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“MUSIC IN SOCIETY” THE COLLECTION OF PAPERS

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INTRODUCTION

With a great pleasure we present, to our reading audience, the Collection of Papers of the 10th International Symposium *Music in Society*, held from October 20 to 22, 2016 in Sarajevo. The Symposium itself has been held biennially since its inception in 1998, organized by the Musicological Society of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Academy of Music, University of Sarajevo. With this round number of previously published Collections, we proudly join the celebration of another significant jubilee – the 20th anniversary since the Musicological Society of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina was founded. The Musicological Society played a great role in establishing the encouraging atmosphere for music science development; with its extraordinary efforts and with the wholehearted help of the Academy of Music of the University of Sarajevo it remains faithful to the mission of preserving the dignity of music science, although its affirmation, on the ground of sagging values, appears as a constant struggle for survival.

The 10th International Symposium *Music in Society* was attended by a total of 44 experts from Europe and the world (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Slovenia, Serbia, Austria, Germany, Italy, Lithuania, Turkey, United States), who presented their papers in the fields of musicology, ethnomusicology, music theory and music pedagogy. Three working days were completed with two concerts: the first one, named *Sevdalinka Evening*, presented to the participants and the numerous audience the traditional music of Bosnia and Herzegovina performed by ensemble *Etnoakademik*, which has been led by Branka Vidović and Tamara Karača Beljak for more than a decade at the Music Academy of the University of Sarajevo; the second concert event, named *The first hundred years of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian solo song*, presented the chronology of one of the most important music forms of compositional practice in Bosnia and Herzegovina, through performances by soprano Adema Pljevljak Krehić and pianist Maja Ačkar Zlatarević. With these events, Musicological Society once again presented to the public its role as one of the creators and preservers of true cultural and social values of Sarajevo and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Program committee offered the *Composing in the history of "small nations"* as the central musicological theme of the Symposium, and this main course was extended by ethnomusicological reflections on the challenges of urban culture, and contemporary discourses on music issues in relation to history, theory and practice in fields of music theory and music pedagogy. The keynote speaker for the central theme of the symposium was the renowned German musicologist, dr. Helmut Loos, in front of the Institute of Musicology at the University of Leipzig, who presented inaugural lecture on *World music or regionalization? The basic question of musical historiography*.

The other two thematic areas have traditionally been dedicated to new research in listed fields and applied (ethno)musicology, which rounded up the two main points of the Symposium: to set up a scientific scope broad enough to represent interests of as many scientists as possible, and open new perspectives in musicology and provide a place for new trends in research.

The official languages of the symposium were English and Bosnian / Croatian / Serbian. In the latter case, we note that all three language variants were respected. The organizers decided to remain faithful to the practice of publishing the Collection in the English version and variants in the b / h / s languages, thus achieving the organizer's aspiration to make the Collection available to wider scientific and professional circles.

On this occasion, we would like to thank the authors for their patience during the publication process and the reviewers for their constructive comments, as well as to other individuals who helped the publication publishing process with their suggestions. We are particularly grateful to the Academy of Music of the University of Sarajevo and the Dean, Professor Senad Kazić for his financial and advisory support.

In hope that this edition of the Collection of Papers *Music in Society*, with the quality of its contents, will find the way to its readers, we send to the management and members of the Musicological Society of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina our sincere congratulations on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the activity and wish us all a happier and more carefree future.

Editors

INAUGURAL LECTURE

WORLD MUSIC OR REGIONALITY? A FUNDAMENTAL QUESTION FOR MUSIC HISTORIOGRAPHY

HELMUT LOOS

Abstract: The term “world music” is still relatively new. It came into use around the end of the twentieth century and denotes a new musical genre, one which links European-American pop music to folk and non-European music cultures. It can be seen in a larger context as a phenomenon of postmodernism in that the challenge to the strict laws and boundaries of modernism allowed for a connection between regionality and global meaning to be established. Music in the German-speaking world had previously been strictly divided into the categories of “entertainment music” (*U-Musik*) and “serious music” (*E-Musik*), the latter functioning as art-religion in the framework of modernism and thus adhering to its principles. Once these principles of modernism became more uncertain, this rigorous divide began to dissolve. For example, the “serious music” broadcast consisting of classical music, previously a staple of public radio, gradually disappeared as an institution from radio programming. A colourful mixture of various low-key, popular music was combined with shorter classical pieces, so that the phenomenon known as “crossover”, a familiar term in popular music since the middle of the twentieth century, then spread to the realm of classical music. This situation differs fundamentally from the circumstances that once dominated the public consciousness from the nineteenth century well into the twentieth century and that indeed remain influential in certain parts of the population to this day. Historical-critical musicology must adapt to this transformed state of consciousness. Doing so will allow for a number of promising perspectives to unfold.

Keywords: music historiography; world music; *U-Musik*; *E-Musik*; systematic approaches.

The term *world music* is still relatively new. It came into use around the end of the twentieth century and denotes a new musical genre, one that links European-American pop music to folk and non-European music cultures. In a larger context, it can be seen as a phenomenon of postmodernism – that postmodernism’s challenge to the strict laws and boundaries of modernism allowing for a connection between regionality and global meaning to be established. Music, in the German-speaking world, had previously been strictly divided into the categories of *entertainment music* (*U-Musik*), and *serious music* (*E-Musik*), the latter functioning as art-religion in the framework of modernism, thus adhering to its principles. Once these principles of modernism became more uncertain, this rigorous division began to dissolve. For example, the *serious music* broadcast consisting of classical music, previously a staple of public radio, as an institution has gradually disappeared from radio programming. A colourful mixture of various low-key, popular music forms was combined with shorter

classical pieces, so that the phenomenon known as *crossover*, a term familiar in popular music since the middle of the twentieth century, spread to the realm of classical music. This situation differs fundamentally from the circumstances that, from the nineteenth century well into the twentieth century, dominated the public perception and that indeed remains influential in certain parts of the population to this day.

World music finds its terminological equivalent in world literature (Naumann, 2004, 494-496), which in writing indicates the particular class of art that *E-Musik* claims to embody.¹ When Johann Wolfgang von Goethe coined the term, it was not in the quantitative sense, describing the actual geographic reach of the work, but rather in the qualitative sense – in terms of its intellectual significance for all of humanity. Ever since the beginnings of the romantic perception of music, this concept of universality was contained in to an emphatic definition of music, exemplified in particular by the romantic Beethoven image. This definition was connected with the idea of a progressive bourgeoisie, which was seen as intellectually and morally superior to the aristocracy and other parts of the population. It led all the way to an ideology purportedly routed in science, which claimed that advanced music was proof of the highest stage of development in human evolution and could serve in the evaluation of political and even general human existence. From the glorious heights of such intellectual superiority, everything else is looked down upon as an inferior and contemptible. The superior and knowledgeable of the population, however, are also virtually obligated to serve as the brilliant leaders of the dull masses, commanding them, and if necessary deciding what is good for them. Considering these circumstances, it is not difficult to imagine how the condemnation and elimination of those who resisted would follow. Is it really surprising that it came to an actual world war of national cultures, where in musicology, the significance of each national music was at stake? This is not a fantasy, but rather it describes an essential attribute of German-language music literature in the past 200 years. The megalomaniac idea, “am deutschen Wesen soll die Welt genesen”, is rooted in the supposed supremacy and hegemony of German music (Loos, 1994). The fact that such perceptions, even 70 years after the Second World War and the Holocaust, have not completely disappeared but in fact still give rise to many disputes is one that should be seriously considered.

From this perspective, regionality becomes equated with the worst type of intellectual limitation. A bit of scientific reflection and self-critical insight is needed to overcome this prejudice and to correctly assess the value of regional historiography in our field. Although many consortiums dedicated to the

¹ The term *world music* is used only rarely in this sense, for instance in the contemporary discussion of Skandinavianism and internationalism by Heinrich W. Schwab (1992, 197-212).

research of the music history of individual regions have brought about noticeable results in the form of studies and memorial editions, this research remains only marginally relevant for the field. Despite considerable efforts of individual researchers toward a professionalisation beyond the commitment to local history, a scientific-theoretical foundation and systematisation is long overdue. A characteristic primary focus of the discipline is rather the establishment of a nationwide presence or the determination of the – notice the choice of words – “validity” or “worth” of music (laws and commandments demand “validity”, but to what extent does art require it?).

Music history traditionally operates within a national scope. It can be mentioned only briefly here that this has to do with the function of musicology as a subject newly institutionalised on the university level at the end of the nineteenth century in connection with the formation of the German-state, which in turn was built upon an intellectual foundation that was supposed to embody the concept of a *Kulturnation*. In comparison with other nations, it is notable that in Germany, music was placed on the same level as literature: Goethe and Beethoven were equally respected as guiding models. National identity was defined essentially through music; in this capacity the word “validity” gained its normative definition.

The fact that the “heil’ge deutsche Kunst” in this context was not free from chauvinistic influence, at least since Richard Wagner, is the bitter truth which every non-biased observer studying Central and East European music history on the basis of German-language literature must encounter. The cultural pride of the nineteenth century, though occasionally still well-intentioned, increasingly turned into outright colonial hegemonic thinking that served the racist idea of evolution as well as the dialectical philosophy of truth. The impact of this development can be found in musicological literature to this day.

In the aftermath of the Second World War, Central European music history as a field of research was the subject of a particularly intense cultural war. The various economic systems of the hostile blocs showed signs of irreconcilable differences. After the oppressive border realignments and displacements of entire populations through forced-resettlement and expulsion, the previous brutal Germanisation encountered an equally intolerant Slavisation. In accordance with its doctrine, the Communist State denied the existence of any German past – at least any legitimate one – in all territories belonging to it with the exception of the GDR. This was met with chauvinistic claims for a return of “German soil”.

Of course, clear criteria for defining national identity and the right to territory are not yet established, not even with regard to such a politically urgent question as the acquisition of German citizenship. Two separate principles govern the debate over the legitimacy of citizenship: the *ius sanguinis* and the *ius soli*, the ancestry

principle and the birthplace principle. The driving force of this debate is none other than the question of whether the human condition should be determined by inheritance or socialisation. A scientific, that is to say, a universally valid and testable answer to this question is not possible. Neither the absolutisation of genetic factors, in regard to which the debate over the national state was solved with the seductive formula “blood and soil”, nor the social science principle of the absolute role of environment, popular in the 1970s but later refuted by twin research, are possible to prove.

The relevance of this discussion for regional music research is made clear by the frequently asked question: To which particular region does a composer belong? Is this decided by his birth place or by where he worked and lived? Does being born in Moscow make Hans Pfitzner a part of Russian music history? Was Johannes Brahms entirely Viennese after having lived there for only ten years, as Carl Dahlhaus once suggested? What does it mean if Hans-Joachim Moser establishes that, “nineteenth century Hannoverian opera directors (...) were almost all of foreign (stammesfremd, op. H. L.) descent?” (Moser, 1957, 125) At the same time, we must reconsider whether person-oriented research really deserves the same status in regional music historiography as the one held in emphatic music historiography.

Although such questions seem more theoretical in regions that have remained relatively stable throughout history, such as Bavaria or Slovenia (despite the necessary internal differentiation), they take on great importance in regions with mixed or changing populations and frequent realignment of political borders or affiliations; culture is thus essential to identity formation in these situations. To this day, the societal function of culture continues to underscore the idea of the nation state as a culture-nation. Musicology’s establishment as an university subject is an example of the far reach of the resulting societal norms.

A notable phenomenon of every historical narrative of times past is that, as a rule, the relationships between regions are assumed to be finished entities and are accepted without debate. Usually this has to do with politically defined regions with a long history. Since the idea that these entities mostly define themselves culturally is widely accepted, the prospect of a different regional alignment along cultural lines is never felt. This is probably a result of specific interests being suppressed, whether consciously or unconsciously. The idea of German music is based on the Greater German claim to nationality, which for a long time – until the *Anschluss* of 1938 – remained politically virulent, despite the success of the Lesser German Solution. In the history of the male choral societies, one can see this tendency clearly.

If one recognises the consequences of letting premises go unquestioned, it is necessary to find an alternative approach in order to avoid false conclusions. Analysing the problem is simple: Any definitions based on cultural issues in

regions, derived from political or phylogenetic histories, are irrelevant. The solution is also simple and just requires consideration of the fundamental principle: Regional entities must be recognised and defined as what they are. A model from music historiography can be found in the labelling of epochs. A long and detailed discussion took place within the field about how designations founded in art history, such as *Baroque*, could be replaced with terms from music history, such as *Figured Bass Era*, *Era of Monody*, or *Concertato Era*. In the same way, the spread of musical traditions should be examined under consideration of regional aspects and defined by the way they connect. This idea becomes particularly important in the context of the special historical circumstances of Central and Eastern Europe. Considering some of the grave accusations that have been made throughout history and the ethnic mixtures in these areas, it is not surprising that the idea of defining nations through the culture of particular settlements can lead to horrible contortions. This becomes clear in every international project where responsibility to a particular region is of concern.

The regional-historical model is contingent on a decisive departure from the focus on famous composers, since a part of their significance is due to their function as social role models, especially in terms of nationality. The nineteenth century saw developments toward an outright obligation for every European nation to produce a national composer whose place of birth and workplace could be presented as memorials and whose name would decorate the national conservatory. Usually there is at least one other composer who has to compete with him for recognition of the superiority. This results in a portrayal of competing societal tendencies – for there is no society that is as homogeneous as the standards of the civic nation ideal would call for. In the nineteenth century, two fundamentally controversial tendencies were competing, namely the modernism and Christianity. It is not hard to think of multiple instances where composers have been paired and treated as opposites, a phenomenon that traces back to this controversy: Robert Schumann and Franz Liszt, Richard Wagner and Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, Johannes Brahms and Anton Bruckner, Frederic Delius and Edvard Elgar, Modest Mussorgsky and Peter Tschaikovsky (*Novatur* and *Westler*), Alexander Skrjabin and Sergej Rachmaninow, Bedřich Smetana and Antonín Dvořák, Béla Bartók and Zoltán Kodály. And yet it is not always easy to recognise whether these pairings reflect the composers' original, personal positions, or whether the classification as opposites is a phenomenon of their reception. Even the most scrupulous look into the personality of a composer cannot lead to from-his-music drawn conclusions about his religion or ideologies. This is because musical works originate in societal circumstances for which they are designed and tailored to. In these circumstances the opposition between modernism and Christianity plays again an important role.

In contrast, regional music historiography leads to questions about an appropriate reference point, and about the term *culture-region* (*Kulturregion*). The term is already established in the field of social science and has long been the subject of extensive debates. Beginning with the work of Heiner Treinen about symbolic locality (*symbolische Ortsbezogenheit*, after Walter, 1981) but no later than the publication of the two volume collection *Region und Sozialisation* (Treinen, 1965a, 73-97; Treinen, 1965b, 254-297), a return of the regional (Lindner, 1994b) in (West) German social research was evident. As Detlev Ipsen (1994, 232-254, cf. Lindner, 1994a, 169-190) noted, this return clearly has a political component. Class differences, or social stratification, seem to have become secondary and, on an international level, the East-West-polarisation has dissolved. Conflicts in the recent past have increasingly been due to ethnic disputes between the groups whose regional origins seem to be a central component of their identity and of their action-orientation (also called *culture standard* [Thomas and Breitenbach, 1991] in the psychology of intercultural action). (Boehnke, Hefler and Merkens, 1996, 160-176) Culture, as in the sum of skills, knowledge, and experience, must be newly attained by each generation in order to facilitate group-specific action and understanding. This very broad understanding (cf. Kroeber and Kluckhohn, 1952; Bausinger, 1980, 57-69; Kaschuba, 1995, 11-3; Wimmer, 1996, 401-425) cannot be narrowed down by relying on specific definitions – for example, by using the loaded comparison between culture and civilisation. The situation is similar in this regard to the modern concept of *identity* (Bausinger, 1982; Grohs, Schwerdtfeger and Strohm, 1980), a term which is often used in the disciplines of both history and the social sciences, although in each case the substance of the concept certainly may be understood differently. For instance, the term must reflect not only on the ideas of *homeland* and *foreign* with reference to particular regions (Greverus, 1979; Schuhladen, 1990, 15-18), but also on key terms of literature studies. In musicology, the heavily loaded term *art* is avoided by using the term *culture*.

Research into the culture of geographical areas, which has its origins in ethnology (Wiegmann, 1984, 1-12) and is connected to large projects such as the *Atlas of German folklore* (for the parts relevant to this discussion see Cox, 1984, 29-41), has developed further (Cox, 1993, 7-14; Schenk, 1994, 335-352) and established its own field of research by incorporating social science methods and findings from the field of cultural anthropology (Greverus, 1987). This needs to be further developed, although the general term *culture-region* should be differentiated. The following points must be exactly articulated from the perspective of all the various scientific standpoints: 1. What is to be understood by each under the central idea of a culture-region; 2. What forces are responsible for the emergence and coherence of a culture region (relationships between states play a role here just as much as a particular regional consciousness does);

3. How is its structure conditioned (centralised/decentralised, formal/informal etc.); 4. How individual results (images, connections, processes) gained through particular methods can be integrated and combined into one coherent result; 5. Where is the point that the question posed reaches its limit; for instance, to the point where an “occidental” dimension can be recognised. The possibility that isolated culture regions may not be definable based on specific musical criteria must be consciously figured into the problem.

The methods of music historiography have been further developed. They are increasingly geared toward structural history and seek to correlate the histories of composition, institutions, and ideas. First and foremost it is the socio-historical approaches that interpret, to a certain degree, the historical depth of current social science studies, and thus build a bridge between the disciplines. Cultural-comparative empirical social research has experienced an unexpected upswing, especially with regard to transformation research after the downfall of the socialist political systems in Europe. Regional issues at first missed out on this surge; only in recent years an increased interest in this area has been noticed. Two symposia recently took place on this subject in Ljubljana, namely in September of 2015 *Between Universal and Local: From Modernism to Postmodernism*, and in April of 2016 *Musical Migrations: Crossroads of European Musical Diversity*.

If music historiography is to escape ideological influences, it is necessary to develop these systematic approaches further. Such a development can only result from the evaluation of situations that can be documented as the music-scene of a particular locality. The music that is actually performed is, independent of intellectual history, the true basis that shapes the musical profile of individual localities. It is also important, from the beginning, to recognise a cultural diversity that cannot be seen as independent of the social structure of each locality. This profile may seem relatively homogeneous in small villages, revolving around churches and dance halls, but each city in Central Europe also boasts of a multitude of diverse districts, which are each shaped by their own particular economic, lingual, or religious characteristics. It must be assumed that there is a large variety of trends, each continuously in the processes of distinction from each other and cooperation with each other. With an expansion of horizons, the body of source materials to be systematically evaluated will grow. The main challenge is sorting all of the data that are being made available or already accessible, so that they can be evaluated.² This task could open a new field of digital humanities that would be greatly appreciated; the one which could develop the appropriate data banks and evaluation programs. For a long time, the field of musicology has been able to utilise the unique data bank RISM; in Leipzig, we have already tested a few

² Besides the current statistics of the German Music Council, statistical surveys in music historiography are not currently popular. Relevant past studies are quite old. Cf. Chrysander, 1867; Thielecke, 1921; Müller, 1937.

preliminary studies in regional music research under the label *Musica migrans*. Though this is not at all to suggest that statistics alone can provide answers to scientific questions, nonetheless it must be recognised that these methods can, with wise planning, be used to clearly systematise, order, expand, and evaluate the basis of sources for historical research. New sources are necessary for the advancement of historical science. Historical musicology still has a large field of research to look forward to, one which now consists only of regions.

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PART I:

NEW RESEARCH – THEORY OF MUSIC

MUSIC AS RULED BY PRIMARY PROCESSES: CONDENSATION

Miloš Zatkalik

Abstract: Of all the arts, music is the closest to primary processes and the archaic modes of mental functioning. Consequently, condensation as one of the basic primary process mechanisms plays an important role in music. It manifests as the condensation of different musical entities (themes, scales etc.), of different principles of organization, and also as an underlying logic of those analytic strategies that postulate the existence of structural layers, where events at deeper levels condense several more superficial events (e. g. Schenkerian analysis).

Keywords: psychoanalysis; condensation; Mokranjac; Schenkerian analysis.

Among Sigmund Freud's (1856–1939) numerous patients, few have earned such fame as Sergei Pankeiev, known as the Wolf Man. This moniker originates in the patient's childhood dream, analysed in detail in Freud's study *From the History of an Infantile Neurosis* (Freud, 1918). The dream was reported to Freud as follows:

"I dreamt that it was night and that I was lying in my bed. (My bed stood with its foot towards the window; in front of the window there was a row of old walnut trees. I know it was winter when I had the dream, and night-time.) Suddenly the window opened of its own accord, and I was terrified to see that some white wolves were sitting on the big walnut tree in front of the window. There were six or seven of them. The wolves were quite white, and looked more like foxes or sheep-dogs, for they had big tails like foxes and they had their ears pricked like dogs when they pay attention to something. In great terror, evidently of being eaten up by the wolves, I screamed and woke up. It took quite a long while before I was convinced that it had only been a dream; I had had such a clear and life-like picture of the window opening and the wolves sitting on the tree. At last I grew quieter, felt as though I had escaped from some danger, and went to sleep again. The only piece of action in the dream was the opening of the window; for the wolves sat quite still and without making any movement on the branches of the tree. It seemed as though they had riveted their whole attention upon me." (Freud, 1918, 29)

Among psychoanalysts, it is widely accepted that the study of dreams is perhaps the most viable path towards the understanding of the unconscious mind – it is the royal road to the unconscious as Freud famously said. Namely, psychoanalysis teaches us that certain experiences, especially traumatic ones, are repressed into the unconscious, and it is in dreams that they reveal themselves most tellingly. Yet, in dreams they undergo certain transformations. From the study of this particular dream – and similar conclusion could be drawn if we were

to study virtually any other dream – we learn that one of the dreamer’s traumatic childhood experiences was associated with the figure of a wolf from his picture book. In the dream as retold by the patient, the wolf is *multiplied* into “six or seven of them”. *Fragments* from different representations may be recombined. Thus, the patient’s family raised sheep. One of their properties – their whiteness – is dissociated from them and *displaced* onto wolves, hence the wolves are white. Where there are sheep there are sheepdogs, so the wolves have “their ears pricked up like dogs”, as the dreamer himself described. Another childhood memory was related to a story involving foxes, and the wolves’ “tails are like foxes”. It transpires that the wolves actually represent a *condensed* image of wolves, sheep, sheepdogs, and foxes. Condensation takes even further steps. Freud’s analysis reveals that the patient has witnessed a sexual intercourse of his parents, experiencing it – as many children do – as an act of violence. This led to the repression of the scene into the unconscious, but the dream brought it back conflating the image of the father with the wolves. Furthermore, the wolves stare at the dreamer, which is actually the dreamer’s own act of staring at his parents: the dreamer’s stare is displaced onto the wolves, *turned into its opposite*. This account shows how latent, unconscious dream thoughts are represented by the manifest dream content. Dream work distorts images in order to make the repressed content acceptable for the dreamer, to pass the psychic censorship, as Freud called it.

Connections between various forms of artistic creation (and for that matter reception) and the unconscious mind are well documented. Among many artists who identified the most archaic layers of their psyche as the birth place of their creative impulses, Johannes Brahms (1833–1897) expressed this idea with extraordinary clarity (even if he could not possibly be aware of the technical vocabulary of psychoanalysis): “I am in a trance-like condition – hovering between being asleep and awake; I am still conscious but right on the border of losing consciousness and it is at such moments that inspired ideas come” (qtd. in Abel, 1955, 25).

Still more germane to my present topic is the fact that the transformations indicated in the above account of the “wolf dream” also govern a great deal of music. Over the last several years I have collaborated with Belgrade psychoanalyst Aleksandar Kontić and this resulted in several published papers and conference presentations. We have repeatedly argued that there exists a kind of isomorphism between musical structures and processes, and processes unfolding at the earliest stages of psychic development (Zatkalik and Kontić, 2013; 2015). The starting point for elucidating this isomorphism is the fact that we are born with the faculty of hearing and even with considerable pre-natal auditory experience. Any such experience in the visual realm is utterly impossible. According to a model proposed by psychoanalytically oriented developmental psychology, at the earliest stages of individual development, the

world is first represented through auditory images. Powerful primordial affects are associated precisely with sound imagery (Zatkalik and Kontić, 2015, 129, 140; cf. Stern, 1977; 1985). These early processes are known as primary: they are unconscious and pre-verbal; directed toward the subjective realm, seeking the immediate discharge of tension and having little reference to the exigencies of reality. Also, the earliest experience of a human individual is one of permeation between oneself and the environment: the lack of differentiation between *I* and *not-I* ("oceanic feeling"). The role of sound in these early developmental stages merits our special attention. Sound is apparently (one of) the earliest sources of tension. It is also a means of communication between mother and baby, which, even if outwardly verbal, is based on the timbre, rhythm and intonation of the words (their "musical" aspects), rather than their semantic content. Sound can sustain such communication even when visual contact is broken, enabling the child to exert "magical control" over the mother at all times (could this be the origin of the belief in the magic power of music?).

Starting from this experience of being fused with the world, psychological development is characterized precisely by the evolving sense of self out of the primary mother-infant unity. Again, the role of sound must be emphasized. Namely, as the child becomes aware of the boundaries of the self, sound can function as what psychoanalyst Donald Winnicott called the transitional object, something which is *I* and *not I* at the same time (Winnicott, 1953). As we develop, our mental activities move from the primary processes towards the secondary ones, related to external reality, formal logic and verbal language. Very importantly, these new structures do not dissolve the archaic ones: they exist simultaneously. Our mind is capable of fluctuating between the two states in a manner that could be compared to a pendulum.

The paramount role of sound in the early infancy, and its connection with the affective world makes a strong case for the claim that an art realized in sound must bear powerful analogies with those archaic modes of mental functioning, enabling Arnold Schoenberg (1875–1951) to state that music is a language of the unconscious. It would, however, be more accurate to talk about isomorphism between primary psychic processes and the processes unfolding in music.

In the present paper I am focusing on the mechanism of condensation. According to a textbook definition, condensation is the representation of a chain of mental associations by a single idea (an image, memory, or thought), which appropriates the whole charge of libido of at least two other ideas. The charges are displaced from the originating ideas to the receiving one, where they condense together. One link takes the place of several chains, and this makes it more difficult to read through to the wish corresponding to those chains, since the wish may be unacceptable to the dreamer's superego. It thus, among other things, serves the interest of psychic censorship.

Music's predilection for condensation is amazing. It affects all musical parameters, all aspects of music.



Figure 1a. L. v. Beethoven: Symphony No. 9, III movement, I theme



Figure 1b. L. v. Beethoven: Symphony No. 9, III movement, II theme



Figure 1c. L. v. Beethoven: Symphony No. 9, III movement, Variation on theme I (and II?)

Diverse thematic materials can be fused, as in the third movement of Ludwig van Beethoven's (1770–1827) Ninth Symphony. The form of this movement is variations on the two themes, and the above example reproduces the respective beginnings of the themes. When the first theme reappears in a varied form (Figure 1c), we not only recognize its melodic skeleton, we can also see how certain properties of the second theme are grafted onto it, as it were. The resulting entity merges some properties of both, in much the same way as the whiteness of sheep has been transferred to the wolves in the dream quoted at the beginning of this article.

Different modes or scales merge with one another, creating poly-modality such as frequently utilized by Béla Bartók (1881–1945). I am not talking merely about the use of different scales in his works (major/minor, octatonic, Lydian, Phrygian, “acoustic”): what is interesting is the way in which he sometimes combines them. According to Bartók scholar János Kárpati: “(…) although the individual modes may appear as relatively self-contained, independent systems, they do lose their independence... and, producing a new quality, *merge* (italic M. Z.) into one another” (Kárpati, 1994, 226).

Polyphony can also be conceived of as a kind of condensation, most obviously in situations found in the works of György Ligeti (1923–2006) written in the 1960s (*Atmosphères*, or *Lontano*, for instance). The micro-polyphonic texture of such compositions counts sometimes more than fifty individual lines, and yet these lines somehow “naturally” amalgamate into a mass of sound. The texture collapses upon itself, producing something in the nature of a musical black hole. Such compositions demonstrate the striking level that condensation can reach in music.

Even broader principles of pitch organization, “musical languages” as we (probably inadequately) call them, can be conflated in a single musical piece or a portion thereof.

Boys' choir

Te de - cet hy-mnus, hy - mnus, De - us in - Si - on

Organ C D Eb C# min E F#

Strings C F#

Te de - cet hym mnus, hy - mnus, De - us in - Si - on

Organ B min A min G# min Bb G min C

Strings F# C

Figure 2. B. Britten, *War Requiem*, *Te decet*.

I will illustrate this with a seemingly unassuming example from Benjamin Britten's (1913–1976) *War Requiem*. The overall profile of the melody, and in particular the absence of overt chromaticism, suggest tonality or modality as the basis for pitch organization; the melody does not project clear tonal-functional relationships, so the modal interpretation would be more plausible. As the pitches follow one another, we soon realize that they do not repeat, and that we are dealing with a twelve-tone row. Well, not exactly. The second and third pitches but last are repetitions of the pitches already stated, and the phrase stops short of completing the full row (the missing tone is G); however, on the whole, the idea of a twelve-tone row has already been driven home. This twelve-tone idea is reinforced in the next phrase: it is a transposed inversion of the first and thus conforms to the standard repertoire of dodecaphonic procedures. However, contrary to the original purpose of the twelve-tone method to be a means of obliterating pitch hierarchy, in the present case, since the initial and final pitches are the same tone C, there is at least a hint at pitch centrality. Next, the structure of this example clearly follows the antecedent-consequent pattern of the classical

tonal syntax. But the stock harmonic pattern T – D D – T is replaced with the tritone relationship (C – F-sharp F-sharp – C). The analogy between tritonal and dominant-tonic relation has been suggested by the Russian musicologist Leo Mazel (Мазель, 1972, 493) in connection with Alexander Scriabin (1871–1915); it is also found in Bartók and some other composers, but especially Scriabin tends to use it in octatonic contexts, of which there is not as much as a hint in the present example. All this we have inferred from the melody alone. Will the accompanying chords clarify the situation? The string chords seem to reinforce the harmonic profile of a departure from the quasi-tonic to the polar, quasi-dominant chord, and a return to the tonic, whereas the organ provides a touch of bitonality. What conclusions about the pitch organization can we reach based on this account?

A fair conclusion would be that it is extraordinary how all these diverse principles effortlessly blend. Could we even imagine an analogous situation in language? A text written simultaneously in several languages? Later, I will make a few observations concerning condensation in language, but before that, it would be interesting to observe certain analytic strategies and theoretical models of music in light of the primary mechanism of condensation. The clearest example is provided by Schenkerian theory:

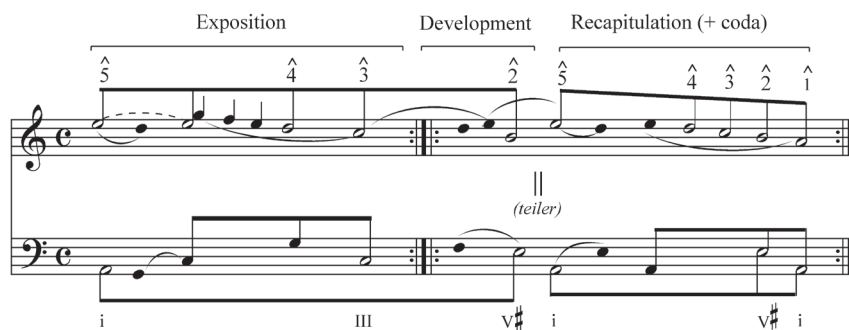


Figure 3. Sonata form, background structure

This Schenkerian graph presents the plausible deep structure of a typical minor-mode sonata form. The first tonic chord condenses all events contained in the first theme and transition. It is not only a manner of graphic presentation: the listener (according to Schenkerians) is expected to somehow conceptualize a single higher-level event as comprising many lower-level ones. Likewise, the elaboration of the mediant (third degree) chord yields, layer by layer, the entire second theme, and so on. Everything occurring within a given area is condensed in a single deep-level event. In general, any theory that postulates “structural

depth”, and approaches music by observing structural layers presupposes condensation, at least by implication.¹

Now, in the Britten example, we have witnessed a collusion of different principles of pitch organization, but we have said nothing about structural layers. In Schenkerian analysis, we are concerned with structural layers, *Schichten*, but the uniformity of principles across these layers is something of a dogma. I contend that it is possible to have it both ways: a composition may possess structural depth² but different organizing principles can be distributed across structural layers; in other words, each given set of organizing principles can be attributed to a specific layer. I will present an outline of this idea in the following – shamefully brief – account of a masterpiece of Serbian piano music, *Echoes* by Vasilije Mokranjac (1923–1984). It is similar to the Britten example in the sense that it is governed by various systems of pitch organization simultaneously. There are certain moments when one might be tempted to apply the rules of functional tonality, and conduct a “Roman numeral analysis”. Yet, such an analysis can hardly accommodate tone clusters:



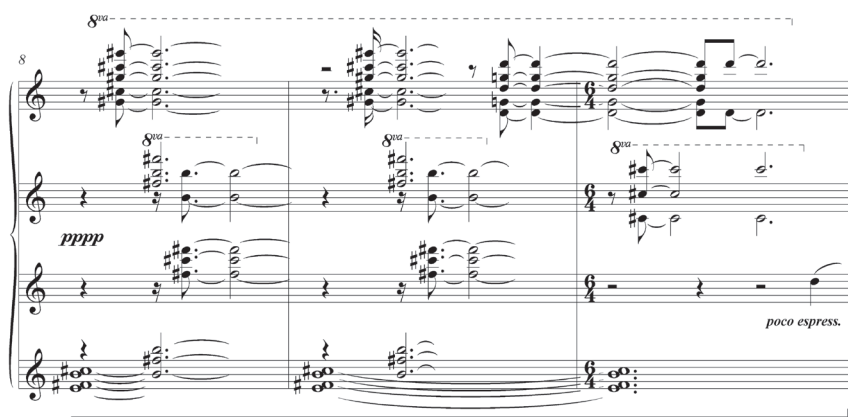
Figure 4. V. Mokranjac, *Echoes*, VI movement, b. 8-12³

¹ Among other similar theories I would like to mention Fred Lerdahl's generative theory (Lerdahl, 2001; Lerdahl and Jackendoff, 1996). For a discussion concerning possible analogies with classical narratology (hence narratologically oriented music theories) see Zatkalik and Mihajlović, 2016, 201-203.

² On this occasion I will not raise the question whether structural layers imply the existence of prolongation, as it would lead us far beyond the scope of this paper.

³ Roman numerals indicate the movement, Arabic ones bar numbers within the given movement.

The colouring of harmonies with added notes is redolent of impressionism



Example 5. V. Mokranjac, I, b. 8-10.

At the same time evocations of ancient past play a significant role, whether mediaeval organum or a quotation from the Byzantine chant.

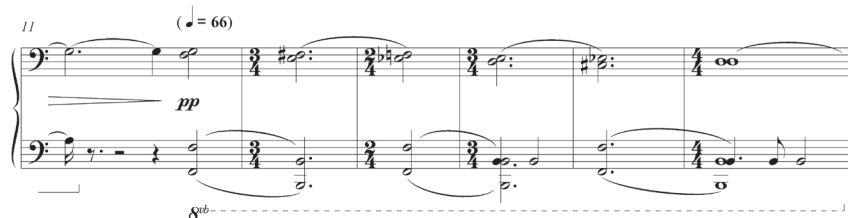


Figure 6a. V. Mokranjac, IV, b. 5-11.



Figure 6b. V. Mokranjac, I, b. 14-22.

Yet, my analysis – of which I can only present conclusions – suggests that at the deepest background there is a tritonal *Bassbrechung*, a departure from the pitch centre B to F and a return to B. It pushes to the surface at a critical structural junction, immediately prior to the return of the Byzantine chant. If my hearing of this music is correct, then we may argue that its very essence is captured at this point of ultimate condensation:



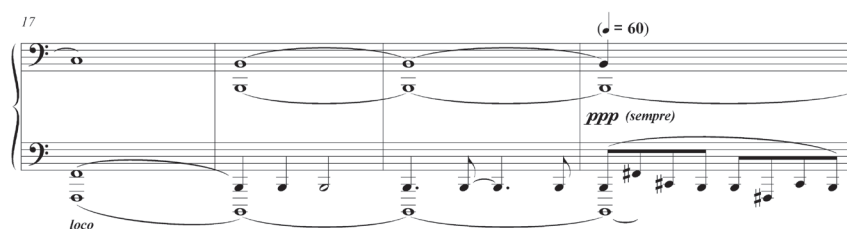



Figure 7. V. Mokranjac, X, b.11-20.

I understand middleground as governed by functional tonality, serving basically to elaborate this fundamental polar relationship. In that sense, it is worth mentioning that the key areas most strongly highlighted are precisely those of B-flat and C, which reinforces the F as its respective subdominant and dominant. Finally, the surface presents itself as a complex mixture of tonality, modality, local tritonal relationships, coloristic harmonies from the impressionist stock, and sharply dissonant atonal sonorities.

As this paper is drawing to an end, I would like to return to condensation in the verbal domain. We do find it in jokes and puns. On a more “serious” artistic plane, metaphoric language, language rich in connotation could well be invoked as illustration. But the most glaring examples are found in novels by James Joyce (1882–1941). In *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake*, characters merge into one another: Stephen and Bloom become, alternatively, Blephen and Stoom; Simon and Leopold merge into Siopold, and Joyce in *Finnegan* creates an entity called Mamelujo out of the four evangelists. When Shakespeare “crows with a black capon’s laugh” (Joyce, 1986, 15: 3828)⁴ we witness the image of Shakespeare conflated with the cock announcing the retreat of the old king Hamlet. We come across fantastic concoctions of words, such as “contransmagnificandjewbangtantaliality” (Joyce, 1986, 3: 51), whereas in *Finnegan* even different languages (more than forty of them!) are fused to produce the unique language of the novel. Images from the past are conflated with present events, achieving temporal condensation that we cannot even begin to discuss now. Observe how unique this is in the domain of words, how bizarre the effects, when compared to quite unobtrusive effortless fusion found in music. Let us put it this way. Artistic creation, or for that matter reception, complex as it is, involves “regression in the service of the ego” as psychoanalyst Ernst Kris called it, that facilitates the emergence of these earlier

⁴ References from *Ulysses* are identified by the episode and line numbers in the standard Gabler edition.

mental states (Kris, 1952; more recently re-actualized in Knafo, 2002).⁵ A work of art – and significantly, music more often than other forms – can produce to so-called “aesthetic peak experience.” Research has shown (Panzarella, 1980) that such experience is extremely difficult to verbalize, but it typically involves the feeling of the dissolution of one’s boundaries, merging with the work, conflating the inner and outer realities: the “oceanic feeling,” an echo of the “original oneness with the mother”, in the words of Gilbert Rose (Rose, 2004, 20). By now, it should not be surprising that music, being closest to the archaic mind, is the most common agent of such experience. Indeed, with considerable simplification, we can even grade the arts according to the depth of regression:



literature	regression toward verbalized fantasy
visual arts (dream, myth)	regressive motion abandons verbal domain and is expressed through visual images
music	further regressive motion abandons pictorial domain; expression through auditory sensations

Table 1. Arts according to the depth of regression

Being a product of artistic imagination, a novel or a poem can reach down the regressive path towards the archaic modes of mental functioning, but only so far. Beyond a certain point, it ceases to be a verbal product because language is dominated by the reality- and logic-oriented secondary processes. Through words, says Charlotte Balkányi, “we differentiate the thing from all other presentations; we separate it from its opposite, we distinguish it from similar presentations, and in doing so *we exclude the possibility of condensation...*” Naming is, therefore, “a basic secondary mechanism” (Balkányi, 196, 69). This rhymes well with Susanne Langer’s words that “language has a form which requires us to string out our ideas even though their objects rest one within the other... The meanings given through language are successively understood... The linearity of language belies the simultaneity of events” (Langer, 195, 77). Joyce, who probably represents the ultimate regression available to language, is also an author universally acknowledged as extremely musical.

⁵ I am aware of the fact that the idea of regression does not fare well with a considerable number of contemporary scholars. Yet even those who dismiss it, tend to accept the idea of the fluidity of the boundaries of the self, and fluctuation between primary and secondary states.

I would like to add one final thought. In the present paper, I have discussed condensation in music chiefly in technical terms: structures, tonalities, and thematic work. There is a great deal more to it. We need to engage more complex and more intriguing questions, to probe still deeper into the innermost recesses of human psyche; to discover how all this reflects on the listener, and on the value of music in our lives. Music can help integrate thought and feeling, achieve, as Gilbert Rose says, inner coherence of underlying identity themes (Rose, 2004, 28). This, too, is a form of condensation, but such a discussion requires another paper, and a great deal more time.

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TREATMENT OF TEXT IN VOCAL WORKS BY BOSNIAN AND HERZEGOVINIAN COMPOSERS

AMRA BOSNIĆ

Abstract: The paper discusses the half-century of composition in Bosnia and Herzegovina throughout the prism of musical setting to text phenomenon in vocal forms. In its focus are the solo song *Pjesma u zoru* by Milan Prebanda, *Otvori u noć vrata* by Vlado Milošević, *Sappho* by Nada Ludvig Pečar and *The impact of the analogue synthesizer* by Dino Rešidbegović. Analysis of the relationship between text and music in these works points out to the compositional-technical manner characteristic for these composers, generally marked by: Milošević consistently holds on to a text quantitative and qualitative characteristics, Prebanda raises melody above all the expressive characteristics, Ludvig Pečar holds to neoclassicist formal patterns, while Rešidbegović partly disposes the authority of vocal expressiveness to an interpretant.

Keywords: musical setting to text; Bosnian-Herzegovinian composers; compositional technique.

Introduction

The following paper originated from the considerations of recently revived systematic musicological research into the phenomenon of composing in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Bosnić, 2016). Although composing in Bosnia and Herzegovina is marked by elements of discontinuity, among other things, and the impossibility of creating the necessary conditions for normal (continuous) development (Čavlović, 1998, 57), one of the conclusions of the described, as well as other studies conducted on the same topic, was the continuity achieved in the composing style and genre link between individual poetics of different generations of composers; thus, in BiH composing, we find phenomena such as symphonism in the oeuvres of Miroslav Špiler (1906–1982), Vlado Milošević (1901–1990), Avdo Smailović (1917–1984), Vojin Komadina (1933–1997), Josip Magdić (1937), and Anđelka Bego Šimunić (1941) (Bosnić, 2010); folklore-marked oeuvres in all stages of composing, from harmonisations and arrangements to creations in the spirit of folklore and its polystylistic usability, or particularly prominent Neoclassicist style expression present until this day (Čavlović, 2011, 44; Hukić, 2012). This paper, however, focuses on a phenomenon that suggests developmental tendencies in the composing

technique continuity in creation in BiH – vocal-instrumental genre of solo song, viewed from the angle of empirical-normative level of theoretical dealing with this issue. In other words, the paper is aimed at recognizing norms and laws of composing behavior/practice in the given genre, as one of historical facts that mark composing in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and also at singling out formal determinants that could suggest the development line in BiH composing.

The paper will focus on solo songs by four composers: Milan Prebanda (1907–1979), Vlado Milošević, Nada Ludvig Pečar (1929–2008) and Dino Rešidbegović (1975), in whose oeuvres the formal and structural characteristics¹ of solo song are crystallized as the characteristics of the composer's individual style. Therefore, the paper focuses on meanings that these determinants – represented as formal models for solo song – have in the listed oeuvres, by means of penetrating into the structure of the composer's relationship toward content and form as the essential issue of artistic creation, and, though indirectly, by reconstructing the chronology of these phenomena as a sign of developmental dynamics of a society's composing.

In retrospect, BiH composing began to develop more intensively with the arrival of Austro-Hungarian administration in the late 19th century. After this preparatory stage of composers who arrived in BiH mostly from the neighbouring countries, the first aesthetically relevant manuscripts were provided by composers Milan Prebanda and Vlado Milošević, who made a transition toward the composing practice focused on the material with folklore spirit molded into elaborate formal solutions, which are here discussed as Models 1 and 2, respectively. These composers' interest in folklore is a belated response to the aesthetics of Romanticism national schools, practiced in less developed European societies in the 20th century as well. When the second and third generation of composers matured, one could observe composers' interest in templates by BiH and other poets on universal topics, and gradual transition to the universal musical material - all of which is particularly prominent in song cycles by Nada Ludvig Pečar, as Model 3. The fourth generation experiences the vocal medium as equal to the instrumental one, expanding their interest in sound expanse offered by their symbiosis. Therefore, the sample of compositions by Dino Rešidbegović will be provided as Model 4.

¹ Besides the harmonic makeup level, the solo song analysis will particularly focus on the segment of composing technique which deals with the relationship between text and music, as the basic analysis of formal makeup of solo song, at two structural levels: at the level of musicalizing the phonetic layer of textual template, i.e. its quantitative and qualitative characteristics and their translation into music, and at the level of syntactic layer of textual template, i.e. merging and combining phrase and sentence structures of the text with specific laws of musical form. (Čavlović, 2014, 570)

Melody Predominance over Text as Model 1: Milan Prebanda

Solo song by composer Milan Prebanda will be discussed in the paper as Model 1, since he installed a specific genre of Bosnian and Herzegovinian solo song, together with Vlado Milošević. Indeed, these composers were the first who systematically began to use BiH folk archetypes in the construction of formal type of solo song, thereby creating specific and original expressions, though equally quite different by formal characteristics. Prebanda's syllable signifies the prevalence of melody over text, the dominance of melodic-harmonic expressive aspect which conceals folk archetypes of urban musical tradition (*sevdalinka*²), and a specific relationship between the piano and vocal part which evokes characteristics of the parlor-style BiH music of the beginning of the century. Harmonic characteristics include the colorist role of harmony, Romanticist chord fund, non-tonic beginnings with particularly noticeable use of half-diminished seventh chord on the second degree in the first inversion, a ring of modality. Formally, varied strophicity prevails, with permanent tendency for repetition by intervening in the text by repeating stanzas. An additional reference to *sevdalinka* is achieved by adding exclamations. The thematic framework consists of love poetry by South Slavic poets Razija Handžić, Aleksa Šantić, Guido Tartalja, Antun Gustav Matoš and others, and templates from folk music.

In Prebanda's expression, all musical means of expression, primarily the shaping of melody relating to phonetic and syntactic features of textual template, serve to depict the atmosphere present in the *sevdalinka* form. In this sense, text is subordinated to music, and music is the essential carrier of expression. As an example, we take the solo song *Azemina*³ (1946), which musicalizes a text by Razija Handžić (1910–1994). This model represents a feature of the composer's practice in musicalizing a template, where the composer attaches the importance

² "Sevdalinka is a form characteristic of urban environment of Bosnian and Herzegovina," Karača Beljak, 1997, 55. "Sevdalinka is a prominently soloist song with a well-developed melody, frequently enriched with exclamations and melodic ornaments, created as a result of interweaving of authentic traditional forms of musical expression of the people of this region and elements of Middle East music. Its important feature is improvisation, the level of which depends on the performer's ability and skill." (Fulanović Šošić, 1997, 61)

³ I. Umrla je jutros plava Azemina/Nečujno ko zumbul klonuo od sjaja,/Sa tihim osmijehom oko sljepoočnica,/Da l' posljednje misli, il' modrih odsjaja. II.Smjenjujuć' se stalno mirni, kruti ljudi/Zibali joj tijelo niz sokake strme/K'o tužni znamen djevojačke smrti/Ljeskala na suncu marama od srme. III. Zastala u hodu jedna žena stara/Ispod vela šapnu: "Jadna Azemina,/Ne bilo joj teško na onome svijetu/Voljela je, kažu, jednog kaurina." (I. Blonde Azemina died this morning/Silently as a hyacinth drooping of splendor./With a silent smile around her temples,/Was it her last thought, or blue reflection. II. Silent, rigid people alternated all the time/Carried her body along steep alleys/Like a sad symbol of a girl's death/Her silver scarf glittered in the sun. III. An old woman stopped/ And whispered behind her veil: "Poor Azemina,/Let her rest in the other world/She loved, they say, a giaour.")

to the quantitative characteristics of the template, which is understood as the “distribution of long and short tones in a bar, which follows the distribution of long and short syllables in a word” (Čavlović, 2014, 570). Since this layer of musicalizing a textual template actually pertains to the rhythm musical structure, the next example (Figure 1) reveals that the composer attentively listens for these laws of the text, which is also visible in the next example of musical notation. The composer musicalizes the first line (*Umrla je jutros*) by a series of eighth notes and a quarter note in the end, due to the length of the second syllable of the word *jutros*. This pattern results in the distribution of short and long tones in the following lines/bars, though with some disproportions (such as the word *Azemina*⁴, where the last syllable is musicalized with a longer note than the previous ones). This disproportion between the word and music primarily results from the described consistent use of the “given” rhythmical pattern of the first line, as well as from the primacy of the melodic line expression over the text. Indeed, the lyrical quality of the melodic layer of Prebanda’s *Azemina* rests upon the folk archetypes of *sevdalinka*, primarily presented with a developed melodic line, natural-major sonority, augmented second as a recognizable linear move, emphasis of subdominant area in the very beginning on the 6/5 chord of the second degree, characteristic of Prebanda.

Largo
8^{va}

f *p*

p U - mr - la je ju - tros pla - va A - ze - mi - na,

Figure 1. Prebanda. *Azemina*. b. 3.

⁴ Long syllables are bolded, which will be done further in the text with stressed syllables in words.

The analysis of qualitative layer as a text layer where the permanent distribution of stressed and unstressed syllables in a word gains prominence, as a sign of internal bar metrics achieved both with rhythmical and interval treatment of text and music (Čavlović, 2014, 507) shows that the consistent following of text's internal metrics is of secondary importance. In the discussed example, one can observe the distribution of heavy and light tones which musicalize the heavy and light syllables of the text, established in the first, single-bar motif, which continues across the template units (see Table 1). However, interval shifts lead to additional disturbance of the regularity of accentuation of textual template. The word *umrla*, which has a short falling stress, was musicalized first by static repetition of the same tone, and then by a rising leap of a third, which places stress on the unstressed syllable of the word (*umrla*). A similar procedure is used in the subsequent words, as well as in short words with only secondary semantic meaning. It means that the composer prioritizes laws of constructing musical dramaturgy, over the consistent listening for and conveying characteristics of text metrics into music, as is, for instance, practiced by Vlado Milošević.

If we consider musicalization of the syntactic layer of the template, we will observe that the global structure of Prebanda's song is a repetitive-type three-part piece (Table 1) within varied strophicity, which is one of the features of his style. The basic microstructural unit is a line, musicalized using a single-bar motif, which is then repeated three times thus bringing up the atmosphere of balladic narrativity, staticity and, besides other elements of expression, one of lamentation and acceptance. Prebanda frequently intervenes with the texts he chooses, thus creating the basis for dramaturgical framework: in this case, he repeats a fragment of the second line in the last stanza, thus evoking the text semantics with almost madrigal-type portrayal of emphatic sorrow that death brings.

Text		Music/Syntactic layer of textual template muzicalizing				
		Macrostructure		Microstructure	Motivic construction relationship	Tonal plan
		Introduction		1 1	a b	C minor
				1	figure 2X	
I stanza	I verse	A	I section	1 1	b1 b2	
	II verse			1 1	b3 b4	
	III verse		II section	0,5 0,5	a4 a5	
	IV verse			1 1	a6 a7	
II stanza	I verse	B	I section	1 1	a b	
	II verse			1 1	a b5	
	III verse		II section	2	a8	
	IV verse			1 1	a9 a10	
		passage		1	Figure 2X	
III stanza	I verse	a	I section	1 1	b1 b2	
	II verse			1 1	b3 b4	
	III verse		I section (var.)	1 1	b6 b7	
	IV verse			1 1	b3 b4	
II verse/frag.	1	b6				
II verse/frag.	1	b8				
		Coda		3	figure 6X	

Table 1. Prebanda. *Azemina*. Formal-structural scheme of the syntactic layer of textual template muzicalizing

Melody of the Speech as Model 2: Vlado Milošević

The next model is the speech melody used by Vlado Milošević, in whose oeuvre the solo song plays a prominent role (Čavlović, 2001). Style characteristics of his vocal works cover the following range: diverse topics, mostly by South Slavic poets: Mandić, Cesarić, Raičković, Humo, Risojević, Nastić, etc. His creative credo is folk music, although he achieves the best artistic results by combining archetypes of rural folk music of Bosnia and Herzegovina in melodic constructions: narrow interval shifts (m2, u4), unstable scale degrees, diverse, frequently punctuated rhythm. Essentially, it results in a non-singable, recitative melody, hard to remember and less receptive. His harmonic fund is late-Romanticist with elements of Impressionism; harsh verticality is a product of autonomous, expressive lines, which results in harmonic instability. Formally, given the variation as the basic constructing procedure, his solo songs are marked by a through-composed form or, less frequently, varied strophicity without repetition.

With respect to text treatment, it should be noted that Milošević listened to the speech of his birth region, Bosanska Krajina, i.e. Zmijanje, and found it challenging to look for modes of consistent translation of speech layers into music. Although he never developed this intention to the level of theory, his instrumental themes interestingly emanate the melody structure that owes its origin to speech characteristics that the composer observed in a common man's speech which, to an extent, fits into the folk music archetypes of minor-second shifts, narrow ambitus and punctuated rhythm (Čavlović, 2001), although in this particular example it is read from the piano, rather than vocal section.

On the example of solo song *Otvori u noć vrata* (Open the door in the night)⁵ from the cycle *Deset pjesama na stihove Stevana Raičkovića* (Ten songs on the Stevan Raičković's verses) (1961/62), we observe that the composer consistently follows both quantitative and qualitative characteristics of the word: at the quantitative level, the composer patiently listens to the rhythm of speech, which causes a variety of combinations of note values which rhythmicize individual words (or in combination with words of secondary semantic meaning).

⁵ I. Otvori u noć vrata neka se skloni drveće/Neka u prazne vaze ude iz tame cveće. II. Otvori u noć vrata na brdu neko čeka/Da kaže bolne reči u živi sluh čoveka. III. Otvori u noć vrata i zidove polomi/Gorki svet jedan iz tame čeka da se udomi. (I. Open the door in the night/Let the trees fall/Let the flowers enter into the empty vases from the darkness. II. Open the door in the night/There is someone waiting on the hill/To say painful words in the living man's hearing. III. Open the door in the night and break the walls/A single bitter world is waiting to get home from the darkness.)

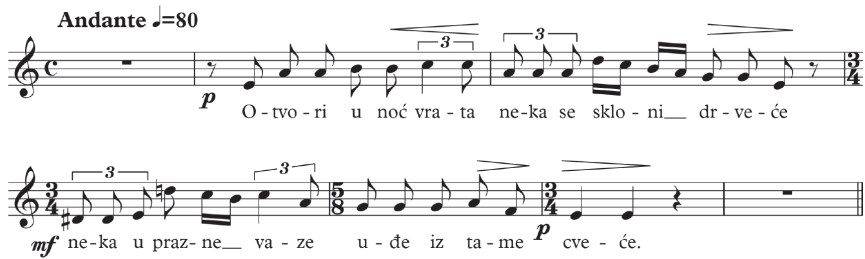


Figure 2. Milošević. *Otvori u noć vrata*. b. 3.

The consistent adherence to the template's quantitative and qualitative characteristics results in as many as ten time shifts in the relatively small musical space of the song. Besides, interval characteristics are as follows: rising stresses are musicalized with rising motion, or even a leap (*otvori*), while falling stresses are as a rule musicalized with falling melodic motion or a repeated tone of the same duration, depending on the position of the word in a bar, such as in the words *drveće*, *bolne*, *prazne*, etc. The resulting narrative melody structure fully corresponds to what was named the *National Realism* of Milošević's style expression (Čavlović, 2001).

With respect to the syntactic layer, one can observe the fragmentariness of micro-structural formation, which emerges as a result of variant development from the basic frontal motif of the song. The frontal motif musicalizes part of the first line (*Otvori u noć vrata*), and in the continuation of the stanza it variantly develops into template units, the melo-rhythm structure which depends on text characteristics. We observe that only the described unit is repeated in the three-stanza textual template, which confirms that in Vlado Milošević's solo song all structure elements depend on the text. The harmonic structure of the song fully relies on a-minor; however, the use of a single key is sporadically disturbed by straying into the dominant area of e-minor, with a Phrygian ring, which is a clear reference to BiH folk music, with avoidance of determining sonority with empty fifth harmonies formed between the vocal and piano section. The following table suggests the varied strophicity.

Text		Music/Syntactic layer of textual template muzicalizing		
Stanza	Verse	Macrostructure	Microstructure	Tonal plan
		Uvod	1	A minor
I	I	a	1 1	
	II		3	(E minor)
		passage	1	
II	I	a1	1 1	A minor
	II		2	
III	I	a2	1 1	
	II		2	

Table 2. Milošević. *Otvori u noć vrata*. Formal scheme of the syntactic layer of textual template muzicalizing

Musical Form Authority as Model 3: Nada Ludvig Pečar

The next model presents Nada Ludvig Pečar, a composer who remained loyal to a single expression style – Neoclassicism, which is the foundation of her relationship to material and form. Reaching for the poetry by Ancient Greek poet Sappho in the song cycles *Sappho* (1973) and *Kumi*, whose sensual poetic style enchanted with its melodiousness, dealt with topics such as love, longing, passion, attraction and often, in her poems, tackling the issue of woman - to which she was ideologically devoted, provides her composing procedure with the gender identity. Sappho's poems selected by Ludvig Pečar do not speak of the woman's explicit love for a man, but rather about the woman's intimate world in her loneliness and longing (*Ponoć*/Midnight), pain (*Djevojčin jad*/Girl's misery), the mother's love for the child (*Moje dijete*/My child), uniqueness of her being (*Pjesma o djevojci*/A Song about a Girl), or fascination with music and nature (*Lira, Proljeće*/Lyre, Spring). Since the universal material is systematically implemented throughout her oeuvre, this paper views the model of Nada Ludvig Pečar's solo song from this angle as well, with unavoidable discussion of composing postulates applied in the actual example.

Characteristics of style of her vocal pieces are reduced to melodies with the ambitus of tonic pentachord or hexachord core, sometimes expanded exclusively with the leading note as a switch to the first degree. The harmony rests upon the major-minor system, frequently colored with modality ring. The texture is homophonous, bi-level and transparent, with the voice part as the leading melodic part, and with the presence of diverse melodic instruments and exotic percussions, suggesting specific atmospheres of medieval secular songs and

dances: pastorals, chansons, ballads. The form is clearly dissectable and well laid out, with patterns of varied strophic song or song with a refrain.

Musicalization of textual template in the song *Proljeće* (Spring)⁶, the last song in *Sappho* - a cycle of songs for mezzo soprano, flute, clarinet, viola, piano and percussions, implies the full authority of the musical layer, which is not conditioned by the phonetic layer of poetic template. The composing technique deals with achieving an expression that is fully left to the structural and melodic-harmonic expressiveness. Deviation from the consistent musicalization of textual template and its phonetic characteristics make the text, in certain examples, almost incomprehensible. Its semantic meaning is thus completely abstracted and replaced with the meaning that this layer of musical form has, and which serves to achieve a specific atmosphere of informal medieval secular music-making of travelling musicians. The introduction (Figure 3) presents the basic melodic-harmonic material, organized in G Myxolydian Mode, in its hypo variant. The basic pattern consists of the first four-bar sequence, which presents a latent melodic line (d-e-d-c) within the harmonic progression: I – II – I – VII, on the pedal tone of the dominant. The further sequence is based on permuting the former one, with the addition of variant III degree, VI, IV, and major dominant, according to the following scheme: I – II – I – VII – I – II – I – IIIv – I – IIIv – I – II – I – VII – VI – VII – IV – V – VI – V. The tendency of graduality in melodic stringing is evident, and it is frequently made up of a row of three switching harmonies (e.g. I – II – I – VII – I, VII – VI – VII, V – VI – V), and return to the I degree in the first part of introduction. The effect of a round dance, which is achieved by this procedure and which forms the basis for the underlying mood of the song, underlines the three-part quality of the bar with stress and makeup; indeed, throughout the song the piano part breaks down the previously mentioned quintal chords in the form of figure – empty fifth on the first beat, third-based supplement on the second beat, and pedal tone on the third one. Although the supplement to the chord with the “missing” third comes in the left hand, and despite the lowest fifth suggesting a 6/4 chord, it is the sonority of empty fifths that adds to the expression some archaic quality, simplifies the musical flow and provides it with certain lightness and freedom. The simplicity of the accompaniment layer, soon supplemented by percussions (castanets, small drum) will ensure the movable lying tone for the basic melody which is anticipatively presented in the introduction in the imitation of flute and clarinet. This four-bar sequence is shaped by two two-bar motifs: the first is distinctive by the rising fifth chord of first degree and then remaining on the tone of subdominant, while the second is its inverted variant ending on the VII

⁶ Osjećam da je proljeće blizu/Brzo dones'te slatko vino/Nek'se pehari pune. (I feel the spring is near/Quickly bring the sweet wine/Let some cups full.)

degree. This melodic line will be taken over by the vocal part. With its arc-like line, the melody joins the other elements of expression in portraying the underlying atmosphere of spring light-heartedness, dance and song symbolizing it.

The image shows a musical score for a scene from 'Sappho: Proljeće. b. 20.' The score is written for six parts: Soprano, Flute, Clarinet in Bb, Viola, Percussion, and Piano. The Soprano part features a melodic line with lyrics in two lines: 'O - sje - čam da je pro - lje - će bli - zu' and 'Br - zo do - nes' - - te sla - - tko vi - - no'. The Flute and Clarinet in Bb parts play a similar melodic line. The Viola part plays a simple harmonic accompaniment. The Percussion part includes a Tambourine with a 'tr' (trill) marking. The Piano part provides a harmonic accompaniment with a 'mp' (mezzo-piano) dynamic marking. The score is written in 4/4 time and consists of 20 bars.

Figure 3. Ludvig-Pečar. *Sappho: Proljeće*. b. 20.

Thus, the syntactic layer of template musicalization shapes the material in the typically classic way – according to the principle of two-bar phrases that relate to each other as correspondence. In order to achieve this, the composer sometimes even intervenes with the text and changes it to achieve symmetry; sometimes, on the other hand, she deviated from this pattern and extends the last tone of the melodic phrase (the first three-bar sequence in stanzas).

Part	Introduction	A	A1	Coda	G
Bars	10 10	10 10	10 10	9 11	mixolid.
Motiv structure	5 5 2 2 2 4	2 2 2 3 1 2 2 4 2	same as A	2 2 2 2 fig.	
Motiv construction relationship	fig. a a1 a2 a3	a a1 a2 a4 a a1 a5	same as A	imitative	

Table 3. *Sappho, Proljeće*. Formal scheme of syntactic layer of the textual template muzicalizing

“Mechanized” expression as Model 4: Dino Rešidbegović

Solo song is interesting for the fourth generation of composers as well, among others for Dino Rešidbegović, who is truly interested in the solo song as a form, though bringing fresh ideas in terms of text treatment. Characteristics of style in his composing work so far include topics of templates originating in pop-culture, such as cycle of Jim Morrison’s poems (poem cycle *Underwaterfall*), and curiosities also include the treatment of non-poetic text. In his continuous, individual quest for a new, original expression, Rešidbegović belongs to the generation of BiH composers who join contemporary artistic trends of Europe and the world. He is interested in musical experiment focused on the performer as a co-creator of a piece of music: he questions the relationship between the composer, as the initiator of the creative process and the performer, who shows his/her own creativity. His vocal works deal with the phenomenon of sound obtained using expanded vocal techniques with instrumental accompaniment.

Such an example is found in the piece *The impact of the analog synthesizer* (2015) for mezzo soprano, flute, violoncello, accordion and piano. The composer uses a non-poetic text – more accurately, he uses a quote from the preface to the book *Analog Synthesizer* (Jenkins, 2007, 12)⁷. The text is presented by both vocal and instrumental layer, though treated in different ways. Indeed, the first, vocal, mezzo soprano layer presents a distinctive recitative, i.e. speech-like singing with unfixed pitch. In line with his composing philosophy, the composer leaves the pitch up to the performer, while he prescribes the rhythm, in the way that he rhythmicizes two-syllable words with a figure of two sixteenth notes, four-syllable words with a figure of four sixteenth notes, and three-syllable words with a figure of triplet. In doing so, he separates individual words in the phrase using rests suggesting a specific, “mechanized”, “robotic”, “coded” expression. Thus, the quantitative characteristics of the template are given while the qualitative ones, in their part pertaining to stress melodic characteristics are improvised by the performer. (Figure 4)

⁷ “The impact of the analog synthesizer was more or less instant. Used as much to imitate conventionla instruments as to generate new sounds, within only a few years it was raising questions from musicians’ unions about possible unemploxemnet caused amongst their members, Within ten years it was a staple element of all types and experimental music, ant it certainly was replacing orchestral musicians in many applications.”

NON LEGATO Play as if it were about two voices, but who have a common linear rhythmical voice.

$\text{♩} = 150 \text{ ca.}$

Mezzo-soprano *The im-pact of the a-na-log sym-the-si-ser was more or less in-stant*

Flute

Violoncello

Accordion

Piano

Figure 4. Rešidbegović. *The impact of the analog synthesizer*. b. 1.

The second, instrumental layer, which counterpoints the first one, consists of instruments which, in a complex polyphonic texture present a text coded in Morse alphabet: each letter of the text coded as a symbol of Morse alphabet is transcribed into a rhythm pattern, according to the legend provided in Figure 5.

