

**GLASBA IN  
MANJŠINE**



**MUSIC AND  
MINORITIES**



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Glasba in manjšine • Music and Minorities

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GLASBA IN MANJŠINE  
*MUSIC AND MINORITIES*

Zbornik referatov 1. mednarodnega posvetovanja študijske skupine  
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# GLASBA IN MANJŠINE

ZBORNİK REFERATOV 1. MEDNARODNEGA  
POSVETOVANJA ŠTUDIJSKE SKUPINE  
MEDNARODNEGA SVETA ZA  
TRADICIJSKO GLASBO (ICTM)  
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Ljubljana, Slovenija, 25. – 30. junij, 2000

# MUSIC AND MINORITIES

PROCEEDINGS OF THE 1<sup>ST</sup> INTERNATIONAL  
MEETING OF THE INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL  
FOR TRADITIONAL MUSIC (ICTM)  
STUDY GROUP MUSIC AND MINORITIES,  
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# PREDGOVOR

*Maša KOMAVEC*

V Ljubljani je junija 2000 potekalo prvo znanstveno srečanje etnomuzikološke študijske skupine Glasba in manjšine, ki deluje v okviru največjega svetovnega združenja etnomuzikologov *International Council for Traditional Music* (ICTM, Mednarodni svet za tradicijsko glasbo). Združenje ICTM je bilo ustanovljeno leta 1947 z namenom, da njegovi člani raziskujejo, dokumentirajo, uporabljajo, varujejo in razširjajo znanje in védenje o različnih zvrsteh tradicijske glasbe in plesa, vključno z urbano in popularno glasbo ter plesom. Danes šteje 1400 članov v 94 državah in ima vsaki dve leti svoja znanstvena srečanja. V okviru združenja deluje tudi trinajst študijskih skupin, ki se ukvarjajo z različnimi polji etnomuzikološkega raziskovanja.

Med študijskimi skupinami, kot so Ljudska glasbila, Analiza in sistematizacija ljudske glasbe, Zgodovinski viri tradicijske glasbe, Etnokoreologija, Oceanija, Glasbena arheologija, Ikonografija, Računalniško raziskovanje, Glasba in spol, Maqam, Glasba arabskega sveta ter Antropologija glasbe v mediteranskih kulturah, je leta 1997 svoje mesto našla tudi novoustanovljena študijska skupina Glasba in manjšine. Ta se ukvarja s promocijo glasbe manjšin, z raziskovanjem, dokumentiranjem in interdisciplinarnim študijem; mednarodne sestanke ima vsaki dve leti, rezultate pa objavlja v različnih publikacijah.

Leta 1999 so člani te študijske skupine opredelili manjšino kot predmet etnomuzikološkega raziskovanja; po tej definiciji so manjšine *skupine ljudi, ki se od dominantne skupine razlikujejo glede na kulturne, etnične, družbene, verske ali ekonomske značilnosti*.

Na podlagi te opredelitve so se leta 2000 na ljubljanskem srečanju soočili etnomuzikologi, etnokoreologi ter strokovnjaki z drugih področij, in sicer s temami:

- Glasba in ples – raziskovalne tradicije in kulturne politike,
  - Glasba, ples in identiteta manjšinskih kultur,
  - Manjšine v Sloveniji in v sosednjih deželah.
- Organizacijo sta prevzela *Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut ZRC SAZU*

in dr. Svanibor Pettan, sodelovali pa so še *Inštitut za slovensko narodopisje ZRC SAZU*, *Slovenski etnografski muzej* in dunajski inštitut *Institut für Volksmusikforschung an der Universität für Musik und darstellende Kunst Wien*. Simpozij je bil organiziran ob denarni pomoči *Ministrstva za znanost in tehnologijo* in *Ministrstva za kulturo Republike Slovenije*, *Znanstvenoraziskovalnega centra Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti* ter omenjenega dunajskega inštituta in Avstrijske ambasade v Ljubljani.

Na simpoziju se je z rezultati raziskovanja predstavilo več kot trideset raziskovalcev iz Avstrije, Bosne in Hercegovine, Češke, Danske, Francije, Hrvaške, Irske, Madžarske, Nemčije, Norveške, Poljske, Slovaške, Švedske, ZDA in Zvezne Republike Jugoslavije.

Od 25. do 30. junija 2000, ko je trajalo posvetovanje, je bilo mogoče slišati različna mnenja, pristope in metodologije preučevanja manjšin. Veliko prispevkov je skozi glasbo in ples prikazovalo različne narodne manjšine, znotraj ali izven matičnih držav, nekateri referati pa so se nanašali tudi na druge manjšine, kot so jezikovne in verske. Tako so raziskovalci govorili o spoznanjih, do katerih so prišli pri svojem preučevanju manjšin skozi različne vidike: o njihovi identiteti in značilnostih, o metodologiji raziskovanja manjšin, o pogledu na njihovo glasbo skozi arhivske posnetke. Razpravljali so o ohranjanju, spreminjanju in preoblikovanju ljudske glasbe manjšin skozi čas, o sprejemanju in oblikovanju sodobne glasbe nekaterih manjšin, o vplivu politike na to obliko duhovne kulture, o kulturnih društvih in folklornih skupinah pri izseljencih in o manjšinski glasbi v preteklosti. Govora je bilo tudi o človekovih in kulturnih pravicah skozi glasbo, to pa je tema, ki je danes, ko se govori o večkulturnih in večetničnih družbah gotovo zelo pomembna. Precej časa je bilo namenjeno temam, kot so raziskovanje romskih skupnosti, politične emigracije in begunstvo, saj pri teh skupinah duhovna kultura in glasba zasedata pomembno mesto.

Posvetovanje sta spremljali razstavi fotografij, predstavljena sta bila etnomuzikološka dokumentarna filma, v večernih urah pa so ga spremljali številni koncerti – od predstavitvenega koncerta slovenskih poustvarjalcev ljudske glasbe do predstavitve glasbe etničnih in narodnostnih manjšin, ki živijo v Sloveniji.

Kljub napovedi se srečanja zaradi različnih vzrokov žal niso mogli udeležiti: Bruce Koepke iz Canberre, Bernard Garaj iz Nitre, Irén Kertész-Wilkinson iz Londona, Zdenka Weber iz Berlina in Robert C. Metil iz Pittsburga. Metil je kljub temu pripravil referat in smo ga uvrstili v zbornik.

V zborniku je zbranih sedemindvajset referatov, to pa je le del tega,

kar je bilo v lanskem letu slišati na srečanju. Iz različnih vzrokov nekaj prispevkov ni vključenih v zbornik (referati Željke Kamhi iz Dunaja, Zuzane Jurkove iz Prage ter Katalin Kovalcsik iz Budimpešte). Ankica Petrović in Svanibor Pettan sta na srečanju predstavila filmske projekcije, ki v zbornik prav tako niso mogle biti vključene.

Prispevki so razdeljeni po tematskih sklopih: predstavitvi raziskovanja manjšin in študijske skupine Glasba in manjšine sledijo teme, ki obravnavajo različne slovenske manjšine zunaj Slovenije in manjšine v slovenskem prostoru, nato so zgodovinske teme in obravnavanje manjšin v preteklosti, nadalje so prispevki, ki obravnavajo raziskovanje Romov, v zadnjem sklopu pa so objavljeni prispevki, ki obravnavajo raziskovanje raznih etničnih in narodnostnih manjšin. V zborniku so ob nekaterih referatih tudi slikovno gradivo, transkripcije, tabele in drugo, torej gradivo, ki so ga avtorji zaradi večje preglednosti in razumljivosti dodali besedilu. Zbornik je obogaten z zgoščenko z dvaintridesetimi zvočnimi primeri, označenimi ob vsakem referatu. Na koncu zbornika so kratki podatki o avtorjih, seznam posnetkov na priloženi zgoščenci in imenski in krajevni indeks besed, ki se pojavljajo v publikaciji.

Ker je konferenca potekala v angleškem jeziku, so tudi prispevki napisani v angleščini, abstrakti pa so prevedeni v slovenščino, tako da bodo boljše dostopni tudi slovenskim bralcem.

Zbornik smo uredili Adelaida Reyes iz New Yorka, Svanibor Pettan iz Ljubljane in Maša Komavec iz Nove Gorice. Ob tem se želim zahvaliti vsem, ki so pripomogli k izdaji zbornika, in sicer Založbi ZRC SAZU, ki je knjigo uvrstila v svoj program, jo oblikovala in pripravila za tisk, Aaronu Mulvanyju iz Philadelphije in Kjellu Skyllstadtu iz Osla, ki sta lektorirala in pregledala del angleških besedil, vsem sodelavkam in sodelavcem z *Glasbenonarodopisnega inštituta*, ki so pomagali pri nastajanju zbornika, ter seveda vsem avtorjem, ki so prispevali svoje razprave in s tem utrdili uraden začetek raziskovanja manjšin v glasbenem svetu.

Projekt so finančno podprli *Znanstvenoraziskovalni center Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti*, *Institut für Volksmusikforschung an der Universität für Musik und darstellende Kunst Wien* in *Mešna občina Ljubljana*. Vsem iskrena hvala!

Nam, ki delamo na *Glasbenonarodopisnem inštitutu*, je ljubljansko srečanje nudilo zanimivo izkušnjo; to je bilo že drugo srečanje ICTM-ovih raziskovalcev v Sloveniji, saj je leta 1983 obmorski Piran gostil študijsko skupino Ljudska glasbila.

To srečanje pa je, sodeč po odmevih tako domačih kot tujih udeležencev, tudi dobro izhodišče za raziskovanje in predstavljanje glasbe manjšin v prihodnosti.

## PREFACE

### Summary

The aim of this Preface is to present the International Council for Traditional Music, its study group Music and Minorities and the scholarly meeting in Ljubljana to Slovene readership. The author expresses gratitude to several individuals and institutions for making the meeting in Ljubljana and the publication of this proceedings possible.

The Institute of Ethnomusicology SRC SASA already organized a meeting of an ICTM study group. It was the meeting of the study group Folk Music Instruments, that took place in the city of Piran in 1983.

# ECHOES FROM LJUBLJANA AN INTRODUCTION TO »MUSIC AND MINORITIES«

*Svanibor PETTAN*

To the best of my knowledge, the first ethnomusicological conference world-wide with the keywords »music« and »minorities« in its title, took place in the Croatian capital Zagreb in 1985. Organized by ethnomusicologist Jerko Bezić and the institute now known as Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, the conference *Glazbeno stvaralaštvo narodnosti (narodnih manjina) i etničkih grupa / Traditional Music of Ethnic Groups – Minorities* succeeded in gathering sixteen scholars from Austria, Germany, Hungary, Italy and from what was then Yugoslavia. Their contributions are available in the modest conference proceedings, perhaps reflecting the status of research on the topic at that time (Bezić 1986). This conference anticipated the events which will be presented in chronological order in the first part of this introductory essay.

The site of the next important step in the affirmation of minority music studies was Vienna, Austria. In 1994 ethnomusicologist Ursula Hemetek, supported by what is today the Institute for Folk Music Research at the University for Music and Performing Arts, brought together some forty scholars from ten countries. A luxurious book based on the papers presented at that conference was published a couple of years later under the title *Echo der Vielfalt: Traditionelle Musik von Minderheiten – ethnischen Gruppen / Echoes of Diversity: Traditional Music of Ethnic Groups – Minorities* (Hemetek 1996).

At the 34<sup>th</sup> ICTM World Conference in Nitra, Slovakia, in 1997, the panel on Music and Minorities, with statements presented by ethnomusicologists from seven countries, received attention of colleagues from all over the world. A proposal aimed at the establishment of a study group was approved by the ICTM Executive Board, and the Study Group, Music and Minorities, became reality. Since then, more than a hundred scholars have become members.



At a meeting in Vienna in 1998 definitions of the the term »minority« and of the Study Group were discussed. Minorities were defined broadly as »groups of people, distinguished from the dominant group out of cultural, ethnic, social, religious or economic reasons«, while the Study Group »will promote music of minorities by the means of research, documentation and interdisciplinary study, and will serve as a forum for cooperation among scholars of music and minorities by means of meetings, publications and correspondence«. A chair (Ursula Hemetek), vice-chair (Svanibor Pettan) and secretary (Anca Giurchescu) were elected and plans for the immediate future were proposed.

Hiroshima, Japan, the site of the 35<sup>th</sup> ICTM World Conference in 1999, hosted the first business meeting of the Study Group. Proposals from the meeting in Vienna were approved and Ljubljana, Slovenia, was announced as the host of the 1<sup>st</sup> Study Group's scholarly meeting. The themes were defined as follows:

1. Music and Dance of Minorities: Research Traditions and Cultural Policies
2. Music, Dance and Identity of Minority Cultures
3. Minorities in Slovenia and Neighboring Countries

The meeting in Ljubljana took place on June 25-30, 2000. The institutional host was the *Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut ZRC SAZU* (Institute of Ethnomusicology at the Scientific Research Center of the Slovene Academy of Sciences and Arts) in cooperation with the *Inštitut za slovensko narodopisje ZRC SAZU* (Institute of Slovene Ethnology at SRC SASA), *Slovenski etnografski muzej* (Slovene Ethnographic Museum), and the *Institut für Volksmusikforschung an der Universität für Musik und darstellende Kunst Wien* (Institute for Folk Music Research at the University for Music and Performing Arts from Vienna). The meeting was made possible thanks to the financial support of the Ministry of Science and Technology<sup>1</sup> and Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Slovenia, Open Society Institute Slovenia – Cultural Link, Research Foundation SRC SASA, the above mentioned Austrian institute, and the Austrian Embassy in Ljubljana.

What impact may this scholarly meeting have for Slovenia? It will hopefully cause its ethnomusicological practice, firmly rooted in folk music research of ethnic Slovenes in Slovenia and across political borders, to broaden up towards the legitimacy of research in non-folk music phenomena and of non-Slovene musics. The concerts that accompanied each day of the meeting revealed the treasury of minority musics. The

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<sup>1</sup> Now Ministry of Education, Science and Sports.

first concert, featuring various minority repertoires, was prepared by the *Kulturno društvo Folk Slovenija* (Cultural Society Folk Slovenia) that is otherwise focused on Slovene folk music revival. The second concert featured four non-ethnically-Slovene musical practices flourishing in Slovenia thanks to its citizens of various ethnic backgrounds: Sephardic Jewish songs (singer Klarisa M. Jovanović of the ensemble Duma Levantina), Bosnian urban folk music (ensemble Vali), Macedonian urban folk music (ensemble Strune), and art music with Serbian folk music motives (composer Bojana Šaljič). As the third day of the meeting was fully devoted to music of the Roma / Gypsies, the evening concert reflected this topical framework, featuring Slovene Rom ensembles Langa and Amala and a non-Rom ensemble Šukar performing Rom music. The fourth concert featured internationally-known Rom saxophonist Ferus Mustafov from Macedonia, and the concluding concert, entitled Folk Music of Minorities in Slovenia, revealed the richness of the traditions carried on by ethnic Hungarian and ethnic Italian musicians respectively. The two exhibitions of photographs („*Me hinju Rom*« – *Romi iz Hudej* / Roma from Hudeje and *Romski glasbeniki – prizori s Kosova* / Rom Musicians: Scenes from Kosovo) at the Slovene Ethnographic Museum also deserve to be mentioned in this context.

The meeting in Ljubljana was open to all scholars interested in the topic on Music and Minorities. The participants were selected on the basis of the quality of their abstracts. The great majority of them invested additional work in preparing the papers for publication. The editors actively participated in this process. The essays were not submitted to the referee process. In words of co-editor Adelaida Reyes, the inclusiveness of the volume is an acknowledgment of the fact, that the principal aim of the meeting was to provide a variety of views and approaches serving as springboard for the lively discussions. Language editing was kept to a minimum so that the »voices« of the individual authors may emerge as clearly as possible.

According to the booklets containing the program and the abstracts, thirty-five active participants from eighteen countries were expected. Those who for various reasons could not come to Ljubljana include Bernard Garaj (Slovakia), Irén Kertész-Wilkinson (United Kingdom), Bruce Koepke (Australia), Robert C. Metil (USA) and Zdenka Weber (Croatia). Metil's paper has been received and presented, and his essay can be found in this collection. Those who presented their papers in Ljubljana, but for various reasons could not submit the essays for publication include Zuzana Jurkova (Czech Republic), Željka Kamhi (Bosnia and Herzego-

vina / Austria) and Katalin Kovalcsik (Hungary). The contributions of two participants – Ankica Petrović (Bosnia and Herzegovina / USA) and the author of this introduction – were film presentations and could not be included in the publication.<sup>2</sup> We gratefully acknowledge the participation of Marianne Bröcker (Germany), whose experience significantly contributed to the quality of the meeting. The volume includes an essay solicited from Ursula Hemetek subsequent to the meeting.

The preface and this introduction are followed by six essays of general relevance, pointing to some key issues (Ursula Hemetek, Krister Malm, Adelaida Reyes, John O'Connell, Kjell Skyllstad, Leon Stefanija). The last essay in this group serves as a link to the next „block«, which centers on Slovenia (Mitja Žagar, Julijan Strajnar, Maša Komavec, Vesna Andrée-Zaimović). The next five essays focus on historical aspects (Alma Zubović, Jerko Bezić, Gerlinde Haid, Gerda Lechleitner, Christiane Fennesz-Juhász). Fennesz-Juhász's essay serves also to introduce the next group of essays focusing on the Roma / Gypsies (Anca Giurchescu, Nice Fracile, Dimitrije O. Golemović, Wolf Dietrich). The concluding eight essays do not have a common denominator; they can be seen as a world-wide kaleidoscope of case studies on musics of various minorities (Michael Schlottner, Cheng Shui-Cheng, Robert C. Metil, Hana Urbancová, Jadranka Važanová, Ardian Ahmedaja, Dorit Klebe, Anna Czekanowska).

This volume assembles scholars of all generations, representatives of different research traditions, mostly from Europe, and about the same number of male and female researchers. The authors come from fourteen countries (Austria, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Denmark, France, Germany, Ireland, Norway, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, Sweden, USA, Yugoslavia), while their essays involve some more countries (China, Indonesia, Italy, Malaysia, Romania, Uganda) and a variety of minority groups on a world-wide scale (e.g. Albanians, Jews, Lakotas, Roma, Rusyns, Samis, Sudanese, Tatars, Turks, Vietnamese, Yao). Some researchers focus on the music of their own ethnic group, which is a minority in a given country (e.g. Andrée-Zaimović, Bezić, Važanová, Ahmedaja). Others focus on a selected minority in the country of the researcher (e.g. Fennesz-Juhász, Fracile, Golemović, Urbancová). There are also researchers who are attached to the given minority neither by ethnicity nor by current territoriality (e.g. Giurchescu, Dietrich, Schlottner, Shui-Cheng). Two researchers consider religious minorities (Czekanowska, Zubović). Wherever in the text the author of the given essay provided a

<sup>2</sup> The films were *The Key from Spain: The Songs and Stories of Flory Jagoda* and *Kosovo through the Eyes of Local Rom (Gypsy) Musicians*.

recording, it is indicated by the sign CD. The CD is attached to the inner side of the back cover.

On behalf of the editors, I would like to thank Aaron Mulvany and Kjell Skyllstad for their generous assistance in language-editing and proofreading of some essays.

At the 36<sup>th</sup> ICTM World Conference in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, the site of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Study Group meeting was confirmed. The editors of this volume express best wishes to local organizers Anna Czekanowska, Piotr Dahlig and Jacek Piech and to the participants of the meeting in Lublin, Poland, in 2002.

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## ODMEVI IZ LJUBLJANE UVOD V »GLASBO IN MANJŠINE«

### Povzetek

Prispevek je razdeljen na tri enote. V prvi enoti so kronološko razvrščeni dogodki, ki so pripeljali do prvega znanstvenega srečanja ICTM-ove študijske skupine Glasba in manjšine v Ljubljani. Po dveh uspešnih srečanjih etnomuzikologov, ki so glasbe manjšin leta 1985 obravnavali v Zagrebu, pa leta 1994 na Dunaju, je dozorela ideja o ustanovitvi študijske skupine za to tematsko področje. Upravni odbor ICTM-a je po 34. svetovni konferenci, ki je leta 1997 potekala v Nitri na Slovaškem, sprejel pobudo nekaterih članov in odobril ustanovitev študijske skupine. Na sestanku na Dunaju leta 1998 je bilo izbrano vodstvo skupine, na 35. svetovni konferenci ICTM-a v Hirošimi na Japonskem pa potrjene teme ljubljanskega srečanja.

Druga enota je posvečena samemu ljubljanskemu srečanju. Ob predstavitvi prireditev, ki so spremljale srečanje (koncerti, razstave fotografij) in s tem še dodatno poudarjale navzočnost in raznovrstnost glasbenih izrazov manjšin, je izraženo upanje, da bo takšno stanje odsevalo tudi v raziskovalni praksi.

Tretja enota je namenjena predstavitvi zbornika in prinaša nekaj poskusov klasificiranja prispevkov. Ta del zaključujejo zahvale posameznikom in dobre želje, namenjene poljskim kolegom, ki pripravljajo naslednje srečanje študijske skupine Glasba in manjšine v Lublinu leta 2002.

# MUSIC AND MINORITIES

## SOME REMARKS ON KEY ISSUES AND PRESUPPOSITIONS OF THE STUDY GROUP

*Ursula HEMETEK*

*T*he Study Group Music and Minorities is presently the youngest among the ICTM's study groups. As we are dealing with music of minorities, one of the crucial points – a matter of long discussion, and a matter still in the discussion process – is the definition of the term »minority«. The definition that describes minorities as „groups of people distinguished from the dominant group out of cultural, ethnic, social, religious or economic reasons« has been agreed upon at the first business meeting of the Study Group, which took place at the 35<sup>th</sup> ICTM World Conference in Hiroshima in 1999. For the time being it seems to fit our demands, but it is not meant to be final.

The discussion process reveals the wide range of interests and scholarly traditions in regard to minorities. The complexity of the topic itself calls for a variety of approaches and interdisciplinary connections. That minorities are defined in relation to majorities is unavoidable, but their relationship can be seen from different points of view. Is it primarily a relationship of power or a relationship of culture, of social circumstances, of ethnicity, religion, or economics? Sociologists tend to define it as power relationship, which has its effects on cultural processes, the majority requiring conformity and penalizing deviation. On the other hand, especially in music, this deviation from the mainstream can also be instrumentalized by and integrated into the majority's culture. Mark Slobin argues in his article »Four Reasons Why We Have No Musical Minorities in the United States« that dividing lines begin to disappear due to new identity constructions, and the outcome can be seen in musical production as well as in instrumentalizing musical styles in connection to political events (comp. Slobin 1995).

Bruno Nettl, from a different point of view, and not discussing the term but the ethnomusicological tendencies, sees growing interest in the study of the music of minorities in modern ethnomusicology.

*»In particular, the fate of musics removed from their original*

*home such as African-American, overseas Indian, European and Asian immigrants in the Americas, European and Middle Eastern repertoires in Israel have come to be of special interest» (Nettl 1992:380).*

He sees this interest mainly connected with two research concepts. On the one hand, there is interest in urban music:

*»When we speak of 'urban ethnomusicology'...we really refer... to the transformation of cities which are the focuses of individual cultures into multicultural centers« (Nettl 1992:383).*

On the other hand, long-term studies of musical phenomena are especially connected with minorities, because of the migration processes and the transfer of cultural systems into new surroundings.

*»The degree to which isolated musics retain older characteristics, and the ways in which they change when placed into contact with strange musics and into new cultural and social contexts is of course the theoretical touchstone of this interest« (Nettl 1992:380).*

A new mental attitude is to be noticed in ethnomusicology:

*»Ethnomusicologists increasingly have recognized that a society may be divided musically along various lines, and scholars have therefore begun to concentrate on the repertoires and musical behaviour of segments of a population. Whereas they once looked at small samples of the songs of a tribe with the assumption that these examples signified a homogenous repertoire, they have since come to study linguistic, religious and ethnic minorities« (Nettl 1992:380).*

While speaking of »linguistic, religious and ethnic minorities«, with regard to the socio-political circumstances in the USA and in Western European countries, Nettl refers mainly to migrant communities. No doubt, migrant communities are a particularly emphasized subject in our Study Group. In the words of Adelaida Reyes,

*»Migration creates one of the largest, if not the largest, human groups out of which minorities emerge. What migrants bring with them as capital for building new lives in resettlement depends on what they had in the old life, the manner of their departure and the reasons for it, what as a consequence they leave behind and what they take with them. How they deploy this capital depends on their vision of the present and the future, but it is a vision encumbered in their particular past. The lives*

*they create in resettlement are shaped by all these, but not by these alone. For once in a new environment, they must interact with a host society, most likely a dominant one, within which, as minorities, they must now see to be accommodated» (Reyes 2000).*

This seems to me a very differentiated and useful proposition for further investigation.

Very important is the openness concerning »the capital for building new lives«. This »capital« is not limited to ethnicity, ethnic tradition, or traditional culture. One of the key words in our discussions comes up in this connection: »identity«. Although it seems to be overstressed, as Mark Slobin states in his reflections on the Visby-Colloquium (Slobin 2000), it still is in use and has different connotations such as e.g. ethnic, national, individual, collective, multiple, and cultural. »Music, Dance and Identity in Minority Cultures« was one of the themes of the Study Group meeting in Ljubljana and most papers concentrated on that. The fact is that music and dance play an important role in identity construction of minority cultures.

Eva Fock goes further in her study of young descendants of immigrants in Denmark stating that,

*»In the eyes of the majority, symbolic collective identities overshadow the much more complex and vulnerable individual identities of the youngsters. Without looking beyond what is served on a silver plate by media or public politics, the old stereotypes of 'ethnic' and 'traditional' youngsters as strangers in a modern world are maintained. In reality, the individual way of combining a clear personal preference with the ability to adapt to constantly changing demands, is typical for these youngsters« (Fock 1999:75).*

Josep Martí i Perez also warns of ethnicist presumptions. In his article »Music and Ethnicity in Barcelona« (Martí i Perez 2000) he argues that, especially in connection to the idea of »representative culture«, only the determined cultural elements focusing on the ethnicity phenomenon come to the foreground. These two arguments point to the particularly important issues in the research of music and minorities. On the one hand, there is the »view from outside«, the view of the majority, influenced by stereotypes and prejudices: what is to be expected from a minority. On the other hand, one finds the »self-presentation« of the minority, which might, in the need for representational markers of a collective identity, be limited to ethnicity.

»Multiculturalism« as well as »cross-cultural processes« are other key words in our discussions. Max Peter Baumann has offered particu-



larly useful definitions and theoretical models in several of his studies.

*»The term 'multi-culturalism' implies a dynamic behavioral concept that deals with the various influences from different cultures in a creative and integrative way. This trans-culturally oriented behavior emphasizes the communicative process between the Own and the Other and the freedom of selection and of individual decision-making in the context of cultural diversity« (Baumann 1995:17).*

This freedom of selection counts for everyone, for minorities as well as for majorities. As minority cultures always are in contact with a majority culture in one way or other, the processes of confrontation with the Other are ongoing. Max Peter Baumann describes a model of such a situation:

*»The individual musician, the individual music group, the listener, culture promoters etc. confronts his own experiences, the image of the 'other'. He reacts to the 'other', to the 'stranger' either (1.) negatively closed, (2.) selectively choosing what he likes, (3.) fully open. In the case of rejecting behavior, an excessive return to the own cultural values and patterns of behavior can result, which can also often lead to ghettoization or to isolation. The own values are reinterpreted. In the case of too open behavior towards the foreign cultural power, this can lead to a dissolving of the original own culture« (Baumann 1995:19).*

From the point of view of the minority the latter could be interpreted as deculturation, from the point of view of the majority as integration. But the main cultural strategy of minorities to be noticed in Europe is the selective or flexible attitude, which leads to or implies cross-cultural processes. Even in those cases in which the ethnic collective identity is stressed in public performance – a frequent phenomenon in connection to atochthonous minorities – cross-cultural processes come in the back door. Let me provide one example.

The Burgenland Croats in Austria, a minority for more than 450 years, feel very »Croatian« when they perform the song *Lipo ti je čuti*. Several texts, all in the Burgenland-Croatian language, are sung to one melody. But this melody is not at all Croatian by origin; it is Hungarian, as can easily be proved by several sources. Nevertheless, the song is used as a marker of Burgenland-Croatian identity. The fact is that Burgenland belonged to Hungary until 1921 and Germans, Hungarians, Croats and Roma lived there. The Burgenland Croats naturally integrated musical and cultural elements of this multicultural region into their own culture, demonstrating that their »Croatianess« is also the result of cross-cul-

tural processes.

The musical behaviour of the Rom-minority seems to be one of the best examples for this flexible attitude. Ethnomusicologists doing research on that topic are quite numerous in our Study Group. This is certainly due to the special status of the Roma being minority all over the world, but also to particularly interesting transcultural processes (see Kovalcsik 1985, 1986, 2000; Pettan 1992, 1996a, 1996b; Kertesz-Wilkinson 1996, 1997; Fennesz-Juhasz 1996, 1999; Hemetek 1996a, 1998; Radulescu 1996; Giurchescu 2000). The music of Roma on a worldwide scale can be categorized into regional, group, and ethnic mainstream styles (Hemetek 1998). Regional styles are always strongly influenced by the music of the majority populations within the given regions and vice versa. Sometimes a style associated with one Rom group can be found worldwide, as practiced by the members of this group. For instance, the Lovari songs have been documented in Hungary, Slovakia, Sweden, Norway, the United States, Bulgaria, etc. Ethnic mainstream refers to the styles such as the Gypsy swing or Hungarian Gypsy music. These styles still bear characteristics of ethnic identity and at the same time try to meet the demands of a broader public. All three styles have developed through the interaction of a minority with the music of the majority, in the sense of Baumann's »selective attitude«.

One has to take into consideration that political circumstances in particular countries do influence conditions for minority cultures and research traditions. When Speranța Radulescu writes that

*»In the early years of my career the word Gypsy no longer was allowed in print except in specially approved publications and under the signature of authors selected for their political obedience« (Radulescu 1996:134),*

we realize that it must have been difficult to conduct research on Gypsy music under such circumstances. Donna A. Buchanan describes in her studies on *svatbarska muzika* (wedding music) in Bulgaria, how popular this style was, but also how it was suppressed by the official scholarly practice. One was supposed to do research on the »authentic, valuable Bulgarian music«, and not on a popular style played by the Turks and Gypsies (comp. Buchanan 1996).

In this context, Bulgarian music means „national music«. In the minority context one often approaches confrontations of such kind. Official scholarly practices, sponsored by the national governments, often show little or no interest in minority musics, and the same counts for cross-cultural processes. Instead, politicians are looking for useful musical

objects to be presented as symbols of national identity. This can still be observed in the context of the nation building processes in some parts of former Yugoslavia. But this topic, deeply rooted in European history, deserves to be dealt with in a separate paper. At this point, I just want to acknowledge the presence of such tendencies.

»Applied ethnomusicology« is another key concept in our discussions. Minority issues seem to call for the applied work. Several positive results of political or cultural applications of ethnomusicological work for indigenous minorities are published in *Traditional Music in Community Life* (Seeger 1997). For instance, in her essay »Songs, Land Rights, and Archives in Australia«, Grace Koch reports about the advantages that arise for Aborigines out of their research of documents (Koch 1997), while Anthony Seeger presents how the Suyá Indians of Brazil »use music and ceremony to re-create and celebrate who they have been and establish what they wish to be« (Seeger 1997a:20). Elsewhere, Kjell Skyllstad shows how to use music to accommodate immigrant children from Africa, Asia, and Latin America into Norwegian schools (Skyllstad 1993). Several projects in applied ethnomusicology were related to the succession of wars in the territories of former Yugoslavia in the 1990s. Refugees could have been found in nearly every European country and ethnomusicologists started to use their tools to provide help and assistance. This was the case in Norway with the project *Azra* by Svanibor Pettan and Kjell Skyllstad (Pettan 1996), in Austria (Bajrektarević and Hemetek 1996, Hemetek and Bajrektarević 2000) and Slovenia (*Pesek 1996, André-Zaimović 2000*).

Some key issues and presuppositions of the Study Group Music and Minorities were presented in order to show the diversity and complexity of our tasks and approaches. Let me close with the words of Anthony Seeger, which appear to have programmatic connotations:

*»Most human beings today live in complex nation states. And the most endangered peoples and cultures are not necessarily those in distant forests – they are often large minority groups within nations that suddenly erupt into civil war or persecution. Music is one of the ways the communities establish themselves and try to survive, music is also one of the tools other people may use to try to dominate them« (Seeger 1997:22).*

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## GLASBA IN MANJŠINE NEKAJ PRIPOMB O TEMELJNIH USMERITVAH IN PRIČAKOVANJH ŠTUDIJSKE SKUPINE

### Povzetek

Prispevek poskuša določiti ključne pojme, ki so prišli v ospredje skozi dosedanje dejavnosti študijske skupine Glasba in manjšine. Glasba manjšin je tisto tematsko področje, za katero zanimanje znotraj etnomuzikološke stroke nedvomno narašča. Posebej so poudarjene skupnosti migrantov, kajti migracije so najpomembnejši vzrok za nastanek manjšin. V ospredju so tudi identitetna vprašanja, ki se ne omejujejo samo na etnično identiteto. V do-ločanju značilnosti manjšinskih glasb, posebej na primeru romske glasbe, je poudarjena vloga prepletanja kulturnih procesov. Posebne pozornosti sta deležna tudi nacionalizem kot ovira za raziskovanje glasb manjšinskih skupnosti ter aplikativna etnomuzikologija kot področje velikih možnosti za delo v prihodnosti.

# MUSIC IN THE FIELD OF TENSION BETWEEN HUMAN RIGHTS AND CULTURAL RIGHTS<sup>1</sup>

*Krister MALM*

A lot of organizations and individuals are today trying to implement the UN Charter of Human Rights with its strong emphasis on the rights of the individual. At the same time in most parts of the world old and new groupings<sup>2</sup> of people are competing for visibility on different arenas. They are claiming rights on a group level based on traditional conditions or strong common interests. There is an obvious tension between these two activities: one focusing on the rights of individuals and the other on the rights of groupings. Music has important roles in both activities, e.g. as a unifying force in the construction of the struggle, as an emblem and marker to demarcate a grouping from other groupings or just as an inspiration. In the following I will call the individual rights »human rights« in accordance with UN praxis. Since some notion of a common »culture« seems to be inherent in the rights struggle of groupings, I will call their claimed or achieved rights »cultural rights«.

The tension between these two aspects can, of course, be described and clarified in different ways. A basic component is that human rights is a modern, Western concept based on the ideas of late 18th Century philosophers and popular movements like the one resulting in the French revolution. In the field of music, this is linked to the idea of the great artist that creates art music as an intellectual/emotional act. Cultural rights are more linked to older, more traditional, construction of society along lines of clans, tribes, etc. that now seem to be revived and transformed into (post)modern forms. One can claim that there is a restratification of many societies going on that is caused by a re-interpretation of the society. The former interpretation in social terms with groupings based on geographical origin, family, profession, etc. is gradually replaced by an interpretation in cultural terms in which groupings are based on

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<sup>1</sup> This paper is based on the work of Dan Lundberg, Owe Ronström and the author within the research project Music – Media – Multiculture at the Royal Swedish Academy of Music in Stockholm.



cultural affinities such as music, dance, food, clothes, etc. This can be called a »culturalization process«. It has many implications, one being changes in cultural policies.

In modern cultural policy discourse two concepts are often used: »cultural diversity« and »multiculture« or »multicultural«. Very often these two concepts are used as if they meant the same thing. In a few contexts they may, but in most they do not. If one studies how these two concepts have been used in documents over the past 50 years, one finds that, at least in Western discourse, they belong to two different paradigms.

The concept »cultural diversity« has its origin in the liberal ideology. Here the individual is in focus. »Freedom of choice« is the basic goal, the more choice the more freedom for the individual. The motto is »More is beautiful«. A common metaphor is the botanical garden full of rare plants. But when you look closer, »more« in praxis doesn't mean more of anything. There are gardeners that keep the weed out of the garden. The means of getting more is usually deregulation. Society and culture are seen as homogenous. The advocates of diversity aspire to include all realms of reality. Everybody should participate. But at praxis level what is covered is only some realms of reality, mainly the world of high art, the great traditions. There is strong gate keeping by taste police.

The concept »multiculture/al« has some of its origin in Marxist theory but most of its origin is in an ethnic discourse that emerged in the 1960s in the wake of the black power movement in the USA. Here the group is in focus. The goal is »roots rights«: visibility, attention and recognition through a collective cultural heritage. The motto is »Roots are beautiful«. There should be many different groups / »cultures«, which in praxis means ethnic groups. A common metaphor is the mosaic. Ethnic/cultural activists watch the borders of the squares of this mosaic. There is a strong link to »folk«, »the little traditions«, recently in political discourse turning into »heritage« with its genetic connotations. Collective ownership becomes important. In praxis, »heritage« means a limited number of practices in music, dance, food, clothes and certain verbal forms, performed in specific arenas and situations. Emblematic use of specific expressive forms is common. Society and culture are seen as heterogeneous, divided into bounded groupings. There is usually inclusiveness at a societal level, but exclusiveness at group level.

From these short sketches we can see that human rights belongs to the cultural diversity paradigm and cultural rights to the multicultural/

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<sup>2</sup> I'm using the term »grouping« here to mark both ethnic and other traditional groups, and new, more loosely organized clusters of people.

al paradigm. It is, however, very common for music to combine properties from both paradigms. This creates different kinds of tensions and conflicts. The creation of music is always a combination of traditional patterns that makes it comprehensible and individual creativity resulting in difference. Thus music is affected as soon as issues of intellectual property right are contested and claimed either as individual rights or as collective cultural rights. The international conventions regulating intellectual property rights and most national legislation based on these have been designed within the cultural diversity paradigm. The legal term »author's rights« reflects the individual approach. As soon as rights to music are claimed as cultural rights by a grouping the inherent tension between the two paradigms manifests itself in the form of open conflicts.<sup>3</sup>

During the past 20 years, UNESCO and many governments have sensed the tension between the cultural diversity and the multicultural/al paradigm and tried to reformulate their cultural and other policies to suit both paradigms. Most of the time during this process policy makers do not realize that there are actually two different paradigms. The result is very often confused and contradictory legislation and actions. Among other things this means that if musical phenomena combine properties from both paradigms they are very often not included in or covered by subsidies or other cultural policy activities. I will try to illustrate this by some examples from Sweden.

In Sweden, cultural diversity was the only paradigm when modern government cultural politics were introduced in the 1920s, and it ruled until around 1970. By that time, Sweden had received a substantial number of immigrants and various means and measures were introduced into government cultural politics to deal with them, i.e. the multicultural/al paradigm was introduced alongside the cultural diversity paradigm. This meant that the cultural expressions of very old minority groups, such as the Samis, were at last incorporated into government cultural subsidy programs and the content of radio/TV etc., along with those of newly arrived Greeks, Turks, Yugoslavs, Latin Americans etc. In this process tensions with musical activities in focus were created.

Swedish traditional or folk music was outside the cultural politics as long as the cultural diversity paradigm ruled alone in Sweden. With the establishment of the multicultural/al paradigm the Swedes gradually became defined as just one of many ethnic groups. One early sign was that advertisements for restaurants serving »Swedish food« started to appear.

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<sup>3</sup> Quite a few examples of such conflicts are described in the contributions to *Yearbook of Traditional Music* 28, 1996.

Before restaurants just served food and nobody cared if it was pizza, pasta, or Swedish potatoes. Everything was perceived as »Swedish«, not in an ethnic sense but in a sense that it was something »normal« in Sweden. The traditional fiddler was likewise suddenly seen as a »Swedish traditional fiddler«. Swedish folk music associations could then be classified into the multicultural/al paradigm and receive government grants just as the Turkish or Greek cultural clubs. In 1998, Swedish traditional music got a special department at the Royal Music University College in Stockholm at the same time as it became possible to study different »immigrant musics« at the college. Previously, nothing but Western art music was taught at the college.

The number of pensioners or senior citizens in Sweden is growing rapidly. At the same time, they are in better health and economic conditions than ever before. It is a very active segment of the population. Officially, Sweden looks at senior citizen as individuals with only one common denominator: the pension check. This might have been correct some 15 years ago, but now they are quickly turning into a grouping defining itself in cultural terms, musically and otherwise, according to the culturalisation pattern. Their »homeland« is the Sweden that existed in the 1940s and 1950s. The Swedish »old time dance« accordion music and popular songs from the 1940s and 1950s is part of the »roots« of the contemporary Swedish senior citizens. But this music is not considered »traditional« or »folk« and thus does not fit into the established multicultural/al paradigm. Neither is it art music belonging to the paradigm of cultural diversity. Thus the senior citizens' musical activities are left outside cultural politics. While Middle Eastern popular music in the Swedish context can be defined as Kurdish, Turkish, Lebanese, or Assyrian »folk music,« for instance, and practitioners from these different ethnic groupings of this music can receive government subsidies, time quotas in the media, and the like, senior citizens' accordion music and »schlagers« cannot.

In Sweden, the strategy of some groupings around music has been to redefine themselves to fit into one of the paradigms. Jazz fans, for example, have redefined their music from being popular music to the status modern art music in order to fit the paradigm of cultural diversity. Once this occurred they were able to receive subsidies to jazz clubs, etc. At the same time, fans of New Orleans jazz know very well that their music is much closer to »folk« than to »art« music. The music is caught in the tension between masquerading as »art« and the insider perception of folk/popular.

World music or world beat is a new category that doesn't fit into

either paradigm. This music is local/folk at the same time as it is global/popular. You can call it local music with global structure. A new metaphor for this kind of phenomena has been launched: the sauce gathering at the bottom of a bowl of fruit salad, the slices of different fruits being genres in different music culture. Maybe a new paradigm is now growing out the new pattern of global – local and local-local cultural interaction.

In this paper I have tried to clarify some of the background factors to the tension between human and cultural rights and how this tension affects the field of music, causing conflicts and adaptation processes. The musicians and music of minority groups, especially, are frequently caught in this turmoil of tensions. Many problems affecting minority musics can probably be better understood if they are looked upon in terms of tensions between human and cultural rights and the lack of awareness of the cultural diversity and multicultural/al paradigms.

## GLASBA V OBMOČJU RAZPETOSTI MED ČLOVEKOVIMI PRAVICAMI IN KULTURNIMI PRAVICAMI

### Povzetek

Prispevek poudarja, da je glasba ujeta v območje napetosti med človekovimi pravicami na individualni ravni in kulturnimi pravicami na kolektivni ravni. V ozadju te napetosti je obstoj dveh paradigem – kulturne raznovrstnosti in multikulturalnosti. Človekove pravice sodijo v paradigmo kulturne raznovrstnosti, medtem ko kulturne pravice sodijo v multikulturalno paradigmo. Mednarodne konvencije, nacionalne zakonodaje in kulturne politike so pogosto formulirane brez zavesti o obstoju teh dveh paradigem. Na podlagi nekaterih primerov s Švedske je predstavljen njihov vpliv na glasbo. Številne težave, ki obremenjujejo glasbe manjšin, bi bilo lažje razumeti ob upoštevanju napetosti med človekovimi in kulturnimi pravicami in ob zavesti o kulturni raznovrstnosti na eni in multikulturalni paradigmi na drugi strani.

# MUSIC, MIGRATION AND MINORITIES: RECIPROCAL RELATIONS

*Adelaida REYES*

As preface to this paper, let me specify the sense in which I use the term migration. Each of the three propositions that undergird this paper will then be treated separately before their relations to each other are explored.

As is now common practice in scholarly publications on the subject, migration is taken as a generic term that includes not only internal migration but immigration and emigration as well. The term thus implicates people moving within national boundaries, those moving into a country or state from another in which one is habitually resident, and those leaving one's country or state to take up residence in another.<sup>1</sup>

The first proposition – that a growing number of the world's population are or were migrants – is perhaps so self-evident that it seems hardly to call for further comment. But the very ubiquity and obviousness of migration can induce blindness to its growing complexity, and hence, to the growing demand for innovative approaches to migration phenomena. If, for instance, methods are an indication of how we view what we study, then much of the ethnomusicological literature suggests that migration still tends to be taken as a monolith. Migrants are then an undifferentiated universe, marked only by their departure from one place and their resettlement in another. As a category of human group that has a musical life, migrants in ethnomusicology know few internal distinctions. Features that differentiate between forced and voluntary migrants, for example, find a place in description but not in explanation.

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<sup>1</sup> Contemporary events compel consideration of those whose status changes not because they move but because the boundaries defining nation-states have been moved as a consequence of war or of political and diplomatic negotiations. For those residing within the affected states, the resulting change from membership in a dominant society to membership in a minority group closely approximates the change experienced by conventional migrants who move from one location to another.

This squanders the explanatory potential of migration. It dissipates migration's power to clarify the social and musical behavior of people qua migrants and minorities. The proposition's statement of the obvious thus seeks justification not in its surface factuality but in its theoretical and methodological implications.

The second proposition – that most of today's minorities are or were migrants – also seems hardly worth mention. Migrants after all are newcomers to an already established host society with a culture of its own. What invites discussion is, again, not the factuality of the proposition but its focus on the relational.

A minority, by definition, depends upon a majority for its existence. This Study Group's definition of minority, by taking a dominant group as reference point, presumes a relationship based on power – the power to specify grounds for differentiation, to assign value or significance to difference, and to translate such grounds and such assignments into acts or behavior, musical and otherwise. This aspect of minority-majority group relations must thus be as much a part of explanation as it is part of a minority's description.

The third proposition – that migrants carry with them and within themselves traditions that shape or condition the way they reconstruct their lives in resettlement – refers to the cultural capital that migrants arrive with as they enter into a relationship with a host or majority society. This capital – the migrants' language, verbal and musical, their customs and their traditions – along with other forms of capital such as material goods, become the building blocks out of which a new socio-cultural life and a new identity is constructed. Like all materials out of which new structures are built, they influence the form and function of the envisioned product, which itself may be altered when the product's users are confronted by the reality of the available and the possible. The social dynamics between minority and majority thus guarantee that the minority's revitalized forms are negotiated ones – never mere duplications of past forms but the joint creation of groups with particular motivations acting on and responding to the other.

The relations between these three propositions, implicit in the discussion of each, can now be summarized as follows. Migration creates one of the largest human groups out of which minorities emerge. What migrants bring with them as capital for building new lives in resettlement depends on what they had and valued in the old life; the circumstances of their departure; and what, as a consequence they left behind. How they deploy their capital depends on their vision of the present and the future, but it is a vision encumbered by their particular past. The lives they create

in resettlement are shaped by all these, but not by these alone. For once in a new environment, they must deal with an important new variable: a host society, inevitably a dominant one, within which, as minorities, they must now seek to be accommodated.

How do these propositions apply on the empirical level?

To address this question, I have used a framework that suggested itself in the course of my study of Vietnamese migrants in the United States. Three constituent parts interact to hold the framework together:

- 1) the forced migrant minority group itself;
- 2) the dominant host society; and
- 3) the migrants' country or culture of origin.

Of these three parts, the role of the host society and the migrants' home culture need some elaboration.

In an influential article called »The Sociology of Majorities« written when academic interest in ethnic group relations in the United States was resurgent, the sociologist Robert Bierstedt, pointed out that »it is the majority which sets the culture pattern and sustains it... confers upon folkways, mores, customs and laws the status of norms and gives them coercive power... requires conformity to custom and...penalizes deviation« (1948:709). It is therefore the majority that controls the climate in which minorities must survive and, if possible, thrive.

In studies of migrant minorities, the majority is automatically assumed to be the host society. But when the minorities under study are forced migrants, another majority forces itself into the picture. I call this a »shadow majority« because it is not a tangible, physical reality in the lives of the migrant minority. It is nonetheless a powerful presence that exerts a strong influence on the choices that the minority makes as it reconstructs life in the new environment. This shadow majority is the society the migrants left behind. For forced migrants and particularly for those who left for political or ideological reasons, relations with the home country are marked by an ambivalence that the migrant-scholar Edward Said called an »unreconciled duality« (1999:38). It is an ambivalence that cannot be resolved through venues open to voluntary migrants who feel they can return at will or cast aside their attachment to the home country. Forced migrants leave with a complex mix of emotions that bind them to the homeland in particular ways. This mix includes guilt, quite often the trauma which taking the risk of fleeing inflicts, a sense of having been coerced to leave, and hence, a longing to return made more intense by the seeming impossibility of doing so. The ambivalence manifests itself in a sense of alienation from their co-nationals at home



and a resistance to total integration or adaptation to the host society. It is the ambivalence born of relations with two conflicting dominant societies – an ambivalence that has fueled the musical, literary and artistic output of many exiles and forced migrants.

I have documented the application of this framework to the Vietnamese minority in the United States elsewhere (Reyes 1999). I will therefore confine myself to one illustration.

When the Vietnamese refugees first began to arrive in the United States, they were greeted with American hostility and ignorance. The refugees were reminders of a war that Americans preferred to forget, the American economy was at a low point, and Vietnamese culture was distant and unfamiliar to most Americans. The refugees, for their part, had cut themselves off from the larger Vietnamese society in Vietnam to which, as a homeland, they remained emotionally attached. One Vietnamese response emerged from the Vietnamese music recording industry.

Centered in Orange County, California which the Vietnamese called the musical capital of Vietnam because many of the best-known Vietnamese musicians had resettled there, the music industry was nurtured by home studios as well as by more technically sophisticated operations. Streams of cassettes and, later, CDs flowed from these sources, both for domestic Vietnamese consumption and for distribution to overseas Vietnamese. The music was Vietnamese, accepted as such by the Vietnamese, composed and performed by Vietnamese, notably those with the greatest name recognition in the Vietnamese musical universe.

Despite the use of the Western harmonic musical idiom and the proliferation of Latin dance rhythms in much of the recorded repertoire, these products were not intended for the American market. Over and over again, in a variety of arrangements, recording artists used tunes from the Vietnamese popular and traditional repertoire that they had learned while still in Vietnam. Vietnamese song texts were the rule even for songs appropriated from the American repertoire. But these did not mean Vietnamese insulation from the larger American context. American musicians participated in important though virtually invisible roles. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, an American sound engineer was the most sought after by major Vietnamese recording artists. He took charge of engaging American musicians who had developed the expertise to fill in skeletally notated arrangements, mostly by Vietnamese. He oversaw the performance and recording of these arrangements on Western instruments. When the instrumental parts had been recorded, the Vietnamese recording artist, almost invariably a singer, came in to overdub.

The power relations implicit in these interactions were complex. Like

those enacted in the larger social sphere, negotiations were marked by a mutual understanding of the parts played by Vietnamese and American in the Vietnamese American recording industry's scheme of things. Having fixed the tempos of the different musical items on tape, for instance, the American musicians locked the Vietnamese recording artist into pre-recorded tempos that permitted little if any flexibility in the overdubbing process. Having control over the vocal line, however, the recording artist could exercise his or her own prerogatives with respect to ornamentation, the approach to pitches, the degree to which silences or spoken texts can be injected at certain points in a piece. And the recording artist who, in all cases, initiates the project and sees it through to completion is ultimately the employer.

This *process* could well reflect relations between any minority and the American majority. But the *products* reflect the Vietnamese migrants' awareness of the shadow majority in Vietnam. The emphasis on a pre-1975<sup>2</sup> repertory and on items that had been prohibited by the Vietnamese communist government, and the avoidance of traditional music that had been used by that government for propaganda purposes demonstrate the constraints on choice imposed by a conflicted relation. Here in action is Edward Said's »unresolved duality« – between the migrants and Vietnam, between their sense of belonging to a historic homeland and a repudiation of the country from which they fled.

Outside the recording industry, these sentiments are reflected in Vietnamese protests against the Vietnamese traditional music ensembles brought over from Vietnam by well-meaning American sponsors. And perhaps most symbolic of Vietnamese migrants' response to their two majorities is an incident that occurred in the spring of 2000. At a public demonstration in Orange County, during the commemoration of the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the fall of Saigon Vietnamese destroyed CDs, videotapes, and books from Vietnam as the anthem, »America the Beautiful« and the national anthem of the old South Vietnamese republic played in the background.<sup>3</sup>

To isolate the music of the Vietnamese minority from those two majorities is therefore to detach it from its defining contexts.

Wondering about the applicability of the three-part framework beyond the Vietnamese American case, I joined a multidisciplinary team in 1998 to explore the refugee situation in Uganda.

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<sup>2</sup> Vietnam was unified under the communist government in 1975.

<sup>3</sup> I thank Professor Deborah Wong of the University of California (Riverside) for this information.

Uganda has an extraordinarily heterogeneous mix of refugees that count among them Sudanese, Rwandans, Congolese, Ethiopians, Eritreans and Somalis. It also has an extraordinary ratio of Ugandan to refugee – an average of one refugee to nine Ugandans, and in border areas more than one refugee per Ugandan. These facts reflect aspects of majority-minority relations in Uganda. First, it underscores Uganda's receptiveness to refugees, a clarifying contrast to American attitudes toward Vietnamese refugees. Many Ugandans still remember fleeing Idi Amin's repressive regime and being given safe haven in the countries from which the refugees now come.

Second, Uganda's need for help in supporting its disproportionately large refugee population means accommodating the policies of the UNHCR, the principal aid agency. Thus, the UNHCR, in effect, partakes of the majority's prerogatives. The impact of this power-sharing on Uganda's relations with its refugee minorities will become evident shortly.

Third, the contiguity or closeness of the shadow majority suggests a different, though no less powerful, kind of power relations between the refugees and their homeland. While the geographic distance of the homeland reinforced the Vietnamese perception that they cannot return and had therefore little choice but to adapt to American society, the closeness of the Ugandan refugees' homeland makes return a particularly wrenching issue. What would otherwise be a simple case of border-crossing for voluntary migrants becomes the occasion for the kind of ambivalence that marks the refugee migrant experience. The strong temptation to return is counterbalanced by the equally strong testimony of newcomers who remind resettlers in Uganda of conditions at home. These minorities are therefore constantly torn between the physical nearness and the psychological remoteness of the home country, and consequently, between the temptation to adapt to Ugandan society or to hold out against the possibility of return.

The contiguity of host country and homeland has another important consequence. Rebel armies easily cross the border to raid refugee camps, to abduct young refugees to serve in their army, and to commit other acts of violence. This compels many refugees to flee the camps and to seek the relative safety of Kampala, Uganda's capital city, where they can lose themselves among the local population. In so doing, they defy the UNHCR, which insists that refugees in general must stay in camps if they are to have access to aid. Since there are no camps in Kampala, the urban refugees there are left largely to fend for themselves, expecting little from the Ugandan government, which must cooperate with the UNHCR, and evading the UNHCR for fear of being sent to the camps. Like early American policy, which dispersed the Vietnamese throughout the States,

the UNHCR encampment policy makes it difficult for urban refugees to construct a community and to rebuild their social and cultural life

These general features suggested that the refugee minority situation in Kampala might offer useful points of comparison with the Vietnamese refugee minority situation in the United States. Considering the low profile maintained by urban refugees which made them difficult to locate particularly as a community, and considering the highly exploratory, short-term nature of this study, the discovery of a group of Sudanese proved propitious.<sup>4</sup>

Their activities centered around a mud structure that the Sudanese refugees have built for themselves on land owned by a Ugandan. This serves as classroom, meeting room, a place to receive guests, or a place of worship during the day. At night, it is a sleeping space. Adjoining this structure are two low buildings divided into single rooms which some members of the community rent as living quarters. Other members live in different parts of the city, but they congregate here to create a microcosm where the three-way tension between larger society, refugee minority and homeland becomes manifest.

Official Ugandan receptivity to the refugees is reflected in the recent changes in the country's constitution that make permanent residence and citizenship relatively easy. Sudanese commitment to their life in Uganda is suggested by the heroic efforts to build and maintain the communal structure. At the same time, their very presence in Kampala and the location of the structure – among Ugandan homes but not easily accessible from the main roads – are a defiant response to that part of the majority represented by UNHCR.

The homeland echoes in the identity that the Sudanese have forged for themselves. Tribal differences have given way to overarching commonalities. Together, Sudanese with different tribal affiliations (e.g., the Dinka, the Nuer) identify themselves as Africans to distinguish themselves from the Arab majority in their homeland. Lutherans, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Orthodox Christians, Catholics and Seventh Day Adventists have given priority to their identity as Christians in contradistinction to the Muslims who dominate their country and whose heavy-handed treatment of the non-Arabic, non-Islamic minorities have caused them to flee. Overlooking the complexity of their conflicts and affiliations in the homeland, they see themselves in the Ugandan context

<sup>4</sup> In 1997, 177,228 or 86% of Uganda's 255,293 registered refugees were Sudanese (Ochumbo 1997:9).

<sup>5</sup> With the exception of a hiatus between 1972 to 1982, the struggle for an independent southern Sudan has been ongoing.

as forced migrants fleeing the north-south, Muslim-Christian conflict that has raged in their country since 1955.<sup>5</sup> These socio-political factors suggest the rationale for a number of the community's musical choices.

Most of the community's music-making is associated with religious activities which are at the center of communal life. Songs are sung in English, a lingua franca that cuts across the linguistic diversity of the Sudanese and signals a preference over Arabic, the language of the dominant society from which they fled, and a language that most of them speak. Attendance and participation at rituals, regardless of who officiates or what denomination-specific forms they take, cuts across denominational lines. But these unifying features fostered by a repudiation of things Arabic and Islamic do not lead to an automatic embrace of Uganda's Christian practices. The ambivalence is exemplified by the Catholics among them who express a longing to have mass celebrated more frequently but do not take advantage of the daily masses in the Ugandan Catholic chapel nearby.

Masses sung by the Sudanese as well as afternoon masses sung in the closest Ugandan Catholic church offer the closest comparison. In both cases, the music is sung not by a rehearsed choir but by the congregation. In both cases, most of the singing is unaccompanied except for drums, rarely for the Sudanese and more frequently for the Ugandans. Both Sudanese and Ugandans appropriate Western tunes, notably »Auld Lang Syne« by the Sudanese and Bob Dylan's »Blowing in the Wind« by the Ugandans.

But the distinctness of their musical practice, underscored by the mass as context in common, is unmistakable. While the Sudanese are consistently monophonic with little if any ornamentation in their church music, the Ugandans as a church congregation seem unable to sing for more than a few seconds without introducing harmony. Polyphony is common as well as call and response patterns between one singer or small group and the entire congregation.

There is no room here for further detail, but this preliminary study does suggest that what might have made a comparison of refugee minorities in the U.S. and in Uganda seem like an apples-and-oranges case served instead, through the use of the three-part framework, to highlight their comparability. Sudanese migrants in Uganda have constructed for themselves a musical life that, in the consolidation of tribal and religious affiliations and the results of this on musical practice, reflects their alienation from their home country. This is understandable given the circumstances that brought them to Uganda. But their resistance to the religious practices that they desire and that Uganda offers them suggest

the same kind of ambivalence that the Vietnamese manifested towards their adopted country and their historic homeland. For the Sudanese, the ambivalence, the constraints and their effects on Sudanese musical choices come from both the proximate physical majority that is Uganda, and the shadow majority across the border in the Sudan.

The actor-orientation of this paper reflects a personal bias and a response to the way this study group has chosen to name its subject – Minorities and Music. This formulation instead of, say, the music of minorities puts people at center stage to share the methodological lime-light with music as sound. Using migration, a phenomenon that is first and foremost about people, as point of entry into studies of minorities and music, this study, it is hoped, will help in the rediscovery and reassessment of things that have been hiding in plain sight. Among them: that it is people who mean and who imbue sounds with meaning; that meaning therefore precedes its representation by sound; and that when people choose to communicate meaning through sound, music becomes not just an acoustic object but a social act.

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## GLASBA, MIGRACIJE IN MANJŠINE. MEDSEBOJNE POVEZAVE

### Povzetek

Prispevek predstavlja odnose med tremi predpostavkami in njihovim izpeljavami za študij glasbe in manjšin:

1. (i)migrantje so pomenili oziroma pomenijo vedno večji delež svetovnega prebivalstva,
2. večino današnjih manjšin so sestavljali ali jo sestavljajo (i)migrantje, obrobni glede na dominantno kulturo,
3. vsi (i)migrantje so nosilci tradicij, med katere sodi tudi glasba, te pa oblikujejo ali določajo načine, ki rekonstruirajo svoja življenja in oblikujejo identitete v novih okoljih.

Ta prispevek se osredotoča na prisilne migracije in prisilne migrante kot manjšinske priseljence. Empirična podlaga prispevka so vietnamski begunci kot manjšina v ameriškem okolju in sudanski begunci v ugandskem okolju.

# MAJOR MINORITIES: TOWARDS AN ETHNOMUSICOLOGY OF IRISH MINORITY MUSICS

*John Morgan O'CONNELL*

## *Introduction*

*I*n the past decade, Ireland has undergone a profound transformation. Benefiting from the reconciliation of internecine strife in Northern Ireland and empowered by a prolonged period of unprecedented economic growth, the country has managed to curtail its debilitating tradition of mass emigration and to attract, instead, a new generation of migrants: migrants who are drawn by the employment opportunities in the vibrant »Celtic Tiger« economy. While this period of peace and prosperity has promoted a cultural renaissance – especially in the realm of Irish traditional music – and while it has also witnessed a dramatic expansion of relevant academic programs to suit, it has failed (generally speaking) to cater to the educational needs of the new migrants. That is, immigrant groups are required to integrate into the Irish cultural landscape and they are expected to conform to the social constraints of that system accordingly. While postcolonial criticism emphasizes the singular attributes of Irish identity according to an established vocabulary of colonial discourse,<sup>1</sup> the recent influx of immigrants to the island has rendered such a heterodox interpretation of ethnic identity problematic: problematic

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<sup>1</sup> Postcolonial criticism, broadly speaking, attempts to examine the implications of colonization for the cultures of colonized territories. While its definition and scope are open to interpretation, the aims of this position can be characterized as follows: the deconstruction of discourses implicated in the colonial project. From this perspective, nationalism in colonized and de-colonized contexts represents the heterodox expression of an imperial epistemology: defined in its opposition to an orthodox position and unified – accordingly – in its operation to the dominant order. It is for this reason that many commentators (including: Fanon 1995, Spivak 1995, Chatterjee 1995 and Lawson 1995) have criticized national culture since it tends to replicate the hegemonic attributes of colonial power and to marginalize those cultural practices and minority concerns which do not conform to the universalist interests and the modernist aspirations of the status quo. In Ireland, such a critique of nationalism may be appropriate.



from the perspective of its perceived colonized attributes and from the perspective of an expanded European context. In the educational realm, the status accorded to Irish traditional music is also open to question. That is, the bifurcation of music education into art music and traditional music, into musicology and ethnomusicology and – implicitly – into orthodox and heterodox notions of Irish-ness is no longer consistent with the increasingly multicultural fabric of Irish society.

In this paper, I will show how the presence of minority musics in the Republic subverts established notions of Irish identity advocated in national cultural policies. By examining musical practices deemed unworthy of serious academic study in the Irish context, I will develop a new approach to Irish ethnomusicology: an ethnomusicology which honors all musical practices and which promotes intercultural understanding through active participation within relevant community contexts. In short, I will challenge the major status accorded to Irish traditional music in current cultural policy by proposing a new ethnomusicology of Irish minority musics.

### *Defining Irish Minority Musics*

In the Irish context, the definition of »minority« provided by this ICTM Study Group (2000:1) is somewhat problematic.<sup>2</sup> That is, the definition of a minority as a »group[s] of people distinguished from the dominant group out of cultural, social, religious or economic reasons« may reflect the classification of minority status according to the precepts of a hegemonic discourse: a discourse which seeks to bracket all cultural practices of perceived heterodox groups according to the legitimizing mechanisms of the dominant perspective and which conforms to Slobin's (1992:33)

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<sup>2</sup> Minority discourse has received considerable attention in postcolonial studies (see JanMohamed and Lloyd 1997). Initially developed in the literary branch of postcolonial theory, it has increasingly become significant in those academic areas where a singular interpretation of culture proffered (with enlightened self interest) by a dominant group is open to scrutiny. Drawing significantly upon the philosophical precedents set by postmodernism and post-structuralism, exponents of this perspective have attempted to deconstruct colonial discourses by exposing the diverse strategies of alienation endemic within centralized hegemonic structures. Instead, they have sought to develop theories of heterogeneity where polyvalent interpretations of cultural production (in the realms of ethnic awareness, gender identity, consciousness formation, language standardization and performance theory) displace the unitary character of elite responses to minority issues (in the forms of multiculturalism, assimilation, tokenism and marginalization).

perceptive critique of the term as »an all-too-comfortable landscape featuring a majority population in charge of the state that defines and tries to control minorities.«<sup>3</sup> In Ireland, Slobin's critique of minority is particularly apt. That is, his definition has served the British colonial project in Ireland with discursive rigor by dividing Ireland into opposing geo-political realms (Northern and Southern Ireland) and by re-defining the Catholic population in the Northern sector as a minority (although the group constitutes approximately 72% of the island's population).<sup>4</sup> This radical reclassification of the Irish culturescape (a term originally coined by Appadurai, 1990) according to the precepts of a dominant colonial perspective has served to polarize (and to simplify) all political, social, cultural and religious discourse into opposing orthodox and heterodox perspectives – perspectives which were originally fashioned by the dominant group for the sake of order and control (see Foucault 1976) and perspectives which have served to maintain the institutional mechanisms of control (see Bourdieu 1977) by ensuring that all groups participate within the same discursive realm. While the recent peace initiatives in Northern Ireland have helped to assuage some of the political imbalances, they have not (as yet) served to reconfigure the fundamental bifurcation of this discourse into opposing polarities (British vs. Irish; Protestant vs. Catholic; Majority vs. Minority). Simply put, the peace process itself could

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<sup>3</sup> Slobin (1992) is principally concerned here with the micromusics of the West: that is, small musical units within big musical cultures. Adapting Appadurai's (1990) –scape typology to the musical realm, he defines three levels of analysis – subculture, superculture and interculture – as a framework for discussing complex, dynamic and disjunctive relationships between the five dimensions of the global cultural economy namely: ethnoscares, mediascares, technoscares, finanscape and ideoscares. While Slobin's intention (invoking Lippard 1990) is to develop a theory of multiplicity that is relational in character, he deals with minority discourse in his exposition of subcultures: a treatment which replicates a wider postcolonial concern for the definition of minorities according to the precepts of a supercultural ideoscape where »an oppositional framework (namely: majority vs. minority) carries with it the risk of appropriation and of in-between-ness that can entail a majority masquerading as a minority« (Moore-Gilbert et al. 1997:52). In this respect, minority status in Northern Ireland is defined according to the terms of reference of a majority viewpoint: a viewpoint which controls the symbolic expressions of minority status with discursive rigor and which disguises the double-minority status (Kearney 1995:77) of the dominant order.

