels of cognisance of Serbian epic songs in the community, and the degree to which meanings and implications of the often hidden messages (allegories, comparison, and *gusle* instrument ornaments) within the *gusle* performance are comprehended. The research acknowledges differences regarding the *gusle* perceptions among members of the Serbian diaspora in Melbourne, Australia whilst highlighting the diversity of perspectives and levels of awareness apropos of contemporary *gusle* tradition.

Keywords: *gusle*, *guslar*, audience, perspectives, meanings.

This research paper, as part of a broader doctoral research,¹ focuses on the role of audience and characteristic relationship between audience and contemporary Serbian *gusle* tradition among the Serbian-Australian community. The entire research includes a film project *The Gusle: The Sound of Serbian Epic Poetry* that focuses on the significance of contemporary *gusle* performance practices in Serbia and Serbian-Australian communities, especially part of the community comprised of the 1990s Serbian diaspora.² The study takes into account narrative component of *gusle* performance in the texts of epic poetry that embody Serbian historical events. The complexity and variety of themes in Serbian epic poetry make the *gusle* genre a rich source for examination of issues related to perceptions of Serbian and Serbian-Australian identity.

The project is supported by an analysis that explores the degree to which Serbian culture and tradition are related to *gusle* traditions, and the impacts upon perceptions of patriotism and nationalism amongst the Serbian-Australian diaspora community in Melbourne, especially from the Serbian diaspora of the

¹ Research was undertaken at Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology in Melbourne, Australia.

² The film is presented at the following link: www.youtube.com/watch?v=DCPhiHUE1U.

1990s. The study seeks to gain an understanding of the importance of Serbian epic poetry and the *gusle* tradition within the Serbian diaspora communities of Melbourne. The extent to which elements of these traditions are important to the members of those Serbian communities will be explored. The research includes phenomenographic methods in combination of interview-based fieldwork with reviews of social, cultural, and historical literature located primarily in the academic domains of ethnomusicology, organology, and cultural sociology.

Although it is not possible to address all issues related to Serbian epic poetry, the *gusle* tradition, Serbs in Melbourne or Serbs in general in an exposition such as this – I have attempted to ensure that salient components of these subjects, issues and contexts are discussed and analysed. Whilst many writers have sought to provide explanations about a range of issues related to Serbian cultural and traditional heritage, this study is possibly the first one that focuses primarily on Serbian traditional *gusle* performance and epic poetry as they relate to Serbs living in Melbourne, Australia in the first decade of the twenty-first century.

The aim of the research is to contribute to longer term cultural maintenance of the *gusle* performance and to examine different meanings that music, instrument, and poetry have for the contemporary Serbian-Australian audience. It is important to notice that before embarking on this study my perceptions and understandings about the overall *gusle* tradition were coloured by a dominant view that held *gusle* to be essentially inviolable and sacred. My current understandings have been reached through analytical processes of historical perspectives and traditions. The research includes an historical context, references to related literature, phenomenographic interview analyses, and an organological overview of the contemporary *gusle* tradition.

The research seeks an understanding of the extent to which the contemporary Serbian- Australian audience recognises cultural and historical significance of the *gusle* performance, in particular by attempting to establish the levels of awareness of Serbian epic poetry within the community and the degree to which meanings and implications of the often hidden messages (allegories, comparison, and *gusle* instrument ornaments) within *gusle* performance are comprehended. Hence, the research acknowledges differences regarding *gusle* perception whilst highlighting the diversity of perspectives and levels of awareness apropos the *gusle* tradition.

The *gusle* in Australia

Australia is a culturally diverse country. The Serbian diaspora community in Australia contributes to this diversity through its various cultural practices. Whilst the Serbian contribution might at first seem small, it is a notable part of contemporary Australia. A significant part of this research is focused upon the Serbian community of Melbourne, Australia – primarily a community of the Serbian Diaspora since the 1990s.

I shall argue that gusle songs embody a range of significant cultural and historical elements and issues which contribute notably to both Serbian and Serbian-Australian character, identity, and collective personality. While Serbs are comparatively new arrivals to Australia (almost exclusively since 1945), their poetry and music-making contributes substantially to the culturally diverse texture of modern Australia, maintaining meanwhile the cultural, spiritual, religious, and historical connections to their ancestry and homeland.

Methodology

The research methodology used in this study included collecting interviews about musical performance and repertoire, as well as various organological issues (Murko 1951). A phenomenographic analysis and interpretation of interviews (Dick 2005), performances and organological data was made possible by historicism (Ђоровић 1989; Караџић 1814) and ethnographic studies (Parry et al. 1953). As a performer of traditional Serbian music, my participant observation (Marton 1981) and organological focus were central methodological elements.

My methodological approach partly reflects concepts found in the application of grounded theory (Dick 2005). As Dick espoused, “grounded theory begins with a research situation. Within that situation, your task as researcher is to understand what is happening there and how the players manage their roles” (2005: 2). In this study this is achieved via observation and digital audio-visual recordings of music and interviews. After each round of data collection the key issues were elucidated and analysed. Data collected in initial interviews were compared with similar data from subsequent interviews and all other sources. The information was categorised according to the number of exact or similar answers I formed as criteria of relevance (Marton 1981: 14). To create the criteria of relevance I also used the general historical data and the records made by others researchers in the field.

According to Marton (*Ibid.*), comparison is at the heart of the interviewing process. Related literature is accessed as and when relevant. I used the experiences of Dević (Ђевић 1986) and Golemović (2005) as a guide to research process. At the outset are comparisons of one interview (or other data such as a performance) to another interview (or other data) and an exploration of various categories and sub-categories of phenomena related to the gusle performance (Lajić-Mihajlović 2011).

The use of phenomenographic analysis (Marton 1986) of interview transcripts further reflected the emerging nature of how gusle tradition is perceived by people currently involved with its practice. The analysis shows that the data is related to passion, creativity, commitment, and true belief in values of tradition among various age groups of Serbs in the Balkans and the diaspora.

Where appropriate in this research, discursive elements from the fields of linguistics (Ivić 1995) and Serbian literature (Ђурић 1977) provided additional lenses for exploration of the evolution and significance of the *gusle* for Serbian culture in general.

Interviewing as phenomenographic process

According to Marton (1981) interviewing is the primary method of phenomenographic data collection. The initial interview with Slavko Aleksić, the *gusle* performer and professor of Serbian literature, guided me through the interviewing process. What questions are asked and indeed how are they asked represent significant aspects of the phenomenographic method. After the interviews were completed they were transcribed and the transcripts subjected to analysis. Analytical processes included categorisation according to similarities and differences, sub-sets of perception and perspective, especially with respect to matters of history and culture (Ђурић 1977), and similarities and differences related to matters of regional or geographic heritage (Golemović 2005). As the interviews were transcribed, relevant data were organised by the researcher into various categories and sub-sets.

Before starting this process it was necessary for the researcher to ‘bracket’ (Marton 1981) ideas they may have towards the data. In phenomenography ‘bracketing’ refers to the researcher setting aside preconceived notions about his subject in order to explore immediate experience of the studied phenomenon.

According to Marton (1986), the first phase of analysis relies on selection of relevant criteria from the transcripts. In this procedure, quotations are categorised into areas of relevance according to different responses to the phenomena being examined. The researcher’s attention is shifted from the individual subjects to the meaning embedded in the quotations themselves. Interest is focused on the “pool of meanings” (Ibid.: 33) discovered in the data. As a result of this interpretative work observations are categorised based on their similarities and categories are distinguished from one another in terms of their differences. Quotations are sorted into piles, borderline cases are examined and eventually the criterion attributes for each group are made explicit. Marton added “In this way the groups of quotes are narrowed into categories and finally defined in terms of core meanings. Each category is illustrated by quotations from the data. As the meanings of categories begin to form, those meanings determine which quotations should be excluded from specific categories. Hence, the bracketing/categorising entails the continual sorting and re-sorting of data. Definitions for categories are tested against the data, adjusted, re-tested and adjusted again” (Ibid.: 43).

In the interview process I took into account the *gusle* tradition as it is currently practised in Melbourne. The use of the phenomenographic research process sought to elucidate how members of the Serbian-Australian communi-

ties find meaning in Serbian epic poetry and the gusle tradition. This explication will contribute to cultural and historical awareness of Serbian tradition and culture, especially throughout the Serbian-Australian communities and the sub-cultures of former Yugoslavia.

According to the extant literature, this study is the first research related to Serbian culture and gusle tradition undertaken in Australia. Therefore, I was not able to rely on any other source concerning the gusle tradition among the Serbian–Australian diaspora. This research could represent a starting point for future research of Serbian culture and tradition in Australia.

Interviewees were selected as a representative cross-section of ages and societal, economic, and educational backgrounds. These are people in contact with the gusle tradition in a variety of ways, who relate to it from a range of perspectives. The interviewees can be classified as being associated with gusle performance and its traditions in five broad categories: (1) Performers of the genre; (2) Devotees or followers of the genre (not performers); (3) People with a basic knowledge of the genre; (4) People with a poor knowledge of the genre; (5) People who were virtually unaware of the genre or who perhaps ignore it purposely. In Figure 1 below I have further categorised interviewees by age bracket.

Age Brackets: A=20 years and under; B=21–40 years; C = 41–60 years; D = 61–80 years; E = above 81 years.

Figure 1: Key to interviewee age bracket.

The relative age of the interviewees was an important consideration in the research process and for some of the research findings. A reasonable balance was attempted across the twenty-year age ranges as per the following: bracket A—one interviewee; bracket B—six interviewees; bracket C—five interviewees; bracket D—seven interviewees; bracket E—one interviewee.

In Figure 2 I have categorised interviewees by location and time where the interview was conducted, level of involvement with the *gusle*, and educational experience.

When framing the research and defining its focus, it was necessary to determine the characteristics that comprise the musical, social, and cultural genre that represent the Serbian gusle tradition. These characteristics include: (1) Places where gusle tradition exists (Koprivica and Aleksić 2006); (2) Characteristics, meanings, and purposes of *pesme* (Serbian epic poetry), particularly within the contexts of gusle performance (Ђурић 1977); (3) Role(s) of the gusle in contemporary society (Nović 2006); (4) Meanings and purposes of gusle tradition, especially educative, societal and spiritual (Koprivica and Aleksić 2006); (5) Issues and contexts of Serbian history (Ђоровић 1989); (6) The cultural and

social perception of the gusle tradition among Serbian people (Golemoviћ 2008); (7) The influence of traditionalism on perceptions of nationalism amongst Serbs (Radanović 2003); (8) The audience – role, perceptions, perspectives, and levels of awareness of the tradition (Golemović 2005); (9) Gusle music as a performance genre, including repertoire and various approaches to repertoire and the range of performance practices (Lajić-Mihailović 2011); (10) Technical characteristics of the gusle music instrument (Koprivica and Aleksić 2006). These characteristics informed the construction of the research questions that guided this study.

<i>Interviewee</i>	<i>Age bracket †</i>	<i>Place and the date of the interview</i>	<i>Involvement with gusle tradition</i>	<i>Education level – Discipline or Fields</i>
Slavko Aleksić	D	Belgrade, Serbia October, 2006	Gusle performer	Tertiary – Serbian Literature (B. A.)
Slobodan Čičarević	D	Melbourne, Aus. February, 2007	Gusle performer	Completed primary school
Djordjije Koprivica	B	Belgrade, Serbia October, 2006; Adelaide, Aus. December, 2006	Gusle performer	Tertiary – Economics (B. Econ.)
Zoran Plemić	B	Bijeljina, Bosnia-Herz. October, 2006	Gusle performer	Completed secondary school
Milan Mladenović	C	Melbourne, Aus. March, 2007	Gusle devotee	Tertiary – Fine Arts (B. A.) and Religion (B. Theol.)
Miodrag Milenović	D	Sombor, Serbia July, 2008	Significant knowledge of tradition	Tertiary – Serbian Literature (B. A.)
Petar Marijanović	C	Melbourne, Aus. September, 2008	Basic knowledge of tradition	Diploma (TAFE) – Business studies
Davor Čurković	C	Zagreb, Croatia July, 2006	Basic knowledge of tradition	Tertiary – Dentistry (B. Dent.)
Stevan Berber	D	Auckland, New Zealand December, 2008	Basic knowledge of tradition	Tertiary Electronic Engineering (PhD) & Military Science (B. Mil. Sci.)
Luka Rakočević	D	Melbourne, Australia November, 2008	Basic knowledge of tradition	Completed primary school
Zoran Rakočević	C	Melbourne, Australia November, 2008	Basic knowledge of tradition	Tertiary – Electrical & Electronic Engineering (B. Eng.)

<i>Interviewee</i>	<i>Age bracket †</i>	<i>Place and the date of the interview</i>	<i>Involvement with gusle tradition</i>	<i>Education level – Discipline or Fields</i>
Milan Vojnović	D	Sombor, Serbia August, 2008	Basic knowledge of tradition	Tertiary – Sociology (B. A.)
Miroljub Stanković	D	Melbourne, Australia March, 2007	Basic knowledge of tradition	Tertiary – Chemistry (B.Sc.)
Milenko Stojisavljević	E	Sombor, Serbia July, 2008	Basic knowledge of tradition	Advanced Diploma – Military studies
Stanislava Stojisavljević	B	Melbourne, Australia February, 2007	Basic knowledge of tradition	Tertiary – Arts Administration (M.A.) & Education (B. Ped.)
Djordje Stojković	B	Melbourne, Australia March, 2007	Limited knowledge of tradition	Completed secondary school
Nedjeljko Vlahović	B	Melbourne, Aus. December, 2009	Limited knowledge of tradition	Completed secondary school & Professional Musician
Tijana Stojisavljević	A	Melbourne, Australia March, 2010	Poor knowledge about tradition	Completed secondary school
Goran Šijan	C	Sombor, Serbia July, 2008	Unaware of the genre	Tertiary – Politics (B. Pol. Sci.)
Sanja Drljača	B	Melbourne, Australia March, 2008	Unaware of the genre	Tertiary – Music (B.Mus.)

Figure 2: Interviews by location and time where the interview was conducted, level of involvement with the *gusle*, and educational experience.

Research questions

This research paper examines two questions. First, what is the relationship between the gusle performer and contemporary gusle performance practices within the diaspora-based Serbian-Australian community in Melbourne? Second, what is the correlation of the contemporary Serbian-Australian audience and the contemporary gusle performance practice?

The Audience

Audiences at gusle performances in Melbourne can be divided into three broad categories: (1) Audience members who have been in contact with the tradition since birth, either through tradition practiced regularly within their family or in their close community or village; (2) Audience members who did not learn of the tradition until they reached an age deemed suitable, generally at senior

primary or junior secondary school level; (3) Audience members who were born outside the region where the gusle tradition originated (the central Balkans). These three categories relate to a location where an individual of Serbian origin was born, grew up, or was educated, or to certain differences in significance of the gusle tradition in their respective surroundings—regions or countries to which they relocated, especially as a result of the redrawing of borders due to geo-political reasons.

During my research journey I encountered different values held about relationships among issues of ethnicity, nationalism, cultural hegemony, and the alteration of textual poetry into contemporary settings regarding contemporary events, and contemporary characters replacing traditional, original ones. This latter consideration is particularly salient as it describes the cultural perceptions among some modern Serbs in respect to both the gusle tradition and Serbian epic poetry.

Research findings

The research found that younger generations of Serbs and Serb-Australians have less knowledge of, and interest in learning about the gusle tradition than older generations. This is partly the result of the geographic and economic circumstances in which young people live, whereas Serbian culture in Australia is one among many, and therefore not dominant. Young Serb-Australians have difficulties learning even the basics of Serbian language.

Although many of them do acquire a rudimentary understanding and level of proficiency in conversational Serbian, the more sophisticated, stylised and elegant nuances found in *pesme* are almost entirely beyond their linguistic abilities and comprehension. They are, therefore not able to understand the surface meanings of the *pesme*, let alone their hidden meanings.

The younger interviewees (especially) indicated a view that the vast majority of their understanding and awareness of Serbian culture was based in Serbian (Croatian, etc.) contemporary popular music, which itself is heavily influenced by American, Anglo-Australian, and Western European trends, melodies, harmonies, styles, instrumentation, and a range of other musical elements. The notion of the preservation of Serbian culture via an awareness of *pesme* and the gusle tradition was almost completely outside of the purview of these young people. Even those aware of them at a simplistic or very rudimentary level tend to consider that they are “something for old people” or “for peasants” (Aleksić 2006) and not of any interest to them, or of any significance to their lives.

Serbian-Australian community members, such as myself, who are passing on cultural resources, are among a small group of people inside the community. These people usually organise and undertake their own cultural research and activities. I asked all twelve of the Australian resident interviewees for their point of

view regarding internet affordability and access to information and programming regarding Serbian culture in general, and the gusle tradition in particular.

Their views were notably similar. Firstly, there was a general consensus that, with respect to the broadcast media, the Australian government choose to foster linguistic and cultural homogeneity, especially with respect to assimilation into Australian culture and the development and enhancement of competencies in English.

Although this position could be considered unfair, the consensus of interviewees' opinions was that, in final analysis, the approach compels immigrants to accept the actuality and learn at least the basics of the official language of the country. The approach is seen as helping develop the notions of an Australian social identity and the growth of a national character. Secondly, interviewees were in general agreement that the continent of Australia is so far from much of the rest of the world, especially from Europe, that the greater majority of émigrés to Australia are unlikely to return to live in their country of origin, especially those from central Europe. Indeed, the viewpoint was consistent that the greatest percentage of émigrés (especially those from former Yugoslavia) will not be able to afford time to visit or return to their homelands more than a few times in their lives.

Accordingly, the Australian government supports and promotes a position whereby immigrant populations and their children (especially those born in Australia) are steadily compelled to assimilate into Australian society and culture. My informants noted that cultural assimilation is a socio-political response to demographic multi-ethnicity that supports or promotes the assimilation of ethnic minorities into the dominant culture. It is opposed to an affirmative philosophy (for example, multiculturalism) which recognizes and works to maintain differences.

Interviewees commented that Serbian-Australian elders continue to be influenced by the social, cultural, and political divisions from 'old' Europe, while younger people – whether native-born or immigrant – have been educated in and acculturated to Australian ways and perspectives.

During interviews, informants identified themselves as avowed nationalists or positive patriots and contributors to the preservation of the cultural and national tradition. The latter tended include those with an academic perspective on historical and cultural issues. Gusle performer Slavko Aleksić stated "We will difficultly be understood in Europe if our songs mention people labelled as war criminals, or current politics. I personally respect those people and do not regard them as criminals, but I see no connection with our gusle and epics. The present time is not suitable for epics and time will sift through what is good" (Aleksić 2006). Djordjije Koprivica added "The gusle are a Serbian instrument, even though there are other people who use them, but they also know their origins. Those people were tricked and because of other circumstances they chan-

ged their faith, but retained their customs and culture. They also know what their surnames are derived from” (Koprivica 2006).

As a musician with more than twenty-five years of experience in active performance I formulated questions to suit the form of the interview as a research method, but also to ensure that all the participants understood the questions. All of the interview participants answered all of the questions posed to them by the researcher. Apart from questions asked of all interviewees some of the interviews included spontaneous questions that emerged during interviews. These came about as a researcher’s need to further pursue a line of enquiry prompted by particular response, and to align with the tone or ambience of the conversation with the interviewee.

Some interviewees were generally enthusiastic about the gusle tradition as a cultural entity and significant element of Serbian national heritage. Although sometimes almost aggressively patriotic themselves, these generally enthusiastic interviewees viewed all forms and epochs of the gusle genre as being artistically, creatively, historically, ethnically and culturally significant. Interviewees stated that Serbian epic songs often create the sense of pride, universal wisdom, and a crucial momentum of Serbian national unity.

One of the fundamental outcomes of the research demonstrates that a single shared perception of the nature and characteristics of gusle tradition does not exist. Each of the interviewees held a range of knowledge and understanding, perceptions and perspectives regarding the tradition and, especially, its relation to their own ‘Serbian-ness’. These different perceptions are: sense of national affiliation; literary, poetic, and artistic values; artistic significance of the gusle tradition; positive and negative patriotism; promotion of the patriotic, religious and sectarian feelings within the people; interesting and broadly informative element of Serbian culture; cultural education amongst the broader Serbian population; family tradition; peasant tradition; Serbian tradition without significant influence on modern Serbian society and education; educative role of epic poetry.

The levels of qualitative and quantitative perceptions and perspectives vary between individuals, sometimes with minimal differences. Even a slight variation of the given question (the use of a potentially value-laden word or phrase for example, patriotism/nationalism, war criminal/patriot etc.) had the potential to trigger a response or even results in an aggressive expressed view of the matter under consideration.