MORSE CODE TRANSLATED



Figure 5. Rešidbegović. *The impact of the analog synthesizer. Morse-code translated into rhythm patterns.*

Conclusion

The described four models, specific for their composing-technique and style characteristics, provide a paradigm that suggests their meanings which are here read in at least two different ways. The first meaning is the immanently artistic meaning. Solo song as a formal type with a defining parameter of the relationship between the vocal and instrumental part offers the possibility of such a perception since it is one of the few formal types that composers of Bosnia and Herzegovina are continuously interested in. Therefore, by tracking the described formal models, one can observe, in Prebanda's model, a Romanticist treatment of musical material and dealing with the form in the manner of German Lied, situated in the historically, socially and culturally precious dawn of composing in Bosnia and Herzegovina, though anachronous compared to Western European model of art music. A similar aesthetic fact also marks Milošević's model of solo song, though a departure from such a Romanticist way of composer reasoning is provided by the form as a result of dealing with non-composing components

of conditioned material. These two composers therefore represent the historical starting point from which composing in Bosnia and Herzegovina would begin its intensive development and emerge in other relevant works, such as those by Avdo Smailović, Vojin Komadina or Josip Magdić. Departure from folk music as the starting point in creation, which kept Bosnian and Herzegovinian composers in anachronous frameworks, as we saw in the described models, would bring about the treatment of universal material, here paradigmatically presented with the model of Ludvig Pečar, though with Neoclassicistically conceived references to medieval expressive context. The synchronous merging into the European artistic milieu would thus emerge only in recent composers' consideration of challenges of source and giving life to new artistic ideas. Thus articulated meaning of the composing-technique layer of the model presented in this paper therefore also implies the meaning that we can read as developmental tendencies in composing of a society, particularly of a society that has built its own concept of composing with different historical dynamics. Still, it must be remembered that such a meaning is conditioned by the perception of individuals who understand composing as a phenomenon of Western European artistic setting.

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THE REVIEW OF THE COLLECTION *MEŠOVITI HOROVI II* BY JOSIP SLAVENSKI

SANDA DODIK

Abstract: This paper presents and gives analytical review of some of the posthumously discovered choir compositions by Josip Slavenski. An important role in their discovery, the following editorship, and also partial reconstructing of newly discovered, unfinished choirs, was played by professor Mirjana Živković, a composer and a theoretician who has studied music of Josip Slavenski from different angles, throughout many years. Out of close to 40 newly discovered choirs, there are 19 mixed *a cappella* choir compositions which were prepared for printing, which lead to publishing of *Horsko stvaralaštvo; Mešoviti horovi of Josip Slavenski*, edited by Mirjana Živković in May 2016. The aim of this paper is to show the importance of these posthumously discovered compositions, and to give the analytical review of some of them. Although simplified and less elaborated, these mixed choirs show an important features of the author's style, and for that reason deserve our attention, and the illumination from the analytical, but also performing point of view.

Key words: Josip Slavenski; mixed choirs; reconstruction; analysis.

There were three reasons for writing this paper and presenting it on 10th International Symposium *Music in society* in Sarajevo. The first reason was the fact that on May 11th, 2016 was the 120th birth anniversary of Josip Slavenski (1896–1955), and for that occasion, Institute of Musicology SASA (Serbian Academy of Science and Arts) organized the round table on the subject “Creative work and opus reception of Josip Slavenski”. On the same occasion the *Horsko stvaralaštvo. Mešoviti horovi of Josip Slavenski* in the new editorship by professor Mirjana Živković (1935) were promoted, and that was the second reason for my lecture. The third reason for choosing Sarajevo as the place for my presentation is the fact the first symposium dedicated to the work of Josip Slavenski was held in Sarajevo in 1975. The symposium was organized within the frame of *Sarajevske večeri muzike* (Sarajevo Music Nights), held from 8th till 11th of December 1975 by music production of Radio-Television Sarajevo, on the occasion of 20th anniversary of the composer's death. Then, in the JNA (Jugoslovenska narodna armija/Yugoslav People's Army) Hall in Sarajevo, four concerts were held, and the ceremonial part was completed with work symposium when six papers about creative work of Josip Slavenski were presented (Živković, 2014a, 139-140).

The following text will present an analytical review on some of the posthumously discovered choir compositions of Josip Slavenski (this time, due to a limited space, it will not be possible to present all the works from the Notebook

II, but only those for which the author feels that represent his style the best). Aforementioned composer and theoretician Mirjana Živković, who studied this author's work ever since the 70's, has played an important role in uncovering and reconstructing his works, approaching it from different angles: from collecting his legacy (which lead to discovery of the unknown works), through editing, to analytical reviewing and writing texts on this composer's music. Working on the legacy of Josip Slavenski, Mirjana Živković and the group of authors have researched and found many sketches, different versions of known works, finished and unfinished choir compositions, transcripts and notes, annotations and comments with his various thoughts on music (Živković, 2014b, 58-59). In the period of 1980–81, a large number of yet unknown choir compositions, written for different ensembles – mixed, male, female, and children's were discovered. At that point, Mirjana Živković, with a full support and suggestions of Petar Bingulac (1897–1990), started her work on reconstructing of these newly discovered, unfinished choirs. The planned printing of music for choirs (the total of two notebooks, the first with his known, and second with his newly discovered compositions, along with six more most important scores of Slavenski), was interrupted by breakup of Yugoslavia, which lead to stopping of the activities of the project on publishing collected works by Josip Slavenski (Živković, 2014a, 112-113). Out of close to 40 newly discovered choir compositions, Mirjana Živković edited 19 previously unknown *a cappella* choirs in the second notebook. In 2011, she reviewed earlier editors notes, considering them usefull for publishing. The collection of *Horsko stvaralaštvo. Mešoviti horovi* had been finally published in May of 2016 (Slavenski, 2016), and the aim of this paper is to analytically review some of these posthumously discovered compositions and pointing out to their significance. Although simpler and less elaborated, these mixed choirs show important features of the author's style, and therefore deserve our attention.

The largest number of these *a cappella* choirs are variations of folk songs, often unelaborated, incompletely written, sometimes even as unfinished sketches only. Only three choirs don't have a folk themes, while in other sixteen he had used folk melodies from all parts of former Yugoslavia. "Most of these choirs were written for movies that Josip Slavenski used to write music for: *Fantom Durmitora* (1932), *A život teče dalje* (1935), *Prve svetlosti* (1948), and some are the variations of other Slavenski's compositions." (Živković, 2014b, 63) Taking into cosideration that some of the autographs were incomplete, yet with a clear indications by the author on how to finish them, Mirjana Živković, in arrangement with the professor Petar Bingulac performed the reconstructions and editor's interventions.¹

¹ More in: Živković, 2014a.

For this presentation I have chosen several choirs that, in my opinion, represent this collection the best.

1) *Zelena dobrava*

The first choir composition *Zelena dobrava* has a subtitle *Narodna iz Međimurja*. Its music content almost completely matches the first part of miniature for piano *Iz Hrvatske* (1927) from a collection of songs *Pesme i igre sa Balkana* (editing the four-voice choir issue, the author's manuscript was followed, which was slightly different from printed piano composition).² Simple in arrangement, the composition is shaped in two forms: in the first, the melody was entrusted to female voices, in the second it transfers to male voices. The length of the used text has caused another identical repetition (b. 30-58), and the final bars are analogous to the code of piano miniature (b. 59-63). By following the modality of folk singing, Slavenski avoids traditional western-European tonal base, so harmonization is filled with modal structure cords in free order. The first phrase (b. 1-8) is in Aeolian in C, with cadence on Dorian subdominant (b. 8, Figure 1). At the beginning of the second phrase (b. 9-15), tonal gravity shortly points to/oscillates towards A flat major (b. 9-12), then turns back to initial Aeolian in C with plagal cadence (s-t).

ZELENA DOBRAVA
Narodna iz Međimurja (Hrvatska)
(1927)

Josip Slavenski
(1896 – 1955)

Adagio intensivo

Soprani
p 1. Ze - le - na do - bra - va po - ter - pi mi hla - da
mp 2. Kuš-nul bi ti li - ca dra - ga go - lu bi - ca

Alt

Tenori
p 1. Mo - - - - - ja mi - - - - - la dra -
mp 2. Dra - - - - - ga ger - - - - - li - či -

Bassi

in c:

² The composition is found in two identical autographs, without dating and noted "for three-voice choir, arranged by Slavenski". More in: Živković, 2014a.

8

gde bu me ča - ka - la mo - ja mi - la dra - ga.
a - li da med na mi glo - bo ka vo di - ca.

ga ca Ej. haj. vo - - lim te!

S (As: in c: s t

Figure 1. *Zelena dobrava*, b. 1-152) *Ko bo tebe troštal?*

This choir from 1931, has a shorter and more simple version dated in 1915, as well as its instrumental version in the form of piano miniature printed in the collection *Pesme i igre sa Balkana*, named *Slovenska popevka*. In the manuscript the dynamics wasn't mentioned, from time to time the parts of poetic text are missing, which was filled in according to the earlier version of the song, plus Slavenski's note from the autograph of the earlier variation of the song was taken into consideration: the composition is supposed to be performed with "calm but intensive *crescendo* in dynamics and *accelerando* in tempo" (Živković, 2014a, 114-115)! Somewhat bolder attitude towards dissonance is noticeable, as well as the polyphonic approach. The theme at the beginning of the piece (b. 1-8) is in C major, written for soprano, followed by chromatic line in alto and pedal notes in tenors. The second exposure of the theme material (b. 9-16) is written in A flat major, dedicated to tenors, surrounded by pedal tones in bass – on tonic, and in soprano – in tonic triad. The third strophe is in D flat major and has slightly more chromatic harmonization. The last strophe is in canonical imitation (b. 25-33), written in F major (bass, tenor, soprano, with counterpoint voice in alto, b. 25-33, Figure 2).

23 *ff* *rit* *Allegro vivace* *ff*

nek tro - šta - jo? Ko bo te -

kej po mor - ja pli - va - jo! Nek me tro - šta - ju

Nek me-ne tro šta - ju! Ja pak bum si ko - ou

- ce! Nek tro - šta - jo! Ja pak bum si sa - kee kup - jo,

F:

27

- be, ljub - ca tro - šta? Što bo te - - be pak za-pu - šta?

to - - - - te ru - - - - ši - ce

kup - jo pak ru - ši - ce bum po - sek - jo! I te ru -

pak ri-bi - ce bum po-lov - jo! I te ri - bi - - - ce

30

Naj me tro - šta - - ju to-te ru - ši - ce kej po po-lju cve - te jo!

le - - - - pe, to-te le-pe ru - ši - ce nek tro - - - šta - - ju!

- ši - - - ce bum po - ko-si - jo, kej te na-du tro - šta - le! Ej! Haj!

bum po - lo - vi - jo kej te na-du tro - šta - le! Ej! Haj!

Figure 2. *Ko bo tebe troštal*, b. 23-33

3) *Oj, javore*

Poetic text from this folk song from Serbia is found in *Ribarska pesma* of Josip Slavenski, composed for a male choir with instrumental accompaniment within music for the film *Fantom Durmitora* from 1932, which helped the editors to complete the text of the discovered autograph. This choir composition is short (there is only 15 bars in the autograph, with a signed text for all four voices). It is organized in two clusters – in first, the melody is written for soprano, and on the proposal of Petar Bingulac, the second part of the choir is shaped with the exchange of male and female voices, which he says is a common method in Slavenski's music (compare to: Živković, 2014a, 116). The harmonization is very simple, in G major, with cadence on dominant.

4) *Igraj kolo*

The discovered autograph for choir *Igraj kolo* has 26 bars. The final shape of this unfinished choir composition had been reached with interventions of Petar Bingulac and Mirjana Živković, shown in repetitions of phrases. The features of the composition are polyphony and simple harmonic flow in A major with cadence on dominant. Mirjana Živković states that the autograph is in F major with a note of Slavenski that the music flow is transposed in A major, with tempo and dynamics markings.

5) *Oj, more duboko*

The mixed choir *Oj, more duboko* is reconstructed from 18 bars sketch. It is visible from the autograph that Slavenski had planned to exchange places of male and female voices, which was done in the second strophe, while the third is the same as the first. In the autograph, the choir is in D flat major, while the editors had transposed it to E flat major. The harmonic language is also very simple, followed by double pedal (perfect fifth), typical for folklore. It is assumed that this folk song from Dalmatia was an inspiration for the creation of music for the film *A život teče dalje*.

6) *Blagoslov mora*

This choir composition is based on the Croatian folk song from Komiza, arranged with canon imitations. The frequent changes of mixed and complex bars are emphasized (7/8; 9/8; 10/8; 8/8; 12/8...). The composition is written in F major area, with the beginning and an ending on the second note of F major scale degree (Super tonic), which is the fifth of dominant (b. 1-8, Figure 3). Mirjana Živković, in her editor's notes, states that the autograph was made out of a two-voice inscription of a Dalmatia song and planned to be a double canon, whose beginning was marked with a star in the score (subtitled as: *Chor mixt per Canon*, while at the bottom of the manuscript it was noted: "Kanon zwischen

Fraüen und Männer Chor/as libitum/"). According to the author's notes, the editors have finished score by adding the canon and completing the dynamics. She also writes that the manuscript had been found in the materials for the film *A život teče dalje* for which the song was recorded, with a complete text, but without canon imitation.

BLAGOSLOV MORA
Narodna iz Dalmacije (Hrvatska)
(1933 – 35)

Josip Slavenski
(1896 – 1955)

Lento

Soprani
Alti
Tenori
Bassi

f Bla-go-slo - vi na - še mo - re, bro-de, o - to - ke i još go -

f Bla-go-slo - vi na - še mo - re, bro-de,

f -re! Pun bla-go-slov vrh nas — pu - sti,

— o - to - ke i još go - re! Pun — bla - go - slov vrh nas —

do kon - ca nas ne za - pu - sti! *mf* O, I - su - se *mf*

pu - sti, do kon - ca nas ne za - pu - sti!

Figure 3. *Blagoslov mora*, b. 1-8

7) *Žetelačka*

Edited and published as a mixed choir, *Žetelačka* got its final form after reconstruction and editor's interventions on two discovered versions of the song: as a female choir (recorded for the film *A život teče dalje*), and as a mixed choir. It is based on a folk song from Croatian littoral. It is shaped as a song with the refrain. The first strophe is in F major (b. 1-12) and contains two parts whose content are singing male and female voices alternately. In the refrain (b. 13-22) all the voices sing together, and the bass doubles pedal tones. The second strophe (b. 22-34) brings the variation in the material and an exchange of male and female voices, while the refrain (b. 35-44) stays unchanged. The harmonic flow of both strophes is moving from F major at the beginning (b. 1-6; b. 23-28) to Dorian in D (b. 7-12; b. 29-34), and back to F major for the refrain (b. 13-22; b. 35-44). The folklore sound is underlined with pedal notes, perfect fifths (empty sound), as well as the finalis on the second degree of F major scale.

8) *Tri tičice*

The mixed choir composition *Tri tičice* is based on a traditional song from Serbia, organized as a canon of male and female voices. In the simple harmonization of F major, the relation between "empty" perfect fifths – incomplete triads is emphasized. This canon was also used for the purposes of film *A život teče dalje*, while is described in the autograph as an "eight bar diphthong, with a poetic text, and the author's note it is a mixed choir, canon of male and female voices, starting from bar 5" (Živković, 2014a, 117). For this choir, Slavenski had foreseen an orchestral accompaniment, but since it was incomplete in discovered materials, the choir composition was printed *a cappella*.

9) *Ubava devojko*

This voluminous choir composition is actually an arrangement of a traditional song from around Leskovac. In her editor's notes, Mirjana Živković writes that the manuscript has a certain insufficiency and mistakes that were fixed during editing for publishing, that in b. 54-55 there are indications for performing of viola and violoncello, and was also found that the first 25 bars was used as the beginning of a string quartet. The first 40 bars were meant for the male part of the choir, and after that the whole mixed choir performs. Six parts go across different sound spaces that can be interpreted through the following tonality plan: b. 1-40 Aeolian in A, b. 41-47 Aeolian in F; b. 47-60 A flat major; b. 61-67 again Aeolian in F; b. 68-83 Aeolian in D and b. 84 till the end in G minor with an ending on the dominant (initial and a final tones are on the second degree).

10) *Pileto pejet*

This choir came to existence based on a Macedonian folk song. It has a simple formal organization and a simple D flat major harmonization (the editor says that the autograph is in C major, and according to the note and the instructions of the composer, when transcribing the composition, it was transposed in D flat major).

11) *Imala je majka tri jedine kćerke*

This choir composition of modal sounding was based on the text of a folk song from Međimurje. In its character, there is a simple form of a song with the refrain with literal repetition through all three strophes. The melody of the soprano section has a Pentatonic sounding. The beginning is meant for a female choir, and male voices are joining from the fifth bar with very simple accompaniment based on the tones of tonic and dominant. In the autograph, Josip Slavenski writes that the composition is meant for a mixed choir and a piano, and above the title there is written *Pesme moje majke III*, which implies the identical content of III movement of the composition for voice and a string quartet from 1940.

12) *Tu za repu, tu za len*

Another folk song from Međimurje that Josip Slavenski has arranged and adapted as a composition for the choir, but also as a base for II movement of the composition *Pesme moje majke* for voice and string quartet (1940). The first two strophes are formed by the exchange of male and female voices, and in third and fourth, the theme is brought by sopranos and tenors. In the vertical of this composition, the dissonances can be noticed, and sporadically relations in fourths.

13) *Hata sjedi*

The folk song from Bosnia, *Hata sjedi*, in the sketch is titled as *Džanum aman*. After an introduction in four bars, there are two strophes – melismatic melody of the first was given to soprano, and the second one to tenor along with a simple accompaniment. The tonal base is melodic F major.

14) *Hanikina pjesma*

This arrangement of the Bosnian folk song is found in two versions. The theme with an oriental sounding is brought by sopranos and tenors, and harmonic accompaniment is simple, based on the pedal tones. In the first section (b. 1-4), the melody goes through Balkan minor in A, while the refrain is in harmonic A minor, with the dominant at the end.

15) *Sve ptičice zapjevale*

The folk Song from Montenegro has four strophes. This choir composition is in Aeolian mode in e (natural e minor) with turns that belong to folklore (for example the plagal cadence a–e, b. 30-35, Figure 4). As in other choir compositions, the usage of “empty” fifths is emphasized, and this interval appears as the closing sounding (Živković, 2014a, 120). She says that in the legacy of Slavenski, there were three versions of the same song discovered in the manuscript: 1) unfinished four voice choir; 2) two voice arrangement of the folk song from Pljevlja along with a note explaining that the inscription of Miodrag Vasiljević (1903–1963) had been used, and 3) triad harmonization of this melody. The score in all three autographs is in D minor, and the autograph of the first four voice version suggests transposing into E minor, therefore it was done so for the purpose of publishing.

30

poco rit.

za - što ne le - će, za - što ne le - će, a - man za - što ne le - će!

za - što ne le - će, za - što ne le - će, a - man za - što ne le - će!

pje - - - smu ve - - - se - - - lu, ej!

pje - - - smu ve - - - se - - - lu, ej!

(in e:)

s t

Figure 4. *Sve ptičice zapjevale*, b. 30-3516) *Ustani Redžo* (Çou more Rexho)

The arrangement of Albanian folk dirge is found in the materials for the film *Prve svetlosti* (1948) in two versions: the autograph of an *cappella* choir, and the autograph for the choir with unfinished orchestral accompaniment. The diphthong of the first strophe is aimed for male voices (b. 1-14) – a tenor is singing the theme, while bass is in charge for ostinato, while the female voices have double pedal tones (pedal on I and V). In the second strophe (b. 15-28) male and female voices exchange places – the melody is in soprano, ostinato bass is in alto, and the pedal tones are brought by male choir (this time the pedal is on I and III), while in third strophe (b. 29-42) the diphthong is taken over by alto who sings the melody and tenor that has a new ostinato figure, while outside

voices are making pedal surrounding on subdominant. It happens in the Aeolian mode, while in the third strophe in the accompaniment, Dorian and Aeolian sixths are multiply exchanged. The very ending is marked with a plagal ending s–S–t (b. 39-42, Figure 5).

39

ff

O!

ff

O!

ff

O!

ff

O!

(in f) s S t

sot ma i mirë po m'du - kesh - o.
jer da - nas iz - gle - daš naj - bo - lje.

Mo - re Re - xho! Mo - re Re - xho!

Figure 5. *Ustani Redžo* (Çou more Rexho), b. 39-42

17) *Vožnja*

The choir *Vožnja* doesn't have a base in folklore. It was written in 1946 for the text of Desanka Maksimović (1898–1993). It is in the sound space of Dorian scale on C (in autograph it is in D minor, with a note to be transposed in C minor or B minor).

18) *Himna slobodi*

This choir also isn't based on folklore. It is created to the text of Ivan Gundulić (1589–1638). The tone base is natural F minor.

19) *Ej, život teče dalje*

Josip Slavenski intended this choir composition for the movie of the same title (1935), with orchestral accompaniment and occasional participation of children's choir. Although it is not noted, it is assumed that Josip Slavenski is the author of the text. Since the orchestral accompaniment is incomplete, based on duplication of choir parts, the composition is published as the mixed choir *a cappella*. Although there wasn't a signature key, the music content of the choir is in sound space of G major, or Mixolydian in G – this dilemma comes out of the fact that throughout the flow, the Leading tone was avoided (f or f sharp?), and the dominant is always represented by fundamental note and a fifth. As in earlier

mentioned choir compositions from this group, in the music flow incomplete triads and “empty” fifths are dominating at the end of phrases, as well as in double sustained pedal.

Concluding words

Mešoviti horovi II consists of very simple, more or less elaborated choir compositions in which there are no colorful impresionistic effects, expressive and rich rhythms, polyrhythms, bitonality and polytonality, or long effect of sharp dissonances, innovative procedures, or inventive relation towards modernistic tendencies, as in many other works of Slavenski. Nevertheless, they show an important characteristics of the author’s style, especially the part related to his interest in folklore and the elements taken from it. Those characteristics relate to following:

- most of the choir compositions are arrangements of folk songs;
- repetition is the basic principle for building a form;
- same compositions or same themes are processed on various ways and for various performing ensembles (most of these choirs was written for the purpose of music for the film, for some there are an instrumental versions of compositions – piano, chamber);
- most of the choir compositions are shaped by the exchange of voices (for example the two-part form, where in the first part melody is in soprano, while other part of the choir is shaped by the exchange of male and female voices), which Petar Bingulac sees as common in music of Josip Slavenski;
- the tendency for linear way of thinking and applying polyphonic procedures is emphasized;
- applying of modal and specifically built scales which are characteristic for the folklore;
- as well as simple, mostly diatonic harmonic flow;
- one of the characteristic is application of incomplete triads – leaving out the thirds, Leading notes, using so called “empty” fifths;
- an important role is given to the pedal, single and double tones, as well as “bagpipe” fifths.

For all the reasons written above, these choirs deserve our attention, both from analytical and performing point of view.

1.	<i>Zelena dobrava</i> – Folk song from Međimurje, Croatia (1927)	Aeolian in C	modified strophic form
2.	<i>Ko bo tebe troštal?</i> – Slovenian folk song from Međimurje (1915)	C major	modified strophic form
3.	<i>Oj, javore</i> – Folk song from Serbia (1932)	G major	modified strophic form
4.	<i>Igraj kolo</i> - Folk song from Serbia (1932)	A major	modified strophic form
5.	<i>Oj, more duboko</i> – Folk song from Dalmatia, Croatia (1933–35)	E flat major	modified strophic form
6.	<i>Blagoslov mora</i> – Folk song from Dalmatia, Croatia (1933–35)	F major	strophic form
7.	<i>Žetelačka</i> – Folk song from Primorje, Croatia (1933–35)	F major	strophic verse-refrain form
8.	<i>Tri tičice</i> – Folk song from Serbia (1933–35)	F major	strophic form
9.	<i>Ubava devojko</i> – Folk song from Serbia (n.d.)	Aeolian in A	modified strophic form
10.	<i>Pileto pejet</i> – Folk song from Macedonia (n.d.)	D flat major	modified strophic form
11.	<i>Imala je majka tri jedine kćerke</i> – Folk song from Međimurje, Croatia (1940)	E flat minor	strophic verse-refrain form
12.	<i>Tu za repu, tu za len</i> – Folk song from Međimurje, Croatia (1940)	F major - (D minor)	modified strophic form
13.	<i>Hata sjedi</i> – Folk song from Bosnia and Herzegovina (n.d.)	Miksolidian in F	modified strophic form
14.	<i>Hankina pjesma</i> – Folk song from Bosnia and Herzegovina (n.d.)	Balkan minor in A	two part song
15.	<i>Sve ptičice zapjevale</i> – Folk song from Montenegro (n.d.)	Aeolian in E	modified strophic form
16.	<i>Ustani Redžo (Çou more Rexho)</i> – Folk song from Albania (1948)	Aeolian in F	modified strophic form
17.	<i>Vožnja</i> – Desanka Maksimović (1946)	Dorian in C	strophic form
18.	<i>Himna slobodi</i> – Ivan Gundulić (n.d.)	F minor	three part song
19.	<i>Ej, život teče dalje</i> – Josip Slavenski? (1935)	G major	modified strophic form

Table 1. J. Slavenski, *Mešoviti horovi II* – schematic representation of the formal and tonal plan

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PART II:

NEW RESEARCH – MUSICAL PEDAGOGY

ACOUSTICS IN SOLFEGGIO – EFFECT AND OUTCOMES IN EDUCATIONAL PRACTICE¹

NERMA HODŽIĆ-MULABEGOVIĆ

Abstract: In the tradition of Western European music, the musical process of tuning tones has undergone various stages. Although fixed and confirmed as such, the pitch oscillates due to natural inertia. The Herz – determined tuning of the reference tone is the most applied in both instrumental and vocal-instrumental music. In these cases we witness the strong relationship between acoustics and solfeggio in auditory and performing domain.

Key words: acoustics; standard pitch; solfeggio; working procedures.

The paper is aimed to pointing out to the standard facts in the field of acoustics related to the narrow field of musical sound², and emphasizes the mutual relationship between acoustic factors and ways of their perceiving and reproducing offered by solfeggio. It is a result of initial stage of interest in the selected matter. Among others, the following issues were singled out: an overview of thoughts on acoustics over history: the process of determining standard pitch³ a¹; perception of the role of tone tuning in vocal performance and auditory perception – given that solfeggio typically uses voice as the means of expression; in what way authors of some of selected solfeggio textbooks approach the awareness, perception and performance of elements which are, of course, related to the phenomenon of sound and pertain to educational practice of tonality⁴

¹ The choice of the topic is a result of interest and research the results of which will, among other things, be incorporated in the author's doctoral dissertation. The proposed theme of doctoral dissertation is Musical and musically in solfeggio: between acoustics, graphics and creative, at the Academy of Music, University of Sarajevo.

² The term "sound" encompasses everything we hear. Sound is defined as elastic oscillations in solid bodies, fluids and gases, i.e. sound is a change in pressure, tension, shift or speed of particles which expand in elastic environment (Kovačević, 1971, 20).

³ B/S/C: Kamerni ton, kamerton; Italian: diapason, French: diapason; English: standard/normal pitch; German: Kammerton, Stimmton (Peričić, 2008).

⁴ "The sense of major and minor, i.e. tonality, is experienced as a sound complex; interwoven with interaction of functional relations, and based on tonic triad. In this sense, education in the sense of tonality depends on the ability to master these relations. (...) Work on gaining the understanding of atonal music should start from an entirely different platform and education should develop other habits, other senses and other sound-related accustoming. Both new and different senses compared to listening to the tonal, and ways of reproduction serve to another purpose and lead to another goal. One should not ignore the fact that atonal music lacks the

solfeggio.⁵

Acoustics⁶ is a science of sound⁷, i.e. – of what we perceive with the sense of hearing. The phenomenon of sound has always drawn scientists' attention. Significant discoveries and views in the area of acoustics, nature of tone and relations among tones can be traced to the time of Pythagoras⁸ (ca. 582 to ca. 496 B.C.), Aristotle (384–322 B.C.), Boethius (480–524)⁹. Vincenzo Galilei¹⁰ (1520–1591) advocated the view that vocal music should make a compromise between Pythagorean and Ptolemaic¹¹ tuning, i.e. the implementation of a more flexible tuning system (Palisca, 2009). Marin Mersenn¹² (1588–1648), whose work *Harmonicorum Libri* (1636) is considered the basis of modern acoustics, has defined tone and sound as air oscillation, and concluded that pitch depends on the number of oscillations in a unit of time. He is considered the first to point out to partial tones of a tone. He has contributed to the improvement of theory of tuning and the nature of tone by synthesizing previous knowledge. He advocated the uniform tone tuning, which would be easier to apply in the practice of building

gravitation centre, as well as the characteristic mutual relations between functions, which primarily distinguishes it from tonal music." (Krajtmajer, 2002, 4)

⁵ The topic certainly requires approach from the aspect of music psychology, psychoacoustics, sociology, aesthetics of music as well. Such topics would certainly require a separate paper.

⁶ Akoustos (gr. ἀκούω – I hear). There are many area of human activities where acoustics and sound play essential roles: electrical engineering and technology, mechanical engineering, architecture, visual arts, psychology, physiology, medicine, soil physics, atmosphere physics, oceanography, etc.

⁷ Essential characteristics of musical sound, tone, are as follows: the basic frequency that determines its pitch, spectral composition that timbre depends on, loudness, time flow of intensity which includes growth or initial transient, stationary state and decline or final transient. The continuous transition from a tone of one frequency to a tone of another frequency is called portamento, while tremolo or vibrato is an amplitude or frequency-based modulation of a given tone (Kovačević, 1971, 24).

⁸ He investigated the relations between string lengths on the monochord and thus defined intervals (Pythagorean tuning – $a^1 = 432\text{Hz}$). Many people who studied the nature of tone and pitch, from the 15th to late 18th century used the monochord to define intervals, relations among tones and systems of tone tuning. Results were presented graphically, in the form of drawings or engravings, or as number relations (Rasch, 2008, 195).

⁹ The recommended elementary literature on tuning and the nature of tone includes James Murray Barbour, *Tuning and Temperament: A Historical Survey*, as well as: Dupont, *Geschichte der musikalischen Temperatur* Jorgensen, *Tuning the Historical Temperaments by Ear*; and *Tuning*; Lindley, *Stimmung und Temperatur*; Devie, *Le tempérament musical*; Ratte, *Die Temperatur der Clavierinstrumente*; Lindley and Turner-Smith, *Mathematical Models* (Rasch, 2008, 194).

¹⁰ Italian composer, lutist, music theoretician.

¹¹ On the process of tuning, from Pythagoras on, from the viewpoint of mathematics and Suzuki teaching method, see: York, 2012; Staples, 2014.

¹² French mathematician, philosopher, music theoretician and scientist.

musical instruments (Elvers, 2009). In the early 18th century, Joseph Sauveur¹³ (1653–1716) advocated the development of a science of sound, which would be called acoustics (Boyden and Walls, 2009; Sigalia and Campbell, 2009). Ernest Chladni¹⁴ (1756–1827) repeated Hook's¹⁵ experiments and visually proved the different forms of sound vibrations on the corresponding surface – board, known as Chladni's figures. He was also interested in pitch tuning (Kovačević, 1971, 323; Sigalia and Campbell, 2009). Hermann Helmholtz's¹⁶ (1821–1894) work *Lehre von den Tonempfindungen als physiologische Grundlage für die Theorie der Music* (1863) established laws which determine, which is believed to be of the utmost importance for music theory, acoustics and psychoacoustics, with experiments and based on treatises by Jean Philippe Rameau (1683–1764), Giuseppe Tartini (1692–1770) and others, have established laws that define timbre in various instruments and human voice, and natural limits of the acoustic sensitivity of human hearing and it also derives conclusions pertaining to overtones, etc. (Kovačević, 1974). Helmholtz also gave a significant contribution and impetus to studies of listening, auditory perception and psychophysical effect of sound and music. He drew attention to the sense of hearing. Alexander Ellis¹⁷ (1814–1890) built upon Helmholtz's work. He published a number of significant studies, particularly on the history of determining pitch. His work *On the History of Musical Pitch* (1880) is considered the obligatory reading (Thistlethwaite, 2009).

From the viewpoint of solfeggio, which typically uses voice as a means of expression, an interesting process is that of developing awareness of tone pitch, tone tuning¹⁸. In other words, can it – and how, be reflected in the perception and way of expression in solfeggio?

In the tradition of Western European music, the process of tone tuning and determining their established pitch has undergone different stages over a long period of time. The need to uniform the tuning became particularly prominent

¹³ French physicist.

¹⁴ German acoustician.

¹⁵ Robert Hook (1635–1702) studied the effect of vibrations on a corresponding surface and established and studied “sound knots”.

¹⁶ German physiologist and physicist.

¹⁷ English philologist, acoustician, mathematician and musicologist. He translated Helmholtz's work *On the Sensation of Tone* and, with Helmholtz's permission, added his own work to it.

¹⁸ A special quality of a sound (e.g. an individual musical tone) which fixes the position of tone in a scale, contrary to absolute tuning, hearing that implies recognition of pitch without a given contextual relationship with other tones, e.g. in a scale. Tuning is expressed by combining frequency values (such as 440Hz) with the tone name, e.g. a¹=440Hz. Frequency, tone pitch are natural phenomena. It is only when they are related with the standardized tuning that they take over musical dimension. The tuning standard is a convention on uniform tuning, which is prescribed and which is generally used by musicians in a given point in time and at a given location (Haynes, 2009).

when the vocal-instrumental music practice began. A *capella* pieces were tuned according to natural tuning, taking into account characteristics of a piece of music voice ranges. Until the second half of the 16th century, organ was the only music instrument in the church. Development of instrumental music and the increasing usage of secular instruments in the church affected the uniforming of instrument tuning. The well-established tuning standard present in the Western European art music was not always the same, nor was it the same everywhere. Different parameters of pitch tuning were applied at the same time. Tuning was different for a *capella*, and for instrumental music; different in different countries, towns within the same country, even in churches of a single town. Attempts to uniform different instruments, or voices and instruments, frequently resulted in the transposition of a given instrument's part. The organ part was usually transposed *a vista* in order to adjust to the tuning of another instrument of voice range. Transposition was a usual though exacerbating process. Thus, in the 16th and 17th century, distinct terms were used for the kind of tone tuning: in Italy, the terms used included *mezzo punto* ($a^1=464\text{Hz}$), *tutto punto* ($a^1=440\text{Hz}$), and *tuono corista* tuning for church choirs, which was the lowest. In around 1740, organ builder Pietro Nachini (1694–1769) began to use the tuning $a^1=440\text{H}$, known as *corista veneto*. Until the end of the 18th century, the tuning was adopted by almost whole Europe and therefore it can be claimed that, ultimately, it was as early as then that the 20th century tuning was known. Similar was true of other European countries. In France, actual tunings were lower than the Italian ones. After 1740, tuning was adjusted to the Italian one. In Germany, tuning was higher. Terminological dilemmas were also evident and resulted in a lack of understanding of terms *Kammer Ton* and *Cammer ton*. In England, Quire-pitch, a^1 of around 473Hz was in use. Eventually, they also adopted to the Italian tuning. By the end of the 18th century, church organs across Europe had tuning that differed from orchestral instruments. They were tuned like in the previous century, which made them too highly tuned in Germany, and too low in France and England (Sigalia and Campbell, 2009; Haynes, 2009).

In the course of history, tuning moved upwards and downwards. All tunings were similar to each other, so it seems that the final tuning was actually a logical compromise. The production of musical instruments has also standardized, which also contributed to the uniforming of reference tuning. In 1939, International Organization for Standardization¹⁹ fixed the standard pitch a^1 at 440Hz²⁰, which was confirmed in 1953.

¹⁹ ISO (gr. Isos = equal)

²⁰ On the ISO's official website, the standard pitch was last revised and confirmed in 2017, $a^1=440\text{Hz}$ (Iso, 2017). Although confirmed, the chamber tone a^1 still has a tendency to change. Thus, renowned philharmonic or opera houses have set their standard chamber tone a^1 , and even certain conductors require a certain tuning of the chamber a^1 . See: New York Philharmonic, 2017; Abdella, 1989.

However, the question arises as to whether these studies and facts on the process and determination of standard pitch find their place in the area of solfeggio. Considered as a natural phenomenon, fixed and referential in music, tuning is the most properly applicable in instrumental and even in vocal-instrumental music. It begs the question about tuning voice. How to tune voice? Voice in the *a capella* context does not have to insist; one could even say that it cannot insist on tuning in such a context. Voice in intonation responds to external factors; psychological, and physical ones.

Solfeggio classes are often delivered in groups, as well as singing together or as a choir. A parallel could be drawn with choral *a capella* singing. For good performance, any choir singer relies upon joint music-making, listens to neighbouring voices and harmonic motions, striving for the correct, enviable performance and creation of unified choral tuning and timbre. Conductors have the task to balance voices – dynamically, numerically, using the singers' positions in space, so that they direct choral singers toward unified, homogenous performance. The ultimate result is a conscious, engaged performance of a piece, opening the possibility for indulging in the momentary auditory perception of the performed piece and having a chance for momentary, creative, joint, musical expression.

Solfeggio is mostly focused on voice and its natural tuning. The effect of acoustics on the educational practice of solfeggio is inevitable. Solfeggio develops its working procedures relying upon acoustics, not exclusively as determined, given, Herz-fixed tone pitch (except in case of some specific demands). Determination of tone pitch and tuning now suggests the feature of tone to have a unique quality which fixes its position compared to other tones in the scale, chord, compared to other instruments or singing voices.²¹ On the other hand, the defined tone pitch would identify the tone regardless of its contextual relations with other tones – absolute pitch, tempered system of 12 equal tones. In solfeggio, sound phenomena are observed, and reproduced (sung), which is followed, if necessary, by a kind of graphic recording.

²¹ For a graphic presentation, see: Kazić, 2004.

Through literature²²

By grasping authors' methodical approach, kind of tasks offered by authors, the way in which they administer them and interpret the essence and goal of tasks, one can realize how acoustic phenomena are perceived in solfeggio classes. Table 1 provides an overview of some observations.

Scales are processed gradually according to the layout of the whole and the half-step, indicating their characteristics by listening and singing.
Tonal exercises are performed with guitar accompaniment.
Exercises for intonation are performed with piano accompaniment with prominent markings for tempo, dynamics, agogic.
Exercises are at the C level without insisting that they are intonatively at C level and performed at C level.
The relationship between the tones is highlighted, the absolute pitch of the tone is not emphasized.
The importance of training good and proper singing is emphasized.
Improving tonalities by singing together in various voices, using D7 chord in the major and minor tonality by emphasizing the moment of release.
Adjectives melancholic, sad, happy, bright, clarify the sound differences between major and minor tonalities.
Relations between tones are established with the use of solmization.
Perception of major and minor pentachord is associated with playing on the piano.
It points to qualitative, and not only to quantitative characteristics of the interval, referring to inevitable interval singing.
Perceiving major/minor tonalities by listening to sound clips.
A connection with harmony is created by singing the tones of chords and sequence of chords.
Improvisation is encouraged.
Examples are played and sung simultaneously.
It is suggested to choose a melodic pattern that is being trained, and for which the intonation is taken arbitrarily.
It is suggested that the student does not rely entirely on instinct and natural talent, but should develop the possibility of logical thinking and to use capacity to combine the adopted elements.
Training aural skills include the ability to distinguish different types of musical sound.
It emphasizes the character of each tone, degree in the scale as a specification that by its position and relation to other tones creates a certain mental effect by which it can be recognized in any tonality . . .

Table 1.

²² The literature used for the analysis includes a few textbooks by international authors, with different years of publishing, selected from a broader range: Batiste (n.d.), Carulli (n.d.), Cleland and Dobrea-Grindahl (2010), Crescentini (1885), Cringan (1889), Curwen (1900), Dannhäuser (1891), Hegy (1987), Hindemith (1949), Holmes (2009).

Acoustics affects solfeggio and practice in solfeggio education. It allows solfeggio to strengthen its position in other musical areas as a medium offering the space for elementary notions of acoustics – observation of a musical sound with the sense of hearing and its reproduction. In its working procedure, solfeggio allows experiencing and understanding tendencies of sound phenomena, and their efficient translation into performance. Moreover, this opens the possibility to integrate auditory and performing abilities and the way of perceiving acoustic phenomena developed and acquired in solfeggio classes into other areas of music education.

Working procedures in solfeggio classes do rest upon the acoustics. Acoustics, solfeggio and educational practice are in a causal relationship; mutually complementing and being directed toward each other. This does not exclusively imply the sphere of fixed tone pitch. With unique working procedures, solfeggio opens the possibility for auditory perception and reproduction of acoustic phenomena, perception in both physical and educational and performing terms. Solfeggio thus plays the role of a medium that provides a possibility for multifaceted approach in music education. It becomes a space of activity which affects the formation of a complete music theoretician, pedagogue, artist or scientist. It drives consideration of relations between acoustic phenomena, and ultimately results in a conscious, engaged, musical perception and their performance.

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SIGNIFICANCE AND EFFECT OF EXTERNAL FACTORS ON THE FORMATION AND SHAPING OF INDIVIDUAL/SUBJECTIVE MUSICAL THOUGHT IN THE SPHERE OF ELEMENTARY MUSIC THEORY

SENAD KAZIĆ

Abstract: In his research, the author investigates the extent/ratio of abstraction or visualization in affecting the formation of musical thought, which may lead to the question as to what extent the theoretical knowledge helps the performing practice, and vice versa: does the perception of the selected instrument, and if so - to what extent, can help to more confident knowledge of elementary theory of music? The research is based on the author's personal experience in the years-long teaching practice.

Key words: elementary theory of music; graphic and auditory perception; elementary solfeggio teaching methods.

Avenues of the formation and shaping of musical and music-related thought, which is a prerequisite for music-related and musical expression, are complex and – just as any other kind of thought, susceptible to various internal and external effects. Although many systems of teaching methods and procedures of group acquisition and mastering of the educational tasks given have been established in the course of history, and having that the fundamental disposition of music art is in the sphere of abstraction, creativity and inventiveness, it is evident that any result achieved is individual, and thus a subjective one. These considerations brought forth the issue of the significance and the effect of some external factors to the divergence of performance in the area of elementary theory of music within the same population. The research was conducted by means of an anonymous survey questionnaire. The survey comprised of questions on the most elementary theory of music pertaining to:

1. Determining the key and mode,
2. Theoretical approach to intervals and chords,
3. Analytical singing of scales, intervals and chords,
4. View on enharmonics, and
5. Support in the selected instrument or another mnemotechnical aid.

The basic research hypothesis was that the formation and shaping of musical thought in the area of elementary education could be affected by:

- Technical performing characteristics of the instrument selected by the candidate,
- Visual component in terms of graphic / notation symbols or the visualization of “keys”,
- Another mnemotechnical aid.

Respondents were required to explain the way of solving differently set tasks, and therefore the target sample includes students, since they could give the most mature and most specific responses. Respondents included are students of the Academy of Music of University of Sarajevo, and of Academy of Music of University of Montenegro in Cetinje. A significant and interesting question was how all these things are manifested in players of different instruments: keyboard/tempered, strings, winds, etc. A question that could also be interesting is whether the selection of solmization in solfeggio classes affects, and if so – how, the formation of musical thought, since students in Bosnia and Herzegovina are mostly educated on the “Movable Do” solmization system, while students in Montenegro were typically taught according to “Fixed Do” solmization system. At the Academy of Music of University of Sarajevo, a total of 113 students were surveyed. As the main instrument, students reported a keyboard instrument (piano and accordion) 50 (44%), stringed instrument 20 (18%), wind 24 (21%), guitar 14 (12%), and voice 5 (4%). Out of the total number, 30 students (25%) report that they are naturally good at solfeggio and theory, 40 (33%) report that they have no problems with these courses because they practice enough, while 48 (42%) were not satisfied with their performance in these areas. As many as 102 (90%) respondents believe that solfeggio is very important for a musician, and 58 (51%) would like this course to be available in all years of study.

At the Academy of Music of University of Montenegro in Cetinje, a total of 41 students were surveyed. As their main instrument, students reported a keyboard instrument (piano and accordion) 23 (55%), string instrument 6 (15%), wind 8 (20%), and guitar 4 (9%). Out of the total number, 14 students (35%) report that they are naturally good at solfeggio and theory, 7 (17.5%) report that they have no problems with these courses because they practice enough, while 19 (47.5%) were not satisfied with their performance in these areas. As many as 37 (90%) students believe that solfeggio is very important for a musician, and 21 (51%) would like this course to be available in all years of study.

Thus, the entire sample of 154 respondents is representative in any respect. Although the questionnaire was anonymous, it is known that it was filled in by students of all years of studies and of all departments of both academies. Since the respondent groups are not the same by number, the percentages indicating

the representation by instrument that are approximately the same were excluded. Interestingly, both groups of students provided similar answers in terms of percentages, and the concordance of students' views on solfeggio throughout the studies at academy is significant, as well as the fact that students' self-evaluations on their performance in this course would probably match the instructor's assessment of the given students' achievements.

The question of the reliability of the responses obtained is always open, due to the respondents' interests and the anonymity of the survey. The modulus of providing explanations gives the impression that most respondents took the survey seriously, while only few responses reveal that the respondents had not been interested in the survey and have given incomplete or indefinite responses. Not everybody responded to all the questions set, and some gave a few responses to one question; therefore the numbers of responses per individual question do not match the total number of respondents.

1. To the question about determining the key, two thirds of the total number of students report that they determine minor accidentals through the parallel major. It could be the inertia from early days of education since everybody seems to have learned the circle of fifths/fourths in this way. However, in this way a minor "sticks" in perception as a derivative of a major, which it is certainly not? A few incorrect responses were also recorded, which can be due to a lack of gravity in approaching the survey. A few descriptions of mathematical association of types G major 1, G-flat major $1 - 7 = -6$; D major 2, D-flat major $2 - 7 = -5$; F major 1, f minor $1 + 3 = 4$, etc. At the academic level, these calculations are indeed unnecessary. The remaining responses pertain to imagining playing (keyboard) 5, visualization of the keyboard 4, using accordion basses 2, visualization of the positions on the guitar 1, and by ear 1.

With respect to determining the mode, most respondents (58%) do it through the major or minor scale of the same name, and it is the optimum solution. A smaller percentage (18%) determines the mode only through the corresponding major, and a few mistakes were recorded in this respect. However, 14% respondents report that they do not know or understand this subject matter. Besides, a smaller number of respondents (10%) consider tetrachords and semitones in the scale. Responses in this area are somewhat more heterogeneous compared to the previous question, which may be understood as due to a different approach and treatment of modality. Only the few responses that consider modes as altered major or minor scales are unacceptable.

2. With respect to the theoretical approach to intervals and chords, the survey reveals that for respondents the ascending and descending direction of an interval is not "the same". Keyboard visualization is less used compared to finding one's

way in the notation system. Most respondents (73%) reported that they count ascending intervals according to a position in the scale, and that they mostly look for descending intervals by means of inverted intervals. Only few students (17%) calculate intervals by counting degrees, which is also unacceptable. Interestingly, only one response reporting that intervals are viewed in the context of the functionality of harmony has been recorded. The remaining responses are as follows: I know them by heart (9), I imagine the keyboard (4), "I hear them" (1), I know it from literature (1), through violin (1).

With respect to the approach to chords and inversions, most responses pertain to counting constituent intervals (58%), while 32% focus on the position of the chord in the scale. Only four solutions imply the context of harmony, while three rely on the sense of hearing.

3. The question that pertained to singing scales and other analytical structures (intervals and chords) revealed different methodological approaches. Most Sarajevo students (46%), who were educated according to the movable solmization, would sing scales using the solmization unburdened with the absolute pitch. A total of 12% of them would also use the sense of hearing in terms of tone functionality, though not absolute pitch as well. A total of 6% would use alphabet, 17% neutral syllable, and 17% solmization with obligatory interval control. Students from Cetinje, who were educated according to fixed solmization, would certainly sing scales with solmization (83%); nonetheless, since this system would require an additional backing, 55% of them would rely upon hearing, 12% would control intervals, and 5% would use standard pitch. In case of Sarajevo respondents, analytical interval singing also indicates reliance on "tonic do" solmization, where an interval is placed in the context of the corresponding key (40%). A total of 19% of them rely on hearing or associations. Still, 37% rely on calculating intervals or on inverted intervals. Only one response views intervals in the context of a harmonic function, e.g. sixth as the framework for a 6/4, seventh as the framework for septachord, etc. A similar ratio is true of various chord structures.

Cetinje students mostly (45%) rely on calculating intervals or inverted intervals, 29% on hearing or associations, while 14% view intervals in the context of a harmonic function. In singing various chord structures, over 85% respondents rely upon the constituent intervals.

4. A very interesting question is about enharmonics (C-sharp major \neq or $=$ D-flat major) and it resulted in many different responses. Both respondent groups provided fairly similar and uniform responses, and in this case they could be compared according to the selected instrument. Out of a total of 71 keyboard instrumentalists, 73% resolutely report that they are the same, 13% that they are

and are not the same - depending on the kind of instrument (i.e. it is the same on keys but not on string), while 14% believe that it is certainly not the same - referring to intonation, timbre, psychological effect, etc.

A surprising percentage of string players (36%) also believe that it is the same, although 64% argues that it is not. Wind players are also divided: 57% believe that C-sharp and D-flat major are the same, while 43% claim that they are not. Among guitarists, 57% responded 'yes' and 43% 'no', while the percentages are inverted among solo singers. Since it is really a complex question which requires informed discussion, it can be claimed that students are still aware of the issue of enharmonics, particularly given the facts of the instruments they play.

5. To the question as to whether in some segment of analogous solfeggio (theory, listening, singing) the link with the instrument can be of help, 86% respondents answered affirmatively. As expected, all keyboard instrument players visualize the keyboard, which is also true of several other instrumentalists, which is also expected since all of them underwent the minimum education in the piano before reaching the academic level. All accordionists imagine standard basses on the accordion, since they are aligned according to the circle of fifths/fourths, which is always a convenient memory aid. Stringed instrument players also rely on the instrument by string tuning, or some positions. In any case, there are associations, fairly strong ones.

Conclusion

Having in mind the overall findings obtained through the survey questionnaire, the relevance of surveyed population, and the reliability of the obtained responses, we can draw the following conclusions:

1. It is evident that there is an effect of external factors (in this case the selected instrument and notational graphic symbols) on the formation and shaping of individual musical thought in the sphere of elementary music theory, although it is not the decisive one.
2. By their informed responses, respondents (students) have revealed a fairly good understanding of the elementary music theory. What students did not show (at least in the survey) is a possibility of a more comprehensive view of elementary components, e.g. intervals as part of harmonic thought, chords as determinants of the key - which they do not have to be; although in elementary education one always starts from the sphere of tonality-based thinking. It was disturbing to find views such as: that modes include altered major and minor, that minor is actually a major though from the "sixth tone", or that some phenomena are categorized only because "it says so".

3. In analytics, the “ascending” and “descending” motion of the same interval is definitely not the same. In most cases, it is experienced as a completely new reasoning activity, which is perhaps closer to the musical truth.
4. Although the tendency to orient oneself by keys is an omnipresent one, respondents’ reactions and perceptions can still be grouped as in relation to the instrument they play, which makes sense. We can confirm a partly different approach to the subject matter among players of different groups of instruments. Other non-tempered groups orient themselves according to the tuning of strings on the instrument, some specific positions, etc. Besides, visualization of notational system was also observed. There are no other mnemotechnical aids except that a few separate cases reported phonomime; however, these are exceptions that, in this case, cannot be considered as the confirmation of a rule.
5. Orientation by means of solmization is evident, since this procedure is significant for shaping reasoning in the early education. However, regardless of the significance of solmization for the formation of musical personality, in later education one should still focus on the global auditory perception and neutral syllable in singing, because educational tasks are different. A certain number of respondents who were educated on the “Movable Do” solmization system revealed an over-dependence on solmization, which is unnecessary at the academic level. When using the “Movable Do” in the sphere of imagination, respondents seem intuitively/musically more confident, while when using counting of intervals or other more specific procedures they seem to be more confident in relying on notational graphic symbols, which makes sense. On the other hand, in respondents educated on the “Fixed Do” solmization system the opposite was observed – solmization does not imbue confidence in expression, but they rather require an additional mental support. This also makes sense because the “Fixed Do” solmization provides different information from the “Movable Do” solmization. These are two completely opposite approaches, which is the most evident in analytical singing. In both cases, musical associations, ranging from well-known melodies and musical phenomenon to a wide array of various other forms of applicability, are an important support.
6. Given that the respondent groups were inadvertently equal in terms of percentages, the concordance of responses and views for the most of the survey questions is indeed above any expectation.
7. Out of the three hypotheses set in the beginning of the research, two can be confirmed: the effect of technical-performing characteristics of the instrument that a respondent plays and the visual component in terms of graphic/notational symbols, or even more frequently visualization of the keyboard affect the formation and shaping of musical thought.

8. It should be noted again that the research is based on the author's experience; over his years-long teaching practice and continuous communication with students, the author has strived to point to the complex issue of the perception and shaping of musical thought, where the auditory sphere is at least as important as the visual one. The paper is not intended to prove the advantage of either of solmization systems, since this issue is too complex and would require comprehensive and longer study. Therefore, the paper avoids references to possible similar studies in the psychology of music, or achievements of didactics in music education.
9. The survey results could be interesting primarily for teachers who are in authority for music-theory literacy and mastering basic concepts and phenomena in early music education.
10. For the end, we singled out a few interesting questionnaire entries that have aroused the pedagogue's attention:
 - "While I sing a major with an open vocal, I feel happy. While I sing the parallel minor, I hear it as a chord." (a solo singer)
 - "G – A is the biggest whole tone of the keyboard..." (a pianist)
 - "Harmony on the guitar is far simpler for the eye than harmony on the piano." (a guitarist)
 - D-flat = C-sharp: "They are the same, pianists know it best." (a violinist)
 - D-flat ≠ C-sharp: "Psychologically, I distinguish between them by sound and timbre." (a pianist)
 - D-flat ≠ C-sharp: "I 'see' C sharp minor as dark blue, D flat major as red." (a guitarist)
 - D-flat ≠ C-sharp: "D flat major is calmer, more stable; C sharp major is restless, it is not balanced." (a pianist)
 - D-flat ≠ C-sharp: "When I sing, I perceive the augmented prime differently from minor second." (a pianist)
 - D-flat ≠ C-sharp: "I, for instance, he needs to sing a diminished fifth chord g-b-d flat, he will sing g-b-c sharp since he hears better this way." (a pianist)

Having in mind that the research was based on the author's personal experience, as well as on the overall information obtained through the survey questionnaires, relevance of surveyed population, and reliability of obtained responses, it can be claimed that out of the three hypotheses set in the beginning of research, two were confirmed: effect of technical-performing characteristics of instrument played by the respondent, and the visual component in terms of graphic/notational symbols, or even more frequently, keyboard visualization affect the formation and shaping of musical thought. Besides the teachers involved in this subject matter, the paper could also be interesting for writers of future textbooks in terms of possible innovations and new contents.

LEVELS OF MUSIC APPRECIATION AS A CHALLENGE FOR MUSIC CURRICULUM

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Abstract: Introduction to music takes place in all kinds of formal and informal contexts. Nowadays, virtual environment is an equal, perhaps even dominant factor. What follows is that the triad of “author - work - audience” is implemented in different ways. By interacting with music, the student becomes an active researcher and a co-creator, which is a prerequisite for music appreciation. In this paper, we will conduct theoretical and empirical research of different levels of music appreciation, and discuss the opportunity of acquiring this complex competency in the educational process.

Key words: listening to music, music appreciation, music teaching and learning process, music education curriculum, perception and reception of music

Introduction: Listening to music in educational process

Experiencing music takes place in various formal, non-formal, and informal settings. In addition to family, peers, and educational system, the mass media have increasingly important role in the process of forming child's taste in music. We can conclude that in the 21st century the virtual environment is an equal and perhaps the prevalent factor of the student's encounter with music. Consequently, the triad of “author – (musical) piece – audience” has a variety of ways to be realised, whereby the student (as an audience) achieves personal contact with the music piece. In this process of interaction, the student becomes an active researcher and co-author, which is a prerequisite for music appreciation. We can conclude that carefully planned and guided listening activities in a music classroom have an important role in the educational process. Music *connoisseurship* is an indispensable part of a well-educated person, and also a prerequisite for developing (good) taste in music, and the capacity for critical evaluation of music. However, the development of these capacities has been neglected due to the emphasis on visual stimuli (Rojko, 1996).

Music¹ is a compulsory course in general education curriculum in Croatia, and within this course, *listening to music* has been mentioned in music curricula

¹ The names of school courses in Croatia are: *Glazbena kultura* (Musical Culture) in primary schools, and *Glazbena umjetnost* (Art of Music) in secondary schools.

since 1954. The first concrete request for listening, with the extensive list of recommended musical pieces, appears in 1972 (Rojko, 1996). Regarding to adoption of *Hrvatski nacionalni obrazovni standard (Nastavni plan i program za osnovnu školu, 2006)*, listening to music and introducing music literature gained a central role in primary education. Within the open model of music education, listening to music is mandatory, while other aspects, such as musicianship, are offered to teachers as a choice. Music curriculum for secondary education has not changed over two decades and it is fully realized as a music-reception model with some musicological elaboration (*Nastavni program za gimnazije: Glazbena umjetnost, 1994*). Since 2010, *Nacionalni okvirni kurikulum za predškolski odgoj i obrazovanje te opće obvezno i srednjoškolsko obrazovanje* has provided a comprehensive approach to studying music at all levels of education, with possibilities for upgrading (musical) knowledge, but without the necessary elaboration of the course content. In Croatian music schools curricula, request of listening to music applies as early as of the first grade of elementary music school, within the *Ear training curriculum (Nastavni planovi i programi predškolskog i osnovnog obrazovanja za glazbene i plesne škole, 2006)*. However, the question is to what extent it is indeed for being implemented in ear training practice and through other music theory disciplines.

Music curricula in general education, both at primary and at secondary level, lack *holistic approach to music listening*, which would include “intellectual” listening (tracking of musical form/structure), but also emotional, and hermeneutic/contextual listening. Existing curricula does not stimulate music experiences to a sufficient extent, nor does it stimulate the expression of those experiences via oral or written communication, (visual) art expression, dance and/or movement. Taking in consideration the time of release of music curricula for primary and secondary education, we can conclude they are out of date – which refers mostly to the application of various digital tools available in the 21st century. Utilisation of these tools would significantly improve music listening activities and prospects of music appreciation and critical evaluation.

In addition to music listening activities, the process of music education and studying includes (1) *musicianship* (singing and/or playing instruments), (2) *composing* music, (3) *musical games*, and (4) *application of information and communication technology (ICT)*. It should be noted that all the above mentioned activities involve listening to music. On the other hand, gaining knowledge about musical pieces of high artistic value requires that students listen and analyse the music they perform or create. Considering the important place that listening to music holds in Croatian music curricula and classroom activities, it is necessary to emphasize the role of music appreciation. Ability to appreciate music is the key skill of critical and competent consumers of music culture that we want to

raise. Music education should contribute to the development of this skill, which is a special challenge for music curriculum development.

Given the lack of literature which understands music appreciation as a multi-layered competence that can be developed during the educational process, the aim of this research is to deepen the knowledge about the topic. The objectives of following research are:

- to analyse and to categorize relevant literature about music listening, music appreciation and critical evaluation;
- to design the theoretical framework for music appreciation as a multi-layered competence;
- to provide guidelines for developing music appreciation competence in the classroom.

The literature we have collected is very extensive, and this paper provides classification of all the relevant scientific sources, grouped into several areas: cognitive aspects of music listening; perception and reception of music; relationship between music and emotions; musical preferences and developing taste in music; creative approaches to listening and appreciating music. In addition, we tackle the issue of the “author – (musical) piece – audience” relationships. On the basis of relevant findings, this paper also provides one systematic overview and elaboration of all the music appreciation levels which can be achieved in the classroom. The results will be applicable in music learning process through the entire educational continuum, and in different types of schools. Simultaneously, we consider the intellectual development of the child in general, and cognitive processes such as concept formation, abstract thinking, reasoning, decision making and problem solving (Bugge, 2002; Oakley, 2004; Vasta, Haith and Miller, 1998).

Listening and appreciating music: a theoretical framework

Considering music appreciation as a special, multi-layered, competence requires a comparison of different ways of music listening that can be applied in the educational process. In this paper, *active listening* is understood as an indispensable and fundamental strategy in creating that competence. In addition to active or passive listening, as different perspectives on listening activities in the educational process, we can also distinguish *illustrative listening* – listening to the selected fragments of the musical piece, with the aim of demonstrating a certain musical phenomenon, and *artistic listening* – listening to whole musical piece in order to develop a taste in music (Rojko, 2001). Successful combination of various listening strategies will encourage students' interest and curiosity for music, and help teachers to achieve the goal of listening to a musical piece multiple

times. Rojko (1996, 2005, 2007) writes about the importance of nurturing active, multiple-time listening aimed at forming musical taste, and is pointing out that students will gain knowledge *of* music by listening to music, as opposed to purely verbal (and useless) knowledge *about* music. According to Larson (1971), multiple listening enhances the awareness of the complexity of music. “Learning and understanding a piece of music requires the ability to mentally represent the piece, which allows us to properly anticipate musical content” (Leman, Sloboda and Vudi, 2012, 251). Meyer (1961) and Hallam (2006) point out that those comprehensive (“artistic”) listening results in a complete understanding of the musical piece, which subsequently affects music appreciation. The authors reflect about a rise in satisfaction while listening to a musical piece multiple times. However, they point out that there are limits to repeated listening. According to information theory, music will not be interesting if it doesn’t provide us with new information, that is, if it’s too well known. Hennion (2008) concludes that repeated listening guarantees better understanding of a musical piece, but not necessarily better liking of it.

The authors have categorized aspects of music listening in various ways. Alt (cited in Rojko, 1996, 141-142) distinguishes sensory, sensory-motor, emotional, aesthetic and imaginative listening, while Ortmann (cited in Rojko, 1996, 143-144) speaks about sensory, perceptive and imaginative listening. Other authors like Myers, Hedden and Yingling (cited in Lewis and Schmidt, 1991, 312) also describe similar categorizations, and it is especially important to be noted that some form of *associative* listening is always present. Sensory, sensory-motor and emotional listening, as we shall see later, are particularly important in the first two phases of music appreciation. These aspects of listening do not require knowledge, mental effort, or exercise, but only natural (human) reactions. In more advanced appreciation levels such as music analysis and synthesis, the aesthetic and imaginative listening are very important.

Since 1960’s, listening to music has been viewed from various functions of music perspective. An extensive overview of literature points out to four prevailing functions, which are social, cognitive, emotional, and therapeutic. Writing about functions of music, Schäfer, et al. (2013) categorize all the existing approaches as *evolutionary* and *non-evolutionary*. The evolutionary approach refers to anthropological perspective, studying the roots and origins of music, along with musical performance, and listening to music. Non-evolutionary approach is based on the use of music in everyday life, and consequently is focused mostly on the needs which music fulfils. From this perspective, some authors talk about music therapy or, for example, the use of music in political propaganda (Schäfer, et al., 2013). Subjective experiences of music can also be explored by “experimental aesthetics approach”. Considering all these approaches, it can be concluded that the listening and appreciation of music is observed through

different theoretical frameworks, research methodologies and participants, and is also viewed from the perspective of various scientific disciplines: philosophy, psychology, anthropology, sociology, musicology, aesthetics, culturology, and neurocognitive science.

The review of available literature shows that some authors point out the importance of listening to music in the context in which it has originated. Hennion (2008) talks about sociology of music as of the discipline which interprets the meaning of a musical piece, and in consequence provides a framework for its appreciation. She differentiates “history of music listening”, and “audience history”, taking both aspects into account while considering the context. According to Hennion, and also Egermann, et al. (2011), it is not recommended to isolate music from its sociocultural context. While Hennion primarily focuses on the historical context, Egermann, et al. focus on the social context, pointing out to the influence of others on the emotions of the listener (one’s presence may amplify or diminish existing emotions). In the social context, listening to music is related to socialization processes such as building of personal identity, social bonding, and the influence of peers. The authors emphasize the importance of togetherness and sharing experiences as audience in concert settings (Hennion, 2008; Egermann et al., 2011).

Smith (1973) is considering music listening in the context of “the past, the present, and the future”. In listening to music, we rely on memories (the past) and on expectations of what is yet to come (the future). In this process, tracking the musical form contributes to cognitive development and results in better understanding of music. In the present, we are only observing some elements of music. Understanding the past and the future is cognitively of a higher order than the mere observation of elements that make up the structure of a piece. However, recognizing the elements of music does not exclude musical form tracking, and vice versa; the two actions are compatible.

More recently, Huron published a book called *Sweet Anticipation: Music and the Psychology of Expectation* (2006). Reflecting upon music listening process, the author provides “ITPRA Theory of General Expectation”, which includes Imagination, Tension, Prediction, Reaction, and Appraisal in responding to music. Evaluation of a piece of music will depend on listeners’ imagination, anticipation and expectation, as well as the listening experience/reception. In musicological considerations, the aspects of *hermeneutic* listening (interpretation of the meaning of music), and *structural* listening (interpretation of the musical form) were problematized since the period of antiquity. According to Leman, Sloboda, and Vudi (2012), listening to music can be *analytical* – deliberately focusing on certain aspects of music, and *holistic* – non-analytical, “everyday” listening. Price and Swanson (1990), as well as Woody and Burns (2001), point out that holistic reception of music is optimal: excessive intellectualization

does not provide aesthetic, but “clinical” experience. Some authors believe that analytical listening is not “natural behaviour” during music listening process. Consequently, it can be concluded that the active listening – tracking of musical form in particular – is a necessarily guided process, and that the teachers play an important role within that process.

Nowadays, emphasis is placed on the cultural approach to music evaluation, thus Cornelius and Natvig (2013) have some requirements for the 21st century teachers. It is important to implement a variety of musical styles and genres so that every student can expand their experiences and identify their own personality with music. The authors claim that it makes no sense to put the focus exclusively on Western art music in nowadays pluralistic society, because different music helps us understand the world around us, and not just some parts of society or culture (for instance high society/culture). Considering the need for loosening boundaries between style, time, and space in order to open up the ears for new sounds, to expand musical taste, to confront the prejudices, and to open minds for different ways of living, the authors advocate an *inclusive* listening experience. The promotion of intercultural understanding is reflected in the observation of culture as a fluid construction and music as a process, rather than a product. In the teaching process, it is equally important to promote classical music, traditional music, and everyday life music. A great way of implementing timeless ideas is thematic teaching, which allows us to talk about music regardless of the style period, type of music, musical genre, or geographical context (Cornelius and Natvig, 2013). Talking about aesthetic, cultural and scientific dimensions of teaching/learning, Dyndahl and Elefsen (2009) advocate *aesthetic functionality* as a quality in which aesthetical and functional dimensions coexist in all types of music. It is wrong to argue that classical music is purely aesthetic, while traditional, and popular music are purely functional. The authors believe that music education should be based on music in everyday life, away from the traditional conception of aesthetics.