<sup>4</sup> Demographic information is provided by the Central Statistical Office (<http://www.cso.ie>) for Southern Ireland and by the Northern Ireland Statistical and Research Agency (<http://www.nisra.gov.uk>) for Northern Ireland. A more detailed breakdown of statistical information for Northern Ireland is provided by CAIN (<http://www.cain.ulst.ac.uk>).

be viewed as a tangible product of a colonized consciousness.<sup>5</sup>

The perpetuation of this colonizing discourse is also to be found in the South of Ireland. Interpolating the critical perspectives presented in recent studies of Irish history (especially the revisionist stance of Foster, 1988), Irish literature (especially the critical position of Kiberd, 1995) and Irish music (especially the seminal study of White, 1999), I argue that the Republic's culturescape has also been (and continues to be) mapped according to a colonial rather than an independent republican perspective. That is, the political division of Ireland into Northern and Southern sectors has dominated political, social and religious realms (for nearly 80 years) to such an extent that cultural practices which exist beyond the bounds of this colonizing discourse are often rendered insignificant and invisible. In this respect, music has played a central role. While western art music has largely been considered the symbolic capital of a discredited Ascendancy, Irish traditional music is equated with the new republican order – an order with ostensibly impeccable Irish credentials and an order whose cultural institutions were often inherited from the colonial period.<sup>6</sup> Further, the scholarly study of traditional music (historically the exclusive domain of Irish ethnomusicology) has itself been marginalized in its relationship to a dominant (yet not fully developed) historical musicology and in its relationship to larger institutional structures (especially in the realms of fiscal policy and academic validation). However, the practice of and the discourse about Irish traditional music

<sup>5</sup> The current peace process acknowledges the fundamental polarization of Northern Irish politics into discrete Protestant and Catholic entities. While its most significant achievement – the inclusion of cross-border initiatives – serves to reframe the problems of the Province in a wider Irish and British framework, the bifurcation of discourse into opposing orthodox and heterodox perspectives has not significantly been challenged.

<sup>6</sup> The representation of Irish traditional music is problematic. Often equated with the rural, peasant and catholic context of Irish nationalist identity, this musical tradition was patronized for over a century by members of an urban-based bourgeois élite (often non-Catholic) who were eager to emphasize the unique ethnic attributes of its origins. While Irish traditional music in fact shows multiple international influences (especially in terms of its melodic formations, dance genres, musical instruments, and performance contexts), its specific identification with Irish identity can be interpreted as part of a wider process: a process where Irish nationalism is invested with a particular set of sonic, visual and verbal symbols and where Irish values were alloyed to an idealized Gaelic west. In conflict with (yet bound to) an imperial mould of cultural production, the fossilization of Irish identity in its opposition to English-ness was nurtured by a number of cultural institutions – especially the Gaelic League and the Gaelic Athletic Association – whose remit was to re-establish the Irish language, Irish pastimes, and Irish values on the island as a prelude to political autonomy. Music-making was intimately involved in this

is profoundly informed by the aesthetic values of western art music to such an extent that metaphors about practice and the methodological tools utilized in its study betray the indelible mark of a classical aesthetic distilled through the muddied waters of British scholarship.<sup>7</sup> In short, this polarization of cultural practice into opposing aesthetic perspectives does not only reflect the colonization of the Irish consciousness (to use an expression coined by Comaroff and Comaroff 1992) but it has also served to systematize musical practice and musical discourse within the same ideological framework.

In Ireland, cultural policy (especially with reference to music) betrays the postcolonial condition of the official mindset. Celebrating (quite justifiably) Ireland's economic and artistic renaissance in recent years, relevant government authorities have attempted to articulate sonically Ireland's new-found confidence with lavish displays of investment in relevant artistic activities. Allocating a significant proportion of the national surplus to cultural endeavors, these same authorities have mirrored similar millenium projects in other European states (especially Britain) by investing heavily in western art musical schemes: such as ensembles, concert facilities and festivals. In particular, the government has recently approved the foundation of a Performing Arts Academy (at a cost of IRL35 million): an academy modeled on a European conservatory precedent intended to improve performance standards to an acceptable international level. While the European aspirations of the project are evident in theory, in practice the design of and the consultation surrounding the new academy (for a number of reasons) manifest a strong and singular British flavor – a situation which may unintentionally freeze

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operation.

<sup>7</sup> The classicization of Irish traditional music is generally attributed to Seán O Riada (1931-71). Advocating the modernization of Irish music to suit the aesthetic preferences of a new urban-based nationalist élite, O Riada promoted the institutionalization of Irish traditional music in the academy and its performance in concert settings. Initially trained as a western art composer (studying briefly in Paris), O Riada was implicated in a wider process of canon formation associated with the establishment of the Irish Republic where the identification of a national composer and a national style was ambiguously balanced between a traditional and classical (that is, an Irish and English) reading of ethnic awareness.

<sup>8</sup> The British character of the Irish Academy for the Performing Arts is implicit in the Renshaw Report (1999). As Head of Research and Development in the Department of Performance and Communication Skills at the Guildhall School of Music and Drama in London, Peter Renshaw (building upon his experience in Britain) has proposed a seemingly innovative model for the performing arts in Ireland by emphasizing the significance of practice-based research, community arts training and music education in an élite context. Highlighting the significance of Irish

Irish cultural policy as well as musical practice within its postcolonial mould.<sup>8</sup> While it is true that the performance of Irish traditional music is sanctioned within this project and while it is also true that the institutions surrounding Irish traditional music (such as archives, music schools and festivals) will indirectly benefit from its implementation, the colonization of the academy with Irish traditional music (to the exclusion of other traditional and world musics) may indeed result in the full classicization of the tradition and in the spectacular display of the minority music: a minority music whose very character is determined by a dominant classical aesthetic and a minority music whose domain is diminished to the status of spectacle.<sup>9</sup> Simply put, cultural policy in Ireland (which is informed by an ongoing postcolonial condition concerning appropriate modes of Irish-ness) has ensured that Irish traditional music is the only minority music – a major minority which is increasingly controlled within the framework of western art music.

### *Re-Defining Irish Minority Musics*

Of course, this institutional recognition of a »minority music« does not necessarily reflect the practical reality of traditional music-making in Ireland. Nor does it claim to represent the multifarious definitions of traditional music in its many different contexts. However, it does show how the validation of traditional music within the academy has discursive significance since native practitioners are obliged to address the standards, the language and the values associated with the new curriculum of instruction for strategic advantage: that is, for professional, financial and practical reasons. As in

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traditional music (p. 12) but acknowledging its subservient status to western art music within the same framework, he is not only in danger of tokenism (appealing to a colonial view of Irish performance) but he is also in danger of stereotyping a vital musical practice according to the aesthetic dictates of a dominant classical aesthetic.

<sup>9</sup> One of the principal goals of the Irish Academy for the Performing Arts is to establish »a visionary project for the Millenium« (Renshaw 1999:17). In this respect, the proposal must be considered in relation to a number of other millennial projects in Ireland (especially the controversial Campus Ireland Sports Stadium): projects which seek explicitly to articulate the cultural and artistic dimension of Ireland's economic dynamism and to serve implicitly the political aspirations of key personalities in government. From a critical perspective, the Irish Academy for the Performing Arts can be interpreted as a spectacle which operates as a metaphor for modernity providing a context for thinking out the cultural paradoxes of the present (see Manning 1993).

the state Academies of other countries (see O'Connell 2000), culture bearers are forced to adopt the westernized vocabulary of institutional music curricula to validate their own distinctive positions within »the tradition« and to ridicule as non-national deviant practices which do not conform to their aesthetic purview. In this way and following de Certeau (1993), they are able to map an individual path through the idealized plan imposed by the authorities from above.

Yet even if we allow for personal agency within this postcolonial equation and even if we agree that individual practitioners are supremely capable of negotiating this ideological quagmire, it is hard to ignore the central focus of this discourse: a focus within which Irish traditional music in all of its definitions occupies a unique place and major position. On the other hand, many musics persist in practice and exist unvoiced beyond the domain of discourse. In particular, the music of the travelling community in the Republic remains largely unnoticed. Being privileged to a vast repertory of English-language song which is performed in a unique dialect (replete with many words derived from Gaelic) and in a singular style of vocal rendition (known as the traveller's cant), this socially marginalized group has remained under-studied in the academic literature, under-represented in performance contexts and under-funded in institutional settings. They are not alone.<sup>10</sup> That is, musical genres (such as Irish popular, religious and syncretic musics) which seem to contest monolithic constructions of Irish identity (itself configured within a postcolonial mould) are ridiculed for their deviance and expunged from the canonic realm accordingly.

Ethnomusicology has a significant part to play in reversing this post-colonial condition. Discarding the traditional methods of Irish ethnomusicological research and adopting instead an anthropological approach to the field, a number of foreign-trained ethnomusicologists have begun to question this canonic version of Irish identity by studying a wide variety of native musical practices: practices which were historically deemed unworthy of study and which demonstrate the multiple attributes and temporal specificity of Irish identities. While Irish ethnomusicologists have rightly not discarded completely (in contrast to many of their colleagues in America) the musicological legacy of their scholarly forbears, they have reconfigured these methods to suit the exciting new circumstances of the Irish musicscape. In this respect, the recent migration of non-Irish groups to the island is especially significant. By adding visibly (through

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<sup>10</sup> See Irish Traveller Movement (<http://www.itmtrav.com>) and Pavee Point (<http://homepages.iol.ie/~pavee>) for further information on the Traveller Movement.

music performance) and sonically (through musical recordings) to the Irish culturescape, the new immigrants provide a refreshing diversion from the centuries-old polemical debate surrounding the British colonization of Ireland and from the consequent polarization of musical discourse. Further, the presence of a polycultural tapestry of musical practices within the Irish soundscape questions the very foundations upon which this discourse resides: that is, the interpretation of Irish traditional music as a unique expression of Irish identity (in opposition to western art music as a symbol of British rule) and the interpretation of Irish culture as a singular manifestation of a particular (yet pristine) set of religious, social and political values. Generally speaking, the presence of immigrant communities on the island has not only provided ethnomusicologists with an excellent opportunity to study the processes of acculturation in a reasonably homogenous society but it has also provided a mechanism for testing established models of minority musics and for promulgating instead polyvalent interpretations of identity formation (a veritable bricolage of musical practices) consistent with contemporary theoretical paradigms and social realities.

### *Irish Minority Musics in Context*

The dramatic growth of minority musics in Ireland must be set in a wider economic and cultural context: a context which has witnessed the phenomenal expansion of the Irish economy (growing at more than 10% per annum in 2000) and which has seen a concomitant drop in unemployment (from 18% in 1988 to 3.8% in 2001). While economic success has brought with it inflationary pressures (especially in the housing market) and while the government has yet to tackle infrastructural problems (especially in the transport sector), this phenomenal growth of the Irish economy has not gone unnoticed. On the one hand, the new »Celtic Tiger« economy has witnessed the return to Ireland of Irish emigrants: thus reversing more than two centuries of mass emigration from the island. On the other hand, the country has also begun to attract economic migrants from European states (especially those experiencing high rates of unemployment) and more significantly the country has also begun to attract political migrants eager to flee oppression in their countries of origin. Like many countries in the European Union, Ireland has experienced a dramatic increase in numbers seeking asylum. Since 1997, there has been more than a fivefold increase in asylum applications. In 1997 there were c. 4,000, in 1998 there were c. 5,000, in 1999 there were c. 8,000, in 2000 there were 14,000 and this year (according to the Irish Refugee Council) there will be more than 20,000

applications for refugee status in the Republic. While these figures do not include a significant rise in unregistered migrants to the state (often entering the Republic through the porous border with Northern Ireland) and while they do not demonstrate the large increase in applications for residency by non-European subjects, they do indicate the influx of non-Irish migrants to the Republic: migrants who are principally from the non-EU portion of Europe (c. 56%), from Nigeria (c. 32%) and Algeria (10%) and who are prepared to suffer the difficulties of statelessness for the princely sum of IRL15 per week and for accommodation in Irish hostels often situated in isolated locations throughout the country.

These figures do not support, however, the sensational estimates of asylum applications proposed by some Irish politicians: politicians who have sought to instill racial antagonism by overestimating immigrant statistics for political gain. This fear is evident in media representations of the immigrant issues and in the racial incidents which have largely gone unnoticed (representing a native failure to recognize the possibility of racial antagonism in Ireland). While the government is explicitly concerned with attracting over 200,000 skilled migrants to the country (especially those migrants with Irish ancestry), it has pursued an immigration policy unequalled in other European states:

- It has denied most asylum seekers refugee status.
- It has dispersed asylum seekers to isolated locations throughout the country.
- It has failed to provide adequate administrative support for relevant institutions.
- It has failed to provide adequate information and statistics concerning asylum seekers.
- It has failed to provide adequate financial support for different asylum groups.

Given that the Irish themselves have for centuries suffered the ignominy of displacement, it is surprising that they have not been able to deal effectively with this exciting new challenge – this, despite the country's labor shortages and economic wealth. In the musical realm, the country has also been unsuccessful. By investing in musical practices consistent with its own conception of Irish music and by refusing to invest in other musics not conforming to this dominant perspective, it has implicitly acknowledged the perpetuation of a colonial discourse concerning appropriate notions of Irish-ness – notions which exclude the possibility of an intercultural Ireland and which eliminate the possibility of multiple

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<sup>11</sup> Since presenting this paper in 2000, there have been some notable improvements in the presentation of migrant social issues and in the representation of migrant



versions of Irish-ness.<sup>11</sup>

*Conclusion:  
Towards an Ethnomusicology of Irish Minority Musics*

Ethnomusicologists have a duty to deconstruct such monolithic conceptions of Irish identity. By working constructively with immigrant groups, they can not only mediate between relevant governmental bodies and representative immigrant organizations but they can also design programs which promote intercultural understanding in a country unfamiliar with cultural diversity. In this respect and following a precedent set by Marcus and Fischer (1986), I have encouraged my own graduate students to work with a number of established organizations as part of their postgraduate work in the field. To date, they have started:

- to design music curricula and media documentaries which promote intercultural understanding;
- to organize community events and music workshops which highlight different migrant cultures;
- to form ethnomusicological ensembles which encourage intercultural participation;
- to write grants which help finance intercultural community projects;
- to invite community musicians to perform in educational institutions throughout the country.

While it is true that ethnomusicologists are not alone in advocating the need for a greater cultural awareness of immigrant issues – witness, for instance, the impressive work of the Irish Centre for Migration Studies in Cork (<http://www.migration.ucc.ie>) – they are uniquely qualified to promote a particular brand of cultural awareness: an awareness which increases the profile of »minority« cultures in diasporic locations and which invites participation from all members of the host community. By extension, ethnomusicologists can also contribute to intracultural

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cultural concerns in the Republic. In the former, widely publicized anti-racist legislation and generous economic packages have been introduced to combat hate crimes and social deprivation respectively. In the latter, there have been a number of attempts at promoting intercultural awareness through media presentations at a national and local level. Most impressive of all has been the organization by different migrant groups of musical events which introduce their distinctive musical cultures to an Irish audience. These groups include: the African Cultural Project, the Islamic Cultural Centre, the Kosovo Refugee Centre and the Bosnian Community Development Project.

understanding by providing a politically neutral space (especially in performance contexts) for bringing together segregated members of the host community – a tradition of segregation which ethnomusicology (along with historical musicology) has historically but unwittingly served to perpetuate. Further, ethnomusicologists can themselves benefit from this productive interaction with the new »minority« musics: that is, by documenting their work for archival purposes and by writing musical ethnographies of their field experiences, they can contribute to a growing academic literature and scholarly interest in the area. However, these benefits are not confined exclusively to the realm of new »minority« musics. That is, by questioning the very basis upon which Irish cultural policy is founded and by interrogating in particular its postcolonial condition, ethnomusicologists may begin to deconstruct the polarization of cultural discourse into opposing Irish and British perspectives by offering instead a new polyvalent interpretation of Irish-ness: an interpretation in which all Irish musics are honored and an interpretation within which the new minority musics play a significant part. In doing so, they will enable these musics also to become major minorities.

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## VEČINSKE MANJŠINE – NA POTI K ETNOMUZI- KOLOGIJI GLASB IRSKIH MANJŠIN

Povzetek

V minulem desetletju je Irska doživela globinske spremembe. Pomiritev odnosov na severnem Irskem in podaljšano obdobje ekonomske rasti sta omogočila, da se je Irska znebila nezaželene tradicije masovnega izseljevanja in postala privlačna za novo generacijo priseljencev. Čeprav je to obdobje miru in blaginje napovedovalo kulturni preporod, predvsem na področju irske tradicionalne glasbe, in čeprav so se ustrezni akademski programi razširili, so izobraževalne potrebe priseljencev ostale nepotešene. Od priseljencev se pričakuje integracija v irski kulturni okvir in sprejemanje določenih družbenih omejitev. Medtem ko postkolonialna kritika poudarja posamične attribute irske istovetnosti v uveljavljenem besednjaku kolonialnih razprav, prihod novih priseljencev postavlja tako heterodokšno definicijo etnične identitete pod vprašaj. Problematičnost izhaja iz kolonizacijskih atributov in razširjenega evropskega konteksta. Vprašljiv je tudi položaj irske tradicionalne glasbe v izobraževanju. Razcep glasbenega izobraževanja, ki ločuje umetno in ljudsko glasbo, torej razcep med muzikologijo in etnomuzikologijo ter med ortodoksnim in heterodoksnim pristopom irskosti ni več združljiv z naraščajočo polikulturalnostjo irske družbe.

V tem prispevku želim pokazati, kako navzočnost manjšinskih glasb z vidika nacionalne kulturne politike razdira ustaljene predstave o irski identiteti. Zahvaljujoč raziskovanju glasbenih praks, ki jih ponekod v irskem kontekstu doživljajo, kot da ne bi bile vredne resnega akademskega študija, bom razvil nov pristop k irski etnomuzikologiji. To je etnomuzikologija, ki spoštuje vse glasbene prakse in zagovarja medkulturno razumevanje skozi neposredno sodelovanje znotraj relevantnih družbenih kontekstov. Poskušal bom izpodbiti osrednji status irske tradicionalne glasbe v veljavni kulturni politiki skozi afirmacijo nove etnomuzikologije irskih manjšinskih glasb.



# ETHNICITY, ECOLOGY AND AESTHETICS IN A MINORITY PERSPECTIVE: TOWARDS A MUSICOLOGY OF OPPOSITION

*Kjell SKYLLSTAD*

## *Introduction*

Societies in ecological balance attach great importance to the role of artistic activities in their efforts to maintain their ecosystems. These activities, often unfolding within a ritual setting and a cyclic time frame, function to reinforce ethnic identity and to foster integration. Throughout the long history of human existence it is through an ongoing activity of artistic and symbolic interaction that social, cultural and ecological value systems are being shaped and transmitted to ever new generations. In the artistic manifestations of different civilizations we find forms that were modelled in this process. These forms thus contain important incentives and stimuli for ecological and social reconstruction, for the refinding of roots and values. In a global perspective the ecological crisis has its roots in the cultural situation, while culture in turn becomes a victim of the crises.

The research of Anthony Seeger in the Amazon region and Steven Feld in Papua New Guinea bring home to us the close relationships between ethnicity, ecology and aesthetics among tribal peoples. During my visits to South East Asia during the summers of 1986–1990 the grim reality of ecological disaster dawned on me in a very direct way. The very foundation of our culture is threatened through the so-called development giving a deathblow to our natural habitat. I witnessed the brutal destruction of the tropical rainforest, heard accounts of forced relocation, of the modern expulsion from paradise so to speak, of the very peoples that possess the wisdom that could save us from the final disaster.

In their fight for survival these peoples rediscover and give new meaning to the intimate relationship of their own identity as a people to their artistic means of expression and to the habitat they set out to protect. Every song and dance thus becomes a manifestation of resistance, of the will to fight.

### *Sarawak: Dance against Disaster*

I found Sarawak, a federal state of Malaysia located on the northwestern part of the island of Borneo, quite different from the idyllic pictures in travel magazines. In Sarawak 7 sq. km. of prime forest is destroyed every day. Two thirds of Europe's demand for tropical wood is supplied by Sarawak. And then, behind the horizon lurked maybe the greatest danger to Sarawak culture – the building of the Bakun dam– the biggest in Southeast Asia. This dam would forever change the habitat of upper Rejang and force the indigeneous population to leave. I had been during the 1970s upset by a similar dam construction affecting the natural habitat of the Sami people of northern Norway, a dam that is now seen as totally superfluous and meaningless. This act of destruction finished, Norwegian companies turned their eyes on Sarawak. They now vied for the construction of the world's longest transmission cable from Sarawak to Singapore.

Shortly before my first tour to Sarawak in 1986 a Norwegian delegation of industrialists had arrived, headed by our Prime Minister. His only meeting with the indigenous population was the rather macabre dance spectacle staged by the Sarawak authorities. This is just another example of how cultural expressions, music and dance, are used or rather misused ideologically to legitimize cultural and social repression. The ploy had its intended effect: The Norwegian Prime Minister in an interview with the local press stressed the necessity of sacrificing traditional settlements for the project.

The reply of the population came immediately. Within one month, half of those to be affected by the dam had signed a letter of protest and asked for support nationally and internationally. On my first trip to Sarawak two employees of the Department of Culture and Sports, occupied with a cultural mapping of Sarawak, took me to visit and record music and dance of longhouses in the 1. Division.

The break-up of traditional social structures has caused an increase in criminal behavior among tribal youth descending on the capital in ever greater numbers. So the officers of the Department of Culture and Sports took it upon themselves to engage this youth in traditional music and dance activities.

The first Norwegian anthropologist to visit Borneo was Carl Alfred Bocks in 1879. Then shortly before World War I came Carl Lumholtz, the first Norwegian to record music traditions among the Kayans. Two of the melodies *Kajanske hodejegeres sang* (The Song of the Kayan headhunters) and *De kajanske kvinners sang* (Song of the Kayan women) are recorded in his written report (Lumholtz 1938:38, 39). In his report

he describes the penetration of the Malays into the interior through the waterways, and expresses fear for the final disappearance of the rain forest peoples. He compares the intrusive Malays with the Mexicans »who use the trusting Indians to promote their own interests« (ibid, 195). With prophetic vision he outlines the ethnic suppression of the tribal peoples by the Malays, their loss of identity and final absorption into Malay and Muslim culture (ibid, 196).

Malaysia seems to be a fertile field for anthropological study of identity shifts and conflicts, and the relationship between identity formations and their expressive representations through artistic means – music and dance. As for the upper strata of Malay society, one may witness a tendency to split identity. In the 1980s the Malay upper class outwardly displayed a western identity, inherited from their British colonial masters. They were often educated abroad and conversed in English. Art, in line with the aesthetic attitudes of the colonialists, was connected to entertainment. In response to the need for a cultural superstructure, a Western style symphony orchestra was formed in 1983, which was later expanded to full size under a Norwegian conductor. The need for representation of cultural and social progress, recently demonstrated through the erection of the Petronas towers, led to the building of the Malay Cultural Center, housing theatre, western ballet and symphony orchestra. It was also designed to show a harmonious picture of Malay culture presented through carefully choreographed »cultural shows« and »cultural dances«.

In the homes of the upper class a Malay identity is underlined. The master of the house dons his sarong and relaxes with Malay heroic dramas on TV. This cultural split has repercussions on the lower level as well. Regional identity is squeezed from both sides and comes out on the losing end. Western identity is, or at least was, propagated through TV, radio and movies, while there is an increasing pressure to become Malay, advocated and reinforced by the upsurge of Muslim fundamentalism. In Sarawak the gap between a Malay elite culture and a regional and tribal folk culture is widening ever more. The pressure to become Malay has led to mass conversions to Islam in the neighboring province of Sabah. The ideological banner of the government is the »melting-pot« ideal, whereas the result more often is accelerated islamization and cultural impoverishment. Under the banner of development, national and multinational companies enter the scene with the sole motivation of making profit, on a cultural collision course with existing social and cultural structures.

Traditional tribal culture is upheld only by the older generation, or is incorporated as elements of the official Malaysian promotion of culture



and tourism in the form of »cultural dances« in a more or less superficial form. This is mirrored on the microlevel in longhouses easily accessible to tourism, where local craft and antiques are offered to tourists along with local dances and music.

On my way to the Lahanan longhouse on the upper Rejang, and passing the construction site of the first dam in the Bakun project along with the Kayan burial sites about to be inundated, the parallel with the Sami people from northern Norway came to my mind. I became aware of my responsibility to present the plight of these people to the authorities that would have the power to stop Norwegian involvement of a similar nature to that which had already led to the catastrophe in Norway. The reception in the longhouse was a demonstration not only of the will to pass on tribal traditions and demonstrate the strength of cultural expressions. Under these special circumstances it was an expression of resistance and a will to survive as a people.

An important aspect of Lahanan culture is the hospitality awarded to guests, who are received with responsorial welcoming songs at the evening table. One vocalist improvises songs of praise to the guest, which are then immediately confirmed by the whole group. The study of these songs as expression of their relationship to strangers can yield important information about Lahanan identity. Although panegyric songs should not be taken at face value, it came as a shock to me when the content of a song was explained: »We are like apes in the trees, unworthy of your visit«. The tribe had already identified with the negative picture of themselves circulated by the Malay majority.

This negative self-appraisal is modified by the assuredness and pride demonstrated in their dances. The dance cultures of the Kenyah and Kayan tribes of the upper Rejang are instrumentally connected to the *sape* accompaniment. *Sape* is etymologically and organologically derived from the *kachapi* – the lute known through a larger part of South East Asia. The dance is most often accompanied by two instruments, one employed as an ostinato instrument. The *sape* sets a standard movement of a regular rhythmic cycle, which is reinforced by foot accentuations as a contrast to the much freer arm movements. The choreographic interplay of the movements of arms, hands and fingers with the other body movements and the musical patterns of the *sape* transposed to ever-new registers, creates a fascinating blend of sound and movement. The Queen of England's former envoy Malcolm MacDonald shortly after the Second World War paid a visit to Sarawak, and, while culturally conditioned as a westerner, forcefully and poetically describes the dances of the men, each one taking his turn in relating the history of

his tribe in expressive dance:

*»They spring into energetic physical motion, but their bodies seem to be subordinated to their spirits, to be mere vehicles for the expression of their souls – or rather, the soul of their race. Watching them, I have often been aware of that quality. A dancer's mood is one of solemn reverence, his steps are like the genuflections of a priest at worship, and into his face comes a look of exaltation such as might glow in the face of a novice at his initiation into holy orders. The spectacle has moments of thrilling beauty. It is a glimpse of Primitive man suddenly revealing all the potential civilization lying within him« (MacDonald 1985:252, 253).*

Expressions like »primitive man« and »potential civilization« seem to harmonize all too well with the official Malay view of these tribes as tree dwelling savages that need to be rescued into civilization. According to the authorities their relocation from their communal longhouses into solitary confinement in city – like housing in this context is done for their own good. In fact, it is the Malay worldview in union with western capitalism, thriving on exploitation, that is primitive, while the tribal philosophy of recycling, and of an ecological economy of balance and replenishment is modern and civilized. Take the Penan people, that for so long heroically resisted the loggers. In 1990, during my visit to the Baram longhouses of the 4<sup>th</sup> division, the Borneo Post brought the news that centers were being established in Belaga, Baram and Mulu that would house the whole Penan population of Sarawak. At the same time one could read emotional articles about the Rotary club collecting five boxes of clothes to protect the Penans from the sun.

These Penan along with the other tribal peoples of Sarawak share the idea of ecological stewardship. The idea of sustainable development has been tried out ages before Mrs. Gro Brundtland, the former Prime Minister of Norway, coined the concept. It means ecological accountancy, knowing what to take out and what to invest for the future. In this ecological strategy, which is also a cultural strategy lies the answer for the future planning of our societies.

According to the world view of the tribal communities of Malaysia, people, animals, plants, mountains etc. are principally placed in an equal position in the universe. And it is through artistic means, through song that the soul of man communicates with other souls, animals, plants, rivers. Through song social relations are interpreted and organized. In self-supporting egalitarian societies social order is both mirrored and

maintained through the artistic media. The hierarchic society outside sees man as an agent for society and nature. The tribal society, on the other hand, sees man as a free actor in society and nature. The dominant Malay society views nature as a source of energy and a medium for economic growth. The tribal society, on the other hand, participates in an ecological dialogue with nature, receiving and giving back in a continuous chain of ecological recirculation. As music researchers we become more and more aware of how closely musical creation and activity is linked to the principle of ecological preservation.

The history of human settlements in Sarawak dates back at least 40,000 years. A skull found in the Niah cave is Carbon 14 – dated to around 37,000 B.C. One of the caves contains rock paintings of dancing people. A petroglyphic stone carving at Sungai Jaoung in the 4<sup>th</sup> division portrays dancing men with spread arms and legs. Around 50 engravings and megaliths found in the tributaries of the Baram river point to ritual activities. In Sarawak there is a strong link between music and ritual, most notably in the Iban bird festival *Gawai Burong*. The gods communicate with man through seven birds, and appear before man only in the form of birds. In these rituals the songs (*timang*) are tied together by epic recitatives (*pengap*), containing historical references and symbolic metaphors, and communicating common social values and philosophy of life, emphasizing the links between man, nature and the spiritual world. These songs are performed responsorially between a master singer (*lemambang*) holding a special ceremonial staff (*tungkat lemambang* = the singer's staff) and a chorus circulating around the longhouses, and family altars erected in front of each family section. The wanderings and the staff seem to connect the Sarawak tribal communities to other protomalay peoples. Characteristic cultural features are the ceremonies where contracts with nature are renewed, centered on the Tree of Life. The worship of the Tree of Life in the face of impending disaster takes on a new meaning for the peoples of South East Asia.

### *Sumatra: The Dance of the Tree of Life*

During the last years Sumatra has been the scene of unprecedented environmental destruction. Forest fires set by the farmers and landowners as well as unhampered logging is transforming the island into a disaster area. For centuries the Batak communities around Lake Toba have gathered before the King's residence to perform the perennial rites of the *Tunggal Panaluan* – the Staff of Trinity – to bring macrocosmos and microcosmos in harmony. Lake

Toba was »discovered« in 1853 by a Dutch explorer who found remnants of a megalithic civilization with traditional villages and boatshaped houses (*Jabu Batak*). The tribal community was ruled by a *Singamangaraja* (Lion King), who was not only chief, but priest and shaman as well. He could supply water through his staff, the *Tunggal Panaluan*. Missionaries from the Rheinische Missionsgesellschaft induced the Dutch authorities to forbid these and other ceremonies in 1864. After independence there has been a movement for the revival of old traditions, especially among confessors of the old faith (around 200,000).

*Tunggal Panaluan* is the mythical tree of life, uniting the three worlds – the upper, middle and lower – creating harmony between them. The underworld was the center of the forces of the universe and the seat of fertility. The middle world was represented by the *Pane Na Bolon* – the great dragon that revolves around the compass in one year, dwelling three months in each direction.

The dance ceremonies connected with the *Tunggal Panaluan* were performed, and still are today, in a sacred space before the king's residence, representing cosmos – the universe with Sumatra as the center of the world, the axis mundi. In the middle of the place *Pane Na Bolon* is depicted in the shape of two dragons intertwined within the circle, with an outer diagram indicating the directions of the sky laid out with colored earth.

During the dance the shaman of the tribe – the *datu* – invokes the spirits of the under, middle and upper world to the accompaniment of drums, gongs and a shawm. The *datu* is given palm wine, which is also given to the staff or rather its uppermost figure. The *datu*, accompanied by the royal orchestra (*serunai* – shawm, *tagading*– five tuned drums, *gondang* – a big drum, *doal*, *Panggora*, *oloan* and *hesek* – percussion) reenacts the wanderings of God. He dances with the staff around the mandala and places it in the rice basket in the Naga centre uniting the three worlds. Again and again, the *datu* dances the myth of creation, renewing man's contact with the first things. Planting the *Tunggal Panaluan*, the Tree of Life, he creates a center for man, a contact between inner and outer reality. Today, under the threat of environmental depletion, the ceremony takes on renewed significance.

### *Saving the Sami Societies*

During the international conference »Higher Education for Peace« in Tromsø, May 4 – 7, 2000 in the capital of the northern Troms division, the

inauguration ceremony was accompanied by performance of Sami joiks. Just three days before my arrival, on the first of May, Sami people had demonstrated against the accelerated destruction of their reindeer grazing lands through increased military presence. Sami lands of northern Norway and Russia during the cold war probably made up the most militarized area in the world, with heavy atomic power presence on one side and continuous military presence on the other. Even after the cold war military exercises have been held regularly involving hundreds of ships and planes. This was the testing ground for the infamous Apache attack helicopters using uranium tipped grenades, just before the Kosovo war.

Now an enlargement of the military proving grounds cutting through reindeer trekking routes are planned in spite of loud protests from the Sami population. The planned gigantic military motorized exercises using 1,500 tanks and armored vehicles will mean the end of the livelihood for the Sami population. This comes in the wake of the destruction of the third of cultural heritage sites in the area, caused by road building. All this takes place with vivid memories of the Sami fight to prevent the Alta river from being destroyed by the hydroelectric power scheme that later proved to be quite superfluous.

Some decades ago the *NRK* (Norwegian Broadcasting Company) asked me to introduce a new opera to Norwegian radio listeners. Hans Magnus Enzenberger's and Hans Werner Henze's play *The End of a World*. The cultural elite is gathered for a congress in a baroque palace on an idyllic island. They are discussing the latest historical finds, like the bathtub where Marat died and two new baroque sonatas for flute and continuo. During the premiere performance of a beautiful adagio from one of the sonatas, that by the way turns out to be a fake, the water slowly begins to rise and the world disappears.

The ecological disaster, whether in the form of destroyed land or rising ocean has come close to every nation and people, with the tribal communities especially under threat.

Every degradation of the environment also means a cultural loss, and a threat to life and health. Students of traditional cultures have become acutely aware of the situation. Knowledge, however, implies responsibility. The Lahanan longhouse people told me that researchers come and go. They make their interviews and recordings and then disappear. What, they asked, have come of their visit? They asked me to inform others of their impending fate.

On my return from Sarawak in 1987 the Norwegian newspaper *Arbeiderbladet* published two of my articles about the impending cultural and ecological catastrophe in Sarawak. Shortly after a small number

of concerned university students and teachers from various disciplines got together and we formed the Sarawak group. Two publications on the situation were printed and political contacts were established. This again led to a Question and Answer debate in the Norwegian Parliament, where the Minister of Environment assured that no Norwegian company would be granted a license to participate in the dam project in Malaysia. The Sarawak group then expanded its activities to monitor all dam construction worldwide that would affect tribal minorities, and became European coordinator for the *Rivers Network*. One of the members moved to Malaysia to lead the fight from Penang through the Malaysian Society for Environmental Protection, a fight that is ever ongoing. If we are sincerely committed to the plight of minorities in the world today we have no choice but to form alliances, both cultural, scientific and political. This is the lesson the Sarawak experience teaches us.

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## NARODNOST, SESTAV, EKOLOGIJA IN ESTETIKA V MANJŠINSKI PERSPEKTIVI. NA POTI K MUZI- KOLOGIJI OPOZICIJE

### Povzetek

Uničevanje okolja, ki ga povzroča moderna industrijska družba, pomeni naraščajočo grožnjo predvsem skupnostim, ki žive zunaj industrijskega okolja, ter njihovi kulturni identiteti in načinom umetniškega izražanja. Izkoriščanje naravnih virov uničuje temelje, pomembne za preživetje ljudi v občutljivih naravnih okoljih, kot sta na primer deževni gozd in arktična tundra. Študije teh primerov obravnavam v povezavi med umetniškim izražanjem in naravnim okoljem ter uveljavljam novo vlogo umetnosti kot sredstva zoperstavljanja ekološki katastrofi oziroma muzikologijo opozicije. V tem kontekstu glasba, ples in obredna tradicija v boju za ohranjanje etnične identitete in ekološkega preživetja dobivajo nov smisel.

# THE NOTION OF »MINORITY« IN 20<sup>TH</sup>-CENTURY SLOVENE ART MUSIC

*Leon STEFANIJA*

To address the question of »minority« in terms of the demands of art music, I feel that one must choose between two different viewpoints. One could take »minority« as a guide towards a more positivistic-oriented research of the term's usage, or as a kind of a »keyword«, comprising a few constitutive issues specific to the object discussed, in this case Slovene art (»opus«, »concert«) music of the 20<sup>th</sup>-century. I have decided not to embark on a concise study of the term's usage, but to present a rather elementary survey of two *epistemological foci* that constitute the notion of »minority« (perhaps not only) in Slovene musicology. The first concerns the idea of *musical autonomy* and the second the concept of the *national identity*. In spite of the fact that each belongs to a different branch of musicology – the former to aesthetics, the latter to the epistemology and sociology of arts, including music – both are inseparable from the notion of »minority«. And this is the reason why both, otherwise more or less thoroughly examined topics, can be seen as key-premises in our understanding of the musicological notion of »minority«.

## *Historical Presumption*

First, a rudimentary outline of my standpoint seems appropriate. Amongst the features of Slovene contemporary art music, about which we can emphatically speak of as dating from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup>-century, its comparability with the artistic endeavours which characterise the European musical centres is one that is often mentioned. Thus, in terms of chronology, the notion of »minority« had considerable significance in Slovene art music until the last quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup>-century. At that time the artistic appeal of the European musical centres had already begun to diminish, not to say disperse, through the kaleidoscopic landscape of musical postmodernity. In other words: within postmodernity the term »minority« had somehow lost its specific meaning, in the context of which it should, and further on



will be considered.

### *Historiographical Premisses*

Now, in the majority of the musicological studies of 20<sup>th</sup>-century Slovene art music »a problem of catching up the ‘European’ music« (»das Problem des Einholens der ‘europäischen’ Musik«; Rijavec 1993:66) arises. Andrej Rijavec aptly addressed this as a demarcation between » ‘we’ and ‘they’ « (Rijavec 1995:229).

The scope of this demarcation is probably loquaciously enough expressed in the next three examples from Slovene musical historiography.

- The doyen of Slovene musicology, Dragotin Cvetko, saw the »true beginning of Slovene musical modernism« in the works of Marij Kogoj (1895-1956). And further, he attributed the »final break with the (Slovene) past« – that is, with the mentality of the nationalistic and utilitarian musical culture of the so-called reading-societies – to the opus of Slavko Osterc (1895-1941; Cvetko 1991:454).
- Katarina Bedina similarly wrote that »the generation of composers, educated in composition in Vienna or Prague, (...) with Kogoj overcame any ideology in music, and in the late twenties, with Slavko Osterc, set forth towards the cosmopolitan avant-garde«. She further states that Slovene art music is being built on two complementary levels: on the one hand, as a process, according to which »the musical thought (...) gradually started to revolve towards the central issue of the music as a *special* art«, and on the other hand, as a search for a universal ideal, embodied in the musical avant-garde (Bedina 1997:165).
- Marija Bergamo in her study of the Yugoslav avant-garde indicates two keys, different though comparable to Bedina’s, as regards the development of 20<sup>th</sup>-century Slovene music:
- »For our avant-garde (the historical as well as those of the sixties),« she wrote, »the ideal was to: join into the European musical universal in the name of the enlightenment and internationalisation of one’s own provinciality, to set loose from the then weighty perceived burden of aposteriority.«
- Bergamo’s further description of the difference between the historical avant-garde and the one following World War II reveals itself as a process of »accelerated« acceptance of the different compositional techniques. Thus, »the first (that is: historical) avant-garde was concerned with the question of the musical expression, content and – especially – the connection between national and cosmopolitan

compositional procedures; and the second avant-garde relates to the problematics of a whole set of compositional procedures, that were seen as an inevitable tool, necessary to enliven the musical techniques, lagging behind (...) the musical Europe« (Bergamo 1993:262, 260).<sup>1</sup>

The above quotations from Slovene musicological studies clearly show, I feel, that determining Slovene music as a kind of European musical enclave – though it is an unquestionable social and geographical fact – reveals itself as a rather all-embracing historiographic criterion. The focus, within which the division on »minor« and »major« musical cultures seems historiographically relevant, is actually a fairly complex one. Namely, on the one hand, the notion of »minority« refers to the history of compositional (and/or aesthetic) ideas and, on the other, to the prevalent social and cultural features. And inasmuch as one attempts to demarcate its scope, apart from the universalistic aesthetic idea of the musical autonomy or from the epistemological concept of juxtaposing the »centre« with the »periphery« – a key-premise of thinking about national identity – the notion of »minority« appears rather elusive. It is comparable to a kind of a historiographical reel, as it were, around which both aspects concerning the notion of »minority« confront each other, or rather, around which they are conflated.

What should be emphasized, then, as an essential feature of the term »minority« as a criterion within the majority of the hitherto published studies on 20<sup>th</sup>-century Slovene art music, could be briefly summed up as follows. The musicological notion of »minority« has a compound, at least two-sided, meaning. It is derived from the history of aesthetics, and from the epistemological concept that could be aptly described as »cultural economy«, as in Boris Groys' book *Über das Neue* (1992). In other words: the musicological notion of Slovene 20<sup>th</sup>-century music does not allow a clear-cut boundary between the axiological and aetiological level of the term, i.e., between the set of aesthetical values and

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<sup>1</sup> »Für unsere Avantgarden (sowohl die geschichtlichen, als auch die aus 60-er Jahren) wurde das Ideal: Einschließung in das europäische musikalische Universale im Namen der Aufklärung und Internationalisierung eigener Provinz, die Befreiung von der damals bedrückend empfundenen Last der Aposteriorität.« And: »Das Erste (Avantgarde) berührt die Frage des musikalischen Ausdrucks, Inhalts und – besonders – der Beziehung zwischen Nationalem und Kosmopolitischen Vorgänge; das Zweite bezieht sich an eine Reihe der kompositionstechnischen Vorgänge, die man als notwendige Werkzeuge beherrschen sollte, um die musikalische Technologie, die (in Serbien stärker, in Slowenien weniger) hinter dem musikalischen Europa zurücksteht, beleben zu können.«

the ideological moving power, from which they emerged.

However, the social (primarily institutionally determined) aspect of »minority« not only *was* important in terms of contrasting the »small« Slovene country with the »great« Europe, *it still is* important as »the problem of the masses«, as Anselm Gerhard recently pointed out (Gerhard 2000:26). Nevertheless, I would still like to address, at greater length, the compositional aspect. Though it is in itself hardly separable from the cultural or social ones, it is sufficiently illustrative in terms of presenting the epistemological scope of the term »minority« as concerns Slovene art music of the 20<sup>th</sup>-century.

### *A Reflection*

The given definition of a 'minority' (»group of people distinguished from the dominant group out of cultural, ethnic, social, religious or economic reasons«) is only partially acceptable in relation to 20<sup>th</sup>-century Slovene art music – due to the fact that, at least since the end of the 18<sup>th</sup>-century, the milestones of the Western musical tradition are *individual composers* and their autonomous musical poetics. Their musical works – »the imaginary museum of musical works«, as Lydia Goehr (1992) persuasively argues – are, after all, the central reference for determining the so-called »main-stream« compositional ideals, »schools«, »currents«, »styles« or »movements«, especially in the 20<sup>th</sup>-century. The given definition of »minority« seems questionable above all due to the fact that the compositional utilitarianism of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century was predominated (although not superseded) by the ideal of musical autonomy. Namely, it seems precisely the issue of artistic autonomy – motivating various poetics of *New Music* in Slovenia, at least until the beginning of the 1970's – that hinders the acknowledgement of the given definition. More precisely, the main reason for questioning it lies in the legacy of the *New Music* and its reference to the artistic autonomy.

What seems incongruous with the labeling of Slovene *New Music* as »minority« is its resistance to the distinction of compositional – theoretically and historically grounded – autonomy from the autonomy of authorship. Namely, the notion of musical autonomy, upon which the ideal of musical composition rested for almost three centuries, has at least two faces. Primarily, it is one of the most virulent aesthetic categories, linked especially with the formalist's idea of »self-referential« musical language. And furthermore, the idea(1) of musical autonomy stems from the modernist conception of a musical culture as a culture of *individual*, supposedly mutually irreducible musical poetics. In other

words: the notion of the *New* involved, on the one hand, the historical compositionally grounded autonomy and, on the other hand, the inevitably multifariously »contextualised« composers' autonomy, within which the idea of compositional autonomy seems to be relinquished in the face of a number of differently conceived »tone-or-sound-emancipations«.

Both sides of the musical »autonomy« – the first derived from compositional theory, the second its epistemological as well as social consequence – finally form together a kind of modernist's *mental attitude* (Denkhaltung), to use Fritz Reckow's formulation (Reckow 1982). And within it, the question of »minority« proved itself superfluous as an indicator for depicting differences amongst compositional practices, though it remained a kind of »auxiliary« criterion concerning *grosso modo* geopolitical approximation.

It would probably suffice to glimpse at Slovene music of the sixties to emphasize this important difference between »musical« and »composer's autonomy«. In comparison with the other central European musical milieux that have exerted certain influence upon Slovene composers,<sup>2</sup> the compositional poetics of the Polish avant-gardists, especially that of Krzysztof Penderecki and Witold Lutosławski, were met in Slovenia with the warmest response. They were primarily focused on the idea of a »universal sound-forming«, or rather, of »something utterly primeval« (»etwas durchaus Ursprüngliches«; Dibelius 1988: 283<sup>4</sup>) in the processing of the musical flow, as Ulrich Dibelius had stressed. The issue of musically »autonomous« universals – discussed to a great extent actually not until later on, within such different poetological contexts as »new simplicity«, »new complexity«, »histori(ci)sm« and »eclecticism« – introduced considerable differences of opinion as to what should be acknowledged as »primeval«, hence »universal«. It is hardly worth mentioning that the idea of the compositionally »universal« raised different questions concerning the compositional procedures that should be thought of as *musically autonomous*. Namely, the consequences of this search for musical »universals«, in contrast to the almost Pythagorean »nominalism« that was prevalent in the Darmstadt-circle of composers with their

<sup>2</sup> However, what could be compositionally recognized as a Slovene »minority«'s pendant to the »European« *New Music*, could be briefly summed up. Apart from the resistance to the compositional novelties of the so-called socialist realism after the World War II, the main tokens of the musically new were: first, rare experiments of dodecaphonic technique and serialism until the beginning of the sixties; second, afterwards, the relatively strong influence of the compositional techniques especially of the so called Polish avant-garde; and third, different kinds of postserial musical poetics.

»sound-edifices«, based upon the assumption of the semantically more or less hermetic integrity of sound formation, are more or less well known. At that time they emerged as various authorial redefinitions of *narrativity* and *expressiveness*. And they still prove themselves – often even in a more simplified form than in the sixties, albeit disguised with different nomenclature – as a core of the supposedly multiple-faced postmodernity.

Now, one could ask, whether the notion of »minority« has not been called into question. Namely, the relevance of the musical and the composer's autonomy seems to be almost »abolished«. The *mental attitude* of the proclaimed postmodernity that encircles the principles of »eclecticism«, »histori(c)ism« and »sensibility« as main artistic issues, has supposedly superseded the notion of Slovene art music as a kind of European »minority«. And in this »myriad of mirrors«, as it were, it seems futile to search for musical minorities: they prevail, though not as qualitative or quantitative counterparts of the »majorities«, but as mutually complementary particularities. In other words, the semantic features of »minority« gradually begin to diminish with further differentiations of the characteristics ascribed to the idea (I) of compositional *and* authorial autonomy, *the* »regulative idea« of 20<sup>th</sup>-century Slovene New Music.

Even so, this is by no means a suggestion that the notion of »minority« has lost its significance at the moment, when this topic concerning musical autonomy has begun to languish. Far from it! 20<sup>th</sup>-century Slovene art music, founded upon the ideal of artistic autonomy – in contrast to the utilitarian national music of the reading-rooms of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century –, was (and to some extent still is) bound to the question of *periphery* and *province* (Bergamo 1989:207). Theoretically speaking, »periphery« is a synonym for the relatively autonomous »minority« which has its own sets of values, and »province« for a subordinate »minority« which lacks its autonomous values.

This difference is important because it is analogous to the difference between social and cultural conditions of the (»provincial«) musical nationalism of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century and the compositionally »peripheral« 20<sup>th</sup>-century Slovene modernism. This difference at the same time leads towards the second of both mentioned *epistemological focuses* concerning the concept of *national identity*. I would like to point out briefly the connection between this question and the issue of artistic autonomy.

From the viewpoint of historiography, the difference between *periphery* and *province* compels us to acknowledge that both definitions of Slovene music as a »minority« within European culture focus on two epistemological »backgrounds« – nationalism and artistic autonomy – as two *contiguous* and *complementary*, not mutually *irreconcilable* sets of

values. This is because, notwithstanding that around 1920's the relation between the concepts of the national music and artistic autonomy was expressed in antagonistic terms (writings of Anton Lajovic and Marij Kogoj are the most conspicuous example of this controversy), such partition was based upon two different viewpoints concerning the conceptual measure for music, not upon its final goal. In contrast to the notion of national, derived from the social history, the imperative of autonomous art belongs to the history of ideas, within which the national question could be scarcely exposed without disentangling its ambiguous relationship between the theoretical suppositions and the variables of perception that originate in them. Otherwise both concepts – that of the national in music and of artistic autonomy – were pursuing a similar goal: within them Slovene music became comparable with the cardinal musical cultures.

In addition, this conceptual, by no means substantial collision between the national and artistic autonomy is probably the reason for their present actuality. The ties with folklore – an expedient expression of national identity in the 19<sup>th</sup>-century – have long since been compositionally productive without the concomitant utilitarian oversimplifications; and the idea of musical modernity still lives as esteemed artistic demand entailing »the sharpness of the musical thought« (Dekleva 1994), as Lojze Lebič noted, even though it has lost its self evidence, above all in the presence of the particularisation of the bygone compositional practices and »cross-the-border-close-the-gap« artistic poetics. What remains today from both of these once-central compositional concepts in the history of Slovene art music – if not even more then in the past – is the question of self-identity and its evasive reflection against the categories given by the »cultural economy« of the time. And this is a key that resists aging.

Finally, it seems reasonable to conclude my paper with a remark on this *seemingly* surpassed question of »minority«. If it once gave rise to both – to the concept of nationalism in the 19<sup>th</sup>-century and the ideology of the New in the 20<sup>th</sup>-century – today it remains almost invisible in its omnipresence. Comparable to that of, say, musical realism (cf. Dahlhaus 1982), the issues of artistic autonomy and the musically national have neither ceased to expand their elementary meaning(s) within contemporary musicological thought, nor have they lost their relevance to Slovene contemporary musical practice. Namely, even though losing a good deal of their sometimes exceedingly privileged position within the history of compositional idea(l)s, their value lies above all in that they both emerged as theoretical concepts and lived further on as imponderabilia. And as such they did and they still give (only?) a fruitful artistic impetus, specific to a relatively minor cultural milieu such as Slovenia's.

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## POJEM »MANJŠINE« V SLOVENSKI UMETNI GLASBI 20. STOLETJA

### Povzetek

Iskanje glasbenih manjšin v okolju »nešteti ogle dal« postmoderne se ne zdi plodno, saj manjšine prevladujejo. Pomeni pojma »manjšina« so se postopoma začeli ožati z diferenciacijami ideje in ideala kompozicijske (»glasbene«) in skladateljske avtonomije, ki sodi med »regulativne ideje«, tudi slovenske umetne glasbe 20. stoletja.

Kronološko je imel torej pojem »manjšina« specifičen pomen za slovensko glasbo do približno zadnje četrtine 20. stoletja, nakar se je njegova vsebinska jasnost izgubljala.

Zato je treba v zvezi s slovensko umetno glasbo pretresti dve gledišči, ki konstituirata pojem manjšine. Prvo vodi k ideji *glasbene avtonomije*, drugo pa h konceptu *nacionalne identitete*. Ker sta obe doslej bolj ali manj temeljito pretresani temi videti osnovni premisi muzikološkega pojma manjšine, se v sestavku osredotočam na nekatere povezave med njima.

Obzorje, znotraj katerega se zdi delitev na »obrobne« in »glavne« glasbene kulture historiografsko pomembna, je razmeroma kompleksno. Po eni plati se pojem »manjšina« nanaša na zgodovino kompozicijskih (in/ali estetičnih) idej, po drugi na prevladujoče sociološke in kulturne značilnosti določenega okolja. V trenutku, ko skušamo zamejiti vsebinski obseg pojma »manjšina« mimo univerzalistične estetične ideje glasbene avtonomije ali splošnega spoznavnega sopostavljanja »središča« in »obrobja« – torej mimo ključnih premis razmislekov o nacionalni identiteti –, se pojem izkaže za težko opredeljivega. Pojem manjšine tako ostaja nekakšen »pomožni« kriterij splošnega geopolitičnega premerjanja.

Če je vprašanje manjšine v 19. stoletju rodilo koncept nacionalizma in v 20. stoletju ideologijo novega, ostaja danes malone nevidno v svoji splošni navzočnosti. V skladu s sodobno kompozicijsko (in glasboslovno) prakso se pomen pojma »manjšina« širi. Čeprav je izgubil večji del včasih pretirano privilegirane pozicije v zgodovini kompozicijskih idealov in idej, kaže njegovo vrednost iskati predvsem v tem, da se je nekoč izoblikoval kot teoretični koncept in živel naprej kot imponderabilija. Kot tak je dajal in še vedno daje (samo?) plodne umetniške vzgibe, značilne za razmeroma majhno, vendar kulturno bogato okolje, kot je Slovenija.

# ETHNIC RELATIONS IN SLOVENIA: THE PROTECTION AND RIGHTS OF NATIONAL MINORITIES

*Mitja ŽAGAR*

## *Introduction*

**S**lovenia is a small, regionally, culturally and ethnically diverse country. The following table shows changes in the ethnic structure of its population after World War II:<sup>1</sup>

Population/ Year	1 9 5 3	1 9 6 1	1 9 7 1	1 9 8 1	1 9 9 1
Slovenes	1415448	1522248	1624029	1712445	1727018 (87,84%)
Italians	854 <sup>2</sup>	3072	3001	2187	3064 ( 0,16%)
Hungarians	11019	10498	9785	9496	8503 ( 0,43%)
Roma (Gypsies)	1663	158	977	1435	2293 ( 0,12%)
Austrians	289	254	278	180	199 ( 0,01%)
Germans	1617	732	422	380	546 ( 0,06%)
Jews	15	21	72	9	37
Croats	17978	31429	42182	55625	54212 ( 2,76%)
Serbs	11225	13609	20521	42182	47911 ( 2,44%)
Albanians	169	282	1281	1985	3629 ( 0,18%)
Montenegrins	1356	1384	1978	3217	4396 ( 0,22%)
Macedonians	640	1009	1613	3288	4432 ( 0,23%)
Muslims <sup>3</sup>	1617	465	3231	13425	26842 ( 1,37%)
Yugoslavs <sup>4</sup>	–	2784	6744	26263	12307 ( 0,63%)
Not stated	–	–	3073	2975	9011 ( 0,46%)
Regional affiliation <sup>5</sup>	–	–	2705	4018	5254 ( 0,27%)
Others	...	...	...	...	... ..
Not known or unclear	211	1154	2964	10635	53545 (2,72%)
TOTAL	1466425	1591523	1727137	1891864	1965986 (100,00%)

Table 1: *Ethnic structure of the population in the territory of the Republic of Slovenia* (Censuses after World War II – data from the Statistical Bureau of the Republic of Slovenia)

<sup>1</sup> The next census in the Republic of Slovenia will be held in 2002. It will show the

A relatively large share of ethnic Slovenes in the total population often leads to the conclusion that Slovenia is an ethnically (relatively) homogenous country.<sup>6</sup> However ethnic diversity and cultural pluralism have always existed in its territory. The existing diversity and ethnic structure of its population have been changing constantly over the time. These changes were usually gradual and sometimes hardly recognizable, but they intensified during certain historic periods. These changes were influenced by various natural disasters (e.g., floods, earthquakes, drought), diseases (e.g., plague), economic (e.g., famine, economic crises), social (e.g. poverty), political (e.g., changes of borders and regimes) and military factors (e.g. wars) that often resulted in intensified (mass) migration. Technological progress, better communication, economic crises, but especially two world wars<sup>7</sup> and tragic wars accompanying the

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changes that occurred in the last decade of the twentieth century. However, the data of the Ministry of Interior of the Republic of Slovenia show that the number of immigrants from different countries worldwide with temporary or permanent residence in Slovenia has increased substantially in the past ten years.

- <sup>2</sup> This figure does not include Italians who at the time of the census lived in the Free Territory of Trieste (Slovene coastal area, then the »Zone B«). This territory represents the traditional territory of the autochthonous settlement of Italian minority in Slovenia.
- <sup>3</sup> This category introduced in Yugoslav Censuses after WW II included especially immigrants from the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina who are now usually described as Bosniaks.
- <sup>4</sup> This category included especially children from mixed marriages, especially in cases when parents or at least one of them spoke Croatian, Serbian or Serbo-Croat language.
- <sup>5</sup> After 1971 Censuses included also the regional affiliation of individuals that is not necessarily ethnically defined, but associated? with the place of residence (e.g., Istria, Coastal area, Dolenjska, Styria, etc.).
- <sup>6</sup> Its ethnic homogeneity was often declared a key reason for its successful democratisation and for the fact that Slovenia managed to avoid escalations of ethnic conflicts that accompanied the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia. This view was shared not only by many international observers, politicians and media (including CNN and BBC), but also by some scholars. I agree that Slovenia is ethnically more homogenous than other successor states of the former Yugoslavia. Nevertheless, I would not consider this the main reason for Slovenia's success. On the contrary, I would argue that gradual democratisation in the 1980s and 1990s, the policy of official recognition of ethnic diversity, the existing protection of national minorities and attempts to accommodate ethnic diversity in Slovenia were more important factors in this context (Žagar 1997).
- <sup>7</sup> World War I was an important turning-point when a large number of inhabitants left the territory of Slovenia following the disintegration of Austria-Hungary. Among them there were several public officials of different ethnic origins (Austria-Hungary was a huge multiethnic empire), several of them ethnic Germans. Some

disintegration of the former Yugoslavia were key reasons for changes in the ethnic structure of the population in most parts of the former Yugoslavia and also in Slovenia in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

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of them left because of their integration in to the Austrian public administration and many feared they would become second class citizens in a newly emerging Yugoslav state (the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes). This decreased the number of persons belonging to the German ethnic (national) minority in Slovenia substantially. The economic underdevelopment of a new state and economic crisis stimulated emigration also in the period between two World Wars. Slovenes in the territory of Slovenia that came under Italy after World War I witnessed forceful Italianization under the Fascist regime.

World War II was the next period when the ethnic structure of the population in this territory changed substantially due to a number of reasons. Many were deported (to concentration camps, as slave workers, displaced, etc) and/or killed (as partisan fighters, civilians or civilian hostages, concentration camps inmates, etc.) during the fascist and nazi occupation of the country – by German and Italian occupiers but also by their collaborators (Quisling formations). Many died also as soldiers forcibly mobilized into German or Italian armies.

There were also some casualties among Quisling formations («domobranci», «bela garda», «plava garda») that collaborated with occupiers in the fight against the partisan's resistance – national liberation movement. Many of those who supported or participated in the Quisling formations, who were members of Fascist or Nazi organizations and/or who supported them and occupation authorities fled Slovenia immediately after World War II; among them there were almost all members of the former German minority (almost all of them supported or collaborated with the occupation authorities) and several Slovenes. Some were returned to Yugoslavia by Allied forces and many of those (some thousands) were killed by new authorities – often without a fair trial (in the, so-called, «post-war killings»). Almost all Germans from Kočevje left their traditional territory of settlement during WW II following the treaty between the Kingdom of Italy and the German «Reich» that gave them the option to move to German lands.

Many Germans who did not flee with the occupying German army at the end of WW II left or were forced to leave immediately after the war. This practice in the treatment of ethnic Germans was in accordance with a generally accepted practice and policy in post-war Europe.

The situation in the territory that had been under the Italian administration between the two wars was somewhat different. Following their policy of Italianization fascist Italy settled many Italians from other parts of the country in this territory, where Slovenes were prosecuted on the basis of ethnicity by the fascist regime. Many Italians who were a part of the fascist administration or collaborated with it left or were forced to leave the territory of Slovenia immediately after the war. However, many Italians (including those who autochthonously lived in Istria) and some Slovenes left the territory of then Yugoslavia voluntarily using the right to option given to them by the international treaty. They opted for the Italian state and Italian citizenship/nationality (Paragraph 8 of the *Memorandum of Understanding Between the Governments of Italy, the United Kingdom, the United States and Yugoslavia Regarding The Free Territory of Trieste*; see also Jeri 1975).

We might expect that intensified communication and globalization will stimulate global international migration, which will result in the increased ethnic and cultural diversity in most societies. Although still relatively small, the increasing number of immigrants from different parts of the world in Slovenia confirms such expectations.

Even if one rejects primordialism and primordialist conceptions of ethnicity, one has to acknowledge the substantial social potency and perseverance of ethnicity in modern societies (see e.g., Kellas 1998). In most environments, especially under local circumstances, ethnicity still plays a role in political socialization and self-identification. Ethnic identities often remain the strongest collective identities in plural societies and have shown themselves able, in specific circumstances, to override individual identities or other collective identities (see e.g., Jenkins 1997:4–48; Smith 1986). One factor contributing to this is the prevailing perception that the existing states are, or should be, ethnically based »nation-states«.

According to the conception of the nation-state developed in Europe mostly in the nineteenth century, nation-states are ethnically homogenous states of particular »titular nations«. This traditional concept is a product of a specific historic development in Europe that started in the sixteenth century, intensified after the Peace of Westphalia (1648) and shaped mostly in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The formation of modern nation-states went hand in hand with the process of formation of modern European nations as specific ethnic communities. In this process states that were established as single-nation-states of »titular nations« acquired their ethnic identity (see e.g., Macartney 1934:192–211; Seton-Watson 1977; Smith 1986). This concept can be explained by a simple equation: »State = nation = people« (Hobsbawm 1990:23). The idea has persisted to the end of the twentieth century. Yet in reality nation-states have never been ethnically homogenous and a certain level of ethnic and cultural diversity has always existed in almost all societies and territories – as was mentioned in the case of Slovenia. This became even more true in the late twentieth century with increasing ethnic and cultural diversity in all societies. Developed transportation and increased population mobility, intensified global communication, international cooperation and interdependence in the world are key factors contributing to this trend and can only become more important in the future (see e.g., Ambrosius and Hubbard 1989:28–42, 84–86). However, existing symmetrical constitutional and political systems built on the traditional concept of ethnically homogenous nation-states do not correspond to this multiethnic reality of modern societies. Often, they lack the necessary flexibility and

do not reflect adequately the existing social diversity and asymmetries. Yet, the traditional concept of nation-states has not been transformed substantially and there is little evidence that it will give way soon to a more appropriate concept, such as that of the multiethnic state (see e.g. Gärtner 1997; Žagar 1994/1995:143–164).

As was the case with all other constitutions of states that emerged after the disintegration of multiethnic/multinational states or empires, the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia of 1991 was also based on the mentioned traditional concept of nation-states. However, the Slovene constitution recognizes the existence of ethnic and cultural diversity and establishes special protection for national minorities.<sup>8</sup>

### *The Constitutional Regulation of Human Rights and the Protection of Ethnic Minorities*

Provisions on human rights and fundamental freedoms in the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia reflect the highest international standards at the end of the twentieth century. They are based on international (legal) documents,<sup>9</sup> solutions from constitutions and legislation of several countries, and developments in theory (e.g., Lutz, Hannum and Burke 1989). Taking into account the importance of human rights in the modern world, these provisions might be considered the basis of modern democracy and a central matter of democratic constitutions (Žagar 1994:3–5).