Familiarity with the gusle tradition and Serbian epic poetry in particular, together with an understanding of the mentality of Serbian people (being Serbian by birth) helped me navigate deep into potentially sensitive ‘waters’.

I have observed nationalist mentality and heard its rhetoric for much of my life. In addition, as a student of cultural history I have heard or witnessed similar things from people of other backgrounds, whether closely related to Serbian culture and language (Croatians, for example) or completely outside Ser-

bian traditions (Irish, for example). In my view, all manifestations of nationalism are essentially the same, simply with different names. Common denominators include a narrow perspective of the world, history, ethnicity, and religion.

Conclusions

A significant element of this research relates to details and insights regarding the cultural traditions of Serbs in Melbourne, Australia. As one of a large number of immigrant populations in Melbourne – in the greater metropolitan area there are more than twenty nationalities each with more than 14,000 people born outside of Australia (Australian Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs 2008) – the Serbian experience is but one piece in a mosaic of Australia's cultural diversity.

As a young nation, Australia continues to develop a social and cultural identity of its own. This study supports the development of an inclusive Australian society and cultural identity from the Serbian-Australian perspective. Although the specifics of culture and history, religion and politics differ across the ethnicities, many of the insights and observations of this investigation are perhaps possible to generalise to various ethnic cultures and sub-cultures in Melbourne and Australia and indeed throughout the world.

This research recognized the gusle tradition as an ancient cultural and artistic entity almost certainly indigenous to the peoples of the Balkans central Dinaric region. To verify this opinion I have explored the symbolic meanings of the tradition and observable practice across several regions of former Yugoslavia traditionally primarily populated by Serbs.

This enquiry has confirmed that the central Dinaric region is the only place where the gusle tradition exists continuously. Particularly since World War II, all other segments of Serbian population have had increasingly diminished connections with the gusle tradition that perhaps only people who moved from the central Dinaric region to other parts of former Yugoslavia – for example, to Belgrade, various parts of northern Serbia or Vojvodina – continue to follow and maintain the tradition assiduously.

The essentially tribal communities of the central Dinaric region managed to protect, perhaps indeed save, the tradition despite significant impediments both external and, more recently, internal. The Slavs—who continue to be the dominant ethnicity throughout the regions and nation states of former Yugoslavia—brought with them their language and characteristic cultural and artistic modes combined with those of the existing dominant peoples and culture of the region—primarily the Illyrians.

Given that the music instrument gusle is well known to almost all Slavic people, it is my view that the instrument is of Slavic origin. Crucial to the spread of the gusle tradition beyond the Dinaric region of the Balkans was use of the instrument to accompany the performance of Serbian epic poetry. Indeed,

the use of the instrument became so significant to the customary presentation of epic poetry that the genre itself ultimately incorporated the name of the instrument, the art form – with its philosophical, spiritual, historical and educative content – and became known as the *gusle* tradition, and presenters of epic songs, with or without the *gusle* accompaniment, have for centuries, been referred to as *guslari*, not *pesnici* ('poets'), nor *pevači* ('singers').

In particular, the epic poems and songs from the period of the Ottoman occupation – approximately mid-fifteenth to mid-nineteenth centuries and the time of creation of the new Serbian national identity – beginning, in some regions, from the early nineteenth century – served to unite the Serbian population as well as several other south Slavic nations who were in fundamentally same unfortunate position as their Serbian neighbours. In the various moments of the liberation and subsequent unification of the south Slavic people, *gusle* tradition was regarded as a primary emblem of ethnic and cultural identity and an essential unifying element regarding the ongoing struggles for freedom. In the hands and minds of those who over centuries fled their homes, the *gusle* tradition transcended the borders of Serbian lands and cultures to become a significant component of the traditions of other neighbouring peoples, religions, and nations.

Serbs are a comparatively small ethnic minority in Australia. The 2006 census confirmed that approximately 95,000 residents of Australia considered themselves to be of Serbian ancestry, while the 2001 census indicated that about 20,000 residents of the Australian state of Victoria were born in either Serbia or Montenegro. Of these Victorian residents, it is estimated that not less than 50 percent lived in Melbourne, the capital of Victoria. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that there were at least 17,000 people of Serbian ancestry living in the greater Melbourne metropolitan when this research was commenced in 2006 (Australian Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs 2008).

It is important to note that the largest percentage of Serbs in Australia emigrated from parts of former Yugoslavia other than Serbia. Those people came mainly from the regions where *gusle* tradition is still revered and practised, especially the Dinaric region, parts of which are in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Croatia/Dalmatia, Macedonia and Northern Albania. Despite these origins, Australian Serbs do not follow the *gusle* tradition in large numbers. Serbian culture is only apparent in Serbian social clubs, most of which are affiliated directly with the Serbian Orthodox Church of Australia.

When questioned about their awareness of the *gusle* tradition, most of the research interviewed participants stated that their lack of significant awareness, general inactivity or non-involvement regarding *gusle* tradition was a result of them being "assimilated into the Australian way of life". Factors that were viewed as having impact upon this consideration include: limited free time, primarily as a result of financial imperatives; inability or lack of desire to spend free or recreational time devoted to matters of Serbian culture, including the

gusle tradition; the notion that the fervent wish to return to the homeland causes one to 'put off' practising the tradition until one goes back, that is when it will be more 'real' and less alien to or even at odds with the dominant (Australian) culture.

Non-interview discussions with many Serbian-Australian young people indicate that another consideration is a strong desire to embrace Australian (that is, essentially American and Western European) popular mass media culture – to be 'just Australians', not Serbs who live and were born in Australia. On the other hand, Serbs in Australia who continue to follow the tradition comment that these factors and considerations are simply excuses which indicate that the individuals have either not been introduced properly to Serbian culture and traditions or are, for whatever reasons – including perhaps, how Serbs are sometimes portrayed in the Western media – ashamed of their origins.

Other related discussions undertaken by me indicate that Australian-Serb followers of the gusle tradition feel that they are free in Australia to express and to practise any manner of cultural tradition that they wish, gusle or otherwise. By and large theirs is the view that it is incorrect to claim that Australian cultural and multi-cultural policy provides insufficient support for or is, in some sense, not accepting of other cultural traditions within Australia, as has been claimed by various ethnic minority groups. They feel that it is inappropriate to argue that ethnic minorities, including Serbs, have been somehow culturally marginalised, even suppressed, by being compelled to assimilate into the socio-cultural and political mainstream of modern Australian society.

Their general opinion is that nothing is stopping Serbs in Australia from practising their cultural traditions, including the gusle tradition. If Serbs in Australia wish to practise the gusle tradition or indeed might have some vision of the tradition being somehow included or incorporated within an evolving Australian culture, no impediment exists. That it is to say, this research indicates that Serbs in Australia have all of the requirements for the successful preservation of their national identity.

Although an extensive incorporation of the gusle tradition into contemporary and future Australian culture is not a realistic outcome, the historical, philosophical, didactic and heroic ingredients of the tradition make it a worthy contributor to the pan-cultural eclecticism that is here favoured. In any event, as long as Serbs in Australia continue to honour and preserve the gusle tradition it will be considered a part of the cultural emporium that is modern Australia.

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Мирослав Стојисављевић

УЛОГА ПУБЛИКЕ У САВРЕМЕНОЈ ГУСЛАРСКОЈ ПРАКСИ СРПСКЕ ДИЈАСПОРЕ У АУСТРАЛИЈИ

Резиме

У овом реферату, који је део обимнијег истраживачког рада, посебан нагласак ставља се на улогу и однос публике према гусларској традицији. Истраживачки процес је био усмерен ка утврђивању обима разумевања културног и историјског значаја гусларске традиције код публике у српској дијаспори у Аустралији. Методологија истраживања обрађује интервјуе уско везане за теме које се односе на музичко извођење, репертоар и органолошке теме. Феноменографска анализа и интерпретација интервјуа, изведби и органолошких података је употпуњена историјским подацима. Двадесет и један испитаник различитих годишта и двадесет и три интервјуа представљају кључни извор података у овом истраживачком процесу. Резултати овог истраживања, по први пут, потврђују присутност гусларске традиције међу српском дијаспором у Аустралији. Указује се на ниво разумевања важности очувања културне баштине изван матице као и на однос млађих генерација према елементима српске гусларске традиције.

THE FEARLESS VERNACULAR: REASSESSMENT OF THE BALKAN MUSIC BETWEEN TRADITION AND DISSOLUTION*

RASTKO JAKOVLJEVIĆ

Abstract: Scholars mainly use the term *vernacular* to encompass folk and folk-derived artistry which is the distinctive property of one local-range culture. At the same time, it underlies the significance of oral transmission, non-standardised communication and language usage among ordinary, common people. On the other side, vernacular confronts what is believed to be a mainstream, dominant culture. In music research as in sociolinguistics the vernacular connotes speech and language, a dialect that is opposed to a national language of wider population or *lingua franca*, native and local derived music, while later the meaning might extend to other aspects of the human behaviour. This paper examines different understanding and meanings of the term in relationship with its application within ethnomusicology and auxiliary disciplines.

Keywords: vernacular music, folk, tradition, modernity, popular music, Balkans, ethnomusicology.

While describing the past and the present, I want to propose a possible future that is not an extension of the past, but an act of imagination—not as some sort of self-fulfilling prediction, but as a way of seeing our age with new eyes. Taking our starting point from children everywhere, I suggest a playful, emotionally committed recovery of the pleasures of vernacular culture in the ruins of the industrial age. But the recovery I suggest is neither innocent nor nostalgic. Vernacular culture, by definition, is a moving target. It is always local and improvised. It is necessarily extremely diverse (Mackey 2010: 13–14).

(How) do we classify music?

Like some of the previous discussions on ethnomusicological theory, this study attempts to contribute to our broad knowledge about the concept, term “around which ethnomusicologists organize their work” as Timothy Rice asserted (2010). The main hypothesis of this investigation emerged from aspiration that ethnomusicology still need to find a way to classify and define a current outstanding number of musical styles that we (ethnomusicologists) can not

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entirely encompass under classical systems of traditional, popular or art music without making uncertain judgments and partial referentialities.

The location and style of music performed in traditional conditions, and music performed today created sometimes awkward position, marked by inabilities to clearly define the boundaries between ‘traditional’ and ‘folk’ (popular) music practice. In modern conditions and in some forms traditional music still exists, while the permeability between contemporary folk music and traditional music becomes most evident in colloquial term that people use for both kinds of music in Serbia – *narodna muzika*. The third realm which lies between traditional and popular music is the holistic location of the vernacular what this study aims to argue.

Pivoting term: vulgar tongue of the masses

Scholars mainly use the term *vernacular* to encompass folk and folk-derived artistry, which is the distinctive property of one local-range culture. As a concept, it underlies the significance of oral transmission, non-standardised communication, and language usage among ordinary, common people. On the other side, vernacular confronts what is believed to be a mainstream, dominant culture. Initially, the vernacular connotes speech and language, a dialect that is opposed to a national standardised language of wider population or *lingua franca*, while later meaning might extend to other aspects of the human behaviour.

The term vernacular (Lat. *vernaculus*, native) depicts many similar or different things in sociolinguistic research or humanities. Associated with Renaissance it could be regarded as a cluster of different dialects and means of language use and communication among the ‘lowbrow’ population, i.e., vulgar languages and poetry of the Provençal troubadours and German Minnesingers (Bergin and Speake 2004). In more general terms, it allowed persons speaking different vernaculars, not understood by each other, to communicate (Wardhaugh 2006: 59). Being the commonly used language of the lower classes in the Middle Ages, the vernaculars emphasized locality, indigenous origin, regional cultural identities, and everything distinctive from the written language and ‘cultivated culture’, such as classical Latin which was the official language of the Western Europe aristocracy and institutions (Anderson 1983: 18–19; Merriam–Webster 2012). The significance of the vernacular however, gradually inclined as it moved towards modernity. Its status, when compared with ‘cultivated’, official, dominant language-and-script classes was treated as a form of peasant and irrelevant folk communication and artistry based on oral transmission. In his seminal study *Imagined communities* (1983), Benedict Anderson points out that the “older Latin was not arcane because of its subject matter of style, but simply because it was written at all, i.e. because of its status as *text*” (Ibid.: 39). According to this, it is assumed that the main difference between vernaculars and literary languages was in fact that oral transmission had no

advantage over uncanny written speech or text kept by the nobility or the Church. On the other side, the unification was one of the main attributes of the united aristocracy and religious institutions that preserved the toughness of the class divisions.¹ Anderson believes that this general linguistic unification and creation of one uniform communicational model was dispersed with the penetration of the vernacular language, especially by printed materials, which “fragmented, pluralized and territorialized” dominant cultural models, and created conditions for the birth of nations and rise of local differences among them (Ibid.: 19). We could say that from that time, everyday life has been overwhelmed with vernaculars, and not just language-based ones. Every social group has their own distinctive cultural and behavioral patterns that could not fit into the mainstream or which we could not classify under some major predicament. Moreover, we could easily say that we live in what some scholars define as *vernacular culture*, pointing that “even the most urbanized people have an everyday culture, including everyday speech that is different from the literary language or from the language of straight news reporting” (Lantis 1960: 202–3). The confluence and birth of many cultural forms, distinctions of the popular culture and the rise of art within modernity has made this definition-seeking process even harder. It is because a quest that undertakes to define vernacular actually involves us to think about what is folk-derived, orally transmitted, non-standardised, non-modern or traditional on one side, and what has the proportions, multitudes and acceptance, cultivated in everyday life experience on the other. To some extent, there is a gap between tradition and modernity that stretches from the point where those two forces collide dialogically, or where the proportions of that liminal space become fictionally enormous. Fictionally because although scholars are opted in different contemplations on tradition and modernity, sometimes they are not fully aware of the cultural forms that crossover between the two poles. However, ‘real’ cultural practices and actions, subjects, and in this case music performers, shift between such categories with natural ease, very often without making any strict class divisions and taxonomies. This means that the dialogue between tradition and modernity also forces us to think about the borderless spaces in a time where we lose clear orientation of what is and what is not traditional or modern.² What seems modern now could become

¹ Over large span of time, after the Norman Conquest, French remained the language of ordinary communication among the upper classes in England so “the distinction between those who spoke French and those who spoke English was not ethnic but largely social.” Hence, while the language of aristocracy was dominantly French, the ordinary common speech of the masses remained vernacular – English. See more in Baugh and Cable 1993: 111–12.

² Aware of the fact that in this investigation I operated with some of the most complex concepts such as tradition and modernity it is also necessary to stress sources which I have used in order to clarify their local meanings. ‘Tradition’ is given as an active process and oral category, “the expressing or transferring our knowledge to others” according to definitions and prerequisites of Raymond Williams (1983: 318–20). However, in plenary session discussion there were

traditional tomorrow, so the real question imposed here is how one could locate vernacular in such movable temporal trajectories?

Ethnomusicological and related disciplinary applications

In ethnomusicology, vernacular is mainly seen as the locution powerful enough to grasp everything within our pluralistic universe of folk-based music. This is mainly the result of binding vernacular with everything which is orally transmitted. Because of that, the discipline failed to offer a precise, moulded definition, offering a wide range of fluid formulations. Not rarely the term vernacular music becomes nothing more than incantatory word, often used as a pure scholar provocation, positioned synonymously with terms such as indigenous, autochthonous, regional, folk, popular, or traditional. In most cases it has been simply equated with the term 'folk' which is movable, but also problematic *per se*. Moreover, it seems that this concept or term itself was frequently tied to other megarethorical concepts, or instances with accentuated or 'fearless' attributes of multitudes, the power comprised in conceptions of folk, tradition, and alike, which challenge other crossover fields of general classes. However, could we identify the vernacular under generic term *folk art*, and how it stands in comparison with the concepts and notions of the tradition and modernity? How the meaning of this concept shifts when tradition itself becomes a vague term, when the dissolvment of the canonical tradition occurs within modernity. Further, the appropriate application and use within etymological case studies, ethnomusicology and related disciplines, indicate on disputes and different perspectives that move across the borders of scholar disciplines. Such explorations tend to point out some of the deep differences between and within given cultures, as it also indicates on possible existing dissimilarities between Western and Eastern understandings and divisions made among traditional, popular, and folk music. To make more palpable and clear that the vernacular as a concept could be significant for music research and ethnomusicological theory, it seems appropriate to draw on some studies that incorporated this term.

imputing suggestions that in fact I tended to use this concept as so called 'systematic tradition'. Since I was not familiar with this term whatsoever, I have tried to resolve this with simple browsing which ended without results. In addition, I have tried to consult several distinctive and reputable scholars, British sociologist Ser Anthony Giddens and Serbian anthropologist prof. dr Bojan Žikić (correspondence with author) in order to validate that 'systematic tradition' exist as scholar term or such qualification. Unfortunately, I have received negative answers. However, in theory we could opt to coin this term, but so far to my knowledge it was not defined as such in existing publications and literature. I wish to express my gratitude to Prof. Giddens and Žikić for their opinion, help and support. 'Modernity' as a distinctive concept most commonly refer to modernization, modernism and modern technology era. It is also related as post-traditional, post-industrial age, as the 'rupture' between 'old' and 'new' culture. Implications on modernity is connected to globalization is according to some scholars intertwined. See more in Appadurai 1996.

On several occasions, Philip Bohlman tries to use and define the term in case-specific manner around which the network of other interpretations could be intertwined. Although applications might vary as such, Bohlman tries to define vernacular music not as a style of music, but moreover as a special way of musical acquisition and dissemination. On the other hand, he also tends to draw significant bias between vernacular music as musical dialects, therefore to equate vernacular and folk music. Within hybrids of different traditions of Islamic, Christian, and Jewish traditions, combined in Andalusian music, he saw that mixture is a result of “hybrids of vernacular music, that is, folk music” (2002: 52). This position also becomes exposed in further arguments where he distinguishes “Muslim vernacular repertoires” on the Tunisian island of Djerba, and identifies it as folk or traditional music, stressing the locality of this specific cultural entity. Further ethnic implications could be contextualized within locality, where fragmented traditions, local musics and different native belongings are regarded as “vernacular musical practices of communities united by ethnic identity” (Kaufman Shelemay 2011: 354). Another point that arises from here is that the significance of music knowledge and acquisition depicts the intrinsic relationship among folk, traditional and vernacular music which might be problematic when considered dialogically.

Rather distinctive associations of this concept with narratives and textual significance Lawrence Kramer see as productive in defining boundaries between “two modes of presentation” in music, meaning that a line could be drawn between “vernacular mode, in which words and music seem to have a simple, simultaneous existence, and a cultivated mode, in which the music responds to the meaning of an independent, usually preexistent text” (1999: 316). In line with linguistic-oriented meaning, Kofi Agawu draws on Rosen’s determination of the ‘anonymous style of music vernacular’ as a marker of particular historical momentum or residuals of the ‘past tradition’, which could be either connected to temporalities of the tradition, music-language relationship or as a music style of the anonymous (1991: 8).

Overall, vernacular music depends on perspectives or scholar treatment in several ways: (1) associated with the music-making process as the acquisition of music without i.e., formal training and contrasted with so called ‘cultivated’ cultural forms (music-oriented); or (2) emphasizing ‘orality’, communication in the vernacular and language status or its treatment within music i.e., the use of distinctive local dialects, particular localized slangs, or local musical cognition and understanding³ (linguistically oriented); and (3) vernacular music as a form

³ In Simha Arom’s theorization of the Aka Pygmy music the vernacular is seen as a concept attached to verbal communication and language, and as equal or close to the qualities of indigenous, emphasizing the local understanding of music. He puts that “the totality of an ethnic community’s music can therefore be presented as a finite set of mutually exclusive categories, named in the vernacular language” (1994: 140).

of fragmented localities of the folk and traditional music (systematically oriented). The meaning that Bohlman pursues in his general definition partially ratifies these positions:

Classifications and ontologies of music that distinguish between musical practices in which few or many participate give rise to the concept of vernacular music. Unlike musics known and practised by a socio-cultural and professional élite, vernacular music is accessible to the majority of people because of their familiarity with its forms and functions and because they are able to acquire knowledge of it through everyday practice, that is, without any specialized skills. Unifying otherwise distinctive concepts of vernacular music is the metaphorical relationship between linguistic and musical models. One acquires a vernacular music as one would a language, naturally and through communication with others. Vernacular musics possess aspects of orality, such as dialect differences, which distinguish them from written traditions, whose complex structures and social contexts are rarely accessible to all. Viewed cross-culturally vernacular musics are more likely to be grounded in vocal than in instrumental traditions, especially those vocal traditions expressed through everyday practice (Bohlman, *Grove Music Online*).