Since the aim of teaching music is to educate intelligent and informed music consumers (Lewis and Schmidt, 1991) who will develop a lifelong need for music (Woody and Burns, 2001), it is also important to mention the factors that influence music preferences, but also help to form musical taste over a longer period of time. Unlike short-term preferences, musical taste refers to the totality of preferences and it is relatively steady, long-term evaluation of music. Dobrota and Reić Ercegovac (2016) say that preferences are influenced by arousal (medium degree of arousal is mostly preferred), archetype (typical musical examples of a certain category are mostly preferred), and conformism (preferences are harmonized with our social status and the influence of others). Konečni (1982, cited in Dobrota and Reić Ercegovac, 2016, 13) points out that the appraisal factor provokes a continuous interaction between the musical and

“non-musical” world while listening to music. For the reason of conformism, students sometimes don’t have the courage to say that they like a piece of music, if their classmates do not like the piece. That phenomenon is especially present in the context of evaluating traditional (folk) music which is, by the influence of others, evaluated as “bad music” (Egermann, et al., 2011).

Preferences are also influenced by cognitive factors (satisfying the needs of the listeners), emotional factors (evoking and regulating emotions), physiological factors (heart rate, blood pressure), cultural and social factors (identity creation), popularity of music, musical features and the characteristics of listeners (Dobrota and Reić Ercegovac, 2016). To understand the process of preference-formation, it is particularly important to distinguish the last two factors: musical features and the characteristics of listeners. Several authors (cited in Dobrota and Reić Ercegovac, 2016, 16) points out that “preferable music” has following features: moderate volume and dynamics, optimum level of complexity, and medium level of familiarity (Kellaris, 1992; Jakobovits, 1966; Berlyne, 1971 and 1974; North and Hargreaves, 1996). It also reflects one’s own culture. Preferences are also influenced by tempo (which is feature mostly researched), tone colour, register, vocals, musical style, sound source, and performing media. Experiences of a particular piece of music are also directly related to the characteristics of the listeners such as: sex, age, socioeconomic status, musical knowledge and skills, listening strategies, peer influence, and listeners’ previous exposure to a particular musical style/genre (Dobrota and Reić Ercegovac, 2016). Among all of the above, age turned out to be a particularly important factor. Research suggests that younger children are more open to different musical styles than teenagers (Leman, Sloboda and Vudi, 2012), and Le Blanc calls it “open-earedness” (1991, cited in Dobrota and Reić Ercegovac, 2016, 24). By combining musical features with the characteristics of the listener, we found the best way to explain the process of observing *beauty* in a piece of music. In this context, some authors provided different models of music preferences, which will not be shown in detail. The study on musical preferences of Croatian students in relation to different types of music was conducted by Vidulin (2013). It shows that listening to music is present in student’s leisure time – students enjoy music by themselves or in peer groups. The study also reveals that “the musical preferences of students are turned towards types of music that are common to their peer groups and mass media offer” (Vidulin, 2013, 219). The results of the study leads to conclusion that it is immensely important for students to learn about music in context (the origins of the piece of music, as well as its philosophical-sociological dimension), especially in the time of music hyper-production and non-critical consumption (Vidulin, 2013, 221).

The levels of music appreciation in music teaching and learning process

Regarding different levels and definitions of knowledge, Rojko (2007) makes a distinction of “knowledge *about* music” and “knowledge *of* music” (musical *connoisseurship*). Hafer (2012) distinguishes performer’s knowledge from “listener’s (audience’s) knowledge. The author emphasizes the cultivation of audience as an important objective of music curriculum, which aims to stimulate interest in music, to develop skills in critical listening, and to raise creative and proactive musicians with a lifelong need for music. The outcome of the music listening process is the development of a creative listener which thinks as a composer. Creative listeners will become motivated and well educated future audience capable of critical evaluation and appreciation of music. The author is also referring to the Pedagogy of music appreciation as an important sub discipline. In higher education curricula, music appreciation appears as a separate course in the training of future music teachers (Hafer, 2012).

In the context of evaluating music, RILM² mentions more than 1,700 units on *music appreciation*, while the notion of *values* is mentioned in more than 12,000 entries. It can be concluded that this is more than a well-treated category. However, in the extensive literature research, we found some deficiencies. First and foremost, the context of examining certain behaviours while listening to music is often artificial, because research is mainly carried out in controlled conditions, and not in concerts or a child’s everyday environment. The interpretation of responses to a research questions is sometimes ambiguous, while offered categories of responses are too narrow, so it is difficult for the respondents to decide for one of the categories. Last but not least, the way of evaluating a piece of music is determined, so participants can’t do it in their own way. Apart from research problems and results, the review of the literature also reveals two sets of theories: *psychological*, which are focused on the regulation of emotions by listening to music, the calming and therapeutic functions of music, and the perceptual aspects (imagination, expectation, anticipation, memory), and *sociological*, which observe music listeners in the context of socialization and identity creation (Meyer, 1961, Smith, 1973, Feinberg, 1974, Price and Swanson, 1990, Lewis and Schmidt, 1991, Woody and Burns, 2001, Droë, 2006, Huron, 2006, Hafer, 2012, Cornelius and Natvig, 2013). Using these theories as guidelines for writing this paper, we directed ourselves to music appreciation as a multi-layered competence that can be developed in the music learning process. Consequently, we are not considering listening and appreciating music

² Répertoire International de Littérature Musicale (RILM) – worldwide multidisciplinary music research database. It’s a joint project of the Association of Music Libraries, Archives, and Documentation Centres (IAML) International Council for Traditional Music (ICTM) and International Musicological Society (IMS).

in students' leisure time. We also do not place emphasis on some responses such like imagination, expectation and tension in music listening process although, according to these responses, music appreciation upgrades as a competence. Here we are starting with subjective approach to music i.e. ordinary, "everyday" listening, for which no special knowledge of music is needed. We assume that younger students will not have conformist tendencies while appreciating music because they are still fairly spontaneous, and their attitudes about music do not depend on other students' the opinions. We define music appreciation as a competence that includes *subjective* response to music and also *objective* observation of musical features. It is required that one has some knowledge in order to conduct music analysis and to appreciate a piece of music in context. On the basis of relevant researches and available literature, we defined five levels (phases) of music appreciation. Levels are harmonized with the spiral development of musical skills and knowledge, and are systematized in the following order:

- *Affective appreciation* is the first level of music appreciation. It is based on emotions and unconscious reactions to music, so it does not require (pre) knowledge of musical features and music terminology. Younger children are experiencing music syncretically, holistically, and non-analytically, and according to that, this kind of appreciation is comprehensive;
- *Associative appreciation* level makes the transition to conscious perception of musical elements. Listening to music, students connect their own (subjective) reactions to music with the mood and the character of a piece of music. The teacher encourages the students to reflect on the reasons why the piece "sounds like it sounds" (cheerful, sad, playful, sharp, etc.). Students can describe musical features, i.e. the elements of music such as melody, rhythm, timbre, and dynamics, but not necessarily with the use of professional music terminology;
- *Analytical appreciation* level is usually the predominant one in the music learning process, since the highest amount of attention is given to aural discrimination of musical elements. The knowledge required for analytical appreciation is acquired through active listening to music, and it encompasses recognition of expressive components in music (melody, rhythm, dynamics etc.), timbre (performers and performance ensembles), structure (elements and types of musical forms), and the texture (polyphony or homophony/harmony).
- *Contextual appreciation* level implies the evaluation of a piece of music in the context of style period, type of music and genre, or in the context of a particular composer, country or region. Besides learning musicological data, it is important to correlate music with other areas of arts and sciences

(interdisciplinary approach). At this level, we are pointing out to the artistic messages of *absolute* (abstract) or *program* (representational) music and we reflect upon relations between music and text.

- *Holistic appreciation* is the highest level of music appreciation, and it is based on emotional reactions to music, aural recognition of musical features (expressive elements, timbre, structure and texture), understanding music in context and *connoisseurship* (knowledge of music). Like affective appreciation, holistic appreciation is comprehensive, but on a considerably higher and completely conscious level. Now, a piece of music can be evaluated in terms of its originality, innovation level, authenticity, and its complexity regarding melody, rhythm, harmony, form, orchestration etc. Except appreciating a piece of music as an art form, we are also judging the quality of musical performance. By conducting active listening strategies, teacher can lead students to distinguish the finest nuances in musical performance, which requires high levels of knowledge of music, knowledge about music, and perception abilities.

Practical guidelines for the development of music appreciation competence

We conclude this paper with practical guidelines for music learning process in order to achieve the multi-layered competence of music appreciation. The display of taxonomically organized levels of music appreciation equally embraces emotional and intellectual approaches to a piece of music. It should be noted that these levels of appreciation are consistent with the intellectual development of students in general, concerning building cognitive representations, distinguishing their own attitudes and opinions from the opinions of other students, conserving of certain features of music (e.g. the component of time), classifying elements of music and understanding of relations un music (Buggle, 2002; Oakley, 2004; Vasta, Haith and Miller, 1998).

However, music appreciation phases that are represented in this paper are not limited for a particular age or educational cycle. The achievement of this multi-layered competence will differ in various cases, such as the purpose of learning music (general or professional music education). In the context of formal musical education, each of these levels will be linked to artistic interpretation of music, adopted musical patterns, and musical-theoretical knowledge. We provide guidelines that elaborate the methods and the strategies of music listening in a certain appreciation level, and accordingly, we suggest appropriate music repertoire.

Within *affective* and *associative* levels of music appreciation, we begin with awareness of emotions, understanding and regulation of feelings and stimulation

of students' imagination. It is recommended to relate music with other curricular areas and subjects, so that students can successfully integrate different music concepts into their world of knowledge. The music repertoire in this stage of learning should be a diverse one, so that it could reach the emotions of each student. It is necessary to motivate students to express their emotions in response to a piece of music, which can be achieved through conversation, writing about music, artistic expression, dance and movement (*Nacionalni kurikulum predmeta Glazbena kultura i Glazbena umjetnost*, 2016). Teachers should conduct a discussion about students' *subjective* experiences of music and the atmosphere it creates for them, linking it with *objective* features of music such as certain elements of musical expression.

Affective and associative levels of music appreciation should result in aural discrimination and systematic observation of musical features, which creates preconditions for *analytical* music appreciation. At this point, students have gained maturity to independently describe and compare elements of musical expression, as well as to recognize elements of musical form and "musical architecture" (simple/easier, and more complex musical form structures). Understanding of the musical form, especially in the early years of learning, can be developed through dance and movement. We strongly recommend creating listening guidelines for students in the form of *listening maps*, *listening scores*, other schematic presentations, musical games and quizzes (Hallam, 2006). In order to engage students in active music listening, teachers' role is to help them in focusing on important musical features. Listening guidelines aforementioned would encourage students to listen interactively, and in that context we can utilise various possibilities that information and communication technology offers, which so far hasn't been properly explored and used.

At this appreciation level, it is recommended to listen to a piece of music more than once, but not necessarily in a row. Teacher will conduct various ways of listening to music: *active* listening, i.e. conscious observation of music features, *illustrative* listening, i.e. focusing on certain features in shorter musical fragments, and *complete* listening (artistic/exemplary listening according to Rojko, 2005), i.e. listening to piece of music as a whole, in order to reveal its structure. Musical repertoire should be suitable for music analysis, which means it's *attractive* (students want to hear it more than once) and *instructive* (students can analyse, distinguish and compare different elements of music expression and make conclusions about the structure of a given piece of music). Listening to music multiple times and in various ways, students will remember the pieces, and that provides the ideal opportunity to acquire knowledge of the relevant musical works that are a part of the Western classical canon. However, this does not restrict the teacher in choosing and demonstrating other types of music.

In *contextual* music appreciation level, it is necessary to extend the music repertoire to classical music of all style periods, traditional (folk) music of different cultures, and also encompass diverse genres of popular music. It is also advisable to analyse the influences and connections of different types of music that appear as crossovers or fusions. Students should be encouraged to evaluate a piece of music in the context of style or the composer's musical language, which implies that students already have acquired certain knowledge of music. Reflecting about social context can be evoked through the intercultural approach to music, and discussing about music which students encounter in everyday life. This approach will enable connecting the art of music with other areas of science/art, questioning of past and present roles and functions of music, and problematizing the influence of media and virtual environment in shaping musical preferences and developing musical taste.

The *synthesis* (holistic) level of music appreciation occurs when students are able to appreciate a piece of music on all the previous levels – affective, associative, analytical and contextual. Students will study music from an emotional perspective - interpreting their own feelings, but also from intellectual perspective - understanding musical features, and historical and sociocultural context of music. On the basis of these preconditions, we can dive in to the deepest levels of music appreciation. Students can compare different musical works that belong to the same style period or genre, that is, different works of the same composer, which requires knowledge of the composer's opus and musical language. We suggest comparing of different performances of a single piece of music. In this case, performances will be distinguished only in the act of stylistic interpretation, where only an exceptionally educated listener can evaluate the quality and artistic authenticity of the performance. Performance comparison can also be achieved with younger children, if the musical features in one performance differ significantly from the other (musical arrangement that may completely change the character of a piece, performance ensemble, and even genre). In current practice the synthesis level of music appreciation is neglected, but we think it is necessary for developing critical thinking, and engaging in research and systematic study of music.

Conclusion

Definition of a theoretical framework for music appreciation which includes five taxonomically organized levels of appreciation enabled us to create suggestions and guidelines for the development of this multilayer competence in music learning process throughout the educational continuum. In order to enable students to achieve this competence, music teachers will create lessons that will feature a systematic and comprehensive approach to music, continuous

improvement of knowledge and experiences, and a combination of traditional and creative strategies of teaching.

From all of the said above, it can be concluded that music appreciation is immensely important in the process of learning music: in general education we presented in detail, and in a separate system of formal music education. As a curriculum strand, listening to music has already received sufficient attention in compulsory schools in Croatia, especially at the elementary level, and we recommend a similar approach to musical theoretical disciplines in music schools. In this context, this paper presents the conceptual framework and guidelines for the implementation of music appreciation as a multi-layered competence in music curriculum. It also proposes for the development of this competence in music learning process, and finally, for the deepening of perspectives for further deliberation of this topic.

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POPULARIZATION OF MUSIC EDUCATION ON THE EXAMPLE OF MUSICAL AND THEATRICAL PROJECT *DIRTY DANCING*

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Abstract: The paper deals with reflections on the reasons to the decreased interest of students in formal music education, and opportunities to improve music education system in terms of its popularization. Learning period students spend in order to musically develop and educate themselves should not be a burden, but enjoyment, and flexibility of curriculum in music schools should deliver it. One way of enriching music education could be by including students in various projects, which can be achieved through cooperation with artists outside the home institution, whether amateurs or professionals, but also to connect with similar arts, if the project requires it. In addition to the learning process, it is important to think of the other, no less important, educational component, that would encourage students to think further and, if they continue with education, how to become a performer on stage, and thus have the opportunity to travel, to collaborate with other artists and make new friends. As an example of a successful cooperation on the international level we are presenting a musical and theatrical project *Dirty Dancing*, which got together a large number of amateur and professional artists, whose teamwork led to the successful live performance and project realization.

Key words: musical education; musical and theatrical project; international culture collaboration; motivation; musical

Introduction

Any student can acquire music education within a general-education school through the study course of Music Culture, which is compulsory throughout the primary education. Such programs are aimed at introducing students with music culture. However, if a child shows interest, has the aptitude and passes a check of music abilities, he or she is acceptable to gain the formal music education in special, specialized educational institutions – schools of music. “A separate system is necessary due to the complexity of particular musical skills, such as singing by notes and playing” (Svalina, 2015, 86). Yet, such a system requires, from both the students and their parents, a serious, responsible approach and self-sacrifice, which due to curriculum demands and difficulties in reconciling schedules often results in the student’s loss of interest. Elementary schools of music focus on individual classes, where students acquire competence in playing

an instrument. Group music-making where students, besides the professional ones acquire others competences too, is also included, though only in higher grades, when students have already lost the interest and motivation for music education. Joining amateur vocal and/or instrumental ensembles, as informal forms of music education, is one of high-quality prospects for developing music competences, as well as spurring students' motivation. Cooperation between formal and informal institutions would open the avenue for creating favourable setting, enriching and modernizing school curriculum, and encouraging students to enjoy in music-making. Besides, it would build a platform for networking of different arts, performers of different artistic profiles and ages, and interdisciplinary approach to education.

Since the primary aim of the paper is to point out to deficiencies in formal music education, we provide an overview of its structures in the Republic of Croatia, and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina.¹ Although the topic, namely the presentation of our project – which ensues at the end of the paper, does not include students of elementary music education whose structure we have presented, it was important to single out and point to the burden and loss of motivation in students that such curricula imply, and which consequently results in exclusion from further system of music education.

We also point out to the advantages of informal music education through prospects offered by participation in a musical and theatrical project. The presentation of this interdisciplinary international project reveals the specifics of the cooperation between professional and amateur artists of different ages, and the prominent advantage of team work.

Structure of formal elementary music education in the Republic of Croatia and Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Republic of Croatia, and Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina have similar systems of music education at all levels. Elementary music education lasts for six years, and in the Republic of Croatia students typically enrol in parallel to the third grade of general-education school, while in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina they enrol in parallel to the fourth grade. Students attend group classes (solfeccio / solfeccio with music theory) and the individual ones (instrument²) throughout the elementary music education. In higher grades,

¹ Since the presented project Dirty Dancing gathered performers from the Republic of Croatia, and from Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the paper presents the structures of elementary music education in these regions.

² According to FBiH curriculum the main course – instrument includes Violin, Violoncello, Piano, Accordion, Guitar, Flute, Clarinet, Saxophone, Trumpet, and Percussions.

depending on curriculum, students also attend group classes in Music Theory, and in Group Music-making (choir, orchestra, chamber ensembles) and some other core or elective courses (Nastavni planovi i programi predškolskog i osnovnog obrazovanja za glazbene i plesne škole, 2006; Nastavni plan i program osnovne muzičke škole i osnovne baletske škole, 2007).

The time that students spend in Music School classes is their free time. This time is a scope and the vitality, contents, and forms of that time are what make it applicable and interpolated in students' lives (Mlinarević, Miliša and Proroković, 2007). With respect to music school curricula, it should be noted that students typically attend classes in their free time, i.e. in periods that differ from classes in the general-education school. It frequently implies a great effort and self-sacrifice, both by students and their entire families. First grade schedule is not an extensive one, but due to difficulties in harmonizing schedules it frequently happens students have to come to classes even four times a week. An overview of courses and corresponding hours, as per music education curricula in the Republic of Croatia³ and in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina are presented in Table 1.

Courses Grade 1	Number of hours per week		Courses Grade 1	Number of hours per week
	Curriculum			Curriculum
	Republic of Croatia			Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina
	Elementary school of music	Elementary school of functional music pedagogy		Elementary school of music
Solfeggio	2 x 45’	2 x 60’	Solfeggio with music theory	2 x 45’
Instrument	2 x 45’	2 x 30’	Main study course – instrument	2 x 45’
TOTAL HOURS PER WEEK	4 x 45’	4 x 45’	TOTAL HOURS PER WEEK	4 x 45’

Table 1. Courses and corresponding hours in curricula for the first grade of elementary music education

³ In the Republic of Croatia, schools of music can choose one of the two curricula – Curriculum for elementary school of music, or Curriculum for elementary school of functional music pedagogy.

There are more hours in higher grades, and thus students of the final, sixth grade attend classes in Solfeggio / Solfeggio with music theory, Instrument⁴, Group music-making⁵, Music theory (in some curricula as compulsory, and in others as an elective course), and Music art (only B curriculum of Functional music pedagogy). Besides, some students also attend Piano classes as an elective or optional course to qualify for taking the admission exam for the secondary music education. Students of elementary music schools in FBiH may be engaged in classes or other forms of educational work for seven hours a week at most. If we add the time students need to spend every day practicing at home to develop their music competences, we get a excessive number of hours (over 10 hours a week) that students should devote to attending and keeping up with the curriculum of music school, which is not compulsory education. Table 2 presents an overview and comparison of courses and corresponding hours for curricula in the Republic of Croatia, and Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina for students of sixth grade of music education.

Courses Grade 6	Number of hours per week			Courses Grade 6	Number of hours per week
	Curriculum Republic of Croatia				Curriculum
	Elementary school of music	Elementary school of music pedagogy			Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina
			A		B
Solfeggio	2 x 45'	2 x 60'	2 x 60'	Solfeggio with music theory	2 x 45'
Instrument	2 x 45'	2 x 45'	1 x 45'	Main course – instrument	2 x 45'
Group music-making (choir, orchestra and chamber ensembles)	2 x 45'	2 x 45'	2 x 45'	Group music-making (choir, orchestra and chamber ensembles)	2 x 45'
Music theory	1 x 45' (I)	2 x 45'	2 x 45'	/	/
Piano	1 x 45' (I)	1 x 30' (F)	–	/	/
Music art	–	–	1 x 45'	/	/
TOTAL HOURS PER WEEK	6 x 45' or 8 x 45'	8 ³⁰ x 45' or 9 x 45'	8 ³⁰ x 45' or 9 x 45'	TOTAL HOURS PER WEEK	6x45'

Table 2. Courses and corresponding hours in curricula for the sixth grade of elementary music education

Legend: I = elective course; F=optional course

⁴ According to the curriculum in FBiH, classes in string and wind instruments include a class with accompaniment per week.

⁵ Curriculum for schools in FBiH provide for two hours a week per section for leading chamber ensembles, orchestras, and choirs.

Nowadays, students' interests greatly differ from interests students have had in past not too distant. The number of extracurricular activities offered to them is increasing, and music schools – with their demanding curricula, are increasingly not the first choice. We are witnessing to a growing number of drop outs from the music education system, which certainly begs the question as to how to proceed and what to do so as to keep students' interest. In what way could students be motivated to spend a high-quality free time by attending music education?

Motivation as the primary driver in music education

Activity in educational system pertains to learning through which students acquire various competences. There are only few students who learn from pure curiosity and desire to participate in various activities, particularly those that are not compulsory. Such an internal or intrinsic motivation⁶ “is the response to students' internal needs such as curiosity, need for knowledge, feeling of competence, growth, and development (Vizek Vidović et al., 2014, 265). As a contrast, most students need extrinsic motivation, such as a good result, commendation, reward, etcetera (Vizek Vidović et al., 2014).

In order to motivate students for work, teachers have to use various strategies, methods and forms of teaching. One form of classes is collaborative learning which is, among other things, implemented “to better motivate and activate students for learning” (Ivić et al., 2001 cited in Cindrić, Miljković and Strugar, 2010, 186). One of the forms of collaborative learning is team work, with team members including students, teachers, or students and teachers together (Cindrić, Miljković and Strugar, 2010). Teams can also include experts outside the institution. For this very reason, activities where expert teams participate will be richer, more dynamic, more attractive, and more diverse (Bognar and Matijević, 2005). In a good team, all the members contribute equally, feel important and useful, help each other, learn from the others with help and support, enjoy in success and jointly solve problems. The atmosphere created in such groups and activities has a stimulating effect on students. “Children learn within interaction with people: parents, grandparents, friends and teachers. The best stimulus for a human being are other people.” (Kamarivsky, 2010, 26)

The space for stimulus and motivation in schools of music is vast. The natural way of learning music through entertainment, which naturally affects motivation, is discussed by many authors (more in: Petrović, Milanković and Ačić, 2014, 206.) Authors Petrović, Milanković and Ačić (2014), believe that such way of working achieves the educational goal better, since resources are more dominant and

⁶ According to Vizek Vidović et al. (2014) the term “motivation” is of Latin origin and is derived from Latin verb “movere”, which means to move. In lay terms, it is related to the idea of a driver that makes us get involved in a given activity.

entertaining. A more easy-going approach to education is also backed by a flexible curricula, and possibilities for cooperation with experts outside the institution. One should not limit oneself only to the music art, but rather broaden horizons and link with other arts. Such teams and projects, that will be undertaken, will enrich the curriculum and give the opportunity for participation to a larger number of students, encourage development of competences and, most importantly, spur students' interest and motivation for further music education. The proposal of an activity and the cooperation offered in the paper is based on musical and theatrical project which gathered a great number of participants and experts, and achieved the international cultural cooperation too.

Musical and theatrical project *Dirty Dancing* as a means to motivate the youth for music education

Musical and theatrical projects as a motivational means of communication are an ideal platform for joining various art forms and artists. Musical and theatrical projects assemble artists of various profiles in order to create original works. They are presented on the stage to broader audiences, and unite expression with speech, body language, acting, music, singing and other means to communicate with audience.

Application of skills acquired in primary professions of performers of various profiles within musical and theatrical projects on the example of musical⁷ as a form, individually contributes to the development of their creativity in general, and develops their individuality, character, self-confidence, concentration, focus, and skills to their individual maximum. "As an important pedagogical and didactic means, musical contributes to the interdisciplinary and personal integration, as well as to the development of all the senses necessary for artistic creativity." (Petrović, Milanković and Ačić, 2014, 210) Further developing collaborative and organizational competences, and particularly stage (acting, musical and dancing) improvisation, is aimed at overcoming potential problems that frequently arise during public performances. These experiences and situations are easily applicable and understandable in their primary professions and, regardless whether they involve professional or amateur performers, they expand their critical thinking.

⁷ Musical is a piece of entertaining character, a live art form originating from the age of Greek theatre where comedies and tragedies with songs were staged as early as from the 5th century B.C. Although they were not called musicals at the time, since they were incomplete in terms of both drama and music, it could be claimed that they were the first predecessors of what is presently called a "modern musical" (Ferović, 2007, 86). Performed in large amphitheatres, these performances dealt with comic, tragic and political topics with dancing items, jugglers and anything that could entertain broad audiences. Musical that we know today originated in the early 20th century and initially implied a union of elements of different theatrical kinds – vaudeville, ballet, operetta, comic opera and Paris revue (Ganzl, 2001, 9-11).

The musical and theatrical project *Dirty Dancing* was initiated in 2015, as a result of years-long international cultural cooperation between Brod Accordion Orchestra Bela pl. Panthy of Slavonski Brod, Republic of Croatia, and Institute of Music, Theatre and Multimedia of Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina. The goal of the project was to unite professional and amateur artists intended at motivating them for art education and promoting arts in general, reinforcing international cultural cooperation of two neighbouring countries, and enriching cultural contents of the cities in which they operate. The project was presented at the opening ceremony of the Sixth International Accordion Festival Bela pl. Panthy in Slavonski Brod.⁸

According to the plan, the project involved members of Brod Accordion Orchestra Bela pl. Panthy of Slavonski Brod, and members of the Institute of Music, Theatre and Multimedia of Sarajevo as the main actors, plus other music and dance artists without whom the implementation of the project would have been impossible. Special music guests included members of the band Trio + 2 from Slavonski Brod, and the dancers - members of the dancing club Aster from Sarajevo, and sport-dancing club Astra from Slavonski Brod.



Figure 1. Poster for the musical and theatrical project *Dirty Dancing*, Slavonski Brod, 20 November 2015 (Agencija Komitet, Nuhanović, 2015a)

⁸ International accordion festival Bela pl. Panthy has been held in Slavonski Brod since 2010. As was the case with previous joint projects of Brod Accordion Orchestra Bela pl. Panthy of Slavonski Brod, and Institute of Music, Theatre and Multimedia of Sarajevo (*Abba*, *We will rock you*, and *Grease*), the musical and theatrical project *Dirty Dancing* was presented at the concert at the opening ceremony in Theatre and Concert Hall Ivana Brlić-Mažuranić in Slavonski Brod, on November 20th 2015 (More information on the Festival is available at: Festival Bela pl. Panthy, 2015).

Elements of dance, which this musical and theatrical performance abound in, required engaging dance groups, which made the organization of the project challenging. The need for enrichment of accordion sound required the involvement of other instruments, which in turn asked for cooperation with musicians, most of whom were not musically literate or accustomed to orchestral music-making. Since one of ancillary goals was to involve amateur artists of various profiles – who live and work in all smaller communities and are thus the foundation of artistic activity there, not only professionals were invited to participate. Moreover, the cooperation between professional and amateur artists of different ages was a challenge – both for the leaders, and for the performers.

In order to ensure the successful implementation of the project, we had to organize writing of the arrangement for orchestra and the singers, rehearse the program at two locations⁹, ensure technical support to the hall in terms of engaging sound and light engineers, find appropriate props and the costumes for the stage, engage the support staff for carrying out all the tasks that are not visible, and to obtain financial resources so that preparations and the presentation can proceed smoothly. Furthermore, the organizational team, headed by presenters, had to have a clear conception and excelling organization abilities, as well as the trust and support of all participants, to have everything prepared at two locations over a few months and then, in only two days, merged at the stage where the project was to be presented.

⁹ Institute of Music, Theatre and Multimedia, in cooperation with members of dancing club Aster spent months rehearsing the vocal, acting and dancing part of the project in Sarajevo. The dancing part has also been rehearsed by members of sport-dancing club Astra in Slavonski Brod. At the same location, in Slavonski Brod, Brod Accordion Orchestra Bela pl. Panthy, and the band Trio + 2 have rehearsed instrumental accompaniment and independent instrumental musical items. Joint musical rehearsals, as well as technical ones, followed were done two days before the project presentation. In the course of four rehearsals, problems of musical and technical nature, which necessarily arise in such a complex project, have been solved.

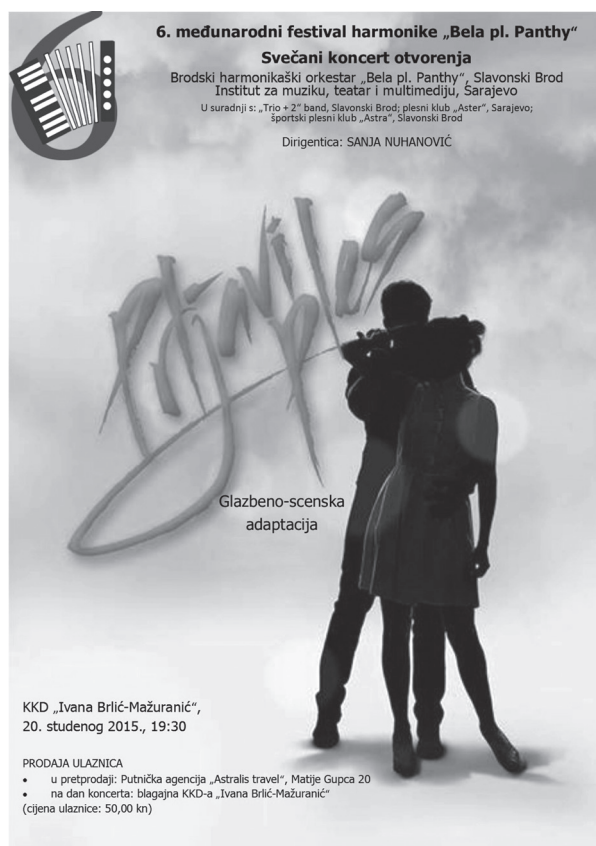


Figure 2. Concert at the opening ceremony Dirty Dancing, musical and theatrical adaptation, Slavonski Brod, 20 November 2015 (Agencija Komitet, Nuhanović, 2015b)¹⁰

A total of 53 active participants aged 15 to 65 took part in the project. There were also about 700 passive participants – audience, journalists, representatives of local administration, and representatives of institutions. The musical and theatrical adaptation engaged 25 members of Brod Accordion Orchestra Bela pl. Panthy, five members of the band Trio + 2 and the conductor, who made up the Sanja Suarez band, the presenter, and five members of Institute of Music, Theatre and Multimedia, four members of dancing club Aster from Sarajevo, and twelve members of sport-dancing club Astra from Slavonski Brod, who made up the ensemble Dirty Dancing. The creative team of Dirty Dancing was composed as follows: Alma Ferović-Fazlić (1978), musical direction; Samra Mlinar Mandić (1980) and Vedran Marčeta (1980), choreography and stage gesture; Agency

¹⁰ Archives of Brod Accordion Orchestra Bela pl. Panthy.

Komitet from Sarajevo, visual identity; Dubravko Šef (1951), arrangements, and Sanja Nuhanović (1976), conductor. The following songs were performed: Be My Baby, Merengue, Johnny's Mambo, Do You Love Me, Love man, Hungry Eyes, De Todo Un Poco, In The Still Of The Night, Love Is Strange, She's Like The Wind, and The Time Of My Life.

When the project ended and the impressions settled, the performers expressed their impressions of what they have experienced, created, and eventually presented to audience. Out of a series of reviews, we single out a couple. The guiding criterion in the selection of reviews pertains to performers' differences in performing ensemble, country they come from, and professional or amateur involvement in art.

"As a participant, I was very pleased and happy that we managed to achieve the collaboration between two cities, two countries, and show that art has no borders. I've learned a lot from this project - about special arrangements, about how voices function with an accordion orchestra, about what we as individuals and the whole orchestra need in order to achieve the desired goal, and about the way to achieve collaboration of some fifty people into one whole on the stage. It was really a unique experience and we had the opportunity to experience it and enjoy in it, and I am personally delighted and grateful for such an opportunity." (Institute of Music, Theatre and Multimedia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, aged 30, university education, professional musician and amateur dancer).

"The project motivated me for further artistic education and development, and my goal is to participate and/or organize such a project in the future, because I believe that such collaboration represents a wonderful and rich facet of artistic expression and has a positive effect both on performers and on the audience." (Brod Accordion Orchestra Bela pl. Panthy, Republic of Croatia, aged 19, professional musician).

"I enjoyed every moment and the implementation of the project. Given my age, I am not fit for artistic education, but as an amateur I can always invigorate myself with new ideas and successful implementation of fantastic ideas under professional guidance. I am looking forward to future cooperation with wonderful people and experts." Brod Accordion Orchestra Bela pl. Panthy, Republic of Croatia, aged 56, amateur musician).

"It was magnificent to be a part of this great project and to approach to a musical in a totally different way. This project taught me how important the team work is, and it was through this project that I boosted my social skills, public performance and contact with audience. I was extremely pleased to work with the professionals, led by Alma and Sanja, with the entire acting and dancing team, as well as with the orchestra. The project broadened my horizons, revealed previously unknown talents and skills, and additionally increased my love for music, dance, stage, and love for audience I've shared emotions with"

(Sport-dancing club Aster, Bosnia and Herzegovina, aged 27, professional dancer).

“Great! Great organization; socializing even after the rehearsals. A priceless experience and a great time; I am glad I’ve been part of it” (Sport-dancing club Aster, aged 17, amateur dancer).

“The first thing that had me delighted happened at rehearsals, when we “merged” with other dancers, singers, players and presenters. Their professionalism, decency, positive energy, and earnestness about what we do made me feel that I participated in something really great, which finally has come true. Everybody did their job in the best way they could, and the response of audience showed the success of the conceived and the presented. For me, as a dancer, Dirty Dancing is a special kind of dancing bible that I have been dreaming about since I was a girl, and this was really my dream come true, and when I obtain a heap of artists, positive people, new friends and acquaintances on top of it, the pleasure is even greater. By joining music, song, dance, and acting, both the audience and the performers could experience one of the best dancing movies with all their senses.” (Sport-dancing club Aster, aged 23, professional dancer).¹¹

Conclusion

This review and research paper presented the most significant considerations and achievements, along with proposals for popularization and innovation of music education. Besides, it presented the significance and function of affirmation of art as an important activity in the development of professional competences, as well as in the formation of personality and life of any young person. What

¹¹ Evaluation among members of the ensemble was conducted in 2016 with an on-line survey created exclusively for this research. The survey was open and available for ten days (October 11, 2016 - October 21, 2016). The questions in the survey were open and closed type, and the aim was to determine project implementation, success, cooperation and to imply whether participation in this project had an impact on further education of participants in the field of arts (formal or informal). Evaluation questionnaire was completed by more than a half of the participants (N = 28) and majority of them were members of Brod Accordion Orchestra Bela pl. Panthy (17 members), followed by four members of the Institute for music, theatre and multimedia and sport-dancing club Astra, and three members of the dance club Aster. Out of the total number of responders 8 (28.57%), were male participants and 20 (71.43%) female. The age of the participant ranged from 16 to 56 years. Looking at the survey it is also visible how many members are amateurs or professionally engaged in music, so 24 60.71% said they are amateurs, and 25.00% professional musicians. The rest were only active in dance. The level of education of amateur musicians and professionals varies from those who do not have any formal music education to those who have completed music studies. Among those who declared themselves as dancers only, it is also visible that (35.71%) are amateur artists while the percentage of professionals equals to that of professional musicians (25.00%). The level of education of dancers also ranges from informal dance education to dance studies.

is it that can be achieved through team work with diverse population, ages and individual experiences and through international cultural cooperation is evident through the implementation of the musical and theatrical project *Dirty Dancing*. Besides, the musical and theatrical project *Dirty Dancing* was essentially based on the idea of joining traditional and modern - in terms of art forms that seem incompatible, in order to additionally motivate participants to develop their aesthetic sense and new competences. Having in mind that the project was prepared in two cities and two countries, and in different point in time, the potential risk factor was extremely high, yet it was this factor that had a positive effect on better concentration and focus of all the participants whose creative abilities in only two days of team work were expressed to their maximum.

As it can be observed from the evaluation and based on the research conducted among the participants, in both project-participating countries the interests of participants of different ages, particularly the young ones, have not been listened to or observed so far. The analysis brought to light the assertion that it is this kind of cooperation that greatly contributed to increasing of their interest in further education and advancement, as well as for participation in such projects, which in both informal and formal environments provide adequate alternatives and modern methods of high-quality learning.

As for the public and audience who watched the project - an original work has been presented. A positive response of the audience and the profession to such unusual and extraordinary liaison between accordion and popular music incorporated into elements of musical – singing, acting and dance, accompanied with specially arranged set, costumes, video and light effects prompted for yearly presentations of new musical and theatrical adaptations of well-known musicals on the stage of theatre and concert hall Ivana Brlić-Mažuranić. This maintained the continuity in the cooperation between Brod Accordion Orchestra Bela pl. Panthy from Slavonski Brod and Institute of Music, Theatre and Multimedia from Sarajevo and, as early as in 2016, they created the new musical and theatrical project *Annie*, gathering a large number of participants from both countries. One should particularly single out children of pre-school age as participants.

For all the reasons explained above, we believe that these and similar projects would certainly enrich school curricula and provide an opportunity for a larger number of students to express their respective potentials, and would too spur students' interest and motivation for further music education. Practical experience in the implementation of the above-described project, confirms that everything presented in this paper can be applied in the teaching process, where students would not have the feeling of effort, but rather work with satisfaction, while gaining competence would be faster and more effective.

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COMPETENCIES OF TEACHERS FOR REALIZATION OF BEGINNER SOLFEGGIO

TIHANA ŠKOJO

Abstract: The Beginner-Level Solfeggio class presents quite a challenge for teachers and demands extremely wide competence teachers' profile. Such a class requires teachers who, except for the expert capacities as primary demand, possess very developed didactic and pedagogic competences that are mirrored through various dimensions. This paper describes the research that has been executed with the goal of determining the teachers' opinions on the necessary teacher competences to successfully teach Beginner-level Solfeggio.

Keywords: Beginner Solfeggio; open-concept curriculum; didactic competencies; pedagogical competencies.

Introduction

Music affects children in many ways, especially in their preschool age. Research conducted to explore the effects of listening and reproduction of music in preschool age gave an insight into this complex area, points out the ways music influence brain and central nervous system development, unveils the effects music has on children's intelligence (Rauscher, Shaw and Ky, 1993; Schellenberg, 2004), spatial and motor functions abilities, and overall development of the wholesome child's personality, with emphasis on creativity (Shellenberg et al., 2007). Moreover, the researchers also pointed out the different effects of music on subjective bodily experiences during listening, highlighting the significance of the connection with movement. From a music-pedagogic aspect, a large portion of research refers to the study of children's music preferences from different perspectives. LeBlanc et al. (1996) concluded that younger children are more open to all kinds of music and more positive in their evaluation of music pieces in comparison to the older children. Jellison and Flowers (1991) point out the focus of young children preferences towards pop music. Considering the effect of music-expressive components on children's music preferences, based on research results, it is apparent that children like fast-paced music (LeBlanc and McCrary, 1983) and expressive dynamic (Burnsed, 1998). The sociological approach to preferences except for the role of individual factors (LeBlanc et al., 1999) points out the significant influences of family, peers, and media on music evaluation and liking. All the aforementioned researches point out that from the earliest age

children are surrounded by music and that music is deeply rooted in the child's biological, physiological, and sociological conformation. Thus, music education poses itself as a necessary integral part of a child's life.

The organisation of the music education guidance begins to be implemented through the child's stay in kindergarten. With professional guidance, through various activities, children are being introduced to music art, and forms of various music expressions are being developed. In accordance with the purpose of the preschool curriculum, the music education is conducted with the goal of developing competences in the discernment of pitch height, duration and length of tone and tone colour. The children are being qualified to notice and distinguish simple rhythm and melodic patterns, dynamic relations and nuancing, and the relations between different tempos. With systematic exposure to artistically valuable music, children acquire basic components of aesthetical education; they develop a sense for beauty, the competence to perceive, accept and judge quality music, and they gain valuable bases for the development of music taste.

Regarding the purpose of the preschool curriculum, the goal of music education is to develop the possibilities in decrementing pitch height, duration, strength and tone colour. The children are being taught to notice and recognize simple rhythm and melodic patterns, dynamic relations and nuances, and the relations between various tempos. With systematic exposure to artistically valuable music, children also acquire basic components of aesthetic education; they develop sense and meaning for beauty, perception ability, accept and judge quality music and they reach a valuable base for developing music taste.

Unlike music education that takes place in kindergartens teaching children in music schools, but also their first encounter with professional and systematic music education, with cognitive, psychomotor and affective teaching outcomes is part of music schools as a part of the preschool program (Škojo, 2011). The Beginner Solfeggio classes, as part of the preschool program, are a part of a special program of units that lasts for two years, but in the practice, the duration is usually down to single preparation year in which the children gain music capabilities that enable them to enrol into and attend music schools. The Beginner Solfeggio goal is to start as early as possible with a systematic development of child's inborn potentials and to awake the interest and their wish to attain music knowledge. It excels with specific contents, which are then didactically and methodically prularistically shaped, being led according to individual needs and preferences of each child, as well as their learning specifics. By means of planned and organised educational process, through professionally defined and methodically flexibly guided games, music tasks and songs, the intention of music pedagogues is to develop intonation, music memory, and rhythm sense; i.e. musical hearing starts to being developed. The main task at hand of musical hearing education is to build the capability of conscious recognition of rhythm, melody and harmony

music elements (Požgaj, 1988), and to awake and musically adopt musical terms which serve as the base for further build-up within frames of music disciplines on higher levels of musical education through numerous activities (Olujić, 1990).

The prerequisite for all activities in Beginner Solfeggio classes' quality realization is primarily a competent expert who except for professional competencies has polished command of various dimensions of pedagogic competencies that help achieving desired teaching outcomes; however equally important is to have positive and comfortable social and emotional climate in class.

Teacher Competencies

Competency, as a term, comes from the Latin word *competo*, *competere* and it means *to make proper, to strive towards something*, and it refers to competence, but also the area in which a certain person possesses, knowledge, experience. From a pedagogic aspect (Pastuović, 1999; Matijević and Radanović, 2011; Rosandić, 2013), competencies are defined as:

- knowledge, experience, capability;
- knowledge and skills, and capabilities and readiness to apply the aforementioned in certain situations;
- a combination of context-appropriate knowledge, skill and attitudes;
- cognitive capabilities and skills which the individual possesses or which can be learned, and communication, willing and social readiness and capability to use it;
- cognitive competence (use of theory and concepts, informal knowledge acquired through practice);
- functional competence (skills, capability to work in a certain area);
- personal competence (capability of selecting behaviour in a situation), and
- ethical competence (the appropriate use of personal and professional skills).

Hrvatić and Piršl (2007) defines competences as a combination of knowledge, viewpoints, and personal characteristics that enable the individual active participation in a situation, but also analysing and interpreting the said situation. Weinert (2001) determines competences as a combination of cognitive, motivational, moral and social skills, which are the assumption of successful mastery of a wide spectre of demands, tasks and goals. Kurz and Bartram (2002) think that competencies are a collection of behaviours crucial for accomplishing the wanted results and outcomes. Keuffer (2010) observes competences through the aspect of knowledge, capabilities and skills in the sense of professional knowledge, personal belief, value scale and motivational orientation. From the

mentioned definitions, it is clear that competence is clearly established and measurable knowledge, personal skills and qualities used in order to achieve work goals (Green, 1996).

Teacher's competencies, in accordance with the principles of modern schooling, are directed towards new teaching paradigms, and besides the professional and didactic levels of competencies, they are also viewed by personal, communication, analytical, social and emotional dimensions. Such a teacher primarily has to understand the tendencies of the modern school, which is turning towards a practical aspect of acquired knowledge, and the idea is that the students are being led and guided towards building applied knowledge, with the accent on active learning and on noticing meaning and connections among facts (Dryden and Vos, 2001). Jensen (2003, 63) concludes that modern teachers from authoritative figures who realize teaching, outgrow into promoters, routers, and *catalysts* of learning. With certainty, they use inventive methods, apply and integrate technology throughout the teaching program, offering the student choices and variety in work. Such a teacher accepts the students' needs and coordinates them in accordance with the individuality of each student. The teacher enables creative expression of one's possibilities and capabilities, directs students' developing-emotional attractiveness towards real content, and tries to spiritually enrich the students, to raise them and make them happy in their living (Previšić, 1999, 12-13).

Pedagogic competencies of the Beginner Solfeggio teacher

Preschool music classes in music schools are fully based on the principles of an open curriculum in which the implementing content cores are realized in a free and creative way (Previšić, 2007, 27). Such a flexible flow of planned teaching enables the teacher to fully choose teaching contents and work methods according to his or her professional competences with the goal of setting the foundations for understanding music structurality, and basic intonation and rhythm knowledge and skills. Besides by the personal vision of the educational process, the teacher is also led by the possibilities and interests of the students, as well as their preferences. Furthermore, during the definition of teaching outcomes, with tasks from the cognitive and psychomotor area, it is of crucial value to determine tasks from the affective area which are the development of the students' feelings, values, attitudes, enthusiasm, but also the encouragement of students to develop their own creative and interest side, along with keeping the motivation for the subject and music in general.

The teacher's pedagogical competencies are viewed through four levels:

- 1) Achieving productive learning for each student,

- 2) Analysing the class and the influences which condition the quality and teaching of the class,
- 3) Understanding and respecting elements of formal, casual and informal learning, and
- 4) Developing the students' pleasure with class (Jurčić, 2012, 107).

In order to achieve the optimal, productive learning in the classes of the Beginner Solfeggio, the teacher follows and respects individual needs of students, since it is work with combination of preschool and school children, and the differences in talent and the development of musical capabilities of each student. The teacher deliberates about each activity in order to determine the best way to implement it in order to yield the biggest success. Thus, the lesson is systematically designed by means of active learning strategies, in which the students actively follow and participate in each activity. It encourages changing activities in accordance with characteristics of quality classes (Glasser, 1994), and also tries to be interesting, attractive and dynamic. Each learning stage is realized through planned interaction with students, creating positive contact and encouraging collaboration, and while led by their preferences, it yet keeps a clear structure of the teaching phases the entire time (Meyer, 2002; Jurčić, 2012). The teacher of the Beginner Solfeggio, being aware of the strong influence of the media which affect the children's knowledge and values, deliberately directs children's music preferences and shape attitudes, at the same time ably unifying formal and informal learning.

By engaging social competences, the teacher establishes a positive relationship with the students, encourages interaction-communication process which positively corroborates all of the activities and contributes to a pleasant and democratic atmosphere. The teacher's competence in communication, in addition to emotional competence, is reflected in the pleasure of students with the class, and it makes this first music step as one of many to come.

A particularly important element in each class, thus in the class of the Beginner Solfeggio as well, is a pleasant and creative atmosphere which motivates both the teacher and the students, and makes the class better and successful. The creative atmosphere achieved by a creative teacher is the imperative in the class of the Beginner Solfeggio. The teacher's creative competencies are significant for designing the class which is teeming with fast changes and combinations of activities such as singing, listening, music games and musical creativity.

Didactic competences of the teacher of the Beginner Solfeggio viewed through basic activities

Singing

For children the most amicable and favourite music activity is singing. This activity is the most common one throughout preschool music education and as an activity it begins already in younger groups, namely, as soon as children are able to vocalize longer phrases and imitate simple rhythmic patterns. Providing the precondition of adequate cognitive development fulfilled, children of that age are already capable of adopting songs with texts in accordance to the child's language skills, and they can perform a song precisely and nicely. During the realization of singing, due to a transmission of information based on the principle of imitation, the teacher's music-methodical and didactical competence is extremely important as well as his or her constant aspiration to perform the songs melodically, rhythmically and articularly correct.

Through preparation activities, proper body posture and breathing exercises, the teacher will lay the foundation for the development of the child's voice and the successful realization of the singing activity. By practising the singing posture, the teacher will spontaneously lead to preparation of body for singing performances. Likewise, it is necessary to implement interestingly designed exercises for proper breathing-in and breathing-out, which as well applies to breath control (Radočaj-Jerković, 2015). With inventive exercises, initially, guided towards imitating sounds from nature, and later towards creatively designed specific words, the development of the singing skill will be supported, and at the same time avoiding boredom with the activity is taken care of.

During the selection of the song, it is necessary to think about the aesthetical value, since every song-learning has to be goal-oriented in sense of achieving the art level (Radočaj-Jerković, 2012). It is necessary for the chosen song to be thematically, melodically and rhythmically attractive in order to make children interested in singing. At the same time, it is significant for the song to be memorable, repetitive, and logical in its melodic and rhythmic sense, in order to make learning easy and relatively fast. It is necessary for the extent of the song not to exceed over the perfect fifth in younger and middle groups, and major sixth with six-year-old children (Marić and Goran, 2013). Clarity, simplicity, and appropriateness of the textual content of the song are too of crucial importance.

When selecting a song, it is necessary to give priority to good lyrics of pure and correct literature texts, where the interpretation will be convincing, understandable, and will contribute to the song's expressiveness. Since the singing activity, especially in younger groups, is connected to the movement of body, it is necessary to harmonise the choice of songs with the movement

capabilities for the melodic, rhythmical or the lyrical content of the song, and/or apply certain dance elements which would serve the function of displaying expressive elements or structure.

Since the children's interest span, depending on the age, is limited to 15 to 30 minutes, it is necessary to implement balanced singing activities in order to leave enough room for the listening activity and for musical games. Dynamism and the proper alteration of activities are necessary in order to achieve musical and educational efficiency, and keep the children at a high level of motivation.

Listening to music

The introduction to music via listening is the basic activity oriented towards getting to know the elements of musical expression and music itself, but also towards the development of numerous music capabilities and music taste. From the established goal arises the need for the right implementation of listening activities from the beginning of organized music education, so that the children acquire habit of active listening and open themselves to aesthetic traits of music from the earliest of days.

In music education, listening has an educational function, thus it is extremely important to actively direct the attention of children to the music they are listening to. In order that the listening be successful, the music offered to children has to be attractive, in compliance with the development capabilities of children in respect to its difficulty and duration; it has to be music for which one assumes that children will, via the appropriate methodical processing, accept, meet and remember with no difficulties (Rojko, 2005). The teacher's positive attitude is very important. The teacher expresses it by listening to music, and his or her directed attention and facial expression point out to the important parts, and lead the children through the listening process.

Music listening always has to be approached to with pre-activities through which the children will get prepared for the activity. With clear tasks given, which relate to determining the performer, following the theme, tempo, or the dynamics, the children will be capable to be aware of elements they've heard and noticed. In the discussion, following the listening, they will declare what they have heard, thus reach certain conclusions. The listening activity is necessarily a positive source in directing music preferences in children, but a certain departure from the remarkable influence the mass media have today on music taste is needed.

Music games

The most efficient way for all music activities to be realized within motivating and positive atmosphere is the realization through games. Thoughtfully designed and professionally led music games indirectly influence the development of children's music capabilities. They serve as exercises in the property of intonation, rhythm and music memory development. The unavoidable effect of music games is the development of children's imagination and creativity. By participating in music games, children are physically active, and the games which involve movement are often combined with singing and listening. Thus, when choosing games, it is necessary to consider the age they are meant for, the students' capabilities, but also their needs. Games in music education can be divided into the following categories: singing music games, listening music games, and rhythm and melody music games (Manasteriotti, 1982). Singing music games are usually considered as games in which the song lyrics are mimicked by movement, often with present imitation of a group of moves of an encircled individual. Singing games can be performed with a certain rhythm and dance movements, which bring together elements of music and dance art in an inventive way. Especially interesting singing music games are those which connect the speed of performance – tempo and the strength of the performance – dynamics, and with their realization, children achieve knowledge of music terms and the capability to discern them, along with the skills of singing and moving. During the realization of these games, it is especially advisable to take care of the game dynamic, while the length of each game should be limited.

Tone and rhythm music games are realized in order to develop musical hearing in children; especially tone height, strength and colour, as well as the note length, the development of auditory attention, and melody and rhythm memory. Melody and rhythm games are short activities which can be used repeatedly as an introduction to the singing or listening activity. These games within their realization require full focus of the participants in order to achieve maximum efficiency for the development of musical hearing. It is desirable to realize tone music games at the start of the music education, as a vocal warm-up of its own kind, while rhythm games are an excellent way not only to develop musical hearing but also to realize children's musical creativity. Nursing and upbringing of the feeling for rhythm can be achieved through counting games, recitations, all up to games in which children continue the started rhythm, bring rhythm to established lyrics, fit rhythm into music sentences which are mutually in a question-answer relationship and, finally, improvisation games of closed music forms (Tomerlin, 1969). For improvisation exercises, other than the Orff Approach, it is possible to use all manners of making sounds, including using one's own body as percussion.

Listening-music games can be conducted also as means for establishing musical knowledge about instruments, and certain musical terms in various quiz forms. Listening games can be guided to serve the purpose of awakening musical curiosity and completing different experiments with objects sounds, which is a part of the children's everyday lives, as well as with numerous improvisations with different colours of the children's voices (Sam, 1998).

The aforementioned musical activities and their systematic and creative realization will significantly contribute to the development of music capabilities, and thus the foundation for children sensitisation for art music and the path for continuation of their music education will be laid.

The goals and research methodology

This work describes the research which has been conducted with the goal of establishing important didactic characteristics of the Beginner Solfeggio classes. This research tried to give responses to the questions such as: what are the teacher's opinions about the activities they implement in Music classes, what kind of problems do they face in organizing and implementing the classes of the Beginner Solfeggio, how pleased they are with the classes of the Beginner Solfeggio, and which teaching competencies are important for teaching of the Beginner Solfeggio.

Research implementation

The research starts from the interpretative paradigm that the attention is focused on the quality aspects. Since one music school has a single teacher of Beginner Solfeggio, the research has been conducted with five female teachers and three male teachers from six music schools in Croatia. All teachers have high qualifications besides the finished study of Music Pedagogy. The experience of the respondents spans from 2 to 26 years.

The methodological approach

In the research, the method of acquiring data was a personal interview, and the instrument was the interview protocol (Škojo, 2016). A semi-structured interview, consisting of prepared open-type questions, has been conducted with each of the teachers. In the interview protocol, the subject matter and topics for the discussion had been established beforehand, but the sequence of those topics and the manner of asking questions were not precisely determined. For data processing and analysis, it was the quality analysis that had been used, with coded data translated into categories.

Results and discussion

The interview with the teachers began with the estimate of their overall pleasure with the class of the Beginner Solfeggio. The statements of all of the teachers point to the conclusion that the teachers are very pleased and feel good in class.

“Let’s say I am pleased, but I’m very self-critical in general. I think I improve myself and upgrade my teacher competencies, but I see I still have a lot to work on.”; “I am very pleased. For me, this is literally a dream job and I really enjoy each work day. I feel the biggest pleasure when I see the children learn something and progress in their work.”; “Excellent, 5! If I had to choose again, I would pick this. I am very happy and pleased with my work!”; “I’m very pleased! Mostly because of a single situation – the diversity of students.”; “I am still in love with my work, I am very pleased!”; “It can be better, I am still learning, but I try my best and I work on myself” (Škojo, 2016)

After the estimate of overall satisfaction, the teachers thought about the problems they face in the class of the Beginner Solfeggio. They mostly point out *disciplinary problems* as basic difficulties, while as the reason they listed “groups that are too large – with more than 20 students, lack of focus in children, and children being too playful” (Škojo, 2016).

With the following question, we tried to determine whether teachers experience the difference in the class of the Beginner Solfeggio compared to Solfeggio. From extensive statements, we can conclude that the teachers mostly point out to big differences which stem from the fact that there is no established program and teacher guidebook for the class of the Beginner Solfeggio. They also point out the differences which relate to the demands of the Beginner Solfeggio classes.

“Even though the Beginner Solfeggio is considered as a relaxed introduction into the music school through game, note learning, listening to music, playing instruments and singing, I would like to have more literature available on the Beginner Solfeggio, as well as teacher books with specific activities.”; “I experience big differences in the whole structure of classes and the way classes are being held, but the biggest difference is that there is no formally set program.”; “The difference is big because we don’t have a program given to work with. It is far harder to animate the children for some more ‘serious’ content. The work in total is much harder because there are more and more activities and everything is unwinding a lot faster.” (Škojo, 2016)

When asked about the goal of the Beginner Solfeggio classes, the teachers had rather uniform opinions which refer to “the preparation of students for elementary

music school, laying the foundation for teaching contents from Solfeggio, development of singing capabilities, and getting to know the instruments". Only one male teacher pointed out that the main goal of the class is to "establish a friendly contact with music and fall in love with music" (Škojo, 2016). After the talk about the goal of the classes, the discussion moved onto concretising of activities which teachers implement in classes. The teachers stated numerous inventive activities in their replies, and they pointed out how different music games are the frame in which all other activities are being conducted in order to keep the class active, dynamic and diverse. From the stated, one can conclude that the teachers recognize the value of music games as an efficient strategy for accomplishing the goal established for this age group. One can also conclude that the teachers use numerous *alternative* techniques in order to bring closer certain abstract content in the best and creative way possible. They use the following: "active rhythm work, the Orff Approach, singing and learning songs by hearing; short melodic examples, children's songs, dance as a help in understanding rhythm; body percussion; music games, listening to music; drawing, telling clever stories with the purpose of understanding music theory" (Škojo, 2016). Teachers explained a bit more about and highlighted the features of a successful Beginner Solfeggio class, along with pointing out that it needs to be "dynamic, diverse and with a lot of different activities. It has to be focused on the preparing children for elementary music school" (Škojo, 2016). The teachers also pointed out that positive atmosphere and emotional climate, as well as the good communication between the teachers and students are important ingredients of a successful class.

From a didactical aspect of class activities, the teachers point out on how those are being led by the pluralism principle in teaching methods and activities: "I often try to change between teaching methods. I alternate between a minimum of four blocks of different activities because the children's concentration does not last longer than 10 minutes." (Škojo, 2016) From further discussions, in which they explain teaching forms which they use, one can determine that teachers recognize the significance of active learning, but also of different social forms and how class, when it comes to work organization, definitely stands out from the traditionally moulded Solfeggio class.

As for the determining of the didactic aspect in the realization, it was interesting to explore on how teachers pick the contents they use in class and which sources did they use. From their answers, we can conclude that teachers "constantly seek for songbooks, games, counting games and contents which are going to be attractive and wake up the interest in children" (Škojo, 2016). Also, it is necessary to point out the extraordinary engagement of the teachers which refers to remaking and adjusting of contents meant for older children. The teachers express their inventiveness not only in picking out the content,

but also in respect to sources they use during planning, stating student books for elementary school, *Music Class Methods I and II* by Pavel Rojko, teacher's books by Višnje Manasteriotti, methodical manuals by Elly Bašić, and numerous Internet pages from which they draw contents and ideas for the realization in their classes.

The next question was regarding the time-demands for preparing a class. The teachers pointed out how it takes "a lot of time to come up with body and prepare one class, definitely more time-consuming than for an elementary school Solfeggio" (Škojo, 2016). They also say how important for the teacher it is to always be "ready-on-the-spot to adapt a certain activity, and often even to improvise" (Škojo, 2016).

The teachers mentioned creative competencies in the context of coming up with teaching content, motivating students, but also influencing their own pleasure and productivity.

"The teacher's creativity is the most important thing in the whole process of organizing and realizing classes, in coming up with activities for the class in the sense of the best possible use of the conditions the teacher has available."; "The competencies tied to creativity have a role in motivating students because not the same method, or an approach, works eqally for each student, so it's important for the teacher to have those skills as well."; "To teach in the class of the Beginner Solfeggio, the teacher has to be a witty and creative person."; "A creative teacher can develop creative students. Maybe this is another class in which we can let go to full creativity."; "Only a creative teacher can encourage and motivate the students with his or her class, trying to not use the same pattern, but to make the students understand that classes but also bear the joy of discovering something new."; "A creative teacher knows how to make quality use of every moment of the class time and work on the development of each individual child."; "Creativity is what leads me to constantly discover something new, and when that functions the way I imagined it, I become very happy, and thus more productive." (Škojo, 2016)

The teachers came up with the competence profile of a successful teacher of the Beginner Solfeggio, listing the competencies which they find significant for the realization of a good class. They point out the value of various dimensions of pedagogic competencies; personal, emotional, and analytical ones.

"I think pedagogic competencies are very important and that they should be highly developed."; "A competent teacher, besides his or her professionalism, should also have an open mind, be energetic and innovative. He or she should think a lot about oneself and his or her progress."; "A successful teacher should be a motivator, an animator, full of energy and knowledge, skilled on the instrument,

and be of wide horizons.”; “Adaptiveness, creativity, and imagination are three most important features after a full mastery of one’s area.”; “The profession has to come first, but it’s important that it comes with pedagogical width, that the teacher is open, emphatic, and creative.”; “The teacher of the Beginner Solfeggio has to be playful, relaxed, with developed emotional competencies, and has to be interesting.” (Škojo, 2016)

Conclusion

The Beginner Solfeggio class represents a big challenge and demands a very wide competence profile of the teacher. Such class demands a teacher who knows how to successfully stand up to the demands of a very complex class. The Beginner Solfeggio teacher, on the top of primary professional competences, has to have extremely developed didactic competencies which refer to the choice of activities and building the subject curriculum, organizing and leading the class and shaping a positive teaching atmosphere.

His or her pedagogic competencies are viewed through different dimensions: personal, communicational, social, emotional, but also reflexive. A significant role in the whole class belongs to the teacher’s creativity.

From the research results, it was clear that teachers precisely establish the teacher competence profile for the Beginner Solfeggio. They point out the importance of various dimensions of didactic and pedagogic competencies while pointing out social skills and individual personality of the teacher. Teachers of the Beginner Solfeggio are very sure of their competences, they feel good in class and they’re happy with the overall realization. They determine the teaching goal precisely and correctly, and inventively they combine various class activities, successfully implementing new contents in their classes. The teachers accept curriculum openness as a big possibility which enables them to find the best way towards the development of the students’ musical capabilities through their creativity, knowledge and skills. Finally, they concluded that only the creative teachers, the ones who are open to new ideas and innovations, and those who successfully implement them into their class, and that way enrich themselves and their students, can make the Beginner Solfeggio classes successful, attractive, and desirable.

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ONLINE CLASSES IN MUSICAL CULTURE FOR GENERAL-EDUCATION HIGH-SCHOOL STUDENTS IN MOODLE LMS

VALIDA TVRTKOVIĆ-AKŠAMIJA

Abstract: Distance learning can be equally successful as the traditional classes, if appropriate teaching methods, technologies, etc. are applied. This paper is aimed at presenting the prospects of developing, managing, and assessing the online teaching process using the web application Moodle LMS in the musical culture classes in a general-education high school, the way in which students acquire knowledge, and what their role is in online classes using Moodle LMS.

Key words: online classes, musical culture in general-education high schools, Moodle LMS, learning and distance-learning classes.

Introduction

Introduction of technologies that allows online communication is not the only prerequisite for improving learning. “The Internet introduces to dictionaries a new term for learning, web-based learning, i.e. online learning – Online learning is classified as a comprehensive term that pertains to computer and internet-aided learning. Levels of such learning vary, starting from the basic software that include text and graphics, exercises, testing and recording results – such as test results, up to high sophistication. Sophistication may also be included as animations, simulations, audio and video sequences of discussion groups with peers and experts, online mentorship, links to materials stored on the internet or the web, and other educational resources. Together with online learning¹, the term ‘online’ education was formed.” (Kljakić, 2006, 6) Any form of distance-learning and teaching where one or more electronic devices is used as a means of communication, distribution and instruction is called e-learning. What distinguished online classes from e-learning is the fact that online classes use only the technologies that allow online communication in real time, which is typically possible only using computers networked into one or more computer networks, while e-learning uses any electronic technology; including computers, television, radio, phone, mobile devices, satellites, etc. Advance in technology allows the participants in the teaching process to use *synchronous* and *asynchronous* learning

¹ Terms related to online learning are “web-based learning”, technology-based learning and, since recently the most frequently used term is “e-learning”.

tools in classes, as well as various web applications aimed at learning and managing distance teaching such as Moodle, Blackboard, Design2Learn, Claroline, etc.

What is essential and the most specific for such form of education is the fact that it is an educational process where the teacher and the student are geographically separated and therefore the face-to-face communication is impossible; communication proceeds using one or more technological media, typically electronic ones (interactive television, satellite television, cable television, computer, telecommunications, etc. (Guthrie, 2002, 591)

Asynchronous learning tools allow students to independently select contents and relate them to other documents according to their own education, and use discussion groups, e-mail, blog, wiki, etc. for interaction with the teacher. The advantage of asynchronous learning tools is the possibility of studying contents at any time and any place, but its disadvantage is getting the feedback in delayed time (messages are posted at any time, while they are read and replied to by other users at the time which is convenient for them; in other words, users are not necessarily online at the same time, as they have to be in case of synchronous exchange).

Synchronous tools allow communication, both between teachers and students, and among students, in real time. Feedback is obtained in real time, which implies presence and activity of all the participants in the teaching process, including that of the teacher. This way of learning typically happens with all the participants gathered at the same point in time using Internet sites, chat-session, blog, virtual classrooms, discussion rooms, using internet telephony and two-way audio and video conferences. The task of online classes is the commitment to develop challenging activities that allow students to tie new information with the old one, to adopt the new meaning and use their cognitive abilities, since it is the teaching strategy, rather than technology, that affects the learning quality.