<sup>8</sup> The first paragraph of Article 5 of the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia of 1991 that establishes this obligation of the state reads as follows: »Within its own territory, Slovenia shall protect human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall uphold and guarantee the right of the autochthonous Italian and Hungarian ethnic communities. It shall attend to the welfare of the autochthonous Slovene minorities in neighbouring countries and of Slovene emigrants and migrant workers abroad and shall promote their contacts with their homeland. It shall assist the preservation of the natural and cultural heritage of Slovenia in harmony with the creation of opportunities for the development of civilized society and cultural life in Slovenia.«

<sup>9</sup> In drafting the constitution of the Republic of Slovenia the following international documents were consulted and taken into account: Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966), International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966), Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966), and other international documents of the United Nations on human rights; The European Convention on Human rights (1950) with its additional Protocols and other documents of the Council of Europe; documents of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe; documents of the European Community; provisions of bilateral and multilateral international documents on human rights – especially

Traditional civil and political rights, fundamental freedoms, social and cultural rights are listed in Part II of the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia.<sup>10</sup> Some economic rights are listed also in the Part III.<sup>11</sup> The text of these constitutional provisions mostly follows international documents and European democratic constitutional standards. The constitution guarantees the direct exercise of all constitutional human rights and freedoms and their judicial protection. Limitations on rights, temporary revocation or restriction of rights can only be determined by the constitution; human rights and fundamental freedoms are limited also by (equal) rights and freedoms of others. The elaboration of social and cultural rights in the constitution derives from the concept of European welfare states; this is in accordance with the constitutional definition of Slovenia as a social state. In the context of recent developments, the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia prohibits and declares unconstitutional »all incitement to ethnic, racial, religious or other discrimination, as well as inflaming of ethnic, racial, religious or other hatred or intolerance«; unconstitutional

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international agreements and documents which bind Slovenia.

<sup>10</sup> The list includes, e.g.: Equality before the Law (Article 14), The Inviolability of Human Life (Art. 17), Prohibition against Torture (Art. 18), Protection of Personal Liberty (Art. 19), protection and all traditional rights of the accused in proceedings and before courts (Articles 20-31), Freedom of Movement (Art. 32), The right to Own and Inherit Property (Art. 33), The Right to Personal Dignity and Safety (Art. 34), Protection of the Right to Privacy and of Personal Rights (Art. 35), The Inviolability of Dwellings (Art. 36), Protection of Privacy of the Post and Other Means of Communication (Art. 37), Protection of Personal Data (Art. 38), Freedom of Expression (Art. 39), The Right to Correction and of Reply (Art. 40), Freedom of Conscience (Art. 41), Right of Assembly and Association (Art. 42), Voting Rights (Art. 43), Participation in Public Affairs (Art. 44), The Right to Petition (Art. 45), The Right of Conscientious Objection (Art. 46), Political Asylum (Art. 48), The Freedom of Work (Art. 49), The Right to Social Security (Art. 50), The Right to Health Care (Art. 51), Rights of the Disabled (Art. 52), (equality in the) Marriage and the Family (Art. 53), The Rights and Obligations of Parents (Art. 54), Freedom of Choice in Childbearing (including the right to choose) (Art. 55), The Rights of Children (Art. 56), Education and Schooling (Art. 57), The Autonomy of Universities and Other Institutions of Higher Education (Art. 58), Freedom of Science and the Arts (Art. 59), Intellectual Property Rights (Art. 60), Profession of National Allegiance (Art. 61), The Right to the Use of Language and Script (Art. 62).

<sup>11</sup> E.g., Security of Employment (Article 66), Property and Property Rights of Foreigners (Art. 67, 68), The Protection of Land (Art. 71), Right to a Healthy Living Environment (Art. 72), Protection of the Natural and Cultural Heritage (Art. 73), Free Enterprise (Art. 74), Workers Participation in Management (Art. 75), Freedom of Trade Unions (Art. 76), The Right to Strike (Art. 77), Provision of Proper Housing (Art. 68), Rights of foreigners employed in Slovenia (Art. 79).

is also »all incitement to violence or war«. <sup>12</sup>

Recognizing the existence of the traditional and ever-increasing ethnic and cultural diversity in Slovenia, the Constitution in its Article 61 (*Profession of National Allegiance*) stipulates that »each person shall be entitled to freely identify with his national grouping or ethnic community, to foster and give expression to his culture and to use his own language and script«. Following the existing international standards for the protection of persons belonging to national minorities, this article establishes at the constitutional level the right of every individual to preserve, foster and give expression to one's own culture and to preserve and develop one's own ethnic identity. This right is not linked with the citizenship (nationality) of the Republic of Slovenia, which is usually a precondition for traditional minority rights. Therefore, it can be exercised also by immigrants who do not possess citizenship (nationality).

The Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia determines also the (special) protection of autochthonous (traditional) national minorities. These constitutional provisions exceed most international standards, and establish the specific concept of »positive protection of minorities.« This »positive concept« establishes minorities as equal and active subjects in the political process, and requires the active role of the state for the realization and protection of rights of minorities. Not only should the state prevent and prosecute possible violations of rights of minorities, the state should also promote minority rights and assure favorable conditions for their realization. The constitution defines special rights of autochthonous Italian and Hungarian ethnic communities in Slovenia, both as collective rights of these communities and as individual rights of their members. The realization of these rights shall be morally and materially supported by the Slovene state. The constitution ensures representation and participation of Italian and Hungarian minorities in the political system at all levels – including their direct representation in the republic's parliament – in the National Assembly. The constitution institutes also a kind of »*minority veto*«: legislative decisions can not be enacted without the consent of the representatives of the affected minority if they exclusively affect the exercise of specific rights of Italian and/or Hungarian minorities. Rights of the two communities and their

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<sup>12</sup> Citation: Article 63 of the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia (1991).

<sup>13</sup> Traditional Italian and Hungarian national minorities are »autochthonous ethnic communities« in Slovenia; their members traditionally live in this territory. Their special rights and minority status were recognized already by the Constitution of the (Socialist) Republic of Slovenia of 1974 that defined these communities as (autochthonous) »nationalities.« The Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia



members are guaranteed regardless of »numerical strength« of either community.<sup>13</sup> Regarding the (legal) status and special rights of Roma (Gypsy) communities in Slovenia, the constitution states that they should be determined by statute (law)<sup>14</sup> (Žagar 1992:9–17).

It is important to note that the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia recognizes the dual nature of the (special) rights of constitutionally determined autochthonous national minorities. These special minority rights are defined as individual rights of every person belonging to a recognized national minority. Members of specific national minorities can realize these (individual) rights individually or with other members of these distinct communities – in this case collectively. Nevertheless, the constitution goes a step further. It defines special minority rights as collective rights of recognized national minorities. These »autochthonous ethnic communities« are recognized as specific collective entities entitled to these collective rights. In other words: special rights of national minorities belong simultaneously to individual members of respective national minorities and to these national minorities as collective entities (subjects).

Although there are some problems in implementing the constitutional provisions on human rights and fundamental freedoms,<sup>15</sup> the general

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from 1991 provided their special rights and minority protection in Article 64 »Special Rights of the Autochthonous Italian and Hungarian Ethnic Communities in Slovenia.« This constitution abolished the previously used term »nationality« that was considered inadequate. Nevertheless, on the initiative of representatives of both constitutionally recognized minorities the constitution did not introduce the traditionally used term »national (ethnic) minority« to avoid possible negative connotations of this term. The already-mentioned term »autochthonous ethnic community« that was preferred by official representatives of national minorities is used instead.

<sup>14</sup> See: Article 65 »The Status and Special Rights of Gypsy Communities in Slovenia« of the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia (1991). Roma (Gypsy) communities are autochthonous in Slovenia. Their members live dispersed in different parts of the territory of Slovenia. Some of them still live as travelers (traveling craftsmen). Their education and economic status are mostly low. There is a little sense of common identity among the members of Roma communities; not much has been done to develop and promote their specific culture and ethnic identity. In this context because of their very different situation – it was impossible to use the model of protection of Italian and Hungarian minorities also for Roma communities. In addition to the autochthonous Roma in the 1970s, 1980s and in the 1990s a number of immigrant Roma – mostly from different regions of Southeastern Europe – came to Slovenia and settled here.

<sup>15</sup> Relatively slow and inefficient work of courts, long judicial procedures, certain cases of police brutality, improper treatment of asylum seekers and illegal immigrants were the main problems reported regarding the human rights situation in Slovenia.

situation of human rights and the protection of national minorities in Slovenia is considered very good – especially in comparison with other countries in transition. Such a conclusion was confirmed also by international observers and experts of the Council of Europe who studied the situation of human rights in Slovenia (e.g., *Slovenija in Evropska konvencija o človekovih pravicah* 1993).

There were some questions regarding the position of immigrants who came to Slovenia from other parts of the former Yugoslavia during the existence of this common state. They usually came as economic immigrants from less developed parts of the former Yugoslavia after World War II, and represent some 10% of the population of Slovenia. Some of them were to stay temporarily to economically support their families still living in the republic of their origin, but most of them settled in Slovenia where they also brought or founded their families. Almost all Yugoslav citizens who were not Slovene citizens<sup>16</sup> but had permanent residency in Slovenia in the time of the Plebiscite in 1991<sup>17</sup> applied for Slovene citizenship in a special naturalization procedure determined by Article 40 of the Law on Citizenship. Almost all who applied were also given Slovene citizenship.<sup>18</sup>

As Slovene citizens, these economic immigrants enjoy all constitutionally-provided human rights and freedoms – among them political rights with the right to assembly and association,<sup>19</sup> which enables them to

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<sup>16</sup> According to Article 39 of The Law on the Citizenship of the Republic of Slovenia (Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia, No. 1/1991) everybody who had citizenship of the Republic of Slovenia and SFRY at the time of Slovene independence became citizens of the Republic of Slovenia automatically.

<sup>17</sup> Every citizen of the SFRY with a right to vote regardless of his/her republic citizenship who had a permanent residency in the Republic of Slovenia in the time of plebiscite had the right to vote at the plebiscite. There were 1,457,020 (100.0%) registered voters, and 1,359,581 (93.3%) of them participated in the plebiscite. 1,289,369 (88.5%) voters voted for the independence, 57,800 (4.0%) voters voted against the independence of Slovenia, and there were 12,412 (0.9%) invalid voting forms. (The Report of the Republic Election Commission on the Results of the Plebiscite of December 23rd, 1990, Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia, No. 2/1991 of January 18th, 1991.)

<sup>18</sup> Article 40 of this law provided for a special procedure for the acquisition of Slovene citizenship (actually, by naturalization) for every citizen of the former Yugoslavia who had a permanent residence and actually lived in the territory of the Republic of Slovenia on 23 December 1990, the day of the Plebiscite, and who applied for the Slovene citizenship within six months after the adoption of this law. Their applications could have been refused only if their applications were incomplete or if they had participated actively in the aggression against Slovenia (as members of the Yugoslav federal army in the – so called – »Ten Days War«).

<sup>19</sup> See: Article 42 of the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia of 1991.

establish different organizations (including political parties) and cultural associations in order to present, foster and develop their ethnic culture. They also enjoy the right to use their language and script, express and develop their specific ethnic culture; they may freely express their ethnic identity (but should not be forced to do so), and this should not be reason for discriminating against them.<sup>20</sup> The fact that they acquired Slovene citizenship distinguishes them from typical immigrants in other countries who usually are not citizens in the country of their current permanent residence (resident aliens).

Although the constitution does not provide any special minority protection for immigrant communities (by some called »new ethnic minorities«) the already cited provisions of Article 61 of the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia (1991) guarantee cultural rights to every person belonging to these communities. These cultural rights are ensured for every legal immigrant regardless of his or her citizenship (nationality). This constitutional and legal framework and the existing multicultural policy of the Ministry of Culture should promote these rights and stimulate immigrant communities to preserve and develop their culture if they want to do so. Limited financial and other resources and the actual situation of immigrants and their (distinct) communities are often limiting factors in this context.

The ever-growing number of legal and illegal immigrants and asylum seekers could create problems in ethnic relations in Slovenia. The capacity of existing shelters and centers for refugees, asylum seekers and illegal immigrants is no longer adequate. Their living conditions there are often bad and unresolved problems provoke negative reactions from people living nearby. Problems and conflicts could lead also to xenophobic reactions of certain individuals or certain environments.<sup>21</sup>

### *Conclusion*

Slovenia has embraced the concept of multiculturalism/interculturalism that was proclaimed also by its official ethnic and cultural policy. Its constitution does not pay special attention just to the ethnic diversity and protection of national minorities in Slovenia, but Article 15 also establishes a special obligation of the Slovene state to »attend to the welfare of the autochthonous Slovene minorities in neighbouring countries and of Slovene

<sup>20</sup> See Articles 14, 61 and 62 of the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia of 1991.

<sup>21</sup> A few isolated cases have already been reported by the police – especially in the capital, where skinheads were involved in racist and xenophobic attacks.

emigrants and migrant workers abroad and shall promote their contacts with their homeland.«<sup>22</sup>

However, it should be immediately recognized that there are still substantial gaps between the constitutional and legal protection of national minorities (including their special rights) on the one hand and the actual realization of their protection and special rights on the other. There are many problems in this context that need to be addressed. There are some smaller problems regarding Italian and Hungarian minorities, but due especially to financial and other limitations there is much to be desired when it comes to the development and realization of the protection of Roma in Slovenia.

Article 61 of the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia guarantees every person individual cultural rights comparable to the international standards of the protection of persons belonging to national minorities. Again, the lack of financial resources and other problems often limit the attempts of the official cultural policy that tries to ensure the realization of these rights. There were some complaints from persons belonging to immigrant communities that came from different parts of the former Yugoslavia and who do possess Slovene citizenship that they should be granted the same status and protection as national minorities regardless of their dispersed and relatively recent settlement. However, considering the prevailing attitude in modern societies it will probably require a long time and different social circumstances before such a protection will be granted also to such immigrant communities. This is even more so, when it comes to the protection of typical immigrants who are not citizens of the country of their present residence. We can expect that most countries will be very reluctant to grant even limited minority rights to these communities and persons belonging to these immigrant communities; furthermore we can see that immigration policies in Slovenia and other developed countries are becoming even more restrictive in their attempt to limit legal and illegal immigration.

The positive element in this context is the existing good will of the present authorities and most institutions of civil society in Slovenia to address these issues and to contribute to the promotion of tolerance and ideology of multiculturalism/interculturalism. They recognize ethnic and cultural diversity as a wealth and opportunity – as a comparative advantage that can assist Slovenia in its attempts to join the European Union. Multiculturalism and interculturalism are, in this context, also a guarantee for the proper position of small nations within this integration.

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<sup>22</sup> The second paragraph of this article adds: »Slovenes not holding Slovene citizenship shall enjoy special rights and privileges in Slovenia. The nature and extent of those rights and privileges shall be determined by statute.«

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## MEDETNIČNI ODNOSI V SLOVENIJI: ZAŠČITA NARODNIH IN ETNIČNIH MANJŠIN

Povzetek

Slovenija je etnično in kulturno mnogovrstna država, kar velja za vse evropske in skoraj vse sodobne družbe na svetu. V primerjavi z drugimi družbami velja slovenska za etnično razmeroma homogena; to pa ne zmanjšuje pomena (med)etničnih odnosov pri uspešnem, stabilnem in demokratičnem razvoju Slovenije. Slovenija velja za državo, ki je zgledno uredila ustavno in pravno zaščito tradicionalnih avtohtonih narodnih manjšin: raven manjšinske zaščite (precej) presega obstoječe mednarodn(opravn)e standarde, hkrati pa tudi ni večjih problemov v (med)etničnih odnosih. Kljub temu se moramo zavedati, da tradicionalni koncept (eno)nacionalne države, na katerem sloni tudi slovenska ustava, obstoja etnične in kulturne pluralnosti v sodobnih družbah ne upošteva, odraža ali omogoča v zadoštni meri.

Prispevek poskuša opredeliti obstoječo etnično pluralnost v Sloveniji in predstavlja različne zgodovinske dejavnike, ki so prispevali k etnični in kulturni raznolikosti na današnjem ozemlju Republike Slovenije. Podrobneje predstavlja ustavno ureditev (med)etničnih odnosov ter zlasti zaščito tradicionalnih avtohtonih narodnih manjšin, ki temelji na t.i. »pozitivnem konceptu zaščite manjšin.« Ta zagotavlja zaščito posameznim pripadnikom manjšinskih skupnosti in manjšinskim skupnostim kot kolektivnim subjektom. Čeprav v Sloveniji za t.i. »imigrantske (nove oziroma novodobne) manjšine« ni zagotovljena takšna raven zaščite, pripadnikom teh skupnosti individualno vseeno že ustava zagotavlja njihove temeljne kulturne in jezikovne pravice, vključno s pravico do ohranjanja istovetnosti. Ustava kolektivne zaščite teh manjšinskih skupnosti, ki so notranje zelo raznorodne, ne zagotavlja.

Ob relativno dobri normativni ureditvi, ki po mnenju večine presega obstoječe mednarodne standarde, kaže opozoriti na vrsto problemov, ki se pojavljajo pri njenem uresničevanju v praksi in ki bi lahko – verjetno negativno – v zaoštrjenih razmerah vplivali tudi na (med)etnične odnose v Sloveniji. Zato je za Slovenijo izjemno pomembno, da se razvijejo in ukoreninijo koncept, politika in vsakdanja družbena praksa

multikulturalizma in interkulturalizma, vključno z integracijskimi modeli in politikami, ki bodo zasnovani na poznavanju in priznavanju raznolikosti ter na medsebojni toleranci in enakopravnem sodelovanju.

# FOLK MUSIC AND IDENTITY<sup>1</sup>

*Julijan STRAJNAR*

*M*usic is the specific human expression that accompanies us literally from birth to death. Within that continuum, folk music deserves particular attention, especially in relation to those people who live abroad, outside of their homeland.

Questions such as »What contributes to the formation of a sense of national identity?« and »What are the markers of a particular ethnic / national group?« are common and legitimate among the researchers in several scholarly disciplines, including ethnomusicology. Folk music lives according to its own rules, in relation to varied circumstances at the times of its birth, performance, distribution, acceptance and development.<sup>2</sup> I am convinced that folk song, along with language, because of its formal elements and the contents attached to the given circumstances, makes the crucial link that preserves, stimulates and strengthens the individual sense of identity and collective sense of belonging to a nation.<sup>3</sup>

What is meant by »minority«? In my opinion, minorities are groups of people in borderland areas who, due to various reasons, were left outside the politically determined units in which their ethnic kinsmen create the majority population. For instance, one can speak of the Slovene minority in the countries that have border with Slovenia – Austria, Croatia, Hungary, and Italy. In Slovenia one can find Hungarian and Italian minorities. Those Slovenes who have moved from their homeland to destinations further away should be treated as »ethnic groups« and not as »minorities«. When researching them one should consider the following questions: (a) when, (b) who, (c) why, (d) where to, and (e) how.

<sup>1</sup> The views expressed in this paper are based on my first-hand experience as a child of the pre-war Slovene emigrants in France and as a researcher of folk music among the Slovenes in France, Italy, Austria and Hungary.

<sup>2</sup> These dynamic circumstances include geographical, historical, social, political, religious, and other aspects and are relevant to any attempts aimed at answering the above posed questions.

<sup>3</sup> I developed this notion in two of my earlier publications (see Strajnar 1985 and 1988).



(a) When?

Mass migrations from Slovenia took place during three principal time periods:

1. About the end of World War I
2. At the end of World War II
3. From the 1960s on.

(a) Who?

Each time-framework featured specific population strata determined to emigrate.

1. Mostly non-qualified workers and peasants
2. Mostly educated people
3. Mostly qualified workers, artisans, and intellectuals

(a) Why?

Each emigration wave was characterized by specific motivation.

1. Because of the economic crisis in the homeland
2. Because of the political convictions, which were considered inappropriate by the new rulers
3. Because of the economic advantages

(a) Where to?

Destinations differed from one emigration wave to the other.

1. European countries such as Germany, France, and Switzerland, and the United States of America
2. Austria (the county of Carynthia), South America, and Australia
3. European countries such as Germany and Sweden, Canada, and Australia

e) How?

The circumstances differed, as well.

1. Emigrants were economically forced, but were deciding free-willingly
2. Emigrants either escaped or were (directly or indirectly) forced to leave by the rulers
3. Emigrants were in a position to decide free-willingly

The lives of the first group of emigrants – those who left Slovenia after World War I – largely differed from the lives of the other two groups. They were forced to accept any job, typically very difficult jobs such as mining. Their contacts with the homeland were rare, often not exceeding one letter per year. No Slovene newspapers, gramophone records, or

books were at their disposal. They had practically no information about the circumstances in the homeland. Journey to the site of immigration was for most of them the first journey ever. They were from all parts of Slovenia, spoke different dialects and their knowledge of the literary Slovene was rather poor. Lacking knowledge of any foreign language was fairly characteristic, except for those men who served in the Austrian army.<sup>4</sup>

Life in the site of immigration meant good income and the end of financial problems. Nevertheless, the language of the majority population,<sup>5</sup> its cuisine, manners, working habits, and worldview remained foreign to them.

Most of those who emigrated at the end of World War II had at least high school degrees, in many cases also university diplomas. They spoke at least one foreign language, most often German, French, or English. Since they had newspapers, books, records, radio programs, telephone connections, and other sources of information at their disposal, they were much more informed about the circumstances in the homeland than the first group of emigrants.

These are only some general features that account for most of the emigrants, and in particular the first generation. At the same time one has to consider specific features, such as the place of origin, place of immigration, and contacts with immigrants of different ethnic origin. In spite of the generally shared life conditions, there are also specifics that can be considered the markers of particular ethnic communities. One of the most important markers in the view of the Slovenes in France was certainly folk song. A few examples will document the importance of folk song as a primary source of Slovene identity in France in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The primary condition for a wedding was a musician capable of playing Slovene folk repertoire on a diatonic accordion. This was considered the basis for singing and dancing. An attempt to evoke and resemble weddings in Slovenia was present at all times. The particularly distinctive feature was multi-part singing, which distinguished ethnic Slovenes from the other singers in public places and situations.

My parents got married in the province Pas de Calais – Lens, Sal-laumines in 1925. As many as three accordion players were performing in the wedding (see picture). Many Slovenes have lived in that province and as far as the first generation was concerned, there were no ethnically

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<sup>4</sup> Serving in the Austrian army enabled Slovene soldiers to learn at least some German.

<sup>5</sup> Only a few have learned it to a sufficient extent.

mixed marriages. Only ethnic Slovenes were invited to the wedding feasts. An unwritten rule made it possible for any ethnic Slovene, invited or not, to join the feast.



Picture 1: *Slovene wedding in the French province Pas de Calais – Lens, Sallaumines, 1925. Author unknown.*<sup>6</sup>

In the miner settlement Vicoigne in the province Nord, where we lived, only four Slovene families were present. This province, known for its mines, was dominated by immigrant workers, mostly from Poland. Consequently, the Poles had countless opportunities to use their language, at home and in the public life alike. Polish children had extracurricular education in Polish. Poles also had their own newspapers and sport clubs.

My parents had learned the language of the immediate majority – Polish. There were fewer opportunities for them to learn literary French. The language of everyday communication was in fact Polish, not French. All-day school education prevented children from seeing their fathers for days, as they worked during the afternoon and night shifts. Consequently, Slovene children became more fluent in both French and Polish than in Slovene. I learned to sing more French and Polish songs than Slovene songs.

There is one specific event that I did not understand at the time, but that nevertheless remained in my memory. At the end of World War II,

<sup>6</sup> The picture is stored in the archive of the Strajnar family.

there was a meeting of ethnic Slovenes at our French home. The aim of the meeting was to reach agreement about the return to Slovenia. The meeting was followed by dinner and singing. Being a 10-year old boy at that time, I was unable to understand why the eyes of the singers were filled with tears. Even my father, who had no special affinity for music, was crying. Folk songs evidently had unique value for them, evoking memories of their childhood and emphasizing love for the homeland.

The situation in those places where many more Slovenes lived, such as in the provinces Pas de Calais, Moselle, and Alsace, was entirely different. For instance, in the Moselle province, next to the French border with Germany, there were Slovene societies, libraries, choirs, tamburica<sup>7</sup> ensembles, and brass bands. Church services in Slovene were available and some important works from Slovene literature were adapted for stage performances.<sup>8</sup> Folk song was seen as the essential factor of national integration by the Slovenes themselves and could be heard in a variety of formal and informal contexts.

In the period 1979-1980 Radio-Television Ljubljana sponsored my ethnomusicological research among the Slovenes in France.<sup>9</sup> In a few days I was able to record some 310 songs and numerous interviews about the songs and musicians, manners and customs of the Slovenes in France. I was primarily interested whether Slovene emigrants in Moselle and Pas de Calais still sing and if so, what songs, at what occasions, and in what manner. Are the representatives of the younger generation – those born and educated in France – capable of singing Slovene songs? The older generation had no difficulties in speaking Slovene dialects from their regions of origin, while the third or fourth generation already had difficulties in communicating with them. But the singing of Slovene folk songs instantly removed generationally based differences. As an example I would emphasize the song *Kje je moj mili dom* (Where is My Dear Home), recorded in Aumetz. It is performed by the multi-generational choir, which included non-Slovene members, as well.<sup>10</sup> (CD-1)

CD-1

Another song, entitled *Moja slovenska pesem* (My Slovene Song), summarizes in the perhaps most convincing way the importance of a song in the worldview of an immigrant. The unknown author from Aumetz found it easier to create this song in the language of his/her school education, French, rather than in Slovene. The lyrics say:

<sup>7</sup> Plucked lute.

<sup>8</sup> A good example is the 1884 *Miklova Zala* (name) by Jakob Sket.

<sup>9</sup> The outcome was later presented in the radio program series *Slovenska zemlja v pesmi in besedi* (Slovenia in songs and words).

<sup>10</sup> Namely the Italians and French.

»You are the nicest of all and I love you most. Everywhere and any-time you are inside me, you – my sincere friend, at every single moment, sharing life with me. Your influence is great, surprising. You know how to penetrate deep into my heart, you awake surprising feelings inside me. Your grace often fills my eyes with tears, my blood gets frozen and my lips start shaking. You know how to express my feelings, too: when I am happy, you sing my happiness with full voice, when I am sad, you sadly whisper to relieve my pain. You, who witnessed my great love and mediated my feelings, I find you again in the homeland, discover all your beauty, your ardent melody. Slovene song, the song of my homeland, I entreat you, stay forever as beautiful as you are now. You, who bring together those people, who love each other, stay as you are, you precious tie, unite peoples, be fertile, be everlasting«.

In contrast to Slovene immigrants, in fact Slovene »ethnic groups« far from homeland, Slovene »minorities« in the neighboring countries did not move anywhere. Their homes stayed in the same territory but operated within another political framework, dominated by another, more numerous ethnic group. Official recognition of a minority status creates a basis for the given minority's protection from the majority population and assimilational policies. The following two cases are fairly characteristic:

1. There are attempts on behalf of a part of the majority population in Austria to interpret the language of the Slovene minority in the Austrian province of Kärnten<sup>11</sup> as »Windisch« and not Slovene. This politically motivated interpretation is determined by the intention to weaken the Slovene minority by claiming that it is descended from Germanic tribes such as the Wends and Venets (comp. Stergar 2000:244). The unpleasant sentence »Slowenisch beten – Deutsch reden« points to the unacceptable notion on behalf of a part of majority that the minority can pray (and even sing) in its own tongue, but otherwise has to use exclusively the language of the majority.
2. Similarly, a part of the majority population in Italy claims that the Slovene minority speaks »una parlata paleoslava« rather than the Slovene language. This politically motivated interpretation has the same intention as in Austria and suggests the existence of some paleo-Slavic people and culture. This is unacceptable, just as it would be to think of the language of the Italian minority in Slovenia in terms of »una parlata paleolatina«.

I am convinced that any research in folk music of any ethnic group, motivated by the search for peculiarities that would prove the extraordi-

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<sup>11</sup> Carynthia.

nary creative power of a given group in regard to the other groups, should be disregarded. Such quasi-scientific studies propagate ideas of ethnic and cultural superiority and nationalism. Among their most vulnerable victims are the minorities. Cultural features of minority groups certainly deserve more attention and better status than that of an old-fashioned curiosity suitable for exploitation by modern politics and tourism.

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## LJUDSKA GLASBA IN IDENTITETA

### Povzetek

Glasba, ki nas spremlja od zibelke do groba, ima še poseben pomen za tiste ljudi, ki živijo zunaj matične države. Ljudska glasba je poleg jezika primarni dejavnik v ohranjanju in razvoju občutka nacionalne identitete. Korenine ljudske glasbe so v določenih zgodovinskih, verskih, političnih in družbenih okoliščinah v časih njenega nastajanja, izvajanja, razširjanja, sprejemanja in preoblikovanja.

Na kaj se nanaša termin manjšina? Po mojem mnenju so manjšine tiste skupnosti, ki so zaradi okoliščin ostale zunaj nacionalnega ozemlja. Manjšine so Slovenci v sosednjih državah (Avstrija, Hrvaška, Italija, Madžarska), tako kot tudi Madžari in Italijani v Sloveniji. Tisti Slovenci, ki so emigrirali v druge države, so pravzaprav »etnične skupine« in ne »manjšine«. Ob tem je vsekakor pomembno, kdo, kdaj, zakaj ter kako je zapustil domovino in kam je odšel.

Prispevek temelji na avtorjevih lastnih izkušnjah, torej na izkušnjah otroka slovenskih izseljencev v Franciji in hkrati raziskovalca glasbe slovenskih manjšin.

# RESEARCHING FOLK MUSIC OF SLOVENE MINORITIES OUTSIDE OF SLOVENIA

Maša KOMAVEC

The purpose of this paper is to present the research in music of minorities from the point of view of the *Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut ZRC SAZU* (Institute of Ethnomusicology of the Scientific Research Centre at the Slovene Academy of Science and Arts) in Ljubljana, which is the only ethnomusicological institution in Slovenia. For the Institute's researchers the term »music of minorities« has always meant the research of the folk music – mainly in rural areas – of Slovene national minorities on the other side of Slovenia's political borders. Slovene emigrants are not encompassed by such a definition. Otherwise, the research continues to be determined by the so-called Slovene ethnic territory, i.e. the territory populated by ethnic Slovenes, being it in Slovenia or in the neighboring countries.

The collecting and recording of Slovene folk songs has quite a long history in the Slovene lands. Interest in collecting folk songs was first realized in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, with the purpose of confirming Slovene national identity within the political context of Austria-Hungary. The first collection of Slovene folk songs appeared in 1775 and preceded Herder's famous and influential *Volkslieder*<sup>1</sup> collection (1778-1779), as pointed by Zmaga Kumer (1977:54). Various writings from the 19<sup>th</sup> century indicate why it was important to collect folk music. For instance, the founding charter of the *Glasbena matica ljubljanska* (Music Society of Ljubljana) from 1872 includes among its rules and functions the statement that the purpose of the Society is to cultivate and support folk music and to see that songs are published.<sup>2</sup>

This vision began to come true at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century when the first major collection, *Slovenske narodne pesmi* (Slovene Folk Songs) first appeared.<sup>3</sup> Between 1906 and 1913 the Austrian Ministry of Religion and

<sup>1</sup> Better known by the title of its second edition *Stimmen der Völker in Liedern*.

<sup>2</sup> The document is held in the Music Collection of the NUK (National and University Library) in Ljubljana.

<sup>3</sup> Edited by Karel Štrekelj



Education launched a campaign aimed at collecting songs of the peoples living in the Austrian territories, including the Slovenes. To this end a Slovene working committee was established (OSNP, Committee for the Collection of Slovene folk songs with melodies), which set itself the task of systematically collecting »folk songs, folk music and folk dances«. <sup>4</sup> The collection was to be published by the Viennese publisher Universal Editions and titled *Das Volkslied in Osterreich*, but the campaign was halted by World War I. About 13,000 songs had been collected together with their tunes by that time.

The desire for organised collecting of Slovene folk songs survived the war and had its continuation in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and later in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, of which Slovenia was a part. This can also be understood from the call made in 1929 by Slovene academics for the founding of a Slovene Academy of Sciences and Arts whose functions should include the publishing of folk songs with melodies (Menart 1988:16).

This wish for an institution which would systematically collect and research the folk tradition was realised in 1934 with the founding of the *Folklorni inštitut* (Folklore Institute, today's Institute of Ethnomusicology). Various reports and writings from that period show that the collecting and recording of folk heritage was to be continued. One of the arguments was that the Croats and Serbs already had collections of this type. Strong Slavic sentiment in Slovenia at that time periodically spilled over into competition with other Slavic peoples. Particular attention was being devoted to »the unresearched folklore districts of Slovenia... and particularly the occupied territories in Italy and Austria«, as stated in a letter of the Music Society to the civil governor in 1935. <sup>5</sup>

The northern area of Slovenia, Koroška (Carinthia), was part of Austria from 1920 onwards. In the west, Benečija had been part of Italy since 1866, while Primorska and part of Kranjska (Carniola) became part of Italy in 1920. In the northeast, Porabje continued to be a part of Hungary even after 1920. Considering these political facts, the collection of folk songs was designed to allow choral arrangements of the songs, since choirs were considered important pillars of Slovene national culture <sup>6</sup>, a

<sup>4</sup> This was indicated in the questionnaire entitled *Popraševalna pola o narodnih plesih, narodni godbi in narodnih plesih.*, stored in the archive of the Institute of Ethnomusicology in Ljubljana.

<sup>5</sup> The letter is kept in the archives of the Institute of Ethnomusicology in Ljubljana.

<sup>6</sup> The somewhat overzealous search for pure forms of autochthonous Slovene folk music deriving exclusively from ancient Slavic roots was sometimes rather excessive.

tool against German and Italian supremacy. This was even more emphasised during the rise of Fascism from 1922 on, reaching its peak in 1933 when the fascist regime ordered a total ban of the public use of Slovene.

The newly founded Institute was originally supposed to concern itself with the collecting of folk songs and music for the collection mentioned above. It was also supposed to have an educational role, to help discover the genesis of folk music and thus contribute to the research of the Slovene people. The priority areas of research included unresearched or under-researched parts of the Slovene ethnic territories inside and outside of Slovenia's borders.<sup>7</sup>

In spite of this general orientation, France Marolt, the head of the Institute, conducted research in 1937 in the Koeevje area of Slovenia, where a German speaking population lived at that time. This research served as the basis for his paper »Slovene elements in the folk songs of Koeevje«, published in the monograph about »Kočevska and its people« (Mačkovšek 1939:175-321). Some fieldwork in this area was also carried out after World War II in cooperation with German researchers. The results appeared in the series of books entitled *Gottscheer Volkslieder*, edited by Brednich, Kumer and Suppan (1969, 1972, 1984).

During World War II, Ljubljana was occupied and it was not possible to conduct fieldwork. Research continued after the war when the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia was founded, which then became the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia in 1963. The Ljubljana-based Folklore Institute became the model for the institutes being founded in the other parts of Yugoslavia. Sound recording began in 1954 when the Institute acquired its first recording equipment.

Once it was permitted by political conditions, the campaign of systematic field research was extended to Slovene minorities in neighbouring countries (Vodušek 1976:61). Borders with the West began to open in 1958, but even more so in 1966, which was tourism year in Yugoslavia. By that time, a strict visa regulation prevented easy crossings of the borders. The first recording session of a Slovene minority outside the political borders of Slovenia took place in 1962 in the area of Resia (Slov. Rezija) in northern Italy. This was done in cooperation with Italian researchers. Interest in Resia on behalf of the Institute's researchers had already been considerable. They looked at Resia as a particularly important area, a geographically isolated valley where some of the most archaic forms of Slovene folk music were preserved. This venture became possible only

<sup>7</sup> Minutes of the seventh regular session of the committee of the Music Society in 1934 The document is stored in the Music Collection of the NUK (National and University Library) in Ljubljana.

after a proposal was made for a joint Italian-Slovene publication.<sup>8</sup> Cooperation with the team from Italian national radio (RAI) enabled Slovene researchers to work in the border area where filming and photographing were prohibited due to the presence of Italian military bases. Resia, the treasury of unique folk music tradition, remained one of the Institute's largest research projects for a number of years.<sup>9</sup> During their first visit to Resia the Slovene researchers filmed the footage for the 1962 documentary *Rezija – deveta dežela* (Resia – The Ninth Land). According to contemporary accounts, the people of Resia warmly welcomed Slovene researchers, particularly those who participated in the war as partisans and favored Yugoslavia. Research in this area resulted in a number of publications, such as the bilingual book on the music of Resia (Strajnar 1988) and various sound recordings.

Only a few field recordings have been made (from 1967 onwards) in the other parts of Italy which are home to Slovenes (Benečija, Trieste province and Gorizia province). Pavle Merku, the Institute's associate, published the results of his research in folk songs and instrumental tunes of the Slovenes living over the border in the book *Ljudsko izročilo Slovencev v Italiji* (The Folk Tradition of Slovenes in Italy; Merku 1976).

The first ethnomusicological research over the border since World War II was made in Austrian Carinthia by a group of students from the Faculty of Ethnology in Ljubljana in 1951-1955. The Institute's researchers decided to carry out systematic ethnomusicological research in Carinthia in 1976 following the wish of the Slovenes living there. The collected songs were supposed to be published as an addition to the songbook of Carinthian German songs collected in the 1970s, but this has never happened. Despite this the Institute began collecting these songs intensively. Recordings took place from 1961 to 1983. Thus research has finally begun in this part of Slovene ethnic territory, to which much attention was devoted from the time of the Folklore Institute's founding in 1934.

The folk songs of the Carinthian Slovenes in Austria have in the last decade been thoroughly researched by newly-founded Slovene institutions in Austria,<sup>10</sup> while a number of songbooks containing »original folk music« have appeared, with the aim of preserving this music and keeping it alive, particularly among the young. This is supposed to in-

<sup>8</sup> In the end the idea about the joint publication was not realised.

<sup>9</sup> Recording sessions took place in 1963, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1970, 1974, 1983 and during the carnivals in 1996 and 1997.

<sup>10</sup> For instance, Krščanska kulturna zveza, Celovec (KKZ) Slovenski narodopisni inštitut Urban Jarnik

crease individual and national self-confidence and create the possibility of identification and co-existence for the two peoples.

Another reason for publishing these songbooks is to resist the influence of the new »folk pop« songs and groups since »such arrangements or rather ‘corrections’ or imitations are today, sadly, the model for Slovene folk music« (Logar 1993:10). The situation among singers and musicians shows, however, that they like and are familiar with all Slovene music regardless of how it is classified by the media or in print. This is also shown by the large number of singing groups, folklore groups and other musical groups performing Slovene music.

It is clear from the whole history of the Carinthian minority in Austria that it has always been under political pressure. Be that as it may, in the past – and to a certain extent still today – songs have always been a kind of Slovene constant used either as a demonstration of »Sloveneness« or of local affiliation. Their internal differences proved to be a fertile soil for manipulation on behalf of the politicians belonging to the majority population.

To this end, the song-book series *Slovenske ljudske pesmi Koroške I-V* (The Slovene Folk Songs of Carinthia I-V) [were] was produced (Kumer 1986, 1986a, 1992, 1996, 1998). It is clear from the foreword that Slovene folk song is still alive in Carinthia, and that it is an important part of the cultural heritage of the province. In 1983 the Institute issued a double LP record with the folk songs from Carinthia.<sup>11</sup>

Ethnomusicological research has unfortunately never included the Styrian Slovenes living in Austria.

The Institute team set off for Porabje in Hungary, the northeastern part of the Slovene ethnic territory, in 1971. Its mission was summed up in the following words: »It is fair to say that for the Slovenes of Porabje this research has opened the door to the rest of Slovenia, since it has contributed to the enabling of contacts in the cultural sphere« (Kumer 1984: 15).

Following the Treaty of Trianon (1920), Porabje was separated from Prekmurje, with which it had previously formed a whole, and with which it had already been part of Hungary for a thousand years, its people separated from the other Slovenes. Despite this it had preserved its Sloveneness with a small amount of written material and the use of a Slovene dialect.

The rights of the Slovene minority in Hungary only began to be grad-

<sup>11</sup> Strajnar, Julijan. 1998: *Koroška – From the Archives of the Institute of Ethnomusicology. A selection of Original Recordings of Traditional Music*. Ljubljana: ZRC SAZU. CD.

ually asserted after 1960. The Slovenes of Porabje were particularly badly affected by Yugoslavia's quarrel with Soviet Cominform after the Second World War, since the region was almost impassable for a long time. The Slovenes in this area have been granted the status of a national minority only since 1972.<sup>12</sup> Recordings of Slovene folk songs of this area were made in this period. Of course the fact should be taken into account that, despite relaxations, the borders were still not as passable as they are today.

In spite of the fact that the Institute's researchers have spent only a total of 21 days in the Porabje in the 1970s, the results became evident in the 1979 publication of the LP record *Porabje* and the 1989 songbook *Porabska pesmarica* (Porabje Songbook). The songbook was published at the wish of the Slovenes of Porabje.

The Institute introduced the songbook with the following words: »Slovene folk song was once the only preserver of language, culture and identity. This applies in particular to those areas with Slovene inhabitants in Italy and Hungary where for a long time they did not have – and in places still do not have – Slovene schools, and where communication in the mother tongue is limited to the immediate family circle and to dialect« (Terseglav and Strajnar 1989:5).

And what is the situation of Slovene folk music in Porabje today? Since Slovenia's independence and the fall of the Iron Curtain, singing groups which perform Slovene folk songs have been formed in Hungary with support from the Slovenian state. The songs they sing are drawn from the Porabje Songbook, the only Slovene songbook from this area.

Increased contacts in the last decade have brought more sense of Slovene identity to Porabje. They say that they like Slovene music broadcasts, especially those containing folk music or folk-pop music. Its influence can also be recognised in their music groups, which play what they consider to be folk music, although listening to these groups it is apparent that they play pieces performed by Slovene folk-pop ensembles. For the Slovenes of Porabje even this type of music is first and foremost Slovene, and thus part of their ethnic tradition.

Research has been conducted on the folk song heritage of the Uskoki (Uskoks)<sup>13</sup> living in Bela Krajina who settled in the Slovenian ethnic territory from the 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards. The study, including material recorded and gathered through fieldwork in 1975 – 1995, was published

<sup>12</sup> This was brought about by the 10<sup>th</sup> Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party in 1968.

<sup>13</sup> Uskoki can be defined as groups of southern Slavs who fled from the Southern Balkan Regions after the Turkish occupation and settled in the borderland between

by Marko Terseglav (1996).

As I have briefly presented in this essay, a good deal has been recorded and researched by the Institute's researchers among the Slovene minorities, but a complete survey is still lacking, and will perhaps never take place. The Slovenes in Austrian Styria have never been visited, and the same applies to Slovenes in Croatia, particularly in the region of Gorski Kotar. Recently, some recordings have been made of singers performing Slovene folk songs in the Croatian region of Istra (Istria).<sup>14</sup> Practically no research has been done of other national minorities and ethnic communities living in the Slovene territories, since this has never been recognised as an aim of the Institute.<sup>15</sup>

There is probably some justification in the complaints of Slovene researchers on the other side of the borders that among the Slovenes living in Slovenia there are too few trained specialists and that the connections with the mother country are not strong enough to assure the preservation of Slovene ethnic consciousness and affiliation (comp. Furlan 1994:221-227, Venosi 1994:194).

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the Austrian and the Ottoman empires.

<sup>14</sup> These singers do not claim Slovene ethnic identity.

<sup>15</sup> The exception are some recordings of the Hungarian national minority carried out in cooperation with Hungarian researchers and one recording carried out by the Institute last year.

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## RAZISKOVANJE LJUDSKE GLASBE SLOVENSКИH MANJŠIN IZVEN SLOVENIJE

### Povzetek

Ljudska glasba slovenskih manjšin je postala predmet raziskovanja Glasbenonarodopisnega inštituta ZRC SAZU v šestdesetih letih dvajsetega stoletja. V prispevku so zajeti pobude, vzroki in način raziskovanja v tem obdobju. Vključen je tudi pregled tedanjega terenskega dela, posnetih enot ter pomembnejših objavljenih rezultatov raziskovanja (v obliki člankov, publikacij, video in zvočnih kaset).

Prispevek ocenjuje tedanji način raziskovanja, cilj terenskega dela, metodologijo in usmeritev raziskovanja. Hkrati želi prikazati, v kolikšni meri se je tedanji pogled prilegal definiciji ljudske glasbe in kakšen pomen ima ljudska glasba za državo in s tem povezano nacionalno identiteto. Ta vprašanja so namreč še bolj očitna na področju, kjer živijo etnične manjšine, saj je to nacionalno bolj občutljivo in bolj dovzetno za nacionalne spodbude. Na podlagi sodobnih terenskih raziskav so v prispevku oblikovani zaključki o tem, kakšna je današnja situacija »ljudske« glasbe, kakšno je njeno dožemanje med slovenskimi manjšinami izven Republike Slovenije, prikazana pa sta tudi ponovna revitalizacija in zavest o lastni kulturni dediščini.

# BOSNIAN TRADITIONAL URBAN SONG »ON THE SUNNY SIDE OF THE ALPS«: FROM THE EXPRESSION OF NOSTALGIA TO A NEW ETHNIC MUSIC IN SLOVENE CULTURE

Vesna ANDRÉE-ZAIMOVIĆ

The war in Bosnia and Herzegovina (hereafter BH) caught Slovenia in a very specific situation. A population of more than 100,000 economic immigrants from BH, which populated the country in the 1970s and 1980s, was joined by about 80,000 de facto refugees<sup>1</sup>. For a country with a population of less than 2,000,000 that just a year earlier had declared its own independence, this number of former fellow countrymen presented a big shock, not only to the infrastructure, but in the political, economic and cultural sense as well.

The rapid increase in the population of non-Slovene origin had an effect on the rise of prejudice towards them. On one hand, these prejudices were caused by the low social status of the earlier immigrants, their lack of education and the mostly labor oriented jobs that they performed. Exacerbating the prejudice was the fact that most of the refugees were from rural areas of BH, who under threat of ethnic cleansing were deported en masse to Slovenia. Their culture was based partially on secularized Islamic teachings and commodified folk music. In the eyes of the average Slovene citizen this could have looked like a threat to the newly reinstated *Middle-European* orientation. On the other hand, governmental and non-governmental institutions with the help of international organizations succeeded in helping this large number of people by giving them much needed shelter, constant humanitarian aid and legal refugee status.

The traumatic experiences of the refugees, caused by the organized violence in their homes, forced deportations, the disruption of a deeply rooted way of life and separation from their original social surroundings, was not resolved in exile. In fact, the collective refugee camps organized as a ghetto in which there was no privacy and no everyday responsibil-

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<sup>1</sup> Based on information given by the Association of the Slovene – Bosnian friendship *Ljiljan*, and also from the Office of the Refugees of the Republic of Slovenia.



ities, together with the refugees' inability to acquire work visas which forced them to live at the existential minimum, destroyed optimism and marginalized the identity that each person had acquired over the years. The acculturation process seemed faster and more stressful.

### *Cultural Immigrants*

Meanwhile, what made Slovenia so specific in relation to the other locations of BH diaspora was the existence of certain individuals, who can be conditionally labelled »cultural immigrants«. They were mostly artists, cultural workers, journalists and intellectuals, who found shelter from the consequences of war in Slovenia, taking into account its optimal political and geographic position. Slovenia was perceived as peaceful and economically stable yet located close enough to home to make contact relatively easy. These »cultural immigrants« had had a circle of colleagues, business partners, friends or an audience in Slovenia even before the war.<sup>2</sup> Like the Slovene public, they all belonged to the same wider social and cultural milieu: that of the former Yugoslavia.

With the help of non-governmental and governmental organizations, this group of people began to organize various kinds of gatherings of the citizens of BH origin. These projects had three basic goals:

- 1. To offer a perspective where refugee life may offer none, by providing opportunities for socializing, study and cultural expression. The fact that in these situations individuals find themselves surrounded by people who have the same frustrations is far from insignificant.*
- 2. To foster cultural awareness and education in the spirit of authentic BH culture with the objective of defining the cultural identity of BH. This objective was reflected especially in the organization of children's and youth groups for both second generation immigrants, as well as newly arrived refugees.*
- 3. To fight against negative and incorrectly based stereotypes about the traditional and present culture of BH, by presenting authentic cultural and therefore musical expression of BH.*

The centers for these groups were opened primarily in the Slovene

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<sup>2</sup> We must not forget that Sarajevo represented the center of popular culture in the former Yugoslavia. The rock school and achievements in film come readily to mind. See also Altarac 1997.

capital, Ljubljana. The Open Society Institute of Slovenia was the sponsor for the largest such organization called *Cultural Weekend for Children from Bosnia and Herzegovina*, which started its work in January 1993. The Cultural Weekend soon developed into a movement, with branch offices not only in Ljubljana but in other Slovene cities as well. In the next six years, through this cultural network, thousands of children and youth would pass, who with the help of this network would not forget their origin. At this time in the main office in Ljubljana gatherings of adults were organized in the form of concerts, poetry readings and publishing activities. This place soon became the principal meeting place for the BH diaspora and a mandatory gathering place for all those who communicated between their motherland and Slovenia. These weekly gatherings enjoyed great support from such institutions as Slovene Pen Club, National RTV, politicians etc.<sup>3</sup>

### *Sevdalinka as a Symbol of Identification*

»Music seems to be a key to identity because it offers, so intensely, a sense of both self and others, of the subjective and collective« (Frith 1996:110). Simon Frith's statement has been proven in practice by an ideal Slovene example, the *sevdalinka*, a traditional song-form from BH. We need to keep in mind that the term *sevdalinka* also includes other forms of traditional songs such as *poravne* or *malovaroške*. The use of the term in this broad sense is shared by other centers where there is a concentration of immigrants from BH.<sup>4</sup> For this reason, in the following text we will use the term *sevdalinka* for all the forms mentioned above.

At a certain historic, social and political moment (war in BH and the immediate post-war period) and among certain populations (physically displaced from indirect war danger, but still emotionally and intellectually connected with the motherland) the *sevdalinka* has proven to be an irreplaceable symbol of identity. There are different reasons for this:

***Affirmation of Identity:*** As an authentic BH form, which is not

<sup>3</sup> Even though other countries where BH refugees were concentrated supported similar practices, (see for example the works of Pettan 1996 and Miörner Wagner 1996 mentioned below), nowhere was it organized at a such broad level. Many were introduced to the work of this center (either by visitors or through performances of its protégés), among them Pope John Paul II, the President of Slovenia Milan Kučan, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, members of the diplomatic corps, public personalities and stars.

<sup>4</sup> The experience of Ursula Hemetek in Vienna offers a good example (Hemetek and Bajrektarević 1998:175).

characteristic of other republics of the former Yugoslavia (unlike the newly-composed folk music, which had overwhelmed the whole region), the *sevdalinka* confirms the cultural identity of BH, which at this delicate moment and in a very short period of time has had to replace the Yugoslavian national identity.

***Characteristics of Style:*** From the beginning the *sevdalinka* had a very specific status. It was not a part of the mass culture, which is based on two other forms of musical expression: newly-composed folk music and Western European pop music. Despite the long transformational process of *sevdalinka* from the intimate family circle to the cafes and lastly to the radio studios,<sup>5</sup> this form did not undergo significant commodification. Yet, *sevdalinka* does play its characteristic role in primary interpersonal forms of musical practice – especially in the circle of family and friends, during family gatherings and parties as *sijelo* and *dernek*, which have an important role in the social life of BH citizens. That is why for the displaced, and especially for the disaffected, *sevdalinka* has the ability to relocate not only the country but also the more intimate and close-knit sense of home.

***The Urban Context:*** The *sevdalinka* is a form of urban identification, which is why all those citizens who originate from such areas have gladly accepted it. By promoting *sevdalinka* as such, they have also propagated the urban spirit of BH, which the war had threatened to destroy.<sup>6</sup>

***Formal Characteristics:*** Because of its musical and poetic characteristics the *sevdalinka* is an extremely complex form full of sophisticated interpretative demands. This kind of song cannot be performed by just anyone; its lyrics present a highly developed form of national poetry.

***Ethic Characteristics:*** A rainbow of ideas promoted by *sevdalinka* present BH identity in the most positive light. Its carriers seek to be seen, understood and accepted through the prism of exactly such values.

***Multiculturalism:*** Despite its origin from Islamic secular music, *sevdalinka* is a multicultural form. This mostly has to do with its early development when it was under Sephardic influence. But the arrival of the Austro-Hungarian Empire on the territory of BH introduced the accordion, which froze the melody of the *sevdalinka* within the equal tempered pitch system. Western European harmonization for piano, which came as a consequence, allowed the newly assimilated *sevdalinka* to be performed by a tamburitza band.

<sup>5</sup> See Karača 1998:201-207.

<sup>6</sup> Frequently the tragedy of Sarajevo was looked at through a prism of uncompromising destruction of all that is of urban character. That is how the word »urbicid« has come about.

For the above reasons, sevdalinka has become a medium well suited for the propagation of the cultural values of BH, which fights deep-rooted prejudices. In other words, it promotes the BH that needs to be saved from the destruction of war. Thus, the sevdalinka has been accepted by the Slovene public.

### *The Trends of the Nineties*

In the early 1990s Western European cultures manifested an increase in interest in *world music*. The Ljubljana festival *Druga Godba*, together with some other yearly events, has educated the Slovene public in the spirit of accepting musical traditions from various parts of the world. That is why the wholehearted acceptance of the sevdalinka is not a surprise. This is also emphasized by the fact that the region from which it originated had belonged to the same country as Slovenia not long ago. At the same time, in the subcultural life of Ljubljana and other cities of Slovenia, key changes have taken place. After a period of national awareness, which culminated in the independence of Slovenia in 1991, a »Yugo-nostalgic« phenomenon occurred among the young people of the country. Teenagers started turning towards the music of the republics of the former Yugoslavia. Yugoslavian pop-music from the last decade before the separation, has once again become the target of interest. In the nightlife of Ljubljana the favorite form of gatherings were the so-called »Balkan parties«. At these parties young refugees from BH were also given the chance to promote their social and cultural background. They performed sevdalinkas, with acoustic guitars and some percussion instruments, in the style of the rock ballad or in the joyful and, for the listeners appealing, so-called cafe style (*kafanski stil*). The *Dertum* band used to combine sevdalinka melodies with Macedonian asymmetric rhythms, which resulted in very attractive performances and produced an euphoric and loud feedback from the audience. That was the reason why the *Dertum* band decided to record their first CD live – during their concert in one of the nightclubs of Ljubljana (**CD-2**: *Dertum – Snijeg pade na behar na voće*).

**CD-2**

It was therefore not a surprise when in October of 1996 the traditional Festival *Meštro žensk* (The City of Women), selected the sevdalinka singers Vesna Hadžić, Emina Zečaj and Beba Selimović to perform at the opening concert. They came from Sarajevo for this occasion.<sup>7</sup> The

<sup>7</sup> Along with the concert a round table discussion of the place and role of the women in this form of practice was organized.

culmination of this concert was the vocal performance of Emina Zečaj accompanied by the saz player Čamil Metiljević, and the full Linhart hall of the Cankarjev Dom united in frantic applause. The collective association grew rapidly: through these performances non-Bosnian audiences got to see the whole tragedy that had befallen one country, one nation and one authentic culture, whilst the audience of Bosnian origin was carried away by the feeling of national and cultural pride. The official music critics took notice of this concert<sup>8</sup>, and the *sevdalinka* definitely became a symbol of identity, a form which carries within itself a number of connotations, and whose social, historical and cultural context is capable of recalling a form of collective memory among the listeners native or Slovene. Such memory is the most positive for the *sevdalinka* performers.

Very soon a second CD was realized. Other than that performed by the above-mentioned group Dertum, which became a club attraction, the *sevdalinka* slowly attracted the mainstream form of musical expression. Vlado Kreslin was the best selling Slovene rock composer-singer, a sort of national icon, originally from the multicultural region of Prekmurje. He was invited by the young ensemble called *Vali* that worked within the framework of the above-mentioned Cultural Weekend for Children from BH, to perform with them three traditional songs from BH. After the success of the concerts, these three songs were recorded and released on the CD, which was partially financed by the Slovene Government Office for the Youth. One of the songs from the CD reached the number 2 position in the charts of the national radio, which shows how much the involvement of this national icon contributed to breaking down the prejudices toward the culture of BH. Of course there were other opinions, and this CD became a subject of newspaper debates. Kreslin performed these songs in his characteristic ballad style accompanied by ten female singers and ten boys who played acoustic instruments<sup>9</sup>.

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<sup>8</sup> Barbarič 1996.

<sup>9</sup> Ognjen Tvrković, a music reviewer of the *Delo* newspaper, wrote on the cover of this CD: »Finally there appeared the first CD which carefully documented the strong will to link different cultural codes and set up a dialogue between them. Kreslin and Vali orchestra put on the mini CD three of their recordings to demonstrate that Prekmurje and Bosnia meet together in Ljubljana – he gave the old songs with his beautiful dark voice and interpretations quite new dimensions, the girls and boys of Vali revived their roots. Their relaxed manner and joy of music-making harmonized with Kreslin's professionalism and vice-versa, his well known seriousness seemed to gain emotions in meeting with dear friends. That is why all these three songs sound so spiritual with a glow, warmth and sincerity even though the recordings were made in one session« (Tvrković 1996, translated by S. Parnell)

### *Sevdalinka as a Transcultural Form*

In the surge of interest in sevdalinka in Slovenia, we must not forget one fact. Even though in the early stages this form of musical expression was an open type and therefore was similar to ways of presenting BH culture in other countries with a high concentration of refugees, the concerts and CDs mentioned in this paper do not belong to this category. On the contrary, sevdalinka in Slovenia slowly became part of a culture, which the consumer must pay for, either by buying tickets or paying the price of CDs. This kind of cultural offering gives a specific public opportunities to reject a product; the public does not have to pay for something that they do not like. Yet, they paid to hear the sevdalinka.

In those years, the average Slovene taste for the melodic forms of their southern neighbors was considerably open: the composer of the Slovene entry at the Eurovision Song Contest 1997 was Saša Lošić, a refugee from Sarajevo, one of the members of above-mentioned »cultural immigration«. He composed a paraphrase on the melody of a folk song that was very popular in both Bosnia and Serbia<sup>10</sup>. In just a couple of minutes of tele-voting, the Slovene audience at the country's pre-competition gave this song the most votes by far, and in this way this song was chosen to represent the country at the competition.

It is a fact that the Sevdalinka became more and more a part of the official culture, which forced upon its performers an added responsibility. The next CD by Vlado Kreslin with the group Vali (1998) and one of the group Dertum (1999) showed more ambitious production achievements, as well as arrangements and performances. At the same time, these two groups were performing at the largest Slovene stages, for example, the Gallus hall of the Cankarjev Dom (Vali) and Križanke (Vali and Dertum). Some of these performances were filmed by the national RTV and was shown at prime time (**CD-3**: Vlado Kreslin & Vali – *Telal viče*).

**CD-3**

In a period of less than five years, the BH traditional urban song has become a part of the official culture of a country from which it did not originate. The immigrants that underwent the process of losing their cultural identity, at a given moment and under certain circumstances influenced this. This was followed by an unexpected process: individuals imposed their own music on their hosts. The sevdalinka in

<sup>10</sup> In fact, the original song was not a folk song, but was newly composed in a folk style. It was titled *Jutros mi je ruža procvjetala* and composed by Petar Tanasijević.

its transformed form, which was suitable to the style of a certain trend, became a transcultural form. Slovenes have slowly replaced the Bosnian carriers of this expression: Slovene festival selectors, the Slovene Vlado Kreslin, Slovene journalists, the Slovene public, Slovene publishers and distributors<sup>11</sup> have adopted *sevdalinka*.

The cases where the minority music becomes a transcultural musical form within the dominant culture exist in other parts of the world. Some of the examples are Finnish music in Sweden, the Algerian *raï* as one of the most important French exports, or *polka* in Chicago. All of them, including the *sevdalinka* in Slovenia have something in common: they are created under certain social and political conditions, most frequently as a form of cultural resistance, which then turns into a subculture that enriches the official culture – the superculture (based on Slobin, Suutari 1996).

Unfortunately, the *sevdalinka* at that time received no institutional care in the country of its origin – BH. The country after the war found itself in a sort of recording production vacuum, burdened with the lack of material and human resources for starting new projects. That is why at this moment in BH it is not possible to buy any CD of *sevdalinkas*. But it is possible to buy them elsewhere in Europe: the Netherland label World Connection recently put out the »Mostar Sevdah Reunion« hit CD, which was received in a very positive way in Western European magazines.<sup>12</sup> It is not surprising that this CD has found its way to the »sunny side of the Alps«, and according to the most recent data, it has been selling very well.

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<sup>11</sup> Even the band Dertum in its last public conference declared itself a Slovene band that performs traditional music from Macedonia and BH despite the fact that out of its five members, three are from BH, one is from Macedonia and one is from Slovenia.

<sup>12</sup> Burton 1999

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BOSANSKA TRADICIONALNA URBANA PESEM  
»NA SONČNI STRANI ALP«.  
OD IZRAZA NOSTALGIJE DO  
NOVE ETNIČNE GLASBE V SLOVENSKI KULTURI

Povzetek

Sevdalinka, ki jo lahko splošno definiramo kot tradicionalno urbano pesem iz Bosne in Hercegovine, doživlja drugo zlato dobo. V posamičnih zgodovinskih, družbenih in političnih situacijah (vojna v BiH in neposredno obdobje po vojni) in med določenimi deli prebivalstva (fizično oddaljeni od neposredne vojne nevarnosti, čeprav čustveno in intelektualno povezani z domovino) se je sevdalinka pokazala kot nenadomestljiv identifikacijski simbol.

V Sloveniji je sevdalinka v poznih devetdesetih letih postala nov model transkulturne pojavnosti. Razlogov za to je več. Če se ozremo v neposredno preteklost, bomo zaznali umetno ustvarjeno homogeno sociokulturno okolje nekdanje Jugoslavije. Družbenoekonomske, politične in kulturne vezi med posamezniki so se v času tranzicijskega procesa ohranile. Podpora vladnih in nevladnih organizacij za projekte kulturnih srečanj državljanov BiH, fenomeni »jugonostalgije« v popularni kulturi slovenskih mest in naraščanje zanimanja zahodnoevropske publike za »world music« so dejavniki, ki so za prepoznavanje sevdalinke v slovenskem kulturnem prostoru ustvarili plodna tla.

# MUSIC AND IDENTITY OF THE INHABITANTS OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA AT THE TIME OF THE OTTOMAN ADMINISTRATION ACCORDING TO A 16<sup>TH</sup>-CENTURY MANUSCRIPT

*Alma ZUBOVIĆ*

*B*osnia and Herzegovina is a multi-ethnic and multi-religious country. The poll carried out in April 1991 registered three major ethnic communities (Bosniaks, Serbs, Croats) and three principal religious communities (Muslims, Orthodox Christians, Catholics).

The identity of the inhabitants of Bosnia and Herzegovina has been shaped by the history of the area. In this essay I would like to present the way the identity of the Halveti Dervish Order came into existence and how the Order came to be preserved as a »religious minority« in Bosnia and Herzegovina at the time of the Ottoman administration. Members of this Order were especially interested in music. The case that my essay makes to prove this statement draws from the manuscript from the 16<sup>th</sup> century whose author belonged to this Dervish Order.

The Ottoman administration was established in Bosnia in 1463 and in Herzegovina in 1482. Thanks to the governmental, administrative-political and military machinery, Islamic culture penetrated intensively into the area of Bosnia and Herzegovina at that time. The Dervish<sup>1</sup> Orders had a prominent role in founding settlements, thus spreading Islam and stimulating the inhabitants to accept it. In addition, the Dervish Orders contributed to dissemination of Islamic culture, literature and art. Nowadays, several *tekijas*<sup>2</sup> in Bosnia and Herzegovina speak in support of this fact. However, these Orders did not have uniform influence, which always depended on the society's level of development. Spiritual leaders of certain Orders were highly educated people, while the Orders themselves were related to different classes of society in Bosnia and Herzegovina. For instance, the Mevlevi and the Halveti were predominantly members of the urban class,

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<sup>1</sup> *Dervish* – member of the Dervish Order, pious, extrovert, modest person.

<sup>2</sup> *Tekija* – a building where the Dervish ceremonies take place.

whereas the Bektashi and the Hamsevi were the members of the rural and military classes.

In the 15<sup>th</sup> and the 16<sup>th</sup> centuries there were actually two principal groups: the Sunni<sup>3</sup> Ulema<sup>4</sup> and the Dervish Orders. The former group consisted of scientists and believers who followed the Koran<sup>5</sup> and the tradition of Mohammed and his first four heirs. The latter group consisted of believers, who based their faith on the understanding of a Pir, founder of a Dervish Order. Members of the latter group were the minority in relation to the former one.

The explanation of the Islamic religion having been spread by the representatives of the Dervish Orders was simpler and more easily acceptable to the majority of the people. Among the Dervish Orders, the orthodox Orders, like the Mevlevi, the Nakshibendi, the Halveti and the Kadiri, were predominant. The heterodox Dervish Orders, like the Bektashi and the Hamsevi, were unable to fully develop and survive in Bosnia and Herzegovina for political reasons: their ideological orientation, as well as their mystical, independent vision of the society was considered a threat to the Ottoman administration (see Čehajić 1986).

Dervish Orders differed from one another in the ways they practiced the *zīkr*<sup>6</sup> and in other ceremonial aspects. Most Islamic theologians did not approve of their ecstatic procedures, but tolerated them (ibid, 27).