In this definition, there are however, several critical points that concerns further use and ethnomusicological application. Distinction between music maintained by ‘many’ and vernacular music which is located as the property of the ‘few’ does not seem logical as such. This is because all music initially is derived by a ‘few’, either folk or art music, while later it becomes disseminated and dislocated by multitudes or public bodies. Charles Seeger has a similar understanding when he implies that the name vernacular music proposes that such music, although not “digested by the dominant culture” is in the possession of the many – “their musical vernacular” (Seeger 1938, qtd. in Green 1993: 40). More clearly, it is the knowledge acquisition that led Seeger to believe that folk and popular musics are vernacular traditions held by many, while at the same time it confronts with ‘cultivated’ or canonical art music, which also suppose multitudes by nature (Ibid.: 43). In this respect vernacular music is a problematic tag which repeatedly asserts its difference to cultivated artistry, and revolves within frames of ‘common’ musical styles such as folk and popular music. Derived from general music anthropology, Seeger actually locates vernacular music “much more broadly than the traditional concept of ‘folk’ music” probably in order to avoid any limitations that folk music as a category could have (*cf.* Nettl 1991: 268).⁴

⁴ Some critics also believe that the concept of vernacular music in Seeger’s studies is a plateau on which he develops and demonstrate his particular ideas that arise outside central ethnomusicological agenda. In his observation, Bruno Nettl assume that Seeger’s “studies of vernacular music...do not really fit into the framework of folk-music studies but, rather, are tailored

An additional critical point drives us in yet another direction. What one must become aware is that vernacular music should not be perceived as solemnly vocal category, attached to the linguistic-centered approach, but to strengthen the dialogue in which music should be acknowledged as a specific form of text, derived as standardized or vernacular without making vocal music privileged only because it contains verbal content. There is nothing unusual for the ethnomusicological doctrine to recognize instrumental music as the specific musical language. What Bohlman asserts in further argument is that vernacular music traditionally has been positioned “against cultivated music” (Ibid.). Unwinding this predicament he believes that in European folksong scholarship the vernacular reflects social hierarchies and “greater concern for class and the distinctions between rural and urban music cultures...trough dichotomy between ‘great and ‘little traditions’, the ‘little’ traditions took on the profile of vernacular musics, whereas the ‘great’ traditions, their wide geographical distribution notwithstanding, were elevated to the status of élite or classical musics” (Ibid.). To some extent, this might be justified trough holistically based perspectives where vernacular music as a concept stretches to touch and integrate both rural and urban music, popular and traditional genres, “time-tested and emerging traditions, to integrate folk and popular wares that remove fences between community-based and professional performers” (Green 1993: 37). It is evident that trough such prism vernacular music envelops all folk-derived music, urban and rural, excluding only canonical art or classical music styles. In his study entitled *World Music: A Very Short Introduction* (2002), that argues Harry Smith’s *Anthology of American Folk Music* (1997) which gathered commercial recordings of ‘ethnic’ and ‘race’ labels and ‘obscure local companies’, Bohlman located this compilation as a specific, inclusive collection of “vernacular music that found its way to the United States” (Ibid.: 45). He presumed was that the vernacular, at least in this case, located musics of the ‘little traditions’, of non-articulated, marginalized or obscured ethnic and racial communities with large traditions within American culture in typical postcolonial discourse. Although such divisions of music by its proportions could be faulty *per se*, significance that every music undermines in fact could not be compromised. Additionally, this particular notion of ‘large’ and ‘small’ traditions could be significant for defining what vernacular music means and how it relates to different proportions of music maintenance, dissemination, and sustainability, hence different musical systems and styles (v. Stokes in this publication).

to illustrate, perhaps somewhat dissonantly, his complex philosophical, social, and technological ideas” (1991: 269).

Vulgar ear: Local applications and its contexts

In Serbian ethnomusicological practice situation is completely different. Vernacular (in Serbian *narodski*) as a term that covers the proportions of something which belongs to a large number of people, derived from common folk (*narod*), determined by its locality may vary. Furthermore, it makes an emphasis on the distinction between folkness, something which is tied more to an expression (*narodski*), a characteristic that refers to what is folk (*narodno*). In ethnomusicological theory and Serbian scientific practice this distinction was not used before. This is perhaps due to the strong conceptual delineations among scholars when discussing traditional, folk or popular music. However, although music scholars could frequently hear from their informants that i.e. some song is 'narodska' – usually sang by people at some point in time, commonly performed as folk-like, but also distinguished from 'hard cultural forms' (Appadurai 1996: 90), such as ritual music and old traditional songs, in theoretical processing this qualification would become merged or mostly associated with tradition. Therefore, the problem occurs when theory appropriates local understanding of vernacular music, which subsequently becomes translated, rectified and further recognized *as traditional* in our local understanding and writings. It is also logical as an idea because we must always change our conception of what tradition is, especially when we are experiencing the emergence of the new ones.⁵ It allows us to understand that vernacular music as a concept is a time-sensitive issue. To explain this movable and bifurcated signification I will follow one of my previous researches on Serbian traditional instrumental music (Јаковљевић 2009).

What was challenging in this research actually concerned issues of different types of one instrument, that is to say how we can make a systematic classification according to organological, contextual, and musical features. The development of Serbian *svirala* (a type of end-blown pipe) has been marked with three key points in its diachronical progression: (1) a traditional instrument of larger dimensions and specific context and repertoire mainly focused on songs and shepherds improvisations (the invariant model); (2) repertoire refinements and characteristic style of performance, mainly using the *svirala* as dance accompaniment (standard model); and (3) radical technical modifications by using different materials (exotic wood types, plastic, metal, etc.), instrument division in two pieces to facilitate tuning, and repertoire that emphasizes musical skills

⁵ In one of her writings on the distinctions between traditional types of musical instruments and their variants related to 'folklorisms' Serbian ethnoorganologist Andrijana Gojković puts: "[Village players] consider that our old, original musical tradition still demands those *svirala* with six holes, which even today (although less frequently) are forged by individuals in known centers of the Western Serbia (Užice, Požega, Gubin Do, Trnava, Karan), while newly composed folk melodies should be performed on 'tuned' *svirala*, which are adapted to this kind of music" (1987: 31).

and virtuosity of the performers (altered model). What is problematic is the distinction of each of these models, the difference between traditional and cultivated practices maintained through time or in the past, and vernacularisation which leads us to embrace those crossovers between traditionally based and common or popular biases with strong connections to the present moment and modernity. The first model was the most traditional one, in its fundamentally based context and function. This we recognize as traditional or the most authentic, while the performers understand it as dogmatic cultural value, in the past and today. The next one is treated the same, traditional from this time distance, but once it was regarded as novelty. In fact, it is the vernacular (*narodski*), music that differentiates from canonical tradition described above, which is made and used in different conditions. Village musicians are also aware of the distinctions on contextual level, referring to the first case as dances of 'old', 'shepherd', 'old dance' style (metaphor for something which is traditionally based), and the second which they recognize as newly created dances, used typically for entertainment (*narodno veselje*, e.g., 'folk celebration') as dance events require. The last one is regarded as a pure invention, so today it is located somewhere between traditional (folk-derived) and popular, hence vernacular but in different sense, while in future it could be diversified as traditional as well. In current developments we are witnessing that prominent players such as Sava Jeremić and Bora Dugić made tremendous influence on current musical practice among village *svirala* players. This influence is so strong that newly composed musical forms, disseminated through media (radio and television), and local competitions (repertoires) as artifacts of current popular culture, are frequently accepted by local players and further regarded as traditional (see Јаковљевић 2009; Zakić 2011).

Although the context situates stage performance of folk music, meaning that the representation is maintained in popular culture, elevated to the status of specific art, the connections to tradition lie in the use of *svirala* as traditional instrument, basic characteristics of music and repertoire, and simulated 'hand-over' transmission or dissemination. In this sense, media works by the principles of orality, while stage performance represents gatherings and contextual aspects established by traditional norms. However, the reality is that this music mediates between what we define as traditional and popular. We can no longer treat this musical practice as traditional, at least not in that canonical sense, because traditional context and transmission has changed dramatically, while music itself is commodified. On the other hand, we cannot be absolutely right if we define it as popular only. Therefore, this foremost reaches what we should understand under vernacular music in its local meaning.

The second possible meaning of vernacular music goes in different direction. Vernacular could be used also as a synchronical concept. Under this I presume those kinds of music that is folk-derived, transmitted orally, but which does not reflect broad characteristics of the tradition. They are the common

forms of expression in a particular locality that do not always reflect tradition but resembles it. In such case the vernacular implies local musical forms or styles of the 'few', which are somehow different, as some type of traditional 'anomaly' that occurs in specific time, without further acceptance on wider scale, or without potentials of large-scale acceptance within broad community, and therefore 'hand over' procedures and continuity that tradition in fact encompass. It means that all individual or small-scale group ('few'), local creative processes that were not absorbed within the wide community and tradition, could also stand for vernacular music. In this sense vernacular is something that the culture is before it becomes standardized, formatted, canonized, hence traditional, and it is fluctuating between the poles of tradition (aspiring to) and it always have fluid character (non-uniformed communication, music with local 'experimental' and to some extent 'accidental' characteristics). The next developmental level of the previous example could be used to present how some aspects of traditional music could be commodified and used, which at the end could be qualified as vernacular music.

The primordial cultural background of traditional music, situated in villages until the second half of the twentieth century, was sustained and developed by distinctive individuals and communities in Serbia. Furthermore, in Serbia, from the second half of the twentieth century the term *narodna muzika* (folk music) found its way into broad public and media discourses to signify an adaptation of rural folk music styles. The native, village, rural, folk and/or the traditional music practices of the particular geo-cultural area, once located away from an urban settings and its great influences, suddenly became exposed to contemporary contexts, mainly imposed by the State and governmental cultural policies under socialist and communist ideological frameworks in former Yugoslavia (more in: Laušević 2007; Hofman 2011; Jakovljević 2012a). The rise of Cultural-Artistic Associations (KUD) and local houses of culture were a part of great agenda that aspired to represent 'uncultivated' village culture as progressive instead of backward. By establishing festivals of traditional music, the state apparatus actually transplanted local musical traditions, placing them in the form of stage performances (Jakovljević 2012b). The results and consequences were multiple; either traditional music lost its locality, which also demonstrates a subtle reduction of differences between rural and urban conditions, or distinctive and homogenic traditional musical practices became vulnerable to local acculturations and mixtures with other styles. Folklore manifestations *de facto* are traditional-like music contexts, which represent music in forms close to tradition. However, they are not traditional due to the lack of traditional contexts in which specific music developed, or due to a certain intervention with the general music material and forms of representation, or even because it misses the point: music is not maintained in society in a traditionally established manner. Traditional music now becomes represented as an art and disseminated

through folklore festivals as an artifact of art or popular culture (Example 1). In those terms, traditional music became closely attached to the artistic and popular which prevents us to treat it as traditional. Furthermore, such constellation gave very strong stimulus for further development of staged folklore, whose effects we feel even today. Every each newly formed Cultural-Artistic Associations actually were not trying to maintain traditional style of performance, to represent traditional, rural musical forms, but to turn to adaptations, compositions and other folklorisms. This is also visible in some of the most prominent folklore competition such as national festival ‘Sabor frulaša *Oj Moravo*’ (Assembly of frula players *Oj Moravo*), a competition held annually in village of Prislonica near Čačak, which is strongly influenced by modernisation and image of staged folklore, noticeable in both visual and music features of the performers and their repertoire (see Zakić 2011). Even though every competitor has to perform music within two main categories – traditional and modernised repertoire, folk music on frula (with orchestral accompaniment), this is in fact what could be simply defined as vernacular music in its bifurcated connections. It means thus that performed or represented music is either traditional music, decontextualised or detached from its original context (placed on stage), or popular music with strong attachments to traditional music, that is to say popular music which tends to recreate traditional. It also shows that in this staged folklore form, local music style derived from tradition is transplanted on the stage and further prioritised as popular music for masses, traditional music which by its transferral to popular subsequently might lose its regional or other characteristics, and music which becomes delocalised but still remains significantly far from imposed dominant courses of the urban culture. Given those facts we can assume that traditional music in fact dissolved, and that amalgamated social, cultural, and political conditions altered the status of music in this context, which then became positioned between tradition and modernity. By dismantling the norms, styles, and practices of the canonical tradition, making something as to resemble folklore and tradition, rising almost autonomously, such newly composed music by its status is vernacular.

Vernacularisation as the interpretational cycle

As mentioned before, the vernacular might lead us to embrace those cross-overs between traditionally based and common or popular biases with strong connections to the present moment and modernity at the same time. However, it is not only evolution that brings us closer to the understanding of the concept. In the dissolvent process of traditional music, bifurcated meanings of the vernacular musics could be reached from different perspectives, of ethnomusicology as a scientific discipline and popular music and its ensuing social, ideological, and cultural contexts. Under this I presume that every ethnomusicological study actually dislocates traditional music from its rural (authentic?), non-Western

paradigms to cultivated, scientific, dominant discourse of the discipline and specific or general public. This is also sort of a specific ethnomusicological capitalism, transfer of power from tradition which becomes vernacularised (folk) in our interpretation. More clearly, under this predicament ethnomusicology tends to allocate and attribute traditional music by strengthening social meanings recognized by multitudes, therefore to recalibrate ‘music of the few’ to match established meanings, to become understood close as ‘music of the many’. However, under *vernacularisation* one should also rethink the nature of ‘making’ something as to resemble or to underline biases derived from music folklore. Moreover, the procedure of vernacularisation has its most palpable meanings in recent developments of popular Serbian world music. Evident examples could be found in music of Goran Bregović and his recent works such as *Karmen with a Happy End* composed in 2004. In this conceptual opera Bregović amalgamated music from the Balkans, mostly represented through melodies and styles of the Romani music (including brass bands, characteristic vocal timbre, melodic lines etc.), popular music through various emblems including commercial capacities of the world music etiquette, and signifiers of specific forms of art music (opera, scene, roles as combination of vernacular and operatic distinctions etc.). Through this specific ideological blend one can also observe many different levels of music styles which altogether create not just amalgamated form of art, but a postmodern idiosyncratic music style as well, especially evident in combinations of *habanera* and elements of Serbian folk dances, derived from rhythmical pattern which is generally referred as *užičko kolo*.⁶ Given the previous case it can be obvious that vernacularisation is (mis)used to deploy particular new image and identity of folk music that gravitate to modernisation, and additionally might challenge traditional norms and induce reassessment of the music tradition as such. In addition, in discussions on modernity, Appadurai suggests that in contemporary readings of such cultural manifestations “megarhetoric of developmental modernization (economic growth, high technology, agribusiness, schooling, and militarization) in many countries is still with us. But it is often punctuated, interrogated, and domesticated by the micro narratives of film, television, music, and other expressive forms, which allow modernity to be rewritten more as *vernacular globalization* [paradoxical case – R.J.] and less as a concession to large-scale national and international policies” (1996: 10). As a result, the previously mentioned case by its form is hybrid; it is at the same time folk, art, and popular, but neither of this could be seen as pure value. For the same reason it is music which has its own roots, generated locally, a common music which extends over local boundaries or even over our conceptualizations of musical systems. Therefore vernacular is not merely a

⁶ Such idiosyncratic form could be examined in opening section (*Ouverture*) of the mentioned opera, which describes specific blend on ideological and stylistic or music strata.

buffer zone between canonical music practices as traditional or art music, nor it is a zone in-between those practices and popular ones. It has privileged position – from its vernacular nucleus it can become traditional and even art music, while with its dissolution it can become transplanted, represented amalgamated or molded as popular music (Figure 1).



Figure 1: The vernacular – concept trajectories.

Therefore such categorisation can be perceived as local-to-the-moment, meaning that the vernacular as a concept is historically defined by what traditionally becomes at the moment! Because of that, vernacular (as native form of music) seems to be ‘standardised’ through social agency, communal filters and as a set of norms disseminated, handed over through tradition. It paradoxically becomes *lingua franca* on local scales, just as traditional music is in (post)modern conditions comprehended as a sort of an alternative musical practice, non-standardised or not permeated by minds of majorities of urban population. Because of lack of historical background knowledge among multitudes, in urban settings every traditional music could be regarded simply (and neutrally) as *folk music*, knowing that it has roots in folklore, but not knowing particular levels and stylistic strata of such music, which overall indicates on bifurcated meanings and interpretations of the vernacular and all reading possibilities that this term implies within and outside ethnomusicology and other related disciplines.

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Растко Јаковљевић

НЕУСТРАШИВО НАРОДСКИ:
ПРЕИСПИТИВАЊЕ БАЛКАНСКЕ МУЗИКЕ
ИЗМЕЂУ ТРАДИЦИЈЕ И ПОНИШТЕЊА

Резиме

Стручњаци често користе термин *вернакуларни* („народски“) како би обухватили народне и народно-засноване вештине које су дистинктивна својства одређене културе локалних размера. Истовремено, термин подвлачи значај усменог предања, нестандардизоване комуникације и употребе језика међу обичним људима. Са друге стране, вернакуларно се супроставља нечему што чини „мејнстрим“, доминантну културу. Испрва, вернакуларно конотира говор и језик, дијалект који стоји наспрам језика нације широког круга популације или *lingua franca*, док се потом може пренети и на друге аспекте људског понашања.

У етномузикологији вернакуларно је у већини посматрано као доволно снажан израз који омогућава обухватање свега што чини плуралистички универзум традиционалне музике. Из тог разлога дисциплина није успела да пружи прецизну дефиницију, нудећи широки спектар флуидних формулација. Неретко термин вернакуларна музика постаје ништа друго до чаробне речи, често употребљена као пука научна провокација, постављена синонимно са терминима „староседелачки“, „аутохтони“, „регионални“, „народни“ или „традиционални“. Међутим, можемо ли одредити вернакуларно према општем појму народне уметности, и на који начин оно стоји у односу на концепте и значења традиционалног и модерног? Како се значење овог концепта смењује уколико традиција сама по себи постаје нејасан термин, у тренутку када настаје поништење канонске традиције у модерном добу. Надаље, одговарајућа апликација и употреба у

оквиру етимолошких студија случаја, етномузикологије и сродних дисциплина, указује на неслагања и другачије перспективе које прелазе границе ових научних дисциплина. Таква разматрања настоје да укажу на велике разлике између и унутар датих култура, као што указују и на постојеће несличности између схватања саме традиционалне и народне музике на Западу и Истоку.

Културни контекст српске традиционалне музике, неговане у селима до друге половине двадесетог века, био је одржан и развијан од стране локалних заједница и дистинктивних културних група. Све те групе имале су своје вернакуларе, форме изразито регионалног стила. Локација и стил музике која се изводила у таквим условима, и музика која се изводи данас узроковала је стварању комплексне позиције у дефинисању граница између „традиционалне“ и „народне“ (популарне) праксе. У модерним условима, и у одређеним формама, традиционална музика и даље постоји, док је пропустљивост граница између савремене народне и традиционалне музике постала нарочито уочљива у колоквијалном изразу који људи користе за обе врсте музике – народна музика. Трећа област, која се поставља између традиционалне и популарне музике представља холистичку локацију вернакуларног, коју овај рад настоји да разматра.

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE RESEARCH
OF THE MEDIA MUSIC ON THE BALKANS:
A view from the tavern tables to some relations between
the musical cultures in the Balkans in the field of media music
during the first half of 20th century

VENTSISLAV DIMOV

Abstract: This paper presents a comparative survey of popular local musical practices raised in taverns throughout the Balkans during the first half of the twentieth century. The new mass media (gramophone and radio) as well as traveling musicians were the main ways of musical transfer between local Balkan cultures, proving the thesis that tavern music is one of the new areas of contact between communities, inside, as well as across the boundaries of different regions. Therefore, the local tavern music and means of mass media have been engaged in the crossing of national state borders and in the dialog between cultures. Various examples (especially from Bulgaria and Serbia) construct this paper as an interesting story, as a sort of historical journey through the Balkan taverns seen as 'happy' and 'dream places'. But since such 'dream space' was produced by the world of mass consumerism, a mapping of the identities, social classes, tastes, and fashions, the data presented by the present text calls for a deeper insight into the various problems of the topic, which can become an object of further investigation.

Keywords: Media / recorded music, Balkan taverns, Roma / Gypsy musicians, *chalgiyski / kaffanski* bands.

Introduction

An integral research of media music in the Balkans is necessary because “actually, there is no written history of Balkan musical culture” (Беливанова 2003). But it is also late for such research, because we have largely lost the primary sources for a historical-anthropological study of the sounds of the past. In this text I will observe the media music from a not so prestigious place: the corner of the *kaffana*¹ (pub / tavern / restaurant / locale / café). Imagine that we

¹ Nouns *kaffana*, *kafana*, *kafeana*, *kaffa*, *café* and *café amanes* are synonyms for *café*, *pub*, and *tavern*. The adverbs *kafeanska*, *-i* / *kafanska*, *-i*, *kaffanska*, *-i*, *kaffan* in Bulgarian, Macedonian, and Serbian languages designate *songs*, *music*, *singers*, *players*, *dancers* and *ensembles in the cafés*. All these synonyms, including terms originating from West European languages in local variants, have been deliberately freely used in the text so that they could show and illustrate a whole range of similar names for the taverns as characteristic places of social life and music making and also as an important cultural feature in the Balkans (*Note of the editors*).

are a century back in time and we are sitting at the general pub tables. Our *kaffana* offers, apart from food and drinks, some music – ‘live’ or from the funnel of a gramophone.