Characteristics of online classes

Although technology plays the key role in online classes, teachers must be trained in the new organization of classes so as to give guidelines to students and thus make distance classes effective enough. The same as in classic classes that take place in the classroom, online classes teacher is primarily an intermediary between the content and the students. In both cases, teacher's goal is to successfully transmit knowledge and skills in given field to students. Nevertheless, due to the conditions of delivery, the methods and ways of teaching are not necessarily the same. In modern teaching methodologies we will look for the teaching methods which allow students to acquire knowledge and skills with more ease and with a higher quality. Since in online classes there is no direct interaction between the

teacher and a student or among the students, many methods and ideas have to be adjusted to online teaching conditions.

Goals and tasks of online teaching for any given unit to be delivered are accurately defined, while the students are, all the time, aware of the subject matter they would learn or skills they would acquire. Besides the reasons such as cost-effectiveness, possibility to overcome physical distances, etc., the reason for and simultaneously the benefit of using and attending online classes as a form of distance education, is the possibility of teacher to include all students in teaching processes. Such a prospect is allowed by online collaboration tools such as chat, discussion forums, etc. The use of forum, chat, and other kinds of collaboration tools can also help “shy” students to express their ideas and thoughts in the virtual online environment (Porter, 2004, 35).

Students in online classes can access the content, and work on it at any time. The dynamics of online educational process requires accurate definition of rules. Online classes are mostly based on students’ activity and their collecting and organizing educational content. In this process, teachers guide, direct, and refer them to additional sources of information. With such a way of work and learning, where students have both a great freedom and responsibility too, due dates for individual contents, topics, assignments and exams need to be well defined. Communication and approach to classes is mostly based on textual interaction, if we exclude video-conference transmissions, which requires a great focus and flexibility in work both from teachers and students.

Teacher’s role in online classes

Historically, the teacher has undergone various forms of class organization. In all ages, it was only the form of classes that changes, while the teacher’s function – i.e. upbringing and educating students’ personalities has remained the same. Innovations in music education play a significant role in the world, though not sufficiently in our country. Application of innovations is a necessary task for any modern school teacher.

At present, teachers in all courses, including the musical culture ones, are expected both to have the necessary general culture, professional and pedagogical qualifications, and to be able to accept new discoveries, apply, and make an effort to further develop and advance them. Network resources and technology, primarily the Internet, condition the emergence of new kinds of teaching, learning and education. Internet in education has become an inexhaustible source of information, as well as a communication tool and means of learning. On the other hand, Internet as a medium, means of communication, learning and teaching, opens possibilities for using new, prominently efficient methods for teaching new generations.

The teacher had the obligation to expand students' knowledge, enable them to participate in society on an equal footing, and to develop students' noble-minded characteristics with various upbringing activities. In the traditional classes, teachers managed teaching contents being studied by using textbooks and media/resources. They were expected to have the ability to present the teaching contents, to teach, be responsible for students' advancement and be able to assess the advancement thereof.

Efficient online classes require for thorough preparation of educational material and technical support, and a detailed study of students' profiles and characteristics. Online teachers' competence depends on their knowledge and experience in many fields. They help student in the selection, collection and organization of the content, guide and assess students during learning, and encourage them to achieve the best results possible. Such a person must possess pedagogical, communication and organization skills and high professional competence, since distance learning requires great expertise and ability of teachers involved in it.

Online classes do not decrease the teacher's function; rather, through various tasks, the teacher is still an irreplaceable factor of education and upbringing. The teacher plays the central role in every form of teaching and learning; he or she takes an active role and responsibility for education results. Teachers in online classes perform the following functions:

- the function of organizer and implementer: they select, prepare and use forms and methods of teaching activity, as well as teaching resources and technical aids for the delivery of educational process;
- the function of planning: they select, analyze and distribute teaching contents, i.e. develops annual and thematic plans, and plans for individual teaching units;
- the function of programmer: they define the extent and depth of teaching contents (didactic transformation of scientific, artistic, technical and technological contents into teaching ones), and adjust them to students' abilities;
- the function of leader: they organize, deliver, lead and guide the teaching process;
- the function of a diagnostician and a verifier: they evaluate flows and results of teaching work, i.e. track, examine and assess students' work and performances.

A particular importance in online classes is bound to the intensity and quality of the communication between the teacher and students. With the way and frequency of online communication, the teacher let the students know that they do not talk with an electronic device but that he/she is a real person who guides

them and help them in their studying. During online classes communication between teachers and students is diverse. It is initially based on greetings, getting to know each other, and instructions. A classes proceed and expand in terms of content, communication focuses on clarification of tasks, instructions for accomplishing them, support and motivation for success.

Teachers use feedback to keep in constant touch with students and this way obtain information on how well students get along in online classes, their successes, way of learning and queries. In this way teachers help and enable students to complete online education in line with their abilities and as successfully as possible. Assessment of students' knowledge in online education encompasses monitoring on several indicators which are, at the end of online education, wrapped up in a single whole, in regards to the respective values observed. During online classes, teachers record students' activity. It is the most prominent in the interaction between students and teacher, and among students. Naturally, it pertains to information closely related to the content and topics of individual exercises, assignments and seminars. Besides, teachers assess communication among students, which includes exchange of experiences, ideas and support related to online classes. Depending on the content of online classes, the assessment system includes application of essay papers, problem tasks, and final exams. In this case, teachers advise each student about the way in which they should view the tasks, define problems, and solve them successfully. Online classes are a high-quality education process where teachers and students actively cooperate with the aim of achieving the given educational goals. In doing so, they intensively use information and communication technologies for creating adjustable virtual environment where they develop and use multimedia interactive educational materials, practice mutual communication and cooperation, while students complete individual or group tasks and projects and conduct continuous self-assessment and knowledge assessment.

Advantages of online classes

Online classes are not a "magical ball" which will replace and put out of use the existing pedagogical theories, principles and norms. In this sense, online classes will not eliminate the existing methods and technologies; rather, it must be an appropriate and proper complement to those.

In the formal sense, online classes include a number of learning strategies and technologies that support learning, such as CD-ROM devices and media, classes based on computers, video-conference system, teaching contents for learning delivered using the satellite communication and virtual learning networks. In other words, it is not only the web-based teaching or distance learning; on the contrary, it includes many avenues for individual information exchange and

knowledge acquisition by participants in the process. In general, such learning is based on electronic technology, and is shaped in a way that allows acquisition of knowledge both for students in the formal learning and teaching process, and for all categories of participants in the so-called lifelong learning and teaching process, which includes learning for working people, retraining for new occupations, etc.

Online classes also have a number of significant advantages over the traditional classes, as follows:

- lifelong learning, professional advancement;
- the place of learning is selected depending on the method used for learning;
- participation in highest-quality or the most prestigious programs;
- selection of one's own way and pace of learning;
- using various technologies, additional knowledge and skills are acquired besides the information on what is being learned;
- teachers too have the possibility to learn from students who independently look for the source of information.

Besides the described advantages of online learning over a traditional one, there are other advantages as well. Online environment offers a greater possibility for reasoning and refining ideas, more students' control over materials, flexibility endorsed by unlimited access to materials and an improved level of interaction with the material itself, as well as in the form of possibility for active learning through conferences, discussion groups and collaborative projects.

Disadvantages of online classes

Since its first application in the teaching process, online classes have faced strong criticism, which is fully justified since a great number of pedagogically and didactically poor applications appeared within teaching over the Internet. The weakness of such applications is that system of teaching is methodologically speaking, conceived and elaborated rather poorly. Online classes are also characterized by "the geographical or the temporal distance, or both -geographical and temporal distance" depending on the communication media used, (Tinio, 2002, 6), while Moore (2003, 30) also emphasizes the "educational and psychological distance between teachers and students".

One of disadvantages of online classes is the impossibility of individual approach to students due to physical, i.e. geographical separation, then the possibility of cheating during online tests, poorly aligned educational contents with teaching methods and available technology, and the impossibility of live contact. Teachers in online classes cannot watch their students neither see nor interpret expressions on their faces.

The listed disadvantages of online classes prompted online course designers to include a greater number of experts in various professions in developing both the code architectures of the used teaching software and creating contents and methods for distributing the content.

A significant breakthrough in overcoming the listed disadvantages of online classes was achieved by including experts for teaching, methodologists, and teachers/professors in designing educational contents and teaching methods. With the emergence of CMS² and LMS³, which did not focus solely on content or technology but rather on the participant in online classes, the situation changed dramatically.

Web-application Moodle LMS

When the process of designing online programs include both software engineers and web designers on the one hand, and teachers who are familiar with the methodology of (traditional) teaching, dynamic web applications appear aimed at the organization, delivering and evaluation of distance-managed teaching processes. A great number of web applications appeared designed for managing the processes of learning and distance-teaching, both free-of-charge and commercial, with different licenses for use, written in various languages and for different server platforms. However, the existence of a great number of web applications did not solve the problem of distance education. The use of many web applications in distance classes produced poor educational effects, which prompted researchers, teachers, web-programmers and graphic designers to devote more attention to the way of integrating teaching methods in technology use. As a response to the problem of poor educational power of such applications web application Moodle LMS was developed – a modular, object-oriented web application designed for managing distance learning and teaching processes. The advantage of Moodle over other web applications is primarily reflected in the fact that it is focused on learning and teaching processes, rather than on the used technology.

Using Moodle LMS, teachers can successfully include teaching methods in the distance-managed educational process, which prompted us to devote attention to Moodle LMS⁴ in this paper, as to the one of the most popular dynamic web applications with the possibilities for teaching in online classes.

² Abbreviation CMS is used for the phrase “Content Management system”.

³ Abbreviation LMS is used in distance learning for the phrase “Learning Management System”, in librarianship for Library Management System, as web application for cataloging and organization of library holdings.

⁴ Moodle 0 Modular Object-Oriented Dynamic Learning Environment, LMS = Learning Management System

Moodle application is not driven from a local computer but from the institution's server, and the application itself is accessed from a local computer. However, there is also the possibility to install and run Moodle application on one's own computer. This possibility is crucial for a beginner, since it allows the user to first try and test application's possibilities and to acquire knowledge of the way of its use before installing the application on the institution's server (Cole and Foster, 2007, 1-21).

Online classes in Moodle LMS

The distinctiveness of Moodle LMS is reflected in its reliance upon the theory of social constructivism as a theory of learning, which allowed teachers to use teaching methods in the educational distance managed process using Moodle LMS. Web application Moodle LMS has a wide spectrum of possible use in all forms and at all levels of education aimed at managing distance learning and teaching processes. Moodle designers endeavored to create an array of learners' activities.

Moodle LMS is one of the most popular platforms designed for distance learning. Moodle's basis on educational theory and its orientation toward learning and teaching processes rather than toward used technology prompted me to direct attention to Moodle LMS and possibilities for teaching in online classes in music education, more accurately in musical culture classes.

Moodle LMS is an open source project, which means that users are allowed insight into the source, with the possibility to change the application and adjust it to their own needs (Cole and Foster, 2007, 11). The application can be downloaded free of charge from the official Moodle website (Moodle, 2012).

Web application Moodle LMS has a wide spectrum of possible use in all forms and at all levels of education aimed at managing distance learning and teaching processes. In this paper, I would like to present a way in which such an application can find its use in online classes in music education, actually in the classes on musical culture, and the possibilities for managing learning and teaching processes in the conditions when lecturers and students are separated in geographical and temporal sense.

Prerequisites for successful use of online classes in Moodle LMS

Before I began to present and describe learning modules and tools, and to analyze the possibilities of using the described learning modules and tools of Moodle LMS in online classes of musical culture, it was necessary to acquire the knowledge needed for programming in various program and server languages,

as well as to know work with server technology and many other applications designed for coding, programming, graphics, multimedia and video design.

For Moodle LMS practical use in online classes, the teacher is required to have a high degree of competence and knowledge; both professional and didactic, as key competences, and those pertaining to the knowledge, use and management of web and server technologies, educational technologies, knowledge of and programming in various program and server languages, knowledge of the administration system and of work in several software applications.

Therefore, teachers and students must be IT literate, know how to use information technologies and network resources, be familiar with server technology and many other applications designed for coding, programming, graphics, multimedia and video design to be able to participate in online classes in Moodle LMS. Successful online classes in Moodle LMS is based on the systematic and joint work of students, teachers, assistants, administrators, support staff and organizational conditions for the implementation of Moodle LMS.

Organizational conditions for the Moodle LMS implementation can be classified into educational and technological ones.

The category of educational conditions include:

- adopting distance learning as a regular way of learning/studying in given institution,
- ability to prepare teaching materials in line with technology of distance learning,
- ability to deliver classes,
- ability to control classes and learning quality, and
- ability to provide support to users and distance learning students.

The technological component of organizational conditions consists of:

- ability to use the required technology by students;
- sufficient degree of knowledge by technical staff in the educational institution, who will ensure the quality and permanent operation of all elements of technical conditions for the implementation of distance learning system;
- ability to respond quickly to technical breakdowns of the system (Cole and Foster, 2007, 1-9).

Besides educational and technological conditions, implementation of such a concept of classes requires both students' and teachers' motivation. Having these conditions met, we can practically present the possibilities and ways of delivering online classes in some contents of musical culture in Moodle LMS using the existing modules, learning tools, communication tools, etc.

Developing online classes in musical culture in Moodle LMS

In order to gain a clear understanding and present the possibilities for developing, managing and assessing the online teaching process using the web application Moodle LMS, I decided to describe, present, and practically use one of several ways of developing, managing and assessing the online teaching process in Moodle LMS on the example of content of classes in musical culture in the general-education high school from the angle of teachers, students and system administrator. While dealing with these issues, I was faced with a number of challenges and difficulties in achieving one of the goals and tasks of this work. Studying the possibilities of teaching using an extremely complex application in terms of programming such as Moodle LMS required the possession of various competences, particularly those related to the use of web technologies.

After a year-long intensive work on gathering literature, learning programming languages, work with web technologies, as well as preparing, drafting and posting contents in musical culture on the web application Moodle LMS on the server of my own computer rather than on the school's one, I managed to successfully develop online classes in musical culture for second-grade students of Cambridge International School in the First Bosniak General-Education Secondary School. The first and essential reason for selecting this content is that classes in musical culture proceed according to a reduced curriculum.

Implementation of online classes in Moodle LMS is one of the opportunities for students to adopt all teaching contents provided for by the Curriculum for musical culture rather than the reduced curriculum. Therefore, my intention was to use a selection of content for developing online classes to show the way in which we can additionally enrich the existing contents of musical culture that deal with distance learning and teaching, modern and up-to-date knowledge in this area. The contents I used when developing online classes as learning resources, are the contents that in regular classes of an hour per week are not supposed to be dealt with in-details.

For online classes in Moodle LMS, one should design a plan and mode of using modules process and procedures for developing and delivering classes in musical culture in high school, and learn how to use Moodle LMS from the viewpoint of teachers, students and system administrator. In the course of online classes, I have turned my own computer into a web server, to which I transferred the developed content of online classes and the entire Moodle, to allow students' access to online classes. I also installed and ran the version Moodle 1.9.19+ on my computer, at the address <http://localhost/moodle>. The same developed content of online classes and the entire Moodle should be transferred to the main web server, which we access from our own computer, or server should be installed on one's own computer.

I have accessed online classes in musical culture in Moodle LMS, at the address <http://onlinenastava.mk.ba>, as the system administrator, course developer, teacher, student, with the user name and password and also as a guest (unauthenticated user) who does not need a user name and password. Every student received the user number and password from the administrator, for their own access to Moodle LMS.

Activities that we want to complete in an online course must be planned and elaborated in advance. For developing musical culture online classes in the high school, I have planned the entire online classes' course in advance. Presentation and distribution of static contents or learning resources were parts of the plan. This implied posting texts, graphics, video and audio recordings that would be used as the basis of content we would teach in musical culture online classes.

The official site of the Moodle LMS version that I have used for developing and delivering online classes contains six static modules designed for content distribution, as follows: heading, textual page, web page, link to another file or external website, directory, and the IMS package. Using each of the listed modules we can present contents or learning resources to students.

The kind and amount of material and the teaching method determine which of the listed modules should be used as a means of distribution. We can present contents for classes in musical culture using all the six modules. For presenting contents I selected two: the module of heading, and the web page module. I used the heading module for posting information on the course in simply formatted text for students (short announcements and instructions), and the web page module, which allows richer text styling and formatting, as well as inserting graphics, video, sound, animation, flash and links in the text. The essential reason for selecting this module is that it allows us to format the inserted contents as we wish and to enrich it with graphic elements - which we could not simply do using the online text module, while additional reason was the need for presentation of extensive contents.

Most Moodle modules are developed in line with principles of the theory of social constructionism as the theory of learning. Therefore Moodle modules, and particularly the dynamic modules, both require and support collaborative learning and interaction. The primary intention of the modules, i.e. learning tools in the Moodle system is to facilitate and improve learning. Moodle learning tools enable teachers to use teaching strategies in online teaching processes. The modularity of Moodle offers extensive possibilities for using various teaching methods. We use models in the Moodle system as means of organizing, moderating and assessing educational activities in online educational environments.

Several learning tools were used for developing online classes in musical culture, and the selection and the manner of using a tool depended on the kind of subject matter planned at the given moment, as well as on the point in time in

the online course “distance learning and teaching”. Based on the above criterion, the online classes utilised the following dynamic modules or learning tools: database module, forum module, chat module, lecture module, glossary module, assignment module and test module (Cole and Foster, 2007, 70-103).

The point in time of module opening was defined, while the final module point was pre-defined with the date of closing our online course. Thus, in the first week, for developing the online classes I used the database module, lecture module, glossary module, assignment module with essay-type questions, and test module. In the second week, I used the database module, lecture module, glossary module, forum module and test module. In the third week, I used glossary module and chat module, while in the last week I used database module, lecture module, glossary module, forum module, survey module and test module.

All activity modules or learning tools shall not be developed as separate and independent modules. The modularity of Moodle allows us the development of a unique whole where its elements (modules) will communicate with each other.

Application of online classes in musical culture in Moodle LMS

Moodle system allows us to organize educational activities of a course thematically and chronologically, with five different course formats: LAMS, SCORM< Social, Thematic, Weekly format, and Weekly format without the SCC tabular formatting. The course format to be applied depends on following: the nature of the subject matter taught, teaching method used, defined goals and tasks of online classes, the number of students in online classes, course duration and many other factors (Cole and Foster, 2007, 20-25). I created classes in musical culture for students of the second grade at a general-education high school, and selected the type of the course that I considered the most appropriate for such content and the educational activities in “distance learning and teaching”. The entire online teaching process of the course proceeds in Moodle. It is also the reason why Moodle LMS is often called a courseware. Moodle allows the creation of course categories, super-categories and meta-courses. Based on these factors, I decided to create the course “distance learning and teaching” in the thematic course format and to define the course duration at four weeks. For the first week of our online course I selected and prepared contents for the teaching on topic of “Musical art in the age of Renaissance in Italy in the 16th century”. For the second week of the course, contents for the teaching topic “Works of George Friedrich Handel, and Johann Sebastian Bach” were prepared. The topic for the third week was “Works of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and Ludwig van Beethoven”, while in the fourth week we focused on the topic “Folk music tradition of Bosnia and Herzegovina”. The topics I selected and prepared for online classes according to the curriculum for musical culture for general-education high schools are scheduled for the first

semester. Online classes in Moodle LMS was developed for students who, upon participating in a survey where goals, tasks, duties, possibilities and advantages of online classes in Moodle LMS, voluntarily accessed online classes. Out of 20 surveyed students, 10 of them agreed to attend, which is sufficient for an experimental group.⁵

I distributed our educational activities in the thematic format by topics or thematic units (Figure 1). I did not limit the time for activities related to a thematic unit in the thematic format of the course, thereby allowing students to set their own pace of learning within 30 days scheduled for the course. In this course, I also selected the possibility for students to return to the already completed teaching units later, if they need it. However, I have clearly limited the time for some educational activities. In this way we allow students to use learning resources as teaching content, while we prevent them from abusing the possibility for re-using static contents by defining the dates of beginning and end of a given educational activity. At the very entrance to the online course, we created a short summary about what students can expect over the four weeks of online classes. In the summary, we also noted the possibility of assessing students' activities and that the grade they achieve in this online course is part of the final grade achieved in the end of the actual semester. The text of the summary is available at the very entrance to the online course, as well as its content, which students can see when accessing online classes. As the system administrator, I assigned user roles in the course. More accurately, I defined the user who will have the teacher's role in the course, the user in the role of system administrator and users with students' roles (Cole and Foster, 2007, 49-57).

⁵ We delivered online classes in musical culture in Moodle LMS at Cambridge International School at the First Bosniak General-Education High School in the first semester of 2012/2013 academic year (from 24. 11. to 24. 12. 2012).

The screenshot displays a Moodle course interface for 'muzika' (music). The top navigation bar includes 'Učenje i nastava na daljinu' and 'muzika > UND'. The left sidebar contains several menu sections: 'Prisutni korisnici' (Users online), 'Učesnici' (Participants), 'Aktivnosti' (Activities) with links to Forums, Izbori, Kvizovi, Razgovori, Resursi, Rječnici, Scorms, and Zadaci; 'Search Forums' with an 'Idi' button and 'Advanced search'; 'Administracija' (Administration) with links to Uključi uređivanje, Podešavanje, Assign roles, Procenti, Grupe, Rezervna kopija podataka, Vratite, Import, Reset, Reports, Pitanja, Datoteke, Ispitate me iz UND, and Profile; and 'Kategorije kurseva' (Course categories) with 'Prvi razred' and 'Drini razred'. The main content area is titled 'Opis teme' (Topic description) and lists four topics. Each topic includes a list of resources and activities such as audio files, videos, essays, and quizzes.

Učenje i nastava na daljinu

Opis teme

1. Muzička umjetnost u doba renesanse- Renesansa u Italiji u XVI stoljeću
 - Audio: Misa pape Marčelija-Palestrina
 - Video: Renesansa
 - Esejsko pitanje
 - Lista pojmova i definicije
 - Provjera znanja- priprema za završni test
2. Stvaralaštvo Georga Friedricha Handela i Johanna Sebastiana Bacha
 - Lista pojmova i definicije
 - Komparacija kompozicionog stvaralaštva Georga Friedricha Handela i Johanna Sebastiana Bacha
 - Provjera znanja- priprema za završni test
3. Video: Stvaralaštvo Wolfganga Amadeusa Mozarta
 - Video: Stvaralaštvo Ludwiga van Beethovena
 - Lista pojmova i definicije
 - Pripremiti prezentacije na osnovu filmova o stvaralaštvu kompozitora Mozarta i Beethovena
 - Diskusija na zadanu temu- Stvaralaštvo Mozarta i Beethovena
 - Provjera znanja- priprema za završni test
4. Narodna muzička tradicija Bosne i Hercegovine
 - Video: Sevdalinka- gradska pjesma
 - Audio: Sevdalinke u interpretaciji poznatih izvođača
 - Pitanja o obrađenim temama u toku sedmica
 - Anketa: Ocijenite kreiranu online nastavu
 - Provjera znanja

Figure 1: Course site with all elements for online course in musical culture⁶ (Idego, 2012)

Possibilities of Moodle LMS in online classes of musical culture

Continuous communication with students is an essential prerequisite for success. Moodle LMS distance teaching and learning applied in the musical culture classes at high school primarily emphasized the individualized approach to students, which can be achieved only in the close relationship with the awareness on students' personalities, their psychophysical abilities, way of work and success they have achieved in their previous work. Students have positively assessed the motivating aspect of such a form of education, reporting that it helped them sufficiently or a lot in mastering and supplementing the subject matter and in preparations for the final assessment.

It is essential that Moodle is user friendly. Contents posted in Moodle LMS should be continuously built upon with changes and innovations in content, methodology, while communication efficiency and content adjustability to different learning strategies should continuously be improved. A crucial segment of successful functioning of the whole system includes the construction of

⁶ Screenshot sajta kursa. Sajt kursa bio aktivan trideset dana za vrijeme trajanja online nastave, datum posjete: 16. 11. 2012.

knowledge assessment system, from self-assessment to final assessment of each educational unit. In order to achieve the best efficiency possible, all means that encourage students' work and advancement should be used. For each educational unit, it is necessary to design and clearly define learning results, so that students can have a clear picture of what is expected from them. Methods of knowledge assessment should be adjusted to learning performance, since they encourage different learning strategies.

After the completion of four-week online classes in which students of the experimental group studied teaching contents of musical culture in Moodle LMS online classes, while students of the control group studied contents in regular classic classes using other technologies according to the reduced curriculum, both groups of students were administered the final knowledge assessment test.

The aim of the testing was to determine how much the experimental group students advanced in this period and whether there were differences in achieved results between students of the two groups. The obtained test results reveals that students of the experimental group, after learning the content of musical culture in online classes in Moodle LMS along with the regular in-class classes, have achieved better results compared to the control group.

In the test, the experimental group students showed both good results, i.e. a higher number of points, and that they have acquired greater knowledge in the same content studied by the control group students. Their responses to test questions were on a higher level. To each question, the experimental group students responded correctly, with their own interpretation and more information. In the responses to questions in the final test, students of experimental group showed both better results and better knowledge.

The final test proves that use of online classes in Moodle LMS has its advantages. Besides the classic classes, using appropriate teaching methods, Moodle system modules, with interaction among students and timely feedback between the teacher and students in a high-quality, flexible and creative way; without an additional burden, students can adopt all the contents provided for by the curriculum of Musical culture for high schools of the Sarajevo Canton. Students who participated in online classes in Moodle LMS in musical culture had a positive opinion and views of the new way of working and learning.

Conclusion

The research conducted with the aim of gaining clearer understanding and presenting the possibility of developing, managing and evaluating the online teaching process using the web application Moodle LMS in teaching musical culture in the general-education high school reveals that distance learning can be equally successful as the traditional classes, if appropriate methods and

technologies are used, if there is interaction among students and timely feedback between the teacher and students.

By using Moodle LMS, students play an active role in the education process. Every activity in Moodle LMS is recorded and later serves for assessing students' work and success. Knowledge self-assessment allows students to evaluate the level of acquired knowledge, and indicates to the teachers an individual's activity or advancement through testing in certain time intervals.

We must make distance learning a detaching meaningful and directly applicable in reality, which results in a high level of processing the information obtained in the learning process. By structuring knowledge for others we learn ourselves. Distance learning and teaching are interactive, collaborative, it provides the teacher and students with the experience of group learning, learning from others, which allow students to use and develop metacognitive skills.

The first and main reason for choosing this kind of classes is that classes in musical culture for second-grade students of Cambridge International School in the First Bosniak General-Education High School proceed according to the reduced curriculum.

Implementation of online classes in Moodle LMS is one of the possibilities for students to adopt all the contents provided for by the curriculum for musical culture, rather than by the reduced curriculum. Therefore, our intention was to use the selection of contents for developing online classes to show in which way we can additionally enrich the existing contents of musical culture that involve distance learning and teaching with modern and up-to-date insights in the area.

Online classes are an active process requiring students to apply the information that facilitates their own interpretation and importance. Good interactive online classes facilitate the creation of knowledge, since students must take initiative to learn and be in interaction with other students and the instructor, while controlling their daily learning schedule by themselves. In online educational environment, students receive information firsthand, rather than receiving information filtered by the instructor, whose style may be different from theirs. Through online classes students experience information firsthand, which allows them to contextualize and personalize information themselves.

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PLAYING INSTRUMENT IN REGULAR MUSIC CLASS: MUSICAL-PEDAGOGICAL AND DIDACTIC IMPLICATIONS

SABINA VIDULIN

Abstract: The article elaborates the role and importance of introducing the activity of playing instruments in regular music class. Although represented in most previous curricula, in the 2006 curriculum playing an instrument has been given a great possibility for a qualitative realization. By studying through literature units, and interviewing teachers, the author systematized the advantages and limitations of playing instrument(s) in regular class. Also, the new model for playing instruments in class has been described.

Keywords: model; music class; playing instrument; primary compulsory school.

Preface

"The reason for learning and playing music is to improve the quality of life through countless opportunities and experiences that music provides."
(Johnson and Memmott, 2006)

Musical experience and expression of music are an integral part of human life. They depend on the person, its correlation with music, as well as on music work which, by its structure, becomes considerably closer to or distant from the persons' taste and preferences. In addition to singing, as the primary mode of expression, playing is another important factor in the musical expression of individuals and groups. It is a part of public and private everyday lives, a part of secular and spiritual events, and finds its place in kindergartens and schools.

Active music-making is the dominant activity in preschool. Besides singing, the activity of playing rhythmic instruments is frequent too. Kenney (1997) points out that playing an instrument is one of the first medium for musical development of children. Monighan-Nourot, Scales and Van Horn (1987) get along with this finding and statement. The same authors note that playing an instrument in early childhood is the central activity which introduces the children to the abstract world of music, and directly involves them in the music formation and creation.

Children at school continue their musical education through various activities. Active musicianship is the most direct way of acquiring music skills

and knowledge related to music (Reimer, 2003). One of the activities that are brought about is – playing an instrument. It enables students to perform and create music. Students are active, motivated to play, want to learn to play, and lessons are conducted in a pleasurable environment.

It is natural for children to want to be active, and since they love to play instruments and that the playing is considered pleasant activity, it is comprehensible why playing an instrument should be introduced at school. Besides that, playing an instrument enables experience, expressions and music understanding. In this way students learn, adopt and practically demonstrate the musical elements. Playing, therefore, is not only an enjoyable activity, but also the possibility for expanding their musical knowledge and skills.

Playing instrument in regular music class from the curricula perspectives

Including activity of playing an instrument in regular music classes¹ in Croatian schools commenced in the second half of the 20th century (Požgaj, 1988; Rojko 1996) and may be tracked through various curricula. It first appears in 1958, in the draft concept of the music teaching in compulsory primary school at the federal level² (*Osnovna škola, Programska struktura*, 1958), with intention for the children to play all the instruments available. The thesis that instruments contribute to a faster, easier and more comprehensive understanding of music and influence the children's creativity has been advocated for (*Osnovna škola; Odgojno-obrazovna struktura*, 1959). However, the prospects for its implementation were missing since not all schools had instruments at the time.

In the curriculum as of the 1960, playing an instrument was introduced for pupils from fourth to sixth grade, under two units: *Odgoj ukusa* (Upbringing taste) and *Odgoj za samostalno izražavanje* (Education for self-expression). Learning to play a melodic musical instrument was proposed as a free-form work (nowadays known as an extracurricular activities), while the rhythmical instruments were used in the regular classes. In the seventh and eighth grade, playing an instrument was proposed only as a free-form work. "Only instruments which, in terms of technical mastery, are not particularly difficult, those that may contribute to a faster, easier and more comprehensive understanding of music, and bring joy into the classroom musical life, are used for playing at school." (*Osnovna škola. Odgojno-obrazovna struktura*, 1960, 186)

In the re-edited curriculum of 1964, the program still covers the capacity of playing, with a note that "in general, work on the instrumental teaching should

¹ Throughout history the subject was entitled: Pjevanje (Singing), Muzički odgoj (Music Education), Glazbeni odgoj (Music Education), Glazbena kultura (Music Culture).

² The draft has resulted in the adoption of the Curriculum (1960).

be held during the regular classes” and also that it is “clear that the instrumental classes require higher technical mastering, and also that they are not suitable for collective training with the whole class, so those can take place within the extracurricular groups” (*Osnovna škola – odgojno obrazovna struktura*, 1964, 230).

The curriculum as of 1972 proposes songs for playing (*Naša osnovna škola. Odgojno-obrazovna struktura*, 1974). A novelty is the selection of the instruments in offer, and in addition to rhythmic instruments, the following ones are proposed: *tambura*, *melodika*, accordion, guitar and mandolin. The curriculum of 1983/1984 (*Plan i program odgoja i osnovnog obrazovanja*, 1989³) points out that playing instruments and singing does impact constant development of the student’s interpretive and expressive skills, and has the focus on traditional folk music, revolutionary and patriotic songs. It should be noted that playing an instrument is predominantly an activity that accompanies singing, and for this purpose the most suitable instruments are the rhythmic percussion. Moreover, the melodic instruments are desirable too, should the conditions exist. It is “necessary to be careful due to the poor quality of some instruments, which negatively affects the musical performance” (*Plan i program odgoja i osnovnog obrazovanja* 2, 1989, 20).

“The changes that have occurred in the social and political life of Croatia after multiparty elections in 1990 and the Croatian constitution as an independent state, have created the need of re-thinking the education goals and tasks.” (Duraković, 2016, 403) The tasks of teaching music were, among others, to have student focus on “playing the traditional instruments commonly in use in the area where the student lives (*tambura*, *sopile*, bagpipes, *gusle*, *dvojnice* and other folk instruments), and flute, *melodika*, metallophone, and other rhythmical instruments, but also to focus on the unconventional sound producers” (*Nastavni plan i program za osnovne škole u Republici Hrvatskoj*, 1991, 51). In the curriculum of the 1999 playing an instrument is set in the background. Thus, as described

³ In the introduction of the *Plan i program odgoja i osnovnog obrazovanja* A. Bežen points out that the curriculum was adopted in 1983, but was not published as a separate publication until 1988 and 1989. It has been published in several numbers of *Vjesnik Republičkog komiteta za prosvjetu, kulturu, fizičku i tehničku kulturu*, in the edition of *Školske novine*, during 1983 and 1984. In the *Plan i program odgoja i osnovnog obrazovanja* 2, *Predmetna nastava*, the curriculum for music teaching was included along with language and art, social area, foreign languages and students’ community fields. Since the year of publication has not been written, on the basis of an announcement in *Školske novine* No. 28, of 12th September 1989, in which it was stated that the innovated curriculum had just been published, we concluded that this happened in 1989. It is referred to the updated curriculum that had emerged after five or six years of its implementation in school. The 1988 curriculum introduced innovations for these areas: Foreign languages, Mathematics, Basic techniques and production, and in 1989 for the Defence and protection, course and elective classes, yet it remains uncertain whether the innovation was made in the music curriculum (language-art area has not been mentioned).

in the curriculum, music performance consists of (*Nastavni plan i program za osnovnu školu*, 1999, 69): “occasional application of instruments (primarily rhythmic instruments, while playing melodic instruments, as component of the earlier curricula, is now set within the content of the elective music courses)”. The knowledge of music art consists of different musical activities and “as a supplement to singing, students can sometimes freely play different simple instruments” (*Nastavni plan i program za osnovnu školu*, 1999, 69).

A different approach to playing instruments is brought about by the curriculum for the year of 2006, where it is stipulated that it can be the second area of the so-called open model⁴. According to the Curriculum (*Nastavni plan i program*, 2006, 67), among other things, students should be: “encouraged for independent musical activity (singing, playing)” within the task in which “playing is used simply for playing an instrument and not (just) for learning a concrete musical piece”.

The teacher can independently plan, organize, and realize the playing activity, having in mind given goal and purpose of activities, and taking into account the real possibilities of its feasibility and the final outcomes that the students can achieve. If playing an instrument is a part of a flexible concept of music teaching, students are interested and motivated, and the school has all the conditions set for carrying out these activities, it is possible to successfully realize playing instrument activity in regular classes.

Possibilities for playing instrument according to the curriculum and music textbooks

According to the aforementioned and currently applied 2006 curriculum, in the first three years of primary compulsory school activity of playing an instrument is proposed within the fields of: singing, listening to music, elements of musical creativity. Playing an instrument includes playing rhythm and playing meter with rhythm instruments. In addition to playing rhythm instruments, students learn to distinguish meter from rhythm. It can be used also as an accompaniment to rhymes and songs.

⁴ The open model enables a different view of the contents in music classes and of musical activities. The contents which by theory and verbiage hinder the implementation of the music teaching are excluded. There is one compulsory activity defined, while another one can be elective. Listening to music and music literature elaboration holds the dominant role in the music teaching, and provides that the second activity can be chosen from: singing, playing, musical literacy, creativity, dance, computer music, depending on the affinity of students and teachers. The goal of music teaching is oriented to education of music listeners and connoisseurs of music, and their active participation in the musical life of the environment. More in: Vidulin, 2016, 345-358.

In the fourth grade, playing an instrument is provided within the *Music games* field where, among other things, the playing is proposed for simpler instruments, *without great pretensions*. Analysing the music contents for the fourth grade, it is evident that they can be also realized by playing. Thus, by listening to music, learning about music and singing songs, students can play a C major scale, and songs in two, three and fourth time (meter). By playing, students show the level of knowledge and understanding of musical notation, solmization/music alphabet, rhythmic figures, tempo and dynamics.

Playing an instrument as music activity is present in the fifth and sixth grade under the unit *Free, improvised rhythmization, movement to music, dancing and playing*. In the curriculum (*Nastavni plan i program*, 2006, 73) the following is pointed out: "Teacher is completely free to create activities for this teaching area, taking into account their importance and quality." It is also mentioned that the students' activity is important, and that the abilities of the individuals are relative and different. Since folk themes are learnt from the fifth grade, folk songs, which are very simple to perform, are played.

The easier songs are performed in the fifth grade with the goal to repeat and determine all previously learned elements. Playing activity continues expanding major and minor tonality, with one or two signs. Songs from textbooks as well as fragments from the proposed art works from the curriculum are used. In accordance with the program, the knowledge related to the creation of musical works is acquired and applied (motif, phrase, sentence, period, two-part and three-part song).

In the sixth grade, songs from music literature that have up to two signs and fragments may be used for playing. By playing an instrument, student can demonstrate different music forms such as complex three-part song, and theme with variations. Considering the students' instrumental skills and the instrument that he/she plays, playing the thirds or adding accompaniment and playing with singing can be encouraged; but creativity also – where it is possible and feasible.

According to the curriculum for the seventh and eighth grade, playing an instrument can be realized within the framework of *Playing* (synthesizer), *creativity*, *PC* (midi-equipment) clusters, and carried out in harmony with the teachers' ideas and the concrete school possibilities. Besides certain songs that can be played, and the possibility of playing fragments from the musical literature, there are no greater links with the prescribed teaching contents for the fact that music class in the seventh grade is oriented mainly to listening and theoretical recognition and learning of instruments and instrumental music types. In the eighth grade, knowledge about musical and other vocal-instrumental types, popular music, electronic instruments, musical stylistic periods and jazz is acquired, and it is evident that greater attention to the activity of playing instrument cannot be given. Playing, however, can help in raising the

awareness of some music elements, and affect memorizing of some parts of the musical literature. In the seventh and eighth grade, in regard to the complexity of the curriculum, playing an instrument should not be an aggravating factor, but one of the possibilities for active musicianship.

Considering the problem of appropriate literature for playing instrument in primary compulsory school, we have analysed textbooks for music education⁵. The songs in the textbooks are of different genres: art, popular, authors, folk, traditional, religious, and patriotic. In determining the suitable songs to play in class, we were guided by the following criteria: major and minor tonalities up to two sign, simpler rhythmic structures, melody and genre diversity. In all textbook sets we have found the possibility of playing music on different instruments. Since the textbooks provide songs for singing and bring music sheets, some songs can be used for playing by notes. The textbooks consist of songs which have simple, and those of complex rhythmical-melody structures, so it is useful to extend playing by notes to playing by ear, especially for the songs that are more complicated to play by notes.

Besides offering a repertoire for singing, some music textbooks, just for some classes, favour the direct introduction to specific instruments. Specific characteristics of each instrument, e.g. way of playing recorders, keyboards – melodies and chords, guitar grips, *tambura* are presented.

Analysing the music textbooks make us conclude that there is a possibility for the realization of the playing activity. We have found total of 330 songs that may be used for this purpose. Some of them are included in the textbooks from several publishers. We found the greatest number of songs that can be performed in the *Svijet glazbe 4 – 8* textbook (Gašparđi et al., 2014; Raguz et al., 2014), while the approximate number of songs can be found in the textbooks *Allegro u glazbenom svijetu 4 – 8* (Dvořak, Jeličić Špoljar and Kirchmayer Bilić, 2014a,b,c,d,e), and *Glazbena četvrtica* (Sikirica, Stojaković and Miljak, 2014), *Glazbena petica* (Marić and Šćedrov, 2014), *Glazbena šestica* (Sikirica and Marić, 2014), *Glazbena sedmica*, and *Glazbena osmica* (Šćedrov and Marić, 2014a,b). In all the above – mentioned textbooks it is evident that most songs in the fifth and sixth-grade textbooks can be used for playing, but also that there is a difference in the types of songs suggested by the authors.

In the *Allegro u glazbenom svijetu 4 – 8* textbooks (Dvořak, Jeličić Špoljar and Kirchmayer Bilić, 2014a,b,c,d,e), the songs that may be used for playing are

⁵ We analysed music textbooks approved by the Ministry of Science, Education and Sports of the Republic of Croatia: *Allegro u glazbenom svijetu 4 – 8* (Dvořak, Jeličić Špoljar and Kirchmayer Bilić, 2014a,b,c,d,e); *Glazbena četvrtica* (Sikirica, Stojaković and Miljak, 2014); *Glazbena petica* (Marić and Šćedrov, 2014) *Glazbena šestica* (Sikirica and Marić, 2014) *Glazbena sedmica* and *Glazbena osmica* (Šćedrov and Marić, 2014a,b); *Svijet glazbe 4 – 7* (Gašparđi et al., 2014a,b,c,d); *Svijet glazbe 8* (Raguz et al., 2014).

located in a part called *Glazbena pjesmarica i slušaonica* and *Glazbena pjesmarica*, but also in the part *Hrvatska tradicijska glazba*. The total number of tracks is 93, and the great possibility to play songs in relation to the textbooks can be found in the sixth grade, namely 28 songs. We should point out that in the textbook *Allegro 5*, there is a special section called *Playing recorders*, documenting the tones from c^1 to c^2 , f sharp, b sharp and d^2 .

In the edition *Svijet glazbe 4 – 8* (Gašpari et al., 2014; Raguž et al., 2014), regardless of playing, 138 songs can be taken into account. The largest number of songs is offered in the fifth grade – 35 songs. In the textbook for the fourth grade, most of the songs are in the part called *Pjesmarica*, while few are in the part *Sviramo blokflautu*.

From the textbook set *Glazbena četvrtica* (Sikirica, Stojaković and Miljak, 2014), *Glazbena petica* (Marić and Šćedrov, 2014), *Glazbena šestica* (Sikirica and Marić, 2014), *Glazbena sedmica*, and *Glazbena osmica* (Šćedrov and Marić, 2014a,b) we can use 97 songs of which 32 are in the textbook for the fifth grade. In the textbook *Glazbena četvrtica*, under the elected content, we can find the area *Svirajmo blok-flautu* which brings didactic examples, and parts of certain songs that serve as recorder accompaniment for singing songs in class. Thus, the students learn the tones: h^1 , a^1 , g^1 , c^2 , d^2 , and also cover other tones: f^1 , e^1 , d^1 , c^1 . The *Glazbena sedmica* textbook brings instructions on how to play chords on the keyboard and guitar.

Contents that are to be adopted by playing are introduced gradually, starting from the fourth grade. In fourth grade, students play the songs in C major, which contain simple rhythmic figures, ranging from c^1 to c^2 . In fifth grade the extent known tones are increased (a – d^2), new rhythmic structures are introduced (syncope, sixteenth and combinations, breaks), and measures changed. In sixth grade longer, rhythmically complex songs (triplets are introduced) and melody (interval) are demanding, but more musically available. In the seventh and eighth grade, the songs are more complex, and it is important to learn a song by ear. That way the student hears what he/she has to play. In these classes the focus is on the theoretical approach to the contents, with greater concentration on listening to music and learning about music, and, at the same time, the songs are more challenging, so it is clear that the time for playing is limited. Therefore, it is important to keep playing in, already familiar rhythms and major-minor tonality to sign or two, or play the rhythmic instruments to accompany the song which is sung. The teacher will decide if it is necessary to insist on playing an instrument, and if so – which way to carry out this activity.

Advantages and limitations of playing instrument in the classroom: theoretical template and teachers' point of view

Playing an instrument in a regular class has its advantages and limitations. Music educators emphasize the benefits that are achieved by playing – from the development of professional (music) competencies to the achievement of the emotional stability, social interaction and even the improving of the academic achievement. Mark (1987) points out that playing affects the development of cognitive skills and fine motor skills. Students learn how to become self-disciplined, diligent and engaged, they learn to deal with success and defeat (Covay and Carbonaro, 2010). Schellenberg (2004), on the grounds of the research results, deducts that children who have had instrument lessons increase their IQ. Schumacher (2009) points out that playing an instrument influences for better academic achievement. Reich (1963) cites a multitude of arguments in favour of this activity, such as: a child wants to be active, playing creates working habits, children can enter the essence of music more easily and they develop the discipline and habit of subordinating to the collective. By playing, a student learns to appreciate the work of others, to be responsible for the success of the collective, develops a competitive spirit, and starts to be proud of himself/herself. Likewise, student exercises his/her concentration, precision, and patience, as indicated by Plavša, Popović and Erić (1961). They also mention that by playing the student acquires responsibility for the success of the collective.

Plavša, Popović and Erić (1961) note that playing an instrument is a synthesis of music experience with experience in conformity with performer's movements, so it is desirable that each student spends some time playing an instrument (author's note – rhythmic instrument). Požgaj (1988, 62) suggests that it is necessary to play an instrument because that way "students who, for some reason, are not able to sing, can actively participate in the playing activity". Regner (1980) considers that it would be hard to imagine music lessons without instruments, because it is not possible to learn music without the hands-on activities.

We will also highlight the limitations in carrying out playing activity, with the (non) availability of instruments for classroom musicianship being the leading one. Limitations arising from daily practice, to which the music teachers surveyed point in one research⁶, are: lack of literature, difficult acquisition of

⁶ In September of 2016, the questionnaire was, by electronic means passed to the teachers of Music Culture from Croatia – those who have been conducting the activity of playing for several years. The sample was obtained on the basis of knowledge and insights into teaching practice by county advisers for the subject of Music Culture. Twelve teachers responded to the poll aimed at exploring the advantages and disadvantages of playing instruments in regular class. The respondents, pointed out to the following: the reasons for conducting the activities

instruments, lack of instruments in the classroom, group too large for playing, no time for the realization of the activity, one hour per week for music lesson. Rojko states that playing in the school is without any artistic value, naming three reasons for such a statement: "(...) the instruments available (e.g. instruments of Orff's collection, block flute, *melodika*, and other school instruments), their poor quality, and insufficient time to practice. Although psychologically justified – for children are motivated to play, such activity cannot be justified musically, i.e. artistically. Playing in compulsory school can make sense if students perform real music on real instruments." (Rojko, 1996, 122)

However, taking into account both, the advantages and limitations, we believe that playing in a regular class still has more advantages. The goal of playing an instrument in regular class is not to teach students to play the instrument with excellency, nor make them in to artists⁷, but to give them the opportunity to become active participants in music lesson, enable them for better understanding of music by raising awareness of the musical elements, and make music teaching interesting, practical, and useful. While playing an instrument in a regular class has no artistic value (artistic contribution cannot be expected in regular music classes!), the playing itself still represents a pleasure for students, and it increases the desire for a better exploration of music, which is very important to achieve in their music education. Požgaj (1988, 17) points out that the child's pleasure in playing an instrument is a "sufficient reason for playing to be considered as possibility, and that this activity is a legitimate one".

As indicated by Neely (2001), the fact is that young people like to play and often choose this activity if offered. Interest and students' inner motivation are on the side of playing as an activity in regular class. What remains as questionable is the teachers' commitment, a strategy that would encourage playing to a greater extent and in a more concrete form, and the (financial) support from schools.

It is visible from teaching practice that only a small number of teachers decide to carry out playing an instrument in regular classes, but also that the strategy of those who carry out the activity is very clear and concrete, and even despite the lack of equipment, they introduce the activity. In the aforementioned research, music teachers have pointed out to the value that playing has in the regular class:

"I notice more interest for music lessons, but also for music in general."; "Children are always interested, happy, smiling, they all are active in the lesson, it is very lively, and also useful."; "The atmosphere in the classroom is at ease, students are involved in active musicianship, they develop motor skills, and are more agile. By playing, they understand the musical forms better.";

of playing in regular class, the problem of school instruments, the ways to popularize the playing activities, and the ability of students participate at concerts.

⁷ The great instrumental skill can be acquired in state/public music schools, and also by means of private courses led by musical associations.

“The students in the class who are not academically excellent or even have a disciplinary problem, become recognized in another way.”; “Students are doing their best, they are joyful and feel proud of their results.”; “The children are satisfied and have a positive attitude for the music lesson.”

Education practice in Croatian schools shows that students in regular music class play primarily on rhythmic and melodic percussion, and self-made instruments⁸, but also play music on block flute, *melodika*, *tamburica*, synthesizer, guitar, mandolin, accordion, and piano. According to the responses of the teachers surveyed, we have noticed that there are schools that have all the instruments, but also the ones with just a few instruments.⁹ In many schools that do not have instruments, students would bring their own, usually a block flute. It is necessary that a student really plays the functional instrument, and that the lessons are conducted in specialized classrooms. An important part of equipment in the music classroom is the piano or synthesizer, then a guitar, an accordion, *tamburica* and/or any other instrument that, with a help of a teacher, may be used to explain and demonstrate different music works, and to perform harmonic accompaniment.

The activity of playing instrument is not performed in schools often, even in the same school it may vary – in relation to the classes and grades. The survey results show that some teachers introduce playing in all grades and classes, but most of the teachers decide to realize the activity in the fourth, fifth, and sixth grade while students in the seventh and the eighth grade play rarely, or do not play at all. Some teachers have introduced playing only in certain classes, regardless of grade, which depends on the potentials but also on the interest of students. The reason for this is the lack of interest detected at so-called higher grades students. The fact is that great interest of students to play, recorded in the fourth grade, in most cases remains present throughout the fifth and sixth grade. However, it is evident that the popularity of playing decreases in seventh and eighth grades, along with students’ motivation and interest. The reasons for it can be in the following: the interest for other ways of musical experience and expressions, other students’ needs and desires, more school obligations, etc. The state of play as such is also influenced in regards to the musical works proposed; more complex ones, demanding much more time and effort to be invested so as to play the song.

Having this in mind, a teacher has three options. The first one, in which he/she still gravitates towards playing in regular classes, but to a lesser manner and with

⁸ Regarding the hand-made instruments, one polled teacher writes as it follows: “I gave up on the absurd ‘instruments’ in which a vegetable grater, or a plastic tray for meat, served as the guiro, a trashcan replaced the drums, and a rubber on the stick the stick....”

⁹ One interviewed teacher shared a case in which he was personally engaged in obtaining the sponsor’s funds in order to purchase high-quality instruments for the school.

less intensity, the second, in which only some students play an instrument, and the third one, in which the teacher completely abandons the activity of playing instrument(s) in regular class. Playing to a lesser extent can be implemented with all students, yet without burdening them with the song and learning it. In that way, playing serves only as an additional way of explanation of a particular musical phenomenon. In this case, the musical notation is not important, but the phenomenon itself, which can be achieved through playing by ear. Furthermore, it can be left with students to choose whether they still will insist on playing, and this represents a possibility for the process of individualization in the class. Also, the teacher can give up activity of playing an instrument and move the focus to another activity.

It is important to point out that, whatever a teacher and his/her students decide, playing can be offered as an extracurricular activity that provides for better conditions (independent students' selection of the activity, two hours per week) for the developing of the instrumental skills and the acquisition of certain musical experience in solo or musicianship in a group.

In regards to the question of how the teachers popularize playing an instrument in regular class, the respondents emphasize that pupils have performed a short class concerts at school and/or at city events, either independently or as an accompaniment to choir. An interesting viewpoint is the one in which teachers indicate that students need not be particularly encouraged to play because they are self-motivated; they love this activity and as soon as they see the instruments they do want to play. They are also motivated through participation in school orchestras, which gives school a specific quality (*The whole school is a playing environment*).

Playing an instrument has been suggest by teachers to their other colleagues due to standing that it is a way to bring something new into their classes, create a pleasant classroom environment, enrich school events, and motivate students to acquire the instrumental skills. Playing an instrument encourages children's creativity. They learn about music, demonstrate the learned music contents, and they play. Teachers indicate that holding to students' interest in playing an instrument requires a considerable commitment.

Summarizing the reasons for carrying out playing an instrument in regular class, and according to the responses of the surveyed teachers, we have noticed different approaches and classified those into three categories: professional aspect, emotional and social aspects, and external factors. Professional aspect, in sense of acquiring musical knowledge and skills, is associated with applicability and better understanding of musical elements, listening identification and correction of errors, learning quickly to play by notes, practical application of knowledge, expression through music, and musical creativity encouragement. Emotional and social aspects have been recognized in the fact that the students

love to play, are interested, and joyful in collaborative musicianship. The classroom environment is favourable, deepens the intensity of playing together, and students actively participate in class workshops. We have identified the influence of external factors in the following: the continuation of the successful tradition of playing in regular class, available instruments in a school, and the fact that the current music education for students favours the implementation of activities at school.

Playing instrument in regular music class: didactic implications

The research conducted as experiment with parallel groups in 2010 in one Istrian primary school was guided by the hypothesis that by playing an instrument students understand music better (more in: Vidulin, 2013, 23-39). The study sample consisted of 25 ten-year old fourth grade students. The music lessons with the control group have been realized through two activities: listening to music, and singing (IVa), while in the experimental group, instead of singing, the experimental factor was introduced – playing synthesizer (IVb). The work started by identifying the inception state, then an experimental factor was introduced, and at the end, the final outcomes of the students from both groups within the regular musical classes were established.

The results of the experimental group in raising awareness of musical components were compared with the control group. In both groups, the control and the experimental one, following music contents have been elaborated: two, three and four measure, melody, rhythm, tempo, dynamics, repetition, corona, and small musical phrase. The results (Table 1) obtained show that students of both groups have achieved a high level of recognition of the musical elements (rhythm, melody, dynamics and tempo), however, the students in the experimental group have also gained the elementary instrumental skill. The biggest difference recorded was in the level of students' knowledge. In the control group (singing) all the elements have been learned at the level of recognition, but the students weren't able to demonstrate all the components. The students could distinguish rhythm from melody, tempo from dynamics, but they could not use the acquired knowledge independently. One of the reasons is that most students did not have the correct (exact) singing intonation so they weren't able to reproduce the melody accurately. In spite of their knowledge about what the tempo and the dynamics are, they were not able to apply it to new songs, because they were not musically literate for singing at sight. In class they sing by ear, repeating after the teacher's singing. The results of the experimental group showed that the students during the school year have learned to play simple songs by notes, but also to observe and remember the musical concepts so that they were able to apply it to the new songs. Students proved able to analyse the music

autonomously and play simple songs by notes. By playing, they have acquired the basics of musical language which resulted in a higher level of understanding and application of musical elements. They have knowledge about playing the C major scale, and songs in C major, play in various measures, they learn to recognize and perform simple rhythmic figures, recognize and use the basic tempo and dynamics marks. They become aware of the measures, rhythm and musical notation, and the application of this specific knowledge is effectuated.

Control group	Experimental group
<i>both classes had achieved an enviable level of knowledge of musical elements (rhythm, melody, dynamics, tempo)</i>	
<i>contents were taught both in the control and in the experimental group: double time, triple time and quadruple time measure, melody, rhythm, tempo, dynamics, repeat sign, corona, double bar, small musical phrase</i>	
<i>all elements were learned at the level of recognition, and not all elements could be demonstrated</i>	<i>high level of understanding (and application) of musical elements</i>
<i>despite the fact that they knew what tempo and dynamics were, they were no table to apply them individually in a new composition</i>	<i>much better identified and remembered musical concepts that they were able to demonstrate in other songs</i>
	<i>learned to play simple songs by notes</i>
	<i>basic playing skills</i>

Table 1. Research findings

For the purpose of the above-mentioned research, the didactic model for the elementary playing instrument in regular class is elaborated (more in: Vidulin, 2013, 23-39). It has four phases, out of which the first three are introduced in the fourth grade, when the students start to play. The first phase involves mastering of the rhythmic patterns and performing by playing different rhythmic structures (from eight notes to whole notes). Teacher works with students but working independently is also intense. At this stage, it can be played in many voices, in pairs, groups, with different research tasks, and at the same time it can encourage the children's creativity. In the second phase the musical notations are introduced and practiced by playing of various didactic exercises. The students learn the solmization, and read notes by music alphabet. After that, the whole class reads the didactic example with rhythmic syllables and solmization/alphabet, with teacher demonstrating on how to play each bar, and then students practice to play the example. The third phase includes the independent learning of a song, and is based on the songs from the textbooks that students sing by ear. Knowing

the song melody is of a great help in mastering the song by the notes because, in the process of learning to play, the content that the student hears and that what the notation shows can be treated as *partners*. Regardless of whether a student sings the song correctly or incorrectly, in the auditory impression, he/she will remember and keep the perception about how the song should sound. The fourth phase is introduced and carried out as of the fifth grade, and is characterized by the independent work of students. The only part of the lesson to which the frontal approach in work is applied is the joint analysis of the example which will lead to the explanation of some music issues (tonality, melodic leaps, and rhythmic patterns). After a common work with teacher activity, each student learns the song and plays autonomously, and teacher helps each student.

It is important to plan the time for playing, from the common analysis of examples, independent students' work, to the public performance of the song. Playing can be relatively encouraged by the textbook that offers different songs, but an important link is also with other materials prepared by a teacher: from didactic to art and popular songs, or fragments from music literature prepared for the elementary playing in primary compulsory school.

On the regular class, students play shorter and less musical-technical complex songs or they can play simplified fragments of a lengthier musical work. Also, they may play a melody with elementary harmonic accompaniment, which all depends on the students' music skill. Students who are not interested in playing melodic instruments can be included in the music lesson by playing rhythmical instruments, or singing. It is important that they make the music, feel the music, and that they are actively engaged in music.

From professional-music point of view, and in regular education process, while student playing, the attention is paid to the identification, analysis, and demonstration of different types of melody movement (ascending, descending, headlong, gradually, in or out tonality, in varying volume), rhythm diversity (simple and complex rhythms, dotted rhythms), playing in a variety of measures, with different tempo, dynamics, agogics. Students demonstrate the musical elements that are part of curriculum for a particular class. In addition to all the mentioned musical aspects, it is important to point out to the phrasing and aesthetics of the song, to the extent that this can be achieved, and in relation to the students' skills and knowledge and the instrument in which music is performed. The goal is to play some simple songs by notes, but also to make music, express music, and memorize music.

The fact is that playing an instrument is a highly effective activity because the concentration of students, their awareness, activity and self-activity is expressed. The observing and learning from mistakes, a better understanding of music contents and the use of acquired knowledge is noticeable. Playing melodic instrument greatly affects the creativity of students. In fact, the student's usage of

the known musical elements but from a different angle and leading it in a different direction gets them the possibility to create new things and original products.

The teacher can identify gifted and talented students who will be referred to further musical training, or included in extracurricular musical activities. The possibility of playing an instrument in the school is one of the possibilities by which schools contribute to the development of a child and encourage him/her for taking the direction of additional music education that can be realized both in music schools and by instrumental courses.

Conclusion

The teachers' experiences shared indicate that, in the regular music classes, the initial level of playing by notes can be achieved in favour of a better understanding of music and its acceptance. Students learn by playing and what they learn can be practically demonstrated. In that way it is possible to realize their level of instrumental skill and application of knowledge. The students can process a substantial part of the fourth to sixth grade curriculum, and a part of seventh and eighth grade curriculum. The musical contents which may be realized by playing encompass different rhythmic figures, simple and complex measures, tempo, dynamics, tonality, and musical forms. By playing songs or short music fragments they become aware of music and remember different types of musical works. They are also ready to improvise and to create music. Didactic model presented in this work is a proposal of manner to introduce students to the area of playing, and how to achieve the ultimate goal regarding the development of knowledge about music through the guided but also independent work. The fact is that the music knowledge affects understanding of music, and better understanding affects its acceptance. By playing an instrument it is possible to accept musical work that students do not consider as a primary one in their life and to which they do not naturally incline.

Focusing on music is in second plan regarding students' thrust and their competences. In addition to the positive effects of playing on children's overall personality, the efficiency of playing is reflected in the peculiar concentration of students, in mindful and active work, observing and learning from the mistakes, hands-on activity, better understanding of learning contents, and utilising the knowledge acquired. In music terms the students play the melody by notes, play the melody and harmonic accompaniment, play what they hear, create and perform songs. Furthermore, playing in regular class can motivate them for getting in to music school where they can continue developing the instrumental skill on the same or some other instruments. Also, the students may be encouraged to play in the orchestra or to form a music band. The students can acquire habit of visiting the concert events where they would closely monitor the performers,

their technique and interpretation. Due to the positive experiences, there is no obstacle for students to play instrument in the regular music classes.

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PART III:

NEW RESEARCH – ETHNOMUSICOLOGY

THE MULTICULTURALITY OF CHILDREN'S FOLKLORE IN VOJVODINA¹

NICE FRACILE

Abstract: The objective of this paper is to cast light – relying on use of the subject-related literature and on personal field research over the past three decades – on the phenomenon of multiculturalism of children's folklore practice found in some national/ethnic communities in Vojvodina: Serbs, Hungarians, Slovaks, and Romanians. Considerable attention is given to the (dis)continuity, changes, comparative research and the latest trends in the children's folklore on the cultural scene of this multicultural milieu.

Key words: multicultural Vojvodina; children's folklore; continuity/discontinuity; folkloric cross-penetrations; comparative research.

The Autonomous Province of Vojvodina is one of the those regions in Southeastern Europe which are identified as strikingly multiethnic, multicultural and multiconfessional ones: it is a territory where diverse national and ethnic communities have lived together for centuries, exerting various cross-influences that produced cross-penetration and fructification in both material and spiritual heritage, including the field of musical folklore.

According to the 2011 census, 26 national/ethnic groups live in the Province, and six languages are in official use: Serbian, Hungarian, Slovak, Croat, Romanian, and Ruthenian/Rusyn (Bosnić Đurić, 2014, 149-150). Teaching languages in public, both primary and secondary schools include – in addition to Serbian, five languages of minority peoples (Hungarian, Slovak, Croat, Romanian and Ruthenian/Rusyn). The publishing scene is also made up of the said languages, plus (to a lesser extent) German, Ukrainian, and Romany.² There are 17 periodicals in the field of culture, arts and literature that are regularly published in Vojvodina; seven of these are issued in the languages of national minorities and ethnic groups.³

¹ This study has resulted from the ethno-musicological research within the project of Matica Srpska titled "Multikulturalnost dečijeg folklora u Vojvodini" (Multiculturalism of Children's Folklore in Vojvodina) carried out by the institution's Department of Stage Arts and Music. At this point, I wish to express my profound gratitude for the trust and support provided.

² For more on the schools and curricular programmes which provide teaching in the languages of national minorities, see: *Srednje škole | Edukacija*, n.d.

³ There are four publishing houses specializing in the editions in minority languages: DOO *Forum*, Novi Sad (Hungarian), AD *Štamparija Kultura*, Bački Petrovac (Slovak), NIU *Ruske*

In 2008, the Assembly of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina – in cooperation with the national councils of the said minorities – established the cultural institutes of the Hungarians, Slovaks, Croats, Romanians and Rusyns in Vojvodina. Their objective is to preserve, upgrade and promote those national/ethnic communities respective cultures (Bosnić Đurić, 2014, 153). Radio-Television of Vojvodina (RTV) broadcasts in the Serbian language, plus nine languages of the minorities (Hungarian, Slovak, Romanian, Rusyn, Bunjevac dialect [*bunjevački*], Ukrainian, Romany, Croat and Macedonian), which is a striking rarity Europe-wide.⁴ Additionally, there are local radio and/or TV broadcasters operating in the minority languages.

The very term “multiculturality” is of a recent date, and it mostly implies coexistence and cross-penetration of a number of cultures and forms of cultural life within a milieu, region, or country. It is also interpreted as a “specificity of a developed, enlightened, humane and democratic society” (Rotar, 2008/2009, 5), which should “enable acceptance, or at least tolerance, of other cultures” (Požar, 2016, 114).⁵

A number of studies on the multiculturalism of Vojvodina have been published in various scientific fields (Koković, 2011, 42-49; Požar, 2016, 113-127; Ratković, 2013, 64-82; etc.), while in *Zbornik radova: IV međunarodni skup “Multikulturalnost i savremeno društvo”* (The Proceedings of the 4th International Gathering “Multiculturalism and the Contemporary Society”) one can read

Slovo, Novi Sad (Rusyn), and NIU *Libertatea*, Pančevo (Romanian). For more on the issue and on the publishing scene related to minority cultures in Vojvodina, see: Kultura Vojvodina, 2016

⁴ The currently operating TV channel RTV 1 broadcasts in Serbian, while the RTV 2 broadcasts in Serbian and the minority languages. The role of RT Vojvodina has remained communicational, emancipatory, and educational, political and socioeconomic, but above all cultural; for, this broadcaster is the mainstay of an important cultural mission and a promoter of musical-folklore values of the national/ethnic communities in the Province (Fracile, 2009, 189-190). For more on traditional music of the minorities in the programmes of RT Vojvodina (in the Republic of Serbia), see in the related publication by N. Fracile (Fracile, 2009, 185-192).

⁵ As has been perceived by the sociologist Dragan Koković, “the recent years have seen a large-scale debate on multiculturalism as a postulate that diverse cultural groups exist in each society whereby *none of the forms has the legitimacy to impose itself as dominant culture*. Hence the necessity to establish rules of coexistence of those groups based on absolute equality and mutual recognition” (2011, 42). In his writing “Multikulturno ili interkulturno obrazovanje” (Multicultural or Intercultural Education), Koković thinks that the term *multiculturalism* “usually means that form of cultural policy, the concept of society (multicultural society) in which several cultures coexist on equal terms, while ‘interculturalism’ implies a cultural policy oriented toward an intercultural society wherein several cultures are in the phase of dialogue and search for a new cultural synthesis” (Koković, 2011, 42).

contributions that perceive this complex social phenomenon in interdisciplinary manner (Maksimović, 2013, 158-166; Spasić, Trajković and Lazarević, 2013, 167-176).

There are many published ethno-musicological studies/writings dealing with the traditional music and dance of Vojvodina's national/ethnic communities; approaching their respective topics from the comparative standpoints, their authors spotlight the wealth, peculiarities, differences and cross-penetrations of the folkloric heritage of this multiethnic province in the Republic of Serbia (Ivkov, 2006, 198-213; Ivkov, 2015, 189-199; Karin, 2009, 259-267; Fracile 2001a, 153-163; Fracile, 2001b, 19-34; Fracile, 2012, 157-164; Fracile, 2013d, 622; Fracile, 2013e, 191-216; Jurjovan, 1983, 33).