The above-mentioned Dervish Orders were inspired by *tesavuf*<sup>7</sup> or Islamic mysticism, and by sufism as a way of life and thinking. Some authors considered the *tesavuf* an educational method (Anawati-Gardet 1961:14; Trimmingham 1971:1), yet for others, like Henri Corbin, the *tesavuf* represented the bringing to fruition of Mohammed's religious message and the endeavours of the personal way through the modalities of the contents of the Koran (Corbin 1964:263). It is generally agreed that *tesavuf* had developed inside Islam as religion and that *tesavuf* could not avoid external influences, e.g. the influence of eastern Christianity, Persian-Hindu ideas (Zoroastrianism, Hinduism, Buddhism), the neo-Platonism of Greece, and others.

The development of the *tesavuf*, which depended on the Koran and

<sup>3</sup> *Sunni* – Islamic believers following the shariat law according to which, Mohammed was the only one authorized to interpret the Koran.

<sup>4</sup> *Ulema* – scientist, educated man.

<sup>5</sup> *Koran* – Islamic Holy Book containing God's proclamation to Mohammed.

<sup>6</sup> *Zīkr* – pious expression of God's name, common Dervish prayer.

<sup>7</sup> *Tesawwuf* – from Ar. *suf* (wool). This name was also applied to pious people and ascetics in the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century and the first half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century who lived modestly and wore coarse clothing.

the Hadises<sup>8</sup>, derived from the simple Islam of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. At that time, Dervishes did not differ from the other believers; they gave the same importance to the zikr and to the namaz<sup>9</sup> (Nicholson 1914:5). By the 8<sup>th</sup> century differences were observed particularly in the costumes and the way of life. At that time, asceticism<sup>10</sup> was thought to be the basis of deliverance and liberation. In the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries, the Dervishes had little by little turned to meditation and deliberation. They had developed the dogma of existential monism that led them to unity with God. In the 11<sup>th</sup> century, there developed a tendency to consign Dervish thought and practice to official Islam and to place it in the context of Islamic learning and the *shariat*<sup>11</sup>. But in the course of time two tendencies developed: the Shia's tendency to reject tradition, and the Sunni tendency, which was developed on the general tradition by Mohammed. Gazali<sup>12</sup>, Ibn Arabi<sup>13</sup>, and others discussed extensively the *tesavuf* development and certain *tesavuf* transformations (see Fakhry 1970, 'Afifi 1939).

At the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, the Dervish Orders developed like the orders that were connected to one teacher (the creator or Pir), after whom the respective orders were named. His teaching methods, which use the mystical experience and follow the rules of Dervish life were adopted by the Order and are valid even today (Čehajić 1986:19). The Pir's learning has been transmitted to the continuous »chain« (*silsila*), whereas the Sheihs<sup>14</sup> from the specific orders have become the ghostly heirs of the creator of the Order.<sup>15</sup> This led to the institutionalisation of

<sup>8</sup> *Hadis* – Mohammed's oral tradition.

<sup>9</sup> *Namaz* – term of Persian origin for Islamic prayers performed 5 times a day at set times. It involves bowing, reciting sentences from the Koran, and praying in Arabic.

<sup>10</sup> This term of Greek origin relates to refraining from all pleasures of life.

<sup>11</sup> *Sheriat* – Islamic law, Islamic prescription.

<sup>12</sup> Abu Hāmid Muhammed ibn Muhammed ibn Muhammed ibn Tū'ās Ahmed al-Tusi al-Šāfi'i, better known as al-Gazāli, was born in 1058 at Tabaran, one of the municipalities of Tūsa in Hurasan. He was both jurist and scholastic, philosopher and skeptic, mystic and theologian, traditionalist and moralist. His most significant role was that of an Islamic theologian. He resurrected Islamic theology and altered its values and attitudes. He is accepted in the Islamic community to this day due to his combination of spiritualism and fundamentalism. He died in Tūsa in 1111.

<sup>13</sup> Ibn Arabi, Abū Bakir Muhammad Ali b. Muhammad al-Hātim at-Tā'i, was born at Mursi in the south of the Iberian peninsula in 1165. He has been praised for the great impact on the development of Islamic philosophy and sufism, representing the attitude of the »transcendental unity of existence« (*wahdatu l-wugūd*). The most famous among his numerous works are *Al-Futūhā l-makkiyya* (in four volumes) and *Fusūsu l-hikam*. He died in Damascus in 1204.

<sup>14</sup> *Sheih* – leader of Dervishes.

<sup>15</sup> Dervish Orders represent the system based on the relation between teacher (*mushid* – guide) and pupil (*murid* – candidate).

the *tesavuf*. The ideological and mystical-philosophical orientations of the Orders were expressed also through music. Music was as an integral part of the »loud zikr« or the *zikr-i džahri* in the case of the Mevlevi, Halvetis and Bektashi Orders.

Let me now focus on the Halveti Dervish Order. This Sunni Order was given the name by Shaih Abu Abdulah Saradžudin Omer – Halvet<sup>16</sup>. It had neither one creator propagating the original learning, nor one centre. In other words, the Order had been developed by several ascetics such as: Ibrahim al-Zahid al-Gilan, Muhamed Nur al-Halvet and Zahirudin Omer al-Halvet, who defined the rules of this Order. The Halveti Dervish Order propagated individual asceticism and withdrawal in seclusion. The Dervish Order was based on the *zikr* with the aim to think continuously of God. The Halveti Order had *devran* – a united ritual of Dervishes in the *semahana*<sup>17</sup> of the Moslem monastery – at which the dance during the *zikr* was accompanied by music. The Dervishes danced with] their hands on the shoulders of the dancers on either side of them (ibid, 79-82).

The Halveti Dervish Order insisted on *zikr*, piety, ethics and the rigorous education of the Dervishes. This Order had existed in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. At that time, Gazi Husrev-bey established the Halveti *hanekah*<sup>18</sup> in Sarajevo, where he taught the Dervishes both theory and practice (ibid, 83-88). There was Shaih Ibrahim Bistrigi's *hanekah* in Sarajevo, and Elči Ibrahim-pasha's *hanekah* in Travnik. The most significant Halveti Moslem monasteries in the territories of Bosnia and Herzegovina were in Višegrad, Bijeljina, Donja Tuzla, Konjic, Blagaj and Prusac (ibid, 89-103).

The Halveti Dervish Order, along with the Mevlevi and the Nakshibendi Dervish Orders, have found fertile ground among the autochthonous inhabitants of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This Order existed as a sort of a parallel Islamic teaching coloured by local traditional features. The Halveti Dervish Order and its member Shaih 'Ali Dede b. Mustafa al-Bosnawī al-Mostar<sup>19</sup>, also known as Ali-Dede Bosnian and Ali-Dede Mostarian<sup>20</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Since this Sheih liked seclusion, he got the nickname *Halwat* (loneliness).

<sup>17</sup> *Semahana* – space within the Moslem monastery where religious performance take place.

<sup>18</sup> *Hanekah* – place where Sheih and Dervishes dwell.

<sup>19</sup> Ali-Dede was born in the first half in 16<sup>th</sup> century in Bosnia. His proper name was Alija, son of Mustafa the Bosnian. He grew up in an Islamic environment. At the beginning of his education, he was influenced by orthodox Islam. He became a member of the Halveti Dervish Order during his schooling in Sahn Seman in İstanbul. Here he was assistant to the well-known Sheih of the Halveti Dervish Order Muslihuddin ibn Nuruddin-zade Filibavi (the pupil of Bali-efendi Sofiali).

(comp. Kasumović 1994) prove the continuity and the firm identity of this »religious minority« in the first century of the Ottoman administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Ali-Dede was a known thinker, poet and Dervish in Bosnia and Herzegovina. He was influenced by the teaching of the famous Arabic polyhistoriographer Suyuti<sup>21</sup> (died in 1505) and the teacher of the transcendental unity of existence, Ibn Arabi<sup>22</sup> (died in 1204). He was also influenced by Pythagorean learning, the neo-Platonism, the Persian-Hindu and the Christian-Judaic traditions. His works showed Ali-Dede to be an excellent eclectic. He used ideas and information from the tradition to develop his own knowledge about harmony in the world. His teaching was accepted in some spheres of the Islamic cultural world. He started his major study, *Muhādarātu l-‘awā ‘il wa musāmarātu l-awāhir* (Lectures about first things and narration about ultimate events), at the time of his education in Istanbul, and finished it in the Moslem monastery at the foot of the fortress in Siget in 1589. Despite originality in treating his favorite topic of transitoriness, Ali-Dede remained in the shadow of Suyuti.

Ali-Dede was especially interested in the criteria, using thereby theological-philosophical literature. He offered several legends, myths and other ethnographic-folkloristic materials, as well as numerous data from the realms of history, language, religion and music. Ali-Dede intended, just like Ibn Arabi and Suyuti, to express the truth about the world. He illuminated the symbols of the existing world as the symbols of »hidden truth«.

The work *Muhādarātu l-‘awā ‘il wa musāmarātu l-awāhir* has been transcribed several times and about seventy such manuscripts have

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This teacher helped him to come in touch with the philosophy of Ibn Arabi, whose teaching of the transcendental unity of existence was considered the ideal basis for the orthodox Dervish Orders. Ali-Dede further improved his education in Damascus, Mecca and other cultural centres. When Sultan Suleiman I the Grand died at Siget (Hungary) in 1566 and a Moslem monastery was erected near his grave, Ali-Dede was appointed the head and guard of his grave by Mehmed-pasha Sokolović in 1575. This Moslem monastery had at the same time the role of a high school and Ali-Dede was the teacher of theological sciences. Here he stayed until the end of his life, leaving the monastery only sporadically for the sake of pilgrimages to Mecca. He was relatively often in Mecca only in the period 1592–1598, serving as a supervisor at restoring Ibrahim’s Mekam – one of the objects within the walls of the Saint Monastery of Kaba. Ali-Dede died at Gyula near Szolnok in Hungary in 1598 and was buried at Siget.

<sup>20</sup> The name of this writer has often been mentioned as: Sigetvaran (as-Sikatwārin), Halveti (as-Halwatī), Nuri (an-Nūrī), Rumi (ar-Rūmī), Kanli (al-Qanlī) or Sheih Turbe (Turbe şeyhi) (Kasumović 1994:243).

<sup>21</sup> As-Suyūfī, ‘Abdurrahmān b. Abī Bakir b. Muhammed b. Sābiquddīn al-Hudayfī, ġalāluddīn (1445 – 1505) wrote about six hundred works.

been found so far.<sup>23</sup> The focus of my essay is the manuscript deposited at the Gazi Husrev-bey's library in Sarajevo under the number 3573.<sup>24</sup> 'Alā'uddīn b. Huram as-Sufī transcribed this work in 1610 from the original manuscript at the Moslem monastery of the sultan Suleiman near Siget. This work in the Arabic language consisted of two chapters. The first chapter consists of thirty-seven subchapters, and the second, of four subchapters. The 32nd subchapter of the first chapter is of particular interest. Its title is »About the beginnings related to singing and about the song of camel-drivers« (sheets 85b-88b). This part of the manuscript presents the short history of Arabic music using accounts from several works such as *Awāil*, *Tārīh al-Hukamā'*, *Bahġa at-Tawārīh*, *Muštatraf*, *Hayat al-Haywan*, *Tārīh dženher attamin* and *Šeawahid an-Nubuwwa*.

In this subchapter<sup>25</sup> the names of those who were »first« in various segments of music are mentioned (sheets 85b-86b):

1. Pythagoras (Fisha Aures al-Hakin) was the first who established music and singing principles, listening to the movements in space by the force of his wisdom. He heard voices and divided them into eight different sounds according to the model of space circuits and their sounds;
2. Kinan (and) Luad (»al-Džeradetan« or »The two singers«) were the first to sing to the Arabs;
3. Tuways from Yemen was the first to sing in Islam and the first to notate songs and rhythm;
4. The ruler Jezid ibn Sufiyan was the first who hired singers;

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<sup>22</sup> See footnote 13.

<sup>23</sup> This work has two versions. The first one dates from the 1580s and the second one from 1589. The second version is longer and can be interpreted as the final version. Ismet Kasumović wrote about the two versions of the manuscript of this work, which are both stored in Istanbul, in his work *Ali-Dede Bošnjak i njegova filozofijska-sufijska misao* (Kasumović 1994). Muhamed Ždralović presented this Ali-Dede's work as transcribed by Munir from Belgrade in 1615 in his study »Djela Ali-Dede Moštarca u rukopisima Orijentalne zbirke Arhiva Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti« (Ždralović 1987:117-133). This manuscript has been stored in the Oriental collection in Zagreb (manuscript nr. 1550).

This work of Ali-Dede has had three editions. The first one was printed at the State printing-house in Cairo in 1882, the second at the printing-house of Ashrafiyya in Cairo in 1893, and the third at the publishing company Daru l-kitabi l-arabiyyi« in Beirut in 1878 as a reprint of the first edition.

<sup>24</sup> Kasim Dobrača treated a part of the manuscript, stored at the Gazi Husrev-bey's library in Sarajevo, in the first volume of *Katalog arapskih, turskih i perzijskih rukopisa*. Among these manuscripts there is also the manuscript 3573, under catalogue number 756 (see Dobrača 1963:524).

<sup>25</sup> The presentation of the subchapter has been made possible thanks to the translation made by Muhamed Ždralović. See also my M.A. thesis (Zubović 1999:58-60).

5. Hārūn ar-Rashid was the first to rank musicians and to pay them;
6. Abūnāsir al-Farabī was the first to manufacture the musical instrument *qanun*, and Sortīs (or Sortobis or Swrtb/y/s) Mudri invented the *organon*;
7. Abūlah ibn Shureyh was the first who played the *ud* and accompanied songs with it in Mecca;
8. Gulsuma, sister of Mūsā ibn ‘Imrāna, was the first who played the tambourine.

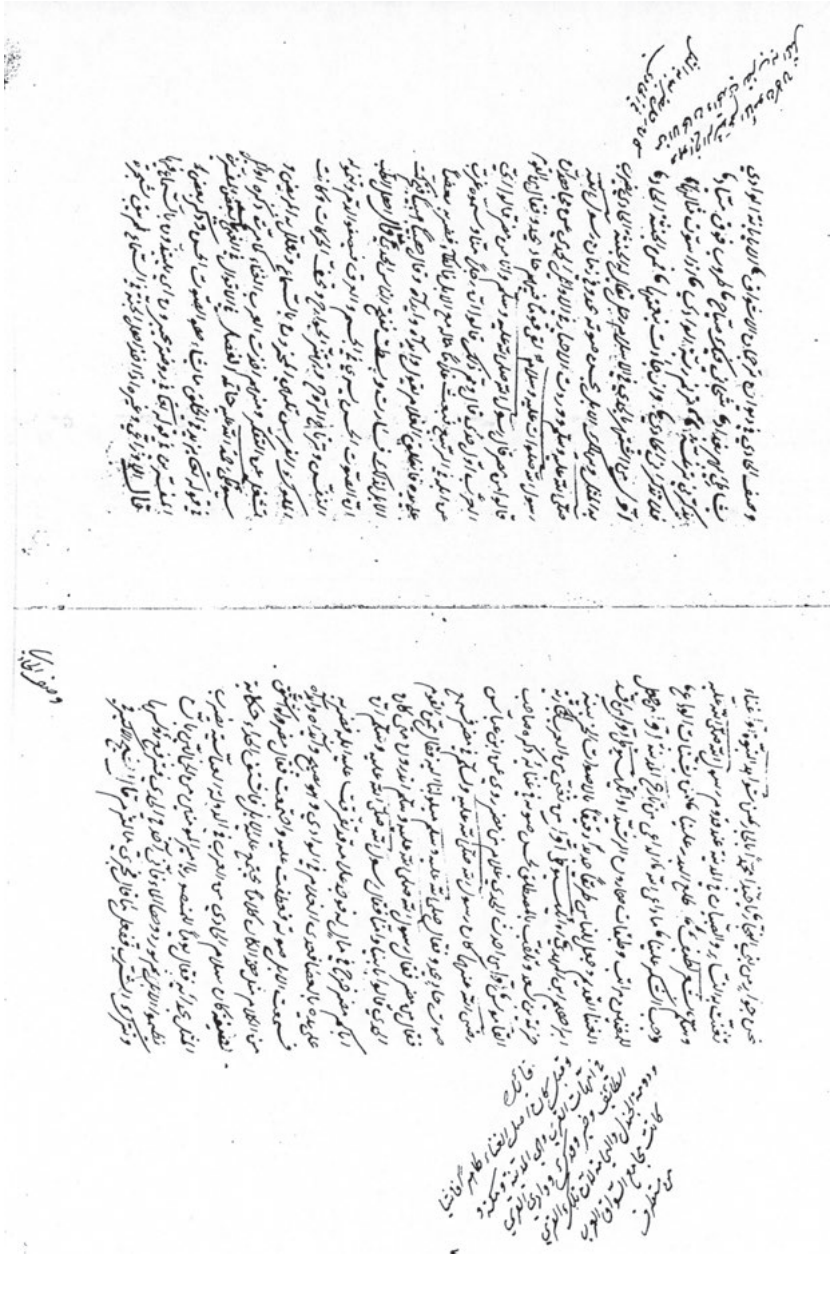
*More names follow*

In the pre-Islamic period, the music of the tribal encampments in the Arabian Peninsula was essentially vocal. The most widespread type of song among the Bedouin tribes was the *huda* – song of the camel-drivers – which had a rhythm set to mimic the movements of the camel’s feet (Hindley 1987:37). Ali-Dede spoke about the song of the camel-drivers in this part of his manuscript, too. He emphasized that a boy of the Madar tribe was the first who modernised the song of the camel-drivers. The boy sang the song of the camel-drivers *Waydah, Waydah* while striking a stick with one hand. He herded his camels with this song. In this part another singer, Džunsa al-Hādy, was mentioned as the first who became famous with his camel-driver song. The narration about both of the singers originated from the time of Mohammed who discovered them (sheet 87).

The presented manuscript of the work *Muhādarātu l-‘awā ‘il wa musāmarātu l-awāhir* (Lectures about first things and narration about ultimate events) from the 16<sup>th</sup> century by Ali-Dede from Bosnia and Herzegovina, which was copied by ‘Alā’uddīn b. Hūram as-Sufī, is the only indication of how the identity of the Halveti Dervish Order as the identity of a »religious minority« in Bosnia and Herzegovina at the time of the Ottoman administration was preserved. This manuscript, preserved in Sarajevo, confirms the existence of interest in the history of the music of the Dervishes, as well as of the inhabitants of Bosnia and Herzegovina at that time.

The Halveti Dervish Order and the Mevlevi Dervish Order – the latter known as the brotherhood of the »dancing Dervishes«, were the most widespread orders in Bosnia and Herzegovina at the time of the Ottoman administration. The »loud *zīkr*« or the *zīkr* accompanied by music was especially emphasized in these two orders. Today, unfortunately, only individual followers of the Halveti and the Mevlevi Dervish Orders can be found in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Nakshibendi Dervish Order has remained the only organised one up to the present time.





Picture 1: Mmanuscript deposited at the Gazi husrev bay's library in Sarajevo in 1610.

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## GLASBA IN IDENTITETA PREBIVALCEV BOSNE IN HERCEGOVINE V ČASU OTOMANSKE UPRAVE NA PRIMERU ROKOPISA IZ 16. STOLETJA

### Povzetek

Bosna in Hercegovina je multietnična in multikulturna država. Identiteta prebivalcev, ki sodijo v različne etnične in verske skupnosti, se je oblikovala skozi burno preteklost tega področja. V ospredju tega prispevka je podoba samobitnosti derviške bratovščine Halveti, ki se je ohranila kot »verska manjšina«. Člani te bratovščine so se posebej zanimali za glasbo; to jasno potrjuje rokopis, katerega avtor 'Ali Dede Mustafa al-Bosnawī al-Mostarī, znan tudi kot Ali-Dede Bošnjak oz. Ali-Dede Mostarac, je bil član te bratovščine.

# RESEARCH INTO THE MUSIC-MAKING OF THE BURGENLAND CROATS THROUGH THE GENERATIONS

*Jerko BEZIĆ*

*T*he Burgenland Croats – or in Croatian Gradišćanski Hrvati – are an ethnic group / minority that settled in the eastern and southeastern parts of what is today the Republic of Austria as early as the 16<sup>th</sup> century. They have survived as a specific group to the present day. Members of the same ethnic group still live in eleven villages in western Hungary and in three villages in the area of Bratislava in southwestern Slovakia. The Croats from three villages west of the town of Mikulov in the Czech province of Moravska were re-settled after the end of World War II.

Musical transcriptions of the lay church songs of the Burgenland Croats appeared at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. They were written down by Croatian village teachers, organists, and leaders of the lay church choirs. Some of the priests serving in the ethnic Croatian parishes also transcribed music.

The secular folk songs of the Burgenland Croats were firstly systematically collected and researched by a Croatian ethnomusicologist, Franjo Ksaver Kuhač (1834-1911), during the 1860s and 1870s. From that period until the present, several generations of singers, musicians and bandsmen have followed. Several generations of researchers and collectors of folk songs, and to a lesser extent instrumental melodies, have also been active during that period.

In their study of the music-making of the Burgenland Croats in recent times, ethnomusicologists have been obliged to observe, note down and evaluate the work of earlier researchers. Consequently, there are interesting differences in the approach to research, in melographic skills, and in the familiarity with and evaluation of the material by those earlier researchers.

Franjo Ksaver Kuhač was the first professional to carry out research into the music-making of the Burgenland Croats. In his first major collection of the folk songs of the South-Slavic peoples (five volumes,

1878-1881; 1941) he published 104 transcriptions of music collected among the Burgenland Croats. He added commentaries to many of these transcriptions. He particularly emphasised the fact that he had encountered some of tunes and texts he had written down appearing as themes and/or lead melodies in works by the masters of Viennese Classicism, Joseph Haydn and Ludwig van Beethoven. Some 120 years ago, Kuhač held the opinion that these examples of the Viennese classics contained tunes adopted from the Burgenland Croats. This opinion raised awareness among the Croatian minority in Burgenland of their own musical culture during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup>-century. The prevailing opinion among both Croatian and foreign musicologists in more recent times, however, has been that this is an issue that requires careful, additional study. In other words, there are obvious examples in which the Croats adopted classical melodies, while there also exist examples of melodies of small range that, apart from having been confirmed in many variations of such melodies among the Burgenland Croats, are also found in their former homeland (see, e.g., Županović 1982, Bezić 1984). There were two difficulties, which Kuhač did not manage to solve convincingly in his given examples. He made his notations among the ethnic Croats some one hundred years after they had been published by the Viennese composers. We still lack transcriptions of the tunes of the Croatian secular songs from the time prior to Haydn and Beethoven, that is to say from the 17<sup>th</sup> century and earlier. On this occasion I shall not go further into discussion of this theme, which I first addressed as early as the 1980s (Bezić 1984:196-199). It should be noted that Kuhač published interesting and realistic descriptions of his observations during his travels in Burgenland, with descriptions of music-making and notes on dance (Kuhač 1878a /1973/:237).

In 1910, valuable professional research was done by František Pospíšil in Dobře Pole (Gutfeld) and Jevišovka (Frelištof), two of the former three Croatian villages in southern Moravska. Pospíšil made recordings of both speech and singing on a Viennese Phonogrammarchiv phonograph designed for music and linguistic research. The material was recorded on wax cylinders Nos. 1135-1144, 1429-1435 (see Exner 1922:53, 101). The documentation contains data on the individual recordings with detailed information about the performers and about the person making the recordings. Pospíšil transcribed the song lyrics in the original dialects and accompanied them with seven musical transcriptions.

The generation of those who collected and noted down tunes of the Burgenland Croats in the period between the two world wars was active at a time in which two diverse tendencies emerged almost simultaneously. The first of these advocated the musical expression of the Burgenland Croats.

Efforts were made to encourage people to play the *tamburitza*, a musical instrument which was seen as particularly appropriate for music-making in a group. This form of music-making came from Croatia to Vienna, and from there gradually to Burgenland and into the Burgenland Croatian villages.

With a somewhat similar aim in mind, that of increasing acceptance of new and foreign music as valid musical expression, certain Hungarian musicals with very popular tunes were translated into the language of the Burgenland Croats, e.g. *A falu rossza*, 1875 (*Seoski bekrija* – Village Rousterer) and *A sárga csikó*, 1877 (*Žuto ždrijebe* – The Yellow Foal). Martin Meršić, Jr. (1894-1983) was very active in this regard in the course of the 1920s.

The second tendency was advocated primarily by ethnic Croatian teachers and priests. They encouraged a greater familiarity with the national past, particularly with traditional heritage and folklore.

During the 1930s, Martin Meršić Jr. was the most active collector of Croatian traditional tunes in Burgenland. He also co-ordinated activities of other, less important enthusiasts who wrote down traditional melodies. Together with the eminent Croatian ethnomusicologist Vinko Žganec, he published a Croatian song book from Burgenland (Meršić and Žganec 1964). He clearly stated his intention: »My main objective was to collect our Croatian tunes. That is why I omitted many tunes (with lyrics in the dialect of the Burgenland Croats) which had Hungarian or German tunes«.

Vinko Žganec was the editor of that collection and was even more meticulous and strict in publishing only »the pure heritage of the Burgenland Croats«. For this reason, the completed manuscript excluded examples of tunes »with admixtures of foreign elements«.

After the onerous years of National-Socialism and after the end of the Second World War, interest in cultural-educational activities was awakened and, consequently, interest in the music-making among the Burgenland Croats.

One of the enthusiasts, Jakob Dobrovich (Dobrović; 1911-1984), the long-time teacher, cantor, choir-leader and tamburitza group conductor, published a collection of Croatian Burgenland tunes in 1950, with inklings of a new, realistic and less puritanical position. In the foreword to the collection, he wrote that he was presenting a wreath of »our oldest and newest tunes, which can be used at entertainment gatherings, and in plays, at weddings, in music competitions, and on other occasions« (Dobrovich 1950:iii, iv).

During the 1950s, Feri Sučić (born in 1918) – a Croatian cultural activist and author, musician and composer, and leader of tamburitza groups – was also active in the field of music-making.

When Sučić published his second large collection in 1967, he included some of his earlier published tunes. The collection came out under the characteristic title *Druga zbirka najpoznatijih narodnih, Sučićevih, dalmatinskih i drugih pjesama za tamburaške zbore* (The Second Collection of the Best-Known Traditional Songs, Composed by Sučić, Songs from Dalmatia, and from Elsewhere for Tamburitza Groups (Sučić 1967)).<sup>1</sup> In his own work, Sučić largely wrote lyrics and melodies together, but he also published examples in which he wrote new melodies to existing lyrics or composed new lyrics for traditional melodies. The Burgenland Croats accepted some of Sučić's songs as their own (folk) songs. The most popular of these at the end of the 1960s and during the 1970s was probably *Oči ja poznam plave* (I Know Some Blue Eyes), known by its refrain *Ljubica, ljubica mala* (Violet, little violet) to the metrorhythmic pattern of the waltz.

A reflection of the great interest for playing in tamburitza groups is seen in the collection for such groups that was published in 1968 by Jakob Dobrovich, again with a characteristic title *Prva naša zbirka: Gradišćanske narodne i druge jačke. Zabilježio, sakupio i komponirao za gradišćanske tamburaške zbore Jakob Dobrovich* (Our First Collection: Burgenland Folk Songs and Other Songs: Noted Down, Collected and Composed for Burgenland Tamburitza Groups by Jakob Dobrovich). In the collection, he included 43 examples of »our (Burgenland-Croatian), Dalmatian, Hungarian and even one Russian song«. Dobrovich also paid considerable attention to musical heritage. He conducted basic research into Croatian Burgenland traditional songs and customs associated with death, the New Year, and weddings, which he later wrote down (Dobrovich 1955, 1958 and 1961). The research and recording of the old layers of traditional music frequently connected with the customs of the Burgenland Croats were successfully carried out during the 1950s and 1960s by the Burgenland composer, organist, singer, and leader of a folklore group, Štefan Kočiš. The publication of composed school songs for children in the Croatian language – e.g. Vukovich 1954 (Vuković), Kocsis 1973 (Kočiš) – did not seem to have any obvious effect on the non-institutional musical life of the Burgenland Croats.

More intensive research into the musical life of the Burgenland Croats, and particularly increased recording, was done from the 1970s onwards with the help of professional institutes from Vienna, Graz and Zagreb, which researched and studied folk singing and playing. Field

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<sup>1</sup> Please note that the title emphasized »best-known« and not »the most beautiful« or »authentic« songs.

recordings were also made by ethnomusicologists working under the organisation of Austrian Radio and Television (ORF).

New phenomena appeared in the music life of the Burgenland Croats during the 1970s, and increased during the 1980s. The composition of new songs with Burgenland Croatian texts, which had begun in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and continued with more intensity at mid-century, underwent an even more notable boom during the 1980s in the Burgenland market town Stinjaki (Stinatz). Austrian ethnomusicologist Ursula Hemetek devoted a part of her long-term research in the musical life in Stinatz (1978-1990) to the activity of the local Croation priest, Branko Kornfeind (b. 1952), a gifted singer, instrumentalist, and composer of entertainment music with lyrics in Croation. His new mode of musical expression on the tamburitza attracted the interest of younger Burgenland Croats and managed to strengthen their mutual communication in the Burgenland Croation language.

The middle and elder generation of the Stinjak population, on the other hand, argued bitterly that such radical changes had drastically curtailed the performance of those forms of music expression that had previously enjoyed much popularity during their youth in the decades before World War II (Hemetek 1991:319-330).

As early as the 1970s, the Burgenland Croats had formed their first rock group. The group was called *The Brew* (from 1980 onwards *Bruji*), and other groups were formed in addition to them (Vlasich 1998:177-197). This form of music expression is described in detail in the excellent book ... *und sie singen noch immer...* (They Are Still Singing), with the sub-title *The Music of the Burgenland Croats*. The book is in the German language and was edited by Ursula Hemetek (1998).

This book presents the youngest group of Burgenland Croats as researchers into the musical life of their fellow ethnic kinsmen. After the editor's introductory article – »Minorities and Traditional Music: Ethnic Music as a Standard-Bearer of Identity?« – Jelka Zeichmann-Kocsis presents in an extensive article on the secular vocal music of the Burgenland Croats; Wolfgang Kuzmits, the *tamburitza* in Burgenland; Helga Machtinger, dances and dance customs; Heinrich Zwittkovits, brass bands of the Croats in Burgenland; and Joško Vlasich, the pop and rock music of the Burgenland Croats – an insider's considerations. They are joined by a representative of the older generation – the composer, musician and music teacher, Štefan Kočiš – who adds a detailed study on the sacred music of the Burgenland Croats.



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## RAZISKOVANJE MUZICIRANJA GRADIŠČANSKIH HRVATOV SKOZI GENERACIJE

Povzetek

Gradiščanski Hrvati so se v 16. stoletju naselili v vzhodnih in jugovzhodnih delih teritorija, ki ga danes obsega republika Avstrija. Muziciranje te etnične skupine oziroma manjšine so raziskovali od sedemdesetih let devetnajstega stoletja naprej. Vzporedno z generacijami hrvaških pevcev in instrumentalistov lahko sledimo tudi generacijam zbirateljev in raziskovalcev ljudske glasbe. Ta prispevek spremlja njihova izhodišča in pristope do muziciranja gradiščanskih Hrvatov od časov prvega hrvaškega etnomuzikologa Franja Ksavera Kuhača (1834-1911) do generacij gradiščanskih Hrvatov, ki istočasno sodelujejo v glasbenem življenju in ga hkrati raziskujejo. Namen prispevka je spodbuditi zgodovinske študije o muziciranju manjšin.



# FRIEDRICH SALOMO KRAUSS (1859–1938) – AN AUSTRIAN FOLK MUSIC RESEARCHER WITH MULTICULTURAL VISIONS

Gerlinde HAID

*R*esearch in the field of the music of minorities has been established as a new focal point in our division. Minorities are being discriminated against; and ethnomusicology which is in closest contact with them, aims at the preservation of cultural variety, at the promotion of mutual cultural understanding and at collaboration, by means of music itself, in the gradual removal of prejudices (Baumann 1994:44). In the light of research history, this definition of ethnomusicology is in sharp contrast to the nationalistic traditions in our scientific field that do exist, and their misuse in the name of so-called »herrenmenschen« has led German language ethnology in particular into a big crisis, especially in relation to National Socialism. I take this conference on »Music and Minorities« as an opportunity to point out historical tendencies which are definitely similar to what we understand as ethnomusicology today. As a matter of fact, the beginnings of German ethnology were also characterised by liberal, humane and international positions (Warneken 1999:170) which were later often suppressed or simply forgotten. In the framework of research on minorities it is rather important for me to draw our attention to these forgotten positions and encourage a new discussion of these topics – a discussion official historiography has not initiated so far.

Josef Pommer (1845–1918) is still regarded as the founder of systematic folk music research in Austria. In 1898 he established the journal *Das deutsche Volkslied – Zeitschrift zu seiner Kenntnis und Pflege* (The German folk song – Journal on its recognition and cultivation). Pommer, born into an old binder family in Maribor, was a secondary school teacher and also representative – of the German-national party! – to the Imperial Council in Celje. On the collapse of the monarchy in 1918 he committed suicide. There has never been any attempt to distinguish his achievements in the field of folk music research from his biographical background and his political views so as to label him not merely as »German-national«. No one has ever studied his work as representative to the Imperial Council,

and only last year, in the course of our field research in Southern Styria near the Slovene border, I wondered whether Pommer spoke Slovene at all. Josef Pommer – after some resistance – actively participated in the collection *Das Volkslied in Österreich* (The Folk Song in Austria), relating to all provinces of the monarchy.

This multiethnic state – last but not least due to the famous multi-volume work of Crown Prince Rudolf – had evolved a cultural domain which did not separate ethnic minorities, according to the principle of equality of rights. On the other hand, there were attempts to elaborate a centralised documentation of the characteristics of those peoples living at the periphery of the realm, thereby making the educated classes aware of them. The multiethnic state was a conglomerate, but in the field of folklore and folk music research there were visions of a peaceful co-existence of ethnic groups. Although there did exist a national ethnology in this multiethnic state (as, for instance, that fostered by Josef Pommer), the highest authorities were promoting an intensive folk music research in the single provinces, centrally organised but in fact realised often by bilingual Austrian civil servants. This vision, as we all know, fell apart with the First World War. The material collected for *The Folk Song in Austria* remained with the individual succession states, and Austrian folk music research has, until now, not picked up the thread of the research tradition exhibited by the multiethnic state but stayed with Josef Pommer's

national ethnomusicology. This lecture wants to encourage us to pick up the thread lost, following the example of Friedrich Salomo Krauss.

Krauss was born of German-speaking Jews on the 7<sup>th</sup> of October 1859 in a village near Požega in Slavonia. He finished his final exams in Požega and continued his studies in Vienna. In 1882 he became Master of Classical Philology and History. His main interest lay in the field of ethnography which at that time was dealt with by the Anthropology Society in Vienna. By their order and using printed and non-printed



*Friedrich Salomo Krauss* (Burt 1990)

sources, he wrote his important work *Sitte und Brauch der Südslawen* (Manners and Customs of the South Slav Population), published in 1885. In the year 1884 the society also sent him on a 14-month journey to the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina which had been put under Austrian administration in 1878. His report on this journey constitutes one of the liveliest descriptions of field research. Accompanied by a *guslar* who had joined him as servant he rode through the provinces. He even took the servant with him to Vienna after his journey had come to an end. After his first investigations, he decided to record only *guslarske* songs (*Guslarenlieder*) as this seemed to be the best method to realise his ethnographic surveys: »For 14 months I was travelling through Bosnia, Herzegovina and some parts of Slavonia and Dalmatia in order to commit myself to these ethnographic undertakings. Within such a short period of time, it is completely impossible that one single person be able to get to know all the manners and customs of a people from personal experience. But I managed to wriggle out of this situation by making use of a simple means of information: I sought to get hold of as many precise descriptions of life as possible. And where could I better find these descriptions than with *guslarske* songs? So I asked people who should show an interest in this poetic genre, this is the gentry, clergymen, pedlars, the peasantry, gypsies, beggars and *guslars* themselves, for the most magnificent singers in their neighbourhood and I spared no trouble to visit those recommended and no expenses to win their favour. All in all I have documented 127 *guslars*...« (Burt 1990:42). It is a real pleasure to read Krauss' travel reports. As he did not want to fall victim to thieves and robbers, he more or less travelled in the outfit of a vagabond, without any money. »It was a tedious and strenuous travelling from hut to hut, from one village to the next, summer as winter, and then it was squatting for hours in a small narrow room, full of thick tobacco smoke and stinking, and it was taking notes with the right hand on the left knee, starting early in the morning until late at night, writing down *guslarske* songs and other folk traditions; and then it was watching manners and customs and then again writing and asking questions again and again.« (Burt 1990:25).

Afterwards Krauss wrote comments on a great number of these *guslarske* songs and published them with German translations. Together with some smaller works like his erotic folk songs, published in cooperation with Emil Karl Blümml, the *Schnaderhüpfeln* (Alpine narrative quatrains) from Ischl and Aussee and the *Minnelied des deutschen Land- und Stadtvölkes* (Minnesong of the German land and urban population), the *guslarske* songs constitute his most important piece of work for

folk music research. Subsequently he became more and more interested in other domains of ethnology. From 1890 until 1898 he published the journal *Am Urquell* (At the Wellspring; from 1897 *Der Urquell* – The Wellspring), which, in addition to the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* (Journal of the Society for Ethnology) in Berlin, is the most important trans-regional authority for German folk tradition (Warneken 1999:183). In 1904 he founded the journal *Anthropophyteia. Erhebungen und Forschungen zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der geschlechtlichen Moral* (Leipzig, 1904-1913; *Anthropophyteia. Investigations and Research on the Evolution of Sexual Morality*). Eroticism in traditional folk songs became one of his main fields of research. The so far unique (and incomplete) bibliography of Krauss' works comprises 261 numbers; and even more, there are his unpublished posthumous works (Burt 1990:125-153). He lived as private scholar in Vienna and during World War I became director and professor at the School for Disabled Veterans. He was married and father of two children. On May 29, 1938, at the age of 79, he died a natural death in his apartment in Vienna, shortly after Hitler's troops had entered Austria. Raymond L. Burt is the author of a biography on Krauss which was published in 1990 by the Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

As a scientist Krauss was not completely without success, his works winning him respect and appreciation. For a long time he was one of the renowned representatives of German ethnology, and around 1900 he, unlike any of his contemporaries, was admitted into so many international journals (Warneken 1999:184). But until his death he was a private scholar and was never granted any academic orders. In 1887 the Senate of the Imperial and Royal University of Vienna rejected his habilitation thesis, because, as Krauss put it, »old wives' tales and beggar songs were not part of scientific research. I also had proved to be a man with an ill-reputation as I had found it compatible with the honour of a *Vir illustrissimus* of the Viennese University to travel with gypsies. There were even deliberations going on within the University whether to belatedly deprive me of my title of a doctor *philosophiae* or not« (Burt 1990:48).

His opponents could be found among Slav (especially Jagić) as well as German Nationalists (Michael Haberlandt) which finally led to his leaving the Anthropology Society (Burt 1990:64). Krauss regarded himself as a citizen of the Habsburg monarchy and abominated every form of nationalism, no matter to where it pertained. For him, ethnology was a discipline which »starts at the national level« but aims at »grapping the international of the nations and therefore is only deeply rooted in its internationality.« (Warneken 1999:184). In another paragraph he writes

»Ethnology is only national as far as it is a special form of investigation, the results obtained through these investigations are generally human. This is a touchstone for the grade of its scientific character« (Burt 1990:64). Not only was he criticised for his international point of view, his colleagues also held against him that he translated the epic texts with a smooth literary touch. Krauss himself was a talented writer who was also publishing drama and a novel, and he felt therefore qualified to translate with some poetic licence: »Who does not possess artistic creativity in his innermost soul, who does not share at least some spark of original creativity besides his spirit of research, will not be able to exceed mediocrity with simple good will and steady eagerness« (Burt 1990:63).

Being a Jew, Krauss, like many of his fellowmen, was confronted with prejudices and anti-Semitism. He rejected Zionism which he considered a form of radical emphasis on cultural differences (Burt 1990:74). His great ethnological aim was to assimilate Jewish with general ethnology. The accentuation of one single people is a misuse of science itself, especially when the folk tradition of this people is considered singular and unique (Burt 1990:78). For ten years he worked as a secretary for the Israeli Alliance in Vienna, which then was a committee granting aid to victims of persecution, in particular in the Slav provinces (Burt 1990:75). His rejection of Zionism led to his dismissal, initiated by Theodor Herzl in 1901. He was not the only Jewish writer among the authors of the Berlin journal *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*. In 1895, when the reviewer of an article on ritual murderers openly declared himself an anti-Semite and Weinhold as publisher did not print an angry written protest by Krauss, Krauss ceased to publish his articles in this newspaper (see Warneken 1999:194).

The situation even worsened for Krauss when he began his research work on folk eroticism. On the publication of *Anthropopythea* legal actions were instituted against him in 1913, the charge being pornography. He lost the case and found himself close to complete bankruptcy. In his opinion, censorship of pornography was only a method to further guarantee the suppression of women in society (Burt 1990:80). In the beginning Sigmund Freud, an acquaintance of Krauss, clearly supported but later dissociated himself from Krauss, as the young psychoanalytic movement was fighting for academic recognition and did not want to be laid open to criticism. (Burt 1990:93).

What I have pointed out here briefly makes clear that Krauss often fell between two stools and did have a great number of enemies and opponents.

Krauss has more or less sunk into oblivion in Austrian folk music



research for several reasons.

1. The provinces to which Krauss had travelled ceased to belong to Austria after the end of the First World War; Research then put its focus on Austrian folk music and was not interested in the Balkan states anymore.
2. Krauss had recorded the *guslarske* songs in the Balkans shortly before the invention of the phonograph. He had only recorded the texts. Later generations of folk music researchers logically based their work on sound recordings.
3. At the beginning, German ethnology had been internationally orientated, but even before the turn of the century nationalistic tendencies started to undermine the research on folk tradition, and so researchers like Krauss, especially if they were Jewish, were later on concealed and hidden.

An opposite example in this process comes from the research projects of the musicologist Walther Wünsch (born in 1908) who, as early as the 1930s, studied the *guslarske* songs (see Wünsch 1934, 1937, 1940). He was influenced by the »Prague School« of Musical Science, had studied with Rietsch and Becking and later became the first director of the Institute for Music Folklore in Graz, founded in 1963 (Steirisches Musiklexikon 1962-1966:660). He and his school have to be given the credit for the fact that research on *guslarske* songs and their musical form has been initiated and promoted by means of sound recordings and analysis within the domain of comparative ethnomusicology (Wünsch 1953:206-207). But it seems rather strange that Krauss who had written the standard work on *Sitte und Brauch der Südslawen* (Krauss 1885), who had himself collected 172,000 lines of *guslarske* songs, whose reference library had comprised 60 printed Serb and Bulgarian *guslarske* song collections as well as numerous single recordings thereby providing him for his research work with 500,000 verses, who himself had collected and published as many as 40 *guslarske* songs, and who was still alive when Wünsch started his research works, is not even mentioned by him. This may be understandable when Walther Wünsch deals with the purely musical aspect to which Krauss had not contributed much. But when Walther Wünsch comments on the general ethnological bases of this form of singing, Krauss' non-existence does seem rather grotesque.

*»The people dozing since the defeat at the Amselfelde as a dark nameless mass without rights, faces and history, suddenly found the pulse beat of their hearts in the epic heroic song. The original rhapsodies were mountain thieves, outcasts who could not bear suppression by the Turks and fled into mountains and forests in*

*order to steadily undermine the official order of foreign rule in continuous fights... Besides, the weapon, the gusle, the accompanying instrument of the South Slav heroic epic song, was their holy symbol of their struggle for freedom. They did not know each other, but they were singing lamenting and encouraging words from the Adriatic Sea to the Pontus, until finally the ethnic strength of the heroic song led the South Slav population to unity and freedom...» (Wünsch 1937:9-10).*

In 1908 Krauss saw the situation from a more down-to-earth perspective:

*»The endless enthusiasm for and the atmosphere of holy solemnity during the performance of guslarske songs, which some collectors in the preface to an edition stated as being existent among the population, is a mere self-betrayal. The crop farmer and the cattle breeder, the craftsman and the peddler, the woodcutter and the raftsmen and especially the townspeople try to earn a living by their work without giving a penny for heroic deeds. Most writers of older guslarske songs were in the retinue of adventurous mobs and lords of the cašile, they were among the gallantry and the militia or military; the guslarske song stems from a not-undetermined population class. People with either military or lyric tendencies like to learn this kind of old tradition and guarantee its distribution among the population. At a social gathering a dozen of men and women, poor peasantry with half-grown children, like listening to the guslar, as they want to be entertained, but nevertheless, the guslar will never be the central point of attention in a mixed company...» (Krauss 1908:179-180).*

Whereas Walther Wünsch would like to conceal the existence of Islamic heroic songs, Krauss lays special emphasis on this form of singing as it seems to him the most precious in a cultural and historical context. His opinion he justifies through history and proves it in his comments. He considers the Islamic epic songs to be remarkable in content as well as form, he terms them as masterpieces of narrative art, which, like Homer's epics, are part of world literature. (Krauss 1885:92-94).

The ideology behind Walther Wünsch's considering the existence of Islamic *guslarske* songs as only marginal is quite obvious. The National Socialists could clearly identify themselves with the Indo-Germanic Slavs; their liberation from a century-long foreign rule by the Turks made them congenial as fighters for freedom and folk tradition. I want to quote Walther Wünsch once more:

*»Despite the role of the Southern East as mediator, brought about by its natural geographical position, a type of people has been preserved here, belligerent and sticking to tradition, who has, by act of providence, recognised the danger underlying this uniting bridge between peoples and who has then led a heroic fight for hedonism in the seclusion of the Balkan mountains. Out of this people grew the unrestrained strength and power of the leaders and liberators of the Southern Slavs, who have fought over centuries a hard struggle against foreign dominance and who have again and again led their people back to their particular folklore and tradition, their individual language, their folk songs« (Wünsch 1940:209).*

This embarrassing restriction of the ethnological point of view contradicts not only Friedrich S. Krauss but also the beginnings of German and Austrian ethnology as recently stated by the Tübingen ethnologist Bernd Jürgen Warneken (Warneken 1999). When ethnology developed, it wanted to »comprise and unite peoples« of the most confirmed supporters of this internationalistic ethnology at the turn of the century, he explicitly opposed anti-racial and anti-nationalist positions (Warneken 1999). In 1895 he quitted the journal *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* because of a dispute. He was convinced that German folk associations had not »understood the amount and breadth and depth of their commitment and obligation towards all people in Central Europe, without distinguishing by virtue of confession and linguistic affiliation« (Warneken 1999).

With my contribution I do not want simply to rehabilitate a Jewish scientist who has also fallen into oblivion because his field of research did not belong to us anymore after the First World War. What is more important: I want to point out the preparatory work necessary for research on the music of minorities. Krauss had many enemies and opponents because his work was a decidedly interdisciplinary one, because he explicitly did not care for national or religious prejudices, because he was especially interested in those suppressed, and because he spoke openly about the socio-political relevance of his research. Thus one of his quotations is:

*»The fundament root of our public disorder, we palliate it, economy and state, rests on mutual betrayal, on fraud and falsehood and the violation of the weak, that is, children and women. It is necessary to reveal the origin of power and violence and make the people understand that they need not let themselves be kept in tutelage and servitude by fools and scoundrels« (Burt 1990:89).*

Times have changed. The difficulties Krauss had to deal with, he would

not be confronted with today (though one should be careful on this point!). Austria does not have any foreign-language crown provinces (and also no crown!), and also its civil servants are not bilingual anymore. The kind of internationalistic ethnology Krauss had been working in and for, showed a clear disadvantage: a comparison was often drawn across tremendous expanses and throughout history, regardless of the individual context, which sometimes led to speculative errors and mistakes. And so it is definitely better when ethnological research is done in one's own country where the individual context is more obvious to the researcher, and when the comparison is successfully drawn in international groups, like this one here. The inestimable advantage of Krauss' point of view lies in his curiosity and his readiness to get involved with something foreign without any prejudices. And it was the foreign in his own country and under the premise to contribute with his research work to the well-being of those affected, and to help improve the situation for those suppressed. The research on minorities of today can pick up this thread, according to the maxim: do research in your own country, attend international conferences and read Friedrich Salomo Krauss.

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## FRIEDRICH SALOMO KRAUSS (1859-1938) – AVSTRIJSKI RAZISKOVALEC LJUDSKE GLASBE Z MULTIKULTURNIMI VIZIJAMI

### Povzetek

Dunajski slavist Friedrich Salomo Krauss sodi med prve raziskovalce nemške folklore. Izhaja iz judovske nemško govoreče družine, ki je živela v slavonskem kmečkem okolju. Krauss je zagovarjal kozmopolitski pogled na folklorne raziskave in zavračal »nacionalistične« težnje. V času svoje pešpoti po Bosni in Hercegovini v letih 1884 in 1885 je zbral številne pesmi ob spremljavi gusel in jih objavil v nemških revijah.

Avstrijsko raziskovanje ljudske glasbe ni sprejelo njegove usmeritve, deloma tudi zaradi razpada avstroogrškega cesarstva, raziskovanje glasbe manjšin v današnjem času pa poudarja prav multikulturni pogled.

Ta prispevek razpravlja o relevantnosti Kraussove usmeritve v luči sodobnih raziskav.

# THE *PHONOGRAMMARCHIV*'S HISTORICAL RECORDINGS: SOURCES FOR MUSIC OF MINORITIES?

Gerda LECHLEITNER

Just over a hundred years ago, in 1899, the world's first sound archive, the *Phonogrammarchiv* of the *Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, was established. This was based on the realisation that only sound recordings, allowing repeatable and controlled evaluation of acoustical phenomena, could provide the necessary basis for a wide range of disciplines. Accordingly, Austria's research sound archive today aims to produce, collect, accession, preserve, and make accessible sound recordings as acoustical sources for all concerned disciplines, without regional restrictions. The *Phonogrammarchiv* focuses on sound documents originated in the course of scholarly research under controlled and documented conditions. At present our institution is engaged in a huge project involving the publication of the complete historical collections 1899-1950 – including those by Pöch, Trebitsch, and Idelsohn, which are well known. And it was while editing the manuscripts for this project that I became so familiar with these historical recordings that I felt able to take up the suggestion to look at them from a minority point of view – something that, as far as I know, has never been done before. This paper will be a first attempt for scholars to build on.

In his motion for the establishment of the *Phonogrammarchiv*, Sigmund Exner (1846-1926), its founder and first director, a world-famous physiologist, explained in great detail what should be recorded and collected. He distinguished between three tasks: 1) languages, 2) music, and 3) voice portraits.

Concerning languages Exner wrote that all European languages typically spoken at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century as well as all different dialects in Europe should be recorded. The next step in his programme was to record languages all over the world. To reach that goal Exner recommended cooperation with related academies and similar institutions. The idea was to start with comparative language studies, to research different dialects and even to study the production of sound (Exner 1900:1–2).

Music was one of the major subjects to be recorded. Although Exner regretted the impossibility of recording, for instance, Beethoven playing his music, he pointed out that especially the musical presentations of „savage« peoples would be extremely interesting. Such recordings would represent the very beginnings of comparative musicology (Exner 1900:2–3).

Language and music recordings have been the main topics up to the present day. On closer examination it will be realised that linguistic and music recordings often go together, although the *Phonogrammarchiv* in Vienna has placed much more emphasis on languages than the *Phonogrammarchiv* in Berlin with its strong focus on music recordings.

Minority problems are always closely linked to historical changes. The fields of ethnology and linguistics concentrated on everything that was new, extraordinary or useful for investigations in order to find out differences and similarities, evolutions or changes. Early researchers were mainly worried that different peoples, their culture, their languages, dialects or musical styles were about to die out – from today’s point of view you would speak of urgent anthropology. But cultural human expressions are always in a state of flux unless, of course, special conditions obtain (such as isolation, persecution etc.) – in which case very old and autochthonous cultures will be preserved.

After centuries of collecting, recording and documenting it is now possible to get a deeper knowledge of different cultures. Historical recordings, up to 100 years old, have to be seen from a historical point of view and in respect of the history of science. Even today, it is still the very old and original that arouses the attention of explorers. The term »minorities«, by the way, was not normally used in the time of early field recording. In the following, a short overview of what was recorded and later collected in the *Phonogrammarchiv* between 1901 and 1913 will be presented.

Apart from one single recording dating from 1899 continuous recording activity started in 1901. Recordings from this year reflect the various tasks addressed in the motion for establishing a sound archive, and illustrate the far-sighted, open-minded, and future-oriented setting of objectives by its founder members. Three expeditions, namely to Croatia, Brazil and the Isle of Lesbos, contributed recordings of different languages and songs, while other recordings were done in the studio, such as those of two very different German dialects, recordings of Romanian, Walloon, and Japanese, as well as voice portraits of one famous actor and two writers.

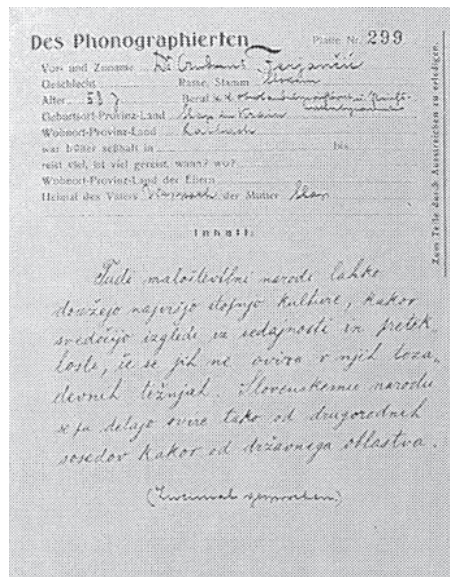
The following years saw the beginnings of numerous expeditions to almost all parts of the world. We can work from the assumption that every researcher wanted to record something special and completely or

virtually unknown, something that seemed very strange and far removed from his own tradition. The list of expeditions throughout Europe and the world is remarkable: 1904 to India and Papua New Guinea, 1908 to Caucasia (which was of great importance in connection with the origin of Indo-European languages), to Morocco (where especially the Berber, representing a cultural minority among the Arab population, were of main interest), to South Africa and the Kalahari, 1909 to Mongolia and China and in 1913 again to North Africa. Between 1911 and 1913, Abraham Zwi Idelsohn recorded in Jerusalem in order to document different Hebrew dialects and singing traditions. Within Europe, field research was done especially in the Balkans on topics such as singing by so-called »Skopzen« (a tradition that was threatened by extinction), Judaeo-Spanish (in Sarajewo), Italian (in Istria) or epic songs (in Bosnia). Other researches were done in Greenland, in Celtic-speaking regions such as Ireland or Brittany, and in the Basque region of France and Spain. Most of the enterprises were motivated by linguistic interests, although music recordings – not only songs but even instrumental examples – can also be found within such collections.

A few examples will serve to illustrate which recordings might be relevant as historical sources for our purpose.

There is one recording which of course is not an example of minorities – it is a voice portrait. The member of the Austro-Hungarian parliament, Andreas Ferjančič, points out in Slovenian that even small nations can reach the highest cultural level as long as they are not prevented from doing so. He then gives an example of political tension caused by the existence of different nations in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. True, these sentences must be seen against their historical and political background and cannot be regarded as a clear statement concerning minorities – but to some extent they do address the problem (*Tondokumente* 1999b:50, Stimmporträt Andreas Ferjančič Ph 299, OEAW PHA CD 8/1:15).

In 1901, the first expeditions began. Milan von Rešetar travelled to Croatia to explore



Picture 1: *Protokoll* Ph 299



the isoglosses between the main dialects of what he called the Serbo-Croatian language. One of his few recordings should be mentioned. Rešetar said that he always tried to find people who would tell him popular stories, but he only found two women who knew such stories. But there was a Rom, who, after Rešetar had assured him that he was no official, told him hours and hours of stories in bad Serbo-Croatian. Finally, Rešetar recorded one of these stories when he was speaking in Romani. Rešetar supposed that this recording could be of some interest in Vienna. And indeed: this recording might represent the oldest known sound document of the Roma language (*Tondokumente* 1999a:18-19, Folk tale in Romani Ph 205-206, OEAW PHA CD 7:2).

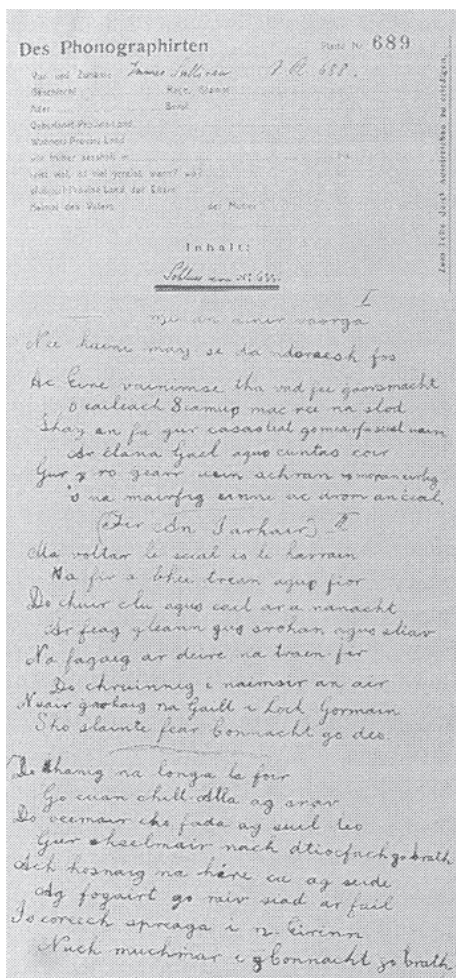
Though a doctor by profession, R. Trebitsch was more interested in anthropology and linguistics and left several reports concerning his field research (Trebitsch 1906, 1908a, 1908b, 1909, 1914). His attitude is neatly summed up in a letter from 1973 written by Hans Pollak (Pollak 1973) reminiscing about his days as assistant in the early years of the *Phonogrammarchiv*. He characterized Trebitsch as one who asked: Where should I go to find something that is just about to die out? Anyway, Trebitsch made a lot of recordings between 1906 and 1909 and again in 1913. In 1906, he travelled to Greenland to record the native Inuit, while during 1907 and 1909 he was interested in Celtic languages and recorded in Ireland, Scotland, Wales, on the Isle of Man, and in Brittany. In 1913 he turned to the Basque people living in France and Spain. His detailed reports always start with explaining his special interest in the various topics. He would then present a recent population census to show that the number of people he was interested in was very small and that therefore their language and cultural heritage would die out very soon. If possible he referred to former recordings, even if most of them had not been made for scientific purposes. Then he described geographical peculiarities and his travel routes. He reported on the support of specialists both at home and abroad, the advice he had been given and so on. Finally he gave a description of the recordings. As for his researches in Ireland, Trebitsch mentioned the support of Wilhelm Meyer-Lübke, Rudolf Much and Hugo Schuchardt – all of them linguists – as well as the information given to him by the president of the Gaelic league and the inspector of Welsh education: he was instructed not to record so-called »Irish scholars« – people who had learned Irish thanks to the activities of the Gaelic league (Trebitsch 1908a:2). There is a recording of one Irish song the contents of which are related to minority problems. James Sullivan is singing in the dialect of Leinster about historical fights against the English; the prophecy that the spirit of freedom will never be suppressed in Connaught

marks the end. As Trebitsch explained, according to Father Murphy, it was in Connaught – especially the district of Connemara – where the Irish rebellion against the English took place (Trebitsch 1908a:7).

1909 saw two expeditions to Mongolia. Father van Oost recorded Chinese music in the south of Mongolia (Van Oost 1912). Ramstedt, a Finnish scientist and the founder of modern Altaic language research including Mongolian, worked in Urga in the north of Mongolia. He recorded mostly Mongolian music sung in Khalka (Xalxa), a Mongolian dialect which is the basis of the Mongolian standard language, but also some Chinese songs (Graf 1974:61). Tribal rivalry was the reason why this people could not achieve stability under their own sovereign. As early as the 18<sup>th</sup> century the Chinese began to settle in Mongolia and soon played an important role as traders. So

the Chinese influence was very strong and even in autonomous territories Chinese is the language for administration, trade, political affairs and so on. Whether the Chinese are the minority in the Mongolian region or whether the Mongolians are the cultural minority really depends on one's point of view. An example might illustrate this fact: on the same day, 29<sup>th</sup> November 1909, Ramstedt recorded in Urga songs in both Mongolian (Ph 1290) and Chinese (Ph 1306).

One short digression concerning the recordings by Mathias Murko: In 1912-13 Murko tried to record the old tradition of epic songs mainly current in Bosnia. What struck me when reading his reports (Murko 1913, 1915)



Picture 2 : Protokoll Ph 689 (CD-4).

CD-4

was this: while he was interested in one special genre as sung mostly by professional Moslem singers, he specifically adds the ethnic background of the performers recorded, including Gypsies, who were Moslems and professional singers too, Catholic Croats, and Orthodox Serbs singing in this old tradition. Therefore, to answer the question if historical recordings might be sources for minority studies in the broadest sense: it depends very much on one's point of view whether one considers either the Gypsies or the Catholic Croats or the Orthodox Serbs as minorities in this multicultural region of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The recordings housed in the *Phonogrammarchiv* were not only made during field research but also in the studio. These recordings can often serve as supplementary evidence, as long as one bears in mind the different recording conditions. The example I would like to present at the end is one which might be seen as a supplement to the huge Idelsohn collection. In 1913 Hans Pollak recorded Jakob Bauer, born in Szenitz, Hungary, *Oberkantor* of the Turkish community in Vienna. Very soon after their expulsion from Spain in 1492 Sephardic Jews can also be found in Vienna. Due to their outstanding commercial position, they had more privileges than the Ashkenazim. In 1887, the solemn consecration of the Turkish temple in Zirkusgasse took place. Built in the Moorish style, this ornate temple testified to the origin and wealth of the Sephardim, who saw themselves as the Jewish elite. Jakob Bauer was accompanied on the organ by Josef Sulzer, son of the famous cantor Salomon Sulzer (Burstyn:42–43). The Sephardim were a minority within the Jewish community in Vienna: in the 18<sup>th</sup> century the ratio of Ashkenazim to Sephardim was 10 to 1; in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, 150 to 1 (Burstyn:59). The recording of Ph 1752, done in the studio of the *Phonogrammarchiv*, contains the introductory hymn to Friday evening's service. As noted in the Protocol, this original Sephardic melody was performed in the Turkish temple. **(CD-5)**

**CD-5**

Within the context of cultural sciences, sound documents assume a role which might offer some new aspects in current research. The present considerations concerning the research of »music and minorities« will have shown the importance of historical recordings. It is hoped that this paper will stimulate ideas for future research in the *Phonogrammarchiv*.

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## ZGODOVINSKI POSNETKI V PHONOGRAMMARCHIVU. VIRI GLASBE MANJŠIN ?

Povzetek

Phonogrammarchiv Avstrijske Akademije znanosti na Dunaju je bil ustanovljen leta 1899 kot prvi zvočni arhiv na svetu. Ta prispevek jemlje ustanovitev Phonogrammarchiva kot izhodišče za obravnavo zgodnjih poročil o terenskih raziskovanjih.

Problemi manjšin so vedno neposredno povezani z zgodovinskimi spremembami. Etnologi in jezikoslovci so se posvečali vsemu, kar je novo, posebno in uporabno za raziskovanje, z namenom, da bi ugotovili razločke in podobnosti, razvoj ali spremembe.

Zgodnje raziskovalce je najbolj skrbelo, da posamezna ljudstva, njihove kulture, njihovi jeziki, narečja in glasbeni stili izginjajo. Zgodovinske posnetke so obravnavali z zgodovinskega zornega kota s spoštovanjem do zgodovine znanosti. V času nastanka zgodnjih posnetkov besede »manjšine« niso uporabljali.

Za določanje relevantnosti zgodovinskih virov v okviru manjšinskih raziskav naj bi zadoščalo nekaj posnetkov. Ti posnetki (romščina na Hrvaškem, keltski jeziki na Irskem, kitajske in mongolske pesmi in sefardska melodija) so nastali tako v studiu kot na terenu, v Evropi in zunaj nje in vključujejo jezik in glasbo.



# SOUND DOCUMENTS OF ROM MUSIC IN THE VIENNA PHONOGRAMMARCHIV: RESEARCHERS AND THEIR »OBJECTS«

*Christiane FENNESZ-JUHASZ*

The audio documentation of Rom cultures in the Vienna Phonogrammarchiv (PhA) is one of the largest of its kind worldwide. Our archive keeps thousands of field recordings, covering oral traditions, different varieties of the Romani language and music of various European Rom groups. Until now some 800 hours of recordings have been archived.<sup>1</sup> They are physically preserved on archive tapes, their contents have been made accessible and are documented in a computer database. About 60 per cent of these materials are concerned with music, i.e. mainly music which the different Rom groups regard as specific to themselves.

The present survey focuses on the researchers and how they approached the Rom people, on their motivations for recording audio material, and how the researchers' specific interests are reflected in the collected material.

## *Three periods of collecting field recordings*

Due to specific research strategies and to the materials recorded, the Rom music collections in our archive can be divided into three groups. These groups roughly correspond to three chronological periods (see **table A**, p 174):

The 1<sup>st</sup> group embraces the early recordings of Rom music collected by Austrian researchers. This period of »*fieldwork by chance*« began in 1912 and lasted until the mid-1950s.