When saying *media music* I will denote the music, which is performed and reaches its audience (consumers) through an intermediary – a technical means of mass distribution and mass media. The term includes recorded music, part of the music recording industry (Gronow 1996; Malm 1992; Manuel 1988) and broadcasted music (Димов 2010). In the first half of the twentieth century the medium consisted of 78-cycle gramophone plates and the radio. The study of media music is interested in technology and its impact on music, but also in the role of new media music in the life of society and man. The study of recorded and media music is among the newest trends in ethnomusicology (Nettl 1992: 382–3; Gronow 1996: 5–36).

The relationship between media music and the pub can be examined from various aspects. In its early years gramophone and radio were listened to by groups in pubs and cafés. It is known that some of the first recordings for gramophone plates in the Balkans were made in hotels, music halls, and restaurants. During the first years of their existence the radio stations in the Balkans broadcasted musical performances from pubs and restaurants. Many of the stars of media music used to play and sing in Balkan pubs and *kaffanas*.

It is of importance to understand the musical complexity of the region and the specific *modus operandi* that connect Balkan countries and places into European cultural context. Different kinds of music played in Balkan taverns include the musical practice born and cultivated in local contexts (rural and urban folklore, ethno pop) along with the music that was imported and appropriated from different European centers (e.g., music of *café-chantant*, cabaret and *variété* troupes; popular film songs, dance-music and chansons; music of jazz ensembles; popular pieces of ‘classical’ music, etc.). Both are kinds of popular music disseminated by the new mass media and played in taverns, restaurants and clubs both by foreign and local musicians.

Balkan music and musicians in the ‘happy space’ of the pub

Several authors have already written about the *kaffana* in the Balkans as an anthropological and ethnomusicological field, and as a sociological laboratory and media space (Димов 1997; 2001: 13–6, 155–6; 2003; 2007; Пейчева 1999: 37–40, 235–241; 2003; Đorđević D. 2011).

The tavern and tavern music, can be seen as a variant of a ‘happy space’ – as opposed to the real (the space of social practice) and the conceptual (abstract model of space as a mental image of reality), this is the space that is experienced (Bachelard 1988: 34–43). As a space of enjoyment, dreams, and imagination, the pub offers substances of the innermost and attractive things (wine, women and music, intoxication, and delight of the soul). Music and music-ma-

king at the tavern is the emblem of hedonism and consumption passions, so typical for modern mythologies.

The pub and music in the Balkans are a couple, which marks the transition from live to recorded, from mono-ethnic to inter-ethnic, from local to cross-border music; from tradition to modernity. Often, pubs and cafés accept musical styles and idioms, and give them new names. It is known that there exists the so called *kafeanska / kaffe / café* (more authoritative than *svatbarska / wedding*) *chalgia / folk* music presented by great master professionals with a wide and diverse repertoire (Turkish, Macedonian, and Jewish songs, oriental *chochetsi*, and Turkish marches), which was popular in the *kaffa* of Thessaloniki, Skopje, and Belgrade (Џимревски 1985: 36).² In research on Ottoman urban music one could encounter the term ‘café music’ (Pennanen 2004). In Greece, the musical groups and the styles of music performed by them are called *cafe, café amanes* – local urban music and dances (*tsifteteli, hasapiko, syrtos* – 2/4 or 4/4, *zeibekiko* – 9/4, *karsilamas* – 9/8, *kalamatianos* – 7/8), based on Ottoman tradition, performed by mixed groups (violin, *kanun, santur, oud, saz / bouzouki*) with improvised vocals (*amane*; Burton, 1994: 149; Pennanen, 1999: 26). In Turkey, the chamber orchestra formations (*fasil* ensembles) played in nightclubs, pubs, restaurants (*gazino, gece klübü, pavyon*), and bars with music shows, where they performed in the *fasil* style (Beken, 2004: 185–7). The new urban Balkan music has a relationship with the pub and coffee in its names: *kaffanski* songs, *pub folk*, and *tavern music* (Џимов 2001: 14–5, 19). Many of the Balkan music contacts were born in informal entertainment areas. Here are a few examples from the fund *Musical history of cities*, kept in the archives of the Bulgarian Academy of Science: in the early twentieth century in many pubs in different Bulgarian towns the playing musicians were “Serbian Gypsies” (Plovdiv), “Romanian Gypsies” (Montana), or “Romanian musicians” (Montana). In 1909, in Plovdiv, in the pub “Thracian Hero” the main band was the *kaffan* band of Nane Vulić-Vule, a Serbian Gypsy with female-singers of *sevdalinka* (Bulg.) / *sevdalinke* (Serb.). The repertoire of such bands in Bulgaria included various types of Balkan music: Serbian, Greek, Albanian songs, *sevdalinka*, Romanian tunes, *kyutchek* and “songs of dubious nature” (Пейчева 1999: 29, 38, 45).

Together in the ‘wet’ and ‘low’ in recorded music from the middle of the twentieth century

Bulgarian musicians, who were popular in the local music industry with dozens of records with Bulgarian and Balkan folk and Western dance music,

² Different terms for *tavern dances* and *tavern dancers* used in the paper are of different origin: Persian, Arabic, Turkish and Indo-European languages. In the paper have also been used terms designating different musical genres, specific instruments or instrumental ensembles; these terms originate from the Balkans, from the Orient or from South or Middle Europe (*Note of the editors*).

performed in Serbian restaurants in the 1930s. According to the historian of Bulgarian pop music Milyo Bassan in 1939, the main band in the restaurant “Sindelić” in Niš was a Bulgarian orchestra with singers Maria Todorova and Ganka Krusteva and instrumentalists: Becker (piano), Roman Dimitrov (drums), Peter Pavlov (flute and saxophone), and Bora (a Serbian, on accordion). The orchestra performed popular songs and folk music. In 1940 in Belgrade, in the “Ruski car” (“Russian Tsar”) restaurant, Bulgarian Roman Dimitrov played drums in the orchestra of Yugoslav musicians (NA BAN, Sat. 19 Op. 1 AU 8).

The renowned violinist and band leader Peyo Budakov worked with accordionist Alexander Lozanov. Milyo Bassan included a picture of the two in his works and commented that Alex Lozanov was a Yugoslav who had lived in Bulgaria for many years, a master of Serbian and Macedonian songs. Lozanov held a workshop for repairing musical instruments (NA BAN, Sat. 19 Op. 1 AU 7, l. 12). Serbian singer Mica Ostojić – Plava Zvezda (Blue Star) recorded several songs with Lozanov’s orchestra in Bulgaria – Lozanov playing the accordion, the violin played by Peyo Budakov who had probably already recorded several Serbian *kafanske* songs as a singer.

During the 1950s and 1960s, there were many visiting Bulgarian folk singers, instrumentalists and orchestras in Yugoslavia: Boris Karloff, Peyo Budakov, Ibro Lolov, Tinka Pesheva, and others. In 1961, Peyo Budakov’s band went on tour in Yugoslavia – with Budakov’s Bulgarian orchestra (including Hassan Chinchiri, violin, Ibro Lolov, accordion, Kadri Ovcharov, clarinet) was a Serbian singer Radmila Dimić (NA BAN, Sat. 19 Op. 1 AU 7, l. 32, CH. 18). In 1964, Budakov’s band performed in the “Saraj” restaurant in Skopje, with the famous Macedonian folk singer Nikola Badev as soloist (NA BAN, Sat. 19 Op. 1 AU 7, l. 37, CH. 23).

The common songs: the role of minorities (Gypsy musicians)

The travelling Roma musicians stopped and settled in areas of urban entertainment culture: cafes, taverns, and restaurants. Evidence for such practices in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century can be found in almost all major Balkan cities: Constantinople, Odrin, Smyrna, Athens, Thessaloniki, Plovdiv, Sofia, Skopje, Bitola, Korca, Tirana, Belgrade, Sarajevo, Bucharest, Prizren (Цимревски 1985: 7–8; Големовић 2002; Димов 2007: 47–8). Together with the Roma musicians in café bands on the Balkans (Macedonia, Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia) there were also Roma (and/or Jewish) female singers and dancers called *chengii*, *zeybetsi*, *buci* (Цимревски 1985: 34–7; Пейчева 1999: 38; Silverman 2000).

The Gypsy musicians settled in the local music cultures as agents of the Eastern and Oriental, and Western and European musical trends. In passing through different lands they brought “the spirit of the Orient” to Yugoslavia

(from Turkey, with the oriental instruments tambourine, drum, and zurna) and new instruments from Romania and Hungary – clarinet, cymbals, violin, which became popular tools, found in the early twentieth century and performed traditional and modern music in cafés, as stated by Tihomir Đorđević, and half a century later by Vukanović and Andrijana Gojković (Ђорђевић Т. 1932: 98; Vukanović 1962: 55; Gojković 1964: 725).

Rayna Kostentseva describes in her memoirs a cabaret opened in 1930 in the Gypsy neighborhood of Sofia, and the music it offered to the entertained customers – Gypsies and Bulgarians.

“On a narrow stage was positioned a small band, which accompanied the singer – a beautiful young Gypsy girl in a long dress of some shiny fabric – a favorite of the band conductor. This place was the cradle of several Gypsy hit songs, which infected with their exotics and content all of Sofia. The most popular song of them was *Krepi se butso*. Some time later, a very original Gypsy singer arrived in this gypsy cabaret, coming from the Vidin region. They called her Keva.³ Just twenty of age, slender and flexible, with a beautiful dark face and eyes black as coal, with a waist-long black mane of hair, she attracted many visitors every night... Her repertoire consisted mostly of Serbian and Romanian songs she had learned in Serbia and Romania. She dressed elegantly and behaved gently with all visitors. Her frequent guests were journalists, writers and artists.” (1979: 40–7).

A common thing for the Balkans, unifying the three fields: *kaffanska* music, media / recorded music, and gypsy musicians, was the practice of small instrumental groups: *lautarski*, *chalgiyski*, *kaffanski* bands. Dimitrije Golemović has pointed out that in Serbia there are chamber ensembles of string instruments, associated with the practice of Roma musicians. Probably related to a cross-boundary *lautarska* tradition, the chamber string ensembles today are supported by the heirs of musical families of Šabac (Cicvarić family), Loznica (Amzić family), and some villages around Valjevo (2006: 23–24; also Ђорђевић 1932: 98;). Roma violinists have recorded music from Vojvodina at the Radio Novi Sad (Fracile 2001: 194; 2009). In Bulgaria, among the violinists and leaders of bands that recorded Balkan (sometimes accompanying singers from other Balkan countries) music, of Gypsy origin were Atanas Sotirov, the Golden Gypsy-boy, Peyo Budakov, and Kostika (Пейчева 1999: 132–3, 206–210; Пейчева 2008: 474–6; Dimov 2009). Their bands, like the *kaffan* bands in Serbia included mostly violin, clarinet, accordion, bass, and a drum kit.

What are the common features of the Balkans in the music of Gypsy musicians during the first half of twentieth century?

Roma musicians have a taste for oriental music. In present times, as well as during the first half of the twentieth century, all over the Balkans we recog-

³ Meaning: female, personal name (*Note of the editors*).

nize a dance symbol of the Roma, who like to have fun with the Oriental and Turkish – “the flexible *kyuchetsi*.”

Gypsy musicians from the Balkans recorded oriental music (*alaturka / alla turca*) in mixed bands (*café amanes, chalgii*). Mitsos Hindzos, a Romani zurna player from Greece, recorded with Greek and Turkish musicians (singer, violin, *oud, def, zurna*) Ottoman and Turkish music for the French company *Pathé* in the 1930s (Blau et al. 2002: 167). The *chalgia* music of Recep Said, which was played in the *kaffans* “Mavrovo”, “Yanche”, and “Bella Kafa” in Skopje and in the Belgrade *kaffana* “Dardaneli”, in 1925 was recorded on 20 gramophone plates with Turkish songs in Zagreb (Џимревски 1985: 36–7).

Another contribution of Gypsy musicians in the Balkans is the establishment of a new singing style that developed local urban traditions. *Varoško* traditional singing, rich in oriental elements (Golemović 2005: 180), in South Serbia is associated with the context of *kaffa* and with the leading role of Gypsy musicians. It is popular among the people and the intelligentsia. The fans of the singer Keva were prominent intellectuals from Sofia. The fans of the Gypsy singer Sofka Nikolić in Bosnia and Serbia were the wealthy and influential citizens of Mostar, Sarajevo, and Belgrade, and her house in Belgrade, as a music salon, attracted the highest of intellectuals – a frequent guest there was Branislav Nušić (1964–1938), the well-known Serbian novelist, playwright, satirist, and essayist.

Yet the attitude to the *kaffan* singing and singers was ambiguous.

In the Introduction to his song collection *Narodna pevanka* in 1926 Vladimir Đorđević wrote:

Do stop by the small taverns in Dorćol, Vračar, Savamala or any of our provincial towns to take a listen to the bogus professional female singers, and should you foster any sense for beauty of songs and their performance, at the least, you'd cover your ears as not to hear them. Senseless, shady, and very often banal lyrics of unknown christened names, amidst barbarian screaming, or a vulgar but pompous twisted mixture of distorted trash from our own and foreign melodies, and their makeovers – that is the current state of singing endeavours for provincial masses... (Ђорђевић 1926: III).

Among Radio Belgrade programmes, during the 1930s and 1940s, the so called ‘improvised singing’ was popular, basically including performances of popular professional singers in two manners (according to Stojanović-Novičić, citing the memoirs of composer Mihailo Vukdragović: Gypsy-Oriental and Urban; Stojanović-Novičić 2008: 340). The tastes of Serbian radio-audience were similar to the tastes of Bulgarian audiences of recorded music (then, and also during the next decades). They preferred to enjoy listening not to its original”, rural songs, but to the urban and popular songs. These were *varoške pesme, kaffansko pevanje*: Macedonian songs and melodies, Bosnian urban *sevdalinke*, and Serbian urban songs.

Despite criticism, and although being a *kaffan* singer and a Gypsy was not a highly valued profession, both in Bulgaria and Serbia, great popularity was given to many singers (Sima Vasiljević, Mile Brujić, Sulejman-Sulja Džakić, sisters Zorica and Danče Nikolić, and especially Sofka Nikolić) and orchestras (Paja Nikolić, Steva Nikolić, Đ. Đorđević, Dušan Popaz, and Cicvarići).

During the period between the two world wars, Gypsy orchestras were sought for among artists, for records of folk and popular music of the Balkans. In Yugoslavia (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Serbia) Gypsy bands accompanied recordings of the most famous singers. Mijat Mijatović from Belgrade recorded with the band of the Gypsy violinist Steva Nikolić the folk songs *Zorule* (Victor, HMV. V-3050-B) and *Biljana platno beleše* (Columbia, D 8672 England); with the Gypsy vocal band of Đorđe Đorđević *Jedren grade* and *Sarajevo vatrom izgorelo* in 1927 for the local subsidiary of the U.S. company Edison (Edison Bel Penkala Limited Zagreb, № Z 1413/Z 735); with the Gypsy band of Dušan Popaz were recorded folk and urban songs *Što si Leno na golemo* and *Šorom ide mlad momak* (Columbia, D 30987-39988, England). Among the most popular Roma musicians in the 1930s was Šule Radosavljević-Šapčanin – a violinist from Šabac, Serbia, who had a Gypsy vocal choir and played in the Royal Military Band in Belgrade. Šapčanin recorded the folk song *Jeleno momo, Jeleno* in 1927 with his Gypsy vocal band (Victor, V-3040-B). Collectors of gramophone records defined the bands of Stevica Nikolić and Dušan Popaz as the two best bands in the period of South-Slavic folk and urban music (www.youtube.com/user/kozobar).

The star of the Balkan urban song, Sofka Nikolić is called ‘Queen of *sevdah*’ – she used to sing Bosnian *sevdalinke*, Hungarian Gypsy songs, Italian *canzones*, Macedonian and Serbian folklore, and authored songs. Her way to becoming a professional singer began when she was 16 years old. She married the Gypsy musician and band leader Paja Nikolić. In the mid-1920s she moved to Belgrade, where she sung in famous *kafane*. Radio Beograd did the live streaming of the music program of *kafana* “Kragujevac”, in which Sofka had sung with the Gypsy band of Nikolić (first broadcast in 1929). At the request of listeners, Sofka was repeatedly invited to sing in radio studios, and between 1935 and 1939 she recorded 200 songs on gramophone records. The first were with Paja Nikolić’s band: *Ja nabacih udicu* and *Sagradiću šajku* (Edison Bell Radio. SZ 1472; www.riznicasrpska.net/muzika/index.php?topic=180.msg744#msg744, accessed 03/01/2011).

One could make parallels between the ‘Queen of swain’ Sofka Nikolić and the now forgotten star of Balkan music songs in Bulgaria, Ivanka Georgieva. In the Bulgarian sound-recording industry from the 1930s and 1940s, Balkan and South Slavic songs were included in the repertoires of some of the greatest stars: the singer of folk and popular tunes Ivanka Georgieva – of Wallachian origin, born in Vidin, neighboring Serbia, recorded with Gypsy musicians in her orchestra “Kostika” and Ramadan Lolov’s orchestra.

Conclusion: the role of the tavern in the media music on the Balkans

The tavern and the café – a kind of ‘gates’ between the local ‘backyard’ and global ‘road’ music and musicians, are the modern Argonauts, intermediaries between the worlds – ‘own’ and ‘foreign’, the local oral tradition and the urban, and foreign and modern traditions. Therefore, these musicians are among the pioneers of recorded music in the Balkans and in Bulgaria. The pub is one of the first spaces that enlightened the ascension of modern Western technology in our lands and thus signified one of the aspects of modernization, technology, and westernization. Being a foreigner, as a passenger coming from afar (Шютц / Schutz 1999: 7), the musician can be an actor presenting the images of novel things. The genesis and movement of recorded music in Bulgaria, even if not presented as a special story and routes on a map, can be read as a journey into new areas of contact between cultures. The foreign producers and agents of global gramophone companies did not possess the cultural patterns of the groups where they went. Meeting with local music and musicians performed most often (and coincidentally) in the local pubs and cafés do not make him, the foreigner, a group member, but allows local music to arrive at more spaces and realizations, to reach new horizons and audiences. Becoming actors on the new stage of recorded music, local musicians ‘traveling’ through media and technology accumulated much knowledge and interpretations of new cultural patterns to the extent of enhancing their own self expression through these patterns.

By the mid-twentieth century Bulgarian musicians played in barrooms and *kaffa* in the Balkans (Serbia, Romania, and Turkey), Serbian – in Bulgaria... The exchanged trajectories of Balkans’ ‘foreigners’ moved traditional local musics and participated in the creation of a new urban Balkan music. This new music, mixed up by the musicians and audience on tavern tables, was baked in the oven of the music industry and found a place even in the official media showcase. Through radio air, it displayed high growth of national musical cultures. A glance at the history of national musical cultures, of the local media files, and of the contacts between Balkan musicians and musicologists (Јовановић 2002; Радославова-Дойчева 2010) shows that music and media culture in the Balkans in modern times and media spaces do not exist in a hermetically closed environment within the boundaries of a national state but are engaged in dialogue and recognized positively as commonly Balkan and European during the Golden Age of Radio (1930–1950). This is however a topic for another discussion, not about the tavern, but about the ‘highbrow’ music.

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Венцислав Димов

ДОПРИНОС ИСТРАЖИВАЊУ МУЗИКЕ У МЕДИЈИМА НА БАЛКАНУ

Резиме

Медији представљају ново поље антрополошких и етномузиколошких истраживања. Музика у медијима на Балкану истовремено може пружити нову перспективу истраживања националних музичких култура, па и кључ за још увек недостајућу „свеобухватну“ етномузикологију на Балкану. Овај рад је посвећен примерима снимљене и путем медија дистрибуиране музике у Бугарској, Србији и данашњој Б. Ј. Р. Македонији у првој половини XX века. Дат је преглед раних (грамофонске плоче, радио програми) и нових медија (Интернет), кроз уочавање паралела између сродних и сличних локалних музичких стилова, идиома и извођача. У раду је такође указано на посебне приступе и технике примењене у различитим научним дисциплинама: етномузикологији, историјској антропологији и студијама медија.