The objective of this paper is to cast light – relying on use of the subject-related literature and on personal field research over the past three decades – on the phenomenon of multiculturalism of children's folklore practice found in some national/ethnic communities in Vojvodina: Serbs, Hungarians, Slovaks and Romanians. Considerable attention is given to the (dis)continuity, changes, comparative research and the latest trends in the children's folklore on the cultural scene of this multicultural milieu. For the needs of this research, 200 examples of children's folklore have been analyzed; they were recorded in both rural and urban milieux, involving pre-school and school children, students and informants of middle-aged and senior generations – that is, ages 5 to 87.

Unlike the numerous folklore genres that (adult) people no longer practise, children's folklore in Vojvodina makes part of the living tradition. Despite this fact, it has to a great degree remained beyond the attention and research of ethnomusicologists. The rare published writings in this field often begin with a statement that children's folklore has been examined too little – not in Vojvodina only, but in some neighbouring countries as well (Marjanović, 2005, 8; Fracile, 1989, 522; Planjanin, 2014; Rajković, 1978, 37; Comișel, 1982, 7).

The emergence of cutting-edge electronic devices has taken much of the children's preoccupations, leaving many children's activities aside. In both rural and urban milieux, however, one can still witness children's songs and music-involving games – yet less often than before. Some of them are part of the surviving heritage, while others have come into being inspired by the modern world of children.

An analysis of the folkloric material from the four above-mentioned national communities, the recorded songs have been classified as follows:⁶

- Counting rhymes;
- “pattern-songs”⁷ which mirror children’s response to nature (joy, desire, response to the sight of a bird, snail, sun, etc.);
- songs sung while dancing (*kolo* / ring dance or another type of dance or games);
- songs sung while making particular movements of arms, hands, legs, body (action songs);



Figure 1: Anamaria Borca and Slavița Stepan, in the village of Kuštilj, 2014 (Fracile, 2014a)

⁶ This classification would have been impossible had there not been the assistance provided to me by the members of the Hungarian and Slovak minorities in Vojvodina – Zsófia Kanalas, ethnomusicologist, Ágnes Meleghy, music teacher, and Anna Zorňanová, student of Ethnomusicology master studies at the Academy of Arts in Novi Sad. (Also, Ágnes Meleghy and Anna Zorňanová sang to me a number of children’s songs from the folklore heritage of Vojvodina’s Hungarians and Slovaks respectively.) For all their help, I express my deepest gratitude.

⁷ The term has been taken over from the Romanian folklore to denote a sub-genre of songs which are often performed according to a stable melodic-rhythmical pattern that is varied during performance from one performer to another.



Figure 2: Daniel Colojoară and David Butan, in the village of Kuštilj, 2014 (Fracile, 2014b)

- cognitive songs;
- educational/learning songs;
- songs as parts of a folk custom;
- songs without alongside movements/action, passed from one (kindergarten or school) generation to another.

Although performed in different languages, some Serbian/Hungarian/Slovak/Romanian children's songs often have an identical function. Thus, for instance, counting rhymes may serve to divide a group of children into two or more subgroups, or to determine which child is going to shut his/her eyes. Also, children's songs may serve for cognitive, educational (learning), communication, imitation and amusement purposes.⁸ The children's songs which have identical topic/theme are noticeable, too. Thus, within the sub-category of "pattern-songs", I have recorded those that express children's fun in their play with a (garden) snail: *Pusti, pužu, rogove* – Serbian, *Csiga-biga gyere ki* – Hungarian, *Slimačik mačik* – Slovak, *Cucumelc melc* – Romanian. The lyrics, however, display some differences, for the Serbian/Hungarian/Slovak/Romanian children address the

⁸ The enlisted folklore sub-categories have been identified in the material analyzed, which by no means denies the existence of other kindred songs.

snail in their own specific ways. Thus, the snail may be threatened by punishment in case it disobeys the child's order ("I am going to kill you"), or promised a reward ("you'll get some milk and butter"). Here follow the lyrics of the Serbian song about the snail first, then the translations of the same song from Slovak, Hungarian and Romanian, accompanied by corresponding notations:⁹

Mg. 64/A13

Performed by Dragana Maravić, 9 years old
Recorded and transcribed by N. Fracile
Novi Sad, May 5, 1998

(♩ = cca 91)

Pus - ti, pu - žu, ro - go - ve, Na ba - bi - ne do - lo - ve,

A - ko ne - ćeš pus - ti - ti Ja ću te - be u - bi - ti!

U ze - le - noj tra - vi Se - ki - rom po gla - vi.

O.F.

Figure 3. *Pusti, pužu, rogove* (Fracile, 1998)

Hold out your horns, oh snail,
Onto Grandma's vale,
For if you wouldn't hold them out
I'm going to kill you
On the grass here green,
Cutting your head with an axe.

⁹ The English translation conveys the meaning, not the syllabic and rhyming structure.

WS750121

Performed by Anna Zorňanová, 20 years old
 Recorded and transcribed by N. Fracile
 Novi Sad, April 18, 2013

(♩ = cca 88)

Slí - má - čík má - čík, vis - trč____ roš - ki,
 ak ňe - vis - tr - číš bu - chňem řa____ o zem,
 bu - ě z ře - ba hro - zeň.

(♩ = cca 111)

Ak ňe - vis - tr - číš bu - chňem řa____ o stou,
 bu - ě z ře - ba kos - tou.

O.F.

Figure 4. *Slímáček máčik* (Fracile, 2013a)

Hey snail, you snail, stretch out your horns,
 If you don't, I'll hit you against the table,
 And turn you into a church,
 If you don't, I'll hit you against the ground,
 And turn you into a scary sight.

WS750133

Performed by Ágnes Meleghy, 23 years old
Recorded and transcribed by N. Fracile
Novi Sad, April 19, 2013

(♩ = cca 70)

Csi - ga - bi - ga gyé - re - ki Ég a há - zad i - de - ki'

Kapsz te - jet, va - jat, Hol - nap - ra is ma - rad!

O.F.

Figure 5. *Csiga-biga gyere ki* (Fracile, 2013c)

Come out, oh little snail,
For your shell-home is burning here,
You'll get some milk and butter
Enough for tomorrow, too!

CD31/9

Performed by Daniela Barbu, 9 years old
and Gabriela Barbu, 6 years old
Recorded and transcribed by N. Fracile
Kuştilj, June 15, 1988

(♩ = cca 77)

Cu - cu - melc melc, Scoa - te coar - ne bu - i - reşti.

Şi te du' la bal - tă Şi bei a - pă cal - dă,

Şi te du' la Du - nă - re, Şi bei a - pă tul - bu - re.

O.F.

Figure 6. *Cucumelc melc* (Fracile, 1988)

Oh, snail, little snail,
Stretch forth your boyar horns.
Go to the little puddle
And drink plenty of warm water,
Go to the Danube bank
And drink plenty of muddy water.

The well-known Serbian song *Laste prolaste* (Fly through oh swallows) sung along some dancing steps and an arrangement of participants' positions, has also been identified within the folklore heritage of some other ethnic communities in Vojvodina: *Bújj, bújj, zöld ág* – Hungarian, *Sita, sita penta* – Romanian, *Zlatna brana* – Slovaks, with some variations in the performance.¹⁰ I still remember that in my childhood we used to sing the dance song *Sita, sita penta*, without understanding its lyrics, for in the Romanian language it had no sense. But we did not care about the lyrics, for what mattered to us was which group of the children was going to win the rivalry-involving game. This can be taken as an unwritten rule in children's folklore, for the words are actually unimportant to children. Moreover, they fail to invest much effort in learning and singing the words correctly; on the contrary, they may modify the lyrics to the extent that the roots of some words, or even the meaning of the text, become hardly intelligible.

It is worth mentioning that the first line of the Hungarian dance song *Bújj, bújj, zöld ág* (the dance is similar to the dancing along the abovesaid songs) reads: *Szita, szita péntek*, which corresponds to the title of its Romanian counterpart *Sita, sita penta*, performed in the vicinity of Vršac. One could assume that at some time in the past Romanian children adopted this line of the Hungarian children's song, perhaps the dance itself, too, whereafter it has been passed down from one generation to another. What can be said with certainty, is that many children's songs, regardless of the national/ethnic identity, are based on a generally familiar melodic-rhythmical motif which corresponds to the length of the line. During performance, the motif itself is varied, often depending on the length and the metro-rhythmical structure of the line. However, it is the connective and quite characteristic element of structure in the folklore of both the ancestral and the contemporary generations.

Speaking about the repertory of children's songs, one has to confirm that some of the traditional songs are still sung today, which reveals their amazing continuity, while others have fallen into oblivion (Fracile, 1987, 61-74). The overall wealth, diversity and current relevance of the children's repertory is certainly based on children's receptivity. Under the influence of their social milieu and living conditions, as well as radio and television programmes, they

¹⁰ Nice Fracile, Zvučni arhiv (Sound Archive): *Laste prolaste* (WS 750139), *Bújj, bújj, zöld ág* (WS 750139), *Zlatna brana* (WS 750123), *Sita, sita penta* (CD 28/25).

receive information on, say, the latest products of confectionery industry and include these in their play; hence the very popular children's song on peppermint candies (Fracile, 1987, 64).

There are many examples of Romanian children adopting and singing the Serbian songs *Hokuš, pokuš, Eci, peci, pec, A miu, mau mi* (Fracile, 1989, 524), *Miki Maus igra fudbal* (Mickey Mouse Is Playing Football), *U Severnoj Americi* (In North America) and others. The latter was very popular in Vojvodina at the end of the 20th century, and also part of the children's repertory in Serbia Proper – with some negligible differences in lyrics and music. In terms of lyrics content, performing style and particularly the opening (up-beat), the song *U Severnoj Americi* can be taken as illustrating a recent trend, compared to the many examples of children's folklore analyzed for the needs of this writing.

Mg.XX/A28

Performed by Arabela-Florina Fracile, 5 years old
Recorded and transcribed by N. Fracile
Sr. Kamenica, January 29, 1983

(♩ = 140)

O, si, si, si, O, nou, nou, nou, O,

si, o, nou, O, bim, bam bom. U

Se - ver - noj A - me - ri - ci Ro - di - o se slon,

U - me - sto da pi - še Slu - ša gra - mo - fon. itd.

O.F.

Figure 7. *U Severnoj Americi* (Fracile, 1983)

The dance song *Tancuj, tancuj* (Dance, dance!) is a specific case exemplifying broad cross-penetration of folklores in the multicultural Vojvodina. Although this children's song comes from the folklore heritage of Vojvodina's Slovaks, it is gladly performed among other national/ethnic communities – not by children only, but by adults, too. It has been entered in the repertory of the great singer Zvonko Bogdan (1942), who performs it in both Slovak and Serbian, promoting the piece at numerous festivals and concerts of traditional music – across the country and abroad alike. Yet it is still passed further orally and has remained one of the most favourite Slovak children's songs that are performed along dancing.

WS750118

Performed by Anna Zorňanová, 20 years old

Recorded and transcribed by N. Fracile

Novi Sad, April 18, 2013

(♩ = cca 105)

Tan - cuj, tan - cuj, vi - krú - caj, vi - krú - caj,

Len mi piec - ku ňe - zrú - caj, ňe - zrú - caj,

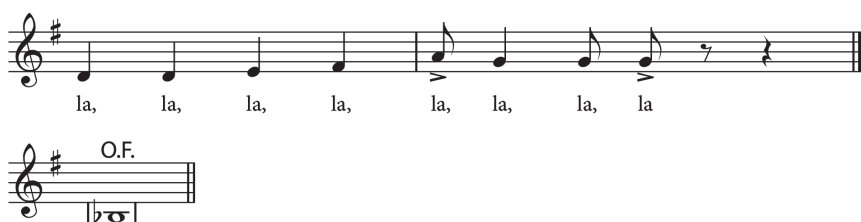
Do - brá piec - ka na zi - mu, na zi - mu,

Ňe - má kaž - di pe - ri - nu, pe - ri - nu.

Tra, la, la, la, la, la, la, la,

La, la, la, la, la, la, la, la, la, la,

Tra, la, la, la, la, la, la, la, la



Example 8. *Tancuj, tancuj* (Fracile, 2013b)
[*Dance, dance!*]

Conclusion

I am well aware that this subject requires a comprehensive and more in-depth investigation which implies establishment of a team wherein at least one member would come from the respective national/ethnic communities in Vojvodina. Therefore, this paper should be taken as a point of departure and an appeal for the undertaking of a joint project that would contribute to casting light not only on the multiculturalism in Vojvodina, but also on its development/history and, additionally, on developing children's competence to "through interactions with diverse cultural minorities, take an attitude of equality, appreciating and respecting the cultures and customs of the members of cultural minorities" (Požar, 2016, cited in Kragulj and Jukić, 2010, 171). The results of the research have confirmed the conserved status and endurance of some children's counting songs, songs about various animals, songs as part of dances and games, yet also the emergence of new children's songs at the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century. In the multicultural Vojvodina, children's folklore – as a living folklore category – suffers invariable changes, exposed to the process of permanent improvisations and creative outputs. Therefore, we are naturally witnessing the process of cross-penetrations, yet also the presence of intercultural content in the children's folklore in Vojvodina. These phenomena shall in the future depend, and to a great degree so, on teachers and their attitude to the folklore heritage of the national/ethnic minorities.

If we accept that multiculturalism, as well as diversity, is the source of the wealth of a society, part of that wealth is children's folklore in the multicultural province of Vojvodina, which is still – though to a lesser degree – conveyed orally. Adoption of some children's songs from another culture and their spontaneous inclusion in the repertory and further promotion is a most welcome step toward enriching one's own culture, perhaps also toward intercultural education, a phenomenon that requires lasting observation, research, support and enhancement.

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INSIDE AND OUTSIDE, HERE AND THERE: MUSIC FROM BOSNIAN POSAVINA TO ZAGREB

GUIDO RASCHIERI

Abstract: The essay represents the synthesis of a fieldwork dedicated to the musical practices in use among the communities of Croatian refugees coming from Bosnian Posavina. It analyses the technical, stylistic and organological features of the expressive tradition, focusing primarily on the processes of transformation from the original rural custom to the current application within the urbanised communities. Finally, it looks at the role of making music as an antidote to the sense of material and human loss and of the loss of identity following the drama of the war and forced displacement.

Key words: rural culture in urban context; crossbreeding in music; diasporic movements; borders vs. links; ethnic identities in progress; music as cultural autopoiesis; ethnomusicology as interpretation means of the complexity.

The aim of this paper is to present a synthesis of the wider results of the fieldwork which I have conducted over the past few years, thanks to the support of the *Ministero dell'istruzione, dell'università e della ricerca* (Italian Ministry of Universities, Education and Research).

This project – which originated with an idea of Italian ethnomusicologist and ethno-organologist, Febo Guizzi (1947–2015) – has now led to the publication of two books, written in Italian, entitled *La Posavina canta e piange* (Posavina sings and cries).¹

With the goal of contextualising specific musical expressions, mindful of Italian and international readers, my survey began with a historical reconstruction of the Croatian and Catholic presence in southern Pannonia, and in the more circumscribed region of Bosnian Posavina. The window in

¹ The first volume of which I am the author has the following title: *L'universo musicale dei profughi croati della Posavina bosniaca* (The musical universe of the Croatian refugees of Bosnian Posavina) (Raschieri, 2016). The second, *Il movimento nella danza e nella performance strumentale* (Movement in dance and in instrumental performance) contains the contributions of other researchers: this includes a significant study on dance practice by Linda Cimardi; it also encompasses a theoretical summary of the use of kinetics in ethnomusicology, elaborated by my colleagues Ilario Meandri and Vixia Maggini. This article describes preliminary applications of this research, potentially innovative in the use of new transcription methods. (Cimardi, Maggini, Meandri, Raschieri, 2016)

time opens with the Middle Ages, takes account of the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian occupations, and it closes in times more recent. The dramatic and profound inner transformations of both territorial and human affairs therefore appear particularly evident, as does the structure of the “delocalised” field of research which is at the centre of this study.

A second preliminary excursion was then dedicated to laying out a panoramic map of Balkan folk music. The aim is to capture the unique but not isolated position of Posavina music, emphasizing its nature *vis à vis* the tightly woven and ingrained cultural exchanges between various regions and ethnic-religious groups, all living side by side.

The next stage focused on the repertoires of songs and dances with the accompaniment of the *šargija* and the violin, originally found throughout the villages of the cultural region of Bosnian Posavina. A preliminary assessment identified the key bibliography on the subject, starting with the historical contributions of Bosnian ethnomusicology – specifically, articles by Cvjetko Rihtman (Rihtman, 1953; 1958; 1964; 1970; 1974; 1976; 1982;), Vlado Milošević (Milošević, 1962a; 1962b), Vinko Krajtmajer (Krajtmajer, 1982), Dunja Rihtman-Šotrić (Rihtman-Šotrić, 1990; Rihtman-Šotrić and Šilić, 1987), and extending to more recent works. The latter are based primarily on those of the illustrious Dragica Panić (Panić, 1986; 1987), Jasmina Talam (Talam, 2001; 2005; 2006; 2007a; 2007b; 2014; 2015), Miroslav Šilić (1988; 2001; 2003; 2008), Zvonko Martić (Martić and Bagur, 2010), to mention a few, to whom I owe a debt of gratitude. The essays of the authors cited are representative of various perspectives and interests: an initial attention to the technical and formal apparatus of the dances with the accompaniment of the *šargija*, the study of the presence of the chordophones in the Bosnian organological panorama, the collection and safeguard of the heritage of music and dance of the different geo-cultural areas of the BH Federation, the identification of expressions attributable to Croatian cultural identity in BiH. These writings are enormously useful in painting an initial picture that enables us to understand the musical context beyond the Bosnian borders, which for a considerable period of time remained a topic of very limited study.

Following the introductory spaces of contextualisation, I considered the presence of the instrumental duo of *šargija* and violin, and in particular the thousand year history of the long-necked lute across East and West.

The dynamic use of the so-called *tambura* in the Balkans, in its multiple and alternating forms, is a living testimony to the processes of circulation throughout the Mediterranean basin of instrumental models of Middle Eastern origin. This vast and renewed field in which the long-necked lute was introduced follows the routes of expansion of territorial dominion and the spread of the Muslim religion, beginning with the Turkish Empire as early as the 12th century and reaching the

regions of the Far East on one hand, and touching on the borders of Europe on the other. Some features of cultural influence, together with documented migratory phenomena, were also decisive for the entry of the specific typology of chordophones in territories that were not Islamized. This explains, for example, the related fortune of the long-necked lute, recognisable by the name of *colascione*, especially in Italy and France from the 16th to the 18th century. The work in tracing a historical-organological course of events was inspired by Febo Guizzi's initial embryonic suggestions. From the level of identifying past testimonies, it then turned to a parallel re-reading of contemporary European presences, such as the use of the *tambura* or *tamburica* especially in Croatia as an example of derivation from the same original root despite the total adaptation to the tempered scale system as well as to Central European structural and compositional models.

On the other hand, the *šargija* of Bosnian Posavina, especially in its use in immigrant communities, can today be considered the western representation of the older family of long-necked lutes, previously of eastern origin. In this way, Posavina music stands at the crossroads between the tonal language of Western Europe and a sound field of extraordinary otherness, which opens just below the Sava River.

My fieldwork thus concentrated on the analysis of the particular organological characteristics, based on the data gathered from the musical practice in Zagreb, thanks to interaction with players and instrument-makers active in that area. In doing so, I uncovered a scene where the preservation of original practices is enriched by an innovative programme – in line with the evolution of expressive language. The safeguard of conservative traits is guaranteed by a strong movement of cultural resistance, and through the cultivation of codes of musical expression.

On one hand, the instruments are constructed according to traditional practices, involving craftsmen, amateurs or semi-professionals. From an observation of the instruments used on a daily basis and the information gleaned from the instrument-makers Ilija Kovačević and Frano Sović, we can recognise a number of elements showing an overall tendency towards perfection with respect to the past; this progressive trend concerns the choice of woods, the precision of the measurements, the use of modern technical instrumentation, the growing quest for structural stability. The last of these is particularly evident in the scale intonation of the instruments, where the original material translation of the individual aural capabilities appears today to proceed more towards a calculated uniformity, where what has become the stable presence of the violin in duo with the *šargija* must have played an important part.



Figure 1. Examples of *šargija* by the instrument-maker Frano Sović. (Raschieri, 2015)



Figure 2. The instrument-maker Ilija Kovačević is showing dimension of a trunk for the construction of *šargija*. (Raschieri, 2015)

However, there remains an underlying respect with regard to the traditional norms, that govern both the material nature of the instruments as well as the immaterial nature of the expressive practices. In this regard, one of the most important encounters within this research was with the musician Ante Galić (born in Foča, Dobož, in 1952), who has played a leading role in transplanting traditional music in the communities of emigrants and refugees. Although he also took part in the re-emergence of traditional music in the 1960s and 70s, he is considered the preeminent figure in the safeguard of the authentic language. His reputation was further bolstered by his teaching activity, covering many decades, at first in Bosnia and among the communities of emigrants spread across Europe, and then more intensely in the transformed urban panorama of Zagreb.

Thanks to our new relationship and to his lessons, aimed particularly at younger generations, I was introduced to the fundamentals of the Posavina musical language. By taking part in learning the basic instrumental techniques, I was able to incorporate these in my study in analytical chapters and snapshots. I then observed the foundational unity and interdependence between instrumental language, choreology and singing. This inseparability is reflected in the teaching method itself so as to safeguard a primitive ingrained functionality of the sonorous practice, which today appears to be spontaneously renewed. In fact, despite the fact that a series of transformative dynamics have recomposed musical forms, contexts of performance, expressive solutions, there continues to be a relation of direct consequentiality between the acquisition of executional competence and their performance in favour of occasions of community get-togethers. This form of service to the collectivity, although in some cases it grants a semi-professional status, is established within the confines of a rather wide practice, where the young learners have almost immediate access.



Figure 3. Players and dancers of the *Zavičajni klub Odžak-Zagreb* during a gathering of the community. (Raschieri, 2016)

Learning the instrumental technique, almost one and the same with an imitative methodology, and without the aid of something written, begins with the acquisition of the rudiments of the *šargija* to then go on to higher levels of technique and the use of the violin, usually considered the mark of superior competence.

A second important section of my research is dedicated in fact to the technique of the fiddle and to its related history and use. A considerable number of testimonies refer to the instrument's more recent acquisition and diffusion with respect to the remote regional vicissitudes of the plucked lutes. Beginning with studies on the traditional organological heritage in the most ample, plural but inter-connected area of the former Yugoslavia, it is possible to draw a historical map of the chordophones territorial distribution and also of the internal recurrence of areas of the violin use. A rather homogenous distribution in the regions to the north of the Sava River can be noted, contrary to a substantially empty picture in the territorial areas on the opposite side, starting with the circumscribed territories of Posavina. This spatial limit is reaffirmed in the most recent studies on the area's traditional instruments, when the use of the violin is not incorporated in a dimension which is however marginal, additional, ancillary. The oldest musical custom, reconstructed through the memory of our direct witnesses, also confirms similar positions. Frano Sović, already cited above, was among those who were central to our understanding of the practice of making the *tambura* in northern Bosnia; he spoke of a use of the violin so remote but in net disproportion in relation to the customary practice of the *šargija*, therefore to the respective number of players. Moreover, the long-necked lutes, as we were able to observe, were for the most part autonomously fabricated within a village, where the purchase of a violin properly-made outside would have been quite infrequent in an environment characterised by a subsistence economy, and musical activity that was almost never professional. Pavo Paćo Ćorluka, a singer coming from the heart of Posavina, provided us with a second exemplary affirmation. He in fact told us a singular story of how he had received the gift of his first *šargija*, an instrument used exclusively, in addition to the pastoral flutes, in Posavina's rural past. The violin was nearly unknown and still not used in the 1960s but was later introduced with the function of embellishment, then becoming a constant presence.

This affirmation is confirmed in the permanent use of the instrument which emerged in the course of the research update. The violin in fact clearly occupies a position of pre-eminence in the "writing" and execution of re-founded repertoires of song and in the corresponding fields of semi-professional and public performances, while the practice of the *šargija* is more often limited to moments of private and extemporaneous expression, free of the programmatic rules pertaining to a model today consolidated. A question that requires at least

an attempt at reply concerns the era and the modalities of an initial appearance of the violin in the musical tradition of Posavina. The hypotheses that can be found in the, however, scant literature are apparently not always in unanimous agreement. Ankica Petrović indicates the 20th century as the general period when the instrument was introduced among those of northern Bosnia's rural population. (Petrović, 2001, 62) Zvonko Martić, referring to the territory of Bosnian Posavina, apart from central Bosnia and the areas of Žepče and Kraljeva Sutjeska, speaks of a use only slightly prior to the Second World War. (Martić and Bagur, 2010, 74-75) Miroslav Šilić's is of a not very different opinion; it is based on the testimony of the player Joze Bratić, born in 1927 in Gornji Hasić, according to whom the violin gets introduced close to 1930. (Šilić, 2001, 30) Dragica Panić, in her analytical work on the *kola* in use in the area of Brčko, describes the process of the 20th century transformation of the instrumental ensemble, from the original autonomy of the *šargija* to its union with an identical instrument (a group of two *šargije*), or with the violin (two *šargije* and the violin, or *šargija* and the violin) in the period between the two world wars, and the introduction of the accordion during the successive post-war period. (Panić, 1986, 14)

Jasmina Talam, for her part, indicates the end of the '60s as the beginning of a massive use of the violin in duos with the *šargija*. She cites information taken from Stjepan Vrdoljak (Derventa, 1927–Zenica, 2012), attesting to an expansion in the use of the violin beginning with the period following the Second World War. Finally, she observes how "in recent times, numerous ensembles can be found that also include the *šargija*" together with the "violin as well as the accordion, the guitar and percussion instruments". Drawing therefore a net distinction between authentic groups and areas of innovation links the latter to a field of use "for commercial purposes, and not within the framework of traditional popular culture". (Talam, 2013, 131-132)

Regarding the increasing tendency to include the violin over the course of the past fifty years, the declarations of the player Ante Galić - *Gale*, whose wealth of memory and personal musical ability guided us in the discovery of innumerable aspects of a complex expressive organism, are of new inestimable value. He was practically personally involved in observing and participating in central and pioneering processes of rethinking instrumental groups that took place in parallel with the partial re-founding of forms of singing. In this process, the violin, originally relegated to a marginal and sporadic role solely in the chore repertoires, saw an initial phase of experimental use in the habitual vocal practice, then establishing itself in a laboratory of new composition in progressive expansion. (Galić, 2014)

Without a doubt the versatile nature of the violin, particularly on the structural level of elasticity in terms of scalar solutions, found an appropriate

place in the non-temperate musical system of Bosnian Posavina. Based primarily on the modalities proper to vocal expression, it thus inserted itself in the primitive and resistant expressive codes of the area of destination rather than carrying its characteristics towards the well-established tonal system in the area of Central Europe from which it has descended either directly or indirectly. Moreover, the entry of the violin took place on a ground where the previous practice of bowed lutes was quite deep-seated and persistent. Considering the overall territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the sub-Western and coastal area witnesses on one hand the presence of the *lijerica*, a short-necked lute with three strings, closely related to the Eastern Turkish *kemençe*. The intonation of its strings (*Sol-Do-Fa*) testifies to an overlaying organisational system to which we have observed that the plucked lutes also belong. On the other side are the *gusle* string instruments characterised by a wider distribution, even beyond the specific national borders. Testimonies of the past document their capillary use – from family and domestic contexts to the sphere of a specialised vocal practice. The *guslarske pjesme* are the compositions intrinsically connected to the instrument, which has one or, more rarely, two strings on which the player executes melodic sequences introducing or sustaining the sections sung.

The instrumental presences described, although not exempt from factors of crisis and passages of contemporary re-functionalization, have not abandoned their original expressive sign. Furthermore, the trait that emerges most importantly in that itinerary of relative continuity is in fact intertwined with the story of the violin use in the area. Borrowing from a recent synthetic historical treatise composed by Zvonko Martić, we find that solo singing could be accompanied, other than by the *gusle*, by “*šargija*, and for roughly the past sixty years by the *violina uz debelu* in the region of Usora and in Bosnian Posavina” (Martić and Bagur, 2010, 70-71). The definition *violina uz debelu žicu* (or *uz debelu* for short) identifies the violin played “with the thick string”, i.e., using melodic sequences executed on the fourth string in *Sol*, and imitating the techniques of accompaniment typical of the most archaic string instruments. The fact that the territory where it is used corresponds substantially to the area covered in our survey, and that its location in time coincides almost entirely suggest the vision of communicating vessels between the above-described solo use in epic-narrative songs and the parallel absorption of the violin in the execution of lyrical and dance repertoires initially sustained by the *šargija* on its own.

The crossing of a dividing line, marking the different degree to which stable violin practices were followed, must have come about gradually from the time of the descent of the Austro-Hungarian Empire into the central area of the Balkan Peninsula. While the effect that the new domination exerted on Bosnian urban culture – therefore on its artistic expressions, cultured music included – is certain and better documented, an in-depth survey should also be undertaken of the

external sonorous practices of a popular kind and their influence on the previous ones, within the plan of forced settlement of community groups coming from different and central areas of the imperial territory. A second slope, intersecting with the former, of potential descent of the practice of the violin is related to the compact zone of historical popular use that embraces vast areas of the Northeast (Estonia, Lithuania, Belarus, Poland, Ukraine, Moldova, Czech Republic, and Slovakia) and reaches as far as the area close to Romania. Here, and in particular in this area's southern appendages, bordering directly on the Balkans, the musical profession of *lăutari* undoubtedly generated a solid expressive model, mobile and penetrating, whose reverberations are sometimes heard in the style of execution of the repertoires we have examined.

Without intending to trace connections that are in any case certain, the exploration of multiple channels of access can cast new light on episodic attestations of remote encounter between instruments rooted in local use, and those imported in the course of a constant re-composition of traditional organisms. The validity of this reading is reconfirmed in the vision of manifestations of contemporary Bosnian musical dynamism, where the update of the same ensembles, that would appear to be radical and totally disconnected from preceding itineraries, conceals on the contrary recognizable spaces of continuity or remediation.

Similarly, insofar as the repertoires and the forms and functions of expression are concerned, I reconstructed the musical customs of Bosnian Posavina – their original functions and stylistic features – through an examination of texts in combination with direct observation. This enabled me to chart both the past and present, observing the current musical tradition with the goal of capturing its union and its evolution, as well as the permanent elements of the Posavina region which, because of the displacement of its population, have moved beyond the traditional geographic and semantic borders.

In so doing, I sketched as detailed a picture as possible of the performance of song, with or without instrumental accompaniment, and of dance, with a focus on weddings and community celebrations, particularly though the forms of *prelo* and *sijelo*, of rural and pastoral life.



©Ijelo im Winter.

Figure 4. Ajdukiewicz, 1901, 351.

The fieldwork carried out in the Croatian capital underscored the primacy of musical expression in the area between Derventa and Doboj through evaluation of the past. This perspective, in parallel, also led to the identification of the tradition in sacred spaces, with particular importance paid to the district of the destroyed, and nowadays rebuilt, Franciscan monastery of Plehan.

Starting from this circumscription of internal borders, I retraced the stages of an initial partial transformation in the musical practices of the area. While the fundamental customs of dance and song in the churchyards of Catholic villages at the end of the Mass remained constant, from the second half of the twentieth century, important changes took place. These were evident in the circulation of new repertoires in the different areas of Posavina and even beyond its unstable southern borders.

Some testimonies attribute an important role to singers in the diffusion of old and new *kajda* (melodies). These singers were employed as conductors of the *Ćiro* train, which passed through that region to reach central Bosnia, going to performances in the usual places. This story, rich in narrative, succeeds in charting a new course. It is said that during a typical meeting in front of the church, the singer Lukica Senjak would, in front of the crowd, lift up Ilija Begić, who at that time was only a boy, praising his singing talent. The elements of inner

connection and handover are valuable in the creation of communal history. They are furthermore useful to us in understanding the evolutionary progress of the tradition.

Indeed, in 1969, Ilija Begić and Marko Begić were the protagonists of the first commercial initiative to record the traditional musical expressions of the Bosanska Posavina region. The *Braća Begić's* (Begić brothers) first recording, *Kad zapjeva Ilija i Marko*, marks the beginning of this itinerary and the inaugural step in the genesis of a new traditional genre. In particular, the Begićs' first works were devoted to the recording of traditional repertoires, with a selection which could encounter the tastes of a new listening public.

From the point of view of technique and style, the songs were modelled on the previous structures of the sung *kolo*, but were at the same time creating an autonomous form, endowed with new features that attested to changes in mediums. As newspapers of that time report, the enterprise achieved an immediate and unexpected success and could count on the demand of the community of refugees present in Germany and other central European countries – even more than on the domestic distribution. It was in fact the population who emigrated looking for work who saw this as an opportunity to establish, through listening, a virtual bridge with their native land.



Figure 5. The singers Ilija Begić and Marko Begić during a *prelo* gathering in Zagreb. (Raschieri, 2015)



Figure 6. Picture of the *Braća Begić* on a poster advertising the TV programme *The voice of the diaspora*. (Raschieri, 2014)

That initial experience, and the climate which it produced, led to the creation of parallel musical groups – that is, of numerous epigones. Not long afterwards, in 1971, the ensemble *Baščovani* (gardeners), was founded around the singers Pačo Ćorluka and Luka Anušić. Their work was central to another renewal on the level of musical and textual composition. While musically speaking, the group standardised violin practice (which was still absent from the Begićs's initial production), the real turning point came with the treatment of themes inspired by contextual situations. The song with which they opened their career, *Baščo moja*, took on the role of a hymn for the Croatian community of Posavina. It represents a moving metaphor of abandonment, reminiscent of the funeral song. Because of its mode of universal expression, the message transcended the events which led to the creation of the piece. It instinctively resonated with people's global sense of tragedy, heightened still by the perception of displacement and distance.

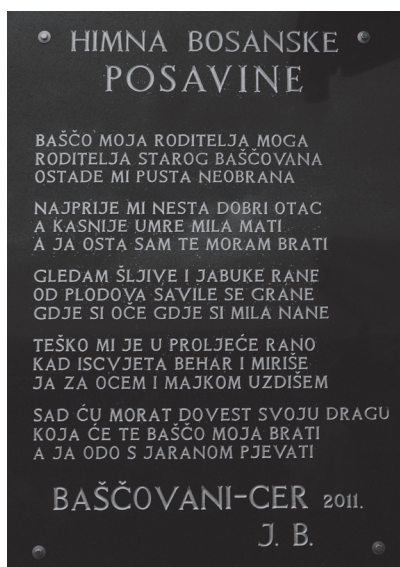


Figure 7. The song *Baščo moja*, engraved on a stone in the village of Cer (BiH), as an anthem of Bosnian Posavina. (Raschieri, 2014)



Figure 8. Luka Anušić with Ante Galić, singing in Johovac (BiH). (Raschieri, 2015)

With the compositions launched by *Braća Begić* and which matured with *Baščovani*, a nearly new style had been invented, characterised by themes and tones of nostalgia, grief, and deprivation. The new poetic rhetoric and the sentimental expression immediately appealed to people's state of mind even before the breakup of Yugoslavia and the tragedy of war.

Such poetics then appeared prophetic and at the same time expressed the aesthetic basis of the form which we can identify today as the new tradition. Tracing its origins and observing its contemporary display is like witnessing the creative process behind similar phenomena such as the *fado*, the *rebetiko* or even the *blues*.

Recording generated a new form of semi-professionalism in which the protagonists were increasingly involved in musical entertainment, even in communities by socio-economic factors displaced from Bosnian villages.

The reversal of the previous socio-political structure came with war, when thousands of people abandoned their villages to look for new lands and means of subsistence. Zagreb is certainly the place where the population density is highest and where many key representatives of the Posavina musical world reside today. Despite the initial problems of settling in a new context, groups hailing from different areas organised themselves in cultural-artistic associations (*KUD-ovi*), following a model of social and cultural coalescence of notable importance in Croatia. Even though it retains features of folkloristic groups and performances, the case of the Croatian refugees from Bosnian Posavina must be considered independently. Beyond the stage performances, which typically centre on selected groups, the various communities maintain an incredible musical vitality and spontaneity. The generating power, which governs the activity of the group, is exhibited in the musical expression, which is a unique means of reaffirming their culture.



Figure 9. Some components of the *KUD Rodna Gruda* of Dugo Selo, near Zagreb, playing and dancing in a folk festival. (Raschieri, 2014)

The encounter with these associations in the urban district allowed me to examine multiple aspects and elements of musical life: group rehearsals and informal meetings; performances in public festivals and instances of ritual and celebration; the semi-professional nature of singers and players and the wider musical and dance practice; the maintenance of local peculiarities and the characteristics of a *koiné* of expression – a mixture of conservative attempts to safeguard remote cultural and ethical horizons together with innovative currents and new compositional methods launched by younger generations.

We are speaking here of a dynamic universe where a range of impulses coalesce and succeed in avoiding the ambiguous, static and self-referential purity of many other contemporary manifestations of traditional music.

The Croatian diaspora community of Posavina has abandoned any hope of a return to its place of origin because of a sense of surrender and the recognition of an irreversible condition. Music therefore remains the principal unifying force, and periodically crossing the Sava River represents re-joining an ancestral aural homeland.

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FOLKLORE LIFE IN MULTICULTURAL CITY OF KLAIPĖDA (1990–2015)

RIMANTAS SLIUŽINSKAS

Abstract: The fatal social disasters have taken place in the city of Klaipėda by the end of the Second World War. After 1945, very few local bilingual (Lithuanian and German speaking) people could be found in Klaipėda. Almost all of the survivors had moved to Germany to escape the Soviet occupation. Soviet authorities created favourable social conditions for skilled volunteers, who came to deserted city from other regions of Lithuania, and from all over the Soviet Union, to work in Klaipėda port and to restore the entire marine industry in the 1950s–1960s period. The Russian, Belorussian, German, Jewish, Ukrainian, Polish, Latvian, Tartar, Armenian, Azerbaijani, and other national minorities have become an integral part of the social and cultural life in contemporary Klaipėda. In the light of these historical facts, the goal of the article is to discuss the possibilities of the most representative national societies to maintain and promote their ethnic roots, traditions and the authentic folklore in the city at present times.

Key words: national cultures; Klaipėda; Russian folklore; *Veretyontse*; *Vechiora*; Maria Serebryakova

Introduction

At the end of the Second World War in the Lithuanian city of Klaipėda, and throughout the whole Klaipėda region, the composition of the population changed significantly. The city, its history writing back in 1252 as a part of East Prussia, was completely destroyed and indigenous bilingual (speaking in Lithuanian, and German) residents that have remained here, now departed hurriedly to the West. The Soviet authorities created favourable social conditions for skilled volunteers, who came to deserted city from other regions of Lithuania, and from all over the Soviet Union to work in Klaipėda port and to restore the entire marine industry in the 1950s–1960s. Subsequently, since that time representatives of about 70 nations and nationalities worked shoulder-to-shoulder in Klaipėda. Many of them have stayed here for all their life.

At the beginning of the 21st century, independent Lithuania opened state borders, and new waves of emigration and immigration appeared here. Multi-layered and multicultural societies were established and were officially registered as new national communities. City population became of about 250,000 inhabitants in the 1990s. Currently there are about 165,000 residents living in Klaipėda (the effects of emigration), and about 75–80% of them are modern

Lithuanian people. The remaining 25–30% of Klaipėda residents (this is roughly 30,000–35,000 persons)¹ are representatives of other national cultures². More than 20,000 of them are Russian-speaking residents of our city.

Three Russian, three Ukrainian, and one of each: Belarusian, Polish, Azerbaijani, Latvian, German, Jewish, Tatar and Armenian communities respectively were founded here in the 1990s–2000s. Are they ready to communicate with each other? What about their national roots and preserving those for their children and grandchildren? Do they remember their native language, rituals, songs and verbal folklore, their traditional dances and instrumental music? So – what about their folklore life?

In addition, we would like to point out our position concerning some definitions here. The main one is *authenticity*. In Klaipėda case, we have a multicultural social structure, and it is connected with *ethnic identities*, defined by “others”, and *self-identities*, defined by persons “themselves”. Therefore, Russian-speaking contemporary Klaipėda residents might be by Lithuanian people be in general identified ethnically as *Russians*; however it is possible that they would choose to identify themselves as members of numerous other national or ethnic Slavic identities, such as Belarusians, Ukrainians, Poles, and even Russian-speaking Tatars in *self-identity* cases. We understand *self-identity* as subjective and definition prone to changes, depending on real historical, socio-cultural and political circumstances. Mixed *self-identity multicultural* families might pose real challenges in ethnic and national *authenticity* for next generation people here. Therefore, it is quite complicated case, and we are not deep way involved in such investigations primarily. In the other hand, we have to keep such objective reality in our mind all the time, including investigations, presented in our article.

We follow research cases and definitions of *authenticity*, *multiculturalism* and *hybrid ethnic identities* (etc.), reflected in actual works by Reginald Byron (Byron, 2006), Darius Daukšas (Daukšas, 2006), Oleg Pachenkov (Pachenkov, 2006), Christian Giordano (Giordano, 2009), Laima Kalėdienė (Kalėdienė, 2010), Vida Savoniakaitė (Savoniakaitė, 2010), etc., and we do hope to contribute in tasks on clarifying such problem area.

¹ All these statistics are sufficiently subjective, since no official to disclose data are available, thus the given may not clearly reflect the level of migration (both emigration and immigration) in recent years.

² Author hereinafter avoids universally known definitions of “national *minorities*”, “cultural heritage of national (folk) *minorities*”, “community (society) of national (folk) *minorities*” (etc.) and prefers the definition of “national (folk) *culture*”. This way we do not give grounds for any discrimination and maintain a uniform culture of respect for the heritage of all nations, regardless to the number of their members.

National societies in Klaipėda city

The origins and development of national cultures of modern Lithuanian Klaipėda city, thus far, have been unevenly discussed and investigated in scientific studies of recent time. However, it is worth noticing the publications, reflecting different aspects of the history and activities of national cultures, their communities and societies here, to see the light at the crossroad of the 20th and 21st centuries, and as far up until nowadays. We have to mention publications by L. Kraniauskas about national communities in Klaipėda and neighbouring Liepāja city, Latvia (Kraniauskas, Gedutis and Acus, 2000), on post-Soviet time problems for national communities in Klaipėda and the search for national identity (Kraniauskas, 2012), competition of ideologies and identities as sources of conflict in the city of Klaipėda in the 20th century (Safronovas, 2011), about the history of multicultural cities of Klaipėda and Vilnius in the communication memory of ethnic groups (Šutinienė, 2011), on national self-determination trajectories in Klaipėda city social and national aspects during the second half of the 20th–beginning of the 21st century (Sliužinskas, 2009), on the forms of regional identity and self-determination issues in Klaipėda Polish people experience (Sliužinskas, 2012a), motives and patterns in establishing communities and societies of national cultures in Klaipėda (Sliužinskas, 2013; 2014a). We have some articles on the cultural activities of Russian communities and societies (Orlovas, 1992a, 1992b, 1992c), and on the cooperation of national urban communities (Valevičius, 1997) here, etc.

It should outline the objective socio-cultural conditions, which reflect certain stages in the formation of societies and communities of national cultures within their specific regional residence.

It is common, that a community is socially and culturally active part of the whole national society. Not all members of the national society are united in their national self-determination, forms and levels of cultural activity, as a rule. Societies (especially – quite numerous and conscious ones) have mandatory and objective preconditions for the formation of community. They have to be the most active institutions, expressing a desire to actively preserve and continue the legacy of its national source background, including the native language, its history, beliefs and ancestral traditions. It is a natural process, which at particular times and for different objective and subjective reasons, may appear for communities in some groups.

These are the following objective conditions for the formation of national communities (in Klaipėda experience) and the stages of such a process:

1. The city must form sufficiently quantitative society of particular national culture representatives;

2. This group must show the most active members of the society who are interested in community to support the continuation of his speech, beliefs, traditional lifestyles, and to transmit to their descendants the knowledge of its history and cultural heritage of all. This group becomes as the core asset aspiring form of folk community;
3. This group must deliver the group of compatriots, from the body of previously passive people, and express the need to meet, to learn and to communicate with each other in their native language about the validity of their national culture;
4. If so, it is time to call for an open public meeting for the representatives of the society in which they create community. They have to elect the chairman of the community council. Other members of the community show personal commitment and actively participate in the activities of the newly created community;
5. By the general agreement of community establishing, these gradually formed concrete forms of community activity have to be agreed unanimously. For example: (a) general cultural activities, observing their national and traditional holidays, historical events, etc.; (b) specific clubs, groups, joint dialogue on mutually acceptable cultural needs; (c) public schools (Saturdays, Sundays, and/or summer schools), where children together with their parents and grandparents can learn about the history, beliefs and way of life of their people, improving reading and writing skills in their native language, etc.; (d) formation of amateur folk dance ensembles, music, choral singing, crafts, folklore groups, and active participation in their artistic activities; (e) the variety of forms of cultural activities that contribute to the preservation and continuation of the cultural heritage and national identity.

Perspectives of the viability of the national communities depend on a number of objective and subjective assumptions. Personal activity of each community member and universally acceptable direction of the whole community activities depend on the state (regional, local) policy of encouraging (or prejudice) multilateral folk cultures activities. At various times, the activity peaks in some communities may alternate with its sharp downturns, revivals, etc.

In Lithuania, a number of customary positive and fully formed people's communities have travelled through all of the above mentioned stages of formation, and continue to maintain their national identity. Moreover, they have to be: (a) hard-working, (b) tolerant, (c) ease read rights to the analogue existence of other national communities, (d) leading their cultural and social life in a peaceful manner, (e) residing in Lithuania legally and in accordance with the state laws of their new country.

Centre of National Cultures in Klaipėda city

Recognizing the reality of multicultural life in the modern city and wanting to better coordinate the activities of national communities, the Centre of National Cultures at Klaipėda city government was established on March 5th of 2012³. The ceremony of this institution opening was attended by Vytautas Grubliauskas, the Mayor of Klaipėda city, city council members, and representatives of self-government. Representatives of Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, and Poland embassies in Lithuania came as honorary guests at the celebrations. According to the Mayor, Klaipėda has always been distinguished for a tolerant attitude to ethnic minorities living here: they always found a common language with people from different cultures.

The main aim of the Centre is to help members of the communities and national cultures societies to integrate into the cultural and social life of the city and overall Lithuania, to promote mutual understanding and respect for different national cultural traditions. In the Centre there are the practical conditions for mutual knowledge of national cultures, preservation of their identity, manifestations of their cultural heritage and amateur art. The Concert Hall of the Centre hosts cultural and business meetings, sessions of Saturday and Sunday national schools for people of different ages, scientific and practical conferences, master classes, and lectures. Furthermore, scheduled rehearsals of amateur bands, poetry and literature groups/classes, celebrations of anniversaries, calendar rites, conceptualize and create new forms of cultural life for all who wish for these popular city communities be welcome here as well. One condition is very important here – equality and mutual respect for all forms and manifestations of the cultural life of all known national cultures. And life at the Centre is in full swing from morning to evening, often seven days a week. The schedule of events here is usually made some 6–8 months in advance.

Ethno-cultural and folk life of the national cultures of the Klaipėda city is most clearly manifested through the city Centre of National Cultures presented above. The creation of such a Centre has been largely resolved and its modest yet comfortable rooms are considered as the premises for cultural activities of national cultures. However, Klaipėda Centre is in the self-subordination. The Centre intends to cooperate with the representatives of all ten or more national communities active in this port-city: Belarusians, Ukrainians, Russian, Poles, Germans, Jews, Latvians, Armenians, Azerbaijanis, Tatars, etc.

³ For complete information on the activities of the Centre, including the formation of national communities, their activities, groups for folk tradition performances, concerts, meetings, art exhibitions, etc. check the official website online of the Klaipėda city Centre of National Cultures (Klaipėdos Tautinių Kultūrų Centras, 2018.).

National communities in Klaipėda city

German and Jewish national communities respectfully have been officially registered in 1989 in Klaipėda, as the first ones.

Under its flag, German national community of Klaipėda gathered the descendants of local Germans, present here since the times of the Kingdom of Prussia, and other persons interested in native German culture. They opened the Residence of the community in 1996. German language courses, Christmas and Easter feasts celebrations, annual Days of German culture with film screenings, concerts, exhibitions, meetings, etc. take place here. These activities are usually interesting, and representatives of various other ethnic communities, including the Jewish one (!) are always welcome. Throughout the city the theatrical celebration of St. Martin is well-known event; the German students carrying homemade lanterns come together in the Old Town of Klaipėda, arranging some concert or play performance about St. Martin. Traditionally, here one can hear sounds of choral performances of German folk songs performed by the local German community choir and their guests from Germany. It ends with the annual holiday feast with treats and tastings of traditional German dishes.

The Jewish community of Klaipėda consists primarily of Russian-speaking persons who retained their Jewish roots and who, during the Soviet years, have migrated to here from various regions of the former USSR. The Jewish community continues its traditions of the major religious and cultural upbringing, such as Sunday school for children, and a Centre for religious education of adults, the *kolel* and the *hesed* clubs for elderly people, and the *gesher* for young people. They celebrate all the traditional Jewish calendar and religious holidays altogether. The notable amateur Jewish folklore groups have not been established here yet, but some members of the community constantly encourage the brilliant interpretations of Jewish music on the stage.

The Klaipėda branch of the Union of Poles in Lithuania writes its history since 1999. Klaipėda Poles hold regular meetings with the compatriots involved in various creative projects. Much attention is paid to the cultural education of the members of this community in Saturday – Sunday Polish school that has been working for 15 years now. The creation of amateur Polish folklore collective remains as a step within the long-term plan of community activities.

The less active, so far, is only recently formally registered Latvian community in Klaipėda. It is hoped that they will express more visible permanent cultural and educational activities in the near future.

Klaipėda city Armenian community *Van* was established in 2004. They periodically organize concerts, musical evenings, and exhibitions of photos and thumbnails of applied art, dedicated to the public holidays, and religious and historical dates of Armenia, including the Day of the Armenian genocide.

Armenian Sunday School got opened and has been working since 2005, while Armenian Folk Dance Ensemble *Van* started their activities as of 2012.

Azerbaijani community in Klaipėda called *Azeris*, had been formed gradually, and the real beginning of their activities can be considered as of 2010. They hold regular meetings of Klaipėda Azerbaijani people, and have activities such as conferences, exhibitions, seminars, discussions, hiking, etc. They invited all of the city's national communities to take part at Azerbaijan traditional spring holiday *Novruz Bayram* in 2013 the first time. The origins of such pre-Muslim feast stretch back to antiquity. The video presentation about the main traditions of this feast, Azerbaijani folk songs performances, and national dances with traditional-way dancing girls takes place here. All the guests are treated by extraordinary Azerbaijani sweets. Traditional night time jumping through the fireplace performance, wishing prosperity to each other, is cordially greeted by everybody here. Azerbaijani Saturday – Sunday school in Klaipėda was opened in year of 2013, and the community works on idea of establishing Azerbaijani traditional music amateur teams in the near future.

Klaipėda Tatar community called *Nur* was founded in 2004. Their activities are concentrated on organizing creative meetings, parties, lectures, festivals, concerts, and exhibitions. Klaipėda Tatars organize annual days of traditional Tatar culture. They successfully held the Tatars World Congress in the Centre of National Cultures of Klaipėda in 2012. Since 2006 they organise annual traditional Tatar national feast *Sabantui* presenting popular talents in the arts, traditional sport games, rituals, and the *Kuresh* – the unique Tatar traditional competitions of fighters. All the participants and the spectators too, treat themselves to traditional Tatar dishes during the festival. Tatar folk songs ensemble *Leisyan* is successfully engaged in continuing their national folk music traditions.

All national communities in Klaipėda mentioned above also have their traditional music or folklore ensembles.

The Belarusian community *Krynica* was founded in 2001. The main activities of city Belarusians may be illustrated by the exhibition of folk applied art *Two peoples, two cultures, two personalities*, traditional Belarusian dressing parade *Linen flax*, *Evening Time* feast, traditional folk festivals *Spring of Homeland*, *Kupala*, *Dozhinki*, and annual international Belarusian music festival *Voices of the Dnieper*. The Days of Belarusian culture with video movies, meetings of community people, Belarusian arts and crafts, and photography exhibitions traditionally involve great number of prominent cultural figures from native Republic of Belarus. Belarusian Saturday – Sunday school *Krynichka* has been open here since 2004. The elaborated Belarusian folk song ensemble *Kupalinka* performs on stage in various cities of Lithuania and Latvia since 2004 (Figure 1), and children vocal ensemble *Verasok*, as of year 2012, also performs Belarusian songs.



Figure 1. Klaipėda Belarusian folk songs ensemble *Kupalinka*. (Sliužinskas, 2012b)

Local Ukrainian people are welcome to take part in three national communities in Klaipėda. The first one – Ukrainian culture and education centre *Rodyna* was founded in 2002. The centre takes care of Ukrainian Saturday – Sunday school, founded back in 1992. They also arrange for Ukrainian traditional calendar feasts, exhibitions, creative activities, Ukrainian writers and poetry works reading competitions, etc. The second one is the Association of Baltic Ukrainians Klaipėda branch. It was registered here in 2010, joining two previous Ukrainian communities – *Gromada*, and *Troyanda*. The main activities of the Association are organizing celebrations of the historical Ukraine dates, meetings with prominent figures of Ukrainian culture, exhibitions, literary – musical evenings *Ukrainian Calendar*’ quizzes, debates, excursions, etc. In addition, the Ukrainian folk song ensemble *Prosvit*, acting since 2003 in Klaipėda, may be called the third Ukrainian community here.

Russian national communities are the most represented ones in our city, and all of them call themselves *societies*. The Society of Russian Culture *Otechestvo* in Klaipėda started its activities in the early Lithuania independent times, ever since 1991. The main cultural life ideas promoted and provided by this society are the traditional children folk art festival *Russian Wreath*, annual feasts *Winter Carousel*, multi-year project *The Orthodox Church in Lithuania, Save the Homeless from Death, Youth Against War*, the popular films presentations, etc. Another Russian society *Lada* continues in similar directions of educational and artistic activities since 2001 in Klaipėda. The basic forms of its activity are organizing and providing music concerts, recitals, fine art exhibitions, meetings, lectures, etc. Well-known are their gatherings of folk art (needlework) leisure, free-time providing club *Zhar-Ptitsa*, amateur theatre *Otrada*, projects *First-Graders Christening*, fashion competition for young ladies *Snow Maiden*, calendar feast *The Christmas Wreath*, youth meetings *Give me a chance*, etc. The Russian youth vocal group *Lad* was founded here in 2012. The biannual international folk music

festival *Native origins* is held by Russian society *Lada* in collaboration with the Centre of National Cultures in Klaipėda since 2012.

Authentic folk music groups at national communities in contemporary Klaipėda

Do we know any authentic (primary, not elaborated) folk music groups at national societies and communities in contemporary Klaipėda? Yes, but we have just two examples of Russian folk singing traditions promoted this way – the children folklore studio *Veretyontse*, and the Association of Russian folklore *Vechyora*, both of them lead by Maria Serebryakova, teacher in local Russian secondary school.

Children folklore studio *Veretyontse*, at Klaipėda city basic school *Payurio*, has been active for last twelve years⁴. Their main task is to keep the younger generations aware of the old Russian culture, national traditions, and spiritual national heritage. *Veretyontse* give Christmas, Shrovetide and Easter folklore festivals for children and students each year. In addition, the studio has been participating in various festivals and events of Klaipėda. Parents, teachers, and children of Klaipėda Russian schools are the most active participants of *Veretyontse* folklore studio.



Figure 2. Klaipėda Russian folklore studio *Veretyontse*. (Sliužinskas, 2014b)

⁴ The main and primary source of updated information about the activities of Klaipėda city Russian folklore ensembles *Veretyontse* and *Vechyora* is their internet site (Klaipėdos miesto folkloro asociacija "Vėčiora", 2013). Video recordings of their last programmes are uploaded on several web pages (Детское творческое объединение Литвы МУЗА, 2011; Tatyana Chernova, 2013; Sergey Pyatnitsa, 2013).

Association of Russian folklore *Vechyora* was established on April 22nd of 2011 on the basis of *Veretyontse* folklore studio, and it has the status of humanitarian organisation. *Vechyora* includes the Russian folklore adult singing staff as well. Both teams collaborate with other folk ensembles in Lithuania and in Russia, primarily such as Slavic traditional music school in Vilnius, Russian folk ensemble *Bylina* in Visaginas (the city in East Lithuania), Russian folklore centre *Istoky* in Podolsk (Russia), Russian authentic folklore studio *Ilyinskaya Pyatnitsa* in Riga (Latvia). *Veretyontse*, for several years now, co-operates with city Orthodox churches, and takes part at concerts organization together with *Vechyora* adult participants. Since 2012, *Vechyora* association includes teachers of various Russian city schools, and other creative people. Thus, they currently have three age groups – the children, the whole family, and the adults. In the course of the short period from being established the *Vechyora*’ people became laureates of the International Folklore Festivals *Tradition, Roots* (2012), *Successors of Traditions, Pokrovsky Bells* (2013). As of 2010, they continuously take part in the international creative summer school *Tradition*.

Both groups, *Veretyontse* and *Vechyora*, are lately turning to the studying, understanding, and interpreting Russian regional folklore of Pskov region and its Belarusian borderland. This also applies to their traditional stage clothes and song repertoire, and they delivered regional Russian calendar rites, children and shepherds games, and the local Russian traditional instrumental music.

Ms Maria Serebryakova, *Veretyontse* and *Vechyora* leader told us the following about their recent activities and their capacities:

“We are very glad for Klaipėda municipality support of our folklore promotion projects. That’s great! But we have real problems, the same for all ethnic culture enthusiasts – Russian, Belarusian, Ukrainian, Lithuanian, etc. people. This problem is finding financial funds for the implementation of our artistic and creative projects. The fact is that the children involved in traditional culture, feel discriminated and sometimes cut off and left in a background, when it comes to the prevailing, modern stage, popular culture. Modern scenic landmarks displace negation of the importance and priority ranking of the living folk tradition. Therefore, for the development of folk movement, both in Lithuania and abroad, what we need is a program supporting such creative meetings, master classes, festivals ethnographic orientation, etc. (...) Necessary changes have to be made in respect to project costs applicable. Currently, transport expenditure payment allows only for the ones within the Lithuania. It is a huge financial challenge for us to invite Russian folk groups from Russia, Latvia, Estonia, and the ethnographers alike, to communicate with like-minded people here and share experiences. The same state of play applies to the possibilities to arrange folklore expeditions or for ourselves to take part at festivals and meetings with artists in our native Russia.” (Serebryakova, 2016)

Ethno-cultural life, folklore activities, and social context

Under the definition of term *ethno-cultural life*, we refer to the specifics and the features of the cultural life of ethnic groups, which are distant from their homeland. We mean not only the activities of pure authentic folklore and native ethnographic ensembles, but also other forms of amateur performances that are reflecting the cultural heritage of the people, such as solo singing in native language in vocal ensembles, choir music pieces, stage performances of native folk dances, traditional and more or less transformed native instrumental music, folk instruments, native traditional clothing, etc. Therefore, the term encompasses one whole of social life expressing the national identity; together will all possible types of native ethnic roots cultivations and native way-of-living forms.

As we see, just Russian *Veretyontse* and *Vechyora* are set to stay as the pure South part of Pskov region authentic folklore collectors, investigators and propagators in Klaipėda. The way they act is also somewhat artificial, because their participants are people of Russian identity but with their roots from many other regions of Russia. However, nobody can propose them on how to provide their activities some better way.

All other national artistic groups in Klaipėda have the same main problematic – more or less complicated or even broken cultural ties with their homeland. Primarily, I here refer to Klaipėda German community choir, Armenian Folk Dance Ensemble *Van*, Tatar folk songs ensemble *Leisyan*, Belarusian elaborated folk song ensemble *Kupalinka*, Ukrainian folk song ensemble *Prosvit*. Yes, they all act in their native language and in their own ethnic context. The problem is that they are born in Lithuania, and their parents or grandparents homeland is in a fact not native for them. They are Lithuanian (or Russian) speaking people in general, and they are already acculturated into Lithuanian social and cultural life contexts with all its achievements and problems. So, it is impossible to speak about particular local or at least regional repertoire from their homeland.

Another problem is the decrease in motivation and interest to take part at any ethno-cultural projects at present times. Employed people do not have enough of a free time for concert programmes practice, nor the time for concert tours outside Klaipėda and abroad. Furthermore, all of them have the financial challenges to cover the costs of such activities.

The third problem is the lack of professionally educated heads of national art (singing, dancing, instrumental music playing, etc.) groups. In some cases the same persons might lead our Russian, Ukrainian or Belarusian folk singing groups. There is no other way to continue their artistic activities, and usually the repertoire is taken from some easy known popular layer of national music. There is also no idea to look for some deliberately chosen local or regional folklore sources.



Figure 3. Klaipėda Tatar folk songs ensemble *Leisyan* (Sliužinskas, 2012c)

The fourth challenge is the native repertoire problem. For national culture, it is important that the people feel the necessity to sing their own folk songs. On the other hand, the repertoire of the groups is not formed from sources of the ancient pure folklore songs from some local regions here. The repertoire of such performing groups consists of older pop- songs from Soviet times only in their language. Furthermore, there is no way to refresh and deepen the repertoire because there is no contact with professional ethnomusicologists and folklorists. They do not have any professional literature on ancient folk songs, and the group members show no interest for it. They have never heard any authentic folk songs texts and melodies from some deep past, and they are not ready to accept such primary folklore layers. The main criteria for the acceptable repertoire there are for them well-known melodies that are familiar to them from the school (early Soviet) times.

The fifth problem is the lack of interest of the young. Ms Alifa Sadiyeva, head of Klaipėda Tatar folk songs ensemble *Leisyan* expressed this problem the following way:

“We are uncertain of our future. We are aged people mostly – in age from 50 to 70 years. Sometimes we become tired, but have no new singers, no youth. Some of our singers don’t have enough health and strength to stay on the scene, or to travel somewhere. Sure, it would be very nice if our children and grandchildren would join us, but – you know – they have other interests. A number of our Tatar young generation people are in emigration in England, other Western countries, as many other Klaipėda youngsters, and they come back to visit their parents just in the time of some family or calendar feasts. They see their future in Europe, and nobody knows about their Tatar origin continuity. And in many cases their families are mixed, and also their children are born far away from us... They speak English, they want to be employed in the West, and they are very far

away culturally from us at present... But we are optimists. We still come together to sing, and if we are invited to sing even one of our Tatar songs, we come and sing.” (Sadiyeva, 2015)

This is quite serious problem for a number of Klaipėda national cultures artistic groups. And it is connected with general problem with young generation national self-identity determinations. Many youngsters have multinational families and they usually use to forget their national language, motherland roots, and traditions. In some cases they feel themselves as simply Russian- or Lithuanian-speaking people, in other cases – as cosmopolitans. Another factor not to preserve national identity there are local free emigration possibilities. Staying in Lithuania as citizens of EU they are free to travel and to look for legal employment in the West or North European countries, and English (not Russian) language is used primarily for them in such cases. And the great part of them is not interested in their national culture heritage sources for mentioned above reasons.

There is one problem more, really aggravating one that affects singing people of Klaipėda national cultures. Listening for some time to their performing groups’ concerts it is easy to become aware of the rather large scale of more or less acceptable musical hearing level among the group members. The same applies to the musical tempo and rhythm feeling, and that is something what is very important for singers. Sometimes they are simply excited and overwhelmed with opportunity to perform and present themselves on stage, and not so concentrated on listening and following the main melody line. It happens easily for them to start singing with faster tempo and not pay attention for personal losing the ensemble singing idea. It seems to be the case that some of them, especially more senior people, do not hear the voice of neighbouring partners on the stage at all. Consequently, the ensemble singing is quite often getting lost in such cases. However – it is very important to admit – they never stop singing in such cases, and do not seem to be bothered much with such problems. It is acceptable for them to start the melody all together, and to finish it not as an ensemble, but more in an individual way...

What about evaluation of their artistic level? I think this question is not the most important one in this case. The main goal and the main achievement is that the people can come together and to simply sing something in their own language. Moreover, this way it is important for them to self-declare their pure national identity. For some time in their first years, they usually did not have any artistic activities on the stage. They just used to come together at some private apartments, to communicate to each other, and to sing something. Moreover, nobody of them has any musical education.

I think it is important to emphasize the positive side of their attitude to follow the clear or not so clear ensemble singing. The main idea is **to sing** together and to keep positive personal contacts without each other without any remarks of losing ensemble singing to somebody. At one hand, from ethno- musicological point of view, such social position might be understood as a negative one, but on the other hand, from the social-anthropology point-of-view as positive one – a factor of positive social communion in the group.

National identity problems in everyday social life

The real family and cultural connections for all national cultures Klaipėda people are lost as a rule, with some possible exceptions. They were born, or at least they spent their childhood right here, in Lithuania, and they clearly have Lithuanian style of living experience in Klaipėda. They keep their own national identity in a clear way, but the real living environment in their ancestral homelands is unknown to them. National feelings are very important for them, but they are something as an echo, set far away from their national world outlook.

The fact is that the globalization does not help us to preserve and to hold over our native folklore and ethnic roots, especially for the representatives of national cultures. The same applies to the Klaipėda case.

We have real likelihoods for national cultures to cultivate and to hold over their own ethnic and traditional roots in Klaipėda city. We have the place – Centre of National Cultures –to come together, to arrange for all possible cultural events, to invite other national societies, and to be invited. In addition, just the people from actual national minorities decide in what level to use those opportunities. Of course, as everywhere else we have an itching problem of globalization influences, and youth generation losing the national roots. Open state borders and great emigration waves do not help either to stay “strong way” at the real national self-identity manifestations. Mixed nationality young families also often lose their individual cultural and language identities. They use to say for example – I am from Ukraine, and my wife is from Belarus. We speak Russian all the time here in Klaipėda for many years. And our children name themselves as Russians because of language.

Conclusions

Study data concerning *national societies* and updated methodological background of formation of *national communities* in city of Klaipėda presented in this article give us real picture of *multicultural life* here at present. The activities of Centre of National Cultures do bring possibilities to start artistic presentations of authentic folk music groups at national communities. We find free and rich ethno-cultural

life, national folklore cultivation and activities of preserving and continuing it as the main contribution to save *authenticity* (both *ethnic identity* and *self-identity*) for all national representatives of multicultural Klaipėda people.

As the main conclusions, it should be noted that there is the fundamental and mutual goodwill in the creation of favourable conditions for the continuation of ethnic and cultural traditions of national communities and societies as much as possible from both the municipal government of Klaipėda, and from the citizens themselves, representatives of various nations and nationalities.