The 2<sup>nd</sup> group comprises three large collections, which came into

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<sup>1</sup> The actual total of recordings amounts to ca. 1000 hours: holdings not archived yet include field recordings of the last decade (e.g. by M. Heinschink, myself, and from a research project on the Romani variety of the Austrian Lovara, cf. <http://www-gewi.kfunigraz/romani/>).



existence without any contact or collaboration between the researchers and our archive and – for the most part – without any institutional support. This period of »*extensive private fieldwork*« stretches over several decades, from the mid-1950s to the 1990s.

The 3<sup>rd</sup> period of collecting Rom music recordings, which can be entitled the »*period of institutionalized ethnomusicological fieldwork*«, started in January 1990 with an official research project carried out by Ursula Hemetek of the Institute of Folk Music Research of the University of Music and Performing Arts in Vienna (in collaboration with the Phonogrammarchiv).<sup>2</sup>

### *The 1<sup>st</sup> Period: »Fieldwork by Chance«*

The early audio documents – which were recorded among different Rom groups not only in Austria – can be labelled occasional recordings.<sup>3</sup> They are very few in number, their total length amounting to only about one hour. The contact between Rom people and the collectors was in almost all cases a singular event. All of these researchers were academically trained, but none of them was a musicologist, and only one specialized in Rom culture (W. Dostal, see below). With one exception the collectors had not planned to record »Rom music« when going into the field. For example, the Austrian dialectologist Maria Hornung, later professor at the Department of Germanic Philology of the University of Vienna, made the first audio recordings featuring the Burgenland Roma during her field research on German dialects in South Burgenland in September 1952. She recorded two songs (in Romani and in Hungarian), sung by a 46-year-old woman born in Zahling.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Most, though not all, of Ursula Hemetek's recordings are preserved in our archive. In this context I would like to mention an early success of her research work, the »discovery« of the *Heinschink Collection*. We owe it to her initiative that in July 1990 the Phonogrammarchiv started a project of preserving and documenting these recordings. This project, sponsored by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF), lasted for five years.

<sup>3</sup> Already the very first recording of a Rom preserved in the Phonogrammarchiv came about by accident: During his field research on Croatian dialects, the Slavonic philologist Milan von Rešetar recorded a folk tale in Romani on May 30, 1901 in Bjelovar (Croatia). His informant was a Rom from Nova Plavnica. This recording has recently been published on CD (Schüller 1999; in the next few years all our historical collections will be published in a CD series of which this CD is a part).

<sup>4</sup> The transcription of the song in Romani has been published by Halwachs et al. (2000: 220f.).

During his field trips to Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1912 and 1913, Matthias Murko, at that time professor of Slavonic languages at the University of Graz, recorded excerpts of epic folk songs with the Viennese *Archiv-Phonograph*. Seven of his informants were gypsies, three of them professional musicians and/or singers.<sup>5</sup> Murko mentioned this fact in his field reports, but he did not regard the samples that he had collected as music typical of Roma (cf. Murko 1913, 1915).

Consequently, the first intentional recording of Rom music was made by Rudolf Pöch in the prisoner-of-war camp of Eger, Bohemia, in August 1915 in the course of a project carried out on behalf of the Austrian Academy of Sciences. Pöch, since 1913 professor of Anthropology and Ethnology at the University of Vienna, conducted »anthropological investigations« among soldiers of the Russian Army in POW camps of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (*»anthropologische Untersuchungen in den k. u. k. Kriegsgefangenenlagern«*; Pöch 1916:1). On this occasion he made cinematographic and phonographic recordings as well. With the *Archiv-Phonograph* he documented two young Muslim Roma from the Crimea, who sang a tune without words to accompany a third man's dancing<sup>6</sup>. In his protocol Pöch states that the dance was usually accompanied by a »*Tamburizza*«, but such a lute could not be found in the camp. The melody, based on a »major« scale and on an additive rhythmic structure, was partially performed as a two-part song. While repeating the stanzas the singers significantly accelerated the tempo.

<sup>5</sup> In 1912 Murko's Roma informants were a musician and worker from Otaka, district Bosnic-Krupa, (born in Prejidor), and a town-crier and knacker from Sanski Most (born in Varcar Vakuf). They performed a lyric-epic song (*ravna pjesma*) accompanied by the *saz* (i.e. six-string tambura), and an epic song sung with the one-string *gusle*. A music transcription of the latter was published by Walter Graf (1975:74). In 1913 Murko made recordings with Roma in Sarajevo (two epic songs with *gusle*; one Rom was a singer and *hamal*), and in Mostar (a lyric-epic song, another *ravna pjesma* and a *starinska*, an »old song«, accompanied by a violin, and an epic song with *gusle*; two of his three Roma informants there were musicians). All in all 56 *Phonogramme* of Murko's recordings (20 from 1912, and 36 from 1913) are preserved in the Phonogrammarchiv.

<sup>6</sup> Pöch also filmed the dance and singing (Gschwendtner 1991:111). This (silent) movie is currently stored in the *Österreichische Mediathek* (the former *Österreichische Phonothek*). Pöch's informants probably belonged to these Crimean Roma that are assumed to have immigrated from Bessarabia at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (after the Crimea had been annexed by Russia in 1783). According to Lev Tcherenkov, Moscow (pers. comm.), these *Krimlides* (or *Krimicka Roma*) lived closely together with the Crimean Tatars, therefore they adopted their Muslim religion, customs, and influences of their music. The main traditional occupation of the *Krimlides* was smithery. One of the singers on Pöch's recording was a blacksmith, the other a basket weaver.

Music example 1: *Daj dedede*<sup>7</sup>, Muslim Roma from Bahçesaray, Crimea, 1915<sup>8</sup>

In this period of *fieldwork by chance* we also find performances by professional Rom musicians, who earned their living playing for the *gadže* (i.e. non-Rom) population of their home regions. For this reason also Helga Thiel's interview with a 58-year-old accordion player in South Burgenland of 1973 fits into this group (cf. Thiel 1974). The accordionist played some folk dances (*Polkas, Steirische*) which before World War II the Rom musicians in Neustift an der Lafnitz used to perform during dance occasions, weddings etc., for the *gadže*. In June 1934 two professional musicians from Romania were recorded on gramophone discs in the studio of the Vienna Phonogrammarchiv. The recordings were made by Leo Hajek, the head of the archive, probably together with Constantin Brăiloiu, who visited the archive at that time and wrote the respective protocols (Luick 1936:187). The violin player was a Rom from Râmnicul Sărat, aged 53, the *cobza* was played by a young Romanian from Jitia. They performed six Romanian folk dances (*Lăzeasca, Ciuful, Brăul, Sârboaică, Jitianca, Dura*) and a ballad (»Song of Corbea«).

In 1954 Walter Dostal, today professor emeritus at the Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology (Ethnology) of the University of Vienna, carried out the first ethnological fieldwork among Austrian gypsies (Burgenland Roma, Sinti; cf. Dostal 1955). He collected four songs (with guitar-accompaniment) among the Sinti in Floridsdorf, in the outskirts of Vienna. These were a popular waltz song, an old Sinti-song (of which Mozes Heinschink recorded another variant in 1966 in Linz), and two songs that the informant presented as »beautiful Sinti songs«. Actually both songs were adopted from the musical tradition of another

<sup>7</sup> All music transcriptions are by C. Fennesz-Juhász, who, with the assistance of M. Heinschink, transcribed and translated also the song texts No. 2 and 4. Song text No. 3 was transcribed by M. Hübschmannová.

<sup>8</sup> rec. By Rudolf Pöch in Eger, Bohemia (PhA Ph 2607)

<sup>9</sup> rec. by Walter Dostal (PhA S 124)

Rom group, namely the *Lovara*. The informant sang a slow song (*Ande Pešta gelem ...*), and the equally popular dance song *Lampaši*. In music example 2a-b (CD-6) **oznaka na rob** his interpretation of this song is contrasted with that of a Lovari (recorded by M. Heinschink in Vienna in 1967). As can be seen from the song lyrics, the Sinto singer had some difficulties understanding the Lovara Romani, therefore he changed the words a little.

♩ = 86, accel. Dm Gm ♩ = 110 Dm

Ahaj Šajjo so kerdan, so kerdan? Ćire romna veštindan, vestin-dan.

Ahaj Šajjo so kerdan, so kerdan? Ćire romna veštindan, vestin-dan.

Music example 2a: *Lampaši* CD-6 Sinti from Vienna, 1954<sup>9</sup>

CD-6

– [Givau] e šukar Sintengi gili –

[I sing] a nice Sinti song –

Ahaj Šajjo so kerdan, so kerdan?  
 Ćire romna veštindan, veštindan<sup>10</sup>.  
 Ahaj Šajjo so kerdan, so kerdan  
 Ćire romna veštindan, veštindan.

Ahaj Šajjo what have you done?  
 You took your wife away.  
 Ahaj Šajjo what have you done?  
 You took your wife away.

//: Ginav lake lolo gad, lolo gad,  
 te kamel ma soro rat, soro rat.  
 Ahaj lampaši, lampaši<sup>11</sup>,  
 Ćiri romni kurvaši, kurvaši<sup>12</sup>. ://

//: I buy a red shirt for her,  
 so that she'll love me the whole night.  
 Ahaj Lampaši, Lampaši  
 your wife [is] a whore [?]. ://

Ahaj Požom so kerdan, so kerdan?  
 Ćire romna veštindan, veštindan.  
 Ahaj Požom so kerdan, so kerdan?  
 Ćire romna veštindan, veštindan.

Ahaj Požom what have you done?  
 You took your wife away.  
 Ahaj Požom what have you done?  
 You took your wife away.

Ginav lake lolo gad lolo gad,  
 Te kamel ma soro rat, soro rat.  
 Ahaj lampaši, lampaši,  
 Ćire romna veštindan, veštindan. –

I buy a red shirt for her, so that she'll  
 love me the whole night.  
 Ahaj Lampaši, Lampaši  
 You took your wife away.

<sup>10</sup> cf. Lovara Romani *vezetindan* (»you led«).

<sup>11</sup> *lampaši*: »lamp« in Lovara Romani.

♩=150 ♩ etc.

1) Jaj de, kaj o šavo phabolo lampa-ši, kaj e šej-i o baro kurva-ši.  
Kindem lake lo-lo gad, lolo gad, te phirel de soro rat, soro rat.

2) Alom, dalom da de rem ...

3) t. p.

CD-6

Music example 2b: *Lampaši* (dance song) CD-6 Lovara from Pápa, Hungary, 1967<sup>13</sup>

*Jaj de kaj o šavo phabolo lampaši,*    *At the lad's the lamp is burning,*  
*Kaj e šej-i o baro kurvaši.*            *with the girl is a great lady-killer.*  
*Kindem lake lolo gad, lolo gad,*        *I have bought her a red shirt,*  
*Te phirel de soro rat, soro rat.*        *so that she'll walk around the whole night.*

*Alom dalom da re ....*                    (syllables)

*The 2<sup>nd</sup> Period: »Extensive Fieldwork over Decades«*

The 2<sup>nd</sup> group of the Rom music recordings in the Phonogrammarchiv includes the private collections of the Czech folklorist Eva Davidová (born in 1933), the Austrian independent scholar Mozes Heinschink (born in 1939), the Czech indologist Milena Hübschmannová (born in 1933). Due to their interest in cultural and linguistic issues, Mozes Heinschink and Milena Hübschmannová made not only recordings of music but also of oral traditions. The latter are mainly tales and other narratives, autobiographical reports, and interviews about traditional occupations, religious beliefs, rituals and customs, and everyday life in general.

<sup>12</sup> *kurvaši*: »lady-killer« in Lovara Romani; cf. Romani *kurva* (»whore«).

<sup>13</sup> *rec. by Mozes Heinschink in Vienna* (PhA B 35830)

<sup>14</sup> In 1969 she recorded members of groups belonging to the castes of the *Gaduliya*

At present, the Heinschink Collection, which came into existence between 1960 and 1995, embraces audio recordings of a total length of 620 hours. Ca. 50% of the collection are music samples of various Rom groups (*Lovara, Kalderaš, Gurbet, Džambas, Arlije, Xoraxane, Arabadžides, Sepečides, Sinti, Kale, Bergitka Roma, Resande* and others). The recordings have been collected in several countries, mainly in Central and Southeast Europe, but also in Turkey, and to a smaller extent in Eastern and – in the 1990s – in Northern Europe (see **table B**, p.175). Eva Davidová and Milena Hübschmannová carried out fieldwork mainly in the Czech Republic and in Slovakia amongst several subgroups of the *Servika Roma* (so called »Sedentary Slovak Roma«), and to a smaller extent among other groups like the *Lovara* and other Vlach Roma, »Hungarian« Roma (*Ungrika Roma*), and Moravian Roma (see **table B**, p. 175). In addition, Milena Hübschmannová went on field trips abroad, e.g. to Bulgaria, Turkey, Greece, and to India<sup>14</sup>. The Davidová Collection, recorded between 1956 and 1997, comprises 40 hours of Rom music samples. The Hübschmannová Collection (1967-1990), which is currently being archived, embraces ca. 150 hours of recordings, about half of it music samples.

In this short survey, the research motivations of the three collectors of the 2<sup>nd</sup> period can only briefly be summarized: Their approach to the Rom culture has not only been guided by a certain interest in a foreign people whose cultural strategies and conditions differed fundamentally from their own. In all three cases, the very first encounters with Roma took place accidentally, when the collectors were still of very young age (that is between 19 and 21). These first contacts in the mid-to-late 1950s sufficed to impress them in such a way that they led to a continuous and lifelong interest in and solidarity with the Rom people.<sup>15</sup> All three of them repeatedly lived within Rom communities for longer periods.<sup>16</sup> Speaking the Romani language

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*Lohar, Dom Mirasi* and others. These groups can be compared to the European Roma w.r.t. their traditional occupations and cultural characteristics.

<sup>15</sup> Today these three personages are internationally accepted experts on Romani culture and language. Since the beginning of the 1990s they have helped to establish *Romistics* within the academic sphere in their home countries. Milena Hübschmannová is teaching at the Department of Indology of the Charles University in Prague, Eva Davidová is teaching at the University of Olomouc. In the last decade Mozes Heinschink was involved in several Austrian research projects on Romani music, literature and language, and is presently lecturing on Romani at the University of Innsbruck. Nevertheless, all three still emphasize the »human interest« as their main motivation for working with Roma. Consequently they have been involved also in cultural and social activities of the political Roma movement.

<sup>16</sup> Mostly they carried out research work besides their occupations or jobs which they held in order to earn their living.

and abiding by the cultural rules, they have come to feel accepted by their so-called »informants« as friends or even as members of the community. »I myself assimilated into the Roma«, Milena Hübschmannová puts it in a nutshell. In many instances these three researchers have been the very first to record audio documents among the Rom groups they stayed with or visited during shorter field trips.

Their collections demonstrate a great diversity of styles and genres of what we call Rom music. The smallest part of these materials consists of performances by (semi-) professional musicians who usually play for the *gadže*-population of their home regions; another small part includes folk music presentations on stage. Traditional purely instrumental music has been recorded occasionally as well. The main part of these collections documents the vocal genres sung in Romani – eventually with instrumental accompaniment – that represent the specific identities of the various Rom groups. Here we find a great number of traditional songs passed on within the families, but also popular songs adopted from famous Rom singers (from cassettes, radio etc.), and newly created contemporary song genres.

The collections include, of course, occasional recordings and also larger series resulting from a single field trip. But mostly they comprise extensive documentations of the repertoire of several groups (especially from Slovakia, the Balkans, Turkey, and Austria) who have been recorded over longer periods, sometimes over decades. In addition, those personages who were accepted as good singers within their community have been recorded several times and/or over longer periods. One of these performers was Marynda Kešelová, a friend and favourite informant of Milena Hübschmannová's, and as a singer renowned among her own people. Born in 1933 in Michalovce, East Slovakia, she moved after World War II to Litomeřice (North Bohemia) where she lived until her death in 1990. Music example 3 (CD-7) represents a slow song of hers in the tradition of her Rom group, the *Servika* (Slovak Roma). Characteristically, the singer improvised verses, reflecting her own miserable life.

## CD-7

120, rubato

Hej de, Rom Romendar phirav, kotor maro mangav:

Hej de, aven ajse lačhe, den man kotor ma- a-ro.

Music example 3: *Rom Romendar phirav...* (slow song) CD-7, Slovak Roma (*Servika*) from Litomeřice, 1971<sup>17</sup>

<i>Hej de Rom Romendar phirav, Kotor maro mangav: Hej de aven ajse lačhe, Den man kotor maro.</i>	<i>I wander from one Rom to the other to beg for a piece of bread: Be so kind, give me a piece of bread.</i>
<i>Ej de marel o Del, marel, a man o Del mardja. Hej de a man o Del mardja Le bute čhavenca.</i>	<i>God punishes, he punished me. God punished me by giving me many children.<sup>18</sup></i>
<i>Ej de Romale, čhavale, Koj čoreske na sas – Hej de a me bari čori, Čoreske me pačav.</i>	<i>Roma, friends, the one who has never been poor<sup>—19</sup> I'm very poor, so I understand a poor one.</i>
<i>Ej de marel o Del marel Kas dajori nane. Ej de a man imar nane, Ta man imar mardja.</i>	<i>God punishes the one who has no mother: And I don't have a mother, that was my punishment.</i>
<i>Ej de čhavale, Romale, Bo tumenge mištes, Hej de mange na mišto Bo me jekhčoreder.</i>	<i>Friends, Roma, you feel fine, and I am not well because I am the poorest.</i>
<i>Ej de bari čori esom, Dajori man nane, Hej de nji daj nji dadoro, Nji phral de nji phenjori.</i>	<i>I am very poor, I don't have a mother, neither mother nor father, no brother, no sister.</i>
<i>Ej de ačhen de Devleha Bo me džav dromeha, Hej de bo me džav dromeha Prošto pro cinteris.</i>	<i>Stay with God, I will go on the journey [I will die], I will go on the journey directly to the cemetery.</i>
<i>Ej de prošto pro cinteris Le bute Romanca, Ej de mek oda na phendjom Ačh dale Devleha.</i>	<i>Directly to the cemetery, with many Roma, but I didn't manage to say good-bye to you.</i>

<sup>17</sup> Rec. by Milena Hübschmannová (MHü. OB 4/I.11)



## CD-8

The majority of the audio documents of the 2<sup>nd</sup> period came into existence in exploratory situations; however, Mozes Heinschink and Eva Davidová in particular recorded live events as well, for example weddings, informal family gatherings, Christmas parties, baptismal celebrations, religious ceremonies, courtship customs etc. In order to save expensive tape material they documented in most cases only parts of these events, usually those, which included music and singing. Our music example 4 (CD-8) was performed during a *trito rat* or *babina* of the *Arlije* in the Rom settlement of Šutka (Šuto Orizari) in Skopje, Macedonia, in 1968.<sup>20</sup> During this celebration on the third night after the birth of a child, in which the family and neighbours take part, the baby is given a name. All the men are sitting in a circle and, so do the women. The child is passed from one to the other, and everybody puts some money under the baby's pillow. In the course of the celebration the members of the family and the guests perform songs and ballads. At the beginning of this take the host explains the reason for the gathering and, starting with the oldest man, introduces the guests one by one. He completes his speech with greetings to all potential listeners of this tape. The oldest man (Alija,

♩=100

4/4

48 1) [of lele] lele- so čerdžo — m, of lele lele so čerdžom?

48 Trine čhaven mu-dardžo-m, trine čhaven mudardžom.

48 2) O kakava umlavdo —, maso-re-sa- šhingerdo,

48 lono-re-sa londjardo, der-der — še-ba-der. t.f.

Music example 4: *Of lele so čerdžom* ... CD-8, *Arlije* from Šutka in Skopje, 1968<sup>21</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Another possible translation: »and my numerous children«.

<sup>19</sup> First part of a common saying, the end of which is left out: ... *čoreske na pačal* («... doesn't believe the poor«, in the sense of »... doesn't know what it means to be poor«).

<sup>20</sup> Romani *e trito rat*: »the third night«, loan translation from Macedonian. As for the other term for the naming celebration, Romani *e babina* (fem., singular) cf. Serbian, Macedonian *babine* resp. *babinje* (fem., plural), a term for »lying-in after childbirth« or »gifts presented to a mother during her confinement«.

<sup>21</sup> Rec. By Mozes Heinschink at a »Third Night« celebration (PhA B 36784)

*Of lele lele so čerdžom,  
Of lele lele so čerdžom?  
Trine čhaven mudardžom,  
Trine čhaven mudardžom.*

*Oh what have  
I done, what have I done?  
I have killed three children,  
I have killed three children.*

*O kakava umlavdo,  
Masoresa čhingerdo,  
Lonoresa londjardo,  
Der der šebader.*

*The kettle was hung up,  
full of sliced meat,  
pickled with salt,  
der der šebader.*

*Okje kotar o khoraxaj,  
Okje kotar o khoraxaj:  
Abre Demo, bre Demo,  
Dali dikhlanta e Granja?*

*There comes the  
Turk, there comes the  
Turk: Hej Demir;  
Demir, have you seen Granja?*

*Haj e khoraxaja na dikhlom.  
Upro late uklindžom,  
Upro late uklindžom,  
Patlidžanja<sup>22</sup> ćedindjom.*

*I have not seen those Turks.  
I have mounted her,  
I have mounted her,  
I picked tomatoes.*

*O bičo si rupovo<sup>23</sup>  
Der der šebader.*

*The whip is of silver  
der der šebader.*

aged 83) is the first to sing. He performs an old song. The four-line tune, sung in duple-time and characteristically ornamented with fast melismas, auxiliary and passing notes and vibrati, is varied in the following stanzas. About the meaning of the words everyone may have one's own thoughts ...

*The 3<sup>rd</sup> Period:  
»Institutionalized Ethnomusicological Fieldwork«*

In the course of her research project on »Rom music in Austria« conducted during the earlier half of the 1990s the Viennese musicologist Ursula Hemetek carried out fieldwork among so-called autochthonous Austrian Rom groups such as the *Lovara* and Burgenland Roma, as well as among Roma who had come to Austria as migrant workers after the mid-1960s.

<sup>22</sup> From Turkish *patlıcan* (»aubergine«), in the *Arlje* Romani dialect of Skopje: »tomato«.

<sup>23</sup> Lyric phrase inserted from another song.

The latter were mainly members of Rom groups from Serbia (e.g. *Kalderaš*, *Gurbet*) and *Sremske Roma* from the Vojvodina.

Out of the 125 hours of Ursula Hemetek's collection in the Phonogrammarchiv (recorded 1989-1995) ca. 85% are concerned with music. She recorded traditional and contemporary popular Rom music in interviews and in natural settings; thus she documented weddings and other celebrations, informal family gatherings, but also events of Rom organisations like balls or concerts. As Ursula Hemetek herself pointed out in some publications and reports (e.g. Hemetek 1996), her approach is that of applied research. Since she holds that ethnomusicological research should not be separated from the overall socio-political situation, she actively participated in the political movement of the Austrian Roma. Therefore, one focal point of her project was to promote Rom music and culture to the general public. Starting in 1990, Ursula Hemetek organized several concerts and large-scale cultural presentations with (mainly professional) Rom musicians from Austria and abroad (Hungary, Slovakia, Romania, Ukraine, Russia, Macedonia, Albania, Spain, Egypt, and India). The better part of her collection consists of audio documents of these events and the preceding rehearsals. The Hemetek collection differs from the other ones not only in the high percentage of live recordings. In contrast to the common recording practice of the two earlier periods of fieldwork usually complete sessions have been documented, featuring also exploratory and interview situations.

### *Conclusion*

The make-up of the Rom music collections stored in the Phonogrammarchiv reflects different research strategies and developments in fieldwork during the last 75 years. Additionally it indicates a change in the attitude of the research community and its institutions towards this minority.

Particularly regarding the early audio documents (recorded before 1955) the quantity and state of our sources may not only be characteristic of the Austrian situation, but are probably comparable to that of other European countries as well (one exception here is Hungary). The occasional recordings made during the *1<sup>st</sup> period of fieldwork* – single or few music samples per session – are (in most cases) the very first audio documents of the respective Rom groups. As reference sources for current studies, of course, such historical »snapshots« have to be evaluated within the particular music culture with respect to their relevance and representativeness (see ex. 2). However, taking into account that of some

(already historical) song traditions (e.g. those of the Burgenland Roma or the Austrian Sinti) altogether only few recordings exist, the importance of such samples should not be underestimated.

The largest part of the Phonogrammarchiv's Rom music holdings is the result of the private initiative of three committed researchers during the 2<sup>nd</sup> *period of fieldwork*. Due to the continuous and intensive fieldwork of M. Heinschink, E. Davidová and M. Hübschmannová their collections allow intimate insights into the (music) culture of various European Rom groups. They provide an extensive audio documentation of Rom music traditions (especially in Southeast Europe and Turkey) that have not or have hardly been investigated so far. On the other hand the collections include numerous comparative and reference samples regarding widely analysed genres (e.g. those of the Central European Vlach-Roma). To some extent even the recordings of our 2<sup>nd</sup> *period*, especially those collected before 1970, are already historical documents. A lot of them could not have been made today: in the last 30 years many European Rom groups have undergone significant cultural changes. The increasing presence of the mass media (e.g. radio, tv, video) has deeply affected – and sometimes even replaced – traditional music-making and singing. Further important factors are acculturation or assimilation to the majority's culture, which Rom groups are undergoing not only in Western Europe (e.g. the recent loss of the Romani language among the Turkish *Sepečides* Roma in Izmir and surroundings), as well as the change of repertoires and the creation of new genres by integrating elements of the international popular music. Some Rom groups also have had to face violent political changes; many Rom communities in Kosovo, for example, do not exist anymore.

During her research project<sup>24</sup>, which in 1990 initiated our 3<sup>rd</sup> *period of fieldwork*, Ursula Hemetek documented contemporary (popular) Rom music presented on stage (beside »internal« music events of the Austrian Roma). Therefore her collection reflects not only her cultural-political activities, but also some recent developments in Rom music cultures just mentioned.

The Phonogrammarchiv's collections thus document continuity and changes in various Rom music traditions. Due to their chronological and

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<sup>24</sup> Since the early 1990s other Austrian research projects on different aspects of Roma culture (language, literature) have also been carried out at academic institutions, supported by official research funds. The increasing scientific interest and engagement in this field overlaps with a politicization process among the Austrian Roma. They appeared as an ethnic group in public, founded organizations, and were officially recognized as the sixth minority in Austria in December 1993.

geographical spread as well as to their stylistic diversity they hold a great potential not only for scientific studies but as cultural heritage for the Rom minorities in Europe.

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Table A: Rom music collections in the Vienna Phonogramarchiv

Occasional recordings 1912-1954, 1973	Private collections since 1956	Research project since 1990
Professional Rom musicians		
Murko 1912/13: Muslim Roma (BIH) (partly professional musicians)		
Pösch 1915: Muslim Roma / Crimea		
Hajek 1934: Rom & Romanian (RO)		
Horrung 1952: Roma / Burgenland (A)		
Dostal 1954: Sinti / Vienna (A)		
	Davidová 1956 – 1997: 40 h	
	Heinschink 1960 – 1995: 620 h (50% music)	
	Hübschmannová 1967 – 1990 ca. 150 h (~ 50 % music)	
Thiel 1973: Roma / Burgenland (A) total ca. 1 h		
85% music)		Hemetek 1990-1995: 125 h (~

Table B: 2<sup>nd</sup> period – »decades of extensive private fieldwork«

<p><b>Turkey:</b>  <i>Sepeçides</i> (Izmir) +MHü  <i>Akharne</i> (Izmir)  <i>Parpulja</i> (Kýrkağaç)  <i>Bearleaders &amp; Laxos</i>  (Kýrkağaç)  <i>Laxoja</i> (Istanbul)  <i>Roma</i> (Balkan dialects)  +MHü  <i>Arlije</i> (from Prilep)  <i>Džambas</i></p> <p><b>Yugoslavia:</b>  <i>Arlije &amp; Xoraxane</i>  <i>Banatoske Roma</i> (Banat)  <i>Gurbet</i>  <i>Kalderaš</i>  <i>Konopljara</i>  <i>Lovara</i>  <i>Sremske Roma</i> (Vojvodina)  <i>Tamara</i> resp. <i>Leaša</i>  <i>Srpske Roma</i>  <i>Sinti</i>  <i>Bojaša</i></p> <p><b>Kosovo:</b>  <i>Arlije</i> (Priština, Prizren ...)  <i>Xoraxane</i>  <i>Gurbet</i>  <i>Konopljara</i>  <i>Čhibalane</i>  <i>Roma</i></p> <p><b>Macedonia:</b>  <i>Arlije &amp; Xoraxane</i> (Prilep, Skopje ...)  <i>Arabadžides &amp; Kovački</i>  <i>Roma</i>  <i>Čhibalane Roma</i>  <i>Džambas</i>  <i>Čergarija</i>  <i>Gurbet</i></p>	<p><b>Austria:</b>  <i>Lovara</i>  <i>Sinti</i>  <i>Roma</i> / Burgenland  <i>Kalderaš</i>  <i>Arlije</i>  <i>Sremske Roma</i></p> <p><b>Slovakia:</b>  <i>Lovara &amp; Vlach</i>+ED,+MHü  <i>Drzara &amp; Čurara</i> (W-SK)  <i>Servika</i> +MHü, +ED  <i>Ungrika Roma</i> ED, MHü  <i>Sinti</i></p> <p><b>Czech Republic:</b>  <i>Servika</i> +ED, +MHü  Vlach ED, MHü  Moravian Roma ED, MHü</p> <p><b>Hungary:</b>  <i>Lovara</i> +ED  <i>Poxtanara</i>  <i>Mašara</i>  <i>Cerhara</i> +MHü  <i>Beaš</i> ED  <i>Ungrika Roma</i>  <i>Sinti</i></p> <p><b>Poland:</b>  <i>Kalderaš</i>  <i>Lovara</i>  <i>Bergitka Roma</i> +MHü</p> <p><b>Romania:</b>  <i>Džambas</i> (Banat)  <i>Kalderaš</i> (Transylvania)  +MHü  <i>Vlach-Roma</i> (Transylvania)  <i>Lovara</i> (Banat)</p> <p><b>Greece:</b>  <i>Džambas &amp; Vlach Roma</i>  (Thessaloniki &amp; surroundings)  <i>Sepeçides</i> (Volos) +MHü  <i>Ursaria</i> MHü</p>	<p><b>Slovenia:</b>  <i>Dolenjski Roma</i> (<i>Gopti</i>)</p> <p><b>Finland:</b>  <i>Kale</i> (»Mustalainen«)</p> <p><b>Sweden:</b>  <i>Resande</i> (»Tättare«)</p> <p><b>Russia:</b>  <i>Ruska Roma</i> +MHü  <i>Polska Roma</i>  <i>Kalderaš</i>  <i>Lovara</i></p> <p><b>France:</b>  <i>Manuš</i> (Pentecostals)  <i>Lovara</i>  <i>Kalderaš</i></p> <p><b>Italy:</b>  <i>Sinti</i> (South Tyrol)</p> <p><b>Bulgaria:</b>  <i>Roma</i> (Balkan dialects) MHü</p> <p><b>Albania:</b>  <i>Arlije</i></p> <p><b>Estonia:</b>  <i>Roma</i> (Northern dialect)</p> <p><b>Ukraine:</b>  <i>Vlach Roma</i></p> <p><b>Germany:</b>  <i>Sinti</i> (partly Pentecostals: MH)  MHü</p> <p><b>Netherlands</b>  <i>Sinti</i> (Pentecostals)</p> <p><b>Spain:</b>  <i>Cale</i> ED</p> <p><b>India:</b> (New Delhi, Rajastan, Gujarat):  <i>Dom Mirasi</i>,  <i>Gaduliya Lohar</i> &amp; other castes  MHü</p>
<p>Font size → quantity of music recordings</p> <p>ED / MHü: recordings by E. Davidová / M. Hübschmannová, no recordings by M. Heinschink</p> <p>+ED / +MHü: recordings by M. Heinschink as well as by E. Davidová / M. Hübschmannová</p> <p>no initials: recordings only by M. Heinschink (MH)</p>		



## ZVOČNI DOKUMENTI ROMSKE GLASBE V DUNAJSKEM PHONOGRAMMARCHIVU. RAZISKOVALCI IN NJIHOVI »OBJEKTI«

### Povzetek

Audio dokumentacija o romski kulturi (glasba, jezik in ustno izročilo) v Phonogrammarchivu sodi med največje tovrstne dokumentacije v svetovnem merilu. Terenski posnetki so bili zbrani med različnimi romskimi skupinami v osrednji Evropi, na Balkanu in v Turčiji in nekoliko manj v vzhodni in severni Evropi.

Prispevek se osredotoča na postopke in terensko strategijo raziskovalcev in na vprašanje, kako se je to odražalo v posnetem gradivu. Zbirke romske glasbe v Phonogrammarchivu so razdeljene v tri kronološka obdobja:

1. naključno terensko delo (1912– 1954) z zgodnjimi posnetki avstrijskih raziskovalcev;
2. ekstenzivno terensko delo skozi desetletja (od leta 1956), ki vsebuje velike zasebne zbirke avtorjev, kot so: Mozes F. Heinschink, Eva Davidova in Milena Hübschmannova;
3. inštitucionalno etnomuzikološko terensko delo (od leta 1990), ki ga je začela Ursula Hemetek s projektom »Romska glasba v Avstriji«.

Zbirke Phonogrammarchiva dokumentirajo kontinuiteto in spremembe različnih romskih glasbenih tradicij. Glede na kronološko in geografsko razširjanje kot tudi na stilno raznovrstnost le-te imajo veliko vrednost ne samo za znanstvene študije, temveč tudi kot kulturna dediščina romskih manjšin v Evropi.

# GYPSY DANCING IN SOUTHERN ROMANIA

Anca GIURCHESCU

The name *țigani* (Gypsies) or Roma encompasses in Romania approximately 24 clans (family groups), largely different one from another, aware of their particularities and often mutually antagonistic.<sup>1</sup> There are groups showing ethnic differences (Romanian-Gypsies, Hungarian-, Serbian-, Saxon-, Turkish-, and Tartar-Gypsies), religious, social and, of course, economic differences. The Communist regime tried very hard to settle the nomadic Gypsies (*cortorari*) and therefore nowadays, they are much lesser in number than the sedentary ones (*vătrași*).<sup>2</sup>

How many Gypsies are there in Romania? For several reasons, the real figure is impossible to establish: first due to the changeable policy of the officials; second, because of the difference between the way Gypsies identify themselves and the way they are identified by non-Gypsies. In the 1992 census the official figure was 401.000 Gypsies. Another, independent research from the same year claimed 536.000 according to the Gypsies themselves, and 1.000.000 according to the non-Gypsies (Achim 1998:171-173).<sup>3</sup> Unofficially, their number is estimated at about 2,5 to 3 millions.

After 1989, the Gypsies' aim for a modern ethnic consciousness was symbolised by the adoption of the name Roma instead of *țigani* (Gypsies). However, many prefer to be »*just common Gypsies*« who may not speak Romani and may not be politically involved with any of the Rom political

<sup>1</sup> *Ursari, Zavragii, Cocălari, Spoitori, Ciobotari, Lăutari, Argintari, Căldărari, Lingurari, Boldeni*, etc. (informant Andrei Mihalache, age 62, Bucharest, February 1999).

<sup>2</sup> The presence of Gypsies in Romania is mentioned in 1385 in a document stating the donation to the monastery of Tismana by the king of Wallachia Dan the 1st, of a territory with 40 settlements of »*ațigani* » (*țigani*) (Achim 1998: 21).

<sup>3</sup> Concerning the language, 54,3% declared Romanian as their mother tongue, 40,9% named Romani, and 4,7%, Hungarian, according to the figures of 1992 (Achim 1998:21).

parties. There are also older musicians who don't want to be called Roma because they are still nostalgic for the former Communist regime when they had leading positions and stable jobs: »Under the dictatorship the *lăutari* were hired, had a salary and an extra remuneration for festivals such as »*Song for Romania*«.<sup>4</sup>

In Southern Romania there are great differences between Gypsies settled on the outskirts of Bucharest (*mahala*) and those living in the villages; similarly between rich Gypsies (working with gold, copper, etc, or having been abroad) and poor ones. »*We have our own Gypsies*« stated a musician, when showing me around the poor quarter of his Gypsy-village.<sup>5</sup>

Generally, Gypsiness is assumed and expressed in different ways. Some groups enforce identity by raising insurmountable boundaries between »*us*« and »*them*«, others live »together but separately« with non-Gypsies, while a great number – rather educated persons – are well integrated in Romanian society. If Gypsies are ambivalent about their identity, the same is true of non-Gypsies in their attitudes toward Gypsies. Inherited from the Communist regime is the hypocritical hiding of the great number of Romanian Gypsies, which goes hand in hand with the fear that Romanians might be mistaken for Gypsies.<sup>6</sup> Depending strictly on social contexts and objective circumstances, Gypsies may be accepted, ignored, considered with suspicion, or made scapegoats and just hated.

In order to answer specific questions concerning the function of dance as identity marker I studied Gypsy-dancing in two social contexts:

1. Gypsies interacting with a majority of Romanians and
2. Gypsies dancing among themselves.

My research was based primarily on the insiders' point of view and knowledge – those of Gypsies as well as non-Gypsies – because each group, though apparently homogeneous, is comprised of individuals with different, even contradictory interests, worldviews, education, etc.

I focused on dance in its inter-textual relationship with other cultural practices, and with the ideological and psychological profile of the individual or the group.

This paper is based on research conducted in spring 1999 and recently in May 2000, with musicians (called *lăutari*)<sup>7</sup> and with dancers in rural

<sup>4</sup> Interview with the violinist Ion Albeșteanu, Bucharest, 1994.

<sup>5</sup> Village Dumbrava, c. Ciupelnița, Prahova, February 1999.

<sup>6</sup> For example, the word Rom meaning Gypsy is frequently written with two »r« (Rrom) in order to differentiate it from Rom., abbreviation of Romanian in the official passport.

settings (districts Prahova, Giurgiu and Olt), in the *mahala* and Jilava, the main jail of Bucharest.

I will mention first the Gypsy musicians' point of view, because the musicians as well as their music are not only markers of Gypsy cultural identity, but they have, through time, played an important role in the development of the Romanian musical tradition.

### *Role of the Musicians*

The Gypsy musicians (also called »silk« Gypsies) have and always had an outstanding position. The accordion player Andrei Mihalache of Bucharest, whom I met in 1998 while he was playing in a restaurant in Copenhagen, told me: »*The real ambassadors of Romania are the Gypsy musicians; think of Budişteanu, Grigoraş Dinicu, Jean Ionescu... The good musicians are spread all over Europe where they became famous*«.

Musicians play an ambivalent role: on the one hand they are the keepers of tradition, on the other they are instruments for changes.<sup>8</sup> However, as long as the Romanian communities were rather conservative and homogeneous they had the power to censor and control the creativity of the Gypsies and to decide what kind of music they wanted to have at weddings, dance events and other celebrations. At present, the social communities are less stable and are thus much more permissive to all kind of innovations. Romanian intellectuals of rather purist orientation (including ethnomusicologists, folklorists and cultural functionaries), therefore have to fight to protect the »authenticity« of the traditional Romanian music from being »distorted« and polluted by Gypsy influences. Gypsy musicians themselves, especially those who enjoyed prestige status under the Communist regime or those who are better educated musically, are firmly against the new trends in Gypsy music, including the oriental style and especially the present-day *manea* (Garfias 1981:98-99).<sup>9</sup> »*Manele have only two parts which are reprised without end. Only the text counts. The youngsters don't respect the old style. Nowadays they play music with Yugoslav, Bulgarian and oriental flavour for a stupid audience. I am against this kind of music*«, states the accordion player

<sup>7</sup> *Lăutari* are named village musicians who do not read notes, while those who have some musical education are called *muzicanti*.

<sup>8</sup> Their crucial contribution to the dissemination of the oriental and the Serb influence in the Romanians' musical life of the last two decades, in both urban and rural settings, is well known.

<sup>9</sup> Garfias 1981.

Andrei Mihalache. This position reveals a conflict between generations in the Gypsy musical landscape, expressed in the nostalgia for the old *lăutari* for the »real Gypsy music« as opposed to the youngsters' passion for the »oriental« musical style. Most of the *lăutari* deny the existence of a »proper« Gypsy music because it is not sang »with Romani texts as in Yugoslavia«, and consider the »old, traditional« Gypsy music as nothing but Romanian folk melodies played with small mordents 'across the bar', and with compound measures« (Andrei Mihalache). In the dulcimer player George Mihalache's<sup>10</sup> opinion, the difference between Gypsy and Romanian music is only a stylistic one: »Gypsy play music the way they behave – freely. They want to play it right but they can't. The truth is that Romanians can't play the Gypsy way«.

Musicians have a social position envied by all the other Gypsies: »They don't risk and don't steal for earning their money. They take all your money only by playing all night at a party«.

### *The Dancers*

The dancers don't have a special status, they come from all social strata, especially from the lowest one. For all of them, dancing plays an important role in the everyday life. The competence and special ability of the Gypsies for movement expression function, according to Gypsies themselves, as a significant identity marker. A prisoner in the main jail of Bucharest, expresses his passion for dancing in the following way: »We dance everywhere and at any time. We dance to express both happiness and sadness, to get motion or just because we enjoy it. We dance to all kinds of melody. If we get a rhythm, we improvise our own movements and dance to »break throughout the floor!«

From the social point of view, dancing functions to identify the »good and educated families where women will never dance Arab belly dance. You will never see something like that in our family« states George Mihalache.

Dancing also functions as a marker for gender differentiation. This is especially true for the women. Especially in the wedding context, a woman has to dance for the pride of her husband, »to show that his wife is not only beautiful, but sexy as well. They (the women) dance manea, but without belly movements. Their movements have to be elegant and beautiful« (a prisoner of Jilava, Bucharest, 23.02.1999).

<sup>10</sup> George Mihalache is 35 years old, has lived in Denmark since 1990 and is the son of Andrei Mihalache. Interview realized in 1998.

### *Dancer-Musician Relationship*

In the relationship between dancers and musicians in a performance situation, the good dancers play a leading role, as expressed by a dance informant:<sup>11</sup> »If you have musical ear, your leg steps on the beat. You can't mistake! But if the musicians aren't good enough they better run away, because they risk to be beaten and their instruments damaged«. Good musician, meaning good music, inspires the dancer and induces improvisation.

The melody and rhythm indicate the dance type and implicitly, the style of dancing. It is what I experimented with Gypsy dancers of Bucharest, by alternating dance melodies from Transylvania (Central Romania) and Muntenia (Southern Romania) to which the dancers seemed automatically but were in fact consciously responding with changes between two contrasting dancing styles.

### *Dance Occasions (for Gypsies and Romanians)*

Dance occasions for both Gypsies and non-Gypsies are generally the same: weddings<sup>12</sup>, baptisms, name-days, family parties, Christmas, New Year, Easter and other calendrical celebrations. The way Gypsies and Romanians participate at these events varies from community to community and is strictly dependent upon the interaction on a social level of the two ethnic groups. There are instances when the presence of Gypsies is not compatible with a given event, the same being true for Romanians in Gypsy communities, as for example in the celebration of *gurban* (sacrifice of a lamb, the 8<sup>th</sup> of June). This mutual exclusion is a sharp affirmation of ethnic and cultural identities.

However, these observations can't be generalised, because there are many other communities where dancing together is common practice, as confessed by a Gypsy informant: »I danced with the Romanians, especially at weddings. At Romanian weddings the musicians are Gypsies who play Gypsy music and Romanians dance to it. There are however some Romanians who don't want to be compromised by dancing with Gypsies« (see note 11).

<sup>11</sup> Village Dumbrava, c. Ciupelnița, Prahova, February 1999, informant Ion Neagu (Oneacă) 67 years old.

<sup>12</sup> Gypsy weddings are traditionally organised on Thursdays so as not to interfere with the Romanian ones, and so that the musicians will be free.

In communities with a mixed population, Gypsy children learn to dance in their own families, while Romanian children often learn from the Gypsies, »because they like Gypsy music« and because Gypsies are exceptional dancers: »We Romanians imitate the Gypsies, because they dance better than we do. They have a special talent« (Village Mârşa, district Ilfov, 1998).

### *Gypsy Traditional Repertoire*

A still widespread assertion supporting a rather integrative ideology, is that sedentary Gypsies (*vătraşi*) dance mostly Romanian dances, in »Gypsy style«. In reality, in the villages of Southern Romania where fieldwork was carried out the last two years, the current dance repertoire traces a clear boundary between Gypsies and Romanians. The local dance repertoire is comprised of three dance categories: for both Gypsies and Romanians; for Gypsies only; and, the largest group, practised only by Romanians. This reality is expressed in the following terms by an informant: »We, Roma, don't dance Romanian folk dances. There are also Gypsy dances which are not danced by Romanians because they are fast, intricate and jumping«.

Trying to avoid risky generalisations, this paper presents the dance repertoire of two villages: one with a Gypsy majority (Dumbrava, c. Ciupelniţa) and one with mixed population (c. Frăteşti).

In the Gypsy village the current dance repertoire is made up of dance types which are not compatible with the Romanian dance repertoire. The type with highest frequency is *Țigăneasca* (Gypsy like). It may be danced, simultaneously or successively, in a circle by a large group, by only 5-6 competing dancers, or »for one alone«, as expressed by a performer: »When I feel that I get out of my skin, I go to the centre of the hora and dance passionately 'for one alone'«. On melodic variants, basically belonging to the *hora* type, Gypsy dancers improvise *Țigăneasca* by using a characteristic movement vocabulary. They jump, stamp, slap the chest and the legs, roll on the floor and execute a large range of ornamental movements, named »little flowers«. Though this way of dancing is practically never used by Romanians, Gypsies themselves have contradictory opinions concerning the existence of a proper Gypsy dance type, which is not recognised for example, by those Gypsy musicians who want to stress their function as »keepers of the real Romanian tradition«.

*Lăutăreasca* (name derived from *lăutar*, also called *Romneasca*, derived from Roma) is another type of Gypsy *hora* danced by Romanians

as well in the Danube Valley. It is a round dance, with a more stable structure, an intricate syncopated rhythm, and a non-concordant dimensional relationship between the music and the dance phrases.

In the framework of the Gypsy style *hora* there are certain variants, which became symbols not only for the cultural identity of a given Gypsy community, but for its uniqueness. This is the case with the village Dumbrava (com. Ciupelnița), which became famous for the *hora* variant called *Hora de la Palanca*, considered by the villagers to be their identifying marker: »*Hora de la Palanca is only ours. Nobody can dance it except our Gypsies*« (see note 11). A local musician describes the dance in the following terms: »*Hora de la Palanca is danced homogeneously, but you feel that they glide next to the beat. However, when you look attentively at the feet, the dancers step all together on time*«. The truth is, that this particular *hora* is only a local variant of the very rich *hora lautareasca* type, wide spread in the Danube Plain.

Dancing functions as well to characterise and identify Gypsy families, or kin groups living in the *mahala* (on the outskirts of large cities) and who are representative for this very typical culture: »*In Bucharest there are dance competitions organised between quarters, especially at weddings. They compete with all kind of dances and agility movements, as for example leaping over bottles*«. There are quarters (such as Pantelimon or Dudești in Bucharest), as there are Gypsy kin groups (such as *Ursari*, *Rudari* and *Lăutari*) famous for having exceptional dancers (Gypsy prisoner of Jilava, Bucharest).

### *New Music and Dance Style*

Since more than 20 years ago, when Gypsy dance among themselves in all kind of social contexts, the highest frequency is given to the new music and dance style comprised of *manea* (*manele*), *Turkish manea* and *oriental* or *Arabic*. In the last decade, *manea* is danced by young Romanians as well because, as an informant expresses it: »*Turkish or Arabian music is played and enjoyed by both ethnic groups Gypsies and Romanians alike*«.

*Manea* belongs to the traditional Gypsy repertoire, is based on Turkish music, uses an »oriental« movement vocabulary improvised in Gypsy style, and is primarily performed by women. Nowadays *manea* is danced mostly by mixed couples to Bulgarian, so-called Yugoslav, or general oriental music played on modern instruments, especially electronic organ, guitars and accordion. Old professional *lăutari* consider



*manea* »bad music« played only by second-class musicians: »loud, fast and dirty,« and complain that: »The true *lautareasca* music disappears, because the audience prefers the oriental style« (Andrei Mihalache). Indeed, the young generation argues: »Best for Gypsy dancing is oriental music and *manea*«. <sup>13</sup>

### *The non-Gypsy Dance Repertoire*

In Romanian villages, from a current repertoire of 20 to 30 dances, only three types — *large hora*, *sârba* and *brâu* — are compatible with Gypsy dancing.<sup>14</sup> The truth is that most of the local Gypsies, being gifted dancers, know the Romanian repertoire very well and are able to join the dancing at different events, especially weddings. However, when Gypsies are among themselves, they never use the Romanian repertoire, considering it foreign to their own dance culture.

Similarly, Gypsy will almost never admit that Romanians have the capacity to integrate their dancing style. »Very seldom and only if he lived all his life among Gypsies, is a Romanian able to dance like them« argues the accordion player Andrei Mihalache, and continues: »Gypsies are as racing horses of special breed: fast, strong, nervous with lot of temperament«. Indeed the movement style is a much stronger identity marker than its technique.

It is well known that an individual experiences not only one single dance culture, but several different ones. Therefore the international dance culture – comprised of a wide range of dances: tango, waltz, samba, and the up-to-date rock, jazz, disco, pop, techno – is common for all youngsters, without exception. As a Gypsy informant argues: »A good dancer should know all dance styles«. Thus, the discotheque may, in principle, build a symbolic framework where dancing should unify Romanians and Gypsies (if they are permitted to join the dance event). In reality the result is rather opposit: the Gypsy characteristic way of moving and the kinetic vocabulary they use differentiate them obviously from non-Gypsies, especially in the situaion when the two groups perform side by side the same repertoire.

<sup>13</sup> During fieldwork in Bucharest, 1999, I experienced the great capacity for adaptation and transformation characteristic of Gypsy creativity: on a dance melody of northern Romania (Maramureş) sung with ad hoc text telling a »dramatic« Gypsy story, young people danced in *manea* style.

<sup>14</sup> In Frăteşti: *Cârligul, Rogojina, Mocăncuţa*; in Mârşa: *Băltăreasac, Hora Nuşii, Spoitoreasa*.

### *Identifying Structural Features*

Many Gypsy musicians argue: »*All what we dance is Romanian folklore and the rest is oriental, but it is performed in our own way, in a Gypsy way*«. Indeed, Gypsy dancing shows pertinent traits capable of identifying a proper dance repertoire with its particular style of execution and structural make up.

First to be mentioned is the rich and diverse movement vocabulary comprised of:

- independent curvilinear movements of the hands and arms;
- hand gestures (some with symbolic connotations);
- shoulder vibrations;
- hip rotations and vibrations;
- acrobatic movements involving the whole body (somersaults, barrelrolls, squats, etc.);
- hand slapping movements on different parts of the body: legs, thighs, chest, mouth, and on the floor;
- stamps, stamping steps, particularly »*tarapana*« (rapid stamping-steps similar to flamenco). The mode of execution may be described as subtle, with »*embroideries*« (*little flowers*), meaning small ornamental movements and gestures.

Most important in Gypsy dancing is the rhythmic structure, characterised by syncopated rhythmic patterns (dochmiac and amphibrach), by off-beat accents and by the use of pauses and (arrested movements) as a significant aesthetic feature.

Characteristic of *Țigăneasca* and *lautareasca* structural make-up is the dimensional non-coincidence between the dances' structural units (motives, phrases) and the corresponding musical units. For example, dance phrases may be structured on 5, 7, or 7 1|2 measures, while the musical phrases take 4 or 8 measures. Non-coincidence is considered a common trait of the Danube Plain round dances. This subtle rhythmic and structural non-coincidence between dance and music is expressed in the following terms by a Gypsy dancer of the village Dumbrava: »*They sing, play and dance with »little flowers« crossing the bar with compound measures and with small, embellishing appoggiatura*«.

Another identifying trait is the polymorphic dance form, meaning that on one and the same melody corresponding to a certain dance type, Gypsy may perform simultaneously in different formations: open or closed circle, small group (3-4 people), couples (with or without hand holds), and »for one alone«. This changeable form endows Gypsy dancing with a particular dynamism.

### *Improvisation*

Of all identifying traits, improvisation is the dominant one, Gypsy dancing being characterised as »spontaneous composition«. In essence, the dances (*hora Țigăneasca, lautareasca, de unu singur, manea*) exist only as conceptual models which in performance situation get a real form, never repeatable: »Even if it is the same hora you change every time the rhythm, and movements, and you make »little flowers«. Improvisation is dependent upon the dancers' competence and ability and is enhanced by the driving power of the music and by the presence of the audience. »All what I do is for the audience. A Gypsy can't dance without spectators«, explains an informant, and describes the mechanism of improvisation in following terms: »From what I know I combine with what I see and make something more beautiful than all the others« (see note 11).

To conclude, the dance movement system functions as metonym for Gypsiness and this is openly assumed by one of the dancers: »I am not ashamed to say, I am a Gypsy. When I dance, everybody can see it« (Gypsy prisoner of Jilava, Bucharest). However, at the conceptual level and on an official arena, vernacular dancing has little relevance for the symbolic affirmation of Gypsy identity. This function is assumed by the oriental or Indian-like movement system presented in performance contexts, with more or less romanticism, and which ideologically alludes to the Gypsies' historical roots.

<b>CD-9</b>	<b>CD-9:</b> <i>Hora de la Palanca</i>
<b>CD-10</b>	<b>CD-10:</b> <i>Țigăneasca</i>
<b>CD-11</b>	<b>CD-11:</b> <i>Tinerețe, tinerețe</i>
<b>CD-12</b>	<b>CD-12:</b> <i>Lăutăreasca</i>
<b>CD-13</b>	<b>CD-13:</b> <i>Maneaua turcească</i>

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## ROMSKI PLES V JUŽNI ROMUNIJI

Povzetek

Prispevek izhaja iz nedavnega raziskovanja romskih skupnosti v južni Romuniji in se osredotoča na vprašanja, kot so: kaj je »romski ples«, kako njegove značilnosti opredeljujejo Romi in Neromi in kakšno vlogo ima v različnih družbenih kontekstih. V težišču zanimanja je vloga plesa pri označevanju etničnih, kulturnih in družbenih identitet, pri določanju meja med Romi in Neromi in ter pri utrjevanju vezi znotraj skupine.

Analiziranih je več plesnih repertoarjev: romunski plesi v romskem stilu, romski plesi, romski plesi s turškim vplivom ter zlitje »orientalskih« in romskih plesnih elementov. Zadnji omenjeni plesni stil simbolizira »romskost«, kot si jo predstavljajo sami Romi. Prispevek se ukvarja s paradoksalno vlogo romskih glasbenikov in plesalcev, ki po eni strani veliko prispevajo k ohranjanju lokalne kulturne tradicije, po drugi pa so najaktivnejši zagovorniki inovacij in sprememb.

Iz teh razlogov in v povezavi s političnimi okoliščinami romunski uradniki in folkloristi protislovno obravnavajo romski prispevek kot izkrivljanje »čistih« kmečkih kreacij ali pa kot originalno in vredno poustvarjanje tradicijskih modelov.



# THE PLACE AND ROLE OF THE ROMA IN THE INSTRUMENTAL TRADITION OF THE ROMANIANS IN VOJVODINA

*Nice FRACILE*

Among the most talented performers of folk music, who have left an indelible trace on the musical tradition of the Balkan nations, a special place belongs to the Roma. In spite of the fact that, from the beginning of their emergence in the Balkans to the present day, they have had a very important role in the musical tradition of the Romanians in Vojvodina, nobody has dealt with this subject up to now.

This paper will focus on instrumental music, where the participation and the contribution of the Roma were much greater than in the vocal tradition. The paper will trace the Romanian instrumental music as performed by Roma, from the phonograph recordings made by Bela Bartók in 1912, through my personal recordings from field research done during the seventies and the eighties, up to the latest and the best-quality audio and video recordings of amateur and professional Rom performers.

The phonograph recordings of the Romanian instrumental music made by Béla Bartók in the present Yugoslav part of Banat (district of Vojvodina), are very precious material, practically indispensable for ethnomusicology in general. In four villages (Alibunar, Seleuš, Vladimirovac and Uzdin) Bartók recorded more than a hundred vocal and instrumental pieces, from which he transcribed 89 examples: 39 from the vocal, and 50 from the instrumental tradition – typical folk tunes of the Romanian dances and ritual melodies, performed on violin, pipe and caraba (Fracile 1995a:53-58). It is interesting to point out that all Romanian tunes were performed on violin by Rom musicians, as Bartók noted in his transcriptions: »performed on violin by one old gypsy man« or »performed on violin by one gypsy man of about 30 years old«.<sup>1</sup>

In the Bartók's transcriptions on pipe or caraba he noted: »performed on pipe by a man of about 40 years old« or »performed on caraba by a man of about 55 years old« (Music example 2).<sup>3</sup> In these and other cases,

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<sup>1</sup> See Bartók's transcription: F.: 728.a) »cântat din vioară de un țigan bătrân«.

1803 *Román hegedű* 102441/c  
*Când pleacă mireasa de la părinții*  
*Petre (Torontál)*  
*Petrovasile*  
*cântat din visară de*  
*un țigan de vr-o 30 ani*  
*Andato (♩ = 144-160)*

Music example 1: *Román Hegedű*<sup>2</sup>

525. *Román cărabă, tînc* 102453/b  
 1815 *2. Joc "marsu miresei"* Petre (Torontál)  
 F: 740.a) Petrovasile  
*cântat din cărabă de*  
*un om de vr-o 55 ani*  
*Allegro (♩ = 120)*

Bartók's informants were, certainly, Romanians.

Music example 2: *Román tînc*<sup>4</sup>

The fact that Bartók transcribed all the Romanian dance melodies in a symmetrical rhythmic system surprised me very much and inspired

<sup>2</sup> Wedding ceremonial tune, recorded and transcribed by Béla Bartók.

<sup>3</sup> See Bartók's transcriptions: »cântat din fluer de un om de vr-o 40 ani«.

<sup>4</sup> Traditional dance, recorded and transcribed by Béla Bartók.

(♩.♩. = 60)

10/16

accel. -----

Music example 3: *Pre loc*<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Traditional couple dance, performed on violin by »an old gypsy man«. Recorded by Béla Bartók, transcribed by Nice Fracile, 1994. F. MH 1971. Orig. Seleuš, 1912.



me to search for the asymmetrical rhythm *aksak*, one of the fundamental characteristics of the musical tradition of the Yugoslav Romanians, among Bartók's phonograph recordings which he hadn't transcribed. I found it in one melody of the traditional couple dance *Pre loc* (*In the same place*), that was usually danced by old, practiced dancers, with discreet, small steps, and bending motions of the knees to the rhythm of the music. The two-part melody (AB) with diatonic structure which belonged to the older musical layer, Bartók recorded in the village of Seleuš in 1912, performed by »an old gypsy man«.

I would like to remark that at the beginning of the 20th century the *aksak* rhythm was not evident from the written notations of Bartók and other musicians. Thanks to Bartók's phonograph recordings of Rom violinists, we can now easily prove that the asymmetrical *aksak* rhythm of dactylic form did exist much earlier in the instrumental folklore of Yugoslavia's Romanians.<sup>6</sup>

In the greater part of Vojvodinean villages inhabited by Romanian people until the first part of the 20th century, and somewhere even later, two instrumental ensembles existed which played at the village dances, wedding parties, or at similar events: the brass wind orchestras, the so called *Fanfara*, and the string ensembles under the name of *banda* (Fracile 1990:209-210). The members of the *Fanfara* orchestras were usually Romanians, while the Roma played in the *banda* (e. g. the first and the second violins, viola, and contrabass, and a little later, joined by the accordion or the cymbalon).

The majority of the Roma were illiterate, but excellent musicians. Compared to the Romanians they lived in a very modest way, on the fringe of the village, and usually exclusively by playing music; only a few of them were interested in cultivating the land.

In the second half of the twentieth century, especially in the last two decades, the number of the Roma who stayed to live in the villages and played the traditional Romanian music has been decreasing. In terms of the degree and the quality of their participation in the musical life, they are increasingly replaced by the local Romanians who, unlike the Roma, prevailingly use the wind instruments – the clarinet, taragot and saxophone. Nevertheless, Rom violinists have remained remarkable performers of genuine Romanian traditional music. While I was searching for the phonograph recordings of Bartók in Vojvodina I found one gifted Rom violinist who, in his repertory, had plenty of Romanian traditional dance melodies with the same titles as those in the transcriptions of Bartók:

<sup>6</sup> For more on this subject see: Fracile 1994:45-46 and Fracile 1995:19.

The image shows a musical score for a piece titled "De doi a lu' moș Pau". The score is written on ten staves of music. At the top left, there is a tempo marking "♩ = 490". The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 7/6. The music is written in a single melodic line on a treble clef. The notation includes various rhythmic values such as eighth and sixteenth notes, rests, and slurs. There are several dynamic markings, including "tr" (trill) and "r" (ritardando). A handwritten number "10" is written above the third staff, and another "40" is written above the tenth staff. The piece concludes with a double bar line and repeat signs.

Music example 4: *De doi a lu' moș Pau*<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Traditional couple dance, performed by Nika Durdi, 66, on violin. Recorded and transcribed by Nice Fracile. Mg. X/A26. Orig. Grebenac, 10/8/1977.

horă, axion, ardeleană, de doi etc. Concerning Bartók's recordings from the beginning of the 20th century: in many of the Romanian melodies I recorded in the 1970s and 1980s from Rom violinists of older generations, the identical dactylic form of the *aksak* rhythm – 10/16 (4+3+3), and 7/16 (3+2+2) – is kept as in the former example (music example 3), and is to a certain extent similar in performing style, but their melodic lines are more developed and their musical form more complex than those in the Bartók recordings.

With the aim of creating permanent recordings and keeping the Romanian traditional music performed by Roma for future generations, the Music Department of Radio Novi Sad has done a great number of recordings with the best Rom violinists. Among them is Drăguța Păunescu, a Rom woman, the last violinist in the village of Seleuș where long ago (1912) Bartók recorded on his phonograph »an old gypsy« (violinist) playing some traditional Romanian tunes. Păunescu had no opportunity for education. Although unable to sign her name, she »wrote and spoke in the violin language« and as a true artist had an extremely broad repertory with her specific imprints in terms of style, ornamentation and improvising powers.<sup>8</sup>

One general characteristic of the Vojvodina Roma was that they spoke at least two or three languages of the society in which they lived, and especially, that they played the traditional music of the majority nationality of that region, so that they were called by the people »Serbian Roma«, »Hungarian Roma« or »Romanian Roma«. In that respect, the Romanian Roma played Romanian traditional music and a few Serbian *kolos* (ring dances) on almost all occasions, while their own ethnic music was completely neglected because they simply did not have a real audience among their fellow Roma. This explains why today the repertory of the traditional music of Roma in Yugoslavia is rather small compared to that of other national communities. During my field researches I realized that experienced Rom performers in regions where Serbian or Romanian language is spoken could only play a small number of Rom tunes. We have the same case with the professional Rom performers in Vojvodina. Mircea Ardeleanu, member of the Folk Orchestra of RTV Novi Sad, is one of them. He used to be an excellent boxer who, having laid his gloves aside, has continued »to fight« the cimbalom with mallets (beaters).

While the cimbalom had earlier played mainly a harmonic-rhythmic role as an accompanying instrument in folk orchestras, in the latter half of the 20th century it has become more and more a solo instrument with

<sup>8</sup> There are many such recordings at the Music Archive of Radio Novi Sad: AS 300695; AS 300703; AS 306329 etc.

remarkable technical interpretative possibilities.

Real masters can express by cymbalon a great spectrum of timbres and rhythms, feelings and moods: from profoundly lyrical, meditative musical passages, to rhythmic, energetic, and impressive melodies, to virtuoso compositions. An interesting combination of a refined sense for phrasing in performing with pizzicato techniques and furious tempo can be found in the *Variations* (Variații) on a Romanian folk song performed by the well-known Rom conductor and brilliant violinist Ionel Budișteanu from Romania.<sup>9</sup>

In the conclusion of this paper I would like to point out some lesser-known facts about the Roma in Vojvodina and the Republic of Serbia. Roma are not an inferior national community any more. They have found their place in the sun in these regions, and recently the first abecedary *Lil grafemengo* for Roma language instruction has been created and published (Dimić 2000).

For many years now, the Roma in Vojvodina and Yugoslavia, have been enjoying the right to use their language and develop their culture, education and tradition. In this respect, they are equal in status to other national minorities and ethnic groups, and are integrated into all cultural, educational and scientific institutions in Yugoslavia. Roma in Vojvodina have their programs on the Radio-Television Novi Sad. Petar Novica Nikolić, the managing editor of the Rom program of RTV Novi Sad is a great enthusiast (advocate) and fighter for the revitalisation and validation of Rom culture, including folk music. He once told me about Serbian, Hungarian and Romanian traditional music: »That is, brother, all our music«.