DYNAMICS OF PERFORMANCE PRACTICE IN TURKEY: THREE CASES

AHMED TOHUMCU, GONCA GIRGIN TOHUMCU,
MERVE EKEN KÜÇÜKAKSOY

Abstract: The orientation of the relationship, combination, and transition among different cultures is an ordinary fact. This motion has increased and is accelerated by technological developments in the twentieth century, and the possibility of being closed between the things pushed their boundaries. The actors of this transaction of cultures are the cultural mediators. This study relies on the comprehension of a mediator as offered by Taft (1981: 59). Studies of cultural mediation and mediators usually concentrate on definitions and meanings of these notions. Another point, as important as meaning and definition, are the reasons that move mediations and its mediators. In this context, the focus of the paper is analysis of such mediums that proves to increase awareness and transition among cultural texts by three different cases: Erkan Oğur with his fretless guitar; and Hayko Cepkin and Orhan Gencebay with their musical styles.

Keywords: Cultural mediation, mediator, *arabesk*, rock/folk/art music, Orhan Gencebay, Hayko Cepkin. Erkan Oğur.

In today's world it has become an ordinary fact that different cultural forms interrelate, synthesize and combine. This complex motion has been intensified and accelerated by the techno-economic developments in the twentieth century, which brought cultural boundaries generally closer to one another and amenable to mutual effect. This cultural structure, identified with the system after colonialism, is theorized by hybridity, syncretism (Herskovits 1966), bricolage (Lévi-Strauss 1971), creolization (Abrahams 1983), and mestizaje (Wade 2005). In these studies however, the focus was generally on a hybridity process and the total product named as hybrid form (Bakhtin 1981). Other concepts remarkable and conspicuous as hybridity (in terms of hybridity), about structures of cultural mixtures, are mediation and mediator who is the actor of mediation (Edgar 2010). Mediation is defined as occupying "a middle point between two distant or opposite poles ... to provide a point of contact, an intersection, a place of communication or dialogue between two different positions" (Debrix 2003: xxi). The actor of this transaction is a cultural mediator defined in its turn as "a person who facilitates communication, understanding, and action between persons or groups who differ with respect to language and culture. The role of the mediator is performed by interpreting the expressions, intentions, perceptions, and exceptions of each cultural group to the other that is, by establishing and balancing the communication between them. In order to serve as a link in this

sense, the mediator must be able to participate to some extent in both cultures” (Taft 1981: 59). In the last instance, the most significant entity of the mediation process that melted in this hybridity concept is the mediator.

We will present three concrete cases of a cultural mediation process, each by its own specific mediators and mediation scenes. The first case is Orhan Gencebay (Figure 1), one of the most remarkable figures of the *arabesk*¹ style in Turkey. Even though he names his work *serbest çalışma* (which means to compose melody freely without regards to any form, genre, style, in other words, in ‘freestyle’) instead of *arabesk*, his songs give important references to many significant examples of the already existing *arabesk* genre.

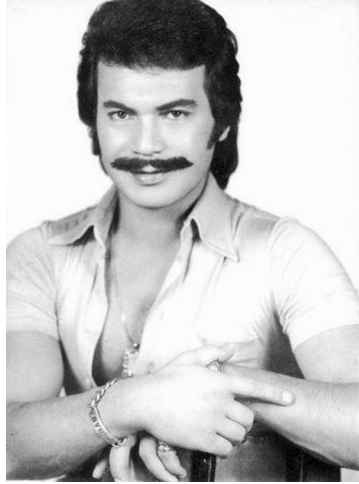


Figure 1: Orhan Gencebay

In the 1930s, many Arabic movies were released in Turkey, and most of them were Egyptian productions. The music of these movies was highly appreciated by Turkish people and started to become popular. “The politicians who were annoyed with the popularity of this music banned the use of the Arabic language in movie songs in 1938” (Tekelioğlu 2006: 112). This was because of the strongly nationalist cultural politics of the period which did not allow any non-Turkish language to thrive in the emerging public culture of the young republic. Film companies initially tried to overcome this hurdle by means of the adaptation of Turkish lyrics to Arabic songs, and then composing new Turkish songs for those movies. Consequently, besides the popularity among people,

¹ As a musical style, *Arabesk* is a co-application of Arabic, Turkish and ‘European’ components whose roots go back to 1960s. In the 1980s it began to dominate the popular culture industry of Turkey. What initially sparked the popularity of *Arabesk* culture and its musical expression and its ability to represent the rural population who migrated to big cities in the 1960s and 1970s. Today, it is a much wider cultural phenomenon.

Arabic influences started to appear in the very productions of Turkish composers. Turkish composers of the period made it a point to regularly compose works with Arabic themes, but with Turkish lyrics. Sadettin Kaynak, who was one of the most important figures exemplifying this process, became the creator of the genre later known as *serbest çalışma*. On the other hand, in the 1950s, important Arabic names such as Umm Kulthum and Abdulvahab, who were massively famous because of their presence in Egyptian movies, became embedded in repertoire of the popular music industry. The period shortly proceeding the *arabesk* genre can be conceptualized as a mixed phenomenon, a cultural and behavioral synthesis of Western-Turkish and eastern music. The early 1960s offer a lead as to the history of what went on before *arabesk* became problematic. The works of Suat Sayın who was one of the well-known composers and singers of the 1960s, illustrate the use of violin and orchestration as one of the principal elements within the *arabesk* genre (Example 1).

The *serbest çalışma* musical comprehension of Orhan Gencebay, who became popular during the same period, is similar to Suat Sayın's (Example 2). The first occasion of Gencebay's becoming a focal point in the *arabesk* debate as well as its sacrificial lamb, was the immensely successful recording named *Bir Teselli Ver* (Example 3), with an initial sales figure of 600,000 copies. It is possible to say that one of the reasons for this success was Gencebay's knowledge of Turkish folk and classical music, as well as important aspects of Western music, and his ability to synthesize all of this in his impressive orchestration and stylization. Although these recordings were regarded as the collective achievement of the popular music industry, their immense success can be singularly attributed to Gencebay's own creativity and role of mediator that he adequately performed. In 1967, Orhan Gencebay worked as a *bağlama* player in Turkish State Radio and Television (TRT) for ten months after which he resigned. This decision shows the risk he took with his idea of developing Turkish music with his compositions of *serbest çalışma*.

Orhan Gencebay explains why he resigned from TRT as follows: "When I was in TRT, we had told the authorities as thus: 'We are not satisfied with the current level of performance, show us an alternative way.' But the masters couldn't show us a way. When this was the case, we said, 'please leave us to ourselves so that we can invent better ways of playing', but they continued to intervene and tied our hands. In this conflict, we tried to cultivate our own musical tradition within our own free inspiration. I am actually talking about myself. This was my aim" (1989).

The hybrid musical characteristics of Orhan Gencebay's work, who found 'his own way' after quitting his job at TRT, frequently lay an emphasis on mediated contrast elements in terms of orchestration and vocalization. He enriches his compositions by the use of wide orchestra based on instruments of various musical genres, kanun (zither), violin, oboe, bağlama (a long neck lute),

and ney, among others. Use of these instruments in different styles reveals contrasting dynamics in his music. The instrumentation technique in the song *Dertler Benim Olsun* (Example 4), first recorded in 1976, shows the combination of these contrasting elements. He uses the traditional vocal improvisation style of the Turkish musical forms in addition to his instrumentation technique. For instance, in his song *Çilekeş* (Example 5), he performs some parts as an *uzun hava* which is a traditional improvisational vocal form.

The music of Gencebay provides a mediation context that combines musical orientation of the usual audiences of urban music such as rock, jazz, European classical music, Ottoman court music, and traditional Turkish music, with those of the people who migrated from rural to urban areas in Turkey since 1950. Thus, Gencebay's music style proved to be an unusual and mutual medium between various socio-economical groups in Turkey. This context announces the mediator's achievement that was carried out on the basis of audience.

The second case concerns Hayko Cepkin (Figure 2), one of the marginal singers in the popular music of the recent Turkish musical scene. Besides his own uncommon image he stands out with his maqam (in terms of scales and melodic formulas) applications to rock music with Turkish lyrics. There are in fact, other singers and groups who utilize a combination of rock music with maqam structure in Turkey. For example, *Pentagram*, a rock band known abroad as *Mezarkabul*, is one of the groups that generally use the maqam structure in their music (Example 6). While in the style of *Pentagram*, the maqam practices are usually implied in the instrumental parts, and Hayko Cepkin performs this practice in 'arabesk oriented' vocal parts (Example 7).



Figure 2: Hayko Cepkin

Hayko Cepkin who is Armenian, formed his own musical background on the study of maqam music in Armenian church rituals, private lessons, and

western music training in the conservatory. In 1994, influenced by the soundtrack of the film *The Crow*, he decided to play rock music. He explains his own distinctive style as: “My background is baroque style due to my western music education. The rock elements were added within it because of my rock culture. I play keyboard and thus, my music has electronic tones. I also sing laments as an effect of Turkish and Armenian folk songs. My songs even have black-metal patterns” (Berköz 2006 web) ... “I think it is a good combination of my various trainings. The vocal structures are varied; I don’t sing in western sound too much, I don’t like it, because I like the *arabesk* timber and maqams very much” (Doğanay 2007).

It is possible to hear the combination Cepkin talks about as sharp and distinguishing passages in some of his works. Such structure is reminiscent of the ‘medley’ concept that John Furnival uses in reference to communal living spaces. This notion, first suggested in the 1930s, denotes an adjacent but not at all intimate life style. As the concept is applied to the musical field in the specific case of Hayko Cepkin’s style, it refers to the composition of adjacent but not intimate genres (Example 8).

In the last instance, Cepkin familiarizes rock music audiences with the *arabesk* style, which has long been and perhaps still is, ignored or considered a degenerate element, and he does so in a musical setup that is at extreme contrast with *arabesk*. This is indeed a dual process. Paradoxically, this style can familiarize both audiences with each other just as it may facilitate the perception of the other as ‘degenerate’ and reject the music altogether. The concept of cultural mediation can be explained by means of musical instruments outside of the musical genres discussed here. Here, the mediator is still the musician, but the main tool is an instrument employed in the mediation process within a contrast situation.

An example of this third case is the fretless guitar in Turkish style and its master and developer, Erkan Oğur (Figure 3). The fretless guitar that was recognized in Turkey at the end of 1990s was developed by Oğur in 1976. One of the popular performers of Turkish folk music, Erkan Oğur was born in the eastern Anatolian region of Turkey, in the Elazığ/Harpur area known for its distinctive regional musical manner. He lived there for fifteen years until 1970. He shaped his musical style with a local flair by playing the *cümbüş* (long-necked lute) at the village weddings of his homeland.

In 1975, while he was being educated in physics in Germany, he started to play the guitar and in his own words, over time “he got used to thinking with the guitar”. On the other hand, as he played the Turkish maqams on guitar he felt the deficiency of microtones, and vibrato and glissando techniques while practicing these tones. Thus, he customized the guitar on his own and in 1976 started to play the Turkish musical style. He explains this process as thus: “You are limited while playing the instruments with frets, you can play just on the pitches of the 12 tone system, and you can’t play anything else. Having no frets solves the problem. I play

a fretless guitar for an extremely simple reason which is to reach to the maqam pitches of Turkish music and to all the other infinite pitches. However, the main reason here is the expression of the Turkish musical pitches, playing the maqams, and improvising in folk and classical Turkish music” (Özcan 2001).



Figure 3: Erkan Oğur and Fretless Guitar.

Erkan Oğur has modified and produced many classical and electronic guitars and calls them ‘Turkish guitar or guitar with endless frets’. In the 1980s, when he heard about the founding of the Turkish Music State Conservatory he came back to Turkey from Germany. He was educated here and he learnt to play *ud* (shorth-necked lute). It is obvious that his style with fretless guitar was not taken seriously among Turkish academia and musicians: his first recording was released in Turkey in 1996, but he had already made a 1983 recording with the title *The fretless* in Germany. His name was mentioned in the recordings of some popular music bands, but his main goal “to play the folk songs with the fretless guitar” was realized at the end of 1990s.

This case also suggests that changes in a traditional structure may be denied reflexively by the keepers of the tradition. In fact, the reason why the fretless guitar and Erkan Oğur became so famous in 1996 is that he adapted a well-known folk song to a well-known film called *Eşkiya* which performed quite well at the box office. Beside the regional style, Erkan Oğur, uses the fretless guitar to play the blues and jazz (Example 9) as well as folk and other popular genres (Example 10). He thus adds the Turkish musical style to these milieus by the means of altered timbers and performs a re-mediation process.

In conclusion, we would argue that we can interpret the linguistically derived mediation theory via these three cases from the field of music on two main axes: first, it can be stated that the act of mediation has two reasons to come to be; individual preferences and orientations of the mediator that are welded by

(ac)culturation processes and the alteration processes in social and cultural structures. This case allows for the creation of an individual style. Although these mediators feature dissimilar names in their own fields, what makes a difference are their own styles. For instance Cepkin's style as a mixture of rock and arabesk does not create a new hybrid or mixed genre, and it remains his own style. Similarly, having a sub-title as *Gencebay arabeski* ('Gencebay's arabesk') in the *arabesk* style of Turkey refers to his individual style which is only identified with his name. Second, when two or more opposite or non-related elements are brought together in a mediation process, the relative distance of each element from each edge affects the outcome. As stated before, Debrix's emphasis is on "the occupying a middle point between two distant or opposite poles". However we can observe via these three cases that the positioning of the new product does not necessarily have to be at the middle point; it can be closer to one side. To recall one of the cases we discussed in relation to this point, in the opposition of Turkish maqam and rock music in Hayko Cepkin's style, the musical sensibility is closer to the rock side. This point can also be observed in neighboring cases that are not closely related. A case as example would be Erkan Oğur's authentic productions using a fretless guitar and Turkish folk music elements or the particular entity of the Gencebay's *arabesk*.

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Ахмед Тохумку, Гонђа Гиргин Тохумку, Мерве Екен Кућукаксој

ДИНАМИКА ИЗВОЂАЧКЕ ПРАКСЕ У ТУРСКОЈ: ТРИ СТУДИЈЕ СЛУЧАЈА

Резиме

Познато је да између различитих култура постоје везе, преплитања и транзиције. Такво кретање убрзало се и појачало технолошким развојем у XX веку, па је могућност да различите појаве не дођу у контакт практично искључена. Учесници ових културних трансакција јесу културни посредници, односно медијатори. Културни посредник јесте „особа која олакшава комуницирање, разумевање и деловање међу особама или групама које се разликују према језику и култури. Улога посредника изведена је интерпретирањем експресија, интенција, перцепција и очекивања сваке културне групе у односу на другу, то јест, етаблирањем и балансирањем комуникације међу њима. Да би у овом смислу служио као веза, посредник мора бити способан да у одређеној мери учествује у обе културе“ (Taft 1981).

Иако Тафт говори о културном посреднику као особи, медијатор такође може бити предмет или друга форма која одржава равнотежу међу културама и обавља комуникацију с њима. Овакав шири приступ погодан је за подробно тумачење метафоричних значења културних склопова, што се може објаснити и интерпретирати преко различитих музичких примера. У овом контексту, средиште рада јесте анализа медијума; она тежи да повећа свест о значају и транзицији културних текстова које представљају инструмент (турска гитара без прагова), особа (Хаико Цепкин / Науко Серкин) и жанр (*арабеска*) као културни посредници.

ETHNO-MUSIC IN SERBIA AS A PRODUCT OF TRADITION – FALSE OR TRUE?*

MLADEN MARKOVIĆ

Abstract: The term *ethno* in Serbia is usually employed to denote music otherwise known as *world*. The reasons are different, and this paper is trying to examine not only this issue, but also the relation between the domestic *ethno* and traditional music of Serbia. The examples chosen are inspected in the domain of musical analysis context of a large body of popular music. The conclusion is that *ethno* is based on traditional, but the utilization of that tradition makes it more akin to the always changing *popular*.

Keywords: world music, ethno, traditional music, history of popular music, music samples.

Why *ethno*, why not *world*? One might conclude that Serbia is so off-the-wall that we do not even foster this casual, well-known phenomenon of *world* music. However, we do. It is just a question of the term used. Simply put, our performers are rather fond of the name *ethno* (see also Golemović 2004 and Marković 2004). The reasons for this are, well, quite different.

This paper is based mostly on field research - consisting of direct interviews with some of the most prominent performers involved, as well as rigorous insights into their websites and various publications illustrating their (musical) acts. Based on their popularity (measured – if this is the appropriate word – by their radio and TV appearances and internet hits on their respective sites), we chose three *ethno*-bands: *The Balkanika*, *The Bistrik*, and *Balkanopolis* (coincidentally – or is it? – all their names begin with the letter B – perhaps as an allusion to the great Balkan). Each of these bands also has a prominent leader – a person identified with the very roots of the group, whether it is a player (Sanja Ilić from *The Balkanika*), player and singer (Slobodan Trkulja from *Balkanopolis*), or singer (Bilja Krstić from *The Bistrik*). Since certain ethnomusicological analysis of the published music is crucial for the final shaping of the idea behind our title, we also examined one musical example per band. The songs to be analyzed are *Korana*, *Prizivanje kiše* (*Call upon the Rain*), and *Kozar – Zurli treštat na sred selo* (*Kozar – Zurle's blasting at mid village*) respectively. So, let us begin with a short trip through the Serbian *ethno*.

* The paper is done as part of the project no. 147031 of Serbian Ministry of education, science and technological development.

The reasons first

Most (sorry, *all*) of our performers claim their rather special position within Serbian musical milieu. They see that special position as either *distinct* (the music they are performing is quite different from the corpus of Serbian popular and traditional music) or as *artistic* (compared to popular music or, at least, bordering between popular and art music). They are thus *not* pop and certainly not *world* musicians, but consider themselves to be *ethno* musicians (see Čolović 2006, also www.sanja-balkanika.com, www.balkanopolis.com and bilja.rs).

If we accept that *world* music is a phenomenon of *the others* (a witty expression suggested by Laurent Aubert; see Aubert 2007), and for us, our *ethno* musicians are not *the others* – after all, they are living among *us*, not *them* – the new term is then quite acceptable. Some (popular) music utilizing Hungarian traditions would in Serbia possibly be labeled as *world*, since it originated abroad. This view is strengthened by a compelling statement of Bilja Krstić, the lead singer of the *Bistrik* band: “When performing in Serbia, we are considered *ethno*, but when we perform outside the country, at an international festival, we are featured as *world* musicians” (from interview with Mrs. Krstić; also in Мартиновић 2012). Indeed, no explanation needed.

Examining the examples

The question in the title of this short paper may seem exaggerated, or even wrong. How can someone expect some kind of popular music to be a product of a certain tradition¹? Well, sure enough, not literally, but evident influence of traditional music could be traced down in *ethno*-type music (we will deliberately avoid the term *genre* because the music in question is, briefly, too diverse). However, as an ethnomusicologist, I am a little confused. Is our *ethno* some kind of traditional music, or partly transposed or arranged folk music, or even music exclusively composed “in traditional way”? The explanations vary – from an aesthetic point of view, from a sociological perspective, and from various other non-music perspectives (political and cultural, etc.), but they quite rarely discuss (and analyze) the music itself. Sometimes one can feel that *ethno* music is not even – music.

What should we expect from an ethnomusicologist (or a musicologist – see Šuvaković 2004)? Perhaps insight into some real examples with proper analysis is needed.

The first example in our short survey is *Korana* (Example 1) by Sanja Ilić, performed by the *Balkanika* band as a possible epitome of their work. The

¹ Of course, popular music *is* a tradition in itself. We are discussing the rural tradition of the Balkans throughout this paper, since our performers usually draw on that tradition.

beginning of the composition is based on synthesizer-generated simple floating pad chords (Figure 1)² and as such could easily belong to ambient music or certain new age music *à la* Brian Eno.

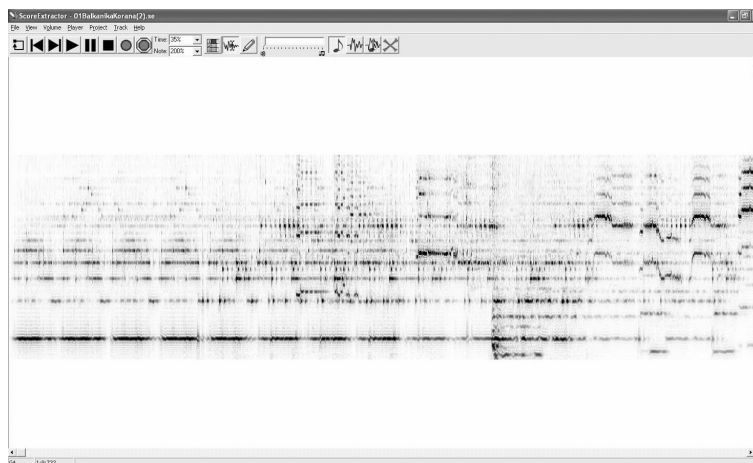


Figure 1.