Hope remains that the folk groups will continue to consistently pursue their artistic and pedagogical activities as an example of the continuation and passing the heritage of ancestral national ethnic culture to future generations, for the benefit of their national compatriots and for other people communities in the city of Klaipėda.

We believe that in the context of growing global cosmopolitanism and universally known manifestations of the separation from native national roots it is especially important to show examples of tolerance, mutual respect, and knowledge and to continue nursing a variety of forms of cultural heritage of national cultures. This is the only way to a peaceful coexistence of everyone and a way to avoid any conflicts on a national basis. We believe that this policy of cultural life in the city of Klaipėda in Lithuania will remain unchanged in future times.

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THE ENEMY – A PARTISAN HYMNBOOK: CRITICAL NOTES ON MEMORY, MUSIC, AND THE MAKING OF A DOCUMENTARY FILM

FEDERICO SPINETTI

Abstract: In the following pages I provide a study guide and a critical discussion of my documentary film *The Enemy – A Partisan Hymnbook* (2015). In the process, my reflexive and interpretive remarks are meant to bear on issues of more general interest for the study of music, memory and conflict, and for the theory and practice of audio-visual media particularly in ethnomusicology.

Key words: audiovisual ethnomusicology; memory; WWII Resistance; Italy; popular music.

The cinema is a realist art: but it remains that this realist art has progressed only by means of straining against its own principle, through forceful doses of unrealism.
(Chion, 1994, 54)

... the use of the camera feels more than anything like playing a musical instrument.
(MacDougall, 1995, 240)

*Because there comes a point when one must choose on which side to stand,
or at any rate from what position to see the events.*
(Carrère, 2011, 231)¹

An Encounter

“And I have seen the unknown dead, the fascist dead. They are the ones who awakened me. If a stranger, an enemy, becomes similar to us by dying, if we stop afraid to walk past his corpse, it means that even defeated the enemy is someone, and that after spilling his blood we must placate him, give a voice to this blood, and justify those who shed it. To look at certain deaths is humiliating. They are no longer just someone else’s concern; it is not by chance that we find ourselves having to face them. It seems that the same destiny that laid those corpses on the ground now forces us to stare at them, to fill our eyes with them. This is not fear, nor the usual cowardice. We feel humiliated because we realize that we could be there in the place of the dead. There would be no difference. And if we live, we owe it to that blood-stained corpse. This is why every war is a civil war. Those who fell resemble those who stand, and demand an explanation from

¹ Translation from the original French by the author.

them. ... I do not think that it can come to an end. Now that I have seen what the civil war is, should it finish, I know that all should ask themselves: how do we deal with the dead? Why did they die? I would not know how to answer, at least not now. And no one else seems to know either. Perhaps only the dead know, and only for them the war is really over.” (Pavese, 2008, 122-123)²

Written in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War and the Italian civil war (1943–45), these lines from Cesare Pavese’s 1948 book *La casa in collina* form the underlying motif of my work as director of the documentary film *The Enemy – A Partisan Hymnbook* (2015).³ They also played a key role in my encounter with the film’s protagonist, Massimo Zamboni, and in the birth of our concerted idea of making this film. I met and interviewed Zamboni for the first time in 2013 in Bologna as part of my ongoing research into the memorialization of the Second World War antifascist Resistance (*Resistenza*) in contemporary Italian popular music. Since the late 1980s up until today, a great number of musicians have addressed and reinterpreted the legacy of the *Resistenza* – understood primarily as the armed struggle of the partisans against both the Nazi-German occupying army and the Italian fascists of Mussolini’s Social Republic – and have geared this toward an interrogation of current societal issues. Among the prominent exponents of this movement were the seminal punk band CCCP (1982–1990) and their equally influential sequel CSI (1992–2002). Massimo Zamboni was the co-founder, guitarist and music composer of both. On our first meeting, Massimo and I engaged in an absorbing dialogue and realized that we shared many ideas and concerns regarding the memory of the *Resistenza*. We both had given much thought to Pavese’s words and reckoned that they provided a reflection of unresolved complexity and great actuality, which was worth digging into.

I was already planning to make a film on my research topic and had been trying out ideas with the Italian independent film company *Lab80film* – with whom I had previously made two films⁴ – but was scrambling to find a narrative focus. Massimo was completing a book about a most intriguing story: he – an artist who has been consistently associated with the left, antifascism and the *Resistenza* in his career – had uncovered a troublesome chapter in his family’s past: his maternal grandfather was a committed fascist during Mussolini’s regime, and was shot dead in ambush by the partisans in 1944. Against the reticence of his relatives, Massimo researched and unpacked his family’s history,

² Translation from the original Italian by the author.

³ The original Italian title is *Il Nemico – un breviario partigiano*, 80 minutes, English subtitles.

⁴ *Zurkhaneh – The House of Strength. Music and Martial Arts of Iran* (2011); *And The Mountains Float Up Like Feathers* (2013).

his grandfather's life, and that of his assailants.⁵ It seemed to Massimo and me that joining forces on a film project would allow us to put to productive use our intellectual, political and creative commitments. The subject of Massimo's book became the backbone of *The Enemy*, which I envisaged as a narrative nonfiction film focusing on Zamboni's portrait, his music trajectory and the memory of the *Resistenza* seen through the prism of his experience and research.

A collaborative film

The Enemy was a collaborative venture on at least two fronts. First, I (as director) shared key responsibilities with Andrea Zanoli (director of photography) and Alberto Valtellina (producer and chief editor) of *Lab80film*. Our division of work was in fact quite fluctuating: I contributed to the shooting and the editing as much as Andrea and Alberto injected important ideas into the narrative design. Second, *The Enemy* involved close collaboration with the film's participants, primarily the protagonist. It was in important ways a subject-generated film. Perhaps in contrast to other collaborative ethnographic and documentary films, I did not work with "people who lead lives that are different from those traditionally in control of the means for imaging the world" (Ruby, 1991, 50). Massimo and the other CSI members who later joined the project are artists of nationwide renown conversant with media representations and experienced in exercising control over their public image. They had access to music distribution channels of a far larger scale than I had ever contemplated for my work – a situation that widened the dissemination prospects of the film and factored its completion into their professional agenda. Thus my position here was as much about relinquishing power as a filmmaker – for example, by accommodating the participants' selective input on what or what not to film as an ethical and methodological principle of collaborative ethnography – as it was about acquiring power, making sure that I was on an equal footing with the musicians as to decisions regarding the circulation and commercial reification of the film.

An equally crucial aspect of our collaboration, Massimo and I deemed it essential that the centrality of his subjectivity in matters of content (as protagonist and storyteller) be staged in dialogue with my authorial voice in matters of narrative and cinematic choices. But our relationship also entailed mutual influences across filmmaker's and participant's positions, such that the line between authorial construction and subject-generated content became oftentimes porous. An instance of this is the reunion of CSI depicted in the film. Fifteen years after their breakup, Massimo saw the film project, at that point

⁵ Zamboni's book *L'eco di uno sparo* (2015) was published around the same time of the film's release by the publisher Einaudi in their prestigious series *Supercoralli*.

already underway, as an opportunity to call back the other band members to engage once again with the memory of the *Resistenza* and write new songs on this theme. He invited them to take part in the film and suggested a theatre in the town of Gualtieri as a location for filming their compositional process. The band had previously resumed touring under the name of *Ex-CSI*, with Angela Baraldi substituting former singer Giovanni Lindo Ferretti, but this was the first time since their breakup that they would come together for a new music project. For the occasion they renamed themselves *Post-CSI*. As a result, the film became part of a larger publication venture, named *Breviario Partigiano* (Partisan Hymnbook), which included an album based on the film's soundtrack and a limited-edition pocketbook in which numerous Italian intellectuals and artists were invited to contribute their thoughts on the *Resistenza*.

The band reunion became a central motif of the film, representing an important subject-generated input to the narrative construction. But, in turn, it was the film project itself that had occasioned Massimo's initiative to reunite the band. The film, much as participant observation, impacted the participants' life-world and set out to represent an event that it partly contributed to create. This situation posed issues that had to do with documentary ethics as well as with the representational status of the film. Rather than putting myself onscreen or resorting to exposition – which I felt would detract from the narrative focus on Massimo's powerful story – I opted for disclosing the film's intervention in the life-world portrayed by underlining my authorial presence through formal means, notably the use of discernibly staged scenes, as well as scripted references to the *Partisan Hymnbook* project in Massimo's narration. Also, the use of highly interactive, conversational camerawork encouraged not only the recurrent acknowledgment of the camera by *Post-CSI*, but also their performance for the benefit of the camera. In many instances of the film, it can be said, in the words of Michael Kirkby, that "they were acting their own emotions and beliefs." (1987, 7) This combination of authored design and participant's conscious self-display proved to be a productive avenue to establish common ground toward a concerted, plural statement.

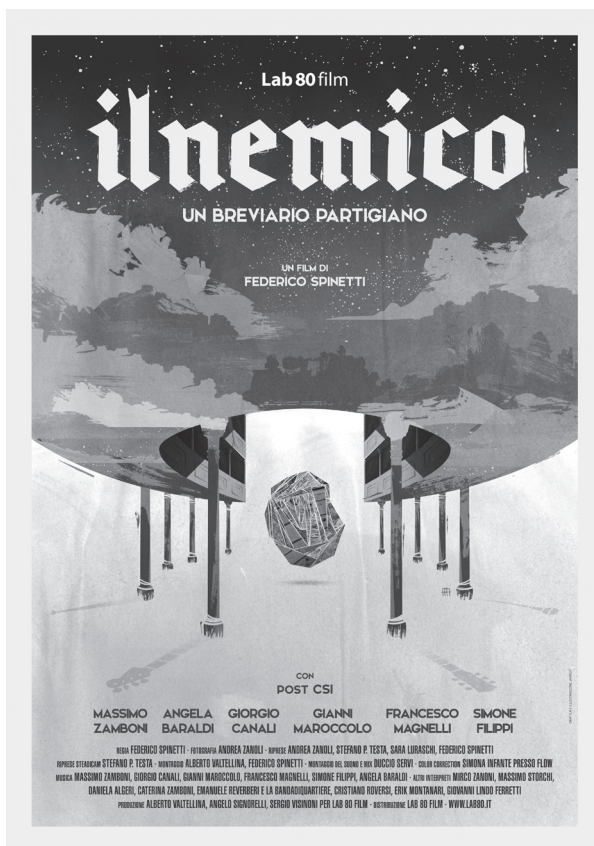


Figure 1. The Italian version of the film poster. (Rossi, 2015).

A STRUGGLE FOR MEMORY

Working with renowned musicians such as *Post-CSI* afforded prospects of high visibility to the film, especially in Italy, and made it realistic to target, in addition to an academic audience, a large general public. I should also remark that researching the musical memorializations of the *Resistenza* was, for me, an existentially and politically salient endeavour. After years of research particularly in Central Asia and Iran, I was now coming full circle and addressing the very social and cultural milieu that was central to my own formation as a young adult in Italy, both politically (as a radical leftist and antifascist), and musically (as a rock enthusiast and musician who, like many others in the Italian student culture of the 1990s, looked up to *CSI* as one of their points of reference).

These factors shaped my approach to the film project, notably as a form of engaged applied research (Pettan and Titon, 2015) that could contribute to the ongoing public debate about the *Resistenza* in Italy. In particular, I – and Massimo with me – have conceived of the film as a part of the movement of antifascist intellectuals, artists, activists and civic organizations that, in the last three decades or so, have invested considerable cultural work in the cultivation of the *Resistenza* legacy. Though undertaken with diverse modalities and emphases, these efforts have shared a concern with salvaging the memory of the *Resistenza* from the breakdown of the Cold War political framework and with asserting its contemporary relevance. At the same time, they have recast it in terms that are rejuvenating with respect to the discursive paradigms typical of that framework, where the *Resistenza* was canonized in institutional representations as the founding myth of the Italian Republic, and absorbed within the contending and self-legitimizing narratives of political parties (primarily the Italian Communist Party and the Christian Democracy party). (Focardi, 2005)

In the course of the 1990s we witness an increasing de-territorialization of antifascist and *Resistenza* discourse, moving away from traditional party politics toward independent civic activism, away from commemorative magniloquence toward a multiplicity of new vocabularies and interpretive renovations. Those momentous twenty months (September 1943–April 1945) of rebellion against the Nazi German occupation and the newly reconstituted Italian fascist regime have been seen as a unique episode in national history, one that exemplarily encapsulates the perceived hinges of a contemporary antifascist civic morality: grassroots and subaltern self-reliance, utopian desire, refusal of authority and “voluntary servitude” (Hardt and Negri, 2000, 204), experimentalism in egalitarian coalitional efforts in matters of social, intercultural, gender and work relations. (see Romitelli, 2015; Hardt and Negri, 2000, in particular pp. 157-159, 204-211)

The memory of the *Resistenza* has been all the more persuasive because the struggle was not only waged against an inimical “outside” (the foreign occupation), but also against an “inner enemy” (Bermani, 2003), that is, the Italian fascists and the authoritarian social and power system within which the partisans themselves, especially the numerous youths within their ranks, were raised and socialized. As such, the *Resistenza* legacy has provided an ethical-political point of reference, a resource for the imagination, and a discursive framework able to sustain and galvanize a variety of antagonist positions in the present, ranging from antiracist and anti-capitalist militancy, to criticality vis-à-vis neoliberal inequalities, global dispossession and rampant xenophobia, to active endeavours of participatory citizenship. Of equal importance has been a preoccupation with the process of rehabilitation of fascism and its memory, which, since the early 1990s, has gained currency in the Italian public space. This has been accompanied by a political

legitimization of far-right and neofascist movements, as well as by historiographic revisionism promoting not only a devaluation, if not outright demonization, of the *Resistenza*, but also a sugar-coated, let alone celebratory, representation of Italian colonialism and authoritarianism. (see Mattioli, 2010)

In this context, *The Enemy* aims to speak to that stream of contemporary leftist Italian historiography, which, in the last three decades, has addressed with novel critical intent the *Resistenza* and the formation of post-war antifascist memory.⁶ Here, the film calls attention to the important contribution of musicians and musical life to memory making, a contribution that has been apparent to many antifascist activists and sympathizers, but has remained almost invisible in the discussions of critical scholars.⁷

Furthermore, the film aims to tackle an issue that has proven quite thorny, not only in a broad national debate but also within antifascist discourse itself, namely the status of private and collective memories of the civil war, and their relationship. In a nutshell, the underlying contention of the film is that the recognition of private and family memories that involve the loss of the fascist dead need not clash with a firm antifascist stance. This proposition relies on a re-humanization of the enemy and an affirmation of the grieveability of all life. (see Butler 2004; 2009) It calls upon the antifascist front to re-appropriate and own the violent deaths of the civil war, not only those suffered at the hands of the enemy but also those inflicted on the enemy. This ultimately urges antifascism to interrogate the role of violence in emancipatory struggle and to reclaim the reasons for its exercise in the partisan experience – a topic entertained uncomfortably in antifascist discourse, particularly when it comes to the killings perpetrated immediately after the end of the war. (see, among others, Storchi, 2007) The film highlights the contentious nature of this last point by bringing into focus different understandings of the legitimacy of violence, epitomized, not least musically, by Massimo Zamboni and Giorgio Canali (see *Sequences 12-14* below).

In this sense the film addresses Cesare Pavese's reflection (quoted at the beginning of this article) through the prism of Massimo's experience. My intention was to tacitly clothe this experience with the significance of a metaphor. Massimo's unremitting and painful investigation into his family's past may stand for a similar possibility, for Italian society at large, to come to terms with its own history and sorrows. Massimo's rejection of his family's political

⁶ The contributions to this field of inquiry – whose voice has often percolated beyond the scholarly into a broader public domain – are too numerous to be listed here. Suffice it to mention Pavone (1991) as the study that, perhaps more than others, has represented the seminal impetus for this novel approach.

⁷ This applies also to some of the most attentive commentators, such as Luzzatto (2004) or Romitelli (2007; 2015)

background further indicates that harbouring private memories of and affective links to individuals who subscribed to authoritarian projects does not necessarily translate into a political affiliation of the same sign. Here the film's argument admittedly performs a tightrope walk. The mourning of the fascist dead has often been used by the far right for its political legitimation and for recruitment, in this way effecting a confusion between human recognition and political affiliation, between private and public memories. Massimo's story is there to testify that this confusion can be discarded. The politicization of the personal elaborated in the film amounts in our intentions to a different proposition from the one increasingly entertained in Italian public discourse, which purports the ideas of national reconciliation, of 'shared memories' across political fronts, and of the moral equivalence between partisan and fascist fighters. To carve a space for fascist family memories within antifascist discourse is not an act of apology or remittance of the responsibilities of fascism. On the contrary, it can provide an obstacle to the crystallization of those memories into neofascist political views, and contribute to the expansive potential of antifascism.

The reception history of the film I can testify to – including reviews and Q&As at public screenings – showed diverse responses to the film's political propositions. These triggered discussions, particularly within antifascist circles, that ranged from fervent interest to outright suspicion, demonstrating the controversial and thus constructive nature of the themes addressed.

Music, memory, film

My work on *The Enemy* was guided by the understanding that documentary filmmaking can be a form of research, one that engages as much with affective and sensuous knowledge as with analytical and discursive knowledge. (see for instance MacDougall, 1995, 17-18; 1998; Grimshaw and Ravetz, 2009, 113-136) Accordingly, I intended to contribute to a growing interest in ethnomusicological and popular music scholarship in the study of music, conflict and violence (see, among others, Pettan, 1998; Araújo, 2006; O'Connell and Castelo-Branco, 2010; MacDonald, 2009; Johnson and Cloonan, 2009), through a focus on the politics of memory making and the contribution of music to the construction of historical narratives. Not unlike other studies of music and memory (see in particular Shelemay, 1998; Bithell, 2006; Baker, 2009; Momcilovic, 2011; Hofman, 2015; Bennett and Janssen, 2016), I also aimed to address the field of memory studies, specifically the one concerned with cultural and collective memories (see for example Connerton, 1989; Erll and Nünning, 2008; Assmann, 2009) and therein call attention to the often overlooked role of music making in memory practices. I was particularly interested in the notion that memory – and therefore musical memorialization – is constructed through processes of mediation and

remediation of experiences and of their attendant memorial inscriptions. (see Erll and Rigney, 2009; Whitehead, 2009: 39-50) *The Enemy* pays particular attention to these “medial frameworks” (Erll and Rigney, 2009, 2) and makes the mechanisms of remediation visible by exploring the inter-textual tapestry at work in the construction of the *Resistenza* memory across music, song lyrics, photographs, moving pictures, literature and historiography. It was important for me that the film itself be positioned reflexively as a memorial device and as part of the very process of mediation of memory it represents.

Despite notable exceptions (see for instance Zemp, 1988; Baily, 1989 and 2009; Cámara de Landa et al., 2016) audio-visual practices in ethnomusicology remain conspicuously under-theorized. Discussions have tended to be fairly prescriptive, possibly in response to a legitimate preoccupation with securing for the discipline an ethical and epistemological foundation that would be distinctive with respect to dominant media and imaging practices – in this, paralleling similar concerns in visual anthropology. While I share this understanding of documentary film as a communicative code whose representational and stylistic procedures are imbued with ideological and cultural biases and therefore call for critical awareness,⁸ my purpose in *The Enemy* was to take full advantage of the medium and produce a cinematic construction that would tap into the practice and theory of audio-visual ethnomusicology as much as that of independent and art documentary filmmaking. As I will illustrate in more detail below, *The Enemy* employs a combination of representational strategies that are deep-seated in the ethnographic tradition and that have been codified by film critic Bill Nichols (2001: 105-130), with reference to a broader documentary film practice, as the “modes of representation” of exposition (i.e. direct address to the viewer), reflexivity (i.e. disclosure of cinematic artifice), participation (i.e. interaction between filmmaker and participants), and observation (i.e. attendance to the flow of lived experience).⁹ Further, the film adopts at different points the expressionist and affective cinematic logic that Nichols associates with his poetic and performative modes (2001, 102-105; 130-137). I found this approach particularly congenial for *both* exploring the analogies *and* triggering cinematically the synergies between memory, music, and film. These all work importantly by association, affect and embodiment. They all have to do as much with structured collective codes as with lived subjective experience, as much with the constative utterance of factual information or the expression of pre-existing

⁸ For a classic and still relevant discussion in ethnomusicology, see Feld, 1976.

⁹ It is known that the observational mode in particular has been understood in quite different ways across critical discourses. Nichols’ characterization of it as fundamentally detached and voyeuristic contrasts sharply with the more reflexive and interactive understandings of observational cinema elaborated in anthropology. For a comprehensive discussion see Grimshaw and Ravetz, 2009.

knowledge as with the performative creativity of exhortation, imagination, possibility, and desire. (see Austin, 1999)¹⁰ In order to tap into these affective and imaginative dimensions, *The Enemy* makes use of cinematic devices such as aestheticization, stylization, evocative accentuation and poetic allusion – a set of practices that Keith Beattie has encapsulated in the notion of “documentary display” as a cinematic function that maximizes “affective bonds”, “spectatorial attraction” and pleasure (2008, 4-6, 29).¹¹ It thus navigates a fine line between ethnography and cinematic invention, between realism and hyperbole. It does so, for example, by evoking sonically and musically the intensity of inner experience inhabiting Massimo’s memory process¹², or, reversely, by giving visual form to the associative imagination that is part and parcel of the experience of (live) music – in this sense fracturing a common visual practice in ethnomusicology that identifies in the musicians and event participants all there is to be seen and represented of a music performance. In this way the film attempts to access levels of experience outside the literality of action and to exploit the potential for evocation and affective knowledge of documentary representation. At the same time, it purposefully resists the bombastic and manipulative register that I find in much mainstream documentary. In this respect, if the film departs, as it does, from a strictly observational approach in matter of representational choices, it is nonetheless poised on a broad observational and ethnographic sensibility, one that affords interpretive openness, and that is based on knowledge generated from the participants’ life-world and understandings.

Production and release

The film was produced by *Lab80film*. Upon joining in, *Post-CSI* launched a crowdfunding campaign on the online platform *Musicraiser*, whose revenues went mostly into the production of the music album and the packaging of the CD-DVD set and pocketbook. The film benefited from the logistical and moral support of a number of associations and institutes.¹³ The CD-DVD set was

¹⁰ For memory as implicated in desire see for example Whitehead, 2009, 49. On iconic and indexical processes in music semiotics see, for instance, Turino, 1999. On sound and affect, see Thompson and Biddle, 2013.

¹¹ While Beattie conceptualizes “display” predominantly in visual terms, a fully audio-visual perspective, including sound and music, must be emphasized here.

¹² Germane to this approach is MacDougall’s remark that “memory offers film its ultimate problem: how to represent the mind’s landscape, whose images and sequential logic are always hidden from view.” (1992, 29)

¹³ Especially ISTORECO (Reggio Emilia Institute for the Resistance and Contemporary History), the Istituto Alcide Cervi, ANPI (National Association of Italian Partisans) of Correggio, and the Associazione Teatro Sociale of Gualtieri.

released and distributed by Universal Music Italy.¹⁴ A limited edition including the pocketbook was reserved for crowdfunding contributors and also made available at *Post-CSI* concerts. The film alone was distributed by *Lab80film* in the independent cinema theatre circuit in Italy, at international documentary film festivals and for TV broadcast.¹⁵ Additionally, screenings were held at several *Resistenza*-related public events organized by civic associations in Italy, and at international academic symposia. In Italy the film has received extensive media coverage including highlights and reviews in the local and national press, as well as in specialized cinema magazines. Several interviews with Massimo or me were broadcast on radio stations, and I appeared twice in interview on the Italian national TV channel RAI Uno.

Shooting and editing

Shooting took place in several sessions over a 22-month period, from April 2013 to January 2015. Typically Andrea Zanolì, Alberto Valtellina and I would make the 150km-drive from Bergamo, where *Lab80film* is based, to Reggio Emilia and spend two or three days at a time there with Massimo. Our work method was based on scheduling dedicated time that could be used productively toward the advancement of the film – exploring locations in the Reggio Emilia area related to Massimo's story; capturing interviews, landscapes and action scenes. Most of the shooting on these occasions was done with one HD camera and sound was recorded with a boompole or clip-on microphone. I made a number of additional trips to meet Massimo and engage in extensive briefing about his book, his research, and the progress of the film. Our work here resonated very much with the sort of collaboration that, in Sarah Elder's words, "provides a space for filmmakers to learn to pose questions they originally do not know to ask, a place where film subjects select the fragments of their reality they deem significant to document, and a moral place where subjects and image makers can mediate their own representation." (1995, 94) A somewhat larger crew of four to five people worked on shooting sessions that required the handling of dollies and tracks and/or of multiple cameras. These included live concert performances and the scenes set in the Gualtieri Theatre. The latter were shot over three consecutive days in which *Post-CSI* and the film crew shut themselves in the theatre from morning to night so as to attend to the composition of the song *Il nemico* (The Enemy).

While the shooting process was strongly informed by Massimo's and *Post-CSI*'s input, the editing was done entirely by Alberto Valtellina and me over

¹⁴ *Post-CSI*, 2015.

¹⁵ A number of ethical issues arose out of the relationship with major distribution, of which the most salient is discussed below apropos of *Sequence 12*.

two months of high-intensity work. The final cut utilizes about a tenth of the overall captured footage. Rather than a limitation, the selection of footage in the postproduction was a decisive factor in shaping the sense of purpose of the project and distilling the specific contribution to memory making that I was aiming at. I remember the trepidation with which I submitted the edited film to Massimo at our first private screening. On reflection it was not surprising that he approved of it in its entirety. It had been clear all along that we had reached a shared understanding about how to combine ethical and creative practices in the filmmaking process. And also that it was as important for me that he is represented respectfully and fairly, as it was for him that his experience be authored and reframed by me.¹⁶



Figure 2. Filming *Post-CSI* at work in the Gualtieri Theatre. (Fantetti, 2014)

The film's structure

In this section I provide a description and examination of the film's layout. I refer to "scenes" as clusters of cinematic materials that usually maintain a recognizable unity of time and space, and to "sequences" as larger sections, generally made of multiple scenes, which operate as fairly distinct narrative units and explore a specific topic or situation.¹⁷ Sequences are further grouped into chapters, which provide the thematic building blocks of the narrative.

¹⁶ See Elder, 1995, 96.

¹⁷ See Barbash and Taylor, 1997, 123.

Sequence 1 (00:00-03:13) opens with a night shot of a roadside partisan memorial stone. Next, a black screen crossfades into a series of jump cuts as the handheld camera moves along a country path, in a bleak winter morning on the characteristic flatland of the Po valley. Opening credits run throughout. The camera lingers on a tilted cross, planted in the ground, and a torn Italian flag waving on its pole. After the diegetic sound of the opening shot, this scene features the pit-music¹⁸ bass-guitar line of the *CSI Resistenza*-themed song *Linea Gotica* (Gothic Line), recorded solo upon my request by *CSI* bass-player Gianni Marocco. As the music fades out, the camera cuts to a side view of the film's protagonist, Massimo Zamboni. He sits in front of a computer screen displaying the cover of his book *L'Eco di uno sparo* (The Echo of a Gunshot). His hands leaf through a typed manuscript as he talks about his writing process. Finally he folds up the manuscript and says: "It's been six years of research." Pit music kicks in – it is the instrumental opening of Zamboni's song *Che farai* (What will you do) – as the mounted camera pans to follow a car leaving a country mansion. Massimo's voiceover relates how he began his book research on his family history during the war and the *Resistenza*, specifically tracing what, in that history, led up to a gunshot. The pit music rises again and a long take of the car driving down a country road features further opening credits and the title text. A series of cuts within the car show Massimo driving while the hills and the Po valley roll by. The camera pans out to capture the city of Reggio Emilia signpost. In the closing shot Massimo's car enters a parking lot, while the pit music fades out.

I conceived of the opening sequence as a rather elusive preamble to some of the thematic cores of the film. It is intentionally made to play with the "degree of communicativeness" (Nichols, 1991, 123) of the filmic text, by giving out pieces of information while withholding others with a view to create expectation. Rural landscapes of Reggio Emilia are presented as key locations in the film, but their importance as "signs of memory" (MacDougall, 1992) is yet to be evinced. The cross in the opening scene, as a metonym of death, evokes a central theme in the film, but its identity and location are not yet revealed. Similarly, while the film's protagonist is introduced, the nature of his research efforts is only vaguely mentioned. In this way, a characteristic of the film's narrative is established, that of a gradual disclosure of Massimo's research and existential trajectory. The opening sequence, moreover, sets the stage for three primary representational approaches of the film: observational and participatory encounter of the camera with Massimo as a mode of elicitation of his testimony; cinematic stylization as a register of performative aesthetics and poetic evocation; readily-identifiable staging of (some) scenes as both a reflexive and narrative device.

¹⁸ Here and throughout I refer to different typologies of sound in film using the terminology codified by Michel Chion (1994).

Sequences 2 to 5. This chapter traces the musical history of the band CCCP and its later reincarnations as *CSI* and *Post-CSI* from the standpoint of Massimo Zamboni. It provides a background to the protagonist's profile and the compositional process to be explored later in the film. My concern here was to deliver a content that would be intriguing for audiences already familiar with CCCP and its successors, and sufficiently informative for (primarily international) audiences not necessarily acquainted with them.

Sequence 2 (3:13-06:16) opens with a scene that is closely related to the ending of the preceding sequence: the camera follows Massimo entering a postal office and picking up a package. This scene was engineered to some extent: since I wanted to capture Massimo's first reactions to the content of the package avoiding the affectation of a re-enactment, Massimo and I agreed on a specific date for filming the package delivery— a process that entailed arrangements with both the sender (Universal Music Italy) and the post depot. A second scene cuts to a house interior where Massimo, his wife Daniela and their daughter Caterina open the parcel and examine its contents: the CCCP 1980s LP reprints about to be released as a 30th-anniversary tribute by Universal Music Italy. The handheld camera follows Massimo and family as they appraise enthusiastically the vinyl reissues, with Massimo fanning out the covers for his own pleasure and the benefit of the camera.

Sequence 3 (06:16-09:25) serves narratively as an anticipation of the present-day reunion of *CSI* and their compositional process, including the setting where this takes place. In the first scene, two observational shots follow Massimo, the singer Angela Baraldi and the guitarist Giorgio Canali entering the spaces of the Gualtieri Theatre. The camera is acknowledged verbally by Massimo and Angela, and, through a fleeting look into the lens, by Giorgio. Massimo shows the others around in the theatre. The open space of the orchestra, he suggests, is where the band will be seated in circle with “the enemy” in the centre. In response to Angela's inquiry Massimo clarifies that *The Enemy* is the title of the song that the band will be working on. A closing shot of the drummer Simone Filippi setting up amp cables is overlaid by the non-diegetic incipit of *Emilia paranoica* (Paranoid Emilia), an iconic CCCP song.

The next scene is set to the sound of this song, recorded at a concert held in Correggio on April 27th 2013 by *Ex-CSI* members, including Massimo, Angela, and Giorgio. Being the first live performance by the protagonists, I intended to break the ice by conveying in a nutshell something of the powerful sensuous engagement experienced by both musicians and audience on that and other live acts by *CSI*. To this end I opted for a cinematic representation quite removed from a realistic depiction of the action. While the live sound of the song goes on for about two minutes, the cuts utilized are a compendium of footage from disparate moments of the same concert and of material extrinsic to it. The

scene opens with travel shots showing the hillsides of Reggio Emilia, and cuts to an establishing long shot of the musicians on stage and the audience. This is the only shot edited with synchronous sound. What follows is a montage of performance excerpts edited out-of-synch with the soundtrack and recurrently interpolated in slow motion. This process of aestheticization aims to magnify the musicians' bodily performance and trigger affective responses in the viewers, possibly bearing some affinity with the punk ethos of the music represented. The montaged footage is at once related to the live audio track (i.e. it belongs clearly to the same concert), and relatively unanchored from the pro-filmic event, at once denotative representation and metaphor. Likewise the sound straddles unstably the diegetic/non-diegetic divide. This perceptual ambiguity afforded the insertion of visual associations branching out of the concert, particularly flashback shots – taken from Gasparini's 1989 *Tempi Moderni. CCCP Fedeli alla Linea* – where a younger Massimo Zamboni performs with former CCCP-CSI singer and front man Giovanni Lindo Ferretti. This is the only instance in the film where archival footage is used as a memorial medium, whose "pronominal code" (MacDougall 1995: 223), as is often the case with archival materials, is here deliberately left uncertain:¹⁹ whose memory is being evoked, the musicians', the filmmaker's or, potentially, the viewer's? In one of these cuts, Ferretti's lips are made to move in synch with Baraldi's vocals in the music recording, signalling both Ferretti's legacy and his substitution. The music here is at once a memorial device – the song being an aural icon of the history of CCCP, a "sign of resemblance" in MacDougall's terms (1992, 31) – and representation of the present as ethnographic site and locus of remediation of the past.

Sequence 4 (09:25-15:22) cuts to an interior scene where Massimo pulls out from a cabinet newspaper articles, flyers, photographs, and other memorabilia from the early days of CCCP. These objects function as "signs of survival" of the past (MacDougall, 1992, 30-31). They are not injected into the text from an extrinsic subjectivity – as would be the case with archival images – but handled by the protagonist as part of the flow of his recollection. Massimo recounts some episodes of the CCCP trajectory, including his first meeting with Ferretti in Berlin; their first controversial performances, where the enmeshing of Soviet symbolism and punk aesthetics along the fault-lines of irony and ideological orthodoxy attracted mixed responses; their final concert in Moscow before the Red Army and the eventual breakup of the band after the fall of the Berlin Wall. Massimo offers insights into the existential tension that propelled his music making: this was for him a "weapon to cultivate a life" of his own – a suggestive analogy with the *Resistenza* partisans – and a means to "come to terms" with the history of Reggio Emilia as a long-standing communist hub. The scene establishes

¹⁹ See MacDougall, 1992, 30, 35.

Massimo's first-person testimony as the leading mode of subjectivity structuring in the film.²⁰ A mobile and participatory handheld camerawork eschews the distancing of a formal interview and follows Massimo's storytelling and bodily engagement with objects and space – an observational representational strategy already introduced in Sequence 1 and adopted repeatedly throughout the film. In closing, Massimo pulls out the lyrics of the CCCP song *Spara Juri* (Shoot, Juri!), and realizes with surprise that among the lyrics he is dusting off from the shelves there are unpublished “treasures” that would be worth retrieving for the future.

The next scene shows the performance of *Spara Juri* from the same concert of Sequence 3. Here the representational approach is of the kind typical of the American direct cinema tradition, including its *rockumentary* strand.²¹ Long takes of handheld camerawork capture the performance in temporal and spatial continuity, following the action through variations of focal length and switching moderately between two camera angles. This approach allowed the attention to be kept squarely on the song and its illustrative role in the CCCP storyline.

Sequence 5 (15:22-20:05) begins with an extended audio lead of Massimo's voice on the preceding concert scene. The voice turns onscreen as he, framed in an interview static shot, recounts how *CSI* were born out of the remnants of CCCP and were active throughout the 1990s. Due to harsh contrasts in the band, *CSI* too came to an end, but now, fifteen years after, they “are slowly coming together again.” The camera cuts to a participatory handheld shot where Massimo points each band member on a *CSI* photograph hung on the wall. He announces a little “coup de theatre” and removes from the photo the sticker covering his face that he had put on after the band's breakup.

Having in this way launched the theme of the band's reunion, the next scene continues in a rather expository way: over the images and the diegetic sound of *Post-CSI* setting up their gear in the Gualtieri Theatre, Massimo's voiceover relates how he involved the other members in the *Partisan Hymnbook* project. Angela Baraldi and Massimo are shown interacting while Massimo narrates that they have been collaborating for a while and she has eventually taken over Ferretti's role as *Post-CSI* vocalist. Next, two reverse sideways tracking-shots across the 180-degree axis show from a distance *Post-CSI* at work in the theatre orchestra.

The following scene features pit music from the Baraldi and Zamboni song *Vorremmo esserci*. A series of steadicam shots meander through the run-down, vacant balconies and backstage areas of the theatre and follow Angela in a patently staged stroll about the premises. This stylized progression leads to a sudden change of setting, achieved through a formal editing tactic exploiting the consonance of colour temperature between two disparate images: while the pit

²⁰ See MacDougall, 1995, 226-228.

²¹ See Beattie, 2008, 70f.; Grimshaw and Ravetz, 2009, 20f.

music continues, the camera now captures Massimo walking uphill in a floodlit forest – an anticipation of the next scene.

Sequences 6 to 8. This chapter is dedicated to the place of the Second World War antifascist *Resistenza* in the experience and thought of Massimo Zamboni, as well as in the musical trajectory of *CSI* and *Post-CSI*.

Sequence 6 (20:05-23:11) opens with Massimo fetching chopped wood for a stove in a rural house. Two outdoor shots follow Massimo walking near the house. He recounts that he and his family moved there twenty years earlier. During Second World War, the house served as a partisan shelter and the forest behind it as a hideout for weapons. Foregrounded here is the connection between the partisan experience – and the memory of it – and specific material places. This connection is to be evoked recurrently in the film, mostly through what David MacDougall calls “signs of absence” (1992, 32): landscapes captured in the present referencing the past through its absence, and calling upon the viewer’s imagination to fill in the gaps and conjure up a world hidden away from representation.

Next is an indoor scene where the participatory handheld camera captures Massimo pulling out from a shelf the book of the 1995 *Materiale Resistente* (Resistant Material) project. Conceived for the 50th anniversary of Italy’s liberation from Nazi-fascism, this project achieved nationwide resonance. It included a book, a documentary film (*Materiale Resistente*, 1995), a concert, and a CD in which some of the prominent indie bands of the 1990s reinterpreted historic partisan songs or wrote new songs on the theme. Massimo looks back to the leading role of *CSI* in this project and their commitment to the memory and renovation of the antifascist struggle. Massimo further reflects on how post-war Italy has “coddled” the memory of fascism, failing to confront its history.

Sequence 7 (23:11-31:47) is bookended by the *Resistenza*-themed song *Guardali negli Occhi* (Look them in the eye), *CSI*’s contribution to the *Materiale Resistente* album. It opens with a staged steadicam shot of Gianni Maroccolo playing solo the song’s bass line in the Gualteri Theatre. The music becomes non-diegetic as the hazy, dreary landscape of the film’s opening, including the ominous cross, is shown in glimpses. The camera cuts to the *Post-CSI* performance of the song at a live concert, captured through stationary long shots from afar, and handheld shots from up close. As the live music progresses this observational depiction is replaced by a series of close-ups of partisan photographs from the *Resistenza* monument in the city of Reggio Emilia. In the next scene, Massimo approaches the monument and inspects the photographs. In front of the interactive camera he explains that *Guardali negli occhi* was a response to the daunting interpellation emanating from precisely these partisan portraits, whose gaze “is difficult to hold.” Referring to the writings of Beppe

Fenoglio²², it is the existential dimension, the individual morality, and the drive to self-defence and rebellion as a matter of “private concern” rather than grand ideological proclamation, that – Massimo ponders – make the partisans’ choice to risk their lives at once terrifying and inspiring. Delivering a central trope of the film, he points out what startles him as the most “difficult knot to untangle” about the civil war: that the partisans and the fascists, “the oppressed and the oppressors” who stood on opposite sides of the right/wrong divide of history, belonged to the same land and the same people, confounding any clear notion of the enemy as “the other” and making it “our duty to understand the complexity of the matter.”

Next comes the first of a number of carefully designed, staged scenes interspersed in the film, in which Massimo reads from his book sitting in the Gualtieri Theatre. A tracking shot, moving forward and backwards, reveals the dolly rail and exposes the *mise-en-scène*. Massimo’s reading offers a meta-commentary to the partisan song *Il bersagliere ha cento penne* (The Rifleman Has One Hundred Feathers), whose reinterpretation forms the closing section of *CSI’s Guardali negli occhi*. Lastly, the camera cuts to the live performance of this closing section from the same *Post-CSI* concert shown earlier in the sequence.



Figure 3. Massimo Zamboni at the *Resistenza* monument in Reggio Emilia. Still frame from the film. (*Il Nemico – un breviario partigiano*, 2015)

²² Having himself fought as a partisan, Fenoglio’s nonfiction novels (notably Fenoglio, 1952, 1963, 1968) are among the classics of *Resistenza* literature.

Sequence 8 (31:47-37:23) begins with a transition between two images of Angela Baraldi – first on stage and then in the Gualtieri Theatre. After an establishing shot, the scene features two handheld cameras to capture observationally (albeit selectively) the band's compositional work on the song *Il nemico*, occasionally using shots/reverse-shots to follow their conversations. The intention here was to minimize the musicians' interaction with the camera and focus on their collaborative dynamics.

Next is an interview featuring static shots of Massimo sitting in a decrepit backstage room of the theatre. This setting will be employed again for Massimo's commentary on the ongoing *Post-CSI* compositional process. It is a challenge to bring together musicians who, he feels, have "conflicting ideas" regarding the *Partisan Hymnbook* project. He goes on to elucidate the symbolic significance of composing a song in the Gualtieri Theatre. Rescued from ruin by the efforts of a community association, the theatre is a metaphor for *Post-CSI*'s task: choosing between forgetting the *Resistenza*, or delving once more into the meaning it has "today for the life of each one of us."

Sequences 9 to 11. This chapter uncovers the specifics of Zamboni's research of his family history. It is deliberately placed halfway through the overall narrative for dramatic effect: while up to this point Massimo has been depicted as an artist committed to antifascism, this perspective is here problematized: Massimo has discovered that his family had close ties with fascism.

Sequence 9 (37:23-41:43) opens with Massimo at the gates of a rural mansion, calling the landlord on his cellphone for permission to film. He then leads the camera inside the mansion. He finally reveals that this was his maternal grandfather's house, to which his grandfather never returned. Massimo recalls spending his summers here as a child, but his voice is broken with emotion.

The next scene relates back to the locations of the film's beginning, and finally unpacks some of the oblique hints provided there. It opens with the sinister cross, followed by a desolate Po valley landscape in the winter twilight. Over pit music of slow-pulsing piano chords, Massimo reads off-screen from his book. He recounts how his grandfather was ambushed and fatally struck down by a gunshot in February 1944. Mirroring the setting of Massimo's story, the camera moves along a country trail flanked by a ditch – visuals that function as memory signs of both resemblance and absence. Massimo's voice becomes diegetic as he is shown reading into the microphone, thus revealing the *mise-en-scène*.²³ In what follows, the camera cuts back and forth between tracking shots of misty fields and poplar forests, and Massimo onscreen at his desk, continuing the recording of his reading and, then, speaking to the participating camera. The sound

²³ This musicalized reading by Massimo was eventually included as a track on the *Partisan Hymnbook* CD release.

interweaves Massimo's off-screen/onscreen voice with the landscape's rustling leaves and the non-diegetic bass line of *Linea Gotica* (recaptured from the film's opening). Massimo narrates that his grandfather was a committed fascist, who had important responsibilities in Mussolini's political apparatus, and that his assailants were partisans. A long-kept secret of his family, Massimo knew very little about his grandfather's involvement in fascism until he began "to rummage in private notes and archive documents." This research went into his book, he remarks while browsing the book's manuscript.



Figure 4. The camera moves along a country trail visualizing Zamboni's off-screen reading from his book. Still frame from the film. (*Il Nemico – un breviario partigiano*, 2015)

Sequence 10 (41:43-46:23) begins in the premises of Reggio Emilia's ISTORECO with historian Massimo Storchi browsing archive documents. He hands over to Massimo a partisan report indicting Massimo's maternal grandfather, and the fascist brigade of which he was part, for a brutal assault against unarmed citizens. Massimo recalls how troubled he was when he first came across this report, which undermined the image he had of his family and of his own background. Here as in most of the film, Massimo's research is retraced through his own reminiscence. Instead, the subsequent shots capture in real time Massimo's unforeseen discovery of a document that, to his dismay, implicates also his paternal grandfather in the fascist regime.

Breaking out from Massimo's disquieting new finding, the camera cuts to a live performance of the Zamboni-Baraldi song *In Rotta* (Derailed), an unforgiving portrayal of Italy as a country in disarray and of Italians as a "mad brethren". GoPro lenses give the visuals the hyperbolic quality of an inner vision, reinforced by the intercutting of disorienting, non-literal landscapes, including feverish subjectives in a forest and high-angle shots of a flooded countryside. As the music fades out, a man takes a globe out of its display case in what appears to be a museum.

Sequence 11 (46:23-51:58) opens with another reading from Massimo's book in the Gualtieri Theatre, staged as in *Sequence 7*. In 1941 Massimo's maternal grandfather was appointed fascist official in the stubbornly socialist and antifascist municipality of Campegine, where the Cervi family in particular was known to be untameable. In the next scene the camera cuts to the museum-house of the Cervi family, where curator Mirco Zanoni has mounted the globe on a tractor: these two objects, he explains, stand for the openness to the world and the belief in progress and change that characterized this peasant family. Zanoni illustrates some of the antifascist, revolutionary activities undertaken by the Cervis, including the setting up of a clandestine library for the farmers. The seven Cervi brothers were possibly the first to rise up to armed revolt against fascism in 1943 and the first to be massacred by the fascists in the course of the *Resistenza* – facts that made them into a most exemplary symbol of the *Resistenza* in post-war Italy.

Massimo now circles the outer wall of the Cervi house. His voiceover narrates from his book that one day the Cervis, together with a company of traveling actors, organized a theatre play to secretly raise funds to arm the partisans. Massimo's grandfather was in the audience and donated money to the actors in appreciation of their performance, in this way paying indirectly for the gun that would eventually kill him. Next, the participatory camera captures Massimo outside the Cervi house as he explains that, while the gunshot was the starting point of his research, he ended up digging into two centuries of his family's history in order to understand what might have led to it. Massimo's forebears rose to great wealth over the generations and came to own several farming estates and palaces in the Reggio Emilia province. Part of the landowning bourgeoisie, their adherence to fascism was resolute and self-serving. It is easy for Massimo to blame them, but he wonders to himself whether in the same conditions he would have done any better.



Figure 5. Staged scene of Massimo Zamboni reading from his book in the Gualtieri Theatre. Still frame from the film. (*Il Nemico – un breviario partigiano*, 2015)

Sequences 12 to 14. This chapter addresses the contested nature of the memory of the civil war. It concerns itself with literary and historiographical sources, as well as with further developments in Massimo's and *Post-CSI*'s work.

Sequence 12 (51:58-1:01:45) opens by underscoring Massimo's thought-provoking words in the preceding scene. Angela Baraldi performs a staged reading of Pavese's passage quoted at the beginning of this article. The visuals intercut tracking shots of the majestic interior of the Gualtieri Theatre where *Post-CSI* are at work, with mounted-camera shots of Angela holding a manuscript in a backstage room. Her onscreen/off-screen voice gradually intermingles with the band's music.

The next scene features an interview with Massimo shot as in *Sequence 8*. Massimo comments on the compositional work of the day before, and reports that a heated discussion over dinner brought up deep contrasts in the band's understanding of their task and the meaning of the *Resistenza*. He lets out his frustration and casts doubts on the success of their reunion, but also declares his intention to persevere in the work. Today is a new day.

Back in the theatre orchestra, the handheld camera follows the next step of the band's compositional process. A few miscommunications and disagreements among the musicians as to form and harmonic solutions are put in relief, but it is clear that a song is gradually taking shape. This observational scene is intercut with two excerpts of static interviews with the *CSI* members Francesco Magnelli and Gianni Marocollo, who comment on the work being undertaken. A lengthier interview with Giorgio Canali illuminates the contrasts harbouring within the

band: Giorgio believes, in contrast with Massimo, that the *Resistenza* discourse has lost vitality and should be reignited through a more seditious vocabulary. He suggests that the “violent and highly symbolic event” of Mussolini’s execution be celebrated in place of Italy’s Liberation Day. This is a crucial narrative juncture that positions Giorgio and Massimo as proponents of competing views. In what is my sole (off-screen) appearance in the film, I ask Giorgio whether he would share with the band his song *Lettera del compagno Laszlo al colonnello Valerio* (Letter from Comrade Laszlo to Colonel Valerio), an option he refuses because that song represents his own personal views.

The next scene portrays in one sequence-shot Giorgio’s solo performance of the song, delivered in the Gualtieri Theatre for the purposes of the film. An imaginary letter from a partisan to his commander, the song recaptures the time-honoured theme of the “betrayed *Resistenza*”, pointing the finger with fiery tones at the survival of fascism in post-war Italy. It regrets that with the premature end of the armed struggle many partisans died in vain and voices a desperate yearning to continue the killing of fascists. The inclusion of this incendiary song in the film was quite problematic. The song had previously been rejected by publishers allegedly due to a line containing blasphemous swearing – but there are good reasons to suspect that the song’s overall content too was a matter of concern. It was eventually released independently by Canali in 2010 and achieved cult status particularly among militant antifascists. During the postproduction of the film it became apparent that some of our distribution channels would have backed out had we retained the song in its entirety. On the other hand, I deemed it important to feature it in the film, for it offers a reflection of ethnographic and political significance in the context of contemporary musical memorializations and the larger *Resistenza* discourse in Italy. I had to juggle an ethically and politically delicate negotiation between different constituencies, including the songwriter, the distributors, the prospective public and myself as author. However reluctantly, Giorgio Canali and I agreed that cutting out the blasphemous lines would not undermine the point of the song. As a result, we crafted two versions of the scene: a censored one (for the most official distribution venues, including the DVD and movie theatres) and the uncensored one.



Figure 6. Setting up the interview with Giorgio Canali. (Fantetti, 2014)

Sequence 13 (1:01:45-1:08:54) opens with an interview of historian Massimo Storchi in his office. The authoritative testimony of historiography is utilized and, concurrently, relativized as an ongoing debate through meta-discursive references as the interviewee reads from and comments on his own writings and those of historian Giovanni De Luna. (Storchi, 2009, 20; De Luna, 2006, 186) Storchi highlights the continuity between the fascist state apparatus and the newly born Italian republic. Some historians have even interpreted Italy's post-war institutional discourse about the *Resistenza* as a "self-absolving alibi" to cleanse the nation of its past and present collusions with fascism. Launching the narrative development coming next in the film, he goes on to report how toward the end of the war the Nazi German occupying forces and the Italian fascists increasingly targeted partisans in the province of Reggio Emilia, stirring up deep resentment and vengeance.

What follows is a composite scene that alternates in parallel editing Massimo's staged book reading in the Gualtieri Theatre, and the rural location of the film's opening, whose identity is finally clarified. Massimo tells of the bulldozers that, across the Reggio Emilia plains, have been seeking the spoils of fascists killed in secret in the immediate aftermath of the war – a relentless search engaged decades after by their relatives. Shots of the dreary landscape of the film's beginning, including the cross, are overlaid by the pit-music refrain of *Linea Gotica*. The camera lingers on the pond. It then shows Massimo walking towards

it, surrounded by what has now become lush springtime vegetation (mirroring a passage of this narration). Massimo reveals that the pond is a flooded sand pit outside the village of Campagnola Emilia, where the remains of 19 fascists were dug out fifty years later. Now in situ before the participatory handheld camera, he marvels at the perseverance of this search and ponders the relative benefits of memory and oblivion, drawing an implicit parallel to his own digging into his family's past. It was his aversion to the greediness and ruthlessness of the powerful – he remarks in a closing onscreen book reading – that drove him to antifascism, therefore disowning his family background and siding with “the enemy.”

Sequence 14 (1:08:54-1:14:07) depicts in the Gualtieri Theatre the performance of *Il nemico*, *Post-CSI*'s newly composed song. It is a single scene that combines, into one seemingly continuous performance, steadicam, tracking and crane shots actually drawn from three different performance sessions and synchronized in postproduction with the song's reworked sound recording. This stylized representational strategy aims to coronate the band's accomplishment after its internal rifts have been emphasized in the film's narrative. Set up finally as a process of encounter and mutual understanding, *Post-CSI*'s music making is here meant to figuratively stand for broader possibilities of bridging conflicts in memory discourse and achieving accord through common work.²⁴

Sequence 15 (1:14:07-1:20:45) brings the film to a somewhat open-ended close. It focuses on Massimo's work in progress on another new song, entitled *Breviario partigiano*. After arriving by car to a rural location, Massimo sets up his equipment and tries out a few passages of the song in a recording studio. He and *Post-CSI* drummer Simone Filippi are then shown attending to the song recording at the mixer. A rough cut of the song is heard on the air.²⁵ The camera cuts to a different interior location. It captures glimpses of the rehearsal of an acoustic ensemble of horns, strings and percussions, with conductor Emanuele Reverberi imparting instructions to the musicians. A stationary long shot from behind Massimo's and Filippi's backs shows them at a portable mixer desk waiting for Reverberi and his ensemble to start the recording. The camera cuts in to focus on the ensemble. After an initial false start, they play a section of *Breviario partigiano*. As the performance gains momentum the end credits begin to crawl.

²⁴ Tell me mother – is our toil just or only painful?/Will it extinguish the lamenting?/Tell me father – will the new day bring forgiveness?/Or will it only bring torment?/The enemy has broken into my city.

²⁵ Partisan hymnbook – I have no rifle with me/But only true innocence to travel against the current./Partisan hymnbook – I have no rifle with me./But the usual incoherence that will carry us forward.

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CULTURAL ENGAGEMENT IN APPLIED ETHNOMUSICOLOGY: EXAMPLES FROM BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA A CONTRIBUTION TO APPLIED SCIENCE

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Abstract: This paper should not be understood as the promotion of a new direction, new ideas, but rather as a kind of reading on what has happened and what is happening in field of the traditional/folk musical opinion in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The focus of our interest is on ethnomusicologists of the older generation, active in the period from 1960s to 1990s, although in the end, instead of the conclusion, we will present what is visible in field of applied ethnomusicology for period from the 1990s to this day.

Key words: Bosnia and Herzegovina; ethnomusicologists; applied ethnomusicology.

“The fundamental issue with respect to the applied science in general, and therefore to the applied ethnomusicology as well, is how to link the level of knowledge and understanding of the research subjects, which is as a rule limited to a relatively small number of people (scientists, members of academic elite) to the level of research subject, which includes a considerably greater number of people (who are typically not part of academic elite).”
(Pettan, 2010, 197)

An encounter with the traditional music can be surprising, alluring, inspiring, a positive or a negative one?! We can simply listen to it, accept it, and discover whether we like it or not. When encountering the traditional music of Bosnia and Herzegovina, we remain overwhelmed and wondering before the diversity and beauty, before the fact that the climate and local architecture intensely and profoundly affect the creation and apprehending the sound structures, and how diverse this soundscape is. We are surprised by how pronounced is the difference between the rural and the urban sound environments revealed in shaping and building instruments, dance movements, and singing styles.

In case of traditional music, we sometimes have difficulties with accepting the fact that it is the meaningfully organized sound, the behaviour that is guided by rules, i.e. which proceeds on these grounds although, of course, it is performed freely and spontaneously, and is also spontaneously listened to, accepted, adopted, performed again and transmitted further. It is completely clear that

variants and mutual adaptations occur continuously. Thus the ethnomusicology's task, among other things, begins to include discovering and understanding these rules and principles.

We also observe that it is about the traditional musical culture, which is in a permanent process of changes and adjustments to the social and societal environment. It also happens that old patterns disappear as the culture, rites, and customs they have served change. They disappear together with the disappearance of the corresponding context.

Sometimes we sense and recognize them – transformed and stylized, in performing contexts of festivals and reviews, in endeavours by individuals or local communities, i.e. in the attempts of revitalization, preservation, or touristic presentations.

These are the starting points for ethnomusicologists of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Their approaches differ, the same as the circumstances they worked in. However, their contribution to what we nowadays recognize as the applied science is immeasurable. Starting from the listed facts, the intention is to investigate ethnomusicological contexts, through the research and other folkloristic activities by Miroslava Fulanović-Šošić, Dunja Rihtman-Šotrić, Jasna Spaić, Ankica Petrović, and Vinko Krajtmajer. They were ethnomusicologists, the contemporaries and the students of Cvjetko Rihtman (1902–1989), who were of slightly different age, but whose versatile and diverse activity marked the 1960s, 70s and 80s. Besides research, their activities were focused on media (radio and television), pedagogy, and amateurism, which together has paved a sound way for the development of a separate scientific area presently known as the applied ethnomusicology. From this perspective in the time of post-socialist Bosnia and Herzegovina, i.e. a transition society burdened with war happenings and still burning nationalism, i.e. a society which favours gender issues and the promotion of the value and significance of the traditional culture (particularly non-material heritage), we can(not) (not to) see and (not) perceive consistency, methodical conduct, diligence, creativity, favouring the new in science, and authority of the listed ethnomusicologists at the level of both local and regional communities, and broader.

This text therefore provides their brief biographies. Besides, I focus on their diverse orientations and interests. In this way one can observe differences and similarities in their approaches in ethnomusicology, i.e. their understanding of Bosnian and Herzegovinian musical identities. I believe that by highlighting their experiences we can get a useful insight - both into the development of Bosnian and Herzegovinian ethnomusicological thought and into the development of applied ethnomusicology.

Miroslava Fulanović-Šošić (1932–2015)¹. As a music editor at Radio Sarajevo, she worked on innovating the music programs by presenting the traditional music in an educational, popular and receptive way. She intensely monitored and, in numerous programs, presented epic singing with *gusle* accompaniment. “For over ten years, she systematically attended *gusle*-playing reviews in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina and beyond, and searched for *gusle*-players and excelling connoisseurs of this kind of expression in the field.” (Karača Beljak, 2014b, 114). Miroslava Fulanović-Šošić is also credited for a cycle of programs *Etnomuzikologija* (Ethnomusicology), broadcast from the establishment of the III Channel of Radio Sarajevo (1972).

“Working on this task, she continuously and in a planned way gathered ethnomusicologists from whole of Yugoslavia so as to present the results of their activities, giving them the opportunity to introduce themselves to broad audiences. In this program, she also presented the most significant achievements of the contemporary ethnomusicology in the world.” (Ferović, 1990, 4).

Former *Radio Sarajevo* listeners to also remember Miroslava Fulanović-Šošić by programs *Zvuci i odjeci* (Sounds and echoes), *Gdje je zrno klicu zametnulo* (Where a grain germinated a sprout), *I bješe pjesma i osta pjesma* (There was the song and there remained the song). For the program *U posjetu Šekovićima* (Visiting Šekovići), she was awarded the expert jury’s prize at the radio program contest in Ohrid in 1987. Furthermore, exhaustive manuscripts, program synopses and scenarios, personal letters and correspondence with colleagues from other radio centres in former Yugoslavia, and the accurate documentation of field recordings and archival material² bear witness to her sincere and profound need to promote and appropriately professionally and scientifically evaluate the traditional musical practice of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and certainly to allow for its better understanding in a broader ethnomusicological context. In the same time, those make it easier for consequent later researchers to go through the valuable sound material stored in the record and the tape library of former Radio Sarajevo.

¹ She completed the general education high school and high school of music, department of harp in Sarajevo. She was the first ethnomusicology student. She completed Academy with excellent grades, graduated (1961) and took her master’s degree (1974) in Prof. Cvjetko Rihtman’s class. As a student, she worked for the Institute of Folklore Studies on transcribing and documenting music recordings. Since 1956, she has been employed as Ethnomusicological seminar expert associate at the Academy of Music in Sarajevo. In the early 1970 she transferred to Radio Sarajevo, where she remained until the retirement in 1992. In the Folk Music Department of Radio Sarajevo, she worked as a senior music editor and columnist, which was the highest-rank journalist position. She managed the Folk Music Department and was an editor at the III Channel of Radio Sarajevo.

² Since 2013, the entire material has been stored at the Institute of Musicology of Academy of Music in Sarajevo.

Dunja Rihtman-Šotrić (1944–2009)³ In parallel to her scientific and pedagogical work, Dunja Rihtman-Šotrić paid a particular attention to the recognition and presentation of folk music in field of cultural-artistic amateurism in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia. A particular significance can be attached to her work with vocal groups in cultural-artistic societies in Sarajevo *Miljenko Cvitković* (later KUD *Bašćaršija*), *Saobraćajac*, and Academic cultural-artistic society AKUD *Seljo*.⁴ After 2000, upon an invitation by the Institute of Ethnology and Folkloristics from Zagreb, Dunja Rihtman-Šotrić participated in the preparation of collection *Tradicijske glazbe Hrvata Bosanske Posavine* (Traditional music of Croats in Bosanska Posavina) and then, upon the invitation by Sarajevo-based HKD *Napredak* she prepared a paper entitled *Glazbena tradicija Hrvata na području Rame* (Musical tradition of Croats in the Rama River Valley). She was also an associate working on the book by choreographer Miroslav Šilić *Narodne igre, plesovi i običaji Hrvata sjeverne Hercegovine, Završja i Kupresa* (Folk dances and customs of Croats in north Herzegovina, Završje and Kupres). Her cooperation with Sarajevo-based publisher *Gramofon* is equally important, since she thoroughly studied the field in the post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina for this publisher. These field materials were intended for the project *Visoka umjetnost* (High art). Since the project was never completed, the materials are not available either to public or to younger researchers. Ethnomusicologist

³ She completed a classical-education high school and the high school of music in Sarajevo. She graduated (1968) and took her master's degree (1974) from the Department of Musicology of the Academy of Music in Sarajevo in academician Cvjetko Rihtman's class. Upon the completion of studies (1968) she moved to Zagreb, where she worked at the Institute of Folk Arts for the following four years (until 1972). In late 1972 she moved back to Sarajevo. In the manuscripts for her autobiography, Dunja Rihtman-Šotrić recorded: "When I completed studies I worked in Zagreb (...); the materials that I recorded on the island of Brač and in the territory of Slavenska Požega at the time are still stored, together with field notes and collection of musical transcriptions and lyrics in the Institute's archives. Because of my father's retirement I returned to Sarajevo in 1972, and until the end of 1986 I took over and continued his pedagogical work at the Department of Ethnomusicology at Academy of Music. In early 1987 I transferred to the National Museum (...), Department of Ethnology, where I revived the institutional ethnomusicological work in this institution (...)" (Rihtman-Šotrić, 2000).

⁴ Dunja Rihtman-Šotrić wrote the following about her activities in cultural-artistic amateurism and cooperation with other folklorists: "(...) even after I left Zagreb, my ties with colleagues, professionals from Zagreb and Croatia continued. On behalf of BiH, I was a member of the expert board for the International Folklore Review for many years, as well as a member of the expert board for *Review of Folklore of Tri-Border Region* organized by then Tourism Society Lapad (Dubrovnik) and, for a while, an associate at the manifestation *Vinkovci Autumnns* (Vinkovci), lecturer at Badija school and later on in Novi Vinodol, and Lipik. I was also an associate for the musical section in the book *Narodni plesovi Bilogore* (author: Dr. Ivan Ivančanin), and *Narodni plesovi iz okoline Jastrebarskog* (author Branko Kostelac, a Zagreb coreographer). I co-authored Croatian folk dances from Bosanska Posavina staged in KUD Zagreb (...) and in Zagreb-based ensemble *Lado*" (Rihtman-Šotrić, 2000).

Dunja Rihtman-Šotrić was extremely committed to pedagogical work and work in amateurism. Her strong will, discipline in work, systematic approach to field work and recorded materials, as well as perfectionism in making musical transcriptions and conducting analyses left a deep impression both on her colleagues – ethnomusicologists and other folklorists, who gladly relied upon her professional help. Sincerely socially engaged during her life and career, she has worked hard on promoting the traditional culture of the region she was born and professionally grew in. She believed that we cannot understand traditional *music idioms* of the others without knowing our own.

Jasna Spaić (1943)⁵ Together with Miroslava Fulanović-Šošić and Ankica Petrović, she was a pioneer in the area of applied ethnomusicology, applying the theoretical ethnomusicological knowledge in preparing stories, programs and other complex radio and TV achievements. In our conversations, Jasna Spaić repeatedly pointed out that radio was her most precious professional experience.

“I began to work at Radio Sarajevo in 1966, in Danijela Ozme Street. Today, when I pass by this building my heart beats faster and my gaze rises toward windows of the second floor, where my Department of Folk Music used to be. For me, Radio Sarajevo has remained an institution, a media space where the cultural identity of our region was created and confirmed.” (Karača Beljak, 2014a)

While working at Radio Sarajevo and, later on, at Radio of Federation Bosnia and Herzegovina, this consummate ethnomusicologist made thousands of minutes of programs, creating programs on musical heritage, following contemporary musical developments and participating at international competitions of radio programs.

“Jasna Spaić has created a program with the symbolic and metaphoric title *Iz naroda u narod* (From people to people which featured authentic recordings of huge documentary value. Most of these recordings were subsequently permanently stored in the records and tapes library of Radio Sarajevo and are still available. For her contribution to radiophony, and for the presentation of traditional expression, i.e. for an exquisitely made recording of the extremely well performed female ganga *Điduka*, recorded in the field at Gornji Ograđenik near Čitluk, ethnomusicologist J. Spaić was awarded the PRIZ Bratislava 1974 prize.” (Karača Beljak, 2014b, 113-114)

⁵ She completed the classical-education high school and high school of music, piano department, in Sarajevo. She studied at the Academy of Music in Sarajevo, Department of Musicology. She graduated (1968) and took her master's degree in academician Cvjetko Rihtman's class. She began her career at RTV Sarajevo, first as music associate and then as music editor at TV, and then at radio in the folk music department. She retired in 2008 from the Radio of Federation Bosnia and Herzegovina. Over the forty years of her career, she systematically worked on researching the traditional music of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Ethnomusicologist Jasna Spaić is one of the people who introduced the traditional music into radio and television programs in the second half of the 20th century, thus paving the way for younger generations, encouraging them to create various media contents. Through her own example, she showed that it was possible to present scientific facts both in the educational and in the popular way, in a language attractive to broad audience.

Ankica Petrović (1943)⁶ In the period from 1968 to 1979 she worked as a music associate and then as editor in a Radio Sarajevo department. She first prepared a series of programs *Muzika svijeta* (Music of the world), and then focused on field research of local communities in Bosnia and Herzegovina. "I felt a need to find the original musical material myself, by working in the field, to experience it in the authentic environment and situation and communicate my own experience to the audience in the form of documentary thematic programs." (Petrović, 2014)⁷ Then, following her own inclinations and estimates, she prepared programs for the III Channel of the Radio. In 1974, she was awarded the second prize for the recording of a traditional wedding song on the mountain of Janj at the international Prix Bratislava contest. Two years later, she was awarded three prizes at the JRT contest of radio programs in Ohrid, in the categories of musical illustrations, documentary music program and experimental music program.