Today, traditional Romanian music enjoys growing interest and popularity all over Europe and, naturally enough, in Vojvodina / Serbia as well. This especially concerns the music intended for concert performance (performans), i.e. »serious music of folk style« – as Bartók referred to it. And Rom artists, amateurs and professionals, have greatly contributed to its reputation as performers and composers.<sup>10</sup> They have always tended to display attractive and virtuoso performances characterized by great improvisatory imagination, plentiful ornamentation

<sup>9</sup> The *Variations* played on cymbalon by the former heavyweight boxer, the Rom musician Mircea Ardeleanu, accompanied by the Folk Orchestra of RTV Novi Sad, can be heard on the recording of Radio Novi Sad: AS 306827.

<sup>10</sup> One example is the famous composition *Hora sacato* written by the brilliant Rom violinist Grigoraș Dinicu. This composition can be heard on violin or pipe solo with accompaniment by the Folk Orchestra of Radio Novi Sad (AS 304801 or AS 305944).

and – in addition – their »gypsy soul«. Therefore, Rom musicians can be said to have an important place and a significant and indispensable role in fostering, developing and enriching the instrumental tradition of Yugoslavia's Romanians, for they have for centuries been an impressive and highlighting part of the musical scene of Vojvodina – particularly among the Romanians.

Romanian traditional music is extraordinary, inspiring, loaded with strong emotions – grief, pain, joy. These features have made it much-listened to, beloved or even adored, frequently played and talked about – not only among the Romanian and Rom population, but also among Serbian, Hungarian and Slovak instrumentalists and/or audiences. Above all, that music radiates with fascination and temperament, while the virtuosity captures everybody's heart.

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## MESTO IN VLOGA ROMOV V INŠTRUMENTALNI TRADICIJI ROMUNOV V VOJVODINI

Povzetek

Med najbolj nadarjenimi izvajalci ljudske glasbe, ki so pustili neizbrisno sled v glasbenem izročilu balkanskih ljudstev, zavzemajo Romi posebno mesto. Kljub temu da so imeli od svojega prihoda na Balkan v glasbeni tradiciji Romunov v Vojvodini izjemno pomembno vlogo, se zaenkrat še nihče ni ukvarjal s tem vprašanjem. V tem prispevku je po eni strani poudarjen pomen Romov za ohranjanje in nadaljevanje posamičnih romunskih arhaičnih šeg in obredov, po drugi strani pa so osvetljeni stil, repertoar, temperament, nadarjenost, domišljija in virtuoznost romskih glasbenikov, ki že stoletja puščajo sledi v ljudski glasbi vojvodinskih Romunov.

Največ pozornosti je v prispevku posvečeno spremembam romunske inštrumentalne glasbe v romskih izvedbah; tem spremembam sledimo od Bartókovih fonografskih posnetkov iz leta 1912 preko mojih posnetkov iz sedemdesetih in osemdesetih let do tehnično najpopolnejših radijskih posnetkov iz najnovejšega obdobja.



# ROMA AS AN IMPORTANT FACTOR IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SERBIAN RITUAL PRACTICE

*Dimitrije O. GOLEMOVIĆ*

»*When a custom becomes obsolete among the Serbs, or they stop observing it, then the Gypsies take it over like a worn-out dress and they perform it instead of the Serbs. Thus, in some places in Serbia, the St. Lazarus rites, as practiced by female children, have died out, and now it is Gypsy women who do it. (...) Also, in many Serbian places, dodole (rain conjuring) is now practiced only by Gypsy women. In both cases, they go from door to door performing a Serbian custom, singing Serbian songs and they are paid for it*« (Đorđević 1984:79).

These sentences by the renowned ethnologist Tihomir Đorđević (1868-1944) »pronounced« way back in 1903, even if liable to be construed as contemptuous of the Roma,<sup>1</sup> offer a vivid, scholarly, and valuable account of their role in Serbian ritual practice. At the same time, these words can be understood as a kind of »prompt« for the ensuing longer and more comprehensive discussion devoted to this problem.

The problem in question is known to all who study Serbian ritual practice; however, little has been said about it so far, as though the Rom observance of Serbian customs has aroused little scholarly interest. Therefore, my article will be based on my own investigations, rather than on the data found in relevant sources.

The Roma started inhabiting Serbian territory probably as early as the 14<sup>th</sup> century (Đorđević 1984:13). The remoteness of the event created among the Serbs the impression that the Roma had always been there. Albeit different in many respects, the two nations gradually became deeply involved with each other. The reasons for this are several. First and foremost is capacity of the Roma for adapting to the milieu they live

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<sup>1</sup> Between the terms *Gypsies* and *Roma*, I have decided on the latter, even if the former is traditional in Serbia. The chief reason is that the latter is universally accepted, especially in scholarly practice.



in, which is manifest both in the material culture, through various crafts (mostly wood and metal work), and in the expressive culture: playing music<sup>2</sup> and practicing some of the traditional Serbian rituals.<sup>3</sup> This is especially obvious in connection with two customs: the St. Lazarus rites and the rain-making ritual. Although they were once considered Serbian, they are now attributed to the Roma in many parts of Serbia, regardless of whether or not the memory of their Serbian past has completely faded out.

Connected with the celebration of St. Lazarus (on Saturday the week before Easter), the *lazarice* ritual belongs to a group of customs, which are basically pagan, but having undergone Christianization, has survived in folk practice. Accordingly, it represents a specific mixture of Christian and pagan elements. Thus, for instance, it is celebrated in memory of »righteous Lazarus«, the follower of Christ who was brought back from the dead.<sup>4</sup> The way it is celebrated is usually pagan, however. A typical feature has always been a procession of young girls (just at the marrying age or younger), festively dressed, which went around the whole village territory. The group would stop in front of some houses and perform a ritual dance accompanied by song. The manner of singing and dancing differed from one region to another, but the common feature was the dominance of the »circle principle«, one of the fundamental principles of magic. It was observed consistently from the beginning of the procession which went round the village, down to minor individual elements in the creation and performance of the songs (the existence of the so-called framing verse which opens and closes the song, melodic ending on the hyperfinal, antiphonal singing of two groups of singers etc.). The texts of the songs sung by *lazarice* (women participating in the ritual) were very numerous and suited to the moment or the occasion, with a particular »addressee« in mind – the house, the host, the housewife, the child – and conveying good wishes for fertility and health, with an obligatory refrain – small in size, but with a clearly ritual significance.<sup>5</sup> The

<sup>2</sup> Rom musicians are probably the oldest music professionals in these parts, and indeed within a much wider territory. There was a time when no important celebration (from weddings and the festivities of family patron saints to dances) could have been imagined without them.

<sup>3</sup> Rom participation is so prominent in Serbian practice that in certain fields of material and expressive culture the Roma are considered as transmitters of culture, on which Tihomir Đorđević gives a colorful comment: »Who? Gypsies as transmitters of culture? Exactly so. They brought us some artifacts which are now widespread among our people« (Đorđević 1984:13).

<sup>4</sup> There is yet another belief, according to which the festivity is dedicated to Prince Lazar, a Serbian ruler who became a legend after he died a martyr's death fighting against the Turks in the 1389 battle of Kosovo.

musical basis of the song, as well as its performance usually did not differ much from other songs, both ritual and lyric ones (music example 1). For their »favor«, *lazarice* were rewarded, often with an egg, as a symbol of life (Kuper 1986:54).<sup>6</sup>

1 = cca 138

Oj u - ba - va ma - laj ma - ma. doz. doz. oj u - ba - vaj  
 Go - lu - ben - ce vo - du pi - je. doz. doz. go - lu - ben - ce

ma - laj ma - ma. doz. doz. II  
 vo - du pi - je. doz. doz. Oj u - ba - va ma - laj ma - ma.

doz. doz. oj u - ba - va ma - laj ma - ma. doz. doz.  
 doz. doz. go - lu - ben - ce vo - du pi - je. doz. doz.

Music example 1: *Oj ubavaj mala mama*

What is to be particularly emphasized is the great importance the Serbs attached to the St. Lazarus ritual, and hence to its participants. In some parts, it was the custom for each girl to take part in the ritual at least three times (three seasons), and the participation itself was even an obligation of a kind (Bandić 1992:319).<sup>7</sup> Indeed, it was considered a form of initiation rites (ibid, 319).<sup>8</sup> At the same time, it was also a great honor, both for the girl who took part in the ritual and for her family.

What happened to the St. Lazarus ritual when the Roma took it over? We do not know when that happened, but what we know for cer-

<sup>5</sup> The most common refrains in St. Lazarus songs consist of words *doz* and *Lazare*.

<sup>6</sup> Or the »germ of the whole creation« (Kuper 1986:54).

<sup>7</sup> According to popular belief, the girls who did not take part in the St. Lazarus ritual were »susceptible to some unfortunate event« (Bandić 1992:319).

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, 319.

tain is that in Rom practice it underwent considerable changes, on the level both of form and of content, and these changes came as the result of secularization. Thus, for instance, there are three participants in the Rom St. Lazarus ritual: an elderly woman as a singer, a younger one as a dancer and a man who plays an instrument, usually the violin, but in more recent times it could also be the accordion. Compared to the original, the ritual is utterly simplified and reduced to the dance of the young *lazarica*, which is usually performed with »the minute stamping of the feet on one and the same place, moving forward, turning around and back to the starting point« (Vasić 1991:72).<sup>9</sup> While doing this, the *lazarica* occasionally declaims the ritual text, »accompanying« herself with the clapping of her hands. And what about the song? Unlike the Serbian St. Lazarus songs which were quite numerous and quite diverse in form and content, including musical characteristics, the Roma in Serbia perform the same song as a textual and musical mosaic, while its three-eight »waltzing« meter clearly testifies to middle European influence. The song usually starts with a wish directed to the host that »the house be rich«, and then mentions the child, who is the greatest family treasure. Further on, especially towards the end – in the manner of the »refrain suffix« (Golemović 2000:34, 71)<sup>10</sup> beginning with the words »Op, ša, ša, jaroša...« – the song »suggests« to the hosts which gifts to give to the *lazarica* for her efforts: an egg, money, a slice of bacon and a glass of brandy for the »thirsty« player (this is declaimed by the young *lazarica*), with the final wish for the long life of the host, the hostess and their children, as well as their »plowmen and delvers«.<sup>11</sup> The accompanying violin, although harsh and out of tune, adds to the »solemnity« of the moment,<sup>12</sup> whereas the accordion accompaniment (where applicable) is generally in minor, with several chords usually representing the principal harmonic functions: tonic, subdominant, secondary dominant and dominant, giving the song a »Western« color. The text is fragmentary and superficial, with a special emphasis on the purpose of its performance (by enumerating things the *lazarica* expects to receive gifts for her efforts), which clearly

<sup>9</sup> This piece of information is from the region of northwestern Serbia (Vasić 1991:72).

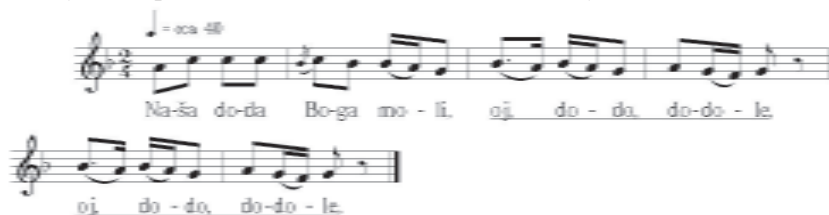
<sup>10</sup> The refrain suffix is not a »classical« refrain, since it does not appear in the song more than once, and that usually at the end. It is, however, a refrain form, regarded in a more general way, as a text which repeats from one song to another (more on this can be found in Golemović 2000:34, 71).

<sup>11</sup> By mentioning the field hands, i.e. delvers and plowmen, the *lazarica* underlines the wish for a successful harvest.

<sup>12</sup> As previously indicated, this ritual was desacralized, so one cannot talk about »music in the service of ritual«; its role is somewhat different.

demonstrates the attitude of the Rom performers towards the song and the ritual itself: without a true faith in what they do, but with the sole intention of securing material profit.

The rain-making ritual was widely practiced among the Serbs in the past. Performed when rainfall was low during the spring and summer, it existed in a large number of variants; some of them even including a kind of blood sacrifice (Golemović 1994:90)<sup>13</sup>. *Dodole* (protagonists of the ritual) were usually female children, adorned with grass and osiers, who toured the village households. Water was poured over them, which was to suggest – as a form of imitative magic – to the higher powers to do the same: to »bathe« nature in rain. The accompanying song had a characteristic melodic profile: it consisted of two parts – two melodic »waves« – with an octosyllabic verse and an obligatory refrain, the role of which was to underline the »supplication« indicated in the principal text (music example 2) (Golemović 1997:26)<sup>14</sup>. Gradually, this custom has also been taken over by the Roma, also for the purpose of securing material benefit. Unlike the St. Lazarus ritual which they changed greatly with respect to its original Serbian variant, the *dodole* ritual was preserved with little or no change. This concerns mostly the singing of *dodolske* songs, although the accompanying dance is similar to the one in St. Lazarus ritual. Indeed it may have been »borrowed« from the Serb variant, testifying once again to the Roma ability to adapt themselves to the circumstances they live in.



Music example 2: *Naša doda Boga moli*

<sup>13</sup> In the Takovo region it is still remembered that the sacrifice in this ritual was a river crab: it was buried alive at a crossroad, and the hoped-for consequence was that the rain would fall and keep falling until the crab was dug out (Golemović 1994:90).

<sup>14</sup> This type of melody belongs to the most common ones in Serbian ritual singing. It is characteristic of ritual songs of diverse genres (other than in *dodolske* songs, it is found in *krštonoške*, in some of the songs for Jeremiah's day, even in some of the St. George songs, and songs celebrating family patron saints). More on this can be found in Golemović 1997:26.

A *dodolska* song from Kovin (Lower Banat) is very interesting; it is basically a Rom St. Lazarus song, only in a somewhat more elaborate form, consisting of three parts, of which the second and the third – mentioning *dodolke* (women participating in the ritual) and the actions they perform (singing and dancing) – represent the refrain (music example 3) (Fracile 1987:40).<sup>15</sup> The origin of this song remains obscure, but one can suppose that we are dealing with a ritual fusion of various genres, *lazarice* and *dodole*, which should not be surprising, considering that both are performed by the Roma. However, there is another, more plausible explanation, whereby the Roma in Vojvodina gradually »forgot« *dodolske* songs (perhaps they had not known them at all), so, wishing to perform them, they resorted to the only possible – and to them so familiar – compromise solution, i.e. to construct »their own« *dodolska* song with the aid of *lazarička* and the refrain created for that occasion (Golemović 2000:12).<sup>16</sup>

↓ - ca 60

O - va ku - ća bo - ga - ta, vre - ća

tri - sta ću - ka - ta. Mi pe - va - mo, mi si - ra - mo.

mi ni - ko - ga ne di - ra - mo. Do - dol - ke su ma - le - ne.

Či - gan - ke su va - tre - ne. Ne pi - ta - mo šta i - ma - te.

teč pri - ma - mo šta nam da - te.

Music example 3: *Ova kuća bogata*

<sup>15</sup> Along with the « classical » examples of *dodolske* songs, a song almost equal to the one from Kovin was notated by the ethnomusicologist Nice Fracile in the village of Čerević in Srem (not indicating, however, whether the song is Serbian or Rom). He analyzed the song in detail, reaching conclusions which unequivocally prove Western influences: the melodic ambitus of a ninth, the presence of the leading tone, an elaborate music form... (Fracile 1987:40, ex. 39).

<sup>16</sup> This phenomenon testifies to the dominance of the formal over the essential – so typical of the Roma – but at the same time it says something about the great importance the protagonists of the ritual attach to the refrain. This and many other problems concerning refrains in folk singing are treated in the book wholly devoted to the subject (Golemović 2000).

Some rituals, which in the past were unequivocally Serbian, gradually became part of Rom practices. In this process, they underwent changes both in form and in content. This fact raises a question: do such practices remain Serbian nonetheless? It would be easier to look for the answer in another, much more developed Rom practice, i.e. the playing of various musical instruments, where the Roma often appear indispensable, or even the only protagonists (such is the case with Hungarians, Romanians and other nations where Rom musicians constitute an important part of traditional music). The question of whether such ritual practices are Serbian or Rom inevitably raises another, particularly underscored in the title of this paper, that is, the *development* of ritual practices. As far as the Rom practice of Serb customs is concerned, the Serbs proved to be very flexible, accepting rather than rejecting it, and explaining that »that's what one ought to do«, regardless of whether such a practice once existed and gradually faded out, or never existed at all.<sup>17</sup> Therefore, it is only natural that a custom in which the Serbs are no longer active participants, but which is dedicated to them, is still considered Serbian, with the changes considered part of its natural development.

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<sup>17</sup> The people belonging to the so-called Dinaric stream of migration, who moved to Serbia from Montenegro and Herzegovina to become majority (in western Serbia and Šumadija particularly) are typically shepherds rather than farmers. Therefore, the rites of *lazarice* and *dodole*, as typically agricultural customs, did not have the opportunity to develop among them.

## ROMI KOT POMEMBEN DEJAVNIK V RAZVOJU SRBSKEGA OBREDJA

### Povzetek

Romi sodijo med najstarejše profesionalne glasbenike v Srbiji in so splošno znani kot nosilci predvsem tistega dela domačega glasbenega repertoarja, ki služi za zabavo, na primer kot plesna spremljava. V preteklosti nobeno večje srbsko praznovanje ni potekalo brez romskih glasbenikov. Ti so nastopali, med drugim, na sejnih, svatbah in godovnih dnevih zavetnika družine, medtem ko so ob raznih opravilih (na primer ob predenju, tkanju) za glasbo skrbeli srbski posamezniki.

Sodelovanje Romov je izredno zanimivo v srbskem obrednem življenju, za katero velja, da je popolnoma v domeni Srbov. Romi so ponekod prevzeli srbske šege, ki so jih sami Srbi že opustili in potem pripomogli, da so jih srbski priseljenci z drugih področij sprejeli kot svoje. Na primer Srbi, ki so se z Dinarskega področja (iz Črne gore, Hercegovine), kjer so bili pastirji in niso imeli obredja, preselili v zahodno Srbijo in Šumadijo, so tamkajšnje obredje spoznali v romski izvedbi.

# ROM MUSIC FOR THE TATARS OF THE CRIMEA

*Wolf DIETRICH*

## *The Roumanian Dobrudja and Turkic Speaking People*

*T*he Roman poet Ovid deplored his exile in the area of today's Constanța very much. He had friends in Rome who left nothing undone that would enable him to escape from there, that »boring, cruel and unsafe landscape«. For many centuries, it remained as unattractive as it had been during Ovid's lifetime: flat, almost unsettled and infected with malaria. When the Ottoman Turks broke into this area in the late 14th century and established a military base close to the town of Babadag they found an almost unpopulated steppe. The Ottoman Turks settled peasants from Anatolia there (cf. Önal 1997:21 and Gibb 1965:611). To defend the area they hired Tatars of the Crimea as mercenary troops (cf. Husein 1958:259). Until this time the Dobrudja had a population which, numerically, was not worth mentioning.

Since the early 19th century (since 1806) Tsarist Russia tried, with sudden military advances against Bessarabia and the Eastern part of today's Roumania, to obtain land property in this area. During this period, the area was in the hands of the increasingly-weak Ottoman Turks. Under Tsar Nicolaus I. (who reigned in 1825-1855), Russia rushed to war with the Ottomans; the Crimean War started in 1853, not only Russia and Turkey participated, but also England and France. In the Treaty of Paris in 1856 the Dobrudja was given back to Turkey. As a consequence about 60.000 Tatars of the Crimea fled from their homes on the Peninsula of Crimea to this part of the Ottoman Empire, for them, as Muslims, a better alternative than to stay with the Russians. Sultan Abdülhamid settled the majority of these Tatars around Medgidia (cf. Önal 1997:23). A smaller group was settled close to the Delta of the Danube, near the town of Tulcea. It was this wave of Tatar immigration rather than the Tatar soldiers of the 15<sup>th</sup> century that influenced the Tatar language and tradition in the Roumanian Dobrudja of today.



In another Turco-Russian war in 1877-78 most of these refugees emigrated further into the southern part of the Dobrudja, which today belongs to Bulgaria; others went to Anatolia.

The Tatars did not come to the Dobrudja for its fertile arable land; rather, they came as war refugees, because in this part of the Ottoman empire, they felt safe from religious persecution and ethnic discrimination. They settled in closed villages where they are still living today as a majority. Most of them are farmers.

With the Turks and a part of the Rom population the Tatars share the religion (*Sunni Islam*) but not the language. The Crimean Tatar language indeed belongs to the same group of Western Turkic languages as *Nogai* or Anatolian Turkish, but it is not so closely related that it can be regarded as a local dialect of Turkish. From the beginning the Tatars of the Crimea in the Dobrudja maintained a cultural background and an identity distinct from the Rumanians, Vlachs, Lipovenians, Roma or Turks in the same area. In the Dobrudja of today Turks and Tatars of the Crimea partially live together in the same village or small town, but a mixture of their languages did not take place. Census figures show the size of the Tatar and Turkish population in this province: in 1964, there were ca. 20.000 Tatars (Sulițeanu 1972:78, n.1); in 1977, ca. 22.000 Tatars and ca. 19.000 Turks in the *județul Dobrogea*; and in 1992, ca. 24.000 Tatars of the Crimea and Turks in this province (Önal 1997). Tatars and Turks represent a relatively constant group of about 6 % of the population in the Roumanian Dobrudja. The Tatars of the Crimea are concentrated in the following villages or towns: *Medgidia, Cobadin, Independența, Valul lui Traian, Basarabi, Constanța*. Small groups are found in *Tulcea* and *Mahmudia* in the *Delta Dunării*. Almost all of these Tatars today are muslims.

The musical repertoire of this Tatar population does not give the impression of being restricted, degenerated or almost forgotten. Nobody sings song texts which he no longer understands (as often happens in the older strata of Albanian settlers in *Attica* / Greece).

*Boztorçay degen ayvaĭ*  
*Žilgada bolir yuwasz.*  
*Žawĭnnar žawsa sel alĭr*  
*Žĭlay da qala anasz.*

»The bird which is called skylark,  
 his nest is near the brook.  
 When heavy rain is falling wild water sweeps it away  
 the bird mother stays behind in tears.«

Singer: Seit Feüziye, 63, from Murfatlar, partly accompanied by her husband Seit Ali, 77

(Translation: Johannes Benzing / Same song known from Bahçesaray, Crimea)

(Recording: Dietrich F 247-A,3)

CD-14

CD-14

### *Roma (Gypsies) in the Roumanian Dobrudja*

As in other regions of Southeastern Europe in Roumania, gypsies of the Christian faith are found alongside others who are Muslims. In connection with the discussion of the music for the Tatars of the Crimea, here only the Muslim Roma are of interest since only they have close contact with the Tatars.

Documentary evidence shows that Roma (or Gypsies, as they are generally called have been professional musicians in Roumania since the 16th century. For a fee they played for the Vojvods and Bojars – both representative music for parades and military events, and – entertainment music for local festivities, municipal coffee houses (the later »café-amán«) and tea-shops.

They were kept as serfs or bondsmen and, depending on the occasion, had to play either Turkish music (»Mehter« repertoire) or Western entertainment and dance music (»solfeggio«). The serfdom of these Rom musicians was abolished in Roumania no earlier than 1856. Most of these musicians' kin still provide today's local folk orchestras in the towns.

Besides this well-known music which can be heard every day in the radio and elsewhere there are numerous other Rom musicians in Roumania who perform not this kind of »mainstream folk music«, but melodies of the »Tatar dance music«. Between these musicians and the others who are bound in the folklore music favoured by the State, there is – musically speaking – not much in common. (cf. Garfias 1984:85).

Settlements in the Roumanian Dobrudja where Rom musicians with a Tatar repertoire are found are: Constanța, Babadag, Medgidia, Cobadin, Negru Vodă (cf. Ónal 1993:32).

Visiting these Rom settlements in Constanța, Medgidia and Valul Traian it was evident, that the inhabitants were proud of being Muslims, though they knew that they belonged to a minority which is little esteemed by the Roumanians. In spite of this they were proud to be Roma, and they scolded – without being prompted – those, who earned their money in the towns as »adjusted musicians«. Their attitude resembles very much to that of those Roma from Prizren / Kosovo who are depicted by Svanibor Pettan in his

thesis: »Being proud of their Rom ethnic identity, Gypsies from Terzi Mahala condemn those Gypsies who pretend to belong to non-Gypsy ethnic communities ...« (Pettan 1992).

### *Cultural Politics*

In the autumn of 1953 and in the spring 1958 two ethnological research trips to the villages of the Tatars in the Dobruđja were undertaken by the Institut de Folclor și Etnografie in Bucharest. During these trips a large amount of musical and linguistic recordings were made, whereof a smaller part has been published by Ghizela Sulıteanu. Most of these recordings comprise vocal music; instrumental music is exceptional. Further field trips to this minority were not made until at least 1989.

As a consequence, in the standard publication about Roumanian folk musical instruments by Tiberiu Alexandru »surla« and »daul« as typical musical instruments of the Turks and Tatars are discussed in less than half a page. As illustration a picture from 1787 is used, while for all the other instruments new photographs were available. The »surla« is said to have »dispărut de mult« with the sovereign (feudal) courts. The existence of several Rom bands playing »surla« and »daul« is not mentioned there (Alexandru 1956:89).

Since about 1975, publications about the Tatars of the Crimea were stopped because their contents no longer fit the State's (Ceauseșcu's) cultural politics. It was not maintained – as it was in Bulgaria – that the country was ethnically completely homogeneous, but the culture of the minorities was underrepresented and readily forgotten. Publications of books or gramophone records of non-Roumanian music were extremely rare. The cultural politics at that time stressed the old age of a pastoral Roumania and attacked Serbian and especially Hungarian trends in the country. The discovery of a new musical »star« in the early 1970s, the nai-player Gheorghe Zamfir, was highly convenient for these politics. In an excellent way he personified a Roumanian shepherd with an ancient flute tradition – a wrong symbol scientifically since his art was neither »old« nor of Roumanian but of Turkish origin – but this symbol was easy to sell abroad (cf. Mesnil 1990:35).

Zamfir's was not the only case. On all occasions folklore was manipulated to demonstrate a uniform and homogenous state with a very old and obliging folk tradition (cf. Giurchescu 1992:166). It explains the disappearance of publications about minorities which did not fit into the arrangement of cultural politics of the time. Even in international reports

about the Roumanian ethnographical activities the minorities in the country were not mentioned in adequate proportion. Mihai Pop (cf. Pop 1965) for example completely forgets the minorities in his country. Ion Taloş in his report mentions them in only one short sentence (cf. Taloş 1966).

Since 1989, after Ceauşescu's dismissal, the restrictions relative to the minorities were lifted. At least one publication about the folklore of the Turks in the Dobrudja became possible (Önal 1997).

### *Tatar Musical Styles*

The music of the Tatars of the Crimea comprises several vocal genres, which are well documented, among them

- the 'šĩ' – antiphonal songs sung by two groups of women or men
- the 'toy durkuleri' – wedding (ritual) songs
- the epic song »Čora Batır«
- »nogay beyti« – satirical songs, and others.

All these songs are sung by the Tatars themselves. However, they do not play dance music on musical instruments. For such occasions Rom musicians are ordered to come. Such ensembles are paid with a basic remuneration (for their coming), but during the dance they are additionally paid with a »bakšiš«. This money generally is not given by adult persons, much less by persons of high prestige, but by the children.

The separation between vocal music sung at home and professionally played instrumental music is deeply rooted: no Tatar would learn to play the clarinet or the zurna, otherwise he would be considered a Rom. This separation seems to go back to the time when the Tatars of the Crimea still lived in their homeland.

»Kirim mendil oyunu« – handkerchief dance from the Crimea

*zurna*: Cheasim Etem, 65, Rom from Medgidia

*davul*: his son Cheasim Rustem, 20, from Medgidia

(Recording: Dietrich F 255,5)

CD-15

CD-15

### *Identification with the Customers*

Since the Tatars of the Crimea have not played instrumental folk music for several generations, Rom musicians have undertaken this job. For every wedding, circumcision, ramadan festivity or any other public feast specialized Rom musicians are engaged. According to the host's musical taste oboe and drum (»davul-zurna«) are ordered, or a group with clarinet, trumpet,

accordion or synthesizer and drum is engaged. Rom musicians who perform such a repertoire for the Tatars or the Turks (they usually play for both groups) specialize in this kind of music and do not play Roumanian dances. These Rom musicians' identification with their Tatar customers goes so far that they explain to foreigners that they are not simple »țigani« but »tătar-țigani«. Ethnically this is downright nonsense; however, it puts a striking light on the strong feeling of solidarity between both groups.

A similar phenomenon of specialization can be observed in many parts of the Balkan countries. In the area of Tetovo, Macedonia, one can find Rom ensembles playing strictly Albanian repertoire apart from other Rom musicians who play for Macedonians only. The same can be observed in Greek Thrace, where »koumpanies« exclusively for the Turkish minority exist (e.g. in the Kalkandža near Komotini), and a few kilometers away, other Rom musicians who specialize in Greek songs and dances. However, only the Roma in the Dobrudja designate themselves »tătar-țigani«.

As far as can be traced, there were specialized Rom ensembles: the last Vezîr of the Ottoman Empire in Epirus, Alî Pasha Tepeleni (ca. 1744-1822) had a 24-hour-service from Gypsy groups at his court in Ioannina. They had to play upon his request polyphonic melodies from Alî Pasha's personal native place in Labërija / Southern Albania in an instrumental form, a practice which deeply influenced the Greek music of this area. Other examples for minority repertoire specialization can be found in many sources: Elsie Dunin reported on Gypsy weddings in Skopje's quarter Topana (Dunin 1971) where orders had to be made for »Turkish« or »Macedonian« music. The same observations can be made with the Rom ensembles in the multi-ethnic surroundings of Lake Prespa (cf. Sugarman 1997). It also turns out to be true of the Rom settlements in Iraklia near Serre in Northern Greece. In many parts of Greece different names are given to musicians according to their repertoire. »Tsinganos« in many places of Greece means a Rom of orthodox faith who plays Greek or Vlach music (in the Pindos mountain area), whereas a »jiftos« or better a »turkojiftos« in most cases is a Rom of Muslim faith playing in the Turkish style.

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## ROMSKA GLASBA ZA KRIMSKE TATARE

### Povzetek

Romunska Dobrogea (Dobrudža) je območje, v katerem živi tatarska manjšina krimskega porekla. Njeni predniki so se tu naselili predvsem v letih 1853 – 1855, v času krimske vojne med Rusijo in Turčijo, ko je bila Dobrudža še del Otomanskega imperija. Dandanes v tamkajšnjih vaseh ni inštrumentalistov, vokalno izročilo pa negujejo samo starejši ljudje. Če že obstaja potreba po inštrumentalni glasbi, na primer ob svatbi, najamejo romske glasbenike. Glede na to, da romunski plesi iz Dobrudže, kot sta *cadîneasca* in *tromanca*, niso posebej priljubljeni, željam krimskih Tatarov po izvajanju tatarskih in turških viž, kot sta na primer *kaytarma* in *ciftetelli*, zadostijo nekatere romske zasedbe. Ti Romi se deklarirajo kot »Tatar-ţigani«, kar pomeni etnično nemogočo, hkrati pa glasbeno učinkovito konstrukcijo.

Edina raziskovalka, ki je, za razliko od nekaterih antropologov in orientalistov, v času Ceauşescujevega režima dobila dovoljenje za raziskovanje te manjšine, je bila Gisela Suliteanu iz Bukarešte. Proti koncu tega režima, ko tujcem ni bilo več dovoljeno prenočevanje zunaj državnih hotelov, je bilo raziskovanje ustavljeno.

# CROSSING OVER GRASS ROOTS AND POLITICS: LAKOTA MUSIC AND RADIO AS IDENTITY MARKERS OF A NATIVE MINORITY IN THE USA

Michael SCHLOTTNER

The last two decades have generated a striking number of radio stations, organized and controlled either by minorities or indigenous people. Among such populations the juxtaposition of cultural continuity and social change evoked both motivation and a remarkable potential to establish or re-establish voices that contribute towards the modification of former inactivity and paralysis after colonization and other oppressive events. Activists, who celebrate the renaissance of their cultures on the media level, frequently prefer radio and internet rather than TV and denote that preference through persistent oral interactions in other spheres of communication. In the USA, the programs aired by such radio stations transform the horizon of mere entertainment and infotainment emphasized by their commercial neighbors.<sup>1</sup> Constituted as community radio stations for Native American minorities, they reflect large parts of the local discourse and networks, including not only official political debates and informal grass root activities, but also certain cultural concepts and sentiments in association with traditional and/or contemporary popular music.

Sonic media rank among the major agents articulating central features and issues of ethnic and cultural identity. One topic of the recent ethnicity debate focused upon the perspective that an ethnic identity does not come into existence *per se* but rather emerges in encounters with other groups of people. Its substance and significance is vitalized and verbalized in order to determine not only distinctive ideals, values, strategies, beliefs, ideologies, but also cultural features such as language and other forms or models of knowledge of a particular population whose members consider themselves different – in whatever sense – from their neighbors. If segments within a dominant society refer to distinctive

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<sup>1</sup> For a general concept of non-commercial public and community radio stations, see Browne 1996, Engelman 1996, Lewis and Booth 1995, and Widlok 1992. Keith 1995 centers upon Native broadcasting in America.



identities, which are frequently correlated with distinctive histories, they are perceived and, occasionally stigmatized as minorities different from what is considered mainstream. Such a notion can be marked by clichés and stereotyped perspectives of outsiders representing the dominant culture, whilst minorities focus upon their own cultural values as vehicles to withstand assimilation.<sup>2</sup> In such a context, the study of an American Indian community radio station as an institution locating the utterances and performance of a specific ethnic and cultural identity in sonic discourses requires a focus better than broad definitions of ethnicity such as the »we-they« opposition.<sup>3</sup>

Since each of today's approximately forty Native American-controlled stations has, despite meta-local interrelations, a particular format and certain affinities to local places, people and cultures, a case study related to a single population might shed more light upon discourses than a general approach. Thus, the analysis presented here is of a particular American Indian nation, namely, the Lakota in South Dakota, who are also referred to as Teton or Western Sioux in various fields.

In the past, the Lakota were buffalo hunters in the northern part of the Great Plains. The areas that finally remained under their control were more and more restricted during the 19<sup>th</sup> but also the 20<sup>th</sup> century to what is now left: the reservations of Pine Ridge, Rosebud, Cheyenne River and Standing Rock in South Dakota and a small part of North Dakota. The reduction of land and power cannot be solely attributed to the large numbers of white settlers occupying the country; it is also a consequence of an administration breaking treaties and following a strategy of oppression that reflects the expectation of assimilation.

Westerners' notions of American Indian minorities, and the Lakota are considered ideal representatives from this point of view: they re-incarnate strong, long-lasting romances and stereotypes, emerging as inadequate and falsifying approaches by non-Indians who rely upon their feathered friends as perfect figures for projections. In particular, Hollywood has created its own influential concept of the Native warrior evident, wherever children play *Cowboys and Indians*. But anthropological publications such as Royal B. Hassrick's study *The Sioux: Life and Customs of a Warrior Society* (1964) also center on an attitude pointing towards war and aggression as outstanding cultural issues among the Lakota. On Pine Ridge, however, the current public discourses refer to a divergent ideal, and the radio station

<sup>2</sup> More details of the recent minority debate are pointed out by JanMohamed and Lloyd 1990, Yetman 1991, Kymlicka 1995. Biagi and Kern-Fosworth 1997 consider minorities within the framework of mass media.

<sup>3</sup> Stokes' point of view (1994:10-15) is a rather fruitful one.

KILI proves to be a forum for profound reflection on such discussions. Many speakers and announcers define the role of a warrior, and every adult man was considered to be one in the past, by virtue of achievement and commitment to the family, the band of relatives and the community. As hunters, they brought food for those at home and, as fighters they defended the community. The Lakota perspective assigns to the warrior a role sharply contrasting with what is suggested by the film cliché of the longhaired savage. Warfare – raids are barely mentioned – is supposed to be prestigious in a social sense, but also related to the spiritual achievements of an individual, and valued as an improvement the group's status.<sup>4</sup> Such an approach, that highlights conflicts with European invaders while neglecting skirmishes with other Natives reflects the past by emphasizing and celebrating chiefs and warriors of the 19<sup>th</sup> century as raw models for today's people. Thus, an ideal associated with a former time remains effective. None of the speakers and announcers claims to be a warrior, but individual commitment to the community, related in activities or public discourses, counts as a contribution towards cultural continuity. In the virtual sphere of communication, the announcers of Radio KILI, who are usually volunteers, illustrate for instance, such a commitment in the way in which they introduce upcoming tunes, how they locate even non-Indian songs within a context revealing a Lakota perspective, and how they celebrate the station as a vehicle of communication, breaking the isolation of Pine Ridge in pre-electronic media times. As two announcers reveal in a dialogue, spontaneity on the air is a quality esteemed as a marker of *orality*, whilst the reservation is commemorated as a place called home:<sup>5</sup>

*»The track you were just listening to a few minutes ago was by Kashtin, a band from Canada, the title track song was Haricana, and I want to jump in some more music right now and then I sign off with this song. This is music by Seven Fire, and this is track ten, it is called My Home, and I have come home to Pine Ridge. Everyone that is for the Oglala Lakota Nation powwow, we like to welcome you and be safe, be sober, be fun, be cool, have a good time and listen to KILI!«*

*»You know what I think of other DJs, they have to read, they are like actors, that is all they are, actors that know how to act, they read from scripts, they have got their music picked out for them,*

<sup>4</sup> Macgregor 1946 and Walker 1982, for instance, consider this aspect in greater detail.

<sup>5</sup> Aired on August 6, 1999, ca. 9:45 p.m. Powwows are dance contests accompanied by singers who beat a big cylinder-shaped drum set on the ground.

*they never get to do what we do: have fun!«*

*»You have got to sit there and keep your eyes open for the big boss, that is them, I guess.«*

*»Being spontaneous keeps me coming back to KILI 'cause I can do that here, you know. If I went on a different radio station, I'd have to follow a man, here it is: have fun!«*

Beside the warrior cliché, the dominant culture but also many Lakota insist upon a tribal notion inherent in references like *the Lakota*, *the Lakota Nation* or *Sioux Tribe* suggesting homogeneity on the reservation. However, scholars, who are more familiar with Pine Ridge, lay stress upon the non-existence of both a common tribal identity and a superior tribal leadership.<sup>6</sup> The Lakota of the old days consisted of small, independently acting local collectives referred to as *tiospaye*, consisting of five to twenty nuclear families, since the cold winters of the plains did not permit the survival of larger groups. Such collectives gathered at particular places during the warm summers and shared a common language and cultural features including religion, spiritual beliefs and ceremonies. Referring to such a system, Ella Deloria (1944:24-25), an expert with intimate knowledge of Lakota culture, outlines kinship as an all-important matter. Kinship bonds are frequently revitalized with the expostulation, *Be a good relative!* as an ultimate aim of Lakota life. In other words, each individual has serious responsibilities for the prosperity and benefits of those who are addressed as kinsman. This system promotes not only a strong individuality rather independent of an institutionalized tribal code but also the ability to accept the rules of the collective of which one is a part. Although the traditional *tiospaye*-system was changed after the establishment of Pine Ridge, such a concept plus a rather heterogeneous composition of the population on the reservation promote factionalism evident in many political conflicts. Radio KILI's program reflects both the political diversity and the commonly shared sense of *being related*.

Such a sense is most evident when radio announcers greet their listeners personally and dedicate songs to them, out of spontaneous inspiration or as a request. The following sample illustrates how an announcer greets young relatives with a kid's powwow song of the famous singing group Black Lodge Singers:<sup>7</sup>

*»Yeah, that was Norman Greenbaum with Spirit in the Sky. It's*

<sup>6</sup> An organization on a higher level was never institutionalized but constituted during larger meetings and ceremonies during the summer. See Bolz 1986:33-37, 147, 150-159, 161; DeMallie 1978:239-240.

<sup>7</sup> Aired on August 14, 1999, at 8:05 p.m. In the quote, the names are withheld.

*five minutes after eight and I have to send a very special big hello all the way down to Wounded Knee, to auntie X, uncle Y, uncle Z, crazy cousin G, the whole crew down there, the birthday boys. And I like to say thank you for feeding us good food. It was good to eat something else for a change, wopila (»thank you«). And my two little cousins are having a birthday party today, so we want to send a very special birthday song out to them. This one is going out to cousins G and M and this is music by the Black Lodge Singers, a song called Mighty Mouse.«*

Greetings for collectives or communities on the reservation that are frequently announced in a mixture of English and Lakota, work like boosters with regards to all the individuals and factions sharing a common Lakota identity. The following text, quoted here without interjections in Lakota, was completed by a veteran song of a Lakota singing group highlighting not only the continuity of the warrior ethic values but also the common identity of various communities and collectives.<sup>8</sup>

*»Hoka he, good morning out there everybody in Lakota country, homeland of the Oglala, Sicanga, Minneconjou, Hunkpapa, Sishasapa, Oohenonpa and Itazipco, (...) good morning, Rosebud, Parmelee, Spring Creek and all the way up north, the home of the Red Leaf Singers, (...) and also all the way across Wanblee, good morning to the Porcupine Creek community, good morning Red Shirt, Lonesome Valley, Rainbow Valley, all kinds of valleys in this beautiful land called Pine Ridge. There are a couple of veterans out there this morning. Good morning also to Cheyenne Creek, good morning up and down the White River, White Creek, good morning to everybody in Pine Ridge. But today I want to take time out and remember the veterans, all of you Vietnam veterans, and all of you vets, plain and simple, here we go, music here by the Red Leaf Singers, hoka.«*

Some announcers use Radio KILI as an instrument to mark a Lakota and an American Indian identity frequently, in combination with music. Such a function is also evident in a poem read by an announcer during his evening show, when tunes from American Indian singing groups were played as memorial songs for men of the reservation who have passed away. The text was verbalized after a song of the Lakota musician Earl

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<sup>8</sup> Aired on August 22, 1999, at 9:40 a.m. For the persistence of the warrior ethic, see Theisz 1988. Among others, the sample gives evidence that not only popular music but also singing groups revitalize a common identity among the Lakota. For a similar development in Australia, cf. Mitchell 1996:173-214.

Bullhead, whose repertoire includes songs from mainstream America, was dubbed into the Lakota drumming style. Thus, the poem became a direct reference to the discourses on Native American identities:<sup>9</sup>

*»I have got a little poem here, says 'What is an Indian?', as some people may ask. Some of them might say that an Indian is a person who does not work and he or she gets a check from the government; some might say that he or she is lazy and is a junky, but some might say an Indian got a raw deal from the government and therefore he or she is entitled to what he can get from the government. Some say that the government should stop giving Indians checks, stop giving them land and let them make their own way into today's society. Myself, I don't know how to see an Indian in the way that those confused people see them. I see the Indians as a group of people different in their own ways and tied together by a common bond called culture. I see the Indians who fought for what is rightfully theirs, yet when they won, the Whites branded them as savages. I see the Indians as a group of people who fought against overwhelming odds and finally gave in for peace, signing the peace treaties, and lived to see them broken one by one. I see the Indian fighting war after war giving their lives for the people for what is right and theirs. I see the Indians as a group of people who are proud of their heritage because the Indian possesses the secrets of life the White man has never discovered. I see the Indian elders encouraging the young warriors to be always proud of who they are to maintain the spiritual role and the spiritual ways. Remember what you are and who you are and keep fighting for freedom. When I think of Indians in this light and think of the question, what is an Indian, my chest gets full of pride and joy and I say to myself, I am Lakota, I am Indian.«*

In terms of politics and grass root activities, Radio KILI as a community station endeavors to reflect a broad field of distinctive interests and strategies on the reservation, although harsh critics doubt that all notions and voices are transmitted.<sup>10</sup> However, music is barely aired in direct association with political statements. Meetings of the tribal council and other official organizations but also of grass root activists are frequently transmitted live by phone. During such programs, music of any genre

<sup>9</sup> Aired on August 18, 1999, at 6:50 p.m.

<sup>10</sup> Some of these critiques are published in printed media such as the weekly *Indian Country Today*.

would make little sense, since the attention of the listeners centers upon the words of the speakers. Moreover, mono-transmissions by phone on KILI's third- and fourth-hand technical equipment that permits only alternations with music from the studio and not simultaneously with speech, are seen as a particular sonic experience obviously different from the regular FM sound on the 90.1 dial.

In contrast with such technical limits and the exclusive sphere of the transmitted political word reaching even into the most isolated parts of the reservation, studio interviews may be aired with music. If the announcer and the visitor(s) agree upon the tunes, the lyrics might even correspond with the issues in discussion. Such interviews feature individuals or groups from Pine Ridge, other Lakota or American Indians but also visitors from abroad as, for instance, in August 1999, the aborigine from Australia, where indigenous people face similar problems to Native Americans. While representatives of the tribal council and other officials usually abstain from sonic alternations, grass root activists are more open to musical interludes of any genre, especially if the songs are locally valued and the lyrics correlate with the thrust of their words.<sup>11</sup> Such a setting was given by a spokesman representing an encampment known as *Camp Justice* no need to italicize near the border town White Clay, Nebraska, a location two miles distant from Pine Ridge Village where large quantities of alcohol, prohibited on the reservation, are sold. The campers fought for sobriety and the elucidation of the mysterious killing of a number of Lakota at White Clay, since they considered the FBI too reluctant. The spokesman proposed that the camp should be moved outside the reservation lines right into White Clay in the near future. He said that he would like to introduce a brother prior to the presentation of supporters in the studio: »I play a song for the great Lakota Nation, and also for the people at camp justice.« The upcoming tune, quoted here in parts, was »Winds of Life« by the late Buddy Red Bow, a country rock singer from Pine Ridge who started his career in the 1970s. Since then the legendary lyrics of his songs turned into a symbol of the new Indian pride in Lakota country and elsewhere in Native America:<sup>12</sup>

*»Winds of life are blowing / Across the reservation / And I can  
hear the voice / Of a new generation / Oh, Great Spirit / Won't  
you hear their prayers / Oh, Grandmother Earth / We know you  
care / CHORUS: And it's time, yes it's time to live / Oh it's time,*

<sup>11</sup> Journals of the mainstream grass root movement such as *Win* in the U.S.A. refer infrequently to developments in American Indian reservations. However, instead of reflecting international operating grass root networks, they prefer to strengthen the view of western grass root supporters.

<sup>12</sup> Aired on August 5, 1999, at 7:30 p.m.

*yes it's time / To give our love, and dreams / Yes your dreams can come true / Just for you, yeah, yeah.*« In the studio, the song generated audible deep emotions and the spokesman communicated: »Oh, what a power, yes, that is music by the late Great Buddy Red Bow.«

Such a sample demonstrates that emotions and sensations created by music referring to a revitalized Lakota identity do not merely emerge after drumming and singing but also when popular genres and styles are aired by Radio KILI. General public discussions frequently emphasize the dichotomy that results from matching tradition with convention and pop with innovation. However, Radio KILI challenges any standardization of such a western perspective: both drumming considered traditional, and contemporary pop music are occasionally linked with interviews or statements by the announcers. In such a context, any song can turn into a vehicle reinforcing an identity – that of *being Lakota* or *being Native American*. Regularly, songs of the mainstream pop and rock also form part of the program, where they reflect a bilateral orientation: today's Lakota attitude is swayed and affected by both the dominant culture and the minority perspective. Sometimes, the mainstream songs are re-defined in a Lakota context; more often, however, such songs are announced without further comment. Whereas traditional Lakota music refers to cultural customs and the knowledge of a particular Native nation, other music is less important as a medium. It rather works as a tool to evoke or re-evolve the notion that it is alright to be Lakota with all apparently inherent contradictions: Native voices are worth registering after many decades of oppression.<sup>13</sup>

Generally speaking, Radio KILI airs three distinctive musical genres: popular music from mainstream America, American Indian popular music and American Indian singing groups locally referred to as »traditional« *powwow* or *wacipi* (»dance«) music. The latter genre has been examined within the sphere of direct communication in a number of studies commemorating it as an elaborated and efficient system expressing specific cultural features.<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless, such studies reveal that musical genres and styles considered traditional emerged within a fluid system of change, innovation and continuity open to adaptations from neighboring populations.<sup>15</sup> However, the last twenty years have seen changes in the drumming and singing, since nowadays most powwows are highly influenced by

<sup>13</sup> Leuthold (1998) registers such a development of Native American music and media activities within the framework of new indigenous aesthetics.

<sup>14</sup> See, for instance, Densmore 1992 (1918), Young Bear and Theisz 1994.

<sup>15</sup> What is frequently demonstrated with references to the Grass Dance of the neighboring Omaha, as shown in Black Bear and Theisz 1976:19.

contests of singers and dancers. As a consequence, Radio KILI opened the microphones for speakers who are familiar with traditional drumming and might attract especially younger listeners who do not know the role of a drum in a powwow and at ceremonies. Such information reverberates with a broader discourse on tradition, continuity and innovation:<sup>16</sup>

*»Now there are two types of drums; some can do both – be at a traditional powwow when they request a song, and they can come to a powwow and participate in a contest. There is the contest drum and the traditional drum. And there are some drums that can do both. Lots of the ones that make CDs, if you call them to sing a society song, they do not know. They all learn new songs, and it is getting to a competition in the jet set powwow. ... Our powwow has been around for a long time, and these are things that bring families together. But casino powwows, they do not really do that.«*

Besides the singing groups, the last three decades generated sounds on the stages of popular music, when native songwriters and also rock groups started to perform. Referring stylistically to mainstream America, the genres of the Native American pop music emerged without any reference to the drumming and singing, although this repertoire is quoted here and there. Today, the range of these styles has widened to include blues, and reggae to rap and hip-hop, sketched as Contemporary Native American Music. In terms of styles such genres are strongly influenced by the mainstream but performed by Native Americans whose lyrics include allusions to life on the reservation and the oppression of Native American minorities. Announcers of American Indian-controlled stations such as Radio KILI but also other Native American media promote such genres from the perspective of budding prospects, coupled with an expectation that it will attract the interest of the dominant culture. Thus, in a music review of the magazine *Ikce Wicasa*, Robert Peaslee (2000:22) concludes:

*»I am not sure if the general public is ready to accept Native as the norm in the entertainment industry, but like it or not, they are about to be taken by storm. Native people are highly talented in every aspect and this fact can no longer be ignored. As for myself, I am not only proud but feel very fortunate to be associated with this brave and assertive new group of Native people willing to stand up and be counted. This vast pool of untapped talent is not only ready and long overdue but on the verge of a major eruption*

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<sup>16</sup> Statement aired on August 8, 1999, at 10:15 a.m.



*about to overflow into mainstream ... HELLO America!«*

In sum, the music aired in sonic media like Radio KILI that is controlled by a minority, emerges within the hybridity of prevailing American fashions and local or meta-local American Indian sounds relying upon both traditional and contemporary styles. The texts of the announcers, usually delivered spontaneously without any written word, provide a perfect, Lakota-oriented setting with musical references to both American Indian and non-Indian music, aired in a great mix. There is little doubt that such a sonic network operates as a basic factor in the reconstruction of a Lakota identity after more than 100 years of oppression and an expectation that America's indigenous cultures would collapse.

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## PREPLETANJE NARODNEGA IN POLITIČNEGA . GLASBA LAKOTOV IN RADIO KOT ZNAMENJA ISTOVETNOSTI STAROSELSKE MANJŠINE V ZDA

### Povzetek

V knjigi *Teton Sioux Music* iz leta 1918 Frances Densmore izpostavlja pesmi skupnosti Lakota kot dovršen in učinkovit sistem, ki izraža posebne kulturne značilnosti in znanje skupine ameriških staroselcev, vpeto med tradicijo in to, čemur so takrat rekli modernost. Pod vplivom zatiranja in politike omejevanja staroselcev v naslednjih desetletjih je bilo videti, da ta kultura stagnira. Tudi na področju glasbe in zvoka je bilo malo podatkov, ki bi potrjevali kontinuiteto. V sedemdesetih letih dvajstetega stoletja je na podlagi popularne kulture nastal nov, močan zvočni okvir in se v osemdesetih in devetdesetih letih ob nastanku različnih radijskih postaj nadaljeval.

Današnja glasba Lakotov povezuje tradicionalne stile pevskih skupin in sodobno popularno glasbo; ta se navezuje na ameriško popularno glasbo, ki prevladuje v medijih. Prispevek poudarja oblike glasbenega izražanja predvsem na področju medijske komunikacije. Ta kontekst je nakazan ne samo kot čutno-zvočna študija za področje zvočnega zaznavanja, temveč kot študija s poudarkom na zvočni izkušnji na poti ustvarjanja identitete, političnih akcij in družbenih inštitucij.

# DANCE OF THE LONG WAIST DRUM OF THE YAO MINORITY IN CHINA

*Cheng SHUI-CHENG*

## *Introduction*

The Yao is one of the important minorities of Southern China, numbering more than 1.400,000 according to the 1982 census, and ranking twelfth among China's 55 minorities. In China, the Yao are distributed in more than 130 counties mainly in the provinces of Guangxi (860,000), Hunan (290,000), Yunnan (147,000), Guangdong (96,000), and Guizhou (20,000) (fig.1). Outside China, there are groups scattered in Vietnam (more than 200,000), Laos (20,000), Thailand (16,000), and a small number in Burma, the United States, France, Switzerland, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Generally, when the Yao live in a given region, they are usually gathered in small agglomerations and in very scattered settlements. For historical and other reasons, in the past, the Yao had 28 self-designations such as »Mien«, »Pu Nu«, or Lak Kia« and more than 30 given appellations such as »Pan Yao«, Chashan Yao«, or Baiku Yao«. The Yao belong to four language groups: 1) the mien branch, used by more than half of the total population of Yao; 2) the pu nu branch, which accounts for one third of the Yao; 3) the lak kia, which has less than 10,000 speakers; and 4) the han, with more than 100,000 speakers.

The long waist drum dance is unique to the Yao. The drum is double-headed in hourglass form and is struck with the hands. As mentioned in the Chronicles of the Later Han Dynasty (947 – 950), its origin may go back to the 11<sup>th</sup> century A.D. According to legend, Pan Hu, who managed to kill his lord's Gao Xin's arch-enemy, General Wu, the chief of the marauding Quan Rong tribe, was rewarded by being given the hand of the third princess and by being promoted to the rank of Court Dignitary. Their descendants, known as »race of Pan Hu«, became the predecessors of the Yao. Pan Hu and the third princess, instead of living in the capital, preferred to live in the mountain to struggle with the nature. They brought forth 12 children, six boys and six girls. One day, Pan Hu went to hunt with his children.

Unfortunately, he was struck by a he-goat's horn, fell on a rock and died. The third princess was so sad that she cut down the plane-tree nearby and took off the skin of the he-goat to make a big long waist drum (the prototype of the female drum) and six small long waist drums (the prototype of the male drum). The third princess played the big drum, while the children played the six small drums to worship the King of Pan Hu. This was the beginning of the Pan Wang Feast. Today it has become the most important feast for the Yao, which is held on Pan Wang's birthday on October 16<sup>th</sup> every year of the Lunar Calendar. The feast commemorates the Yao's forefathers and heroes, and also celebrates bumper harvest. In the course of the procession or artistic performance, the Dance of the long waist drum is executed in different ways.

### *The Long Waist Drums*

According to my fieldwork data, due to choreographic and instrumental evolution there are, at present, four kinds of long waist drums:

1. The small long waist drum (Xiao chang gu) of around 82 cm length.
2. The longest long waist drum (Dao chang gu) of 3 to 4 metres length, carried by two players.
3. The yellow earth drum (Huangni gu). Its hourglass frame is made of

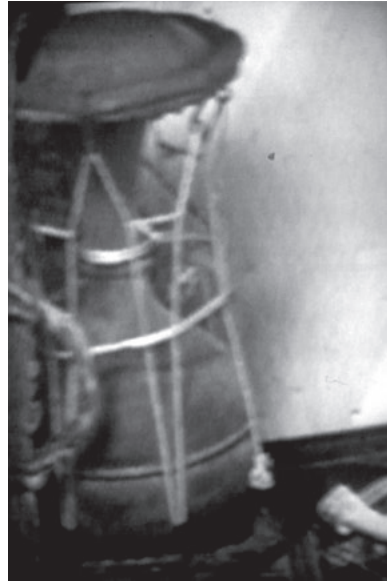


Picture 1:

earth. To reinforce the sonority, the skin is painted with clay. The yellow earth drum is composed of two kinds of drums: one female drum and several male drums.

4. The big long waist drum or the round dance drum (Yuan yuan wu gu) of around 110 cm length. It is used principally to accompany the round dance.

There is no standard type of drum with precise dimensions in each category. The length of the drum and the diameter of the drum head vary according to region.



Picture 2:

### *The Repertory of Dance*

Besides the longest long waist drum, which is always associated with the small waist drum, each category of drum has its proper repertory, characteristic gestures and movements.

- The small long waist drum has 12 to 36 series of beating techniques imitating many activities of daily life such as building a house, making a long waist drum, passing through the mountain, or grinding and pounding. The dance is executed usually by one or two dancers face to face accompanied by some well-known airs and rhythms.
- The big long waist drum dance is a kind of round dance, the number of dancers is variable, the drum is hung from the neck, the palm of the right hand beats one drum head while the left hand beats the other drum head with a short piece of bamboo. The dance is full of variations of form under the guidance of the rhythmic patterns made by the conductor dancer. There are some characteristic gestures such as xin (walk), pao (run), tiao (jump), dun (crouch), xuan (turn), chuan (rotation), fuchong (nose-dive), dou (struggle), sesao (combat), douji (cock-fighting) etc. They reflect the generous, bountiful, brave and courageous character of the Yao people.

- The dance of the yellow earth drum is the most ancient one. It is usually executed by the Sigong (Taoist priest). It is written in the ancient data that the female drum may be accompanied by four male drums. The female drum is hung from the neck and struck with the palms of the two hands, while the male drum is held at the middle with the left hand, the right hand striking the drum head according to the rhythmic pattern. Young players beat the drum while dancing; sometimes, others may also take part during the dance. According to historical documents, the three main reasons for the dance are 1) to please gods, 2) to entertain the audience, 3) to have a good time together.

### *Conclusion*

According to Professor Liu Yu-Lian, a remarkable expert on Yao studies, the long waist drum is indispensable in Yao life for every joyful, angry, cheerful and sad occasion.

The Yao play their long waist drums to manifest the different sentiments. These various forms of expression are intimately linked to the Yao legend, history, religious belief and daily life. The long waist drum and its dance has become an important element of the Yao cultural identity.

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## PLES BOBNA DOLGEGA PASU PRI MANJŠINI YAO NA KITAJSKEM

Povzetek

Manjšina Yao sodi med najštevilnejše in najpomembnejše manjšine na Kitajskem. V stotridesetih pokrajinah v gorovju južne Kitajske jih živi več kot 1,4 milijona. Njihova posebnost je t.i. boben dolgega pasu, to je boben z dvema opnama v obliki peščene ure. Njegovo poreklo, izdelava, način uporabe in igralske tehnike se navezujejo na legende, zgodovinska dejstva, religijo in vsakdanje življenje. Boben dolgega pasu in ples, ki je v neposredni povezavi z njim, sta postala nepogrešljiv element Yao kulture in identitete. Avtor prispevka, ki je v različnih Yao skupnostih raziskoval več let, tokrat predstavlja boben dolgega pasu in njegov ples z zgodovinskega vidika in določa njegovo mesto v tej družbi.





# EXAMPLES FROM CURRENT RESEARCH—RUSYNS OF SLOVAKIA: TRADITIONAL SONG, SONG-SPONSORING INSTITUTIONS, AND CULTURAL SURVIVAL<sup>1</sup>

*Robert C. METIL*

According to my research, the Rusyns of Eastern Slovakia are an intriguing example of an indigenous minority defined primarily by their traditional song (in connection with indigenous speech dialects in oral tradition). In both the private and the public realm, their singing culture is both ubiquitous and intense. Important even to many Rusyns who have assimilated or are currently assimilating with the Slovak majority, this song tradition extends its influence to all neighboring peoples of multiethnic Eastern Slovakia, particularly across the mountainous rural northeast to the Presov Region where Rusyn settlement is the most compact.

Rusyns, or Carpatho-Rusyns, are a transnational ethnolinguistic minority whose homeland stretches diagonally from northwest to southeast across East-Central Europe, centering in and below the adjacent Carpathian Mountain territories of the present-day states of Ukraine, Poland, and Slovakia.<sup>2</sup> Their population is difficult to ascertain, but has been estimated at around 1.2 million (Magocsi 1992:212), with most residing in the Transcarpathian Region of Ukraine (formerly the Czechoslovakian territory of Podkarpatská Rus, or Subcarpathian Ruthenia in

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<sup>1</sup> Research and fieldwork related to this paper was supported in part by a 1995-1996 grant from the International Research & Exchanges Board (IREX) with funds provided by the National Endowment for the Humanities, and the United States Department of State which administers the Title VIII Program. None of these organizations is responsible for the views expressed. Secondary partial support was provided by the Thomas Kukucka Memorial Award in connection with the University of Pittsburgh Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures' Slovak Studies Program in the summer of 1997. Thanks to Boženna Gosciło for reading a draft of this paper and for making editorial suggestions.

<sup>2</sup> Smaller Rusyn populations are found in Vojvodina Yugoslavia, Hungary, and Romania. Ukrainians and Rusyns native to southeastern Poland were forcibly resettled in Silesia and Soviet Ukraine during the Vištlar Action of 1947 in an effort by the new Polish government to eradicate the Ukrainian paramilitary in the region. Many civilians unrelated to the paramilitaries were affected.

the democratic interwar Czechoslovak state, a region annexed by the Soviet Union following World War II). Approximately 120,000 Rusyns are believed to reside in Slovakia in urban areas and in about 252 villages (Musinka 1992:224). If one were to include the many assimilating and quasi-assimilated Rusyns throughout Slovakia, their number would be considerably larger.

On the basis of language and their traditional adherence to Cyrillic orthography and Eastern Rite forms of Christianity,<sup>3</sup> Rusyns are generally classified with Ukrainians, Russians, and Belarusians as Eastern Slavs. Their indigenous speech consists of a series of language variants or dialects that are similar to Ukrainian but readily distinguishable from it by anyone with a mastery of any Slavic language. Some scholars (Musinka, Mysanyc, et al.) consider the Rusyns of Slovakia a branch, albeit a peripheral one, of a greater Ukrainian nation. Others (Magocsi, Dyrud, Haraksim, et al.) have tended to examine Rusyns as a separate and distinct group with their own integral ethnic identity.



Picture 1: Professors Magocsi and Mykola Musinka<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Rusyns (and Ukrainians) are traditionally Greek Catholic or Orthodox Christians.

<sup>4</sup> Professors Paul R. Magocsi (history and political science, University of Toronto) and Mykola Musinka (ethnography, Presov University) examined some Rusyn-language printed media together at the Lemko Rusyn festival, »Od Rusalja do Jana« (From Pentecost to Saint John's Day) in the village of Zyndranowa, Poland, June 15, 1997. Musinka and Magocsi, respectively, are proponents of opposing streams of Ukrainophile and Rusynophile intellectual discourse and activism. Photo by Robert Metil.

Lacking their own state and a uniformly codified language common to all their territorial habitations, Rusyns, according to the historian Magocsi, »have always lived as a minority in a region ruled by one or another foreign power« (1980:200). Consequently, they have found themselves at the center of many ethnopolitical conflicts in which their identity (and its flexibility) provoked serious efforts to determine or influence their potential ethnonational, political, religious, and linguistic alliances. In the Presov Region the twentieth century alone has witnessed pressure on Rusyns toward the following orientations, typically with at least two competing simultaneously for their loyalty: Magyarone, Russophile, Slovak assimilationist, Ukrainophile, and pro-indigenous Rusynophile. Although often directed by hegemonies outside the Rusyn scope of influence, these various agendas to shape the minority's identity have customarily won the active support of the Rusyn intelligentsia.

In Slovakia (and elsewhere) Rusyns are currently experiencing a cultural survival crisis caused by tendencies towards assimilation with more dominant ethnic groups. Presov University ethnographer Musinka has observed of Slovakia's Rusyns, »This national minority, which has preserved its identity for centuries, and resisted all attempts to liquidate it, is at present on the edge of extinction« (1992:227).<sup>5</sup> Assimilation has been occurring for decades, and probably for centuries. It escalated sharply after the war, however, thanks to the failure of a state-mandated policy of Ukrainianization, introduced in the 1950s, that sought the Sovietizing »creation of a new form of people« according to the »progressive Marxist-Leninist solution« to the region's »nationality question«. Ukrainianization was implemented in Eastern Slovakia, in Musinka's words, »in the crudest administrative manner« (ibid, 225), in imitation of similar policies introduced in the post-war period in Soviet Ukraine.

Despite the Rusyn public's rejection of Ukrainianization in socialist Czechoslovakia and the intensification of their assimilation, the socialist period may ironically be interpreted as an auspicious time for Rusyns in the cultural (and educational) sphere. For, as the historian Haraksim writes, »...the Rusyn population had never before received so much (sic: many) resources for cultural aims, as it had to support Ukrainianization, and this could not fail to be apparent in various areas of its cultural life« (1992:232). The most significant benefit, perhaps, was institutional allocation of resources for propagating Rusyn song and folklore.