The composer however, uses a specific motif which is first executed by the clarinet (Example 2). Figure 2 represents a characteristic short phrase, ornamented in the manner of some (rather unknown) traditional music.

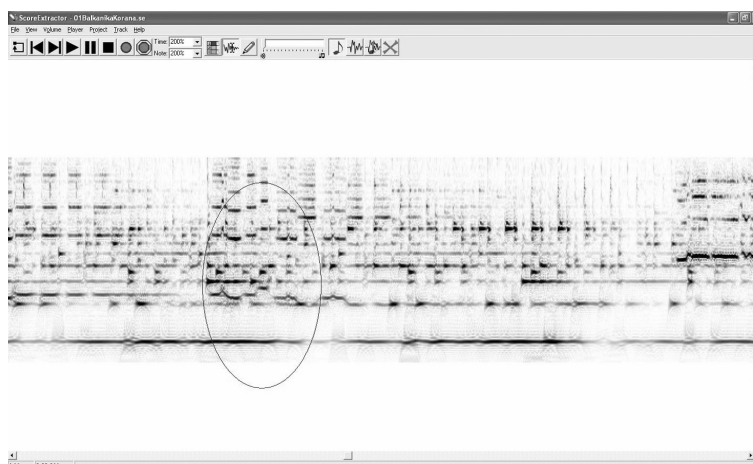


Figure 2.

² The graphic representations of music examples are imported from the *ScoreExtractor* software. The black lines on the graphs correspond to the amplitudes of frequency spectrum of the actual example in time, providing very accurate transcription.

The effect of traditional elements is emphasized by the entrance of the *kaval* (Example 3, a Byzantine instrument, as stated on the website of the *Balkanika* band), performing the same melodic motif previously featured by the clarinet (Figure 3).

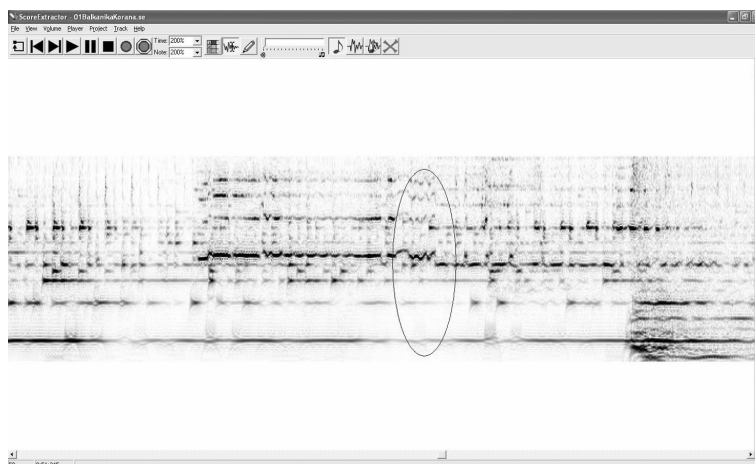


Figure 3.

In the final part, the distinct voice of Brankica Vasić (alias Vasilisa) evokes tradition (Example 4), carrying out the motif, this time used in a short sequence (Figure 4 – notice two short motifs with a few minor differences, as a result of the vocalist's performing freedom). Otherwise, the composition in general conforms to the rules of contemporary genres of electronic leisure music, actually – to the rules of pop-form.

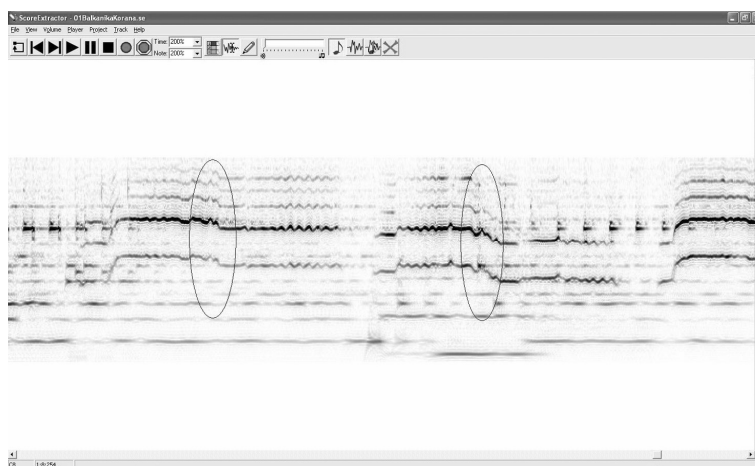


Figure 4.

Our next example is the song *Kozar (Zurli treštat na sred selo)* by the *Bistrik*, with lead vocal provided by Bilja Krstić, the band leader (Example 5). The structure of this song can be seen in Figure 5. A vocal introduction (Bulgarian folk song *Zurli treštat na sred selo*) performed somewhat arranged, but still in original 7/16 meter, is followed by a short loop on keyboards, seemingly very prominent in the mix. The meter of the loop is, however, 4/4. The last section on the graph shows singing of the female group, almost identical as in the introduction, albeit adjusted to a new beat. The whole vocal structure is juxtaposed to a relatively standard pop-frame – keyboards, programmed drum samples and bass, with some in the guitars. Basically, this is just an interpretation of a well-known folk song, but in a new arrangement and with significant change in one of its crucial musical characteristics, thus altering the very nature of the song. The result is again, a certain combination of the pop-form and traditional pattern³, with pop-form prevailing.

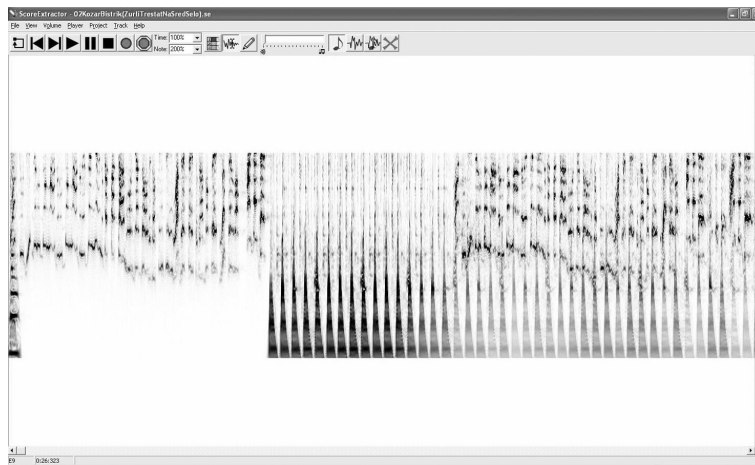


Figure 5.

The third example, *Prizivanje kiše* (Example 6) by *Balkanopolis* and Slobodan Trkulja (player of traditional instruments and lead singer of the band) is in a way a combination of the previous two. The structure of the song (as seen on the Figure 6) looks more complex than in previous examples, but to fully understand it, we need to dig deeper in the body of Serbian rural traditional music. The first part (introduction) features a flute (*frula*), quite uncommon in *dodole* rite (rite for call upon the rain – *prizivanje kiše*). The flute is obviously sampled, and then manipulated in a manner of contemporary electronica. The start of the sample twisting is combined with a rhythmic loop (similar process as in *Bistrik* example) and continues in the first verse, which, analogous to tradition, also

³ In the sense we mentioned in the first footnote.

serves as chorus. But the sung melody is essentially a combination of several different traditional melodies.

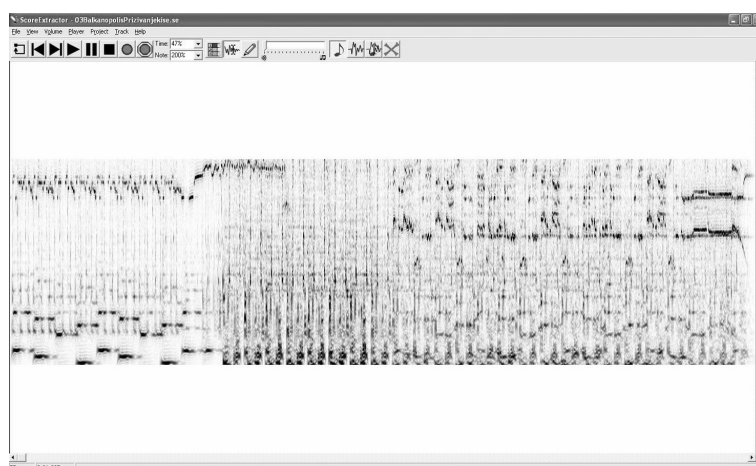


Figure 6.

The contour of the melodic line is akin to *dodola* song from Piroć (Example 7), and the line can be seen on the Figure 7.

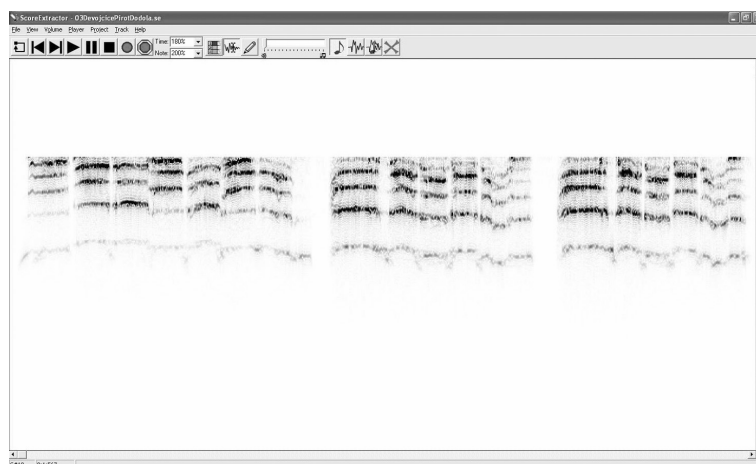


Figure 7.

The entire vocal part (Example 8 – the transcription on Figure 8) is extracted from another *do dola*, this time from Vidrovac (Example 9, Figure 9).

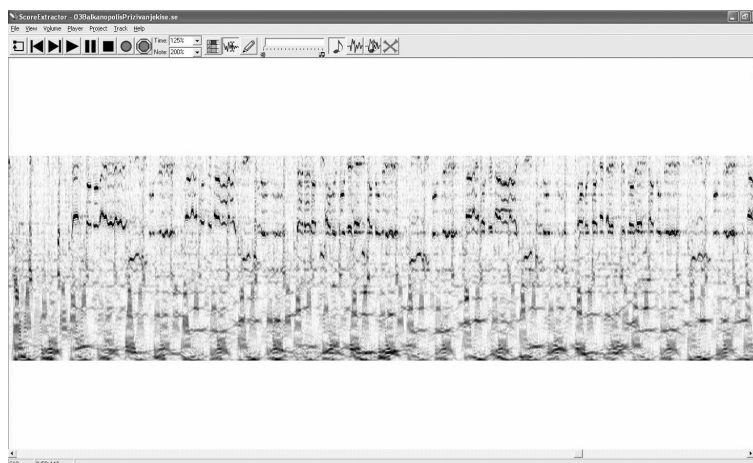


Figure 8.

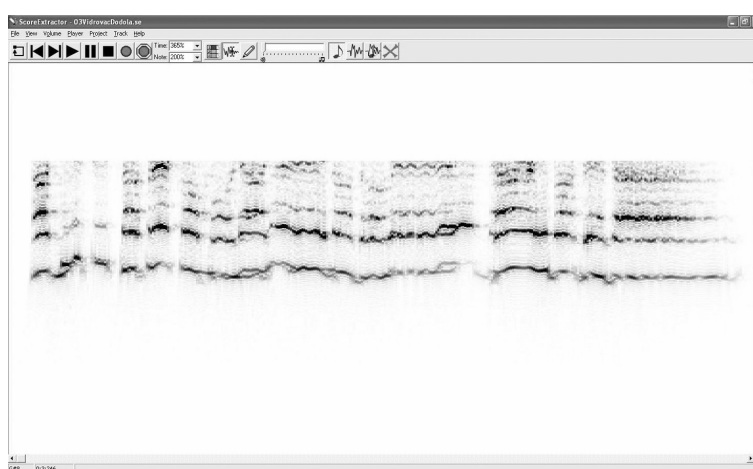


Figure 9.

Also, the composer uses fragments from somewhat different categories of folk songs, namely *krstonoša* from Ribaševina (the body of the main melodic line – listen to the Example 10 and see Figure 10), while (Example 11 and Figure 11) utilizing specific melodic movement from the *kraljice* rite (Example 12 and Figure 12) in the cadence. We should also mention that the entire vocal part is sung in the ‘bordun style’, which is at the least, unusual in these vocal categories. The result in this case is a certain melody constructed (as opposite to inherited in process of folklore transmission) from melodies from various parts of the country (from southeast to west), as well as from various rites (*dodole*, *kraljice*, and *krstonoš*).

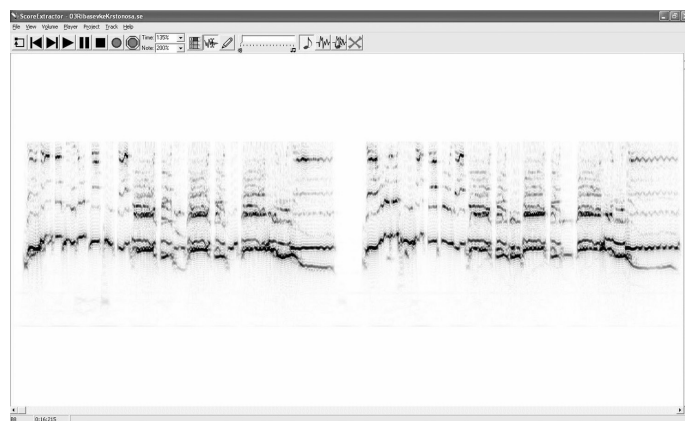


Figure 10.

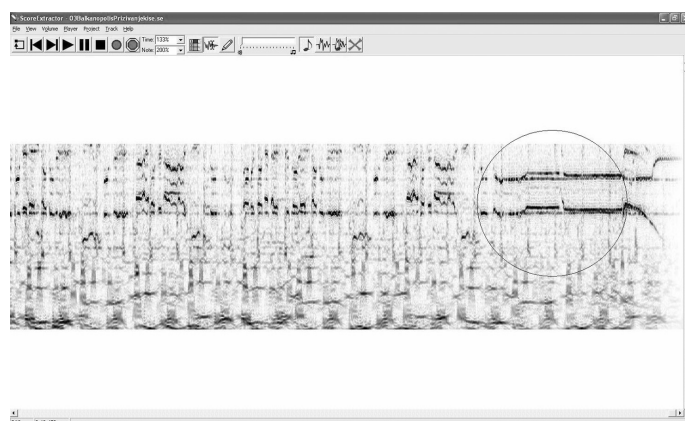


Figure 11.

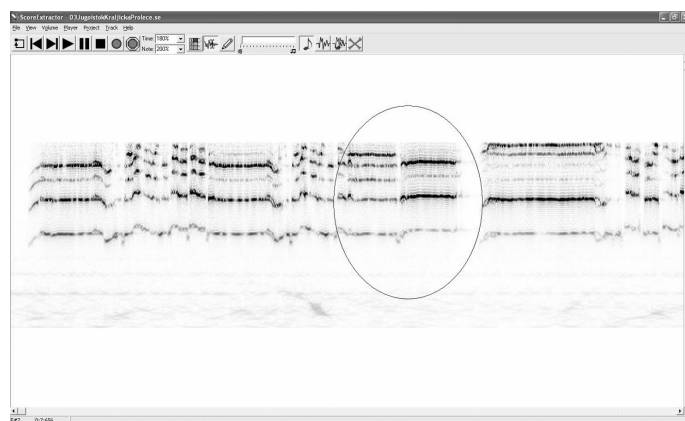


Figure 12.

What do we know from corresponding websites?

The main word from the *Balkanika* website seems to be *modern*. The actual expression used is 'Modern Balkan music'. On the other hand, Sanja Ilić, the *spiritus movens* of *Balkanika*, states that the majority of his compositional output has roots in Byzantine music. Hence it is not quite clear if the music of *Balkanika* represents a modern approach to the ancient Greek music or church singing, or is just using ancient melodies in modern arrangements. The actual examples (including the ones we mentioned) do not show similarities to ancient music, be it Byzantine or some other. *Ethno* (or *world*) is epitomized only through the employing of certain folk instruments (such as kaval, bagpipes, shepherd's flute, etc.), and, occasionally, through certain stylistic elements borrowed from traditional music (ornamenting and specific voice colors, etc.). Otherwise, this music could easily be labeled as ambient music (if we pretend it is modern) or new age music (for its actual sound). The more recent productions of *Balkanika* (such as *Ceeepaj!*) are in line with most of the Bregović's work.

As for the *Bistrik* and Bilja Krstić, their method of utilizing traditional Balkan music (seldom Serbian tradition) is on their website dubbed as 'blending'. A "blend of traditional Balkan music", to be accurate. That kind of blending is evident only at a broad level, particularly when discussing entire albums. Blending in the realm of single songs, on the contrary, cannot be found. Most of their material is based on true traditional songs, but sometimes, as in the shown example, certain characteristics are changed in an attempt to achieve some degree of popularity (both for them and for the 'forgotten' tradition), as well as to 'preserve' (quotation from the website) the song from total oblivion. Again, something seems wrong. Proclaimed 'blending' does not effectively exist, and also, what kind of 'preservation' is achieved by changing the core of the song - its rhythmic pulse? Obviously, the style of the *Bistrik* band is different from that of *Balkanika*, but the result is still far from the declared 'tradition'.

The case of Trkulja and *Balkanopolis* is even more interesting. On their site one can find that they are *reshaping* traditional music ("reshaping of Balkan tradition"). Yes? In just one song they combine elements of at least four different traditions (not to mention the mixing of instrumental and vocal in the *dodola* rite). Looking at it this way, it *is* the creation of something new, but is it really reshaping the tradition (see Nenić 2006, also 2009)? In just a few years? Without *any* trace of acceptance of that tradition in the field? Maybe the statement is just too bold...

A little bit of history

In 1994 Goran Bregović and Fejat Sejdić (independently) commercially published very successful albums in Europe. That was a sign for other musicians from Serbia that international acceptance of popular music made in Serbia

is quite possible. But not just any kind of popular music. *Ethno*. That was the word of the year. The next year and years to follow. We have to admit that our *ethno* bands are still managed by most of the (larger) musical events organized abroad. The success of Bregović was, and still is, enormous in the eyes of domestic (pop) musicians. So, it was not a miracle to expect a stream of copycats. But not exact copies. The three bands portrayed in this short survey have their specifics. They tried to be original. Even Bregović tried to be original (Sejdić simply played Serbian brass band traditional music) on the wings of the previous *world music* accomplishments (Bregović's career is, in great part, based on 'borrowing', whether of actual music or some idea – even when we talk about his beginnings with *Bijelo dugme*). Traces could be followed in various ways, but, we shall just point out three instances (in chronologically reversed order): in 1992 *Deep Forest Project* made a huge world success with their first album, later branded as *world* (listen to Example 13, excerpt from *Sweet Lullaby*); that album was preceded in many ways by *Enigma's A.D. MCMXC* album (apparently from 1990), also later marked as *world* (Example 14, excerpt from *Sadness*); at last, both *Enigma* and *Deep Forest Project* were a possible result of the achievement of British musician Paul Hardcastle (Example 15 – excerpt from 19), however – never labeled as *world*.

The connection between these projects is quite obvious. Hardcastle was the first to utilize a machine called sampler to gain international popularity⁴. He showed that the sampling of actual sounds can be very creative and used to make a pop hit. The process was established, and had many followers. What was the accomplishment of *Enigma*? The producer behind *Enigma*, Michael Cretu, sampled Gregorian chant, and synchronized it with the rhythm machine. The process was practically identical as in the case of Hardcastle, only the material to be sampled was different. The result, however, was the same (big international hit). *Deep Forest Project* drew on the same idea, but this time they did not use the TV speech or Gregorian chant. They turned to Turnbull's field recordings of Pygmy music, and again, sampled and synchronized it with electronic instruments. Real *world music* (as to some extent defined by Bohlman, see Bohlman 2002).

Ethno and tradition - false or true?