From 1992, she has worked at seven US universities. At the time, together with American ethnomusicologist Theodor Levin (?), she has published a compact disc with the traditional music of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Smithsonian Institute in Washington, entitled *Echoes from an endangered world: Bosnian Muslim music*. Her experience at radio, i.e. the previously prepared gramophone record *Tradicionalna muzika na tlu Bosne i Hercegovine* (Traditional music in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina)⁸ was crucial for the implementation of this project, which was intended to draw attention to people of Bosnia and Herzegovina affected by war. Her media experience also resulted in the shooting of the documentary *Ključ Španije* (Key to Spain). The film is a recording about

⁶ She completed the secondary education in Sarajevo. She studied at the Academy of Music in Sarajevo, first at the Department of Theory and Pedagogy, from which she graduated in 1968, and then at the Department of Musicology, from which she graduated in 1974, in academician Rihtman's class. Next year, in 1975, she applied for doctoral dissertation at the Department of Social Anthropology with Queen's University in Belfast (Great Britain). She worked on the dissertation entitled *Ganga – A Form of Traditional Rural Singing in Yugoslavia* under the supervision of dr. John Blacking (1928–1990) and defended it in Belfast in 1977. Until 1990s, she was the only doctor of science among ethnomusicologists in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

⁷ The manuscript is part of comprehensive material intended for writing a monograph about Radio Sarajevo.

⁸ The record was published by Diskoton-Svjetlost in Sarajevo, in 1986.

Sarajevo Sephardim Flora Jagoda (1925), keeper of songs sung in Ladino language.⁹ Ankica Petrović has finished her career at the UCLA in the USA.

Ankica Petrović was one of the first people who pioneered ethnomusicological research among minority ethnic groups in Bosnia and Herzegovina, mostly focusing on the Sephardic music. She revealed a particular sensitivity to women – the carriers of traditional practices, thus also focusing on gender ethnomusicology. It is owing to Ankica Petrović that the 1970s witnesses the beginning of a new era of BiH ethnomusicology. In these years, the subject of BiH ethnomusicology has been extended to studying the context and function of music, which strongly links ethnomusicology with the sociology of music, anthropology, ethnology, etc.

Vinko Krajtmajer (1940–2008)¹⁰ “Our inner soundscape can be a vast meadow, deep sea, a mountain idyll or a space odyssey. We can feel good, safe, satisfied and calm in ourselves and our own music.” (Karača Beljak, 2007) These are the words of a man who believed that we should first come to terms with ourselves and only then with others. Vinko Krajtmajer’s professional and scientific activity was related to the areas of solfeggio, and ethnomusicology. His point of view was visible in his public presentations at lectures, seminars, forums and reviews on radio, television, and particularly through his participation at various academic events. In these fields, he prepared and published most of his studies through communications at symposia, professional journals, and publications. In the field of solfeggio, Krajtmajer was involved in issues of developing creativity, and possibilities and effects of using folklore in the teaching process. Krajtmajer dealt with the creative process and prospects of developing individual sensibility, in papers pertaining to the issue of improvisation as one of the most prominent creative procedures. Krajtmajer mostly discussed the issue of improvisation by comparing the folk and contemporary art music. He was the first to use this method in the territory of former Yugoslavia, and was the first who presented results of his experimental research at the ISME Congress in Montreux in 1976. Using the method of improvisation on a given folklore model, Krajtmajer “discovered” the consonance of second dissonance and double tonicity in the

⁹ Ladino is the colloquial term for Judeo-espanol (Judaeo-Spanish), a language that is presently spoken by very few people in Sarajevo.

¹⁰ In Tuzla, he completed the primary school, general-education high school, primary and high school of music and the first degree of Faculty of Mining. In 1963, he moved to Sarajevo and enrolled at the Academy of Music, where he graduated in 1967, at the Department of Theory and Pedagogy with Elly Bašić (1908–1998) as his mentor. Twenty years later, he also graduated from the Department of Musicology, major in ethnomusicology, in Cvjetko Rihtman’s class. He took his master’s degree in 1994, on a topic in polyphony, from the Department of Composition in Prof. Josip Magdić’s (1937) class. He defended the doctoral dissertation in the area of ethnomusicology at the Department of Musicology of Academy of Music in Sarajevo in 1995 in Prof. Ivan Čavlović (1949) class.

same way in which the two sound terms are used in the West-European music. Other significant fields of Vinko Krajtmajer's professional activity include writing textbooks for primary and secondary schools, writing in press, activity on TV and original music for films, and making arrangements and composing. He was the author of ten scenarios for the RTV Sarajevo programs: *Muzika i mi* (Music and us), *Predanja* (Lore) and *Mali koncert ozbiljne muzike* (Little concert of Serious music). Sarajevo theatre audience remembers Krajtmajer by exquisite music composed for the play *Macbeth* directed by Dino Mustafić (?). Krajtmajer made over a hundred arrangements of compositions of various styles, from the Renaissance music to contemporary jazz genres, for the needs of the Dance orchestra of Musical Youth, Vocal octet *Collegium artisticum*, as he worked as its artistic director for many years. The life and professional stories of Bosnian and Herzegovinian ethnomusicologists covered in this text help us understand the social and historical context in which they worked. Indeed, in this way we can learn more about their understanding of traditional *musical idioms*, institutional ethnomusicological research and about what influenced their personal development in science. Ultimately, I understand this text also as a possibility to discover cultural messages of the period of time discussed. Finally, this is not an analysis which would imply opening the space for more profound contextual research and interpretations of historical circumstances. This is simply a contribution to applied ethnomusicology.

Instead of conclusion

What are ethnomusicologists currently doing in the field of applied ethnomusicology?!

or

Under what circumstances is applied ethnomusicology possible in Bosnia and Herzegovina?

Ethnomusicologists that have been working since the 1990s to the present day and their predecessors have been active in the areas of pedagogy, media and audio-visual production. It is proved by numerous discographic editions, radio and television programs, work with ensembles and folklore reviews. Still, presently we are perhaps more than ever before aware of the fact that by performing traditional music and its possible recording on sound-recording media, only for listening sake, this practice is separated from its actual context, and that in this way the functional values of certain music forms are mostly lost. We are aware that our notions of traditional music are a result of the mass media supply (audio and video recordings). However, we must not forget that musical phenomena are considered as traditional, i.e. folklorist in a broader sense, when they have arisen

from the live practice in which they were included by their performers free will, and that these expressions live in the immediate contact of the given community. To avoid falling into the trap of conservation endeavours – generally deadly for all forms of the folk music practice, we can consider that the way in which music forms from the area of oral transmission can be viewed in the context of the contemporary Bosnian and Herzegovinian society, i.e. what are challenges and prospects in presenting these forms of non-material heritage. Possible questions for which we should seek answers, pertain to performing contexts, aesthetics, historical background, activities that include music, music repertoire (elements of style, genres, lyrics, melodic patterns, way of transmitting and adopting, dance elements and gesture), and material culture. Today more than ever we need audio and video recordings, from the most ancient ones to the recent times – including websites and various databases of private collectors, record and tape libraries, music sheet libraries, and archives of public RTV stations. Besides, in the context of music and material culture, i.e. folk music and applied ethnomusicology, it is necessary to discuss the effect of electronic media, since at present audience more than ever listens to music through mass media and in this way forms their tastes and relations toward folklore practice – old and new phenomena.

Without dealing with details, I would like to point out that, for Bosnian and Herzegovinian ethnomusicologists, the field of applied ethnomusicology is challenging and “dangerous” in the same time. It is dangerous because ethnomusicologists are often subject to their personal interpretations and estimates, sometimes interpretations of suspicious quality, on the border to sink into amateurism, kitsch and various stylizations. This is particularly true when it comes to work with ensembles and creation of various discographic editions. It is challenging because it relies upon enthusiasm, volunteering, and a desire to apply the acquired theoretical knowledge at a practical level. Actually, these attempts are a distinctive pursuits of beauty. Perhaps more importantly, these attempts are a message to the academic community and broader public, who marginalize folk culture or else rarely recognize it as a cultural or tourist product, that it is worth preserving (though not in the form of conservation because ultimately it is not possible) because of the profound understanding of their own past and developing a sense of difference and diversity. Despite the globalization and modernization of society, cultural and musical identities remain complex, and are composed of both local and regional, and professional or social particularities. Thus, it becomes evident that ethnomusicologists possess the knowledge that, somewhat ambiguously, derives from the needs of the society they live in.

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(IM)POSSIBILITY OF DOING ETHNOMUSICOLOGY BEYOND URBAN/ RURAL DICHOTOMY

JELKA VUKOBRATOVIĆ

Abstract: The dichotomy between urban and rural culture was accentuated and partially constructed by early European ethnographic disciplines. Though the critical discourse and paradigmatic changes brought the clear divisions between those two cultures into question, perception of the urban/rural dichotomy still persists in daily discourse and can be frequently encountered in discourses about music. The case study focusing on popular music bands and gig players from the town of Križevci in Croatia shows some of the mechanisms of maintaining this perception. Special attention in the analysis of those mechanisms is given to two musicians, local epitomes of “urban” and “rural”. The analysis of the local meaning of dichotomy brings attention to differences in music venues, repertoire, style, instrumentation, and virtuosity; aspects of education and social status of musicians. The results of the ethnographic fieldwork show that the local usage of urban/rural dichotomy can express specific issues of class distinction among local musicians, but also struggles of identity formation of a small post-socialist town in the course of loss of its economic and political power.

Key words: Urban; rural; Križevci; Croatian ethnomusicology.

Introduction

The traditional research focus in early European ethnology and its disciplinary predecessors was primarily to rural areas because “for the discoverers of folk culture, ‘the folk’ were the peasants” who in the late 19th century formed “eighty to ninety percent of population of the whole of Europe” (Burke, 1991, 37). The dichotomy between the urban and the rural was deeply inscribed into the beginnings of Croatian ethnology as well. Its founder Antun Radić, in his *Osnova za sabiranje i proučavanje građe o narodnom životu* (The basis for collecting and studying material about folk life), divided Croatian society into what he considered to be two distinctive cultures: culture of the noble, town dwellers (*gospoda*) and of the folk, village dwellers (*narod*). He described the differences in sharp cultural and class contrasts to explain the need for establishing a scholarly discipline which would focus on the latter, “on that bigger part of the folk (*narod*) who (...) live in villages, work with their hands, who usually don’t wear French suits, who have no, or almost no schooling” (Radić, 1897, 536). The

culture of the urban¹, as he understood it then, was contaminated by foreign and cosmopolitan influences and hence not of the primary interest for ethnologists, whereas the rural culture, that of the “folk”, was considered to be still pure from outside influences and a legitimate “source of national identity”, which was the main research subject in this type of “romanticist national (Croatian) ethnology” (Čapo and Gulin Zrnić, 2013, 8). Interestingly, the earliest Croatian (ethno) musicologist, Franjo Kuhač, who was also under the influence of romanticist national ideologies, and much earlier than Radić, in 19th century, considered popular songs from both towns and villages to be equally important and a valid basis for the creation of national style in music, because “national music would be more diverse and rich if it relied on all elements (...) contained in not just village (*pučke*), but also town (*varoške*) songs” (Marošević, 1989, 109). But then, he was only a predecessor of ethnomusicology as a scientific discipline. His 20th century descendants were influenced by Croatian ethnologists and followed their paradigms of turning to village as to the cradle of national culture. This phase of Croatian ethnomusicology where “only examples of older, mainly village, vocal musical tradition were sought for and noted down in the field”, led the discipline “more towards ‘archaistic’ rather than ‘realistic’ science” (Marošević, 1995, 40). Later paradigm shift in ethnographic disciplines, which happened roughly in the 1970s, tried to step away from this archaistic methodology and static or essentialist understanding of (national) culture, and set course towards “critical science about contemporary society and culture” (Čapo and Gulin Zrnić, 2013, 13). The focus on everyday life and culture established urban sites as equally legitimate research fields for ethnologists, and this shift of focus in the traditional subject of ethnographic research influenced ethnomusicology as well. Jerko Bezić set one of the earlier examples of the need and possibility of ethnomusicology to tackle music phenomena in urban culture (Bezić, 1977). There might not be numerous examples of Croatian ethnomusicological research in urban settings in the late 20th century, but development and paradigm shift in ethnographic disciplines led ethnomusicologists to recognize the cultural dynamism of Croatian rural areas as well. Far from the idealist perception of Antun Radić, who understood village as a relatively static “authentic representative and carrier of national ethos” (Čapo and Gulin Zrnić, 2013, 11), rural areas have also been recognized as culturally dynamic arenas of different and contesting identities,²

¹ In Čapo and Gulin Zrnić’s book (2013), the word *gospoda* is translated as “aristocrats”. The Croatian original word *gospoda* means neither urban nor aristocratic in literal translation, but it is in Radić’s writing a very clear opposition to rural, village folk, and is referred to people dwelling in urban surroundings.

² There were also earlier researchers who recognized the heterogeneity and social stratification within the pre-industrial European rural population. For example, ethnomusicologist Zoltan Kodály was, according to Burke, one of the first researchers who warned that “one should not think about folk culture as a uniform, homogeneous whole” (after Burke, 1991, 37).

where “concrete people” can “in more or less specific ways relate towards the conventions of the community” (Ceribašić, 1994, 231). In the meantime, some of the ethnomusicologists of younger generation, such as Irena Miholić (2007), recognized that the insistence on rural and older traditions as the only subjects worth of research, led to the omission of many existing musical practices, such as the repertoires of local bands that play non-traditional and electric instruments. As Miholić points out, “through the influence of the media and the music industry, the musical life of individual local communities started to change at an accelerated pace” (Miholić, 2007 p. 41), but even those traditions influenced by global trends can still function as carriers of identity symbols, which “inhabitants (...) regard as ‘their own’” (Miholić, 2007, 29). Because of the ever-increasing information flow through the mass media, and easier communication, it is not surprising that the instruments, styles and repertoires travelled from towns to villages and vice versa. The social complexities of modern and postmodern era occasionally result in constructions of multi-local identities, such as the “rural-urban identity” defined by “complex social relationships that develop from the fluid movement back and forth between the village and the city” (Stone, 2008, 154). However, regardless of the changing dynamics of cultural exchange between towns and villages, the perception of difference between the urban and the rural still persists in everyday discourse nowadays. In fact, it seems to be very often articulated in discourses about contemporary popular music, where it can assume different narratives. As shown in Catherine Baker’s study (2011), the narratives on urban/rural dichotomy in Croatian popular music can vary anywhere from nationalistic distinctions between Croatian and Serbian (pp. 63–66), specific qualitative and class differences between genres, like in opposition between *tamburica* and rock (p. 94), or it can relate to negative perceptions of domination of pop-folk, which “spreads all over the city, penetrating its social space from the periphery, suburbs or villages which do not belong to the ‘urban’ in its narrower sense” (Baker, 2011, 235). Although the distinction between the urban and the rural in today’s popular music can relate to many conflicting cultural and political symbols, I have attempted to analyse this perception in a local context through a case study in the town of Križevci in Croatia.

Cultural and class distinctions in music-making in Križevci, Croatia

The town of Križevci belongs to the central Croatia and is located in vicinity of the country’s capital, Zagreb (60 kilometres). Considering its population of about 11.000 inhabitants, and the fact that it is not an administrative capital of its region (*Koprivničko-križevačka županija*), it can hardly compete for a title of an urban centre. But, the town’s urban character and significance is frequently accentuated through arguments of its tradition and historic importance, resembling cultural

politics of other towns and cities where through “prying into the city’s past in order to create tourist attraction” (Kelemen and Škrbić Alempijević, 2012, 279), history has been “used [as] representational strategy of the city” (Kelemen and Škrbić Alempijević, 2012, 395). Since Križevci was once the administrative and military centre of the whole region, the loss of this role and the subsequent change in local centres’ power-relations, still appears as one of the town’s biggest frustrations.³



Figure 1. Map of Koprivnica-Križevci County (Križevci Tourist Office, s.a.).

I have been conducting music ethnography in this town (which is, incidentally, also my home town) and its surroundings as part of the research for my PhD thesis since 2014. This research is at the moment focusing on local bands and musicians, gig players in both town and village surroundings. Accentuating the difference between the rural in music (*selski muzičar*, *selski bendovi*) and the urban (*gradski muzičari/glazbenici*, *gradski bendovi*) is still very much in local usage in the everyday language. In comparison to Radić’s sharply and simply defined dichotomy, the question of a distinction between the urban and the rural is much more complex here, but what seems to aid its continuation are more class distinctions than the actual place of birth or dwelling. By urban, aside from explicitly cosmopolitan signs such as songs in English language, there seems

³ See, for example, an invitation to a public debate organised by the town’s Historic society in 2013 titled *Why Križevci didn’t become the County capital* (Zašto Križevci nisu postali županijsko središte). (Klub kulture, 2013).

to be a perception of distinction in style, choice of instruments, level of music education and production quality. Music perceived as rural would be not just in Croatian, but also using local dialect, use subtly different choices of styles and instruments as well as lower levels of education and production quality. Since I have started my research with a generation of musicians born in the 1940s who began their musical activities in the early 1960s, I've traced the barrier between the urban and the rural music and musicians as a continual occurrence from those times to the present. The "quintessentially urban" bands in the 1960s and 1970s were *schlager* and rock bands which played in youth hall dances and later in the newly-built town hotel. The unwritten rules of class division between the town and village dwellers persisted in accessibility of music venues. Youth hall and town hotel were strictly urban sites for decades in a sense that only selected urban bands were invited to play there, but there were also restrictions for the audience, such as the one that men were obligated to wear a tie in the hotel events. In fact, one band, *Marete*, dominated the town dances and events for more than twenty years and this band continues to be a mark of the town's identity for a couple of generations of local people. There were other bands as well which existed simultaneously, but their gigs were mostly in the periphery, and their repertoire was less based on a *schlager* and rock tradition, more on a pop-folk style. Those rural bands, unlike the urban ones, used the accordion instead of the electric keyboard more often, whereas the urban ones broadened their instrumentation to include wind instruments such as the saxophone and the trumpet. The distinction was also maintained through the educational aspects. All of the members of the long-lived *Marete*, for example, attended local music school, which is today still one of the most important cultural institutions in town, but is at the same time more accessible to the town children than the ones traveling from the surrounding villages. Educational aspect thus continues to dominate the reception of the difference between the rural and urban in music today.

As for the venues of performance, the restrictions on the subject of who performs in the centre or the periphery, reduced after the 1980. Bands from that and the subsequent decades have played gigs in both town and the surrounding area, combining styles and repertoires - which could be considered a combination of the urban and the rural. But even in such bands more subtle class distinctions, still relying on education, performance quality, band setup and slight stylistic reservations,⁴ are being maintained and participate in the perception of "*selski*" or "*gradski*" band. However, since the venues, instruments and repertoires became less exclusive, the distinction between urban and rural is today equally maintained by accentuating individual pedigrees of musicians.

⁴ A common discursive distinction from an urban band would be that they would never play "real" *narodnjaci* (pop folk).

“The town musician and the country musician”⁵ – Comparative analysis of two songs by two local musicians

I will attempt to illustrate how these differences can be heard in music. Ten years ago, local Križevci radio station, with financial support from the local government, published a music album with songs of local artists which thematize Križevci, or are otherwise locally identifiable.⁶ The first two songs were by two popular musicians who however hold a very different social status both in music sphere and in everyday life. Although they both are from the town, one is being perceived as a more rural and the other as an urban musician.

The first of the two musicians, nick-named Pierre,⁷ played keyboard in a gig-oriented band for most of his life. He is a self-taught musician and, although he and most of his band colleagues are from the town, their gigs were mostly based in surrounding villages, for weddings and celebrations. The awareness of the hierarchy of the local musicians, and his own place held in that hierarchy was evident in the interview I lead with him. While comparing himself with other, more prominent musicians, he said he knew “how much [he] didn’t know”, and that calling himself a musician was for him “too strong of a word”, he would be more of a “village entertainer” (*selski zabavljač*). (Pierre, 2016) However, this “village entertainer”, seeing a need for more locally-oriented songs, which people from Križevci region could identify with, ventured in his first creative attempt fifteen years ago and composed a song which thematizes Križevci. He explained: “It was Križevci’s 750th anniversary, we were playing abroad and (...) we were ashamed, you play all over Germany and have no song from your own region. So, now I wanted to give to my town, in the most banal, naive, honest way, for my band to play, to take a step further.” (Pierre, 2016)

Although not even his band-mates took his attempt seriously, he insisted on rehearsing and recording this song in a local studio. In his own explanation, his reputation as a self-taught musician made it difficult to establish himself as an author even within his own band: “They couldn’t endure the fact that I, as the band’s weakest musician, composed something, that’s ego for you.” (Pierre, 2016)

The song eventually became one of the most popular and well-known local songs, even though the production of its recording was done with difficulties and very limited resources. Pierre wasn’t able to convince his whole band to

⁵ In one of Aesop’s popular fables, two cousin mice, a “town mouse” and a “country mouse”, who grew up in different surroundings, visit each other as adults upon which they realise how their surroundings shaped diverse perceptions of the world and their own lives.

⁶ *Križevci u pjesmi i glazbi*, ca. 2008.

⁷ Both of the local musicians will, for the purposes of this article, remain anonymous. The recordings of the interviews are stored in the private archive of the author.

record the song, but could only get their cooperation as individuals. Unlike a common practice in some other popular music bands where “the first band song will emerge out of an initial jam”, and where “playing loosely and spontaneously (...) can be part of the composition process” (Bayton, 1988, 211), in case of Pierre’s song, he was the only author of the lyrics, music and the arrangements who instructed each of his colleagues what to play and they finally recorded their parts individually and separately.

Shortly after this song was made, it could be said that it provoked other creative music forces to write new songs or record previously existing ones. An example of one such newly composed and recorded song was by a local *tamburica* player, music school teacher and conductor of music school *tamburica* orchestra, nicknamed Štef. In opposition to Pierre’s music reputation, as a “village entertainer”, Štef was a well-established and respected local musician whom many generations of his former pupils referred to as “maestro”. Štef’s song was much more carefully planned and realised. He turned to a local poet for the lyrics and performed it and recorded with cooperation of some prominent town musicians: a respected rock guitarist, a piano student who studied in Graz, town museum’s director featured as harmonica soloist, and the town choir sang in one of the live performances. All of these musicians and symbols of the town’s urban culture were easily accessible to him and willing to participate in the project. Surprisingly, the resulting song (through first impression) is not that much different from Pierre’s song. They are both verse-chorus songs in $\frac{3}{4}$ measures, in major tonality with instrumental intro, using very similar tempo and male lead voices. But, differences are more subtly accentuated. Štef’s song has much more skilful and elaborate chord progressions and transitions, made possible not just through his own knowledge but also with a help from the piano student, and Štef’s son who was at the time a student at the local music high school. Štef’s daughter, who studied to become an opera singer, sang the supporting vocal line. Whereas the melody of Pierre’s song’s refrain is deliberately very simple, narrow-ranged and symmetrical, in order to encourage listeners to sing along, Štef’s refrain is more elaborate, using broader range with high pitches and chromatic tones, which would, in author’s own words, discourage someone from “singing it along while drinking a wine spritzer [*gemišt*] in a vineyard house [*klet*], because it is difficult” (Štef, 2016). Other characteristics, such as a kitschy, but also very virtuosic electric guitar solo, exceeding capabilities of Pierre’s band guitarist, or insertion of church bells and organs into the song’s arrangement, were all part of deliberate design indicating a skilful song by high-profile town musicians. Concluding our conversation about the song, Štef stated: “we wanted an urban [*gradsku*] song, and that’s what we’ve accomplished” (Štef, 2016).



Figure 2. The first four bars of Pierre's song's chorus.



Figure 3. The first four bars of Štef's song's chorus.

Urban/rural dichotomy in local music context

Although the initiators and producers of the CD were careful to include many different musicians and composers and to give a full and diverse picture of local musical creativity, the analysis of the two songs, which appear as number one and two tracks, show how in fact the CD helped in establishing difference between the rural i.e. lower class and urban i.e. higher class musicians. In Štef's song, the marks of belonging to the town culture were multiply accentuated: the author's education, social connections and the level of respect from the community were evident in more subtle lyrics made in cooperation with a town poet, in more complex chord progression, the usage of mouth harmonica growing from the chanson tradition, through the quality of production, and through the participation of town musical identity symbols: choir, piano⁸, and the locally-famous rock guitarist. Pierre's song was weaker in production, and its motifs were much more straight-forward: it is a song meant to be sung and danced to, made to fulfil a need in the market and with much poorer accessible resources at hand. It features a relatively banal text in its structure and rhyme, simple instrumentation, very basic chord progressions, and also a lack of cooperation from other musician (even the ones from his own band), all of which tells a much cruder story of the level of respect towards the author. By placing both of these examples one after another, the listeners can confirm their perceptions and prejudices about the cultural differences between these two groups of local musicians.

⁸ Another local musician, Zdravko Širola, moved from a village to the town as a child in the 1950s and he remembered the importance of piano lessons for the social status of town dwellers at the time. He explained that soon after moving, his parents enrolled him to music school where he learned to play piano because the instrument was considered a symbol of "noble" town culture and all of his school mates learned to play piano as well. He perceived the instrument and the lessons as a stark contrast to his earlier village musical experiences.

Since Križevci has a long and established tradition of music education, for many urban musicians, education has been an important symbol of cultural capital, which helped in building their respect and reputation. This is not surprising since Pierre Bourdieu's studies have already shown that those cultural aspects, already more accessible to the higher social classes (like arts and education), at the same time function as a legitimization of "better" taste for those classes and that "the dominant definition of the legitimate way of appropriating culture and work of art (...) favours those who had early access to legitimate culture (...)" (Bourdieu, 2011, 6). It is still worth considering how this specific educational aspect influenced its particular local context. Although the first traces of musical education in Križevci date back to the 19th century (Vukobratović, 2008, 111), the town's public music school, which has been continuously active until this day, started to work in 1945. Its curriculum corresponded with the "new Yugoslav 'cultural prototype'", which "was a mirror image of the bourgeois high culture with its emphasis on refinement, sophistication and civility in all venues of life" (Mišina, 2013, 30). Paradoxically as it may seem, the early music education programmes in socialist Yugoslavia, with its emphasis on piano and violin as main instruments, favoured the canons of elite bourgeois culture, because "the culture of new Yugoslavia equalled civility, and civility equalled high cultural sophistication of a decidedly Western urban disposition" (Mišina, 2013, 30) and also "because communist ideology associated rural culture with backwardness" (Bogojeva, 2005, 70). The local Križevci distinctions between the urban and rural musicians would seem to reflect these socialist-era perceptions, and they might have influenced the musicians from the second half of the 20th century, although the notion of rural backwardness and urban progressiveness is certainly a much older concept than the Yugoslavian cultural politics. But apparently, regardless of the establishment of nominally egalitarian society, class divisions among the musicians in socialist Yugoslavia were still clear and obvious, as other studies have shown. Ana Hofman's research on Yugoslavian *kafana* singers showed "that stance on the part of colleagues coming from those more 'artistic' and 'elite' genres confirmed the marginalized position of the *kafana* singers in public discourses, which involved a specific notion of social class" (Hofman, 2010, 153). In this case, the social class was likewise connected to belonging to urban or rural milieu since "despite the official attempts to present all performers as equal *estrada* workers, the urban-rural division remained as a strong demarcation line between them, where the ones coming from urban elite treated the ones from a rural background with disrespect" (Hofman, 2010, 153).

To return to the local context, Križevci musicians' maintaining of opposition between the rural and the urban has to be observed in connection with the specific local struggle of building and maintaining local identity. The insistence in maintaining this opposition, coming primarily from the urban musicians, can

be in part understood as hostility to changes and unwillingness to enable equal opportunities to musicians who are from rural areas. But we should also take into consideration that the town, because of its size and position in Zagreb's vicinity, already has some type of "rural-urban identity". The historical and social changes which marginalised the town's economic and political significance contributed to what the historian Neven Budak termed "town's growing provincialisation" (Budak, 1993, 44).⁹ So, the metaphor of the "rural" and its negative usage might not necessarily mean hostility towards people from villages, but also a critique towards contemporary (cultural) politics at the local level as well as aspects of struggle of maintaining the town's urban cultural identity.¹⁰ Since identities are dynamic, "relational and conjunctural" constructs, built "vis-a-vis others" (Cohen, 1993, 131), the notion of rural can be understood as the antipode to the projections of town's identity ideal. Subtle musical differences as signs of identity are likewise construed and perceived in opposition to others, so in Sara Cohen's study, "an authentic 'Liverpool Sound', for example, is constructed in terms of a series of oppositions (technological/acoustic, synthesised/raw, contrived/authentic) in which Liverpool is principally opposed to Manchester" (Cohen, 1993, 132). In Križevci case, the locally-identifiable sound ideal would be constructed in opposition to (any) "rural" sound quality that can be distinguishable through nuances like the ones described in the case study above. All of these arguments do not however annul the fact that there is an obvious occurrence of discrimination between the local musicians, where the once labelled as negatively rural are not just the ones coming from villages, but also those with lower educational and unfavourable social background. In our interview, commenting his position in the local cultural hierarchy and music market, Pierre stated the following:

"When there was no money, there was Pierre, and when they [the local government] needed something for money, Pierre was never called! When there was something for some high guests, then [Štef's] song was being played, because mine wasn't good enough, but they disregard ... the other one *is* better, the arrangement is lovely, but whenever they hear my [song], people carry it in their ear." (Pierre, 2016)

⁹ Since Budak is using this term in reference to the loss of economic power, it is valuable to note that Križevci have been frequently mentioned as a town which after the fall of socialism lost its industry and capability of employment for its citizens. Most recently (Gazdek, 2015), studies have shown that it is also a town with the highest percentage of citizens with a blocked bank account.

¹⁰ Among other things, negative usage of "rural" can in a local context be used as a critique towards the local government ruling party, *Croatian Peasants' Party* (Hrvatska seljačka stranka). (Crni Petar, 2009)

Conclusion

Although the clearly contrasted urban/rural dichotomies recognized (and partially constructed) by early European ethnographic disciplines would today be hard to prove without critical distance, the complex traces of this dichotomy still persist nowadays in everyday-life through various forms of class division. In a local Croatian context in the town of Križevci shown in this article, dichotomy was maintained in popular music genres through nuances in style, instrumentation, and production, but also in respect to education and social background of individual musicians. Regardless of the place of birth or dwelling, the musicians without formal music education, who self-thought learned an instrument and started playing in order of fulfil a necessary role in a community and as a means of earning money, would be perceived as more rural, belonging to the village culture. The ones perceived as the urban would be musicians who gained at least partial musical education, who played in more exclusive venues, and held a higher level of recognition and respect from the community. The distinction also entailed value judgement where rural was perceived as mostly negative, or of lower value in contrast to positive, higher value urban music and musicians. These contrasts do not only show a certain level of class division or even discrimination among local musicians, but are also deeply connected with a struggle of building and maintaining cultural identity of a small town in central Croatia in post-socialist context, balancing between the urban and the rural.

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PART IV:

NEW RESEARCH – MUSICOLOGY

FROM THE CROATIAN MUSIC ARCHIVES. SLAVKO ZLATIĆ (1910–1993): MUSICIAN, IDEOLOGIST, AGITATOR

LADA DURAKOVIĆ

Abstract: Most of the legacy of Slavko Zlatić – a composer, conductor, music pedagogue and ethnomusicologist, is kept in the Pazin State Archives. The article is specifically focused on the documents pertaining to Zlatić's pedagogical and political engagements, and it has a purpose of drawing attention to the versatility of their possible use, as well as to their value in the context of scientific research and education.

Key words: Slavko Zlatić; legacy; archives; music; ideology

Slavko Zlatić died in Pula on 27th of October 1993.¹ Following his death, his hereditament was transferred to the Croatian Music Institute in Zagreb, Pula Teachers College (presently the University of Pula), and the Pazin State Archives.²

The last of the three contains the most extensive, and, for research purposes, the most intriguing documents. As the documents were being transferred, on the basis of the existing list of contents, archive inventory³ got composed organizing documents according to their type and location, thus also serving as a research guide. The inventory is divided into seven sections. *Personal files* include personal identification and documents pertaining to Zlatić's accomplishments as a pedagogue, scientist, and composer (medals, awards, acknowledgements, plaques). *Professional work* section covers his engagement as a pedagogue (articles written by Zlatić, and by others, on the subject matter

¹ The work is financed by the Croatian Science Foundation as a part of the project titled "The Making of the Socialist Man. Croatian Society and the Ideology of Yugoslav Socialism" (1718).

² For more on the life and work of Slavko Zlatić, see: Tomašek, 1985; Polić, 2004; Konfic, 2014. For more on Zlatić's legacy archived in Zagreb, see: Konfic, 2014. The legacy archived at the University of Pula is kept in two study rooms, and the library (book editions preserved in the vault are organized separately according to date of publication – book editions prior to 1900) The classroom where he personally used to teach called *The Slavko Zlatić Hall* features a permanent exhibit. The list contains books – 1719 volumes included in the general archive fund, and 1900 volumes from the field of music, 179 gramophone records, 74 magnetophone tapes, as well as a piano, and a desk. Book editions are incorporated in the existing library fund, and available for accessing and browsing in their entirety.

³ The inventory is composed by Sonja Filipić (1972) of the Pazin State Archives.

of music professionals in the early post-war period, the position and the role of teachers etc.); a politician (essays on political activities undertaken by himself and his contemporaries); a composer (copyright contracts, and essays on music composition), as well as his other engagements within the music field (music editions, TV and radio broadcasts, musical records reviews, essays on European and Yugoslavian creative production, materials handed out at meetings of various vocational and political institutions). The third major section includes his⁴ sheet music, i.e. *music composition work*:⁵ instrumental, vocal instrumental, vocal solo, choir songs, and piano compositions.⁶ The fourth section refers to *correspondence* (active, actively passive and passive). The fifth one contains *audio-visual records* (photographs, videos), the sixth one covers *the stampata* (event, concert, and international music festival programmes, records of his appearances at symposiums and various social events, invitations, magazines, journals on music pedagogy and arts, newspaper clippings, reviews, posters, etc.), while the final, seventh section is labelled *miscellaneous* and it contains various financial and medical documentation, etc.

In terms of content, this paper focuses on the writings describing Zlatić's efforts in the domain of cultural politics after World War II, and highlights some of the central points of argument in his articles, essays, reports, radio shows and other texts that clearly demonstrate his involvement in the context of ideological propaganda.

During his career in music that spans over half a century, such that Andrija Tomašek refers to it as being quadrifolic, whereas Zlatić himself describes it as work at four looms (Tomašek, 1986), Slavko Zlatić has been actively engaged in several different fields. He was a composer, a conductor, and a pedagogue by vocation, and cultural worker by habitus and by his own view and judgments of his role in the society.⁷

4 Beside his, the hereditament of Zlatić's holds sheet music written by other composers such as Ubald Vrabec (1905–1992), Vilko Ukmar (1905–1991), Viktor Mihelčić (1913–2010), Božidar Kunc (1903–1964), Ivo Kirigin (1914–1964), Ivo Tijardović (1895–1976), Natko Devčić (1914–1997), Petar Dumičić (1901–1984), Stanojlo Rajičić (1910–2000) etc.

5 The revision of the funds revealed that the musical pieces of Slavko Zlatić kept in several locations in Croatia: Pazin State Archives, Juraj Dobrila University in Pula, and Croatian Music Institute in Zagreb, do not account for the entirety of Zlatić's music legacy and that finding the remainder of his work would require further investigative efforts. For more, see: Konfic, 2014.

6 These are kept in four archive containers. The fund is quite diverse. For more, see: Konfic 2014, Polić, 2004.

7 Zlatić's social engagement was exceptionally active. He was a board member of the Union of Yugoslav Composers (SAKOJ) and served as the chairman for several terms (1957–1962,

His political involvement started very early in his life: he was a member of a covert antifascist organization called TIGR (Trieste, Istria, Gorizia, Rijeka), and *Borba*, which were both established with the purpose of defending Croats and Slovenians from the fascists attempts at denationalization (Zlatić, 1972). In his days as a student, he was actively involved in the activities of the Academy of Music Student Association, and among other things serving as a liaison with students from other colleges who have appeared to be sharing the progressive ideas (Tomašek, 1986). An expected course of action following engagement in the communist party and the Young Communist League of Yugoslavia was to partake in the national liberation fight, and later on, after the war, to contribute to the cultural transformation of society.

In the early post-war period, the mission of the so called “cultural workers” in the field of music art was to popularize the artistic tendencies deemed as “preferred”. They were supposed to act as “the messengers” in the struggle for advancement of the music culture, and bring to the fore the ideas that would have the public opinion shaped in line with the preconceived ideological template, mobilize the masses and “raise” them as socialists (Kašić, 1996). Position of being in line with the new kind of society required redefining the aesthetic postulates of music, as well as changing the existing modes of discourse. Music publishing work, public lectures and events were supposed to be utilised as means to promote, support and further develop the ideas brought about by cultural politics pertaining to music production, reproduction and education. The transformation of the artistic paradigm also demanded clarity and strength in communicating ideological beliefs (Spehnjak, 1993).

The political authority that Slavko Zlatić had in this domain was a natural consequence of his appointment to numerous functions both during and after the war. As a part of his active endorsement of the official cultural politics, the body of work he composed (articles and reports on various gatherings and meetings) discusses, from the Marxist standpoint, different issues in regard to the position and the role of music in a socialist society. The questions of democratization of music, as well as how affected it is by social stratification, and encouraging socially engaged art and education of the youth permeates his entire publication career as the focus of his interest. Although he discusses many other music-related issues in his writings (whether ideologically marked

1977–1980 and 1980/1981). He was one of the initiators of the Croatian Composers Association, which he has presided over for many years. He’s been also appointed secretary of the national music committee at UNESCO, on several occasions a delegate at the International Council for Folk Music, and was an avid supporter of the work of Croatian and Yugoslav composers. He has received a number of prestigious awards and medals, among others, the Vladimir Nazor Life Achievement Award that he accepted in 1979. For more, see: Zlatić, 1989.

or not)⁸, he was particularly sensitive to these three issues, and hence revisited them frequently. These topics can be found merging and intertwining in many of his texts, and the strong opinions he held on them, with minor modifications, remained unchanged both in the formative years of socialism, and later on, when the social system gradually dissol.

Efforts to afford music culture to all social classes

In the newly established country, art was to be independent of cultural monopoly; “the authentic socialist culture” was expected to overcome the class barrier of the middle class culture, and become truly available to all walks of society (Kolanović, 2012). Activities that implied social contact, cooperation, and social adjustment were perceived as having educational value. Therefore, great importance was placed on endorsing the work of cultural-artistic associations, choir singing in particular. Choir singing was thought to have the power to eliminate social, economic and cultural differences among participants, reduce social inequality, and promote specific ideas among the masses (Anon, n.d.). Cultural-artistic associations were founded wherever possible; as a part of the general tendency to promote music culture to the masses, gatherings and festivals were organized at all levels – state, district, county, city and municipality (Jukić, 2009). Active participation in group musical performances gained preference because activities of this kind implied submitting one’s will and ambition to the interests of the collective, and strengthening the feeling of mutual dependence between individual and collective pursuits, as well as general responsibility for the community (Palčok, 1962). Festival gatherings featuring choirs and folklore ensembles were organized with the purpose of promoting brotherhood and equality, and learning about songs, dances, and customs from different parts of the country. Furthermore, considering the fact that choir repertoires included songs about the revolution, the war, and proletariat, these events served as a mechanism for making ideologically marked songs a part of people’s everyday lives (Zlatić, 2011).

In his early post-war period writings, Zlatić deployed an educational approach to affirm the principles and values of brotherhood and equality, patriotism, collective spirit, and mass support for the government. The function of the media as an instrument of cultural politics was to raise awareness of specific accomplishments attributed to the party. This is why Zlatić put so much emphasis on the efforts the party was making, and all the encouragement it provided to musical endeavours, bringing music culture to a higher level, and supporting the development of the infrastructure to include every member of society in cultural

⁸ Most topics concern traditional Istrian music and music composition work of Zlatić’s contemporaries.

activities. His strongest argument was that music had gradually become available to the common people:

"The performance event (translator's note: the Festival of cultural-artistic associations in the Croatian Music Institute) featured choir performances by citizens, union members, students, people of all walks of society joined together; workers and intellectuals, students and citizens, Croats and Serbs. The hall was filled to the last seat, and the exultation on the part of the audience as they cheered the performers whose sheer numbers demonstrated that vocal performances had indeed become widespread among our population... In the past, the Croatian Singing Association included only Croatian associations, and consequently provided a stamp of nationality to this vocal performance movement. It was virtually impossible for workers', union or Serbian singing organizations in Croatia to become full members of the Croatian Singing Association as this would violate the rules of this organization (...) This clearly shows the government's efforts to advance cultural activities, especially considering a well known fact that it allocated significant funds to the Croatian Singing Association to financially support the work of choirs and courses for choir leaders." (Zlatić, 1946)⁹

"Social workers" were tasked with creating effective propaganda to help overcome the discrepancy between "high art" and lower classes. The working class was the first on the list of those who needed to be brought closer to the music culture, since their cultural needs had been disregarded (Finkelstein, 1954). In the formative years of socialism, Zlatić argued in favour of ideological principles often by discrediting "the relics of bourgeoisie":

"The concert audience does not include that flamboyant, snobbish, xenomaniacal, obnoxious class of citizens who mindlessly and compulsively purchase tickets for every single foreign artist performance while, at the same time, they are utterly disinterested in performances of our own artists whose talent is often much more impressive. These lesser men, so worthy of contempt, are responsible for foreign artists being sold out (...) This kind of worship (...) should be viewed in connection with general xenomaniacal behaviour that is, fortunately, displayed only by a small percentage of population whose mentality had obviously been severely influenced by foreign "kulturtraeger". This particular class of society know nothing of true patriotism, and appraising everything that is not ours is a habit they had probably been indulging in since the time of occupation." (Zlatić, 1952)

The rhetoric became much more subtle, and generally more moderate, in the sixties and the seventies when activism no longer demanded such a strong

⁹ In 1946 Zlatić wrote for the Music Gazette an article of similar content, published under the title "On some specific issues concerning the development of music culture in our lives".

persuasive tone in expressing ideological principles. Zlatić's texts reflected the changes that cultural politics gradually underwent. In the period of state socialism or revolutionary statism, this politics achieved some very positive results, such as raising the cultural level of all classes of society, developing cultural infrastructure, and making education available more broadly. He warned, however, that despite all the measures undertaken, there had been no improvement in reducing the gap between cultural activities intended "for the masses and for the elite, workers, farmers and for intelligentsia, the uneducated and for the educated, between those intellectuals who understand cultural values and those who lack the knowledge of the cultural sphere" (Zlatić, 1977b), even in the period of self-managing socialism:

"(...) the so called high-end art remained the privilege of the small elite. This line of artistic achievement is still being both consumed and created in small, exclusive circles, confined to guilds, available to snobs" (Zlatić, 1977a).

"(...) nevertheless, it still broadly and stubbornly expands and persists, branching out in two different ways, as an elite, intellectual, urban, "aristocratic", and on the other hand, common-class, proletarian, universal" (Zlatić, 1977b).

Despite expectations, working class in self-managing socialism did not become the driving force of cultural politics; workers turned out to be quite passive and disinterested in the part of their income designated for cultural activities. Self-governing bodies were constituted in all music institutions, but workers were fairly uninformed about their work. In addition, viable models of self-management that would take into account the particular nature of arts and culture were not developed, so the introduction of self-management into music institutions failed to evolve further from its starting position:

"The majority of theatre-goers came from the category of high-income earners, whereas very few came from the ranks of common workers. In reality, a construction worker "subsidized" the price of the ticket for a doctor, a locksmith for an engineer, and so on, while at the same time these workers had little use of the theatre because they simply never went there. We can easily infer that such state of affairs serves as the best explanation for the position the culture holds in respect to the social strata." (Zlatić, 1973)

"Organizing the overall cultural sphere on the basis of self-management, integrating culture into the system of social reproduction, and developing and socially stimulating the creative production on the principle of work exchange between workers from the cultural domain and other working people, rather than on the principle of bureaucratic management and mediation, resulted in some serious hindrances. Self-management in the field of culture is still

dependent on the relationships that foster the interests of guilds and elite groups. Our socialist movement and communist engagement should aspire to achieve culture in self-management, culture that constitutes the spiritual life of those who produce and create, the culture that transcends elitism and being a cheap spiritual retail product on offer to the consumer society.” (Zlatić, 1977a)

A firm advocate of the premise that any aspect of culture not available to every single layer of the socialist society creates a risk of cultural division and regressing to the bourgeois concept of culture and hermeticism, Zlatić points out that this, once again, gives rise to class differences and social inequality. He believes that overcoming the discrepancy between “the culture for the chosen few” and “the culture for the scorned” demands persistent education and promotion, thus he offers some practical advice and tips on how to revive the music life and make it spread more widely.

“Therefore, aspiring to bring music culture to the crowds implies winning over the listeners, the consumers (in the positive sense of the word) (...) A habit is gained by continuously repeating an act, while a music-related habit is developed by listening to a music piece over and over again. This results in the person’s desire to listen again to the piece they have already gotten used to. In order to popularize music culture, we must look for and develop the means and methods to bring quality music to new listeners; attractive lectures, brochures, comments, boards – we need all of that to be able to systematically raise new generations of listeners, music consumers, and this is exactly what increasing the music audience really means!” (Zlatić, 1977b)

Appeals for socially engaged music art

As the experience of war revealed the power of mass songs, in the post-war period one of the missions of the so called “cultural ideologists” became promoting their preservation and further development. As an active participant in the liberation movement, Zlatić authored a considerable number of such pieces, in addition to fervently supporting, in his writings, the production and performance of this type of music.

“In that unsettling life between two battlefields, in tiny oases of liberated areas, the most extensive activity, the one carried out on the largest scale, was music, in all its modes of expression and engagement. Self-evolving, and up until the second half of the war in the hands (and throats, and performances) of amateur enthusiasts, the partisan song and music were *the comrade*; not only an integral part of all that was happening, but also an indispensable generator

of optimism without which our fight would have been doomed. This was not some drunken or desperate chorus of dead men walking; it was a quintessential euphoria, a need to express at least a fragment of the energy and supernatural accomplishments through song. This was not just a result of our party's efforts, but rather an impulse of our people, our fighters, to show their fighting spirit and feelings, to display their optimism, the faith and firm belief in the justness of their cause. This psychological need is what gave the voice to the muses, even in the midst of the horrors of our war for freedom." (Zlatić, 1974)

When it comes to the transformation of music culture, Zlatić placed special importance on the kind of music which had the power to provoke patriotic spirit, or evoke memories of the national liberation war. In order to create music that brings the artist and his work in the tightest possible bond with the people, the technical composition devices used in the post-war period were quite simplified. According to Zlatić, songs with didactic purpose, intended to glorify the restoration of the country and the development of socialism, did not necessarily need to be poetic masterpieces, while the melody was supposed to be simple and "catchy", of clear symmetry and regular rhythm, and easily sung by a person of average vocal capacities. These songs were supposed to exude exultation, positive vibes, and fighting spirit. In his texts, Zlatić advocated for production of mass songs. He believed that the reasons for such pieces not being favourite among the composers¹⁰ were a product of contempt on the part of certain composers for such "low art", or their negative opinion of the new government. Yet, he also commented on the poor quality of lyrics in most instances. As the solution for improving the song writing process, he proposes a more active engagement on the part of the Croatian Composers' Association, a public discussion of the problem published in "The Music Gazette", involving the Croatian Writers' Association in the matter, and, finally, investing more effort into releasing and recording these pieces on gramophone records (Zlatić, n.d.^a).

He remained equally eager in his appeals for mass songs even after the period of institutionalization of the socialist system. In the seventies and the eighties, he wrote a series of articles expressing his dismay at the fact that partisan songs were so rarely performed and broadcasted:

"Upon such realization, one can only assume, if not conclude, that this cannot be a mere happenstance; considering the troubles provoked by the nationalist line, as well as others, I fear that this disrespect and neglect is not without purpose. Let's not dwell upon the questions of engagement, tendencies, or purposefully composed pieces. The focus should be on the artistic validation of the work; on the one hand, these are deemed low in quality, politically utilitarian in content,

¹⁰ He claims that in the period between the end of the war and 1950, only 50 new mass songs were written.

unworthy of any acclaim etc. Clearly, a negative label is attached to these music pieces. On the other hand – we have no way of confirming a positive acclaim of the pieces about freedom and patriotism written before, during, and after the war.” (Zlatić, 1985)

“Our disposition towards tradition and heritage is lacking proper respect, especially in regards to the national war for liberation and our revolutionary past. I fear that the young people of today, especially those in primary schools, cannot sing any of the famous, proletarian or partisan songs that our generations were proud to sing and found inspiration in. It is indeed sad to see the way our heritage is treated by younger generations today.” (Zlatić, 1989)

The manner he uses in his texts to refer to the subject of the national idiom is affected by him being compelled to construct a national music language. As a result, a permanent feature of his writing are guidelines and instructions on music composition, performance, and teaching so that the efforts of musicians would result in common good. From his point of view, nationalist inclination implies composing good music, which does not employ folklore to “add a touch of refreshing exoticism”, or as “a superficial facade”, “something archaic, even primitive in nature”. He considers the decorative, ornamental use, or even literal stealing of folk themes to be hindering “the development of the only path that can lead us to our very own national, authentic expression in music”. This authentic national expression, in his opinion, can only be achieved by employing folklore as neither the purpose, nor the content, but rather a means of determining the mode of musical expression:

“To succeed in this, one must come to learn about the folklore at its source, and not by way of other people’s impressions. Truly intimate understanding of elements and traits of folk music implies thorough scrutiny of the rhythm and the melody of the national tongue, declamation, musical rhythm, rules of structuring the theme... In a word, it demands entering the spirit of folk music and intuitively understanding its characteristics.” (Zlatić, 1948)

“The piece is well written if its composition includes all the attributes that endow quality (in accordance with the ultimate criterion - a work is either good or it is not!), regardless of whether it has been written with nationalist or any other tendencies. Pavao Markovac puts it this way: a composer should be genuine in his work. Whether this work contains nationalist elements or not, it will turn out well. The aspirations, especially when it comes to music, transcend the national. Only profound insight into the ethical principles of the common people, and true knowledge of human psyche can result in a genuine art that will be both national and universally human.” (Zlatić, 1948)

“The nationalist undertone, as it were, is only a background, a foundation to build a structure, a construction that would emulate the characteristics of our folk music, both in general and regional context. In fact, this is only a matter of a composer’s willingness to move forward, to be up-to-date, to follow contemporary trends, the same way the medical field does, and to refrain from imitation, plagiarism, and exclusive commitment to someone else’s work or style.” (Zlatić, 198–)

The views Zlatić expresses on what music should be like in the new socialist system were based on the Marxist discourse on art, as well as on the belief that music is not an isolated phenomenon, separate from a man’s general preoccupations, but instead an art form whose process of development always happens under a specific set of circumstances, and as such it always represents the opinions and values of the societal context within which it’s been created. Music art was supposed to be socially functional, in the service of the proletariat – the social class considered to be the driving force of social progress. One of music art primary roles was to, in some way, help the people perceive its grandeur, abilities and goals more clearly. The changes undergone in music history, Zlatić interpreted as a matter of development, provoked by the changes in society, along with economic and political relationships. Therefore, his texts put special emphasis on the fact that social and political developments were commonly reflected in many works of art, many of which played a critical role in the events that have taken place at the time they were created. Rather than to specifically outline the desirable technical and aesthetic framework for music composition, he simply pointed out to specific illustrative examples found in international and national music history¹¹ that were supposed to provide the guidelines for defining the concept of music for the time of new realism:

“A genuine work of art is always a reflection of the time of its creation. Both its content and its form are inseparable from the circumstances of the time and dependant on the social structure and material technical conditions. In every society, music, as well as arts in general, served a purpose, which made it, be it intentionally or not, for better or for worse, pretentious and purposeful. Many pages from the music history also testify of a direct link with political happenings. On some occasions those are war songs sung by primitive peoples, sometimes fighting songs, sometimes national songs and anthems, and sometimes original works of art used as a means to achieve specific political aims. This has happened in the past, and it still

¹¹ Examples are *Symphony no.3*, the so called *Eroica* by Ludwig van Beethoven’s (1770–1827) *Uverture 1812* by Peter Ilyich Tchaikovsky (1840–1893), *Ma Vlast* cycle, by Bedřich Smetana (1824–1884), opera *Nabucco* by Giuseppe Verdi (1813–1901), *Revolutionary by etude* by Frédéric Chopin (1810–1849) etc. For more, see: Zlatić, 1965a or Zlatić, 1965b.

happens. In some instances the author is known, whereas in some cases he is an anonymous from the ranks of common people. Very often, the original purpose of such work, which gave it the initial momentum, is lost, but such pieces nevertheless live on, and this is precisely what proves the power of their impact, and objectively, their musical value.” (Zlatić, 1958)

Operationalizing the concept of art in his texts stems from the Marxist theory of reflection, or in other words, the interpretation of the stipulation that the function of art is to disclose the objective reality and make it visible by drawing attention to societal relationships, conflicts and historical necessities by artistic means alone (Vesić, 2012). He believed it was imperative that music culture provides “a true, objective reflection of reality”, embodied in the works whose purpose would not be in yet another attempt to “resolve the *l’art pour l’art* issues” (Zlatić, 1948).

“(…) how essentially flawed these formalist-aesthetic ideas are, purporting that bearing upon an idea, politics, and social ideals has a degrading effect on art. The idea is that there is no realism without a tendency; realism must unavoidably bear upon ideas. We are not talking here about realism with naturalistic content, but instead about realism of affirmative, progressive, and, most of all, positive content. If we rely on these notions to guide us in our work, we will indeed become the driving force of our cultural life, and our deeds would reflect this epoch; the one that marks a turning point in our socio-political and cultural lives” (Zlatić, 1948).

“(…) I agree completely with Nikola Hercigonja - that there is no work of art created without some sort of an engagement. ...it is time we stopped categorizing music as high or low art, classical or popular. Because there can only be good or bad music. Artistic value is either present or it isn't” (Zlatić, 1985).

In his opinion, realism in music should be based not only on an appropriate ideological content, but also on musical discourse whose range and validity are universal:

“A work of art will be evaluated as either good or bad, regardless of its intent, based on one very unsophisticated, but unquestionably valid classification method. This quality will also determine the content of the work, its realism being a reflection of the time when it was created. Anachronism in content and form, in romanticism, impressionism, constructivism etc., must be highlighted as something that an artist should avoid. No one is compelled to choose a topic that glorifies capitalism, or the feudal system, for that matter. The modern world today would consider laughable or even frown upon a song whose lyrics and melody could be likened to a troubadour serenade, or a hymn to a

sweet-smelling violet composed in the renaissance manner. Therefore, the only conclusion that possibly can be drawn is that without realism, there is no true art.” (Zlatić, 1948)

“There are many musicians who are quite competent, but whose artistic pursuits are influenced by various “isms”, leading their work far from artistic realism, thus breaking away from reality. In effect, they fail to produce artwork that might be representative of their artistic inclinations. There are, however, rare exceptions that demonstrate that those who managed to touch upon the reality are indeed more successful - as they realize their own debilitating shortcomings more clearly. Whether one artistic direction or another would prove more beneficial for the present or the future, or produce better artwork, is not dependent only on the character of the artist who intuitively combines all the good sides of any one approach.” (Zlatić, 1948)

He has remained faithful to his ideals even in the period of late socialism, still firmly convinced of the necessity to produce socially engaged art, even when the socialist system started to gradually fall apart.

“How can something be considered a politics if it excludes cultural elements; how can something be viewed as culture if it’s not political at the same time? I can’t stress this strongly enough because I believe the whole society should take action, since we all are aware of the same problems, but at some point we must finally find a way to resolve them. Otherwise, in year of 1995, at the 50th anniversary of our liberation we (those of us who live to see it) might be forced to conclude that things are far worse than they are now.” (Zlatić, 1985)

The efforts to stimulate the advancement of music education of young people

After the war, one of the priorities of the cultural politics in regard to music was education. A young person was to be prepared not only for executing professional and social duties, but also for spending his or her free time as a consumer and a creator of cultural and artistic content. The purpose of music education was to expose a young individual to a carefully selected materials, and by these means promote the development of a balanced personality. In addition, the goal was to instigate the youth to appreciate “socialist humanism, patriotism and genuine internationalism” by employing the most effective approach (Antonić, 1965, 7). In terms of upbringing, music education implied giving special importance to ideological content, especially songs that stimulate the sentiments of camaraderie, patriotism and sacrifice.¹² In addition to advocating the familiarity

¹² On aesthetic upbringing in schools, see: Požgaj, 1950; Pataki, 1958.

with socially engaged songs, Zlatić's texts stressed the importance of traditional music, knowledge of the literature on classical music, and events in history that contributed to advancement of production, reproduction, and music teaching.

"For a child and a young individual, folk music represents his or her close family, whereas classical music represents the circle outside the family. Therefore, music education should, first of all, incorporate folk music, and then music belonging to other nations. Through music, children and young people, should be made aware of their belonging to their nation, and in this way recognize that they are a part of humanity as a whole" (Zlatić, 197–).

"If 'classical' is defined as something that represents a true cultural value and legacy for future generations, then this is exactly what should be taught to children and young people as the cultural heritage of the whole humanity. Getting familiar with folk music of other nations, the youth develops the feeling of belonging to the international community" (Zlatić, 197–).

Appointed by the society to raise and educate the youth, teachers played a critical role in education. Teachers were not allowed to be apolitical: their role was to be up to date with political events and the efforts invested into building a socialist country. Furthermore, they had to possess broad knowledge, and to demonstrate the love for their country in the course of their social engagement. In addition to passing knowledge to their students, teachers were also obligated to serve as social workers and educators.

"Is it not logical that, in less developed regions of our country – where teachers are the only people engaged in cultural activities, they should be the ones responsible for planning and organizing all activities that can be practically realized within the given community? Their ranks should be exuding fresh enthusiasm and ambition. Many among them should look up to new generations of our youth, whose ambition and enthusiasm they should emulate. Furthermore, institutions or organizations in charge of these activities should make sure that necessary resources are available to the teaching staff in these small, underdeveloped regions, meaning the materials they can use to further educate themselves and build the skills they are lacking." (Zlatić, 1975)

The discrepancy between high art and broader social strata, that was clearly obvious in the domain of music education, could not have been so quickly and easily surpassed. Considering the fact that educational cadre was inadequate, both in terms of their numbers and the level of their competence, teachers failed to quickly enough adapt to ambitious curricula and the demands of educational politics that aimed at raising "students as new socialist men". In relation to other school subjects taught at all levels of schooling, music classes were often considered as "secondary". Teachers had to fight against prejudice, as many

parents, especially those in villages, were against music education, as well as against their children choosing music as a career.

“In the future, there will be less prejudice that in the past had caused many parents to forbid their children to pursue the infamous career of musician – comparing it to becoming a circus performer or entertainer. For years, our secondary (vocational) schools frequently admitted those who failed to get accepted anywhere else, and that is why we have so many incompetent cadre in this profession.” (Zlatić, n.d.^b)

Zlatić's legacy reveals the extraordinary scope of his engagement. His activism is directed by his belief in the importance of affirming certain stances, while his rhetoric has an instructive and authoritative tone. In terms of his activism and extensive engagement in the musical field (as a pedagogue, composer, conductor, organizer and writer), it provides information pertinent for studying not only music history, but also social, culturological and political events in Croatia (i.e. former Yugoslavia) in the 20th century, thus demonstrating huge potential for scientific research and education. Although most of the archival documentation is available in Croatian and Italian, part of it is written in other languages – as such, it is accessible to a broader range of users, and is at disposal to local and international scholars for further analysis. This paper is, therefore, a small contribution to a better understanding of one part of Zlatić's professional endeavours, and our attempt to draw attention to the numerous ways his legacy can be benefited from.

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(DO) WE KEEP FORGETTING MIROSLAV ŠPILER (?): OUR CONTRIBUTION TO THE 110th ANNIVERSARY OF COMPOSER'S BIRTH

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Abstract: Within the cultural context of Sarajevo and Bosnia and Herzegovina, composer and music pedagogue Miroslav Špiler (1906–1982) is remembered primarily as professor at the Academy of Music in Sarajevo, an important social figure at the time, as well as composer of small but significant number of works. However, unlike the works of some other Bosnian and Herzegovinian composers, we (almost) never have a chance to hear Špiler's works being performed by the esteemed artists and ensembles in our country. The aim of the following text is to locate and discover the reasons of negligence of Špiler's oeuvre while considering the legacy of Miroslav Špiler, characteristics of composer's works as well as examining the past and present state of the performing institutions in Sarajevo and the events that would create an opportunity for presentation of his works.

Keywords: Miroslav Špiler; legacy; works; performing.

Introductory notes

Year of 2016 marked the 110th anniversary of birth of one of the most significant figures in the music life of Sarajevo and Bosnia and Herzegovina Miroslav Špiler (1906–1982). Miroslav Špiler has obligated Sarajevo and Bosnia and Herzegovina with his various activities. As he came to the city, which was to wait for two more years so as to get its first facility for university level music education, Špiler recognised his opportunity for leaving a trace in a region that has started building its music life from ashes. Before coming to Sarajevo, meandering routes of life have led Špiler from Music Academy in Zagreb, where he graduated from the department of conducting while simultaneously perfecting the craft of composing and orchestration with Blagoje Bersa (1873–1934), towards Berlin and the Prussian academy of arts and classes with Arnold Schönberg (1874–1951) and his assistant Josef Rufer (1926/27), and Paris for his further studies at *Schola Cantorum* with famous Vincent D'Indy (1851–1931). After having worked at Radio Zagreb for ten years, Špiler gets dismissed from his position because of his Jewish descent. Two years later he officially joined the partisans. As a member

of Agitation and Propaganda unit of the Cultural and Artistic department of the National Antifascist Council of People's Liberation of Croatia he implemented several tasks such as collecting and noting partisan folk songs, work with choir ensembles and practicing repertoire, composing original partisan songs, reworking existing partisan songs, organising and facilitating music activities during the war (Radio-televizija Sarajevo, 1977). Although the days in partisan units for Špiler meant working for the propaganda of Communist party, and composing pieces that were supposed to be undemanding for regular listeners, it also meant a turn in composer's aesthetics of creating the work of music. "That experience made him more aware of the generally humane that exists in every work regardless of how much the composer wants to lift the generally humane to the metaphoric level and not make it superficially recognizable." (Hodžić, 2016, 499) In accordance with this, in his latter, especially the orchestral works, Špiler tried to fulfil the purpose of art which would be equally given to all people.

After the end of the Second World War, and after some short engagements at radio stations in Zagreb, Split, and Belgrade, Špiler with his wife Bruna (b. Zimić, 1921–1979), comes to the capital of war-destroyed Bosnia and Herzegovina, and helps Sarajevo in shaping its music life. In 1953 he becomes professor at the Pedagogical academy, and afterwards, in 1955, he is one of the founders and the first professors of the Academy of Music, while Bruna (b. Zimić, 1921–1979) becomes professor at the Department of solo singing (Čavlović, 1997a, 19; Hodžić, 2014a, 13). For the next two decades, until retirement in 1975, Špiler has his most fruitful and most successful years. It was the time when he composes his most significant orchestral and chamber works, writes the textbook *Orkestracija I dio – Gudački orkestar* (Orchestration Part I – String orchestra), and gets awarded accolades for unceasing work, out of which the Sixth April Prize of the City of Sarajevo for his *Simfonija u dva stava* (Symphony in two movements, 1962) is the most significant one. After retirement, and the death of his wife Bruna, Špiler lives in isolation until his death on November 30th 1982. In music history of Bosnia and Herzegovina Špiler is marked as founder of one of the three Bosnian schools of composing, and some of its best examples are *Andelka Bego Šimunić* (1942) and *Baškim Šehu* (1952). (Čavlović, 2011, 193)

The negligence of performing Špiler's works after 1995, i.e. newer music history is an occurrence confirmed by analysing on chronicles of music life in Sarajevo from *Muzika* periodical issued by the Musicological Society of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as on recognition papers – such as graduate and master theses which discusses topics such as work of Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra and Academy of Music. Thus, viewing the chronicles of music life in Sarajevo confirmed the hypothesis that Špiler's works were

not performed, not even once, since the chronicles got established in 1997.¹ According to the Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra list of concerts September 16th 1995 was the date when Špiler's work titled *Introdukcija i Largo* (Introduction and Largo, 1957) was performed (Pinjo, 2003, 479). As the events unfolded, this turned out to be the last performance of a work by Špiler noted until this day.²

Therefore the following text aims to examine reasons to lack of performances of Špiler's opus through three main aspects: availability of sheet music examined through overview of legacy of Miroslav Špiler, through considerations of volume and characteristics of Špiler's opus, and by making an overview of the status of performing activity and institutions of music life in Sarajevo while comparing periods after the Second World War and today's state after 1995.

Legacy of Miroslav Špiler

Legacy of Miroslav Špiler is chiefly kept at the Institute of Musicology of Academy of Music in Sarajevo, while its smaller part is kept at the library of Academy of Music. The legacy represents a significant collection of writings and music scores, both the published and unpublished ones. The richness of composer's aims, interests, desire for new intellectual and expert knowledge, as well as the results of his composing aspirations are all demonstrated in the legacy he left us. Moreover, Špiler's legacy represents a rich source of writings which are useful for music science and practice. Thus, work on the legacy and classification of its contents represents a useful endeavour in several ways because it enables knowledge of useful books, articles and music sheets previously unavailable to students and professors of Academy of Music because their contents were unorganized and not entirely known.³

¹ For more details regarding lists of performances, please see chronicles of music life in Sarajevo in *Muzika* periodical, Sarajevo: Musicological Society of the Federation of BiH, 1997–2015.

² Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra gave guest performance in Teplice, Czech Republic on 16th October same year, where *Introdukcija i Largo* was also performed (Pinjo, 2003, 530). In publication issued in 2016 to mark the 60th anniversary of Academy of Music in Sarajevo it was noted that there was a performance of Špiler's *Preludij za trubu i klavir*. However, the performance of that piece did not happen (Čavlović, 2016).

³ Detailed overview and lists of contents of the legacy was executed while working at the bachelors thesis titled *Ostavština Miroslava Špilera – pregled, klasifikacija, sistematizacija* (Hodžić, 2012a).