The Cultural Union of Ukrainian Workers (established in 1951)

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<sup>5</sup> Professor Musinka was my faculty liaison in the Research Division of the Ukrainian

was a Marxist-Leninist organization of Rusyn intelligentsia entrusted with the task of Ukrainianization. Paradoxically, the Cultural Union of Ukrainian Workers also established and sponsored many popular folk festivals and concerts featuring Rusyn and some Ukrainian song and folklore. The Ukrainophile Rusyn intelligentsia also organized a large network of amateur traditional performing arts collectives—many of which are still active—that enjoyed enthusiastic public approval for performing Rusyn song. They also worked through print and broadcast media and theater, and published many Repertoire Books and other collections of Rusyn song and folklore, the only significant public printed medium in which Rusyn-language literature was officially published or disseminated until after the Velvet Revolution. I have discovered that, overall, Ukrainianization inadvertently bolstered song's significance and prestige as a vehicle for Rusyn ethnic identity: repelled by the harshness of the Ukrainianization policy, the minority population increasingly preferred Slovakian assimilation but selectively embraced their own song traditions as resuscitated and propagated through Ukrainianizing institutions.<sup>6</sup>

Since 1989, the ethnonym and designation »Rusyn« as a means of minority self-identification has received official recognition in one form or another from all East-Central European states with indigenous Rusyn populations except Ukraine. Following 1989, a number of pro-indigenous Rusynophile cultural advocacy organizations were formed in East-Central Europe, including Rusyn Renaissance in Slovakia, an organization that includes a number of former employees of the Cultural Union of Ukrainian Workers. All pro-indigenous Rusynophile organizations advocate cultural and linguistic separatism for the Rusyns, whom they see as a distinct ethnic group. At around the same time that Rusyn Renaissance was formed, The Cultural Union of Ukrainian Workers was reorganized as the Union of Rusyn-Ukrainians, abandoning Marxism-Leninism but retaining its Ukrainophile stance.

Aware that Rusyn song enjoys significant grass-roots appeal, and is, in the words of one pedagogue-singer, »the most vibrant means of maintaining the identity today« (Metil 2000:208, 291, 368, 379), both

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<sup>6</sup> Musinka writes: »If we take into account the fact that Ukrainianization was realized in parallel with the liquidation of the Greek Catholic Church, forced Orthodoxization and forced collectivization, then no one should be surprised that the majority of the Rusine (sic: Rusyn) population did not accept it, and their lack of consent is expressed in their declaration of Slovak nationality« (226). On the outcome of compulsory Ukrainianization and schooling at the behest of state authorities and Rusyn intelligentsia one Rusyn media figure stated dryly: »They educated us out of existence« (Metil 2000:3, 311).

Rusyn Renaissance and the Union of Rusyn-Ukrainians sponsor performances, cassette recordings, media coverage, and publications devoted to Rusyn song. I have established that both organizations sponsor Rusyn song performances geared towards the same audience, but for different ideological ends: to support, respectively, a pro-indigenous Rusynophile and a Ukrainophile Rusyn orientation. Research for my dissertation (Metil 2000) entailed working with both organizations as well as analyzing their relationship—and often pointed competition—with each other.

Traditional Rusyn song's influence and appeal in Slovakia extends even to non-Rusyns, as demonstrated by the success of Rusyn singer Anna Servická's (Picture 2) hit song »*Krjacok ljalijovyj*« (The Lily Bush) and cassette of the same title, which received a platinum award from state-run Slovak Radio for 200,000 copies sold. (CD-16)<sup>7</sup>

CD-16



Picture 2: *Accordioništ Jozef Piroh, vocališt Anna Servická*<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> »*Krjacok ljalijovyj*,« »The Lily Patch,« traditional, as sung by Anna Servická, based upon wedding singing in the village of Krivž.

<sup>8</sup> Accordioništ Jozef Piroh accompanies vocališt Anna Servická during a performance of Rusyn songs for a delegation of North American tourists from the largely Pittsburgh-based Carpatho-Rusyn Society at the Hotel Duklía in the city of Presov, June 18, 1997. Photo by Robert Metil.

♩ = 120

1. Ked' ša vȳ - da - va - la, ked' ša vȳ - da - va - la za - hrad -  
krja-čok lja - li - jo - vȳj, krja-čok lja - li - jo - vȳj na znak

ku ko - pa - la, Krja-čok lja - li - jo - vȳj,  
ob - rab - ja - la.

sej - ja - hoj, na znak ob - rab - ja - la, Bo - že

moj, krja-čok lja - li - jo - vȳj, krja-čok lja - li - jo - vȳj na znak

ob - rab - ja - la.

Music example 1: *Krjacok ljalijovj*

*I*  
Ked' sa vydavala, ked' sa vydavala  
zahradku kopala,  
krjacok ljalijovj, krjacok ljalijovj  
na znak obrabjala.

*Ref.*  
Krjacok ljalijovj, sej-ja-hoj,  
na znak obrabjala, Boze moj,  
krjacok ljalijovj, krjacok ljalijovj,  
na znak obrabjala.

*2*  
Ked' mi bude dobri, ked' mi bude dobri  
pry mojim muzovi,  
ta i ja zabudu, ta i ja zabudu  
na znak ljalijovj.

*Ref.*  
Ta i ja zabudu, sej-ja-hoj,  
na znak ljalijovj, Boze moj,  
ta i ja zabudu, ta i ja zabudu  
na znak ljalijovj.

*I*  
When I married, when I married,  
I dug a garden,  
and a lily patch, a lily patch,  
I planted as a sign.

*Ref.*  
A lily patch, sej-ja-hoj,  
as a sign, my God,  
a lily patch, a lily patch,  
I planted as a sign.

*2*  
If life is good, if life is good  
with my husband,  
I will forget, I will forget  
the lily patch.

*Ref.*  
I will forget, sej-ja-hoj,  
the lily patch, my God,  
I will forget, I will forget  
the lily patch.

3

*Ked' mi bude plano, ked' mi bude plano  
pry mojim muzovi,  
budu polivaty, budu polivaty  
krjacok ljalijovyj.*

*Ref.*

*Budu polivaty, sej-ja-hoj,  
krjacok ljalijovyj, Boze moj,  
budu polivaty, budu polivaty  
krjacok ljalijovyj.*

3

If life is bad, if life is bad  
with my husband,  
I will water, I will water  
the lily patch.

*Ref.*

I will water, sej-ja-hoj,  
the lily patch, my God,  
I will water, I will water  
the lily patch.

Trailing closest behind is the duo Stefan Vasilenko and Ladislav Dzubin (Picture 3), with a gold award for sales of 100,000 of the cassette *Ci tebe, Hanicko...* (Was It You, Hanicka...). (CD-17)<sup>9</sup>

CD-17



Picture 3: *Stefan Vasilenko and Ladislav Dzubin*<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> *Ci tebe, Hanicko* (Was It You, Hanicka), traditional, as performed by Stefan Vasilenko and Ladislav Dzubin.

<sup>10</sup> Stefan Vasilenko and Ladislav Dzubin with two unidentified fans at the »Rusyn Evening« ball organized by Rusyn Renaissance's Bratislava Chapter, at the Comenius University dormitory, Mlad· Garda (Young Guard), in Bratislava, February 1993. The »Rusyn Evening« in Bratislava is customarily held in the weeks subsequent to New Year's according to the Julian calendar. Photo from the archive of Robert Metil.



1. Ci te - be, Ha - nič - ko, dja - bly ma - ljo - va -  
ly, že do tvo - jich bí - lých lí - čok  
til' - ko kra - sý da - ly?

Music example 2: *Ci Tebe, Hanicko...*1

*Ci tebe, Hanicko, djably maljovavly,  
ze do tvojich bilych licok til'ko daly?*

Was it you, Hanicka, that the devils painted  
when they put such beauty on your white cheeks?

2

*Ne djably ne djably, lem anhely z neba,  
bo do tvojich sumnych licok til'ko krasny treba.*

2

Not devils, not devils, but angels from heaven,  
because your lovely cheeks are fit only for beauty.

3

*Hanicko, mas krasu, trimaj jej do krasu,  
mas ty licenko rumene, trimaj ho pro mene.*

3

Hanicka, you are beautiful, keep it that way;  
Your suntanned face, save it for me.

4

*Hanicko, zal' mi tja, obicjaly mi tja,  
a teper uz povidajut' ze mi tja ne dajut'.*

4

Hanicka, I am sad over you, they promised you to me,  
and now they say that they will not give you to me.

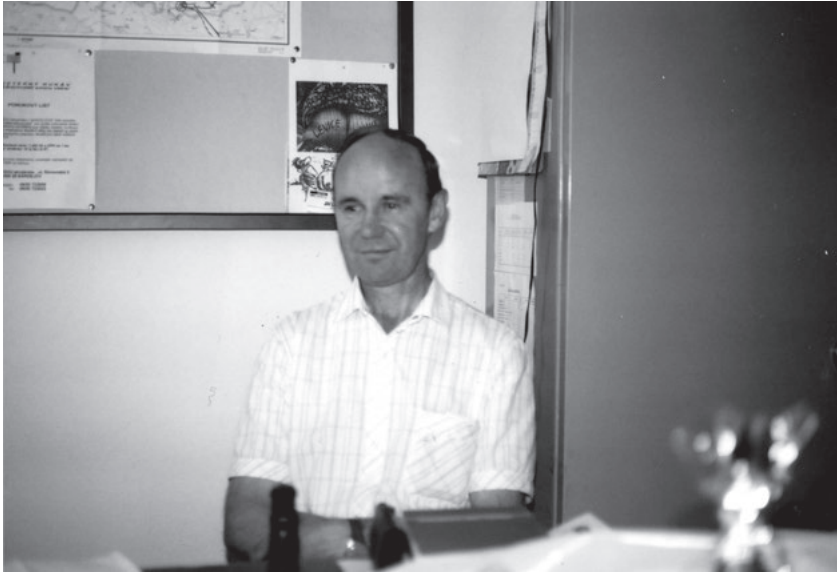
5

*Ja na tja, Hanicko, budu spominaty,  
budu ja, tja, moja mila v svojim serdci maty.*

5

Hanicka, I will remember you,  
I will keep you, dear, in my heart.

Although Stefan Lukacko and Ján Karafa's cassette *S'vit', misacku* (Shine On, Moon) boasts fewer official copies sold than Servická's and Vasilenko-Dzupin's cassettes, *S'vit', misacku* and its title song by Lukacko have been quite influential and popular among Rusyn and non-Rusyn fans in Slovakia and the Czech Republic (see Garbera 1992 for transcriptions of Lukacko-Karafa's songs). The following transcriptions are of Servická's song »Lilly Bush,« and Vaslenko-Dzupin's »Was It You, Hanicka...«.



Picture 4: *Stefan Lukacko*<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Stefan Lukacko, author of the song *Sívit', misacku* (Shine On, Moon), in a relaxed moment at his place of employment at the city of Stará Ľubovňa's municipal building on August 13, 1997. Note the satirical political poster in the background with a photograph of two sides of a woman's buttocks labeled »left« and »right« (in Czech: *levice, pravice*), with reference in the Slovakian context respectively to opposition coalition parties, and the then-ruling nationalist coalition government headed by Premier Vladimír Mečiar. Photo by Robert Metil.

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## PRIMERI IZ TEKOČE RAZISKAVE – RUSINI NA SLOVAŠKEM: TRADICIJSKA PESEM, INŠTITUCIONALNO SPONZORSTVO IN KULTURNI OBSTOJ

### Povzetek

Prispevek izpostavlja odnos med tradicionalno pesmijo in kulturnimi inštitucijami, ki skrbijo za istovetnost rusinske manjšine na vzhodnem Slovaškem, in opozarja na probleme kulturnega preživetja. V obdobju socializma je kljub uradnemu, državnemu načrtu sovjetizacije in ukrajinizacije rusinske manjšine prihajalo do vedno večje asimilacije Rusinov s slovaško večino. Po »žametni revoluciji« iz leta 1989 je bila rusinska inteligenca razpeta med dve možnosti: po eni strani je »stara struktura« levičarskih Rusinov uporabljala festivale, publikacije in medije za promoviranje svoje ukrajinofilske usmeritve, po drugi strani pa je desničarska smer za potrebe rusinofilskega aktivizma uporabljala enaka sredstva.

Zahvaljujoč predvsem zgodovini marginalnosti slovaških Rusinov, je njihova dolgotrajna vsezmožnost »uradne« identitete nasproti dominantnim skupinam in njihova sedanja razdeljenost zaradi tekmovalnosti in asimilacije pripeljala do statusa samostojne manjšine, ki jo popolnoma definira njena tradicionalna pesem (v povezavi z narečji v ustnem izročilu).



# SONG AND IDENTITY IN GERMAN MINORITY CULTURE IN SLOVAKIA

*Hana URBANCOVÁ*

After the expulsion of Germans in the mid 20th century, some localities in Slovakia preserved the continuity of their original German population in the form of a compact community. The village of Chmeľnica / Hobgarten is situated in upper Spiš / Zips near the border with Poland. Medzev / Metzenseifen is found on the border of lower Spiš with the region of Abov close to the Hungary. Today, they are isolated relicts of the historically-German enclaves (Kovačevićová 1989:37–54). In spite of the decline of the historically-German population, various cultural and ethnic features have survived in both localities. Until the end of the eighties, these features existed in latent or hidden form. They were preserved in the family environment, where they formed a hidden parallel to the external re-Slovakization. At present these localities are accepted as centres of the cultural life of the Carpathian Germans.<sup>1</sup>

Song and music are important parts of the life of minority communities, where they also act as significant factors in shaping identity. In the case of two German localities in Spiš, I was interested in the possibility of comparing the music of minority communities as two different socio-cultural types in two different environments.

Chmeľnica was founded within the framework of Silesian-German colonization, in the context of which upper Spiš was settled in the 13th and 14th centuries (Valiska 1967:16–17). It preserved the character of an agricultural community with a traditional way of life and culture. Having developed in isolation from the rich German towns of Spiš in the past, Chmeľnica preserved a relatively high level of independence until the middle of the 20th century. At present the village is bilingual in German and Slovak. In contrast, Medzev originated within the framework of the mining colony of lower Spiš in the second half of the 13th century. In

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<sup>1</sup> Since the beginning of the nineties, the Days of German Culture festival has been held in Chmeľnica, and Medzev is a seat of the Society of Carpathian Germans in Slovakia.

the 17th and 18th centuries, it was an economic centre in the Kingdom of historical Hungary, with an orientation towards the production of mining and agricultural equipment (Kovačevićová 1989:44–45). Medzev developed an open type of small-town culture with a craft tradition and the activities of the local intelligentsia. The town is still trilingual in German, Slovak and Hungarian.

For purposes of comparison, I use material collected by my colleagues from the 1960s to the 1980s as well as material from my own research in the last decade of the 20th century. The completeness of the material and the time period covering the last 40 years also affords a view of the changes in the life and culture of the German minority after 1989.

The domination of language in the consciousness of identity is one of the most important features which needs to be stressed in connection with this minority. During my field research I have noticed that language was the main factor for distinguishing »ourselves« from »the others« both on the level of the local community as well as the ethnic group. As language is an important sign of identity, the components of culture associated with language acquire a comparable function. The German dialect in its specific local form has been preserved as part of everyday life until today, although its use has been differentiated according to age and communication situation. Until 10 years ago, the German dialects were declining. The nineties brought about a renaissance of the local/ethnic consciousness as an expression of a return »to the roots«. Knowledge of the German dialects is now cultivated in families, especially in contacts with small children. The dialect also fulfills an important emotional function in relations between grandparents and grandchildren.

In general, the traditional music of both localities is represented by vocal culture. Instrumental music (especially music for dance and entertainment) was provided in the past by Gypsy musicians. Singing is still an important part of local culture; it functions in various contexts of spontaneous and organized forms of activities. There is still active singing at weddings, entertainment, family and friends' parties (especially in the village of Chmeľnica, where women like to sing and show a preference for multi-part singing). Some of the singing activity has shifted to the level of folklorism and amateur choirs. At the end of the eighties, local folk groups were revived as traditional song-dance ensembles. At Chmeľnica, the folk group brings the older and younger generations together and fulfills an important role in the process of transmission. Its repertoire draws on the family tradition of singing, established by the singing personality of the oldest generation, Anna Haničáková (born 1910) with her

daughters and granddaughters.<sup>2</sup> In Medzev, there is no leading singing personality and her functions are taken by professional musicians (e. g., the local teacher and organist Lýdia Grentznerová). Only members of the young generation are active in the Medzev folk group, and the ensemble is led by its former members. They are reviving a repertoire, which this folk group had performed during its episodic existence at the end of the sixties when there was a more liberal political situation.<sup>3</sup>

Because the German dialect is still a living language, it is surprising that songs in this language form only a small layer. However, this is connected with the shift of the German dialect to the family environment, neighbourhood and the private sphere where its use was centered for a long time. It appears that precisely the group of songs in the German dialects give the best evidence of the typological difference between the cultures of the two localities, although they fulfill comparable functions in the shaping of identity.

At Chmeľnica, songs in the German dialect are the remnants of the original genre structure of the traditional peasant community. Chmeľnica is situated in the ethnically varied environment of upper Spiš. The tunes of these songs are mostly taken from the surroundings of the village, where they are found in Slovak, Ruthenian and Goral communities. The manner of performance and other musical-stylistic features were adapted with the tunes (a solo introduction in a group singing in some song genres, multi-part singing, singing at a higher level with a head voice which are the features of the regional style). The song texts are mostly adapted translations and paraphrases. The existence of songs in various language versions in the repertoire of Chmeľnica indicates that the adaptation of tunes to the local German tradition was also mediated through the imperfect appropriation of songs in their original language form.

As an example from Chmeľnica, I will mention a song, which was sung at weddings and is now part of the folk group repertoire (*Hej, tsern, maina tsern* / Oh, Tränen, meine Tränen). It shows a type of two-part singing, which is found in upper Spiš region where Slovak and Ruthenian ethnic groups live together (Elscheková 1994:172–175). The shouting, which occur at the end of every strophe, was taken from peasant Slavonic villages and incorporated into singing in Chmeľnica as a part of

<sup>2</sup> However, some inhabitants of the village are critical of the presentation of one family by means of the folk group.

<sup>3</sup> At the end of sixties the local folk group was led by a specialist who came from »outside«, from the town of Košice (the cultural and industrial centre of Eastern Slovakia), where he led an urban folk ensemble as choreographer.



folklorism in order to make the stage performance more attractive.<sup>4</sup> (The song was recorded in 1993 with the members of the local folk group.)

♩=70/31"  
*solo*  
 Hej, tse - rn, mai - na tse - rn,  
*duo*  
 hej, ne fout mo on ne - m, hej, o - bo  
 of di uai - da, ej, vo - sa mich bo - ri - dn.  
 Hi - hí, hi - hí.

Music example 1: *Chmel'nica*; sung by Mária Gurková (born 1933) and Mária Rindošová (born 1935).<sup>5</sup>

1. *Hej, tsern, maina tsern,  
 hej, ne fout mo on nern,  
 /:hej, obo of di uaida,  
 ej, vosa mich boridn.:/  
 Hi-hí, hi-hí!*
2. *Ej, raicha, maina raicha,  
 ej, bešt ma šunt tsu brochn,  
 ej, maina uipšťa jonka,  
 ej, hošt mich šunt fouosn.  
 Hi-hí, hi-hí!*
3. *Ej, vanšt mich zoušt fouosn,  
 ej, fouošt mich on fraito,  
 ej, bo van zonuobnt t'emt,  
 ej, t'emto šunt do tsvaita.  
 Hi-hí, hi-hí!*

<sup>4</sup> In the pašt, the inhabitants of Chmel'nica did not use these vocal forms in real life situations. The shouting functioned as communication signal over long distances when working in Slavonic villages. Conditions for working in the open air (hay-making, pašturing, harvešt) in Chmel'nica did not require this type of communication.

<sup>5</sup> Recording and transcription by Hana Urbancová (1993).

Gypsy bands, which played at entertainments and weddings in the wider surroundings, contributed to the spread of a dance song associated with a traditional Slovak couple dance of the old style (*do šaflíka*) throughout the Spiš region. In Chmeľnica, this song is sung in two languages – Slovak and German dialect (*Ej, huri, huri, huri su – Ej, hondon rando, randochn / He, am Hügel, Hügelchen*).

Recordings from different periods from Chmeľnica allow us to study changes in its role in the processes of ethnic and cultural identity. The first recording of the dance song dates from the beginning of the seventies, when a traditional Gypsy band was still active in Chmeľnica. It was taken in an authentic public situation at a wedding entertainment: a woman ordered a song with the words in Slovak dialect: *A teras tú našu!* (And now one of ours!). The first strophe of the song in German dialect is sung at the beginning of the instrumental piece and the version in Slovak dialect sounds at the end. The second recording dates from the beginning of the nineties: the members of the folk group perform the local dance repertoire in a simulated situation for a research documentation. The song is ordered by a man in German dialect: *And es dos maina!* (And now one of mine!) and the dancers sing the complete German dialect version. The changes pertain to the instrumental accompaniment (the traditional Gypsy band was replaced by the local German musician Ondrej Krafčík, born 1930, playing the accordion) and the use of the German dialect in the new circumstances after 1989. The third recording was taken in a performance situation without the customary functional context of dancing: during my first visit in Chmeľnica in 1993 this dance song was sung for the researcher as a part of the local repertoire core expressing local as well as ethnic identity. A vocal version with excessive using of shouting was sung by two women – members of the folk group. (The transcription and sound example is taken from the second recording.)

♩ = 77/14"

Ej, hon - don ran - do, ran - do - chn, hon - do ran - do

zain bu - chn, hon - do ran - do zain <sup>(1)</sup> bu - chn.

Music example 2: *Chmeľnica*; folk group Marmon.<sup>6</sup> (CD-18)

CD-18

<sup>6</sup> Recording Stanislav Dúžek, Bernard Garaj (1992), transcription by Hana Urbancová.

1. *Ej, hondon rando, randochn,*      2. *Ej, honhon buchn zain uiud'n,*  
 /:hondo rando zain buchn.:/      /:vos main jonka hat di'zotst.:/
3. *Ej, jonka, jonka, bešt a hont,*      4. *Ej, fremda maida zain zeta,*  
 /:fremda maida hošt di'vout.:/      /:en di šanda brañ za dich.:/

Songs in the German dialect from Chmeľnica give the impression of being archaic, especially to German researchers. However, this is only a result of contact with recent forms of the regional musical style of upper Spiš, which includes various archaic features, connected with the special development of traditional culture in this area. The adoption of tunes and stylistic elements occurred on the basis of direct contacts between the inhabitants of Chmeľnica and the inhabitants of the surrounding peasant communities, that is, by means of contacts with the same type of culture.

At Medzev, the German dialect songs are represented by lullabies, children's songs, dance tunes and epic songs. The lullabies and children songs include specific tunes of the German children's repertoire, mostly connected with school. The other song genres include widespread melodies, tunes from musical comedies, hits of the time and various banal tunes. In the past, the inhabitants of Medzev did not maintain immediate and frequent contacts with the neighbouring Slovak and Ruthenian communities, which (as traditional peasant villages) were on a lower social level. The inhabitants of Medzev, oriented to urban culture, sought their models in towns in the nearby Magyar speaking area.

The traditional song repertoire of Medzev developed in the coexistence of oral and written forms of tradition. From the end of the 19th century, literature was produced at Medzev in the local German dialect, which belonged to the so-called *Mundartdichtung* (Gréb 1932:117–118). This writing was accompanied by an attempt to create a grammar of the local dialect. In the period of Magyarization pressure (i.e., at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century), this local creative writing played an important role in the cultural life of the lower Spiš Germans, in preserving their cultural and ethnic identity.<sup>7</sup> Poems were connected with tunes of various stylistic features and spread rapidly in the form of sung poetry.

An epic song from Medzev (*En altfagangnen zae'en* / In altver-gangenen Zeiten) elaborates on a local legend about the building of a church.

<sup>7</sup> In upper Spiš, new creative writing was regularly published in journals and distributed in the whole area. Authors in lower Spiš did not have their own space for publishing, so their creative writing remained confined within the framework of local culture, and was intended for the narrow circle of the local community.

The original text was written by a local priest and poet Peter Gallus (1868-1927). Connected with many tunes it became a part of oral singing tradition. In the selected example, the tune features correspond to the narrative character of the text without any ethnic features or connotations. The function of this banal melody was to support the text and to spread it in the local environment. Group singing in unison is one of the local stylistic features. In the past, the song was sung at various public occasions and weddings. Today, it is disappearing from the active song repertoire without moving to folklorism or choir singing. The example 3 brings the first strophe of this epic song sung in German dialect, completely introduced as a sound example. The version in standard German was used only as a written form.<sup>8</sup> (The song was recorded with two women of the old generation in 1996.)

**♩=96/10" Parlando**

En alt - fa - gan - gnen zae' - en boa  
 noch a an - dre belt, a bis fon al' - en  
 leö' - en, ach, heöt noch biät da - zélt.

1) 3.-15. sfa                      2) 4., 13. sfa

Music example 3: *Medzev*; sung by Helena Bröštl-Schuster (born 1934) and Helena Bröštl-Matačke (born 1931).<sup>9</sup> (CD-19)

CD-19

The largest layer of the German repertoire in both localities consists of songs in standard German. The core is formed by children's and school songs, the so-called *Wandervogel* repertoire and religious songs. In the inter-war period, the spread of the *Wandervogel* repertoire was motivated by the need to integrate the German minorities in Eastern Europe and to build a new awareness of connections to their original

<sup>8</sup> The original version in standard German was written by Peter Gallus and published in 1905 along with the version in German dialect (Gedeon 1905:73-77). While the original written form of the poem had 29 strophes the oral sung forms as song versions had fewer strophes.

<sup>9</sup> Recording and transcription Hana Urbancová (1996).

homeland – Germany. These songs were adapted to the local repertoires, and incorporated into the local system of singing events (Urbancová 1996:73–82). They acquired elements of the new stylistic context of the local culture bound up with Slavonic music (changes in rhythmic and metric structure, melodic variability, multi-part singing). They helped to stress local as well as ethnic identity.

Today amateur choirs are active in both localities. Their repertoire is oriented mainly towards German and Austrian songs from recent published sources. The mixed choir at Medzev, founded mainly by members of the old generation in 1990, works under the leadership of a local teacher and professional musician. As members of the choir, the bearers of the local song tradition reoriented themselves towards singing in a different musical genre. This is connected with the creation of new performance features (cultivated way of singing, loss of improvisation, limitation of variability). Local variants of widely known German songs are lost from the memories of older singers, and they are being replaced by choir arrangements. At Chmel'nica, a choir was founded at the end of the nineties, exclusively by members of the young generation. It is interesting, that in spite of the different musical genres, the local folk group perceives this choir as undesirable competition. In the context of the former peasant culture the choir is a strange element, but today it has become an attractive way for young people to spend their free time. The future will show how this new activity will be reflected in the local traditional singing.

In conclusion, it is possible to state that the identity of Germans in two localities is being articulated in two different ways. At Chmel'nica, with its living folk tradition in development, adaptation dominated. Songs, taken from the repertoire of other ethnic groups, were adapted to the local dialect. Therefore, the musical features were appropriated through the medium of the language. Variation reshaping and the local style of performing the German *Wandervogel* repertoire can be regarded as a form of musical adaptation. The adaptation of borrowed elements speaks of the vitality of the local culture. At Medzev, traditional song in its previous forms was already declining at the beginning of the 20th century. Some of its functions were transferred to new poetic literature in the local dialect, which was spread by means of singing and which penetrated into oral tradition as an innovation of the traditional local song repertoire. Subjects were taken from local legends or important events from the history of the community. In these ways, song helped to create a historical memory, which was the source of the formation of the cultural and ethnic identity of the local population.

Today, the activity of choirs emphasize the consciousness belonging to German culture. But this is presented only externally, often with an utilitarian aim. However, an intensive return to local identity is really occurring, and it is found in all generations. It is expressed in a return to public use of the local German dialects. Local German dialect is stressed especially in contacts with small children in a family environment. Traditional songs for children and children's songs play an important role in these reversions. At present, texts of songs in standard German are being translated or adapted into the German dialects by singers themselves (Chmel'nica). Alternatively, the singers revive some forms of children's folklore from old local manuscripts which are a part of the family tradition (Medzev). Through song, the local German dialect is transmitted to children, both as a language of natural inter-personal communication and as a particular cultural code.

When defining boundaries in music Klaus Wachsmann emphasized the need to distinguish between different types of cultural and social environments (Wachsmann 1990/1961:87–97). Chmel'nica and Medzev represent two different socio-cultural types, connected by almost 700 years of existence in the context of development in Central and Eastern Europe. Therefore, I was interested in the question of the degree to which expressions of identity in song and music coincide or differ in these localities. The typology of culture enables us to trace these processes differentially, and consider the universality or cultural conditionedness of certain phenomena. It was found that in old enclaves of great age, the process of forming identity is associated on one side with acculturation and on the other with their own new creativity. In both cases, the creative approach is expressed, and the close connection between identity and creativity is confirmed.

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## PESEM IN IDENTITETA V KULTURI NEMŠKE MANJŠINE NA SLOVAŠKEM

### Povzetek

Po izgonu Nemcev s Slovaške sredi 20. stoletja sta dve naselji na področju Spiš / Zips ohranili kontinuiteto izvirnega nemškega prebivalstva v obliki enotne skupnosti. Chmel'nica / Hobgarten je ohranila značaj kmečke skupnosti s tradicionalnim načinom življenja in kulture, Medzev / Metzenseifen pa je kot nekdanje ekonomsko središče v madžarskem delu monarhije razvil tip kulture malega mesta z močno obrtniško tradicijo in dejavnostmi lokalnih izobražencev.

Pregled družbeno zgodovinskih okoliščin ustvarja izhodišče za raziskovanje ljudske glasbe teh dveh naselij kot kulturnih tipov, hkrati omogoča določanje različnih načinov ustvarjanja zavesti o identiteti, ki se oblikuje in odseva v povezavi z jezikom v ljudski vokalni glasbi.

## A SLOVAK-AMERICAN FOLK ENSEMBLE IN SEARCH OF »AUTHENTICITY«

*Jadranka VAŽANOVÁ*

*F*rom the early 1870s, when the first Slovak immigrants arrived in the United States, until 1914, almost one third of the entire Slovak population left their homes and villages in Upper Hungary (now Slovakia), where folk music and songs played an important role in family and community life. They came from a region known for its remarkable variety of musical styles, instruments, and vocal genres. The question arises: what happened to these music traditions when »transplanted« into the new economic, political, social, and cultural environment (Reyes Schramm 1990)? After more than one hundred twenty years of Slovak immigration to the United States, the answer is still vague, since only fragmentary information is available on the musical life of American Slovaks (Erdely 1968, 1979; Nettle and Moravcik 1955; Waschek 1969).

Bearing in mind the question of how music traditions have been reserved, developed and transformed by American Slovaks, I went to see a rehearsal of the Limbora Slovak Folk Ensemble in New York in March 1999. To my surprise, I met a group of young people, speaking perfect Slovak, dancing the highly elaborate choreography of *Šarišská Polka* to the accompaniment of a composed stylization of folk music recorded on tape. Moreover, as I found out, the majority of members was not born in the United States, and only recently came from Slovakia. Outwardly, Limbora did not differ from any other folk ensemble in Slovakia. What then was Slovak-American about it? Knowing that the ensemble was founded in 1966 by American-born Slovaks, I assumed that its current image has to be the result of a thirty-four-year-long history of intentions, motivations and expectations among people whose common denominator was their direct or indirect experience of immigration. Later, interviews with the American-born former and current members of the ensemble as well as a study of archival materials and performance practices made me realize that what I saw was, indeed, a striving for an ideal to be »authentic«, which from their point of view meant »real Slovak«.



An apparent contradiction between what the American-born members of the ensemble claim to be »authentic« and what that would be to a connoisseur of Slovak folklore, confirms again and again how fragile the definition of such concepts as authenticity, ethnicity, and identity are. It reminds us not only to conceive of authenticity as an ascribed rather than an inherited phenomenon, but also to be aware of the significant difference between what insiders and what outsiders might consider »authentic«. Focusing on motivations and performance strategies of the American-born members of the ensemble, I will therefore address two interrelated issues: first, how the efforts of American-born members of the ensemble to be »authentic« or »real Slovak« can be understood as an important part of dealing with their migration situation; and second, how the meaning of the term »authenticity« can be re-interpreted in different contexts and among different generations of immigrants.

The first issue takes it as premise that migration consists not only in the acts of crossing geographical, political, social, economic, and cultural boundaries, and in the process of resettlement, but also in their consequences on the immigrants themselves and their descendants. These consequences move along two parallel tracks: one leading to a heightened awareness of cultural and ethnic difference and its representation, and the other leading to and speeding up assimilation. The tension between the competing tracks creates the contextual background against which the origins, history and the »search for authenticity« of the Limbora Slovak Folk Ensemble can be understood.

The second issue will be evident in a recent performance of Limbora, which will show the contrasting concepts and attitudes of the American-born members and those who came from Slovakia after 1989.

The origins of the Limbora Slovak Folk Ensemble in New York can be traced to the active cultural life of the Slovak community in New York which, until the 1950s, centered around the family, church and national/fraternal societies that organized events such as theater performances, literary evenings, and dance parties called *zábavy* (Stolarik 1988, 1997). In the late 1960s, two contradictory forces emerged as a result of demographic shifts. Slovak neighborhoods and religious communities began to dwindle as the younger generation (the second and third generation immigrants) dispersed within New York City or to the tri-state area (which includes parts of Connecticut and New Jersey). Slovak clubs, pubs and cultural organizations along with the opportunities they created for common activities began to disappear. At the same time, a renewed ethnic consciousness and the idea of ethnic revival began to appeal mainly to the members of the second and third generation of immigrants who began to express and

interest in who they are, and where they come from. While many of their parents, for various reasons, had more or less encouraged their children to be »Americanized«, these, in turn, began to feel the necessity of »ethnic belonging« (Novak 1996:373-4).

Against this background, eight young Slovak-Americans (former members of the Slovak National School) decided, after performing at the annual Czechoslovak Day celebration on May 30, 1966, to establish an ensemble, the New York City Slovak Folk Dancers. Their goal was to pursue the study and performance of Slovak folk dances in order to preserve, present and represent Slovak culture in the United States. The first members of the ensemble were, without exception, American-born Slovaks who had grown up with Slovak culture in their families, neighborhood and Slovak school. Their initial repertoire consisted of a couple of dance pieces that were put together from the elements of *Slovenská beseda*—the medley of social dances—and folk dances learned in the National School. Performing their own dance choreographies in richly embroidered national costumes, they soon attracted other American-born Slovaks and even the young people of other ethnic backgrounds. In 1970, under the new name Limbora Slovak Folk Ensemble, it was officially declared and independent, self-supporting organization.

Whereas at the very beginning the members did their own choreography, in the early 1970s, Limbora started to invite choreographers from Slovakia, who were paid by the members of the ensemble to work with them, create some new dances, and »bring some authenticity« to their dancing. The fact that the members of the group spent their own money to hire professional choreographers from overseas is evidence of their strong motivation to learn more about their cultural heritage, in order to represent it in America. A former member of the ensemble, Mr. Havlik, explains the motivation of his generation, the generation of the founders of Limbora: for them, the work of the Ensemble was an expression of »cultural and ethnic pride«:

*»When I saw them for the first time...I was very impressed with the job they were doing, and the fact that they were our Slovak representatives to American and New York society... Because, you know, in the United States, nobody knew—forget Slovakia—where Czechoslovakia was! So there was an education we were doing on behalf of our culture, our heritage, and, I think, that was the biggest thing...«* (Personal communication, March 1999)

Similarly for Mr. Spisek, a current director of Limbora and an American-born Slovak, it was an interest in his own heritage, and respect for Slovak folk culture that stimulated him not only to become a member in

1976, but also to return in 1989s, after more than ten years of college and graduate studies.

The motivation to represent the Slovak cultural heritage is specified in one of the ensemble's program bulletins:

*Limbora Slovak Folk Ensemble is dedicated to the authentic presentation of Slovak folk songs and dances. Each dance vividly reflects the unique style, music, and costume of the particular region from which it originated. The entire repertoire has been supervised by Slovakia's leading choreographers to ensure its originality and authenticity (Program Bulletin; italics added).*

The question arises: what were the criteria for accepting the new dances brought by Slovak choreographers? When I asked whether Limbora accepted all the choreographed dances, one of the former members responded:

*»...absolutely, yes! We were so hungry for the new material that anything that sounded like it was probably authentic—and it came from overseas, it had to be more authentic than what we had made up here—we would accept anything from Slovakia.«*

Initially, I did not pay much attention to the word »authentic«. But after it appeared again and again in my interviews, I realized that there may be something significant in the way this term appears in the Limbora archive material and in the way it is used by members of the ensemble. I understood that to »accept any choreography from Slovakia« does not mean a lack of criteria but precisely the opposite. The rule is very explicit: to be »authentic« in terms of »representing real Slovak culture«.

Since the term »authentic« may have several connotations, what meaning has been ascribed to it by American-born members of the Limbora ensemble? Etymologically, the term refers to something *genuine, of undisputed origin*. Referring to »pure, real Slovak culture«, the term as used by the Limbora Ensemble does not contradict its etymology. However, what is meant by »real Slovak« varies in different contexts. First, it would be music and dance style developed by Slovak immigrants in America from the traditions brought with them from their homeland and transformed in a specific way in the Slovak-American context that I would consider »authentic« (in the sense of being uniquely Slovak-American). Second, in Slovakia, »authentic« folk music generally refers to live, spontaneous music-making of the rural population corresponding to and embedded in its original contexts, as opposed to choreographed, stylized, staged folklore. Whereas such authentic folk music hardly exists in its genuine form today, it still remains an ideal, which the choreographed folklore attempts

to follow. Third, and contrary to the previous two meanings, »authentic« in Limbora's connotation refers to music and dance coming directly from, and performed in the same way as in Slovakia. Therefore, it is a combination of two forms of folk music performance that Limbora tries to follow: stylized, staged folklore performed by mostly amateur folk ensembles, and village music traditions. Since these two forms have been coexisting in Slovakia in a reciprocal relationship during the last fifty years, the context of their recent development should be briefly explained.

In many countries (not only the communist ones), »staged folklore« has been an outcome of the construction of national cultures. Recent ethnomusicological studies demonstrate that this process has often been accompanied by the attempts of officials to professionalize folk music, which created a tension between a musician's personal musical identification with his/her local or regional tradition, and the national identification with globalized and constructed »traditions« that state ideology imposes (Buchanan 1995). Since we can hardly speak about the professionalization of folk music in Slovakia (there were only two professional folk music ensembles founded after 1949), the tension between local/regional and national musical identity was not so extensive. But two other factors may account for the rise and the development of staged folklore in Slovakia.

First, urbanization in Slovakia in the first half of the twentieth century had already led to migration from rural areas to cities. People from different regions had brought their local traditions to the cities and preserved them in newly created folk ensembles, transforming their original social and cultural contexts. Strongly motivated by the opportunity to re-engage in traditional activities they had had to give up when they migrated, the members of the folk ensembles imbued their dances with the diversity of styles and the spontaneity that came to characterize their performances from the start.

Second, fearing that the existence of some traditional forms and musical genres was threatened by the social, economic and cultural transformation of Slovakia during the first half of the twentieth century, folklorists, intellectuals, and folk music admirers strove to collect and preserve them. This led to an ambivalent situation. On the one hand, folk groups in their search for old, forgotten music material actually saved many older dances, vocal and instrumental genres. On the other hand, they presented these materials in a stylized, homogenized way, in which form they came back to the village environment through media and folk group performances.

Thus, it was this type of folklore that Limbora adopted in its desire to perform in exactly the same way as the ensembles in Slovakia. This was to be the representation of the Slovak »national cultural background in the

immigrant situation« (Ronström 1991: 74). Toward this goal, the ensemble set up performance strategies, which can be summed up as follows:

1. The dance repertoire and its performance are to be supervised preferably by choreographers from Slovakia. This rule reflects not only Limbora's goal but also the strong motivation of members to achieve »better, more difficult, more authentic dancing«. It was for this reason that they invited Slovak choreographers to work with Limbora. It was also why, since the end of the 1970s, some senior members of the ensemble travel to Slovakia to participate in the choreography classes organized by Matica Slovenská (an organization promoting the culture of Slovaks all over the world). At present, many old choreographies are adapted and transformed by some new immigrant members of the ensemble who used to dance in folk dance groups in Slovakia.
2. The repertoire of the ensemble is to comprise a variety of music and dances from different regions of Slovakia. While in the Slovak context this can be considered a case of »invented tradition« typical of folk ensembles that aim for a national identity at the cost of specific village repertoires, in the Slovak-American context, it is the only way of presenting the »true« picture of Slovak folk music. Focusing on one or another folk music region of Slovakia would be partial and incomplete, i.e., an »unauthentic« representation of the ancestors' culture.
3. Costumes in which the dances are performed are to correspond to the respective regions. Therefore, several costume changes in the course of a performance are common. Here, too, the desire to be authentic is manifested in Limbora's use of original folk costumes or their copies, hand-made by the members themselves or by their female relatives. (I was told that American-born female members of the ensemble always asked their Slovak-born mothers or grandmothers, or other Slovak-born members of the group, to design the components of the *kroj* (traditional costume). In addition to costumes, specific hairstyles and gestures (and postures) are required in order to represent a »real« image of Slovak village people.
4. »Authenticity« is inevitably associated with the technical adequacy and professional quality the ensemble has been striving to achieve from the very beginning. In this respect Limbora was probably attracted and stimulated by the performances of folk ensembles from Slovakia which have been traveling abroad since the middle 1970s and have been giving numerous concerts throughout the United States. They may have had a significant impact on repertory and the technical quality of the Slovak-American ensembles as well as on the increase

in the number of new members. According to the current director of Limbora, dance choreographies have become more complex: *»Our dances are much more difficult now than they used to be, but they are more attractive. The dances are technically more accurate, more authentic...«*

5. Live music as accompaniment to dance is the ideal. At the same time, it has been one of the ensemble's most difficult problems from the start. It is essentially music that determines the rhythmic character of the dance and the level of stylistic authenticity. But it has always been difficult to find musicians knowledgeable in playing different regional styles of Slovak folk music, and willing to perform without pay. At the time when the ensemble had no musicians of its own, it would either hire some music group (e.g., a Gypsy band) or record the performance of a hired band for subsequent use as playback.

While these strategies of Limbora do not seem to differ from those of Slovak ensembles back in the home country, they have had a special meaning for the American-born members of the ensemble: they led to the »authentic« presentation of the culture of their parents and grandparents, the culture they wanted to identify with. Limbora did not »invent« a new tradition because the one it accepted—the staged folklore—had already been »invented« (Hobsbawm 1984). Nevertheless, what the members of the ensemble might have re-invented for the purpose of their migration situation was the belief in the »authenticity« of the tradition they adopted. This not only reinforced the cohesion of the group, but also helped the ensemble to make a valuable contribution to the »plurality of cultural roots« that characterized the »new ethnicity« movement of the early 1970s (Novak 1996:393).

The above history focused on the ensemble from the American-born Slovaks' point of view. The perspective of the recently-arrived (post-1990) Slovak-born members, however, is slightly different. As the director of the ensemble put it: *»An attitude of younger generation is very essential: I am here to live, to find a job, become the U.S. citizen, to have some friends, and to listen to my music and language...«* For this group of Slovaks, Limbora serves a more immediate social function. It provides an opportunity to meet friends who have common interests, to hear and speak the Slovak language, to relax after a long week of work among strangers and of struggling with a foreign language. The fact that people from places as distant as Connecticut, Long Island, new Jersey and elsewhere come to rehearsal once a week, demonstrates how significant a function the ensemble has in the lives of its members. Unlike their American-born friends, they do not

need to confirm their identity or look for their »roots«. Nor do they concern themselves about »authenticity«. Their participation in Limbora provides them with an important connection to home and helps them to deal with their situation as immigrants (either temporary or permanent).

Today, the ensemble consisting mostly of recently-arrived young people from Slovakia continues to perform along the lines originally set up by the American-born members. But the question of authenticity persists and has become more complicated. This is evident in the use of playback even though Limbora now has its own musicians who are available and competent to play whatever is necessary.

At a recent performance by Limbora at the Czechoslovak Festival in Bohemian Hall in New York on May 29, 2000, for example, the ensemble presented four dance pieces from different regions of Slovakia.<sup>1</sup> Although the dances could have been accompanied by live musicians who were present, the director of the ensemble decided to use playback for the performance. He explained that the recorded music »sounds better« (»there are more musicians playing in the folk music orchestra«), and it remains constant so that the dancers are not distracted by differences in tempo and by melodic and rhythmic variations. Hence, they can dance »better«. The role of four musicians (first and second violin, viola, and double-bass) was reduced to filling out the breaks between the dances when dancers were changing their costumes.

Quite notable was an incident that came about unexpectedly during the performance of the dance called *Zemplin* from Eastern Slovakia. In the middle of the dance, a technical problem interrupted the music. Instead of letting the dancers proceed accompanied by the musicians who had begun to play where the tape left off, the director decided to move on to another piece. Obviously, technical perfection had priority in a hierarchy of performance strategies that left no room for spontaneity and on-the-spot improvisation.

In sum, the ideal of an »authentic representation of Slovak culture« was originally an outcome of the awakened ethnic consciousness of the second generation of Slovak-Americans. In the 1980s and 1990s, this ideal, upheld by the ensemble, inspired the youngest generation of Slovak-Americans to look for the roots of their ancestors' history. While the American-born members were aiming at the ideal of being »real Slovak«, feeling as they did the necessity of reasserting their identity, those who came to America recently are not concerned about authenticity. They do not need to create a »real Slovak« identity simply because they know they *are* Slovak.

<sup>1</sup> The videotaped documentation of this event was shown in Ljubljana at the Conference in which this paper was initially presented.

But the concept of authenticity cannot be generalized. It is relative, open to various interpretations and serve different purposes. In the case of the Limbora folk ensemble, the »search for authenticity« begins with place of birth and the circumstances of migration. Finally, if, as Michael Novak asserts, »each group has come to a different America, and each brought with it a different history,« then every migration and the means of dealing with it are unique (Novak 1996: xliv).

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## SLOVAŠKO-AMERIŠKA FOLKLORNA SKUPINA V ISKANJU »IZVIRNOSTI«

### Povzetek

Namen prispevka je opozoriti na poseben način, ki ga Američani slovaškega rodu na širšem območju New Yorka uporabljajo za obravnavo fenomena priseljevanja: to je neposredno sodelovanje v slovaškem folklornem ansamblu Limbora. Poudarek je na vprašanju »izvirnosti« kot idealu, ki spremlja dejavnost tega folklornega ansambla skozi njegov 44-letni obstoj. Razprava o osebni motivaciji in izvajalskih strategijah članov ansambla, ki so bili rojeni v Ameriki, omogoča demonstracijo spreminjanja »izvirnosti« v različnih kontekstih in razumevanja »izvirnosti« v smislu »prave slovaškosti« v kontekstu fenomena migracij. Če je bilo iskanje »izvirne predstavitve slovaške kulture« posledica prebujene etnične zavesti druge generacije Američanov slovaškega rodu v šestdesetih, je ta ideal, ki ga je posebljal ansambel Limbora, pomenil navdih za najmlajšo generacijo Američanov slovaškega rodu v procesu iskanja etničnih korenin v osemdesetih in devetdesetih letih dvajsetega stoletja.

# MUSIC AND IDENTITY OF THE AR- BËRESHË IN SOUTHERN ITALY

*Ardian AHMEDAJA*

*Arbëreshë* was the medieval name of the Albanians. In the 15th century many of them had to leave the country to survive the occupation of the Ottoman Empire. A considerable number emigrated to southern Italy and up until the 18th century others followed. Their descendants, who continue to call themselves *Arbëreshë*, still live for the most part in the same »village pockets« in Campania, Molise, Basilicata, Calabria, Puglia and Sicily.

The *Arbëreshë* distinguish themselves even today from the Italians. One of the reasons for that is the language. They speak an old Albanian, mostly as their »home language«, although they do have their own literature and their newspapers. Many *Arbëreshë* writers have been of great importance in collecting folk traditions. As far as is known, they began collecting in the 17th century – two centuries earlier than the Albanians in the homeland.

Another reason, which makes the *Arbëreshë* feel themselves to be non-Italian, is their religion. They are *cattolici di rito greco* or *ortodossi cattolici*. The Italians are for them *i latini* – the Latins. The *Arbëreshë* accept the Pope as the head of their church – he has authority over their bishops – but there has been neither an official separation from the Greek Orthodox Church nor an official affiliation with the Roman Catholic Church (Kellner 1972:40). Since 1919 there have been two *Arbëreshë* Episcopal sees: one in Lungro (*Ungër*), Calabria and the other, in Piana degli Albanesi (*Hora e arbëreshëvet*), Sicily.

Also an important part of the *Arbëreshë* identity is the music, both church and folk music. Some examples help demonstrate this.

## *Church Music*

The following example from a Vespers in Piana degli Albanesi, which I recorded on February 19, 2000, shows some features of the *Arbëreshë* church music (CD-20).

CD-20

Handwritten musical score for voice and guitar. The score is in 10/2 time and consists of seven systems. Each system has a vocal line (P) and a guitar line (G). The lyrics are in Slovenian and include: "Ka-ti e' lli-rit e spin-ti te skraj' lar-di gijl-ran' no' jet' te ja-če-ve", "a - min. O zot' ur-ti pi-ta ti gje", "gje gje-gina zot. O zot ur-ti", "pi-ta ti gje-gje kur i la si ma lab-jes se-ma", "ju se ne pet-ge. si-gje-g", "zot. si i-li ra-ni ille to rji-ten".

Music example 1: *God, I asked you and you answered me, you answered my prayer...*

A very distinctive phenomenon in this improvisation is the instability of the pitches *g* – *g flat* and *a* – *a flat*. The *g* of the beginning becomes *g flat* in the 2nd and 4th line and *g* again in the 5th line. The *a flat* of the beginning becomes *a* in the second part of the 1st line, *a flat* in the 2nd line, and *a* again in the 4th and 5th lines. The *a* and the *g flat* in the 4th line form an augmented second, which gives this improvisation a very »eastern touch«. All of these elements are far removed from the familiar traditions of the Italian Catholic Church.

In the *Arbëreshë* villages of southern Italy, however, there is a different kind of church music. This can be seen in the following song from Santa Sophia d'Epìro (*Shën Sofia*) of Calabria, which was recorded on February 23, 2000 (CD-21).

CD-21

♩ = 66      ②

E jë-ma tij zo-ti vir-gjë-resh. fa- (w) me shi-  
 kjet oj Ha-ri im zat o me ti  
 e be-ku-ar je ti ndër gra e be-ku -  
 e ga-bo-i bi-ri zot se pa ti un' rje  
 shpi-tim-ia - rin për shpi-trat e tan'

Music example 2: A Santa Maria song

It shows no instability of pitches and no free rhythm. People and priests say the old *Arbëreshë* church music tradition is being preserved much better in Piana than in Southern Italy. The priest of San Costantino Albanese (*Shën Kostandini*) told me in June 2000 that he does not know what might have been sung in the *Arbëreshë* church of Southern Italy before 1920. »What we sing now in the church is new«. Therefore, noting the differences between the *Arbëreshë* and the Italian Catholic Church music is one way of revealing a part of the *Arbëreshë* musical identity.

### Folk Music

Investigations of possible relationships between the *Arbëreshë* and the Albanian folk songs help a great deal to reveal this part of the *Arbëreshë* identity. As the Albanian and the *Arbëreshë* folk songs developed for centuries in different worlds, it seems unproductive to compare musical motifs. On the other hand, investigations of the similarities of some of their basic

features, such as the drone and the soloist's improvisation, can be useful.

In the next example from the village *Gjerbës* of the region *Skrapar* in Southern Albania there are two soloists and the drone – group. It was sung at the Folklore Festival in October 1973 and is one of the best-known three-part men's songs.

Handwritten musical score for a three-part men's song. The score is written on ten staves, alternating between two Solo parts and two Bardane (drone) parts. The tempo starts at quarter note = 60, then changes to quarter note = 76 [rubato]. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are: "mbe-çë mo-re sha-ko' mbe-çë", "për - tëj", "a i a - re", "c c e-lla mbe - çë", "të Ra-bes", "më ma", "a e a - re sha - i - a - ke". The score includes various musical notations such as slurs, accents, and dynamic markings like "p" and "f".

Music example 3: *Mbeçë, more shokë, mbeçë*

<i>Mbeçë, more shokë, mbeçë,</i>	<i>I remained my friends, I remained,</i>
<i>përtej urës së Qabesë.</i>	<i>far away from the Qabe-Bridge.</i>
<i>Falëm me shëndet nënesë,</i>	<i>Say hello to my mother,</i>
<i>Të më shesë të dy qetë,</i>	<i>she has to sell the livestock,</i>
<i>T'i japë nigjah të resë.</i>	<i>to give my bride the nigjah'.</i>
<i>Të më shesë kal' e mushkë,</i>	<i>She has to sell the horse and the mule,</i>
<i>Të më rrisi djalë e çupë.</i>	<i>to raise my son and my daughter.</i>
<i>Në pyet nënia për mua,</i>	<i>If my mother asks about me,</i>
<i>I thoni që u martua.</i>	<i>tell her, »He got married.«</i>
<i>Në pyetë ç'nuse mori,</i>	<i>If she asks, »What kind of bride did he</i>
<i>get?«</i>	
<i>shtatë plumba krahërori.</i>	<i>Seven bullets in his chest.</i>
<i>Në pyetë ç'kal' i hypi,</i>	<i>If she asks, »What kind of horse did he</i>
<i>ride?«</i>	
<i>Në dy drurë pe meiti.</i>	<i>Two wooden planks.</i>
<i>Në pyetë: Kë kishte pranë?</i>	<i>If she asks, »Who was near him?«</i>
<i>– Sorrat dhe korbat e hanë!</i>	<i>Ravens and crows which were eating him.</i>

The soloist's numerous trills and the glissandi strongly mark the improvisation in this song. The free rhythm and the solid drone provide support that is quite effective.

Traces of these features can be noticed in *Arbëreshë* songs. Music example 4 comes from the village of Frascineto (*Frasnitë*), Calabria

♩ = 120

Solo (1) E ish një më - më shum' e mi - re

Gitar (1) një më - më shum' e mi - re

Solo (2) hm i e he e

Gitar (2) e e

Solo (Solo) hehehe

<sup>1</sup> »This was the expression for the sum of money fixed in the Moslem marriage contract which was to be paid to the wife in the event of divorce or of the husband's death« (Shituni, Daja and Pano 1986:178, footnote 1).

*a c e le v a i r o l a*

Solo  
Chorus

e ish një më - më shum' e mi - - rë

e ish një më - më shum' e mi - i - i - rë

Music example 4: *E ish një mëmë shumë 'e mirë*

*E ish një mëmë shumë 'e mirë,  
e ish një mëmë shumë 'e mirë,  
e ç'kishin nëndë bil hadhjure,  
e ç'kishin nëndë bil hadhjure,  
e të dhjetën dhe një vashe,  
e të dhjetën dhe një vashe,  
e ço ja thojën Jurëndinë,  
e ço ja thojën Jurëndinë, ...*

*She was a very good mother,  
She was a very good mother,  
She had nine big sons,  
She had nine big sons,  
Her tenth child was a girl,  
Her tenth child was a girl,  
Her name was Jurëndinë,  
Her name was Jurëndinë, ...*

The improvisation here is not as marked as in other *Arbëreshë* songs (see De Gaudio 1993) and it is quite pale compared to that in the previous example. The partial drone, as in the 2nd line, however, is typical of other *Arbëreshë* songs. On the other hand, there is no partial drone in the Albanian songs. Their third or fourth voice, as the case may be, is simply the drone and sings only one tone.

A very similar role can be observed in the last two examples the interval of fifth: *c sharp – g sharp* between the drone of the chorus and the soloist in the 2nd line of the *Arbëreshë* song and *b flat – f* between the drone of the group and the second soloist in the 2nd and the 4th line of the Albanian one.

In addition, the long tones and the exclamations, like those in the 2nd line of the *Arbëreshë* song, are very common in the multipart songs of southern Albania. In the summer of 2000, I had a chance to show this

song to people from southern Albania, and they were very surprised at how similar it is to their songs, especially this part of the song.

Comparisons like this cannot be done without including similar Italian songs from the regions where *Arbëreshë* live. One of them is the following women's song (music example 5, CD-22) from Calabria (Ricci and Tucci 1997:186–187):

CD-22

The image shows a handwritten musical score for a song. It consists of three systems of staves. The first system includes a vocal line (Solo) with lyrics, an accompaniment line (acomp), and a percussion line (friction drum / zuchimandis). The second system continues the vocal line and accompaniment. The third system includes a vocal line with a 'ritardando' marking, an accompaniment line, and a percussion line. The score is written in a clear, legible hand with various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

*Sim' a-rrì-va - - ti a stu pa-laz-zu d'or' a stu pa-laz-zu*

*d'o - - - - - nu me cum-me-ra de-pas-*

*-sar' a-van - - - - - ti*

*ritardando*

Music example 5: *Sim' arrivati a stu palazzu d'oru*



<i>Sim' arrivati a štu palazzu d'oru</i>	<i>We have arrived at this palace of gold</i>
<i>A štu palazzu d'oru</i>	
<i>Nu me cummena de passar' avanti</i>	<i>it doesn't suit me to go on ahead</i>
<i>Ca c'è na donna oi comu na bannera</i>	<i>here there is a woman bright as a banner</i>
<i>Comu na bannera</i>	
<i>Ogne capiddu porta diamanti</i>	<i>every hair on her head produces diamonds</i>
<i>Mienzu šta casa oi c'è nu tavulinu</i>	<i>in the middle of this house there is a little</i>
<i>C'è nu tavulinu</i>	<i>table</i>
<i>C'è ru cumpari chi pripara nu</i>	<i>there's the godfather who prepares a</i>
<i>Biccher e vinu</i>	<i>glass of Wine</i>
<i>Mienzu šta casa oi c'èdi nu bicchieri</i>	<i>in the middle of this house there is a glass</i>
<i>C'èdi nu bicchieri E ra</i>	
<i>Cola 'u vidimu nu cavalčeri</i>	<i>we see Cola the cavalier</i>

A parallel to the previous example is the break between the ending of the first voice and the start of the second. This happens in the previous example between the two phrases of the solo voice (see graph).

The free rhythm brings this song nearer to the Albanian one (music example 3). But even the *Arbëreshë* song (music example 4) has a latent rhythm. The changes from 2/8 to 3/8 and vice versa, as well as the *accelerando* at the end of every verse, clearly show the instability between the free and the strict rhythm.

Concerning the drone: in (music example 5) it starts right after the second voice, one major second over the basic tone, to which it returns only at the end. This happens occasionally in the *Arbëreshë* songs (see De Gaudio 1993:154–157) but not in the Albanian ones.

### *Traces of the Pentatonic System*

Another way to find out more about the musical identity of the *Arbëreshë* is to investigate the melodic system of their folk songs. A few of them have traces of the pentatonic system, which means melodies without minor seconds. This interval is very common in the Catholic and the Byzantine church music as well as in the folk music of southern Italy. As the southern Albanian folk music is pentatonic, it seems that these traces of pentatonicism may also suggest a relationship between the *Arbëreshë* and southern Albanian folk songs. The following song from Lungro (music example 6, **CD-23**), recorded on February 12, 2000, is one of the *Arbëreshë* »pentatonic songs«:

**CD-23**

♩ ≈ 80

6

g' ki ësh't' aj-ri ka-lla-me-së ma... ma ki  
ma ki  
ma ki... ësh't' a- jri ka  
ma ki... ësh't' a- jri ka  
-lla- me - se jëj  
-lla- me - se jëj  
M'u buar-tin qi-çet e fo-les e ma... më bu  
më bu...  
M'u buar-tin qi-çet e fo-les e ma... më bu  
më bu...  
Ma ti çë m'u rrite n'ajrit malit ma... You grew up in the mountain air...

Music example 6: Ki ësh't' ajri kallames e ma...

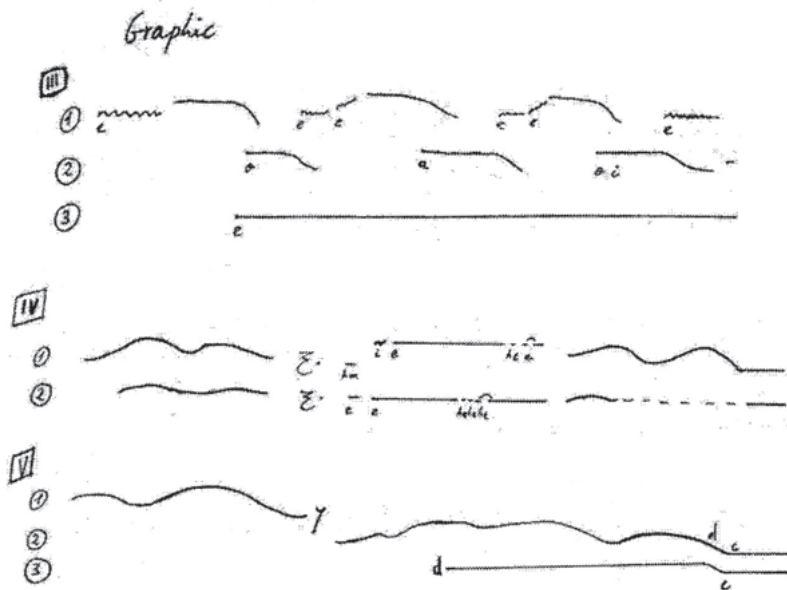
<i>Ki ësh't' ajri kallames e ma...</i>	<i>This is hay's aria...</i>
<i>Ma ki ësh't' ajri kallames</i>	<i>This is hay's aria</i>
<i>M'u buartin qiçet e foles e ma...</i>	<i>The nest's keys are lost...</i>
<i>M'u buartin qiçet e foles</i>	<i>The nest's keys are lost</i>
<i>Ma ti çë m'u rrite n'ajrit malit ma...</i>	<i>You grew up in the mountain air...</i>

*Ma ti çë m'u rrite n'ajrit malit*      *You grew up in the mountain air*  
*Mi vjen aduri muskatielit ma...*      *I smell the odour of the grape...*  
*Mi vjen aduri muskatielit ma.*      *I smell the odour of the grape.*

With regard to the melodic line of every voice, the only minor second is the *b flat* – *a* in the middle of the 3rd and 6th lines, that is, at the cadenzas. That makes this interval very important for this song. Pitches which do not belong to the pentatonic scale of a song, such as the *b flat* in this case, are used in the southern Albanian folk songs either for ornamentation or for »modulation« to other pentatonic scales. But here that is not the case. The minor second at the cadenza looks like an »inflection« from the diatonic.

Concerning the intervals between different voices in the same song, it is very important to emphasize the major second *g* – *a* in the middle of the 2nd and the 5th line. This interval is very characteristic of southern Albanian multipart songs, especially between the drone and the second soloist.

In any case, one can be sure of the intensity of the relationship between *Arbëreshë* and southern Albanian folk songs only when other musical cultures of the Mediterranean area are included in the investigations. In this context research into the *Arbëreshë* musical identity takes on a new dimension and can help toward understanding the relationships among different folk music traditions in the Mediterranean area.



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## GLASBA IN IDENTITETA ARBĚRESHEV V JUŽNI ITALIJI

### Povzetek

ArbĚreshĚ je srednjeveško ime za Albance. Nekateri so zaradi turških vpadov zapustili domovino že v 15. stoletju. Večinoma so migrirali v južno Italijo in ta tendenca se je nadaljevala do 18. stoletja. Njihovi potomci, ki še zmeraj uporabljajo naziv ArbĚreshĚ, živijo v vaseh, in sicer predvsem na območju Kalabrije in na Siciliji.

Za marsikoga med njimi je arhaična albanščina »domač jezik«. Prav jezik je eden najpomembnejših razlogov za to, da se še zmeraj ločijo od dominantnega – italijanskega prebivalstva.

Drugi razločevalni dejavnik je vera: ArbĚreshĚ so namreč »cattolici di rito greco« oziroma »ortodossi cattolici«, Italijani pa so zanje »i latini«. Glede na glasbo je ta razloček poudarjena z razločkom med bizantinskim in rimokatoliškim cerkvenim petjem.

Zelo pomembna je ljudska glasba. V številnih arbĚreških ljudskih pesmih, predvsem v večglasnih, je določena podobnost z albanskimi. V prispevku so poudarjeni identitetni vidiki, ki prispevajo k povezavam med arbĚreško ljudsko in cerkveno glasbo v primerjavi z albansko ljudsko glasbo in v primerjavi z ljudsko glasbo italijanskih sosedov.

# MUSIC OF SEPHARDIC JEWS<sup>1</sup> AND ALMANCILAR<sup>2</sup> TURKS IN SEVERAL BERLIN EVENTS: ASPECTS OF SYNCRETISM IN THE MUSICAL CULTURE OF MINORITIES

*Dorit KLEBE*

*T*wo recent events in the cultural life of Berlin revealed on closer examination what was not evident at first glance: close and emotional relations within the whole complex of minorities. Both of the just mentioned events contained various music-cultural activities, interactions and phenomena.

The first event was the inauguration of the exhibition »Haymatloz« (homeless)<sup>3</sup> in the Academy of Arts, Berlin, which reported on the hospitality of the Turkish Republic in the 1930s and 1940s when it invited German scientists, artists, architects, musicians and others who had been persecuted by the Nazi Regime. Descendants of some of those emigrants, like Edzard Reuter, the son of the former Lordmayor of Berlin, appeared in public; at the same time, descendants of the former Turkish hosts now living in Germany took part as migrants in a minority group. Among them was the Turkish composer and musician Tahsin Ýncirci, who had been a student of one of the German emigrants, Eduard Zuckmayer.