Well, every form of artistic heritage in a certain culture could be marked as *traditional* (see Lilburn 1984). In that sense, this whole study may seem a little biased, even making a bit of fun of our selected performers. That was not our intention. We just examined *their* claims and *their* (musical) efforts to meet

⁴ Actually, samplers were used before, but Hardcastle was the first to sample not some other instrument (as, for instance, J. J. Jeczalik and *Art of Noise* did), but the entire phrases, whether musical or of other nature, and later manipulate them.

those claims. The answer to the question asked in the title is rather complex. Our three cases differ, ranging from electronic leisure music, through reinterpretation of the folklore idiom, to ‘invention’ of some new tradition. Indisputably, all of them exploit rural traditional music (again, seldom Serbian). So, from one side, the answer is positive, *true*. Our *ethno* is a product of tradition. In the case of *Bistrík* – it is an almost unspoiled, unchanged tradition (reinterpreted). In the case of Trkulja and *Balkanopolis* it is a spoiled, contaminated (‘invented’) tradition. *Balkanika* offers a product of tradition, but it is difficult to determine which tradition (music composed ‘in the spirit of...’). But the answer is also *false*. This is because the utilizing of a rural traditional idiom is just intended to make a broader recognition. As a recipe, this is not uncommon in the world of popular music. However, in the case of our performers there is a certain discrepancy between the proclaimed and realized. The produced music does not fit the description provided by the performers themselves and also does not achieve great artistic results (the resulting forms are just in the domain of already heard, popular music). Its purpose seems to be not for sake of rites and customs, or to preserve an existing order, but for the sake of popularity and profit. In other words, the music holding the socially prestigious name *ethno* is just pop-music. The diverse methods of utilizing rural tradition of the Balkans point to various genres united under the label of *world music*. Thus, the final result will be... uncertain, as is the pop music – in itself.

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Personal interview with Bilja[na] Krstić

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www.sanja-balkanika.com

www.balkanopolis.com

Младен Марковић

ЕТНО-МУЗИКА У СРБИЈИ КАО ПРОДУКТ ТРАДИЦИЈЕ – FALSE OR TRUE

Резиме

Свако озбиљније разматрање *world music* у нашим условима неспорно води до одређених поређења. Какав је ниво транспозиције музичког фолклора у делима наших етно-музичара? Каква се стилска средства користе? Каква је поетика тих музичара? Кроз ова питања (и многа друга која би се могла поставити) уочава се и једна нит која их прожима, некад у већој, некад у мањој мери – неспорно посезање за музичким фолклором Србије.

Чини се да је најважније питање у разговорима о домаћем *етну* управо однос према музичком фолклору Србије. На примерима неколико познатих извођача етно-музике приказане су сличности и разлике у односу на саму музичку традицију Србије, као и начине приступања тој традицији. У сврху што бољег и детаљнијег сагледавања начина употребе музичког фолклора у посматраним делима, коришћена је и специфична анализа. Обично се феномену етно-музике прилази с извесним предубеђењем, дајући било позитиван, било негативан предзнак. Наша анализа је управо усмерена на (колико је могуће) објективан приступ овој музици, и не подразумева досадашњи уобичајен приступ једноставног мерења заступљености фолклорног узорка у датом делу.

Рад одговара и на питања самовредновања дела етно-музике самих аутора, с обзиром на то да се користе и интервјуи с њима, као и садржај њихових интернет презентација. Ово сматрамо посебно значајним, јер се на тај начин ближе одређује намера аутора у односу на коришћење музичког фолклора. У том смислу, дата је општа оцена већ релативно увреженог мишљења и „аутомишљења“ – да је етно-музика у Србији продукт музичке традиције.

*THIS IS THE BALKANS: CONSTRUCTING POSITIVE STEREOTYPES ABOUT THE BALKANS AND AUTOBALKANISM**

MARIJA DUMNIĆ

Abstract: This paper deals with ‘Balkan music’, a specific sound notion of an imaginary place of the ‘European inner Other’. It emphasizes a very significant role of music in the process of creating stereotypic images about the Balkans. The paper points to current acceptance and adoption of the so-called positive stereotypes that represent the Balkans as the European corner for fun and a place of exaggerated passion. By means of this process, the products of popular culture in Serbia are being converted into cultural resources leading to autobalkanism, i.e., understanding of self as a member of the Balkan culture as seen from the Western perspective. As an example of the mentioned adoption and use of stereotypes in representing own national identity combined with the Western identity, this paper analyzes the song *Ovo je Balkan (This is the Balkans / Balkañeros)*, composed by Goran Bregović, as well as media coverage related to it.

Keywords: the Balkans, ‘Eurovision song contest’, Goran Bregović, autobalkanism.

The study of popular music genre based on cliché-ridden music characteristics related to the image of the Balkans, has, in recent years, been gaining significant attention of scientists from various disciplines with common theoretical basis in so-called Balkan studies. The studies of Edward Said (2008), Maria Todorova (2006, 2010), Milica Bakić-Hayden (2006), Vesna Goldsworthy (2002) and others, have found the application in analysis of this music which is mostly performed outside the Balkan area (Dimova 2007, Hemetek 2009, Kovačić 2009, Laušević 2007, Marković 2008a). This paper aims to contribute to the examination of this Balkan phenomenon on the basis of a domestic example, by particularly investigating why is this song at all of a local origin and by trying to point out the imperativeness of emic approach. It is also important to mention that the problem of perception and use of Balkan stereotypes in popular music was not significantly considered in works by professionals. This is especially problematic since it makes up a part of their everyday life. Additionally, the concept of the Balkans is gaining more representative status in public discourse and, at the moment, it is very important in state cultural politics.

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Edward Said's concept of orientalism was fundamental for numerous later reflections on the Balkans: 'Orientalism is a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between 'the Orient' and (most of the time) 'the Occident'. (...) Without examining orientalism as a discourse one cannot possibly understand the enormously systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage – and even produce – the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically and imaginatively during the post-Enlightenment period' (2008: 11–12). The thesis where the Occident attributes stereotypes of racial, cultural, religious and gender inferiority to the imaginary Orient (i.e., the Other) is applicable to the study of the Balkans in regard to Europe, and it simultaneously serves more complex interpretations, since the Balkans is a part of its own West as well as the place of interaction between the Orient and the Occident. Essentialized constructs of the Orient and Balkans are vital even today, and it is particularly problematic that due to long perpetuation in Western European discourse, the stigmatized ones adopt them. When discussing the notion of self of the peoples of the Orient, Said indicated the danger of stereotype assumption, especially negative ones (2008: 431). He additionally noticed an 'almost unconscious (and certainly an untouchable) positivity', which he called a latent orientalism (Ibid.: 275). The problem of the assumption of stereotypes about disputable phenomenon and the release from the same was very important for Said's scientific successors.

On the pattern of the concept of orientalism, Marija Todorova established balkanism – '(...) it relates to all the interpretations by which the phenomena from Southeastern Europe, i.e. the Balkans, rest upon the discourse (in Foucault's term) or a stable system of stereotypes (for those who have an aversion to the concept of discourse), that place the Balkans in a cognitive straightjacket' (2006: 10). Throughout the book entitled 'Imagining the Balkans', she also explained the appearance of various negative attributes relating to the Balkans, labelled by the (imagining) West. This attribute is more complex than the negative concept of 'balkanisation', which implies 'the process of nationalist fragmentation of former geographic and political units into new ones' (Ibid.: 97). Even in today's popular culture and art, it is obvious that the strong pressure on the Balkan people relating to the negative stereotyping (as primitive, violent, etc.) is still present, but owing to emancipating efforts of the mentioned researchers, that aspiration is being demystified and abandoned in public discourse. In her renowned book about representations of the Balkans, Todorova dedicated the chapter 'Balkans' as self-designation' to problem of the notion of the Balkans in educated elite, and pointed out that being accustomed to belittling from the outside, influences the self-image of the Balkan people and indicates a form of self-compassion (Ibid.: 96, 105–44). In the spirit of postcolonial studies, Todorova posed a question whether it is possible that the subaltern speak for themselves and whether the impossibility of self-presentation makes them oppressed

(Ibid.: 33). This paper will illuminate the use of representing power and mechanisms of its politics as an attempt to convert the subjugation into predominance.

The liminal position of the Balkans – as a clash-and-meet point between East and West, as European incomplete other and incomplete self (Fleming 2001: 31) – implies an ambivalent attitude of the West towards the Balkans, and it therefore might be interpreted as an object of disgust and as that of consumer's desire (Kiossev 2005: 180). There are also some positive stereotypes about the Balkans, i.e., benevolent representations such as wild, exotic, authentic, passionate, and immoderate. The image of the Balkans as the ethnographic museum on the periphery is constructed in Western European discourse (Todorova 2006: 352), and is substantiated by both former and current interest of the people of Europe for the Balkans as the place of ecstatic experience and entertainment.¹ Based on the available research of foreign authors (Jansen 2001, Razsa and Lindstrom 2004), as well as numerous domestic media contextualization of everyday and popular culture, it might be said that members of some nationalities of the Balkans have formed attitudes toward the Balkans and the West that are usually perceived as binary opposition, where Europe (i.e. the West) has the positive, while the Balkans entails a negative connotation.² This may be elaborated on the example of each of the Balkan countries, but this paper will discuss the relation toward Serbia as a representative of the Balkans.³ The case of Serbia is paradigmatic since the representation of the Balkans as (half)other relates to Serbia as well, and because of the fact that it is usually referred to as being nationalistic and violent in light of the dissolution of Yugoslavia. Apart from that, Serbia is in actual social-political transition recognized in a more current discourse of the Western Balkans in media, showing its geopolitical tendency toward European union, but still remaining in the domain of the Balkans which generally represents a new form of balkanism (Svilar 2010: 515–518, 534). This reflects in the music as well, but that will be a topic of a separate study.

Stereotypes about the Balkans are used in different forms of popular culture – literature (Goldsworthy 2005), movies (Iordanova 2001), music (Marković 2008a) – which all contributes to their expansion among the Balkan population. Positive stereotypes about the Balkans essentially originate from negative ones and might be more precisely named as pseudo-positive. Positive

¹ This interesting exist in different countries (Slovenia, Austria, Netherlands, United states of America), and there is also a huge number of newspaper articles on this topic, as well as the Internet presentations of the fans of the Balkans who actively participate in the 'Balkan' fun events.

² On the perceptions of the East more in: Bakić-Hayden 2006.

³ 'Another feature common to all Balkan nations is the self-perception of being at the crossroads of civilizational contacts, of having the character of a bridge between cultures', particularly the countries of former Yugoslavia (Todorova 2006: 138, 128). Though this comment of Todorova might be understood as partially correct, this paper deals with the situation in Serbia since it is more familiar to the author. Similar researches exist in other countries as well (e.g. Jezernik 2010).

stereotypes are not at all less harmful than the negative ones, since they feature a trait of being acceptable and non transparent at times. It seems that popular music is a particularly suitable device for positive stereotyping, since its concept is propagation of the Balkans as the place of entertainment, and due to its simplicity, is universally impressionable. According to the literature, Balkan people internalize negative stereotypes, although in an axiologically positive context, where the concept of the Balkans represents the justification for a bad quality and confirmation of inferiority (Todorova 2006: 96). In addition to this, in their self-image, they convert negative stigma into the satisfaction of what is forbidden in Europe (Kiossev 2005: 185). In this paper, the assumption of stereotyping the Balkans by the Balkan people, in particular the positive stereotypes since they are more easily adoptable, is referred to as autobalkanism. Autobalkanism is a continuation of this discourse, since it represents the comprehension of the Balkans from the Balkan aspect of out-of-Balkan image of the Balkans.

Most problematic in this paper appears the adoption of these stereotypes as cultural and tourist resources (Република Србија 2006: 7–11), primarily inspired by economic reasons.⁴ A strategic approach makes disputable the presentation of simulacra of the Balkans as a revived folklore heritage, i.e., adding the aura of authenticity. In this manner, the stereotypes are repeated and super structured, and the problem becomes more complex when they start incorporating other collective identities, such as national, and when they aspire to press them. Therefore, autobalkanism has various forms of manifestation. An official document of the Republic of Serbia, ‘Strategy for Development of tourism in Serbia’ from 2006, refers to the use of positive stereotypes about the Balkans as a cultural resource:

The Republic of Serbia has to build its competitiveness in tourism over the long term and according to the following strategic advantages: (...)

6) Spiritual heritage and tendency toward festivals, celebrations and other events, which enables the Republic of Serbia to present its own life style. (p. 7)

The Republic of Serbia is the Transdanubian, Central European and Balkan country, which identically evaluates all natural and cultural resources at its disposal. Belgrade, the capital, is a metropolis of cosmopolitan spirit that uses its dynamism, and the accentuated ‘joie de vivre’ attitude of its citizens that attract business and other guests from all over the world. (p. 8)

The fact is that in the last decade, none of the traditional Balkan countries turned to tourism valorisation of the term Balkan, which is an inexhaustible basis for branding of tourist experiences on an ‘emotional’

⁴ The most representative example of this tendency might be the ‘Trumpet festival’ in Guča, where the experiences of the visitors and media reportings do not accentuate the music programme for the sake of promotion of entertainment, which is at the same time the part of marketing strategy for the attraction of a larger number of foreign visitors.

scale. Bearing that in mind, it is important to emphasize that this option, over the long term, could represent a significant marketing potential in tourism. However, we should point out the fact that the general shortfall of positive connotation of the term Balkan is still present. (p. 10).

The case study is the song *Ovo je Balkan (This is the Balkans)* composed by Goran Bregović, while poetic lyrics were written in collaboration with Marina Tucaković and Ljiljana Jorgovanović. This song was interpreted by Milan Stanković at the 'Eurovision song contest' in 2010 (Example 1: Eurovision 2010b).⁵ Beside this one, there is also a version in the Spanish language (*Balkañeros*), performed by Bregović in concerts with his 'Wedding and funeral orchestra' (Example 3: Milagroecaristicoor 2010), and whose performance rights were also ceded to the music group 'Gipsy kings' (Example 4: Magnificosteiner 2011). This case is very interesting and multilayered, because apart from being explicitly autobalkanistic by its name, it can be of great help for following music representations of the imaginary Balkan, characteristics of the so-called newly composed music in Serbia, relations between Balkan, national (Serbian) and European identity, as well as the manners of adaptation of the same song but in various market conditions.

First of all, mechanisms of representing the Balkans in this song should be clarified. Since the concept of the Balkans is constructed and elusive (according to mentioned literature), logically, it is musically presented through simulacra and hybrid products arising from elements of the existing folklore and popular music. This song features the main musical characteristics of the Balkans, common in works by many authors of this genre: trumpet accompaniment and emphasized 'es-tam' rhythm during the entire song as a basis; highlighted lines of trumpets in parallel thirds in the second refrain and in passages; 'hijaz' tetrachord in lead vocal of the strophe and in trumpet parts; timbre of back vocals typical for the singing manner of the Central Balkans; and singing ornamentation ('shouting out' of back vocals, etc.). The second refrain refers to the Balkans directly, so even when the context of performance and performer are changed, autobalkanism remains constant.⁶ Singing in one of the 'Balkan' languages is also indicative, and banal poetic lyrics contain in substance macho stereotype about men from the Balkans as very skilled lovers, which once again shows the apertenance to the disputable discourse.

⁵ In addition, see the example from the 'Eurovision song contest' (Example 2: Eurovision 2010a). This recording is not as interesting as the one mentioned above, since the performance in the interpretative sense is significantly inferior as opposed to one at the national contest. Example 1 is an official video of this song.

⁶ Autobalkanistic tendency was noticed by anthropologist Ivan Čolović as well. He concluded that the artists use the Balkans as profitable raw material which is exactly the same as the criticism Goldsworthy addressed to British writers (Čolović 2010).

The author of the song, Goran Bregović, is the primary signifier for defining this song as the ‘Balkan song’, because it is well known that, in spite of all controversies relating to his opus, he is the personification of the Balkans in the world. In the world, Bregović has created an image about himself as ‘the ambassador of Balkan music’, which implies that the music he creates is representative of and usual in the region in question, and that he has the authority to (re)construct and (re)present the image of the region to those who are not familiar with its geographical, cultural, historical, and musical qualities (Marković 2008b: 12). The reference point that probably explains the work of Goran Bregović in music of the Balkans in the best way is the authenticity of hybridity, since apart from the fact that he presents the Balkan as authentic, Bregović’s musical hybrid of folklore from the Balkans and his composer work, gained the status of authentic (about the relation between the authenticity and hybridity in world music, see: Stokes 2004: 59–62). In his compositions, Bregović made effort to present the Balkans as a place of passion and entertainment. For that purpose, he used reduced elements of local folklore (first of all trumpets, ‘estam’ rhythm, and female singing of the Central Balkans) in fusion with Western popular music. Autobalkanistic discourse is reflected not only in the composer’s origin, but in his commitment and power of representation of a specific group by the concept of the Balkans.⁷ The three songs he composed for the national contest, Bregović described in the following way:

‘Simple, joyful songs! Some will like them, some won’t, but the one who has the ambition to be pleasing to everyone, doesn’t do what I do. All of the three songs are trumpet songs, because as I said before – you wanted Brega, you’ll get *Brega!* All lyrics are cheerful – that’s the way I imagine that...’ (Serbian broadcasting corporation 2010, e.a.: M.D.).

The previous system of election of representatives for the ‘Eurovision song contest’ in Serbia implies a contest of numerous composers and performers. Bregović was the first composer engaged by the Serbian broadcasting corporation in this new system, and his reference was his undisputable popularity in the world (Serbian broadcasting corporation 2010). After mediocre success in the finals of the ‘Eurovision song contest’ and withdrawal of Milan Stanković from the popular music market, the song has continued to live through the performance of Goran Bregović, and in that way, it has gained a new form of manifestation.

Soon after Serbian, the Spanish version of the song was created, which Bregović performed with his ensemble. It is well known that music from the Balkans is very popular in South America, and Bregović was touring the continent at the same time when the ‘Eurovision song contest’ took place.⁸ In his regular

⁷ In Example 1, it may be noticed that Bregović instructs Stanković how to interpret the ‘Balkan’ atmosphere of the song in the best possible way.

⁸ Example 3 is recorded at the concert in Chile on the 13th of April 2010 (before ‘Eurovision song contest’).

repertory, Bregović included all the songs he composed for the earlier national contest '3 pa 1 za Oslo' ('3 down to 1 for Oslo') which he still performs,⁹ and on his sound publication *Champagne for Gypsies* (2012). Parallel with the considered versions, Bregović remade his own composition and as a result, he created a mediator for a new market and provided the possibility of simultaneous existence of his work in different areas (Mikić 2011), expanding the balkanism network. The band 'Gypsy kings' started to perform song *Balkañeros* with very few arrangement interventions (the flamenco guitar, especially in instrumental interludes). As a consequence, the song became the hybrid of balkanistic and Latino constructions.¹⁰ It is notably interesting because Bregović also collaborated with the Roma in this project, who (even though they were French, in this case) are marked as the carriers of the Balkan culture in Europe (Petan 2010).

The second important identity represented by this song is national, i.e., Serbian. In musical characteristics, it appears similarly to the previous one, which may be explained by the appurtenance of the nation (Serbia) to the region (the Balkans), but it is specific. Above all, Serbian identity is reflected in the use of Serbian language, then poetic referrals to the female name of Ljubica and to Belgrade in refrain, and in mentioning of the Serbian custom of kissing three times, as well as in localism *po naški je* – 'this is how we do it'. Additionally, the dancers in the official video (Example 1) are dressed with clear references to female traditional costumes from Southeastern Serbia, Šumadija, Bačka and in Vlach robes. Their choreography includes associative elements of Serbian *kolo*, such as the holding, hopping, etc. The performing of stereotypes about the Balkans is applied to the construction of representation of Serbian culture. As with representing the Balkans, the most important determinant is context out of music: the song is identified with Serbia since it represented Serbia in the 'Eurovision song contest' and since it was produced by the Serbian broadcasting corporation. If the Balkans was the key reference point for the acceptance of the song by the foreign audience, the links to national identity provided the success in Serbia. Namely, one of the most important identifier of Serbian music is the origin of this song in contemporary newly composed folk music (Tucaković and Jorgovanović are prominent figures of that field in the country, while the singer had a noticeable participation in music contests with the aim of choosing the future star of newly composed folk music). Even here, it might be perceived that autobalkanism is a tool of national identity enforcement, because the self-image from the presumed perspective of the Western European Other became an ideal.¹¹ This

⁹ The song *Predsedniče, halo* from this competition is processed on the same model (Bregović and 'Gypsy kings' are performing it as *Presidente*), as well as *Ti, kvartigro* (performing Bregović featuring Eugerme Hütz of 'Gogol Bordello' as *Quantum utopia*).

¹⁰ The latter ones are in the similar manner essentialized in North America and Europe and widely spread in global popular culture.

¹¹ This tendency is noticeable in the construction of national identity in the opus of Serbian composers from the first half of the twentieth century (see Milanović 2008).

approach is not completely original, since similar (although successful) strategy was used by Turkey at the 'Eurovision song contest' in 2003 when Turkey exploited its oriental self-image (Gumpert 2007). Despite all, this approach is definitely significant in the cultural policy of Serbia.

In this example, there is one more identity that autobalkanism aims at. It is the European identity, which is best reflected through iconographic determinants of the performance at the contest, and in finale of the official video: specific haircut of Milan Stanković, costume and choreography show the tendency toward presentation of Serbia as a contemporary ('modern') country not only turned to its tradition, but to 'Western' lifestyle, as well. The indicator of that progressiveness is the gay iconography of the performance, aimed at contribution to the best possible ranking, too.¹² In addition to this, the idea of presentation of the Balkans as modern can be seen in the second part of the refrain, since the only part where Balkans is explicitly mentioned is the part which the singer performs in 'rap' manner. In general, considering the performances of Serbian 'Eurovision song contest' representatives and their presence in Serbian mass media, it is noticeable that great significance is given to the contest, and that may be confirmed by the fact that the local media sponsor is the public service Serbian broadcasting corporation. The 'Eurovision song contest' in Serbia may be compared to great sports competitions in terms of perception of representation of a nation and its collective identity, as well as the significance in international context. The goal of Serbia's representation strategy was not only to present itself as a potential part of the European Union and to stimulate potential voters from the region, but to establish its position as a country of entertainment, as well.

The relations of Balkan, Serbian and European identity are very dynamic – in music, and in society in general. The 'Eurovision song contest' is considered to be the stage of representations of European (or for Europe acceptable and interesting) identity, through presentation at the national level. More precisely, it is a framework for performance of various identities in national, regional, and international context (Bohlman 2007: 48). Balkan identity functions as a mediator between national and European identity and it once again confirms a common metaphor of the Balkans as a bridge. In the case of 'This is the Balkans', the elements of Serbian and Balkan identity infuse: the result of the collaboration of the creators of Serbian popular music (Tucaković) and Balkan music (Bregović) also illustrates the refrain of the song where Belgrade and the Balkans are mentioned together. In the aforementioned symbiosis, the Balkan representations prevail; therefore, it is obvious that the intention of the authors was to create a song that would be popular in the whole region while attracting votes from the countries of the Southeastern Europe and spectators outside the

¹² 'Eurovision song contest' is known to be LGBT event (cf. Tobin 2007).

parent-countries.¹³ Balkanism continued strengthening through the new versions of songs (*Balkañeros*), thus enabling global-market success for Bregović. Still, most important is the fact that Serbian audiences accepted the incorporation of Balkan representations into its own national identity and therefore enhanced autobalkanistic tendencies. The combination of two representations is the best example of the way autobalkanism develops. In other words, autobalkanism is actually balkanism publicly performed in a national manner. The example from the national competition essentially defines autobalkanistic; not showing the music characteristics from the Balkans in a manner usual for Bregović, but adoption of that as the highly representative distinction, which included the acceptance of the positive stereotypes and their amalgamation with contemporary discourse of newly composed folk music, and the status of national emblem which is a characteristic of autobalkanistic music creation is exactly what is disputable. This hybrid presentation is also obvious in the performer's perception of the song:

It's not about Balkans. It's about a boy who asks his girl to kiss him better, more passionate, not once, not twice but three times, cuz that's our style, that's the Balkan style. (...) Our song is completely different: this year you have a lot of pop ballads and Euro-dance sound, while this is an unusual sound. I count on Goran Bregović because he is our greatest composer. (...) Why would they vote for me? The song is in Goran Bregović style, he is worldwide famous and I count on that. And on the other side, I count on me and my style. (Eurovision 2010a).

Autobalkanism is in terms of chronology, an extension of the period of Western fascination with the Balkans. Reaching out for the imaginary music of the Balkans for the purpose of presenting its own country in the 'Eurovision song contest' happened before, e.g. in 2009. That year, Marko Kon and Milan Nikolić (representatives of Serbia, the song *Cipela / Shoe*), Elena (from Romania, *The Balkan girls*), and Nelly Ciobanu (Moldova, *Hora din Moldova / Dancing Moldova*) performed songs based on simulacra of the music from the Balkans. However, the jury and the audience that voted via telephone did not top-rate these songs, while the song *Fairytale* performed by Norwegian Alexander Rybak won the greatest number of votes in the history of competition so far. It may be assumed that interest of the non-Balkan audience in music from the Balkans abates, and that audiences from Western Europe (again) are discovering other fascinating music practices.¹⁴ Considering the performance of Serbia in the 'Eurovision song contest', it might be noticed that the subsequent contests are marked with a drift from music of the Balkans in favour of Western pop music (songs *Čaroban / Magical* and *Nije ljubav stvar / Synonym*). How-

¹³ It is well known that Bregović, apart from the Balkan, which is popular in the world, uses Yugoslav identity as well, which is popular in the countries of former Yugoslavia.

¹⁴ Aleksandra Marković predicted the similar situation (2008a: 287).

ever, the song *Ovo je Balkan* represented Serbia as a periphery of Europe, a country which runs late regarding trends, even its own, since native audiences have recently become fascinated with music essentially based on stereotyped representation of themselves, thus contributing to the development of balkanism through autobalkanism.

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Марија Думнић

ОВО ЈЕ БАЛКАН: КОНСТРУИСАЊЕ ПОЗИТИВНИХ СТЕРЕОТИПА О БАЛКАНУ И АУТОБАЛКАНИЗАМ*

Резиме

У овом раду говори се о „музици Балкана“, специфичној звучној представи имагинарног места између Истока и Запада, ентитета источнијег од Запада, европског „унутрашњег Другог“. Истовремено, истиче се веома значајна улога музике у процесу конструкције стереотипних слика о Балкану. Овај рад указује на данашње прихватање и усвајање такозваних позитивних стереотипа који приказују Балкан као европски кутак за забаву, место пренаглашене страствености и сл. У Србији се тим процесом продукти популарне културе пренаглашавају у културни ресурс, што доводи до појаве аутобалканизма, односно посматрања себе као припадника културе Балкана виђене из аспекта Запада.

Као пример преузимања позитивних стереотипа о Балкану и њихове употребе у представљању сопственог националног идентитета, у овом раду анализира се песма *Ово је Балкан (Balkañeros)* коју је компоновао Горан Бреговић, као и медијски текстови везани за њу. Песму је 2010. извео Милан Станковић, представљајући Србију на такмичењу „Песма Евровизије“. Зарад тржишних потреба начињена је и верзија поетског текста на шпанском језику коју данас интерпретира Бреговићев „Оркестар за свадбе и сахране“ и музичка група „Gypsy kings“. У складу с контекстом извођења песме *Ово је Балкан*, балкански музички идентитет се у овом тексту тумачи као посредник између националног и европског идентитета. Посебно се разматра појавност аутобалканизма у музици као комплексан репрезентативан однос наведеног балканског и савременог националног музичког идентитета.

* Интегрални текст на српском језику доступан је на приложеном диску. / Integral text in Serbian is available on the attached DVD.

CONTRIBUTORS

Ventsislav Dimov (PhD in Sociology – 1999, Associate Professor of Ethnomusicology – 2004, Associate Professor of Journalism – 2010) is an Associate Professor at Sofia University “St. Kliment Ohridski”, Faculty of Journalism and Mass Communication; head of the Ethnomusicology research group at the Institute of Art Studies, BAS. He is the author of monographs *The ethnopopboom* (in Bulg., 2001) and *Dobrudja – song and memory* (2012), and a co-author of the book *The zurna tradition in Southwest Bulgaria* (2002). His achievements in the field of applied ethnology relate to co-authorships of textbooks, hundreds of publications in periodicals, and his own TV and radio shows. He participated in numerous projects and events related to media music, regional folk traditions, folk and cultural tourism, musical performance and folklore, music and minorities, and Roma music.

Contact: v.d.dimov@gmail.com

Marija Dumnić is a Research Assistant at the Institute of Musicology SASA, also involved in sound digitization projects. She completed her MA at the Faculty of Music in Belgrade with a thesis *Applied ethnomusicology: history, concepts, perspectives in Serbia*. Her current PhD research concerns ‘old urban music’ in Serbia and music in Belgrade taverns. She has been specializing at the Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Studies with the Ethnographic Museum BAS (Bulgaria) and the Phonogrammarchiv AAS (Austria). Marija is interested in investigating methodologies of ethnomusicology and popular music studies, and is devoted to researching music of the Balkans. She is a member of SES, ICTM, and IASPM.

Contact: marijadumnic@yahoo.com

Merve Eken Küçükaksoy graduated from the Musicology Department of the Istanbul Technical University (ITU, 2001), where she obtained a masters degree at the Center for Advanced Music Studies, Ethnomusicology department with thesis entitled *Musical and social change as reflected to ‘fasıl’ performance in Istanbul*, and PhD degree at the Social Science, Musicology, and Music Theory Program, with dissertation topic *Expression of cultural identity through music: cultural performances in Kemaliye (Eğin)* (2012). She works in the ITU Musicology Department as a research assistant (since 2007), and also at Karadeniz Technical University State Conservatory Musicology Department as a Research Assistant and Lecturer.

Contact: merve.eken@yahoo.com

Gonca Girgin Tohumcu is a Lecturer at the Musicology Department of Turkish Music State Conservatory, ITU (since 2009). She specializes in ethnicity, identity, music and dance, and performance theories. Her MA and PhD theses were focused on Romani music and dance in Turkey in terms of politic manipulations on the musical field, and body politics and socio-political orientations in the dancing field. She authored a book on musical notation systems (2004), and her second book on Romani dance and body politics is in print. She plays percussion instruments and *kanun* in many national and international concerts.

Contact: budarom@gmail.com

Rastko Jakovljević graduated in Ethnomusicology at the Faculty of Music in Belgrade with the thesis *Electrofolklore: archetypal musical thinking in technomusic* (2007) and defended his PhD dissertation *Marginality and Cultural Identities: Locating the Bagpipe Music of Serbia* at the Department of Music, University of Durham, England (2012). His research is focused on traditional music of the Balkans, anthropology, culture theories, aesthetics, popular music and applied ethnomusicology. In areas of fieldwork, he researched traditional music of several regions of Serbia. He is a member of ICTM, SEM, RMA, BFE, and SES (Serbian Ethnomusicology Society). He works at the Institute of Musicology SASA where he is also involved in a sound archive digitization project.
Contact: ralefy@yahoo.com

Jelena Jovanović is a Research Associate in the Institute of Musicology SASA, defended her master thesis *Vocal heritage of Serbs in Upper Banat in Romania in the scope of autochthonous and overtaken musical practices* (2001) and PhD dissertation *Vocal tradition of Jasenica in the scope of ethnogenetic processes* (2010) at the Faculty of Music in Belgrade, Department for Ethnomusicology. She is the author and co-author of several books and audio publications. The main areas of her interest are Serbian and Balkan vocal traditions, the elements of musical dialects in Central Serbia, applied ethnomusicology and issues concerning performing aspects in ethnomusicology.
Contact: jelena.jovanovic@music.sanu.ac.rs

Athena N. Katsanevaki received her PhD in Ethnomusicology and Historical Musicology from the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Greece (1999). She has been involved in field research in several areas of Greece (mainly in Western Greece) since 1990, and later in Albania. She participated in conferences in Greece and abroad. She teaches courses in Ethnomusicology, traditional singing (combining methods of ethnomusicology with musical practice), Greek traditional music and history of Greek music at the Science and Art of Music Department of the University of Macedonia in Thessaloniki, Greece.
Contact: atekatsa@uom.gr

Danka Lajić-Mihajlović is a Research Associate at the Institute of Musicology SASA. She defended her master theses *The bagpipes in Vojvodina* (2000) at the Academy of Arts in Novi Sad and obtained her PhD degree from the University of Arts in Belgrade with the dissertation *Serbian traditional epic singing with the accompaniment of gusle as a communication process* (2010). The fields of her professional interests include epic tradition, instrumental music, performance studies, psychology of music, and music(s) of the multicultural and multiethnic region of Vojvodina (Northern Serbia). She published a book *Wedding customs and songs of Montenegrins in Bačka*, Podgorica 2004.
Contact: danka.lajic.mihajlovic@gmail.com

Mladen Marković graduated with the thesis *Rite and custom songs and dances at the winter cycle of Serbs in Vojvodina* and defended his PhD dissertation *Violin in folk music of Serbia* at the Faculty of Music, Department for Ethnomusicology in Belgrade. He worked at the Academy of Arts in Novi Sad and at the Faculty of Music, Belgrade, as an Assistant in the Phonoarchive, and is presently a Docent at the Department of Ethnomusicology, teaching courses in History of Science, Musical

Instruments and Contemporary Popular Music. He is member of ICTM, International Association of Music Producers and Society of Composers of Macedonia.
Contact: mladenmarkovich@gmail.com

Iva Nenić holds MPhil in Theory of Arts and Media from Belgrade University of Arts. She is a Teaching Assistant and PhD candidate at the Department of Ethnomusicology, Faculty of Music in Belgrade. Her research projects range from exploration of Muslim shepherds' music, to hip-hop communities of Belgrade and an ongoing research of female traditional instrumentalists in Serbia. She serves as a guest lecturer at the Faculty of Political Sciences, Center for Women's Studies, and other institutions. Iva translated the books *Lambada na Kosovu* by Svanibor Pettan and *The voice and nothing more* by Mladen Dolar. She anchors a world music radio show *Muzika sveta*.
Contact: genije@gmail.com

Olga Pashina graduated from the Gnesin Russian Music Academy (Moscow, Russia, 1983). She has worked at the State Institute of Art Studies in Moscow as a Senior Researcher at the Folk Music Department (1987–96) and as Academic Secretary (1996–present). Her PhD dissertation is *The tradition of harvest songs in Russian-Belarusian border territory* (1989), and Hab. Ph. D. (1999) is the book *The seasonal song cycle of the Eastern Slavs*. Pashina completed more than fifty fieldwork trips throughout different parts of Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus. She was participant and director of numerous research projects supported by the Russian Fund for Research in the Humanities.
Contact: opashina@gmail.com

Vesna Sara Peno, Research Associate at the Institute of Musicology SASA, defended her MA thesis *Orthodox chanting in the Balkans in the 19th century* at the Academy of Arts in Novi Sad and doctoral dissertation *Chanting collections in Serbian manuscript treasuries from the 15th to the 19th century* at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade. She obtained the degree of a chanter in the Μουσικό Κολλέγιο (Greece). With the scholarships of the “Alexander Onassis”, the Danish Institute as well as the Republic of Greece National Scholarship Foundation, she excelled at the neumed Byzantine and late Byzantine paleography, theory and church chanting practice. Peno is the Editor-in-Chief of the international journal *Muzikologija* since 2011.
Contact: sara_kasiana@yahoo.com

Lozanka Peycheva (PhD in Arts – 1991, Dr. in Arts – 2007) is a Professor of Ethnomusicology and Director at the Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Studies with Bulgarian Academy of Sciences Ethnographic Museum. She is the author of books *Your soul cries and out comes a song: Roma musicians in Bulgaria and their music* (1999) and *Between village and universe: the old folk music from Bulgaria in the new times* (2008), and a co-author of *The zurna tradition in Southwest Bulgaria* (2002) and *A system for learning asymmetric music* (2005). Her basic interests encompass transformations of old folk musical practices and musical traditions of ethnic groups in Bulgaria.
Contact: lozanka.peycheva@yahoo.com

Daiva Račiūnaitė-Vyčiniėnė, PhD (habil.) Professor of Musicology is the head of the department of Ethnomusicology at the Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre. She

authored several books and numerous scientific articles. She is the leader of *sutartinės* performers group “Trys keturios”. Her scientific interests include: *sutartinės*, European polyphony, traditional singing in contemporary culture, ethno-linguistics, and world-view.
Contact: daivavy@lmta.lt

Sanja Radinović has been a faculty member at the Faculty of Music in Belgrade since 1989 (in the rank of Docent since 2007). She defended her doctoral dissertation entitled *Form and word (the laws of melopoetic shaping of Serbian folk songs as a basis for the methodology of formal analysis)* in 2007, under the supervision of Professor Dr. Dragoslav Dević. Beside the issues of melopoetic structure in Serbian folk songs and analytical methodology, her research interests include old Serbian two-part singing and history of Serbian ethnomusicology. She has published studies in Serbian and international professional periodicals and proceedings from professional meetings.
Contact: radinovicsanja62@gmail.com

Selena Rakočević defended her dissertation *Dance and dance music of the Banat Serbs in the light of their mutual relationships* at the University of Arts, Belgrade (2009). Fields of her professional interests are musical and dance tradition of Vojvodina in the light of multicultural and multi-ethnic context, ethnochoreology, music and dance relationships, contemporary music and dance. She is a Docent at the Department for Ethnomusicology, Faculty of Music, Belgrade, where she teaches ethnochoreology.
Contacts: selena@rakocevic.rs

Sanja Ranković received her master's degree at the Faculty of Music in Belgrade, Department of Ethnomusicology and is currently a PhD Candidate at the same department. She has taught traditional singing at the Mokranjac Music school Ethnomusicology department, Belgrade (since 1995). She teaches traditional singing at the Faculty of Music (since 1998), currently as a part-time associate. The topics of her ethnomusicological interests belong to the field of applied ethnomusicology and issues of vocal practices. She is a member of the Board of the Serbian Ethnomusicology Society and one of the founders of the female vocal group “Moba” (1993).
Contact: sanjaetno@gmail.com

Pál Richter obtained his PhD degree on the subject of seventeenth-century music in Hungary (2004). His interests include Hungarian folk music, classical and nineteenth-century music theory, and multimedia in music education. Since 1990 Richter has been involved in the computerized cataloguing of the folk music collection of the Institute for Musicology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. He was head of the Folk Music Archives (since 2005) and as of recently is the Deputy Director of the Institute. He teaches Music Theory and the Study of Musical Forms at the Liszt Ferenc University of Music in Budapest. Since 2007 he has been leading the new folk music training, and is head of the Folk Music Department.
Contact address: zti16@zti.hu

Miroslav Stojisavljević is a Music Educator and an ethnomusicologist with an interest in the cultural history of Central Europe and Balkan. Through his publications, films and music performances he brings closer the values and characteristics of music culture of Serbia and its surrounding countries. His current professional interest includes the socio-cultural importance of the *gusle* performance.
Contact address: mstojisavljevic@sbb.rs

Martin Stokes is the incoming King Edward Professor of Music. He studied music first, then social anthropology at Oxford. He taught at The Queen's University of Belfast (1989–1997), The University of Chicago (1997–2007) and Oxford University (2007–2012). He was a Howard Foundation Fellow at the Chicago Humanities Institute in 2002–3. He has been a visiting professor at Bogazici University in Istanbul on two occasions, and currently holds an honorary professorship in the Department of Arts and Cultural Studies at the University of Copenhagen. In 2013 he will be giving the Bloch Lectures at the University of California, Berkeley. Research interests: ethnomusicology and anthropology of music, Middle East and Europe popular music and culture, social and cultural theory.
Contact address: martin.stokes@kcl.ac.uk

Ahmed Tohumcu is a Lecturer at the Music Theory Department of Turkish Music State Conservatory, Istanbul Technical University (ITU) since 2006. He specializes in Turkish *makam* musics and its tradition as well as the socio-cultural meanings of classical Turkish Music and using *makam* elements in popular musics of Turkey. His PhD thesis is focused on the cultural memory and meaning of *makam* notion. He participated at various international and national symposiums as a musicologist, and published articles. He plays *ud* and *cümbüş* in many national and international concerts.
Contact: atohumcu2000@gmail.com

Rodna Veličkovska graduated from the Faculty of Music in Skopje (1979) and completed postgraduate studies in Belgrade with the topic *The harvest singing in Macedonia* (published in 2002). She defended her doctoral dissertation entitled *Musical dialects in the Macedonian traditional folk singing (ritual singing)* at the University of Arts, Faculty of Music in Belgrade (published in three volumes: 2008, 2009, and 2011). She has worked as a researcher of vocal folk music since 1980 and is presently a Higher Scientific Collaborator and Associate Professor in the “Marko Cepenkov” Institute of Folklore, Section for Folk Music, University of “Saints Cyril and Methodius” in Skopje and University of “Goce Delčev” in Štip, Republic of Macedonia.
Contact: rodnavel@yahoo.com

Mirjana Zakić graduated at the Faculty of Music in Belgrade, Department for Ethnomusicology. During her studies she held a one-year fellowship of the Republic Community for the International Cooperation and specialized in the field of ethnomusicology at the Conservatory “P. I. Tchaikovsky” in Moscow. Her doctoral dissertation *Ceremonial songs of the winter season – systems of music signs in the tradition of the Southeastern Serbia* was published in 2009. Her special interests are ritual music, instrumental music, musical semiotics, and relation between text and context. She is employed at the Faculty of Music in Belgrade, Department for Ethnomusicology (since 1990). She has been Chair of the Serbian Ethnomusicological Society since its foundation in 2002.
Contact: mira.zakic@gmail.com

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