The second event took place in the Jewish Community House in Berlin, in the context of serial meetings under the theme »Jewish life in Istanbul – Turkish life in Berlin« jointly organized by Jewish and Turkish cultural groups in Berlin. Among the activities was a concert given by Sephardic Jews from Istanbul (the ensemble »Los Paşaros Sefaradis«), and by Muslim Turks of Berlin (an ensemble led by Nuri Karademirli, *ud* player and director of a private Conservatory for Turkish Music in Berlin). In this second event Sephardic Jews from Turkey and Turks from Berlin,

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<sup>1</sup> Also called Judaeo-Spaniards or Ladinos (for *Sepharadim*), see Andrews 1989:157. The biblical local name *Sepharad* has been associated with the Iberian peninsula since the Middle Ages.

<sup>2</sup> Literally »German-landers«, the term used in Turkey for Turkish migrants living in Germany.

<sup>3</sup> Organized by »Verein Aktives Museum«, Berlin.

who are descendants of the former Turkish hosts, performed together on stage, this time as representatives of a smaller and a greater minority respectively, in a country from where the heaviest persecutions had started.

Music of Sephardic Jews is only sporadically performed in Germany, on the one hand by musicians coming for a special event, like »Los Paşaros Sefaradis« from Turkey or, recently, Evelina Meghnagi and her group from Italy, and on the other, by some of those Jewish musicians living in Germany who are part of the revitalization of Sephardic music that began about ten years ago. In Berlin, e.g., there is the artist Jalda Rebling who sings mainly Yiddish songs, but who, in recent times also includes Sephardic songs in her musical program. Viewed over a longer period there is no continuous tradition of Sephardic music in Germany<sup>4</sup>. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Sephardic Jews came from Portugal via Amsterdam to Hamburg. Because of economic restrictions, many of them subsequently migrated back to Amsterdam. In the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century there was only a small community of about 200 Portuguese Jews left in Hamburg. But famous single Sephardic families or personalities lived in several other German cities like Frankfurt or Berlin, for instance, Henriette Herz. Born in 1764 in Hamburg as Henriette de Lemos, she presided over one of the most brilliant »Salons«, a centre for intellectual life in Berlin (Gidal 1997:91,103,141).

The ensemble »Los Paşaros Sefaradis« also played songs like romances from their former Iberian home country as well as songs from their new home, the countries of the former Ottoman Empire, including some Balkan countries, and urban love songs from Turkey, especially from Istanbul. The group of the Turkish musicians who had come to Berlin about thirty years ago played oeuvres from the classical and light classical Turkish art music repertoire. Compared to the performing style of present-day Turkey, some of the pieces were realized with higher speed and great vivacity.

In both concerts, special aspects and problems of music and minority can be seen: the merging of the immigrant's music with and its absorption into that of the host society through transculturation and acculturation on one side, and up to crossculturation and adaptation on the other. Within the whole complex range of variety in the most distinct influences, which can be effective on musical cultures, there are two characteristic streams of cultural transport: on the one hand the influences take the direction from the majority to the minority. This makes up the much greater part. On the other hand, more seldom, it goes the opposite way, from the mi-

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<sup>4</sup> I am grateful to Mr. Deutschmann and Mr. Fried from the Jewish Community of Berlin for some of this information.

nority towards the majority. And even more seldom does a real synthesis come about to create a new form, shape or genre. Besides those various phenomena of cultural contact, each minority has of course developed its own specific forms to preserve its identity in the diaspora by cultivating the musical traditions of their homeland. Each of the two concerts will be represented by one sound example. For a better understanding I shall illustrate my points – focusing on structural and stylistic elements – with some further sound-examples. All examples will represent the main realms of music – religious and art, folk and urban music.

In the long history of the settlement of Jews in Asia Minor<sup>5</sup> the Sephardic Jews developed a very rich musical culture in the Ottoman Empire. Having been expelled from Spain and Portugal about 500 years ago, the Ottoman Sultan Bâyezid II. (reigned 1481-1512) invited them to settle down in his Empire. At least 60,000 of them found a refuge there.<sup>6</sup> The Judeo-Spanish-speaking *Sephardim* had brought with them a rich tradition of creativity. By 1494 for instance, they had already established their first printing press in Istanbul (Barnai 1990:26). The tradition of combining religious Hebrew poems with non-Jewish melodies of the Ottoman-Turkish art as well as religious music might have already started in the work of the poet Salomon ben Mazal Tov, who was active in Istanbul and Salonika during the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Seroussi 1989:30 and 1990:50). In the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the song-collection of Rabbi Israel Najara (ca. 1555-1625) with Hebrew poems adapted to Ottoman-Turkish melodies had been published. Najara's followers continued his work. »Besides adopting single Turkish melodies, the Ottoman Jews absorbed other complex Ottoman musical forms and techniques« (Seroussi 1989:31). A very characteristic musical form of the Ottoman-Turkish art music is the *peşrev* – a genre of religious as well as of art music, used as instrumental introduction for cyclic performances. In the written sources of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century there are to be found several examples for Hebrew poems adapted to the melodies of this musical genre. This tradition went on in the 19<sup>th</sup> century when again a poem of Najara was adapted to a very famous<sup>7</sup> *peşrev* composition by the Ottoman-Turkish composer Yusuf Paşa (1821-1884)<sup>8</sup>. This *peşrev* has a formal structure of four parts called *hâne*, each one followed by a ritornell, *teslîm*. The modus is *makam segâh* and the rhythmical cycle (*usûl*) is *devr-i kebir* (28/4).

<sup>5</sup> The *Romaniotes*, for example, lived in the former Eastern Roman Empire.

<sup>6</sup> In İstanbul, e.g., the number of Jewish households rose from 1647 in the year 1477 to 8070 within fifty years.

<sup>7</sup> It is still part of the present-day repertoire of Turkish instrumentalists.

<sup>8</sup> The composer was a member of the Mevlevî order.



"Segâh Peşrevi" by Yusuf Paşa

1<sup>st</sup> hâne

bendir: etc.

teslîm

Music example 1: *Peşrev* by *Yusuf Paşa*

The transcription of the first part, *hâne*, and the ritornell, *teslîm*, follows the instrumental version in a de-ornamented way. Each of both realizations follows the performer's individual way of ornamenting the melodic line with various melismata. The formal structure of the composition, the parts *hâne* and *teslîm*, is constructed using the long rhythmical

cycle of 28 beats. The first *hâne* as well as the *teslîm* starts and ends with the finalis of the *makam segâh*, the tone *segâh*, pitched a microtone interval below »Si«. This interval may in practice differ from one up to three Pythagorean commas. Walter Feldman pointed this comma phenomenon out in great detail in »Music of the Ottoman Court« (1996:206-13). The above-mentioned *ud* player Nuri Karademirli confirmed – independent of Feldman’s explanations – the practice of the variable intonation of the tone *segâh*.<sup>9</sup> In the following *peşrev* realization the singer starts with oscillating vibrations, goes on checking over his individual intonation of the tone *segâh* with microjustifications and continues singing in this technique up to the end of his solo.

CD-24

**CD-24:** *Yehemeh levavî*<sup>10</sup>. The *peşrev* by Yusuf Paşa is sung solo by Samuel Benaroya<sup>11</sup>. In his singing style Samuel Benaroya shows an affinity to Muslim religious hymns such as the *na’at*, the vocal introduction to the ceremony of the Mevlevî whirling dervishes. In the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century the genre *peşrev* might also have been performed vocally (see Wright 1988:11, Seroussi 1991:1, Feldman 1996:308). In this context the vocal *peşrev* of the Ottoman Jews can be traced back to an older Ottoman-Turkish *peşrev*-practice and could be regarded as a »genre-specific survivor«.

CD-25

**CD-25** The interpretation of the instrumental *peşrev* by Yusuf Paşa is played by a Turkish *ince saz*<sup>12</sup> music ensemble with an instrumentation typical for the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The development of the *Sephardim*’s music in the Ottoman Empire extended also to realms of music other than the religious one. At least from the 17<sup>th</sup> century on and maybe earlier, Ottoman Jewish composers and interpreters began to play instruments and to compose in the style of the Ottoman-Turkish art music, following the *makam* and *usûl* practice. Rabbi Haham Moşe Faro alias Musî (died about the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup>

<sup>9</sup> In an interview on February 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1999.

<sup>10</sup> Literally »beating of the heart«.

<sup>11</sup> According to legend, Rabbi Israel Najara appeared in a dream to the sexton of one of the synagoges of Edirne / Adrianople. Soon after, a special choir, called »Maftirim«, was established there and its repertoire of religious poems adapted to Ottoman-Turkish music was given from generation to generation in a process of compilation. From the 17<sup>th</sup> century on, this city, Edirne, became the most important center for musical and poetic creativity among the Jews in the Ottoman Empire. Samuel Benaroya (born 1908), a descendant of one of the renowned families of musicians from Edirne, joined the Maftirim choir at the age of twenty (see Seroussi 1998:7,9).

<sup>12</sup> *ince saz* = soft sounding instruments, like *ney* (rim-blown vertical cane flute), *tambûr* (long-necked lute without frets), *ud* (short-necked lute without frets), *kanûn* (psaltery, a zither in trapezoidal form), and *bendir* (single head frame drum). This ensemble played a sort of classical and light classical chamber music.

century), a player of the long-necked lute *tanbûr*, was one of the leading musicians at the court of Sultan Mahmud I (reigned 1730-1754). The following Sultan Selim III (reigned 1789-1807) got *tanbûr* lessons from Isaac Fresco Romano alias Tanbûrî Isak (1745?-1814).<sup>13</sup> Other famous composers of Ottoman-Turkish art music were the Arabic Jew Abraham Levi Hayat alias Ýbrahim (Mısırlı üdí Avram; 1872-1933)<sup>14</sup> and Isaac Varon, born 1884 in Galipolis but moved to Istanbul in 1918 where he died in 1962.<sup>15</sup> An outstanding personality in the 20<sup>th</sup> century was Rabbi Isaac Algazi (1889-1950). In historical sound documents there exist excellent interpretations of religious songs in Hebrew and Judaeo-Spanish as well as vocal genres of the Ottoman-Turkish music sung in Turkish (see Seroussi 1989).

Again in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, pogroms with cruel persecutions forced entire ethnic groups and innumerable minorities to flee, this time from Germany. German emigrants – mainly men of sciences and arts, some of them also of Jewish origin – found a home in Turkey, at least for a limited period. To mention some of the representatives of music, there were Ernst Praetorius, Paul Hindemith and Eduard Zuckmayer. By order of the founder of the Turkish Republic Mustafa Kemal, also known as Atatürk, musical life in Turkey was to be reformed – Paul Hindemith even spoke of building it up completely new – with the aid of the German immigrants following Western / German models. In 1935 Hindemith started to work on preliminary proposals for building up a musical life in Turkey. He finished his work in 1936. He recommended the brother of the writer Carl Zuckmayer, Eduard Zuckmayer, to be his deputy in realizing the reforms. On the model of the Berlin Highschool of Music Eduard Zuckmayer began to build up in Ankara a place for the training of musicians and music teachers, which he run almost up to his death in 1972. The German minority had influenced the music of the majority, especially the art music of Turkish composers who combined Western principles of composition with Turkish elements.<sup>16</sup> This was the music that the schoolteachers – having been instructed after this German model – now brought into the Turkish schools.<sup>17</sup> In this way special realms of music of the whole Turkish nation had been influenced by a small group of European musicians and scientists. This style of composing still influences some Turkish composers, whether they are living in

<sup>13</sup> See Öztuna 1969 (Vol. 1):300-301.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid, 291

<sup>15</sup> See Öztuna 1976 (Vol. 2)<sup>2</sup>:366-367.

<sup>16</sup> A famous group of composers in this new style was »The Turkish Five«: Ahmed Adnan Saygun, Cemal Reşit Rey, Ulvi Cemal Erkin, Necil Kasım Akses, and Hasan Ferit Alnar.

<sup>17</sup> See Okyay 1973/74:5-39.

Turkey or in Germany.

At the opening ceremony of the exhibition „Haymatloz« the above-mentioned Turkish musician and composer Tahsin İncirci performed some of his own compositions. During his studies in Ankara he had arranged twenty-three traditional Turkish folksongs for two European violins trying to bring to a synthesis elements of Turkish folk music, like melody and rhythm, with elements of »Western« music, especially harmonized in simple polyphony and counterpoint. Recently he re-arranged some of these folk songs – still composing in the tradition of the 1930s<sup>18</sup> – this time for voice, violin and piano.

CD-26

CD-26: *Daldalan* ... The vocal part is sung by his twenty-five year old daughter Aslı, born in Berlin, who makes her debut as singer. The composer himself plays the violin and the pianist is German.

*Daldalan* Traditional, from Artvin/Eastern Turkey

Dal - da-lan dal - da-lan Dal - dan a - - şa - ğı

Dal - da-lan dal - da-lan Dal - dan a - - şa - ğı

Saç-la-rı dö- kü-lür Bel - den a - - şa - ğı

Saç- la- rı dö- kü-lür Bel - den a - şa - ğı.

<p>Daldalan daldalan Daldan aşağı Saçları dökülür Belden aşağı.</p>	<p>From branch to branch From the branch down Your hair is falling Beyond the waist downwards</p>
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Music example 2: *A traditional folksong from the Artvin district in Eastern Turkey*

<sup>18</sup> New ways of harmonizing Turkish folk music are exemplified by the group »Okan Murat Öztürk & Bengi Bağlama Üçlüsü« in present-day Turkey.

The melody is notated on »Re«. In a traditional realization the tone »Mi« would be a microtonal interval lower.

Besides Tahsin incirci another composer and musician living in Germany, formerly in Cologne and now in Berlin, might be mentioned: Hasan Yükselir. Because of his religious affiliation – he is a *pir*, that is, a leader of a community of Alevî<sup>19</sup> – he prefers oeuvres of religious-mystical contents. His singing style is strongly influenced by his education in chant combined with the tempered European pitch system.<sup>20</sup> As a result, there is a considerable loss of microtonal intervals and of melodic ornamentation like the *gırtlak*, a special guttural tremolo – all characteristics of traditional Turkish music. This fact is already evident in the previous sound example. Hasan Yükselir presented some of his compositions, arrangements for religious, folk and epic songs, together with the Philharmonic Orchestra of Cologne.

CD-27  
CD-28

CD-27 and CD-28: *Kızıroğlu*

This heroic song *Kızıroğlu* is part of the epic *Köroğlu*<sup>21</sup> from eastern Turkey. In a traditional interpretation there are two main characteristics: first, the song text is *tek* (unique), so each realization must be in the original version without any modifications, and second, the style of the recital should be *yüksek sesli*, i.e. with a strong, full-toned, vigorous voice. In the sound example 27 *âşık*<sup>22</sup> Murat Çobanoğlu follows exactly the traditional way of performing.<sup>23</sup> The interpretation by Hasan Yükselir in sound example 28 is very far from being traditional; the two characteristics – *tek* and *yüksek sesli* – got lost, the song text is modified and the expression of his voice is not more vigorous and heroic.

The music of everyday life, especially the wide area of urban dance music, is a further segment of both music cultures – of the *Sephardim* in Turkey<sup>24</sup> as well as the *Almancılar* Turks in Germany<sup>25</sup> – where processes

<sup>19</sup> Shiite sect.

<sup>20</sup> Ruhi Su was one of the first singers in Turkey in the 1960s, who sang Alevî hymns with a voice trained for singing European opera and who accompanied himself with the long-necked lute *saz*.

<sup>21</sup> The song is sung at that point in the epic when the hero *Köroğlu* meets his greatest enemy, the hero *Kızıroğlu*. In this dangerous situation of life and death *Köroğlu* starts to sing a hymn with worshipping words for *Kızıroğlu* who is deeply impressed and both heroes became like brothers to the end of their lives.

<sup>22</sup> *Âşık* = passionate lover (of God), is a singing poet and composer accompanying himself with the long-necked lute *saz*. He is a non-initiated member of the Bektâşi order, an Islamic Shiite sect.

<sup>23</sup> For a transcription of the song see Reinhard and Pinto 1989:227-229.

<sup>24</sup> In İstanbul, e.g., there are about 18,000 resident Jews (see Andrews 1989:157).

<sup>25</sup> In Berlin, e.g., there are about 150,000 – 180,000 resident Turks.

of transculturation are also to be seen. Considering the developments of the 500-year-old Sephardic music in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey, the degree to which this music has been influenced as early as the religious and art music had been, cannot be ascertained today especially because of the lack of printed sources and because the tradition is mostly oral. The above-mentioned group »Los Paşaros Sefaradis« had in its repertoire mainly orally-transmitted songs. The ensemble members are musicians as well as ethnomusicologists, culture scientists and linguists who made it their task to do the research, documentation and sound realization of Sephardic music and set up an archive of about 400 songs. The program of their concert in Berlin was shaped by folk and urban songs in the form of reconstructions of melodies which had been orally transmitted from mother to daughter as well as of interpretations of songs which had been given to the female vocalist by her grandmother and which normally had not been performed in public. A special feature of the female vocalist's performance was the accompaniment of her singing with mimic gestures. In this way she made understandable the contents of the songs also for a non-Ladino-speaking audience.

The use of both languages – Ladino and Turkish – in the everyday life of the *Sephardim* finds its expression in the following urban love and dance song *Si veriyaş a la rana / Ben seni severim* (see music example 3). Textual structure consists of a strophe with four lines and a refrain with two lines, corresponding to a typical genre of the traditional Turkish folk song, the *türkü*<sup>26</sup>. Further characteristics are the strophes with seven, eight, or nine syllables, the refrain with six syllables and a rhyme scheme of xxyy which is typical as well for the genre *türkü*. The musical and melodic construction corresponds to those elements which are to be observed in general in traditional Turkish folk dance songs: a syllabic allotment of the text, an ambitus lying within one octave, short and succinct motives strung together to form longer melodic contours, often in sequences and building the melodic material for the following phrases. The direction of the melody is descending, rhythmically tightened and with only a few ornaments. The melodic material is based on the *makam Hicâz*, using only the scale, but not working out the modal *makam*-concept according to its specific rules. In its rhythmic material this dance song manifests as well the characteristics of Turkish music, including the so-called *aksak* rhythms.<sup>27</sup> The 9/8 is divided here in 2+2+2+3, the longer part always at the end of the measure.

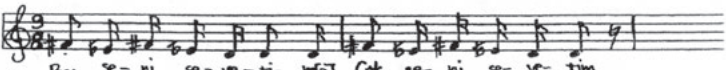
CD-29: *Si veriyaş a la rana / Ben seni severim...*

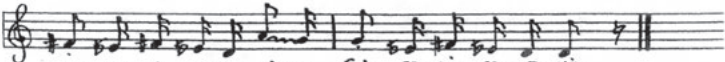
CD-29

<sup>26</sup> See Reinhard 1984:25-26.

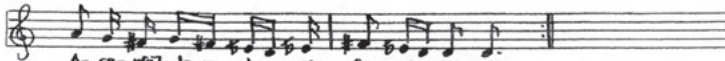
<sup>27</sup> *Aksak*= limping or moving forward by jerks. It concerns the time signatures 5/8, 7/8, 9/8 and others. Check also sound example 25 and music example 2.

"Si veriyas a la rana / Ben seni severim"

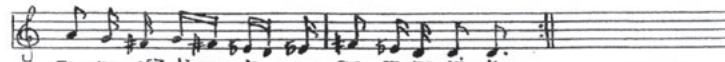
Refrain: 



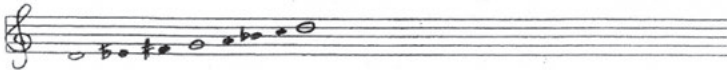
Strophe: 







Basic Scale of makam Hicaz on Re



$\flat$  = about 4 Pythagorean comma-s deeper

Music example 3: Melody in a de-ornamented version

Strophe in Ladino<sup>28</sup>:

<i>Si veriyas a la rana</i>	If only you could see the frog
<i>asentada en la ornaya</i>	sitting at the stove
<i>friendo sus buenas fritas</i>	frying meat balls
<i>espartiendo a sus ermanikas.</i>	serving it to her little sisters. <sup>29</sup>

Refrain in Turkish:	<i>Ben seni severim</i>	I love you
	<i>çok seni severim.</i>	I love you very much.

<sup>28</sup> The spelling of the Ladino follows the Turkish alphabet.

<sup>29</sup> I am very grateful to Almuth Münch for the translation of the song text from Ladino into German language.

Bilingual texts – combining the language of the minority with that of the majority in different weightings – is one of the stylistic means used very often in urban folk music when the majority's language penetrates the minority's or vice versa, starting with a single word within a stanza-line<sup>30</sup> to a complete stanza, very often in the form of a refrain.

Within the last five years several music groups in Germany, like Cartell, Aziza-A, Islamic Force, and Fresh Family<sup>31</sup> developed their own musical style combining Turkish melodies and instruments with elements of Rap and HipHop, mixing Turkish, German and English language texts. In the song *Es ist Zeit*, the female singer Aziza-A takes a short characteristic part of a refrain from the traditional Turkish folk song *Misket*<sup>32</sup>. She combines the strophes consisting of a HipHop-style speech song in German language with the melody and text of *Misket*, but taking only one line of the four-line refrain stanza, modifying the second line and omitting the last two. Further on, the melody is strongly simplified in its rhythm and ambitus<sup>33</sup>, with the text recited almost on one tone, and the melody of the second line repeated as a sequence an interval of a third below.

CD-30: *Es ist Zeit*

CD-30

Notes No. 4  
 „Es ist Zeit“

Da-ra-cık da-ra-cık so-kak-lar kız-lar mis-ket yur-var-lar.

Music example 4: *Es ist Zeit* (excerpt)

Refrain in Turkish: *Daracık daracık sokaklar*      Narrow, narrow streets  
*kızlar misket yuvarlar*      (where) girls are playing marbles

<sup>30</sup> See for instance the Ladino song No. 17 (*Ven ermoza...*), from the same source as sound example 27. In the first and second strophes the last word in the second stanza-line is a Turkish term for a special profession: *basmacı*= maker or dealer in printed material and *kuyumcu* (the proper version would be *kuyumcu*) = jeweler; both typical professions among the Ottoman-Jewish citizenry of Istanbul.

<sup>31</sup> These groups also have non-Turkish members, and their music is listened and danced to as well by the non-Turkish population. Some of the groups even had concert-tours throughout Turkey with great success, thus influencing the musicians in Turkey.

<sup>32</sup> On Turkish feasts such as wedding parties, the song *Misket* is a solid part of a repertoire of the cyclic dances of the *çiftetelli*, a type of hip-dance having apparently some dance movements in common with the oriental belly dance.

<sup>33</sup> For the original full version of song and text, see Demirsipahi 1975, I, nr. 344.



Aziza-A developed her own musical style combining traditional Turkish elements and instruments (such as *saz*) with HipHop, which she calls »Oriental HipHop«. She regards it as the best way to develop her own identity without denying her roots. In her songs she describes the situation of the Turkish girls and young women in Germany. In an interview, given on the occasion of one of her first concerts, she told me: »I would like to encourage my sisters of Turkish origin to be as self-confident as I am.«<sup>34</sup>

The music culture of Turks around 40 years of age is momentarily characterized by cultivating past traditions such as learning folk dances, playing the *saz*, performing Ottoman-Turkish court music. At the same time there exists a high degree of variability and keenness in experimenting with improvising and arranging folk, light and art music and creating new types and styles. At present, we can observe the processes of acculturation and adaptation in their initial stages. The possibilities to take part and observe the development of the minorities' music culture and to watch the shifting music traditions are there for ethnomusicologists today. On the other hand, the ethnomusicologist must take the responsibility to preserve the heritage of the musical culture, protect the original structures from falsification, and, as far as possible, document the historical development of outrageous musical phenomena in order to secure the roots and sources of human creativity.

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<sup>34</sup> On October 14<sup>th</sup>, 1996.

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## GLASBA SEFARDSKIH JUDOV IN T.I. ALMANCILAR TURKOV V NEKATERIH BERLINSKIH DOGODKIH. ASPEKTI PREPLETANJA V MANJŠINSKI GLASBENI KULTURI

### Povzetek

Redki dogodki v kulturnem življenju Berlina kažejo različne aspekte interakcij in fenomenov glasbeno-kulturnih aktivnosti, ki se nanašajo na manjšine. Opazujemo lahko združevanje in stapljanje glasbe priseljencev z glasbo gostujoče dežele v oblikah od transkulturacije, kroskulturacije in akulturacije do adaptacije.

Znotraj celotnega kompleksa različnih vplivov lahko ločimo dve karakteristični poti – od večine k manjšini in narobe. Med različnimi oblikami pojavnosti in dinamičnega razvoja bodo s pomočjo izbranih glasbenih primerov predstavljeni nekateri izrazi s področja verske in umetne ter ruralne in urbane glasbe s poudarkom na strukturnih in stilističnih elementih. Najstarejši primer sodi v obdobje otomanskega imperija in poudarja kulturni stik dveh velikih glasbenih tradicij: sefardsko-judovske in otomansko-turške. Sledi predstavitev dveh koncertov in v zadnjem delu prispevka še vpogled v glasbo mladih Turkov–Berlinčanov, ki vsebuje mednarodne značilnosti pod vplivom množičnih medijev.

# LOOKING FOR IDENTITY MARKS: LOCALITY – RELIGION – MUSIC MUSIC TRADITION OF THE RUSSIANORTHODOX PEOPLE IN NORTHEASTERN POLAND

*Anna CZEKANOWSKA*

The subject of this contribution is the musical tradition of the Russian Orthodox community of northeastern Poland (ca. 650,000 people), and specifically of a smaller group located north of the Nurzec river (ca. 30,000 people in 11 parishes). This group has been chosen for study because it is quite homogenous and evidently local, while fortunately untouched by the mass resettlement, which took place in eastern Poland in 1947 as a consequence of World War II.

Paradoxically, this very musical and attractive culture has been little known to Polish ethnomusicologists for a long time. Indeed, it is only thanks to the initiative of the ecumenical movement and specifically of the Lenten Orthodox Chants Competition that we have had the opportunity of meeting these Orthodox singers and developing a research programme. The homogeneity of this group is quite surprising, being in such evident opposition to the heterogeneity of its ethnic elements: Ukrainian, Belorussian, Polish and Lithuanian. This culture manifests a large variety of historically inherited elements, dominated however, by strong feelings of local identity. The latter arise more strongly than ethnic feelings and historical consciousness, which are not well developed amongst the local people. This is probably the main reason why this population was not subjected to the post-war resettlement mentioned above.

According to Polish anthropologists this group can be interpreted in pre-ethnic terms (Engelking 1996). Being not so happy with different prefixes I will limit my discussion to local and religious aspects, concentrating specifically on their cultural and musical dimensions.

The main objective of this contribution is the proper interpretation of this identity's background and the correct establishment of the relation between local and religious determinants. It is also worthwhile to explain the extent to which the Church institutions and the conventions of Church

transmissions cultivate and/or transform the traditional norms of folk legacy and the ways of their performance in particular. The phenomenon under study fascinates not only the historians and theologians, but also musicologists and ethnomusicologists who are interested in specific features of the musical code and the aspects of its transformation.

Judging from interviews, the people of the Orthodox Community in northeastern Poland identify themselves mainly in local terms. They say simply – »we are from here (*tutejsi*)« (comp. Porębski 1936, Pawluczuk 1968, Frasukiewicz 1990), adding also – that » the rulers can change, but the people remain the same«. In the local cemeteries one finds a limited number of family names, though the names can be different in ethnic terms (Ukrainian, Belorussian, Polish). But, despite different names, people feel very close to each other as long as they are of the same (Russian Orthodox) religion. According to them »we all are cousins and relatives«. This applies also to those being included by intermarriage (which actually happens rarely). These »adopted« people can be even specified with very unpleasant terminology »*privoloka*«. <sup>1</sup> But, so long as they are felt as being close, they may be accepted. According to the people, »they may pronounce differently particular endings, but they should not only communicate by speech, but also by the ability of singing together«.

The feeling of being »one's own« and/or a foreigner is quite developed in this territory, yet it does not lead to the aggression. Nonetheless, the villages are either »one's own«, i.e. Orthodox (the majority), or Polish, i.e. Catholic (evidently a minority)<sup>2</sup>. The opposition toward Catholicism, which is an official and dominant religion in Poland, is one of the basic grounds for identity.

At the same time, although clearly identified in religious terms as Russian Orthodox, these people do not necessarily observe their Church obligations. Indeed, the Orthodox identity embraces also atheists and especially those coming from »abroad«, i.e. Russians and Belorussians coming to Poland in hope of finding a job, or dealing with contraband. The local people are very sympathetic to those people coming »from beyond the Bug river« (constituting the Polish-Ukrainian and/or Polish-Belorussian border). They regard them also as relatives, although the hosts and visitors have a lot to learn, as far as the customs and musical

<sup>1</sup> A person 'dragged' to a foreign country.

<sup>2</sup> According to historical sources (Chlebowski 1880-1902) the villages of this territory were ethnically mixed. Poles, Ruthenians and Jews lived side by side. The development of national consciousness resulted in ethnic 'purgings' (either Polish or Ruthenian). During the Holocaust the Jewish population was annihilated.

repertory go.

The repertory of both groups is quite different, but the way of performing, as well as the genres and topics people sympathise with, seem to be similar. The most important, however, is the almost physiologically motivated necessity to sing and to express in music a common identity in sorrow and joy. This necessity and the common taste integrate hosts and visitors.

Nevertheless, the differences in repertory are obvious, depending mainly on generation. The older generation still admires the ritual repertory, whereas the oldest women, being experts in religious chants support the church choirs (Czekanowska 2000a). In contrast, the middle generation prefers to sing the lyrical and/or narrative stories about love with a closing nostalgic reflection, which usually deplores women's hard life. Love of attractive *Kozak* or *Czumak* boys (comp. Mańka 1997) with their dark browns is one of the most popular topics in this genre.

The older generations, however, do not appreciate these songs. They find them pleasant but not »ours«, actually »imports«. Their concern is not only with the style of performance but also with the ideological concepts. The elders disregard the nostalgia and the fatalism clearly dominant in this love repertory. According to them – »one must agree, that many borders can not be overstepped, many rivers can not be crossed, so why sink in despair not recognising the highest spiritual authorities and the power of belief in the transcendental world?«

At the same time the elders are much more tolerant toward the youngest performers. The youngest are also sympathetic to the elders looking with interest for forgotten songs. In fact, they are not only interested in topics but also in concepts and opinions, which the oldest generation has to present. Indeed, the youngest people are not only interested to find new material for the youth ensembles; they are also fascinated by traditional culture and its ideology.

According to the elders the most important is to keep the essential rhythm of the repertory, i.e. »with a proper feeling of the time flow« (Czekanowska 2000b). The important songs should have their own place both in the calendar and in the individual cycle of human life. One can practice the religious obligations or not, but one should observe the basic cycles of human life and of nature. One needs to know when the song should be performed. Subsequently, the common songs are, in principle, of secondary importance.

The indicated rhythms and their cycles confirm the relation to nature and to its transcendental power. From this point of view the religious songs and those dedicated to hagiography, i.e. to certain patron saints, usually

replacing the former demons (St. John replacing Kupala and St. George replacing Yarilo), are also very important. The dependence of repertory on basic rituals is especially visible in its concentration on the cult of fertility, both in family and annual cycles (Czekanowska 1990).

The studies of the folk calendar are among the most popular of East European folklore studies (Mozheyko 1985, Pashina 1998). This topic has also a long tradition of research on Byzantine music (Jeannin and Puyade 1913, Werner 1948). Thanks to these studies, we know that the division of the Church calendar year into cycles of fifty days – *pentacontade* (Baumstark 1910) has a special meaning and that the most important is the period of fifty days between Easter and Pentecost, actually ending the Church year of the so-called movable feasts (cf. Narbutt 1979).

The organisation of the folk repertory around the Church cycle and the clear correspondence between the Church and Agrarian calendar (Propp 1963) is very interesting for anthropologists. For ethnomusicologists the most fascinating is the coincidence of particular songs (*rohulki, wesnianki*)<sup>3</sup> with the specific weeks in the *pentacontade's* period, which reveals the vestiges of the old *oktoechos*<sup>4</sup> principle.

The coincidence of particular songs with concrete melodic concepts (*glas*<sup>5</sup>, *ton*) should be the subject of detailed studies. Historians and mediaevalists in particular are fascinated by this question. Future investigation should explain to what extent the folk material is determined by the Church calendar and to what controlled by probably much older principles. So far, however, we can only state that the fascinating terminology of *ton* and *glas*, which can be compared with that of *echos*<sup>6</sup> or *tonos*<sup>7</sup>, is current amongst people performing in the Church choir only, whereas other performers are rather ignorant of this question. As far as musical analysis is concerned it can confirm the mutual relations between religious and folk tradition. The special and distinguished position of the Church repertory is emphasised by the manner of its performance. These chants have to be performed in higher tessitura, not so loudly and with a delicate timbre.

<sup>3</sup> *Vesnianka* – comes from *vesna* (spring). The origin of term *rohulka* is obscure; probably from *roh* (horn) – symbol of fertility. One assumes that the performing girl was decorated with horns.

<sup>4</sup> Gr. *oktoechos*, Lat *octoechos* – *octo* (eight) and *echos* (mode). A Byzantine term for liturgical books arranged according system of eight ecclesiastical modes, corresponding to the ecclesiastical calendar.

<sup>5</sup> *Glas* means voice, a Slavonic term for tonal-melodic model operating within a system of eight ecclesiastic modes (*osmoglasje*).

<sup>6</sup> Gr. *echos* – mode, see above note 4

<sup>7</sup> Gr. *tonos*, Lat. *tonus* – actually a mode.

The songs following the natural rhythm of individual life are less popular than the calendar songs. Nevertheless, the wedding and particularly the funeral laments, receive unquestionable status. According to the performers (Varfolomeeva 1986) the funeral ceremony is the most important ritual helping the dead person to reconcile himself/herself to his new conditions and find the way on »his/her endless journey«. There is a need to support one's dearest by providing lamentations, i.e. to accompany the dead person on that journey. The rank and social position of this ritual also confirms the connection with the calendar. Indeed, the dead person is celebrated not only directly after his/her death but also during special calendar feasts dedicated to those »who already had left«. The interviews clearly confirm that the rank of a funeral ceremony is clearly supported »by general cultural pattern and is segmented in accordance with a special (calendar) rhythm« (Toporov 1974:691).

Dedication of songs to certain Patrons Saints reveals again the coincidence of folk with the Church calendar. The position of this repertory is quite distinguished in the liturgical books (the so-called *Patronagies*<sup>8</sup>). However, the selection of patrons differs in each case. The folk calendar points to the agrarian rhythm and the specific patrons corresponding to former demons (e.g. Nicolai corresponds with *Veles* (cf.) Uspiensky 1985), George and John with Yarilo and Kupala as mentioned above). The rhythm of the Church Patrons Saints' feasts is established by the Church and regulated by its independent concept of hierarchy.

The detailed analysis of musical material contributes also to a better understanding of the relations between Church and folk legacy. The literature on the subject delivers many contributions (Vladyshevskaya 1978, Frasunkiewicz 1995), pertaining to the basic concepts of tonal-melodic organisation, and comparing their transmission both within the Church and among the folk. Nevertheless, it would be difficult to accept these conclusions unequivocally and to recognise the suggested concordances<sup>9</sup>. It is easier to find the indirect influence of general modal concepts current in the mediaeval theory of the Eastern Church, than to indicate direct connections. This applies especially to the melodies of the so-called narrow range (Czekanowska 1972), which reveal certain principles of mediaeval construction, specifically as far as the concepts of fourth and fifth categories are concerned. Source study helps to discover the traces of mediaeval

<sup>8</sup> Patronagies – very important liturgical books in Eastern Church presenting the selection of Patrons Saints, whose names should be remembered in the liturgy during particular feasts and festive periods of the ecclesiastical year

<sup>9</sup> But the significance of the *trichord* nucleus for Byzantine tonality is unquestionable.



theory and to restore the background of the traditional repertory of this part of Europe. But examples confirmed by concrete formulae are hardly to be found. Indeed, one can only suspect that the knowledge of mediaeval theory, no matter how acquired by the local people, could have influenced the theoretical background of the folk repertory. The hiatus between folk and Church music remains evident, being additionally reinforced by differences in performance style. The world of Church and that of folk culture, though supporting and/or even substituting each other, evidently preserve certain autonomy.

It would be impossible to answer the fundamental question posed by this paper, without elaborating an approach to the complex concept of local identity. The religious identity with its institutional references and the function of secondary confirmation is relatively easy to explain. But, its relation to locality evokes many problems.

One often thinks of the locality as sympathy and sentiment toward a concrete territory (a »little homeland«) which »can be seen from the tower of the local church«. Personally, however, I do not accept this simplified definition. This concept should be referred to the paradigm of culture and understood in quite a broad sense.

The same concerns the relation to minority. It goes without saying that the latter appeals again to the affirmation of broadly approached tradition, being not limited to the feeling of minority, which is closely connected with admiration for the environment in which people have had to live for generations. One needs to point to the highest esteem for Nature, which is crucial for paradigm of this tradition. According to the people, Nature should accompany their life all along. Indeed, there is a custom of addressing the forests and/or fields directly in song and thoroughly enjoy the seasonal changes. There is a custom also to dialogue with birds and certain animals, whereas the annihilation of environment can be perceived as a personal drama. This high regard for Nature has evident East Slavonic roots. Such a concept influences the mentality of people and the behavioural patterns the people cultivate. This explains also the emotional predispositions of people, including fatalism and nostalgia mentioned above. This kind of mentality is also visible in the aforementioned necessity to sing, and to communicate by singing, because »to weep and to sing is almost the same«. This kind of emotional make-up explains why people coming from »beyond of the Bug river« are still considered as relatives, as long as they can sing together and react emotionally in the same way. In this respect they are really very close to each other.

Religion with its institutional power confirms and legitimises people's feelings. The Orthodox denomination is also more sympathetic to folk culture than the closed logic system of the Western Church. No less important is the mystic background of certain Orthodox practices. Nevertheless, the religious factor evidently plays a secondary role. More important seems to be the people's artistic sensitivity, which is so deeply rooted in natural responses and in feeling of a time's flow (Czekanowska 2000b). Thanks to this ability people integrate in the twinkle of an eye.

The contemporary situation is, however, changeable and it is hard to forecast the future. One observes different manipulations with an evident political bias. This is especially transparent, in the framework of festival activity. Different institutions try to force ethnic identity, which can easily be transformed into nationalistic concepts.

The Belorussians and Ukrainians evidently compete in this battle, which may influence the young generation in the future. So far, however, the old generation is quite ambivalent to this question. The performers keep both Ukrainian and Belorussian costumes at home. They use one or the other depending on the occasion. The choice depends on the concept of festival to which they are invited.

As far the youngest are concerned the commercial temptations seem to be more dangerous than the ethnically coloured politics. In the final



Picture 1: *The old generation – the singer of the Russian Orthodox church choir (village Czeremcha-wieś – area of Hajnówka)*



Picture 2: *The middle generation – singing at home* (village Dobrowoda – area of Hajnówka)

reckoning the elders are, however, optimistic. They explain the generation differences by various kinds of time perception. According to the elders »the young people cannot yet feel how the time flows«. But, one has to hope that »they will develop this feeling later« (Czekanowska 2000b).

CD-31  
CD-32

CD-31: *Sviaty Yuri* (Saint George)  
CD-32: *Sviaty Mykola* (St. Nicolaus)



Picture 3: *The member of folk song ensemble „The Little Bricks«* (village Lewkowo – area of Siemiatycze)

Picture 4: *The head of the youth ensemble »Czeremszyna« (town Czeremcha)*



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ISKATI ZNAMENJA IDENTITETE:  
LOKALNOST – RELIGIJA – GLASBA.  
GLASBENA TRADICIJA RUSKIH PRAVOSLAVCEV V  
SEVEROVZHODNI POLJSKI

Povzetek

Prispevek predstavlja glasbeno tradicijo maloštevilne ruske pravoslavne skupnosti na severovzhodu Poljske (približno 30.000 ljudi v enajstih župnijah), ki je dokaj homogena in vezana na določeni prostor. Homogenost te skupnosti je v nasprotju s heterogenostjo njene etnične oziroma nacionalne sestave (Ukrajinci, Belorusi, Poljaki in Litvanci). Raznovrstnost zgodovinsko podedovanih elementov je podrejena izrazitemu občutku identitete. Kot zatrjujejo nekateri poljski antropologi (Engkeling 1996), je to skupnost možno interpretirati kot predetnično.

Glavni cilj prispevka je pravilna interpretacija tega identitetnega ozadja in vzpostavljanje korektnega odnosa med lokalnimi in verskimi determinantami. Člani skupnosti se identificirajo tako lokalno (mi smo od tod – *tutejsi*) kot tudi versko (mi smo *prawoslawni*). Glede na povezave s sosedi, ki živijo na drugi strani vzhodne meje (v Belorusiji in Ukrajini), ima verska identiteta prednost. Lokalno prebivalstvo sprejema te sosede na podlagi podobnega okusa in izrazite glasbene motivacije in jih doživlja kot sorodnike.

Odnos do repertoarja je odvisen predvsem od generacijske pripadnosti. Najstarejše ženske dajejo prednost cerkvenim pesmim, srednjo generacijo navdušujejo ljubezenske in pripovedne pesmi, mladina ima najraje plesne pesmi s poudarjenim ritmom. Starejša generacija je vseka-kor tolerantna in sprejema repertoar najmlajše generacije.

V zaključku je poudarjena kompleksnost koncepta identitete, ki pomeni veliko več kot čustveni odnos do ozemlja. Verska identiteta ima jasno vlogo sekundarne potrditve, medtem ko se nacionalnost izraža kot umeten koncept.



## AVTORJI / NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

**Ardian Ahmedaja** was born in Albania in 1965 and received degree in composition from the University of Tirana. He completed his master's and doctoral studies at the University of Vienna. His dissertation (1999) deals with melodic typology in the songs of the Gegë Albanians. Interested in Albanian folk music, Byzantine chant, diaspora and minority musics, and polyphony in the Mediterranean area, he conducted most of his fieldwork in Albania and Italy and is currently engaged in the project conducted by the Institute for Folk Music Research in Vienna.

**Vesna Andrée-Zaimović** is graduate student at the University of Sarajevo. Her principal area of interest is musical experience of the Bosnian and Herzegovinian diaspora in Western Europe. Apart from that, her publications encompass topics related to music in Bosnia and Herzegovina, popular music and world music. She is also a musician and in the 1990s leader of the Bosnian ensemble Vali in Slovenia. She is currently Head of Music department of National Public Radio, BH Radio 1 in Sarajevo.

**Jerko Bezić** was born in 1929. He earned his academic degrees in Slovenia, while his major professional achievements are related to Croatia. He was researcher at the Institute of the Yugoslav Academy of Science and Arts in Zadar, and later, for more than three decades, at the Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research in Zagreb, serving at the same time as Professor of ethnomusicology at the University of Zagreb. One of the pioneers of minority music research, he organized a conference on this topic in Zagreb in 1985.

**Anna Czekanowska** is professor at the University of Warsaw and at The Catholic University of Lublin. She is the author of many books on Polish and Slavonic music and of textbooks on methodology and musical cultures of Asia. Her studies concentrate on the topics of style and poetics of folk song. Her latest book, *The Pathways of Ethnomusicology* (2000) presents



a selection of her recent essays, including those on music and gender and continuity and change.

Her latest interest is in musical culture of the minorities in Poland.

**Christiane Fennesz-Juhasz** is musicologist and sound archivist at the Vienna Phonogrammarchiv of the Austrian Academy of Sciences. Since 1990 she has been involved in the study of European Rom music through research projects such as *Preservation and documentation of the Heinschink Collection at the Phonogrammarchiv* and *Codification of the Romani variety of the Austrian Lovara*, a team project at the Department of Linguistics, University of Graz. Her publications focus on the music of Roma and Sinti.

**Nice Fracile**, born in 1952 in Kuštilj, Yugoslavia, received his degrees in Romania: B.A. from the Music Conservatory in Bucharest and Ph.D. from the University of Cluj-Napoca. His principal interests are in comparative studies of the Serbian and Romanian folk music and the aksak rhythm in the Balkans. Author of over sixty publications in Serbian, Romanian, English, and Hungarian, he currently teaches at the Academy of Arts in Novi Sad.

**Anca Giurchescu** is a dance ethnologist. Formerly a principal researcher at the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore in Bucharest (1953-1979), she has lived in Denmark since 1980. Her research centers on the Vlachs in Denmark and Gypsies in Romania. She has published numerous articles on dance and ritual, dance structural analysis, dance as identity and use of dance for political power legitimisation. She is the chair of the ICTM's Study Group on Ethnochoreology and secretary of the Study group on Music and Minorities.

**Dimitrije O. Golemović** was born in Belgrade in 1954. He earned B.A. degrees in composition and solo singing and M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in ethnomusicology from the University of Belgrade, where he currently serves as a professor of ethnomusicology. He has visited more than 600 villages in Serbia, Montenegro and Bosnia and Herzegovina and collected thousands of folk songs. He is the author of several books, large number of papers, sound recordings, TV documentary series, and compositions.

**Gerlinde Haid**, born in 1943 in Bad Aussee, Styria, received degrees in music education and German philology and a Ph.D. in ethnology and musicology. She served as secretary general at the Austrian Folk Music Society and as assistant at the Department for Traditional Music at the Mozarteum Univeritiy in Innsbruck. Since 1994, she is the director of

the Institute for Folk Music Research at the University for Music and the Performing Arts in Vienna.

**Ursula Hemetek** earned her Ph.D. in musicology from the University of Vienna. She is researcher and Assistant Professor at the Institute for Folk Music Research of the University for Music and Performing Arts in Vienna, Austria. Her publications focus on minority musics in Austria, especially Roma, Croats, and more recently Bosnians. She organized a major conference on the topic (*Echo der Vielfalt / Echoes of Diversity*) in Vienna in 1994 and serves as chair of the ICTM's Study Group on Music and Minorities.

**Dorit Klebe** studied music education, musicology, ethnomusicology and Islamic sciences, and conducted fieldwork mostly in Turkey, Italy, Greece and in the wider Balkan area. In addition to being a trainer for music teachers at the Administration of Education and a lecturer at the Institute for Further Education and at the University of Music and Interpretative Arts in Berlin, she serves as advisor, moderator, organizer, and manager in various realms of the media. Her research project focuses on the music culture of the Turkish minority in Germany.

**Maša Komavec** was born in 1969 at Šempeter pri Gorici, Slovenia. She graduated from the Music Academy of the University of Ljubljana with a degree in music education. Her ethnomusicological work became institutionalized in 1996, when she became a researcher at the Institute of Ethnomusicology of the Scientific Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Ljubljana.

**Gerda Lechleitner** studied musicology and psychology at the University of Vienna. In the period 1979-1986 she worked at the Institute of Acoustic Research of the Austrian Academy of Sciences. Afterwards, she was involved in several projects at the Phonogrammarchiv, such as *Hausmusik*, a pilot study for the CD publication of the complete historical recordings. She has been the editor of the *Tondokumente aus dem Phonogrammarchiv* (Sound documents from the Phonogrammarchiv of the Austrian Academy of Sciences. The Complete Historical Collections 1899-1950) since 1996.

**Krister Malm**, born in 1941, holds a Ph.D. in musicology. He was researcher at Uppsala University, Sweden and assistant director of the Trinidad & Tobago Government Folklore Archives. At present, he is general director of The Swedish National Collections of Music in Stockholm, Associate

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**Robert Carl Metil** received his Ph.D. from the University of Pittsburgh. As an IREX researcher in the Ukrainian Studies Department at Safárik University in Presov, Slovakia, he studied Rusyn song and activism in relation to the psychopolitical dimensions of minority identity, ethnic conflict, and revolution. He has conducted fieldwork in the USA and Europe, where his articles and reviews have appeared. He is also an acoustic guitarist and teaches courses in world music and the relationship of blues to rock at Chatham College in Pittsburgh.

**John Morgan O'Connell** is a Senior Lecturer in Ethnomusicology at the University of Limerick. He is a graduate of Oxford University, the Guildhall School of Music, and the University of California, Los Angeles, where he completed his Ph.D. in ethnomusicology on Turkish classical music. He has taught ethnomusicology and historical musicology at Mimar Sýnan Üniversitesi, Otago University and The Queen's University in Belfast.

**Svanibor Pettan** earned his Ph.D. from the University of Maryland. Formerly a research scholar at the Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research in Zagreb, Croatia, he is currently Assistant Professor at the University of Ljubljana, Slovenia. His publications focus on Rom music, music in relation to politics and war, musics of the world, and applied ethnomusicology, the most recent being the CD-ROM *Kosovo Roma* (2001). He serves as vice-chair of the ICTM's Study Group on Music and Minorities.

**Adelaida Reyes** is Professor Emerita (Music and Ethnomusicology) from New Jersey City University. She has also taught at Columbia University, The Juilliard School of Music, and New York University. She has done fieldwork in New York City, in Southeast Asia, in Orange County, California, and in Kampala, Uganda. Her most recent publication is *Songs of the Caged, Songs of the Free. Music and the Vietnamese Refugee Experience* (1999) published by Temple University Press.

**Michael Schlottner** is a research fellow of the special research program *Cultures of Knowledge and Social Change* at the University of Frankfurt,

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**Cheng Shui-Cheng** was born in China, grew up in Taiwan, and has lived in France since 1967. He graduated from the National Cheng-Chi University and was musician of the Broadcasting Corporation of China in Taipei. He earned his Ph.D. from the University of Paris IV, worked as an ethnomusicologist at the French National Scientific Centre since 1970, and is the head of ethnomusicology department of the National Music School of Fresnes (Ecole Nationale de Musique à Frésnes, France). He is the author of two monographs, forty articles and recordings on the music of Taiwan, China, and Japan.

**Kjell Skjellstad**, born in Hammerfest in northern Norway, is Professor Emeritus at the Department of Music and Theatre, University of Oslo. He is co-founder of FIVAS (Association for Water and Forest Studies) and an activist within the ecology movement. His research among minorities include the Batak of Northern Sumatra and Nias, longhouse communities on the Rejang and Baram rivers in Sarawak, Shan and Karen communities in Burma and the Sasak people of Lombok, Indonesia. He has written numerous articles on ecological issues in Asia and the Pacific.

**Leon Stefanija** was born in Ljubljana in 1970. He earned his Ph.D. in musicology from the University of Ljubljana with the dissertation on the notions of »old« and »new« in contemporary Slovene art music. His musicological interests are focused on theory and practice of musical analysis, sociology of music, and the 20th century Slovene art music. He is Assistant Professor in musicology at the University of Ljubljana.

**Julijan Strajnar**, born in 1936 in Combelle, France, is currently living in Ljubljana. He began his career as violinist and later became an ethnomusicologist, folklorist and composer. In 1962 he graduated with a degree in Romance languages, and in 1989 he took second degree in ethnology and musicology. He was an employee and later, until he retired in 1995, the director of the Music and Folklore Institute of the Slovene Academy of Sciences and Arts (now Institute of Ethnomusicology).

**Hana Urbancová** studied music theory at the Academy of Performing Arts in her native Bratislava. She received her Ph.D. from the Slovak Academy of Sciences, Institute for Musicology, where she currently works in the Department of Ethnomusicology. Her fields of interest include traditional vocal culture in Slovakia, music of ethnic minorities, and historical sources of traditional music. She teaches ethnomusicology at the Komensky University in Bratislava and serves as editor of the musicological journal *Slovenská hudba/Slovak Music*.

**Jadranka Važanová** studied musicology and aesthetics at the Komensky University in Bratislava, Slovakia. She is currently a Ph.D. candidate in the ethnomusicology program of the Graduate Center of the City University of New York. Her interests include the ritual folk song genres of Slavic people, music of ethnic groups and minorities, especially in Eastern and Central Europe, and the transformation processes in musical cultures of this area.

**Alma Zubović** graduated in musicology at the University of Zagreb in 1995. She defended her master's thesis, which was on the sources for research in music of Muslim people in Bosnia and Herzegovina under Ottoman rule, at the University of Sarajevo in 2000. She is the co-author of the monograph *The Zagreb Philharmonic Orchestra 1871-1996* and the author of several articles published in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Currently she works as a music teacher in Zagreb.

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# SEZNAM POSNETKOV NA ZGOŠČENKI / LIST OF AUDIO EXAMPLES ON THE CD

Example to accompany the paper of **JULIJAN STRAJNAR**

**CD-1:** *Kje je moj mili dom*

Performer: A group of singers

Place: Aumetz, France

Date: 30/6/1979

Recorded by: Julijan Strajnar

Source: Inštitut za glasbeno narodopisje ZRC SAZU

Duration: 2'30

Examples to accompany the paper of **VESNA ANDRÉE-ZAIMOVIĆ**

**CD-2:** *Snijeg pade na behar na voće*

Performer: Ensemble Dertum

Place: Ljubljana, Slovenia

Date: 13/12/1996

Published by: KUD France Prešeren

Source: CD KUD 005

Duration: 3'13

**CD-3:** *Telal viče*

Performer: Vlado Kreslin and ensemble Vali

Place: Ljubljana, Slovenia

Date: 1998

Published by: NIKA

Source: CD Črna 12

Duration: 3'55

Examples to accompany the paper of **GERDA LECHLEITNER**

**CD-4:** *Historisches Lied*

Performer: James Sullivan (voice)

Place: Dublin, Ireland

Date: 24/07/1907

Recorded by: Rudolf Trebitsch

Source: Ph 689, track 2 (abridged version), Phonogrammarchiv der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften

Duration: 0'23

**CD-5:** *Gebetsrezitation*

Performer: Jakob Bauer (voice)

Place: Vienna, Austria

Date: 09/04/1913

Recorded by: Hans Pollak

Source: Ph 1752 (abridged version), Phonogrammarchiv der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften

Duration: 0'32

Examples to accompany the paper of  
**CHRISTIANE FENNESZ-JUHASZ**

**CD-6:** *Lampaši a*

Performer: A Sinto from Vienna (voice and guitar)

Place: Vienna, Austria

Date: 1954

Recorded by: Walter Dostal

Source: Phonogrammarchiv S 124

*Lampaši b* (dance song)

Performer: Imre Lakatos, Lovari from Pápa, Hungary

Place: Vienna, Austria

Date: 1967

Recorded by: Mozes F. Heinschink

Source: Phonogrammarchiv B 35830

Duration: 1'26

- CD-7:** *Rom Romendar phirav ...* (slow song)  
Performer: Marynda Kešelová, Servika Romni from Litomeřice  
Place: Litomeřice, (former) Czechoslovakia  
Date: 1971  
Recorded by: Milena Hübschmannová  
Source: Phonogrammarchiv MHü. OB 4/I.11  
Duration: 0'37
- CD-8:** *Of lele so čerdžom ...*  
Performer: An Arlisko Rom from Šutka in Skopje  
Place: Skopje, Macedonia  
Date: 1968  
Recorded by: Mozes F. Heinschink  
Source: Phonogrammarchiv B 36784  
Duration: 1'06

Examples to accompany the paper of **ANCA GIURCHESCU**

- CD-9:** *Hora de la Palanca*  
Performer: Horea Pușca (Fane Puștiu, 77, violin) and Andrei Mihalache (62, accordion)  
Place: Village Dumbrava, commune Ciupelnița, district Prahova, Romania  
Date: 25/02/1999  
Recorded by: Anca Giurchescu  
Duration: 1'48
- CD-10:** *Tigăneasca*  
Performers: Horea Pușca (Fane Puștiu, 77, violin) and Andrei Mihalache (62, accordion)  
Place: Village Dumbrava, commune Ciupelnița, district Prahova, Romania  
Date: 25/02/1999  
Recorded by: Anca Giurchescu  
Duration: 1'23



**CD-11:** *Tinerețe, tinerețe*

Performers: Andrei Mihalache (voice and accordion)

Place: Village Dumbrava, commune Ciupelnița, district Prahova, Romania

Date: 25/02/1999

Recorded by: Anca Giurchescu

Duration: 5'26

**CD-12:** *Lăutărească*

Performer: Alexander ștefan (70, violin) and Ion Zlătaru (37, accordion)

Place: Commune Frătești, district Giurgiu, Romania

Date: 17/05/2000

Recorded by: Anca Giurchescu

Duration: 1'38

**CD-13:** *Maneaua turcească*

Performer : Alexander ștefan (70, violin) and Ion Zlătaru (37, accordion)

Place: Commune Frătești, district Giurgiu, Romania

Date: 17/05/2000

Recorded by: Anca Giurchescu

Duration: 1'37

Examples to accompany the paper of **WOLF DIETRICH**

**CD-14:** *Boztorğay degen ayvaž*

Performer: Seit Feüziye (63), partly accompanied by her husband Seit Ali (77)

Place: Murfatlar, Romania

Date: No data

Recorded by: Wolf Dietrich

Source: Dietrich F 247-A,3

Duration: 0'44

**CD-15:** *Kirim mendil oyunu*

Performer: Cheasim Etem (65, *zurna* shawm) and his son Cheasim Rustem (20, *davul* drum) – Roma from Medgidia

Place: Medgidia, Romania

Date: no data

Recorded by: Wolf Dietrich

Source: Dietrich F 255,5

Duration: 2'27

Examples to accompany the paper of **ROBERT C. METIL**

**CD-16:** *Krjacok ljalivovyj*

Performer: Jerry Jumba (voice and accordion) and Andrij Pidkivka (*sopilka* flute)

Place: WEDO Radio (810 AM) Studio, 1985 Lincoln Way, White Oak,

Pennsylvania, 15131, U.S.A.

Date: 2/5/2001

Producer/Director: Robert C. Metil

Engineer: Ron Zoscak

Recorded by: Public Domain

Source: Audiocassette recording (see the essay for details)

Duration: 1'07

**CD-17:** *Ci tebe, Hanicko*

Performer: Jerry Jumba (voice and accordion) and Andrij Pidkivka (*dvodencivka* double flute)

Place: WEDO Radio (810 AM) Studio, 1985 Lincoln Way, White Oak,

Pennsylvania, 15131, U.S.A.

Date: 21/5/2001

Producer/Director: Robert C. Metil

Engineer: Ron Zoscak

Recorded by: Public Domain

Source: Audiocassette recording (see the essay for details)

Duration: 0'37

Examples to accompany the paper of **HANA URBANCOVÁ**

**CD-18:** *Ej, hondon rando, randochn*

Performer: Local folk group Marmon

Place: Chmeľnica, Slovakia

Date: 1992

Recorded by: Stanislav Dúžek, Bernard Garaj

Source: Sound Archive, Institute for Musicology, Slovak Academy of Sciences

Duration: 1'07

**CD-19:** *En altfagangnen zae'en*

Performer: Helena Bröstl-Schuster (b. 1934) and Helena Bröstl-Matačke (b. 1931)

Place: Medzev, Slovakia

Date: 1996

Recorded by: Hana Urbancová

Source: Sound Archive, Institute for Musicology, Slovak Academy of Sciences

Duration: 2'56

Examples to accompany the paper of **ARDIAN AHMEDAJA**

**CD-20:** *From a vespers*

Performer: Papís Jani Pecorano (the priest) and members of the church choir in Chiesa San Demetrio

Place: Piana degli Albanesi (in Arbëreshë: Hora e arbëreshëvet), a village near Palermo, Sicily, Italy

Date: 19/2/2000

Recorded by: Ardian Ahmedaja

Source: Institut für Volksmusikforschung an der Universität für Musik und darstellende Kunst Wien

Duration: 1'00

**CD-21:** *A Santa Maria song*

Performer: Inhabitans of the village Santa Sophia d'Epiro (in Arbëreshë: Shën Sofia)

Place: In the village church, Santa Sophia d'Epiro, Calabria, Italy

Date: 23/2/2000.

Recorded by: Ardian Ahmedaja.

Source: Institut für Volksmusikforschung an der Universität für Musik und darstellende Kunst Wien

Duration: 0'35

**CD-22:** *Sim 'arrivati a 's'iu palazzu d'oru*

Performer: Filomena Brizzi (voice and *zuchi-zuchi* friction drum), Angelina Brizzi (voice) and Carmina Brizzi (voice)

Place: Mesoraca, Calabria, Italy

Date: 28/12/1992

Recorded by: Antonello Ricci

Source: Ricci and Tucci 1997 – track 11 from the accompanied CD nr. 2

Duration: 0'26

**CD-23:** *Ki ësht' ajri kallames e ma...*

Performer: Members of the group Rilindja – Mario Bavasso (first voice) and Nicola Bavasso (second voice; leader of the group)

Place: In the rehearsal room of the group, Lungro (in Arbëreshë: Ungër), Calabria, Italy

Date: 12/2/2000

Recorded by: Ardian Ahmedaja

Source: Institut für Volksmusikforschung an der Universität für Musik und darstellende Kunst Wien

Duration: 0'44

Examples to accompany the paper of **DORIT KLEBE**

- CD-24:** *Yehemeh levavî* (part of the first *hâne*), vocal *peşrev*  
Performer: Samuel Benaroya (voice)  
Place: Seattle, U.S.A.  
Date: No data (between 1982 and 1991)  
Recorded by: Moshe Kirschbaum  
Source: CD *Anthology of Music Traditions in Israel 12 – Ottoman Hebrew Sacred Songs* (Edwin Seroussi, ed.), ex. 1  
Duration: 0'33
- CD-25:** *Sabâ Peşrevi* (part of the first *hâne*), instrumental *peşrev*  
Performer: Ulvî Erguner, Akagündüz Kutbay, Doğan Ergin (*ney* flute), Cinuçen Tanrıkorur (*ud* lute), Cüneyd Koşal (*kanûn* zither), Ahmet Hatipoğlu (*tanbur* lute), Nezih Uzel (*bendir* frame drum)  
Place: ORTF, Paris, France  
Date: 1971  
Recorded by: René Cambien, Paris, ORTF  
Source: LP *Musique Traditionnelle Turque – Pièces Instrumentales*, Ocora Ocr 56, side A, ex.4  
Duration: 0'29
- CD-26:** *Daldalan* (first strophe), arrangement of *türkü*  
Performer: Aslı Incirci (voice), Tahsin Incirci (violin), Johannes Kraus (piano)  
Place: Academy of Arts, Berlin, Germany  
Date: 8/1/2000  
Recorded by: Dorit Klebe  
Source: Collection Klebe K 2000/3  
Duration: 0'23
- CD-27:** *Kızıroğlu* (first strophe), epic song in the *koçaklama* makam  
Performer: Murat Çobanoğlu  
Place: No data  
Date: Between 1990 and 1992  
Recorded by: Ursula Reinhard and Volker Reinhard  
Source: CD *Song Creators in Eastern Turkey* (Max Peter Baumann, ed.), Smithsonian Folkways SF 40432, ex. 5  
Duration: 0'38

- CD-28:** *Kiziroglu* (first strophe), epic song arranged for symphony orchestra  
 Performer: Hasan Yükselir (voice and arrangement), Symphony Orchestra  
 Cologne – Director: B. Güneş  
 Place: Philharmonic Hall, Cologne, Germany  
 Date: 5/5/1996  
 Recorded by: No data  
 Source: CD *Eine musikalische Reise durch Anatolien* (copy of a private recording of Hasan Yükselir), ex. 5  
 Duration: 0'40
- CD-29:** *Si veriyaş a la rana / Ben seni severim* (chorus, first strophe, chorus), urban love song with elements of *türkü* and the lyrics in Ladino and Turkish  
 Performer: Los Paşaros Sefaradis – Karen Gerson şarhon (voice and *tef*), Ý. Ýzzet  
 Bana (voice, revers), S. Selim Hubeş (guitar, *davul*, arrangement), Y. Yavuz Hubeş (*kanûn*, *bendir*, *darbuka* drum, *kaşık* wooden spoons, *zil* finger cymbals)  
 Place: No data, probably Istanbul, Turkey  
 Date: No data, probably in the beginning of the 1990s  
 Recorded by: No data  
 Source: CD *Kantikas para syempre*, Gözlem, ex. 12  
 Duration: 0'43
- CD-30:** *Es išt Zeit* (chorus, part of the first strophe), Oriental HipHop  
 Performer: Aziza A. (voice, author of the lyrics), Soft G (author of the music), arranged by Soft G, Wolfgang Galler and Andreas Advocado  
 Place: Music Studio Ypsilon Musix GmbH, Berlin, Germany  
 Date: 1997  
 Published by: Ypsilon Musix GmbH  
 Source: CD *Es išt die Zeit*, OX 001, ex. 1  
 Duration: 0'52

Examples to accompany the paper of ANNA CZEKANOWSKA

**CD-31:** *Sviaty Yuri*

Performers: Nina Yewdosiuk (b. 1942), Valentina Sidoruk (b. 1943), Paolina Sawczuk (b. 1954), Antonina Sidoruk (b. 1941)

Place: Dobrovoda, Poland

Date: No data

Recorded by: Ewa Wrobel and Anna Czekanowska

Duration: 2'22

**CD-32:** *Sviaty Mykola*

Performers: Anna Kierdelewicz (b. 1921), Maria Kierdelewicz (b. 1930), Luba Salin (b. 1929), Veronika Pawlin (b. 1921)

Place: Czeremcha, Poland

Date: No data

Recorded by: Ewa Wrobel and Anna Czekanowska

Duration: 8'20

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