Figure 1. Part of legacy of Miroslav Špiler at the Institute of Musicology of Academy of Music in Sarajevo (Hodžić, 2012b)

Contents of the legacy are divided into four categories: autographs and unpublished contents, published contents, audio materials, and finally the recognitions, diplomas and personal items. Autographs are divided into texts and sheet music. Texts contain music and theoretic areas writings, articles and other written materials. Miroslav Špiler saved almost all of his works as autographs grouped into folders – according to timeframe or the composer with whom he was studying at the time (Čavlović, 1997a; Hodžić, 2012a, 16). A number of writings, articles and texts within the legacy prove Špiler's wide range of interests when it comes to music profession, as well as his social engagements both during and after the Second World War. The discovery of Špiler's graduate work, a symphonic poem titled *Vasilisa zlatokosa* (*Vasilisa goldilocks*, 1926), also found in this category has opened a possibility for a new research and revealing stylistic features of Špiler's works – both the early and later ones.⁴

Published materials represent the largest portion of Špiler's legacy. This category includes a number of books from all music areas, which represents a rich source for all the researchers and potential users of this book collection.

⁴ *Vasilisa zlatokosa* had been considered lost, however it has been found during work on the legacy (Hodžić, 2012a).

Impressive collection contains also encyclopaedias, collections of papers and literature, and other non-music areas. Also, the legacy contains periodicals and other publications alike. Printed sheet music presents rich collection of scores by all relevant composers of Western European art music, as well as composers from the former Yugoslavia countries. A particularly interesting aspect of this work is represented by Špiler's published scores printed mainly by the Association of Composers of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Hodžić, 2012a, 11).

The audio portion, which encompasses cassettes too, is important because it contains a number of recorded Špiler's compositions and several radio programs on composer's life and work. Along with the autographs and printed scores of the composer's works, they create one whole that is sufficient should a researcher want to deal in more detail with Špiler's opus. View of the legacy is rounded by the collection of diplomas and the awards that Špiler received for his artistic and social work, along with a small group of personal documents, photographs, and other personal details provided to the Academy of Music in Sarajevo (Hodžić, 2012a, 11).

From the aforesaid, it is clear how important legacy of Miroslav Špiler is for the Academy of music, and thus the musical life of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as for any type of research and other activities that, in whole or in part, include the study and performance of the composer's works.

Characteristics of works

Composing works of Miroslav Špiler sorted by type of performer apparatus includes vocal, instrumental and vocal-instrumental pieces. He has composed more than 70 original works, and in his opus there are remakes of partisan folk songs too, as well as orchestrations of works by other composers. Špiler's instrumental works are divided into pieces for solo piano, works for chamber ensembles, and works for orchestra, whereas not all the works have the same importance in the composer's oeuvre. This group of works is certainly the most diverse in their characteristics and performing machine. The works for orchestra represent the most significant part of his work primarily due to the fact that his composing sensibility was aimed at orchestrating, more than it was to other composing parameters, and he was taking advantage of this means of expression to the maximum. Having spent some time studying at Bersa, Špiler gained a rarely-managed blending of academic routines and inventiveness in combining orchestral sounds, interesting use of percussion, and special treatment of instrumental corpus in each subsequent work (Hodžić, 2014b).

In his orchestral works we recognize the essence of Špiler who skilfully dominates compositional technique, manages to give each of his works an individual signature, avoiding orchestral schematizing. These works unveils that

there are composing procedures regularly used by the author, which gives them a distinctive stamp. These procedures are bright, but densely woven, receptive, but skilfully done orchestration, counterpoint-linear way of thinking; a combination of atonal with expanded tonal sections and significant role of percussion and brass section, especially at the beginning of the work. Woodwind instruments – especially the oboe, is often used to display the leading theme of motif-complexes, while the presence of the harp and the piano adds colouring orchestral tissue. Orchestral works are mostly single-movement, formed in the tripartite structure. In some of these works there is a noticeable impact of folk idiom, while a number of other works contain elements of Socialist realist art aesthetics. Orchestral works mainly manifest lines of late Romanticism combined with impressionist colours of orchestral sounding (Hodžić, 2014b). The most significant orchestral works by Špiler are: symphonic poem *Vasilisa Zlatokosa*, concert folk dance *Taraban* (1943), *Praznična skica* (Holiday sketch, 1955) *Simfonija u dva stava*, *Opsesija* (Obsession, 1965), *Tema sa pet transfiguracija* (Theme with five transfigurations, 1977) i *Evokacija Bilećanke* (Evocation on a theme of Bilećanka, 1980) (Hodžić, 2014b).

Špiler's first serious orchestral work *Vasilisa Zlatokosa*, the symphonic poem dedicated to "Russian masters and maestro Bersa in deep gratitude" (Špiler, 1926), was written for a large symphony orchestra. Although *Vasilisa Zlatokosa* represents Špiler's first orchestral work after the end of classes in Bersa's workshop, it somewhat outlines the contours of his orchestrating skills, and access to compositional technique of conducting certain thematic thoughts through various instrumental groups. The initial musical thoughts played by oboe, preceded by timpani tremolo, would be some of the most interesting features of the later Špiler's works (Špiler, 1926). Špiler gladly uses warm and cuddly timbre for oboe solo parts in his orchestral works as it gives his works a peculiar resonance. Although these melodic lines imbued composer's tendency to archaic expressions, they contain hints at specific Špiler's structure of melodies that still represent a solid and well-designed unit.



Figure 2. *Vasilisa zlatokosa*, fragments, b. 3-6, b. 147-154

With this work Špiler not only concluded training in orchestration with Bersa, but also exhibited some characteristics of creativity that will go together with his symphonic work in its entirety. Besides tremolos in section of timpani and frequent oboe solos, sumptuous colour which, although without sound track that would substantiate the claim, is hinted with implied forte tutti passages and tremolos in string sections, while the rest of the orchestra presents motivic and thematic thoughts within the works, remains as peculiarity of his orchestral work (Hodžić, 2014b).

Concert folk dance *Taraban* composed in the vortex of the Second World War events of 1943, clearly shows the characteristics of folk rhythms and melodies, which can be determined by observation of individual means of expression such as melody, rhythm, meter, harmony and others. In terms rhythm and meter, one primarily notices simplicity personified in constant use of 2/4 measures and rhythmic patterns that include very simple and consistent use of crotchets, quavers and sixteenth. Given the fact that the main theme is tonally organized, harmony also reflects the simplicity through the most common alternation of tonic and dominant function (Hadžialić, 1990, 13-16). The spirit of folk music permeates *Taraban* in each segment, while the orchestral treatments do not stay just on the delimitation of rustic simplicity, but are streaming from popular music form in a work of art, giving a concert folk dance *Taraban* hallmark of a serious symphonic composition.

Praznična skica, the first post-war orchestral work, composed in 1955, was formally built as the one-movement work, and the thematic motifs terms rely on partisan song *Pod onom gorom zelenom* (Under that green mountain) brought by the horns (Špiler, 1955a). Due to the timeframe of the work, the use of partisan songs was very normal and even desirable manner in composing art music directly after the war. Usage of quotations of a partisan song was incorporated with the opening theme in the orchestral fabric thus properly depicting duality of artistic inspiration and social engagement that same art, whereas the composer does not forget to put a significant emphasis on the social relevance of their work. In terms of style orientation, it is usually stated that Špiler conceived *Praznična skica* as a work in which he speaks with the “language of late Romanticism, with a touch of impressionist expression” (Bosnić, 2010, 61).

Simfonija u dva stava is one of Špiler's most extensive, but also perhaps the most successful of his works. Skilfully combining orchestral sounds once again comes to the fore in this very interesting work which had Špiler receiving Sixth April Prize in 1962. The first movement is designed as a passacaglia, which meant its cue from the former model forms passacaglia in which we find a certain melodic progression that after exposure becomes ostinato over which a new thematic motif material is built. Thematic material of the passacaglia after introductory remarks is carried out through all instrumental groups.

Interestingly, the opening theme and motivic unit is performed by the bassoon in the tonal range that sometimes transcend their normal registry showing that the traditional accompanying “instruments out of the shadows” can expose the base material, and in doing so make a good sound impression. The theme-model (b. 1-17) for ostinato in different parts of the composition occurs in several instrumental groups, and thus builds the first movement of the backbone of the unity of the work (Špiler, 1964).



Figure 3. *Simfonija u dva stava*, first movement, ostinato model, b. 1-9

The second movement *Allegro, ma deciso* both in terms of form and in terms of used musical material is the more complex one. This movement contains rhythmically updated theme-model for the ostinato of the first movement. Change of tune, musical material and character appears as of b. 38, with the main melody line played first by flutes and clarinets, and then string and woodwind instruments together. As in b. 65 the composer decides for polyphonic work with inverse fragment subjects undergoing imitation work and makes the central part of the movement. After the interlude, in a slightly modified form and in G major, there is the motive material from the first part of this paragraph repeated, followed by the gradual culmination of a strong orchestral tutti work ends in C major. Although marked tonality of the work is the key of C (three flats), yet in listening, a great complexity and diversity of the vertical structure of this work can be observed. Harmonic structures are reminiscent of experiments with the achievements of functional harmony of late Romanticism, and structure points to a kind of return to the past. The rich instrumentation that besides percussion includes piano and harp, and artfully combining colour are qualities of Špiler's now mature orchestration techniques (Špiler, 1964).

After a three year hiatus in the field of composing, in 1965⁵ Špiler composes a new orchestral work titled *Opsesija* (Špiler, 1967). This composition, dedicated to the composer's friend conductor Teodor Romanić (1926), was performed the same year. It is composed for symphony orchestra, which in addition to the extended wooden and tin brass sections, is enriched by percussion and piano corp. In the percussion section next to timpani, there are xylophone, wooden drum, small drum, triangle, cymbals, tam-tam, and gran cassa that show up too. The title refers to a thought, action, or process that may become the subject of

⁵ According to Čavlović, 1997a, 25.

constant interest. So “obsession” may, in the case of this composition, mean perpetual emergence of an “obsessive motive”⁶, the processing during the compositional process, which provides an interesting flow of the work and its sounding.

Created after the *Praznična skica*, *Introdukcija i Largo* and *Simfonija u dva stava*, *Opsesija* is on the one hand an interesting blend of compositional procedures that Špiler cultured at Bersa, Rufer and D’Indy, and the composer’s efforts to synthesize them with his own ideas, on the other. In general, the composition is built in tripartite form with contrasting middle section of the outer parts of the invoice, the form, and the use of compositional procedures (Hukić, 2012, 240-249).



Figure 4. *Opsesija*, main motive, b. 9-12

Tema sa pet transfiguracija was composed in February 1977, and premiered on 8th of April in the same year by the Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra, conducted by Oskar Danon (1913–2009). The composition was recorded as a performing by Symphony Orchestra of Radio-television Sarajevo under the baton of Julio Marić (1937) (Čavlović, 1997, 25). Špiler’s penultimate orchestral work was conceived somewhat different; a theme which is in many ways shaped in several “transfigurations”, as the composer himself called them. Interesting fact is that the work occurred 12 years after composing the previous orchestral work *Opsesija*. The piece was composed for symphony orchestra with a standard-represented groups of instruments with certain reinforcements⁷, provided that once again the percussion section is reinforced and in addition to timpani contains: triangle, castanets, tambourine, a small drum, cymbals, large tam-tam and gran cassa. The harp was also used as part of the orchestra.

Unlike other Špiler’s works, where significant feature is his toying with the tonal centre or more in terms of either creating the illusion of the existence or blurring of the same, this work is one of his few where there is a clearly tonal centre which does not seek to destabilize; its composition and overall thematic

⁶ In her master’s thesis, Naida Hukić names this motive according to its role in the piece (Hukić, 2012, 239).

⁷ The rest of the orchestra looks like this: flute piccolo, 2 flutes, 2 oboes, French horn, 2 clarinets in B flat, B flat bass clarinet, 2 bassoons, contrabassoon, 4 horns in F, 3 trumpets in B, 3 trombones, tuba, string section.

and motivic material exists within a certain tonality. The basic thematic idea is carried by oboe while the rest of the wood brass and string section, with the horn, harp and timpani, provide accompaniment and orchestral enrichment (Špiller, 1980a).



Figure 5. *Tema sa pet transfiguracija*, theme, b. 1-16

After 16 bars – in which the basic thematic idea is carried out in tonality of B minor, it is further carried out through five so-called transfigurations which get new instrumental shape, but also a different internal structure. Can transfigurations be considered variations and if so, what kind of variations? The word transfiguration itself means transformation, which means that the theme appears in each of the 5 transfigurations, yet – dressed in a new guise. Looking at the way of sequencing of the transfigurations, it is noticeable that the first one has the airy texture, and then the second and third one gradually complicate the flow of music, and after the fourth transfiguration – that is completely focused on the treatment of rhythmic patterns, follows the transfiguration in the homonymous tonality with the theme transposed in tonality of D major. According to their characteristics, it is possible to identify transfigurations in this work with the character variations (Hodžić, 2014b).

The last orchestral work by Miroslav Špiller composed before his death named *Evokacija Bilećanke*⁸ was created in 1980. Similarly to *Praznična skica* this work, in addition to the original thematic material, used a quotation of partisan folk song *Bilećanka*, providing both alternating appearance of “original” motif-thematic sections, and “borrowed” partisan folk song. Although the piece was composed 35 years after the end of the Second World War, *Evokacija* contains characteristics thanks to which it can be said that it draws inspiration from the past momentum of artistic climate of Socialist Realism (Špiller, 1981).

⁸ It is possible that the reason for this lies in the fact that it may have been commissioned piece for the event marking the VI Ceremony of revolutionary song, which was held on 11 October 1980 in Bileća, where the work was primarily performed. A number of distinguished soloists performed at the ceremony and the pieces performed belonged both to popular and art music (Anon., 1980).

Chamber works of Miroslav Špiler vary in number of instruments, but mostly it comes to works for only two or few instruments. The earliest works for chamber ensembles date back to times before the beginning of his professional music career, and some of them are *Suite im alten Style* (Suite in the old style) for string orchestra, *Notturmo* (Nocturne) op. 17 for flute, oboe, tam-tam and string orchestra, and *Fantazija* (Fantasy) for violin and piano op. 12. The works exhibit mainly early Romantic characteristics, wide and sing-like melodic lines and homophonic structure. The most interesting part of this group are the compositions created after the Second World War – at time when Špiler had already reached the creative maturity. There are *Sjetni trenutak* (Melancholic moment, 1955) for flute, oboe, bass clarinet and piano, *Samotni trenutak* (Lonely moment, 1955) for flute, clarinet, French horn and piano, *Preludij* (Prelude, 1956) for trumpet and piano and *Nad Konjuh planinom* (Over the Konjuh mountain, 1982) for oboe and piano (Čavlović, 1997a; Hodžić, 2014a).

The first two pieces mentioned are examples of significant use of early Expressionist elements, while the *Preludij* for trumpet and piano however has a tonal support and tripartite form, and a clear division of leading and supporting roles between the two instruments. *Samotni trenutak* is composed for flute, clarinet, French horn and piano (Špiler, 1957b). Even by observing the performing ensemble it is evident that it is a composition where the composer tried adapting to a somewhat different composing context, although such and more daring ensembles in Europe and even in Yugoslavia at that time were not a novelty. Nonetheless, it seems that Špiler saved all his aspirations to innovation, experimentation, and the potential avant-garde orientation for works written for smaller ensembles, while *Samotni trenutak* was only the beginning (Hodžić, 2014b, 61). This piece ascertains a number of features of early Expressionism: atypical ensemble of instruments, athematic and atonal structure, changes of rhythm and meter during the piece, expressed independence of each of the lines, and the dominance of vertical in which a part consists of intervals of fourth, second and seventh, and make this work one of the reminders of the Špiler's Berlin days. Similar is the structure of *Sjetni trenutak* composed for flute, oboe, bass clarinet and piano (Špiler, 1955b).

The following year Špiler composed *Preludij*, a work in which presence of tonal centre (in C) can be traced (Špiler, 1957a). The work was conceived in tripartite form, with clear roles of the main section of the trumpet that declaims its musical material, and piano accompaniment. Musical language of this work relies on the classic means of expression, which is recognized in the way of composing the piano parts that largely benefit the interpretation of the basic degrees and pedal tones. The main melody of the trumpet with the tag of declamatory exposure of music content is rich in dynamic shading, melancholic, and somewhat elegiac. Overall the *Preludij*, both by its idea and its implementation, varies from

compositions *Sjetni trenutak i Samotni trenutak* composed a year earlier (Špiler, 1955b, 1957b).

A year later a new orchestral composition *Introdukcija i Largo* saw the light of day. The work was completed on 17th of September 1957, and premiered two years later, on April 7th (Čavlović, 1997a); performed by the Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra under the baton of Teodor Romanić. While the title indicates that the work has been composed for a chamber orchestra, the specific treatment of the chamber orchestra and an inventiveness in the use of instrumental colours give this work a lot of rich colourite which contributes to the richness of sonority. The work was written for the ensemble that in addition to the standard string and woodwind section, is enriched by a harp, 2 horns in F, trumpet in B, and the percussion section composed of: timpani in G and in D, a small drum, cymbal, tam-tam and the celesta (Špiler, 1960). *Introdukcija* uses frequent changes of pace, bringing thus the atmosphere of tension swiftly followed by indulgence, while the thematic material of *Largo* manifested through intriguing subject, is taken in the oboe section followed by a segment of wooden brass section, accompanied by harp and viola. Although *Introdukcija i Largo* consists of two units with separate structure designs, due to their performance, but also because of their motif-thematic integration, they are seen as an introduction, culmination and completion of a story told in tones.



Figure 6. *Introdukcija i Largo*, *Largo*, theme, b. 3-8

Another work written for chamber instrumental group is the *Tri kompozicije* (Three pieces) for violin and chamber orchestra. Virtuositic work was created in the period between May and September of 1970, and premiered in 1973 by violinist Miroslava Pašić (?) with the Chamber Orchestra of Radio-television Sarajevo conducted by Teodor Romanić (Špiler, 1971b; Čavlović, 1997a). *Tri kompozicije* were conceived as a work in which performing potentials of the violin as an instrument is used almost to the maximum. This work undoubtedly requires exceptional technical proficiency of the violin player, but also interpretative maturity and skill for successful dialoguing with the orchestra, so that the balance of power between the orchestra and soloist is not disturbed. Therefore, the work can be carried out only by the technically fittest soloists who can handle the demands of such acts. The first composition marked *Lento* at the start of a series exposes horizontal interval in the section of solo violin (A-A-flat-E-flat-d), while instruments from the chamber orchestral apparatus enharmonically exhibit the

same tones through vertical harmonies. Solo violin part in the first composition is constantly operating with the same set of transposed or in sequence repeated at different pitches, while the majority of the orchestra provides accompaniment chords by fourths (Hodžić, 2014b).

The second piece (*Mobile, ma non troppo*) basically operates with small interval in seconds to share the solo violin, as well as in the section of the chamber orchestra, which is being built on the musical material of this part. The third composition (*Moderato molto*) is built on the tones B-flat-A-C-B (as the homage to Johann Sebastian Bach) and the inversion interval within this motif structure B-flat-C-A-flat-A. In addition, there is a sequential operation, and dynamic contrasts. In this composition there are sudden dynamic contrasts, but not to a great degree. Rhythmically most nimble are solo violin's parts, which is reasonable having in mind the technical and interpretative demands for the soloist. Orchestra with longer note-values generally allows orchestral-coloristic supplement by duct assemblies whose components are mostly intervals like seconds, the fourth and seventh. One cannot speak of melodic lines, but rather on groups of motives and of motif units that in various ways carry out the work, which demonstrates composer's affection for composing modes learned at Schönberg with Rufer (Hodžić, 2014b).

The image displays a page of musical notation for a chamber orchestra, consisting of six staves. The notation is dense and complex, featuring various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings. Key markings include 'rit.' (ritardando), 'a tempo', 'pizz.' (pizzicato), 'arco' (arco), 'f' (forte), 'p' (piano), and 'cresc.' (crescendo). The notation is complex, with many beamed notes and slurs, indicating a fast and technically demanding piece.



Figure 7. *Tri kompozicije, Lento*, solo violin part, b. 72-104

The last work *Nad Konjuh planinom*, brings together the two most common Špiler's compositional modes, comprising opposite atonal parts with tonal conceived quote of partisan folk song. Such mode makes this work similar to *Evokacija Bilećanke* (Špiler, 1982).

Works for solo piano represent the first compositions by Miroslav Špiler, and a very small part of them came in the later stages of his education and musical activities. These compositions are characterized by brevity, simplicity of structure, formal neatness and elements of virtuosity in the right hand. Although earlier research has not determined whether these Špiler's compositions were previously publicly performed, they certainly have a historical significance since they were his first attempts to deal with the artistic composition.⁹

The vocal works represent Špiler's artistic vision formed preferably through musical shaping of folk song texts. Thus, the group of works created while studying composition at Bersa (between 1922 and 1926), mostly utilises text templates based on folk poetry, shaping them in a short and attractive works of homophonic structure. Such works are *Dječja pjesma* (Children's Song), *Djetetu u zipci* (To a Child in the Cradle), *Romantična pjesma* (Romantic Song), *Alkačmere*, and others. Vocal works with ideologically-oriented themes were composed during and after the Second World War. Such pieces are *Drug Tito* (Comrade Tito, 1943), *Pjesma Krntijaša* (The Song of Krntijaš, 1943) *Mitraljeza* (Machine Gun Song, 1943), *Majka pravoslavna* (Orthodox Mother, 1944), *Zaziv* (The Calling, 1944) and *Nek se čuje* (Omladinska; Let it be heard –The Youth Song, 1944) (Hodžić, 2014b).

Vocal-instrumental works by Miroslav Špiler can be described as an array of works made for performing ensembles of different size and it encompass a wide range of compositions intended for a voice and an instrument, to works for chorus and orchestra. A large number of works for chorus and orchestra was written for events which praised the socialist ruling system. Such compositions

⁹ Among those first work are dignified *Chorale* (Koral) op. 1, probably Špiler's first written work, unnamed piece marked as op. 2, *Etude pour le cinquieme doigt* (Etude for the fifth finger) op. 3 written as instructive drill for fifth finger, *Mazurka* op. 4, *Carillon* op. 5 based on broken triads, *Sanjarija* op. 6 br. 1 (Dream op. 6 no. 1), *Impromptu* op. 7, *Kleine Invention* (Small invention) op. 9, *Etude* op. 10 no. 1, theme with two short variations marked as op. 11, no. 1 and no. 2 titled as *Jugoslawischer Tanz* (Yugoslavian dance) (Hodžić, 2014b, 25).

have mostly punctuated rhythm, homophonic structure, simple harmonic structure and formal design, the general feeling that gives joy, excitement, pride, sadness, or mourning for the fallen heroes. In such works there are *Posmrtna pjesma* (Posthumous song, 1943), *Himna FNRJ* (Hymn of the FNRJ, 1947), *Pjesma slobodi* (Song to Freedom, 1959), *Pjesma Dana mladosti* (Song of Youth Day, 1960), *Pjesma slobodnoj domovini* (Song to the Free Homeland, 1962), and *Put bratstva* (The Path of Brotherhood, 1966) (Hodžić, 2014b).

However, Špiler's vocal-instrumental opus also encompasses works that are facing new-fangled compositional flows, and these are: two of the triptych on the texts of the Spanish poet Federico Garcia Lorca (1898–1936) for solo voice and orchestra: *Tri pjesme za srednji glas i simfonijski orkestar* (Three songs for middle range voice and symphonic orchestra, 1967–69), *Tri pjesme za duboki muški glas i simfonijski orkestar* (Three songs for a deep range male voice and symphony orchestra, 1976–78); *Dijalog* (Dialogue, 1971) for a soprano and violin, *Trijalog* (Triologue, 1972) for a soprano, violin and piano, and *Tri pjesme za visoki ženski glas i klavir* (Three songs for high female voice and piano) by Garcia Lorca (1974). In *Dijalog* and *Trijalog*, Špiler turns to atonality, or tonality extended to the limit (Špiler, 1971a; Špiler, 1972).



Figure 8. *Dijalog*, b. 12-19

Works created on texts by the great Spanish poet still have somewhat of a ground in a tonal line, with a number of chromatic shifts, with the inevitable and dramatic tension that is required in presenting the text content (Špiler, 1969; Špiler, 1974; Špiler, 1980b). However, in *Dijalog* and *Trijalog*, Špiler goes even further by creating atonal work with vertical circuits that are reminiscent of early Expressionist sounding composers of the Second Viennese School. In addition, although the vocal part uses vowels only, Špiler did not make innovations in the voice part as early expressionists previously did. Even in his boldest works Špiler remains faithful supporter of proven compositional recipes, using abundant contrapuntal procedures, while the vocal part remains in the domain of the tradition of its use.

Musical language of Miroslav Špiler can be defined best as a combination of compositional elements of late Romanticism and Impressionism with the ideas of socialist realism, with occasional early Expressionist procedures (Čavlović, 2011; Hodžić, 2014b).

Situation of the performing activity in Sarajevo in period 1945-1992, and from 1995 until today

After the end of the Second World War, Bosnia and Herzegovina, as part of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, has undergone a significant transformation, and with the help of post-war reconstruction has risen from the ashes. Sarajevo, as its capital in the post-war years has gotten many rather significant educational and artistic institutions such as The State Secondary Music School (1945), National Gallery of Bosnia and Herzegovina (1946), National Archive of Bosnia and Herzegovina (1947), University (1950), Academy of Music (1955), The Academy of Arts and Sciences, and many other institutions (Čavlović, 2011, 158-9). It is also important to note that as of 1945 the funding for culture would have been doubled in every five years, which certainly created a favourable cultural climate. As a result, the seventies and eighties of the 20th century in Bosnia and Herzegovina were the golden age when it comes to development of culture and arts in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Čavlović, 2011).

Culture and arts have enjoyed high status, even though they were politically and ideologically controlled by Self-governing-interest's communities (SIZ). The revolutionary type culture is strongly stimulated, and the works with themes glorifying the national liberation war, national heroes and the revolution, were especially desirable, but they also served as proof of loyalty of artist to the governing system. In the music art this period is primarily viewed through two segments, namely composing, and music infrastructure (Čavlović, 2011, 161). In relation to this "an essential asset is the Composers' Association of Bosnia

and Herzegovina, established in 1950, which operated until 1992, and the more extensive production and performing of the local composers' works which became a permanent task of local artists. Notable performances of this kind were achieved on the *Panel of musical creativity* in Opatija, and the *Danima muzičkog stvaralaštva BiH* (Days of the Bosnian and Herzegovinian Musical Creativity) in several cities (Čavlović, 2011, 254).

It was after the Second World War that almost all the major performing institutions got established and have developed their activity. Opera and Ballet of the National Theatre in Sarajevo were established in 1946, Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra was re-constituted in 1948, and the Sarajevo Radio-television Symphony Orchestra was formed in 1957. This orchestra is largely responsible for a large number of recorded performances of both the Bosnian, and foreign composers. Unfortunately, the departure of the permanent conductor Berislav Skenderović (?) was followed by departures of most of the musicians, and thus the orchestra has stopped working.

The significance of performances by Sarajevo Radio-television Symphony Orchestra in works by Miroslav Špiler, will best demonstrate the following list (according to Čavlović, 1997b):

WORK	CONDUCTOR	DATE	LOCATION
<i>Introdukcija i Largo</i> (<i>Introduction and Largo</i>)	Dragiša Savić	11.1.1963.	Sarajevo
	Miroslav Špiler	23.4.1963.	Sarajevo
	Julio Marić	25.2.1978.	Zagreb
<i>Praznična skica</i> (<i>Holiday Sketch</i>)	Radivoj Spasić	12.1963.	Sarajevo
	Ivan Štajcer	5.1976.	Sarajevo
	Julio Marić	11.4.1979.	Sarajevo
<i>Ciklus pjesama za mezosopran i orkestar - praizvedba</i> , (<i>Cycle of songs for mezzosoprano and orchestra – first performance</i>) soloist Blaga Videc	Teodor Romanić	2.11.1970.	Sarajevo
		11.1970.	Opatija
<i>Tri kompozicije za violinu i orkestar</i> (<i>Three pieces for violin and orchestra - first performance</i>), soloist Miroslava Pašić	Teodor Romanić	2.11.1970.	Sarajevo
		11.1970.	Opatija
<i>Tema s pet transfiguracija</i> (<i>Theme with five transfigurations</i>)	Julio Marić	10.1.1980.	Bileća
<i>Evokacija Bilećanke</i> (<i>Evocation on a theme of Bilećanka</i>)	Julio Marić	11.10.1980.	Bileća
<i>Mitrovčanka</i> (rework)	Julio Marić	11.10.1980.	Bileća
<i>Drug Tito</i> (<i>Comrade Tito</i>)	Julio Marić	11.10.1980.	Bileća

Table 1. List of performances of Miroslav Špiler's works performed by the Sarajevo Radio-television Symphony Orchestra

Ensembles which were also very important at the time include *Sarajevo String Quartet* and *Sarajevo Baroque Trio* (1974), and the ensembles to perform new music namely *Momus* (1972), and *Masmantra* (1977), whose task was performing contemporary and new music primarily by the Bosnian composers. In regards to choral ensembles, there is a noteworthy Radio Choir of Radio and Television Sarajevo, founded in 1947 (Čavlović, 2011).

In addition to the professional ones, there is a large number of amateur ensembles that have actively worked in Sarajevo. The work and effect of these ensembles is important for two reasons:

“(...) the first – the domestic (Bosnia and Herzegovina and Yugoslavia) composers got new works composed for these ensembles, which enriched the holdings of artworks with new pieces; the second, because these ensembles assembled a large number of musicians which enriched musical life in sense of the quantity, but gradually also in quality level that culminated in the mid-70s of last century, when the musical life in Bosnia and Herzegovina, especially in Sarajevo, held the artistically equal status with other large Yugoslav cultural centres.” (Čavlović, 2011, 253)

In addition, there are two festivals which were important for the development of Bosnian and Herzegovinian art music: *Sarajevske večeri muzike*, known as SVEM (*Sarajevo Evenings of Music*, from 1972 to 1990) and *Dani muzičkog stvaralaštva BiH* (1985–1990).

After a period between 1992 and 1995, which is marked by war destruction of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the siege of Sarajevo, socially divided, economically ruined, culturally crippled state had to re-built from the ashes. In terms of musical life, it is musical infrastructure that suffered the most, especially music institutions. Out of the three symphony orchestras in Sarajevo, only one remained – the incomplete Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra; about three hundred musicians had left from Sarajevo, while at the Music Academy out of the 45 pre-war teachers and full-time employed staff remained only 18 (Čavlović, 2011, 281). In addition to the Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra – as the only one in nowadays Sarajevo, and several choral ensembles existing, it is important to mention the concert activities of the Music Academy, whose choir and orchestra have strong performances recorded. The festival activity recently records a significant increase, especially worth emphasizing is the Sarajevo Chamber Music Festival (founded in 2011), and *Majske muzičke svečanosti* (*May Music Festival*, 2008), both festival being organized by the Academy of Music. Musicological Society of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, established in 1997, repeatedly seeks to promote the performance of the existing and the creation of new works by composers from Bosnia and Herzegovina, when the financial situation and objective factors allow.

Anniversary of the composer's birth, or death, is always a good occasion to remind and analyse the state of their legacy to future generations. In the cultural environment of post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina, which is even twenty years after the end of the war destruction trying to raise the social and political sense so as to focus on the right way, expecting a well-functioning segment of culture becomes too great of an expectation. Therefore, the real question is whether it is possible to maintain the continuity of the remembrance on the artists without whom the account of Bosnian composition would be much poorer. This question refers to the issue of performing works by Miroslav Špiler, whose creative opus, as previously explained, is a gem of orchestral art music. That statement also holds the answer to the question why there are no more performances of Špiler's works. In the current cultural environment of Sarajevo, Sarajevo institutions that can give orchestral performances of his works are the Academy of Music, and the Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra. While it is much easier to organize a concert of chamber music, in case of Špiler's opus – his chamber works, as well as vocal and vocal-instrumental pieces are not his most successful ones, while his ideologically inspired works, due to the current social and political context, turn out to be obsolete. In view of these findings, what remains are mostly orchestral and chamber orchestral works. In case of Špiler, quite often due to large instrumental apparatus, as well as significant demands put on performers, the pieces are not very easy to perform, however the audio recordings from past times remind us that it would very much be worth the effort.

Conclusion

Miroslav Špiler, a composer and a pedagogist, has left an indelible mark in the history of Bosnia-Herzegovina's music with his compositional, pedagogical and social work. He left his complete opus to the Academy of Music, and all of his compositions have been kept as autograph, printed edition or soundtrack. Špiler's opus includes about 70 orchestral, chamber, vocal and vocal-instrumental works. Apart from some early works available today only in the form of autograph, Špiler's works were performed in the period after the Second World War by the most active artists at the time, chamber and orchestra ensembles such as the Sarajevo Radio Symphony Orchestra and the Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra. In spite of Špiler's work, some of the dominant characteristics of his compositional language, as well as the propensity for the orchestra as the media in which Špiler-composer expressed the most pronounced, were determined. Špiler's orchestral works, which would certainly make very interesting performances are: *Vasilisa Zlatokosa*, *Praznična skica*, *Introdukcija i Largo*, *Simfonija u dva stava*, *Opsesija* and *Tema sa pet transfiguracija*. After 1995, unfortunately, no performance of Špiler's works has been recorded, which is alarming but also suggests the possible

answers. The resulting answer can be summarized in the fact that from today's perspective not all of Špiler's works are neither equally relevant, nor artistically important, as well as that most important, orchestral works are not always easy to perform, having in mind the breadth of the performing apparatus and demanding playing parts. Additionally, in today's Bosnian cultural environment, the biggest problem is the lack of incentives to perform the works of Bosnian-Herzegovinian composers whenever possible, and consequently, some of the anniversaries, such as Špiler's, pass without adequate content.

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NICOLÒ VITO DI GOZZE (NIKOLA VITOV GUČETIĆ, 1549–1610) AND THE ROLE OF MUSIC IN RENAISSANCE DUBROVNIK

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Abstract: Renaissance politician and philosopher Nicolò Vito di Gozze treated music subjects in three among his works: *Dialogo della bellezza* (*Dialogue on Beauty*, 1581), *Governo della famiglia* (*The Governing of the Family*, 1589) and *Dello stato delle republiche* (*On the State of the Republics*, 1591). Although in these works Gozze mentioned music in a number of shorter passages, it is possible to perceive three larger topics he discussed in more detail: musical instruments, musico-theoretical ideas and the functions and effects of music. Gozze's thoughts on music had been mostly influenced by ancient Greek thinkers, Plato and Aristotle, thus Gozze pointed out the importance of role of music in society, especially within the educational system and the process of learning.

Key words: Renaissance; Dubrovnik; Nicolò Vito di Gozze.

Introduction

The Dubrovnik Renaissance intellectuals displayed vivid interest in various areas of culture covering a broad spectrum of topics and themes (e.g. philosophy, pedagogy, politics, ethics, literature, arts etc.) among which they regarded musical issues as highly important. This paper presents thoughts on music by the prominent Dubrovnik intellectual Nicolò Vito di Gozze (the modern Croatian version: Nikola Vitov Gučetić, 1549–1610). Gozze was a man of letters, theologian, philosopher, jurist, politician, pedagogue and a member of the Academy *Dei Concordi* (in Dubrovnik Croatian dialect: *Akademija složnijeh*), the learned society in which some of the outstanding Dubrovnik intellectuals gathered to discuss artistic, philosophical and literary issues. Although no direct proofs on musical activities within the Academy have been found yet, it should be assumed with great certainty that music made part of discussions at its gatherings. This claim can be supported by thoughts on music which originate from the works by two of its most important members: the first one is Nicolò Vito di Gozze, who treated music subjects in three among his works: *Dialogo della bellezza* (*Dialogue on Beauty*, 1581), *Governo della famiglia* (*The Governing of the Family*, 1589) and *Dello stato delle republiche* (*On the State of the Republics*, 1591), while the second one is Michele (Miho) Monaldi (1540–1592), Dubrovnik

poet and philosopher whose work *Irene, ovvero della bellezza* (Venice, 1599) is considered to be the first aesthetic treatise in Croatia (Tuksar, 2004, 4-8).

Regarding the practical aspects of music production in Renaissance Dubrovnik, the most important activity was exercised by musicians of the Duke's Chapel, formed already as a small group of winds at the very beginning of the 14th century and existing up to the beginning of the 19th century. Throughout the full five centuries, Dubrovnik continuously gave socio-political and financial support to its official city and state music, which could well be considered as a unique phenomenon in the history of Croatian and European music-making. Musicians of the Duke's Chapel were under strict control of the Duke, or the governing body of the Republic called the Small Council, with which they would conclude a one-year contract for their services in the Duke's Chapel. Musicians were primarily at the disposition to the Duke, but also to Dubrovnik population at large, no matter of their social and property status, so everyone could enjoy its aesthetic values during occasional festive performances of sacred music in the Cathedral and St Blasius church. Namely, those performances were financially backed by the State. Beside their obligations in the Duke's Chapel in Dubrovnik, some among its musicians also went abroad, giving guest performances, especially at the neighbouring courts of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Some of the musicians occasionally also performed music outside of official duties, in private arrangements, such as wedding ceremonies, and various other family celebrations. Archival data furnish information on some 20 musicians active in the Chapel during the 16th century, among whom the most important seemed to have been the Franko-Flemish instrumentalists and composers from the Courtoys family: Lambert the Elder (active 1554–1570), his son Henryk (1573–1629), and also later his grandson Lambert the Younger (active 1621–1664) (Demović, 1981, 69-141).

Gozze was held in high esteem by his contemporaries, being elected seven times to the position of Dubrovnik Duke. Thus his ideas on music and culture in general could be considered as widely shared and accepted among the Dubrovnik intellectuals of his time. Gozze spent his entire life in Dubrovnik and many of his ideas on music seem to have been inspired and thus to have originated from his experience of the living music practice of his town. This goes back even to his childhood: he himself reported that he personally participated at an early age in performances of works by Marin Držić (1508–1567), the most famous 16th-century Dubrovnik playwright. In his work *Dello stato delle repubbliche Gozze* wrote:

"The fact that such music can always comfort our souls ... I myself have experienced at large; because when in my company there were invited to present the most noble acts in comedies and tragedies, in order that my nature be not

frightened of such scenes I commanded ... to cheerfully play trumpets and other winds; and, furthermore, I had performed this role at my most tender age to the greatest satisfaction of the author himself, Marino Darxa, and the spectators; so that I have, along with treatises, personally experienced enough – as earlier mentioned – in how music is in harmony with our soul.” (Gučetić, 2000, 414).

Although Gozze did not specify which play was in question, from this quote it is clear that he actively participated – by playing a wind instrument – in performance of musical number in one of Držić’s comedies (Jurić, 2012, 178-179).

It is well-known that the forming of ideas among Renaissance thinkers was widely influenced by both Plato and Aristotle, resulting in specific forms of Neo-Platonism and Neo-Aristotelism. Taken generally, it could be stated that Gozze’s approach and the methods used manifest a link or even a compound of Neo-Aristotelism and Neo-Platonism. Regarding Gozze’s thoughts on music, it is possible to perceive three larger topics he discusses in more detail: musical instruments, musico-theoretical ideas and the functions and effects of music.

1) Musical instruments

From Gozze’s writings on music it can be concluded that he was well acquainted with musical instruments in general. In spite of his general Platonic-Aristotelian orientation in his discussion on instruments he also introduced contemporary elements. In the passages where Gozze discusses musical topics he mostly concentrates on two musical instruments: cithara and lyre. Gozze uses several different Italian terms to denote cithara: *citara* (*Dialogo della bellezza*), *cetera* (*Governo della famiglia*) and *cetra* (*Dello stato delle repubbliche*), while in Croatian translations of his works only one term is used – *citra*. However, this term is not appropriate in this context since it is associated to a traditional instrument which is characteristic for Croatian counties of Međimurje and Podravina, thus more appropriate term in the context of Gozze’s discussion of instruments would be *citara*. In Croatian lexicography [e.g. Jakov Mikalja, *Blago jezika slovinskoga* (Loreto 1649 – Ancona 1651); Ivan Belostenec, *Gazophylacium, seu latino-illyricorum onomatum aerarium Gazophylacium illyrico-latinum* (Zagreb 1740); Andrija Jambrešić, *Lexicon Latinum Interpretatione Illyrica, Germanica, Et Hungarica* (Zagreb 1742) (cf. Tuksar, 1992, 235)] the term *citara* is associated with two meanings: the first one is applied to the kithara from the Antiquity, while the second one is related to the cittern, an instrument from the Modern Age (Tuksar, 1992, 256). It is possible that Gozze under Italian terms *citara* (*Dialogo della bellezza*), *cetera* (*Governo della famiglia*) and *cetra* (*Dello stato delle repubbliche*) sometimes had in mind the first meaning, and sometimes the second

one. This second option is plausible especially if we take into consideration the fact that Gozze was aware of the development and progress of musical instruments which happened in the late Renaissance (Munrow, 1976, 22-23). During the Renaissance the cittern was mainly associated to lower classes and has been used in barber's shops to amuse the waiting customers. On the other hand, Vincenzo Galilei wrote that 16th century citterns from Brescia were popular among the nobility and that they possibly represented a revival of the antique kithara (Munrow, 1976, 80-81).

In his work *Dialogo della bellezza* Gozze made a comparison between cithara and human body in order to illustrate the preliminary process a man has to go through so he could receive beauty. Gozze describes necessity of tuning cithara's strings in order to produce beautiful sound, thus comparing that process with the preparation of a body before receiving beauty:

"...things which do not receive the perfection in the same order are not prepared for that in the same way; thus it is necessary that human body, before it receives beauty, is well prepared in the accordance of four elements, or moods, however we might name them; because never has an un-tuned cithara produced beautiful sound; our soul is also ready to receive the beauty and grace only when it forsakes the concern over body and removes sensuality from itself; just as gold needs to be cleaned from earthly ugliness in order to shine." (Gučetić, 1995, 89).

Later in the same work Gozze once again points out that harmony of cithara's strings is a very important precondition in accomplishment of musical harmony:

"And if we see and realize with intellect that beauty of voices and object of sight consist of certain proportions, or accordance (for without them it is indeed impossible to say that that an object is entirely beautiful), we must imagine that, since the moods within us are similar to the strings of a cithara [cithara], the beauty of our body is caused by their temperature, just as the proportion of cithara's strings causes harmony." (Gučetić, 1995, 109).

In his work *Governo della famiglia* Gozze put cithara in the context of practical music making in order to emphasise the importance of musical activities in every stage of life:

"In the same way was music, which is so highly recommended by elderly, always necessary to young people, like I already said, for it always had the power of soothing the emotions of our soul and encouraging us to do anything. (...) And Socrates, knowing the power and nobleness of music, despite being sixty years old, was not ashamed to learn at this mature age how to play lyre and cithara and other string instruments [la lira, e la cetera, & altri stromenti di corda]." (Gučetić, 1998, 255).

Gozze will repeat this argument in almost identical manner at the end of his work *Dello stato delle repubbliche* (1591):

“If Socrates, knowing the power and nobleness of music, at the mature age of sixty years, was not ashamed to learn how to play lyre and cithara and other string instruments [la lira, e la cetera, & altri stromenti di corda], who in the world would dare to be ashamed of learning this heavenly (to say so) harmony?” (Gučetić, 2000, 417).

The fact that Gozze used the same argument in two of his works underlines the importance he ascribed to the practice of musical activities at old age and also separates him from Plato’s opinion according to which the practical music making was exclusively intended for younger generations.

From these quotes it is apparent that Gozze almost regularly associates lyre with cithara. The only time he mentioned lyre separately from cithara was in his elaboration of educational system: “Plato (...) determined (...) that after those efforts [learning – op. M. J. J.] they [children – op. M. J. J.] should learn how to play the lyre [la lira], for comfort of soul and emotions.” (Gučetić, 1998, 187). It is clear that Gozze refers to the educational system from the Antiquity in which singing and simultaneously playing the lyre was one of the most important parts.

Gozze considered other instruments exclusively in his work *Dello stato delle repubbliche*, thereby showing his inclination towards instrumental music. Given the fact that Gozze was active in the second half of the 16th and the first decade of the 17th century, the period in which intensive development of instrumental music occurred, his attitude is also possible to interpret as his accordance with the latest tendencies in music of his time. In the first classification Gozze divided instruments in two groups: *old* instruments and *modern* instruments. In the group of *old* instruments Gozze included string and wind instruments from the Antiquity and the Middle ages with short description of each of them:

“We are not completely acquainted with old instruments [antichi istrumenti], such as fistula, tibia, barbiton, heptagone, organistrum, sambuca [fistole, tibie, barbetti, eptagoni, sinfonie, sambuci], some thought that fistula and tibia [la fistole, e Tibia] were similar to trumpet [una Tromba], or according to Javello (...) like cornamuse [corna Musa], which we usually call fife [Pifaro]; barbiton [la Barbita] is quite unknown instrument, and this scholar thought heptagone [Eptagoni] was a seven-sided instrument with seven strings; he described sambuca [i sambuci] as instrument with two large strings which produced low and loud sound.” (Gučetić, 2000, 416).

After describing *old* instruments, Gozze proceeded to *modern* instruments which were used in the Renaissance, and divided them according to the criteria of their appropriateness to noblemen:

“...if we adapt to our present-day instruments [gl’istrumenti de i tempi nostri], in comparison to ancient instruments [gl’istrumenti antichi], let us tell you that trumpets, pan-pipes, cornamuse, cornets, flutes, trombones, sordun and similar [instruments] [Trombe, Piferi, Corna Muse, Cornetti, Fiauti, Tromboni, Sordine, & simili], are not suitable – according to Aristotle – to a nobleman; because, in playing them by inflating, chests become breathless, and owing to the efforts in breathing the face becomes very ugly. If anyone deserved praise for this instruments, it is their inventor, Phineas for fistula [fistola], Apollo for tibia [la tibia], Tyrrhenians for trumpets [le trombe], and according to some Phrygians for tibias [le tibie].” (Gučetić, 2000, 416).

Gozze considered wind instruments (trumpet, cornet, flute, trombone, sordun) to be inappropriate for members of high society. Opposed to wind instruments, Gozze considered string instruments (viol and lute) and keyboard instruments (harpsichord) to be appropriate for noblemen, once more showing that he was well acquainted with the contemporary development of instruments:

“... as distinguished from these, (...), viol, lute and harpsichord [la Viola il Liuto, & il Grauecimballo] are considered to be very honourable and pleasant [instruments] for both young and elderly people. Harpsichord [il Grauecimballo] is more recommended for the elderly than young people, for them are viol and lute [la Viola, & il Liuto] very suitable for refreshment of the spirit, when they are gracefully used after hard work, singing to their accompaniment a canzone, sonnet, Tuscany stanza or something similar, which mentions Alexander Piccolomini.” (Gučetić, 2000, 417).

Gozze’s selection of instruments which are suitable for noblemen was probably influenced by Castiglione, since he also in his work *The Book of the Courtier* (*Il libro del cortegiano*) emphasised that the best kind of music is the one produced by string and keyboard instruments:

“Beautiful music is (...) singing upon the book surely and after a good sort. But to sing to the lute is much better, because all the sweetness consisteth in one alone, and a man is much more heedful and understandeth better the feat manner and the air or vein of it when the ears are not busied in hearing any more than one voice... But singing to the lute with the ditty (methink) is more pleasant than the rest, for it addeth to the words such a grace and strength that it is a great wonder. Also all keyboard instruments are full of harmony, because the tunes of them are very perfect, and with ease a man may do many things upon them that fill the mind with the sweetness of music. And a music of a set of viols doth no less delight a man, for it is very sweet and artificial.” (Castiglione, 1986, 90-91).

2) Musico-theoretical ideas

If we compare passages in which Gozze treated musico-theoretical ideas it is obvious that his attention is predominantly dedicated to modes, while he discusses harmony and (especially) rhythm in a far lesser extent. From Gozze's selection of the modes it is obvious that his role model was Aristotle. Namely, in his works Gozze does not mention all modes, but just points out Dorian, Phrygian and Lydian as three chief modes:

"The art of music is divided in three parts [tre parti]; the first one is Phrygian, and it moves our spirit towards rage and vehemence, which encouraged Lacedemonians to take weapons against Cretans, and also Timotheus when he rose against Alexander; that kind of music [à questa specie di Musica] is opposed by another, Lydian, whose singing easily returned from the rage and vehemence those who were infuriated by the first kind; the third one is Dorian, which led and stimulated emotions of a soul to seriousness and modesty, with such efficiency and strength that it was almost impossible and difficult to the ones who heard it to steer their soul towards impure or evil act." (Gučetić, 1995, 115).

Gozze describes Phrygian and Lydian as two completely opposite modes and denotes Phrygian mode as the one which excites men, while Lydian has contrary, relaxing effect. Gozze presented Dorian mode as a completely separate category, a central mode which has the highest value, supporting his claim by listing examples from the Greek mythology which illustrate ancient Greek belief in the power of modes concerning their influence on human behaviour, i.e. on human emotions. Gozze also mentioned modes outside the context of their impact on human beings, in his discussion on political philosophy, comparing them to political systems:

"I answer you ... that the city is not going to change because of the change itself, but it will change because of the change of the political system; because of this shift in systems from one to another the city's organization will change too, as also happens with harmonies [nelle armonie] where, if the order of voices changes, the very harmonies change, too. Because of their different systems they bore different names in ancient times: Dorian, Frygian, or some other [hor la doria, hor la frigia, hor altrimenti]." (Gučetić, 2000, 194).

Gozze took over this idea from Aristotle who in his work *Politics* listed two main political systems and two kinds of melodies:

"...since certain collectiveness is state/city, and collectiveness of citizens is in the social system, when social system changes its form and becomes different it seems that political system changes too, as well as the city, same as the comic choir is different from the tragic one, although they both consist of the same

people; in similar way every other collectiveness and accordance is different, if the form of that accordance is different, as we say that the harmony of same sounds is different when it is sometimes Dorian and sometimes Phrygian” (Aristotel, 1992, 1276b1-10).

Plato also discussed introduction of changes in the political system and innovations in music, but in a negative context:

“Let us say briefly, that this is what state administrators should follow: preventing the change of a state without their knowledge, above all not to allow introduction of innovations in the gymnastics and music education, since it needs to maintain the same. Thus when someone says that people listen most attentively to the song ‘which, when they are singing, sounds completely new to them’ they should be afraid and especially careful, lest anyone thought, that the poet is not singing new songs but the new manner of a song, and lest anyone praise that. And this should not be praised nor received. Because one needs to be careful and avoid making new music, regarding that it is jeopardy for everyone. Namely, if musical laws change anywhere, the biggest laws of the state will change as well...” (Platon, 1997, 424b4-c6).

In his works Gozze treated harmony from several different aspects. First, in the context of defining beauty Gozze interpreted harmony in general as coherency of constituent parts of an object, thus in the case of music that meant the interrelationship between the constituent parts of music, i.e. sounds:

“...the ear itself does not enjoy anything as much as the musical harmony [l’armonia della Musica]. Just as the noise, carrying fear in itself, prompts cowards to escape, so the harmony of sounds [suoni armonici] moves our souls towards the pleasure of beauty” (Gučetić, 1995, 83-85).

Secondly, in the context of Pythagorean concept of harmony of numbers, Gozze made an analogy between musical harmony and the mathematical order of the universe:

“Because of that we should believe that the art of music came down from the choir of blissful angels, since the sound of music captivates our soul more with divine, than with earthly beauty: thus Plato believes that our soul consists of certain harmony of numbers [numeri armonici]; hence he says well in his dialogue *Sophist*, that our life seeks certain accordance of numbers [numerosa consonanza] and that studying of music should be placed above all other studies.” (Gučetić, 1995, 83-85).

Thirdly, Gozze believes that harmony is also very important constituent part of music within educational system:

“For education of the children and their learning our Philosopher suggests four well known subjects, and those are: literature, gymnastics, music and painting.

(...) ...music includes harmony, vocal as well as instrumental [soto la Musica, l'armonia cosi vocale, comi ogne sorte d'istrumeti]." (Gučetić, 2000, 407).

Finally, in Gozze's opinion harmony is the element of music which has strong influence on human emotions and a positive effect on human health:

"Musical harmony can actually calm down and touch human soul, which is proved by the example of Pythagoras's pupil Alexander the Great, as well as Gaius Gracchus, whose passions it constrained and eased." (Gučetić, 2000, 414).

"And if harmony saved the Romans from the deadly plague, when satires were sung for recovery, why shouldn't we heal our souls, too, with its help, if the soul has always been considered more divine than human and if the bodily accord and harmony are maintained by the harmony of spiritual powers and passions?" (Gučetić, 2000, 414-415).

In Gozze's writings on music it is the category of rhythm that is least elaborated and practically neglected since Gozze mentioned it shortly only in his discussion on musical instruments. We can only speculate about his reasons for not analysing rhythm in more detail. Thus it is possible to assume that Gozze simply did not regard rhythm as a separate element of music which can be isolated from other categories, i.e. modes and harmony, and perhaps he considered it only as a part of music as a whole (Gučetić, 2000, 414).

3) The Functions and effects of music: *paideia* and leisure

When writing about functions and effects of music Gozze always puts it into the same context – the *paideia*. As is well known, the notion of *paideia* in ancient Greece referred not only to education and learning, but also to the totality of the cultural and ethical experience. Thus, the formal process of learning in its meaning today should be understood only as its initial stage (Mathiesen, 2001). *Paideia* was also closely related to the theory of *ethos*, a concept that connected music and education in a particular way (Anderson and Mathiesen, 2001). The belief in its special powers for developing good or evil in man consequently produced the idea of submitting music to strict control.

Gozze's discussion on *paideia* and music education actually represents a certain critique of contemporary society in Dubrovnik that apparently lived extravagantly and neglected education of children (Perić, 1964, 18-36). In his works Gozze on several occasions expressed his discontent with the attitude of his fellow citizens towards education (e.g. Gučetić, 1998, 67, 215; Gučetić 2000, 126-127). In his later works Gozze approached the issue of music primarily from the standpoint of a practical politician. However, even within the context of

treating the manners of governing a city, he sets music apart as having a special importance in education and learning. Gozze also advocates the establishment of the best among political systems, considering that this system could be maintained only by avoiding any subsequent changes, and he explains his attitude by drawing an analogy between political systems and musical concords (Gučetić, 2000, 194). Gozze's negative attitude towards innovations and his insisting on the needs of equal education and learning could be traced back to Plato (Jurić, 2011, 38-39). He considered education and learning to be directed always towards the benefits of the state, and not to anybody's personal advantage. Plato insisted that changes and innovations should be avoided within educational system and music (Platon, 1997, 424b4-c6).

Unlike Plato, who in his discussion on music wanted to repress individual inclinations in the context of *paideia* in order to achieve uniformed homogeneous society, Gozze on several occasions in his works pointed out the importance of individual inclinations within the educational process:

"...in order to learn virtue we need benevolence of nature, because everything we learn through receiving, we learn according to nature; our bodies differ from the wild animals, thus our souls are different from theirs, and also our natural aspirations and inclinations towards sciences and humanities will be different, and by that natural inclinations we differ among ourselves, since everyone is given distinct structure. Proper activity needs practice, which has such strength that it can resist nature itself (...) Our nature often guides us towards good or evil act, but habit and firm custom deflect it in one direction or in the other. (...) Habit always shows its power among people, for its natural strength is expressed among unreasonable creatures who do not listen much to reason, but when they are guided by reason and discipline they become obedient among people." (Gučetić, 2000, 393).

Gozze almost regularly mentions the term *inclination* along with the term *habit*, for he thought that only through consistent practice of certain habits it was possible to repress possible negative inclinations, and also to develop the abilities enabled by positive innate inclinations.

Gozze took over from Aristotle the notion of music as a multifunctional phenomenon, pointing out that music has other purposes besides *paideia*, and those are rest, entertainment and pleasure. In this context Gozze also discussed the Aristotelian term *leisure*:

"...I am not following the opinion of ancient [authors] who thought it [music] is essential to children for development of hearing, nor the ones who thought it was necessary for habituation of the mind, so that due to harmony it recognizes concordance among things, thus they wanted to strengthen a soul of a child through harmony of singing and playing of instruments. I am following ... the

idea of our Philosopher [i.e. Aristotle], believing that music should preoccupy our souls in a kind and pleasant manner in tranquillity and leisure time, having a beneficial power to fulfil leisure time when we are not obliged to take care of important issues. Thus, in order to be able to live in a praiseworthy way [...] children should also be taught the art of music, which was not included in the liberal arts without reason by ancient philosophers, because it helps us to spend leisure time in a correct and non-contaminated way. But, along with being indispensable it is also manifoldly appropriate, because it offers by its nature great embellishment to governing and benefit to the state of mind, as music by its influence incites various emotions in souls..." (Gučetić, 2000, 407-408).

Gozze considers that the most important function of music lays within leisure, and places his platonic attitude, i.e. the function of music in the process of creating proper habits, at a somewhat lower level. It is interesting to note that Gozze also mentioned leisure time in a negative context, arguing it is the greatest enemy of *paideia*, being thus its contrast. Gozze considers leisure and *paideia* as two complete separated fields – the first one intended only for adults, and the second one for childhood – but Gozze also believes that engaging in musical activities within educational system is an important precondition for musical activities a person will engage in during its maturity (cf. Gučetić, 1998, 91, 235).

In his earliest printed work, *Dialogo della bellezza* (1581), Gozze treated music in a somewhat different manner than in his later works. In this work music is primarily presented as one of the ways by which the soul is raised towards beauty, although already in this work the background would point to music education, too. In this work we can also perceive elements of music education, in the passage Gozze discusses what we would call today "the female or feminist issue", for Gozze explicitly puts the question whether it is at all permissible for women to be taught music. This topic logically followed from the discussion on the Aristotelian idea of music as pleasure and entertainment, according to which dealing with music was inconsistent with the honesty of women:

"... I would only like to tell you that there was some disagreement between the Platonists and some Peripathetics on the issue of whether a woman or a girl be allowed to know music; those Peripathetics were saying that it was not allowed, because music and honesty rarely matched together, being enemies. But Platonists and true Peripathetics were thinking in a different way, i.e. that music was suitable to a beautiful woman, and that was well shown by Agostino Sessa, who – following Aristotle, the king of the Peripathetic teaching, who in the eighth chapter of his *Politics*, wanting to teach the civilized man music, poetry, painting and military skills – said that for noble men, since they spend most of their lives in honest leisure time, the above-mentioned skills are necessary at large; thus for all honest women, who [also] spend most of their lives in honest leisure time, the art of music would be even more suitable." (Gučetić, 1995, 113-115).

In this short passage Gozze touched upon the issue of the position of women in [Dubrovnik] society, offering a modern attitude in advocating women to be permitted to deal with music.

Conclusion

From the analysis of the three works by Niccolò Vito di Gozze it is apparent that his thoughts on music were influenced primarily by Plato and Aristotle. That influence is evident in his discussion on musical instruments, where Gozze listed *old* instruments, and especially in his attitude on wind instruments as inappropriate for noblemen. Regarding Gozze's musico-theoretical ideas, he described several examples from the Greek mythology which illustrate impact of different musical modes on human behaviour and moods. The influence of ancient Greek philosophers is best proved by the fact that Gozze discussed music within the context of *paideia*, which also represents the most important part of Gozze's thoughts on music, whereby he created a kind of a compound of Plato's and Aristotle's ideas about music. On the one hand Gozze accepted Plato's idea of uniformity of *paideia* and points out that music is the essential part of educational system, but unlike Plato he thinks that within the educational process special attention should be dedicated to individual inclinations. On the other hand Gozze distanced himself from Plato by accepting Aristotle's notion of music as a multifunctional phenomenon which fulfils an important function outside of *paideia*. In comparison to Aristotle Gozze also brought in a new feature, since he discussed possible negative ways in which leisure could influence the *paideia*.

Considering Gozze's socio-political engagement, the especially important part of his discussion on music represents his introduction of practical dimension. Namely, in each topic Gozze discussed he took a step further than his ancient Greek ideals, bringing in his ideas on music consideration of concrete contemporary situation in the field of music, thus shaping his own attitude about music in accordance with the spirit of his time.

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MODELS OF PERFORMANCES OF TRAVELLING VIRTUOSI IN THE PERIOD OF CLASSICISM: GIORNOVICH¹ IN STOCKHOLM

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Abstract: Giovanni Giornovichi/Ivan Jarnović (1747–1804), a famous violin virtuoso, performed in many European towns and aristocratic palaces, playing mostly his own concerti. The author analyses his sojourn in Stockholm in 1803. The models of his performances there have been investigated and related to concert performances which he gave in other European centres.

Key words: Ivan Jarnović / Giovanni Giornovichi; Stockholm; 18/19th century; concert performances.

Throughout the second half of the 18th century, Stockholm experienced a significant development in all fields of science, culture and the arts, including music. It seems justified to call the period between 1770 and 1792, during the reign of King Gustav III Adolf (1746–1792), the “Gustavian Era”.² The King was particularly adept at using opera and theatre for political purposes. His efforts to present himself as an enlightened ruler (possibly after the model of his uncle, the Prussian king Frederick the Great), and to present his country as one of the leading European powers, were correspondingly evident on the musical stage, in cherishing the examples of the French tradition, but also in cultivating a national theatre. The King himself was the author of texts and libretti for the theatre, as well as being a rich benefactor of the opera, which he directed towards contemporary European styles. He founded the Royal Music Academy (1771) and the Swedish Royal Opera (1773). There comic and serious musical stage works in Swedish were performed, composed by domestic and foreign (Italian and German³) authors who – attracted by the variety of opportunities – often

¹ In texts on this virtuoso in English, I usually use the variant of his family name “Giornovichi”, preferred in England of the late 18th century as well as in some lexicographical sources. On the other hand, in Croatian texts I usually use the variant “Jarnović” mostly used in Croatian handbooks.

² It can be found, for example, in the title of the article by Anna Johnson (1989, 327), where she marks the period of the cultural development as the “Gustavian Era”.

³ Johann Gottlieb Naumann (1741–1801), Abbé Vogler (1749–1814) and some other composers were active there besides Kraus.

settled down in Stockholm. Thus, the Swedish capital became a sort of a melting pot of various practices and styles. Gluck's reformed operas were especially well received, and became a model and a stylistic ideal of then popular works (Johnson, 1989, 334). The leading operatic composer became Joseph Martin Kraus (1756–1792), a German who settled in Stockholm in 1792 and remained there until the end of his life.

However, after several complots and, finally, a brutal assassination of the King in the Stockholm opera in 1792 (skilfully used and put into music by Giuseppe Verdi in the opera *Un ballo in maschera*), his son and heir to the throne, understandably, was not such a committed supporter of the opera as was his father. To the contrary, during the political turmoil and military clashes that followed the beginning of his ascension to the throne, the young King had more important duties than supporting music and theatre. For example, after frequent clashes, in 1809 Sweden lost its territory of Finland in favour of Russia, which provoked revolts, and the King was imprisoned and dethroned. This period was also marked by the rise of a bourgeois society, and of the foundation of cultural/musical societies as specific models of bourgeois music making, thus replacing the sponsorship model of aristocratic society. During this turning point, a famous violinist Giovanni Giornovich (Ivan Jarnović) arrived in the Swedish capital. A local newspaper – following the British model – announced him as “Maestro Giornovich”.

This travelling virtuoso, famous and already well known from Paris to St Petersburg, had already put behind him thousands of miles and a series of successes, published compositions, and had experienced adventures of diverse kinds, having survived many accidents and various troubles that accompanied him on his tours. The majority of his public and private performances in France, the German-speaking countries, the Polish kingdom, Russia and Great Britain were well known owing to chroniclers and lexicographers who had followed his life-path since the late 18th century.⁴ For a long time it was believed that he was born “in the waters of Ragusa”, as written by his younger contemporary and acquaintance Adalbert Gyrowetz (1848, 10-11) and the place of his birth was understood as Dubrovnik, and not Ragusa / Sicily. Nevertheless, the documentation from Palermo, where he was baptised in 1747, seems to be the most reliable source, thus pointing to Sicilian Ragusa (even on a ship) as his probable birthplace. However, despite being familiar with a series of variants of his family name, his Croatian origin can be undoubted. In any case, his first musical training was in the Italian school, later supplemented by elements of

⁴ One of the first lexicographers who mentioned Giornovich was E. L. Gerber: already in the first edition of his *Historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Tonkünstler*, i.e. during the lifetime of the violinist, he mentions him in two entries, as Jarnowick and as Giornovich, where he wrote: “More on him see under his real name Jarnowich.” (Gerber, 1790-92, 509)

the French violinist tradition. His first recorded public performance in 1773, remarked upon and documented by newspaper reporters in Paris, launched him into the orbit of the outstanding virtuosos of the day, and in the same year, his first violin concerto was published there. After a decade of performances in France and Germany (but still with a base in Paris and – most likely – with a French passport), he started his tour of Berlin, Warsaw and St Petersburg, interrupting his voyage and staying in some lucrative centres sometimes as long as a year or two. Troubled by the riots on the eve of the 1789 Revolution, he left France and took a chance on the British Isles. As he arrived in London as an already renowned musician, he was invited to perform on various occasions in public and in the Royal Court in London, and on occasional visits to Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dublin and Bath in Somerset. It seems that the political situation in 1797, on the eve of the British-French conflict of 1798, prompted him to travel again. His touring on the Continent finally ended in St Petersburg, where he passed away on 23 November 1804.

Many biographers mentioned his sojourn in Stockholm, but without revealing any relevant sources. Giornovich's concert pieces in print and manuscript form were preserved in Swedish libraries and collections (Tuksar, 1994, 231-236), but their owners could have collected them through orders; speaking of publishers, his music material could have been acquired mostly from Berlin and Amsterdam.

The usual routes towards the east, on the road towards the Russian capital of St Petersburg, were either by the sea (through German or Scandinavian ports), or by land (via Berlin, Warsaw, Minsk), depending on the season and meteorological conditions. During the first half of the 1780s, when Giornovich travelled from Western Europe to St Petersburg and back towards central Europe, it is well known that he stopped in Berlin, Warsaw and Vienna; thus, it is less probable that on that occasion he also visited Stockholm.⁵ The first proof of his sojourn in Stockholm was discovered only recently,⁶ and here some of the results and new insights are presented.

According to data from the secondary sources, Giornovich's name was first mentioned on the concert repertoire in Stockholm already from 1786 on, i.e. while he was still in pre-revolutionary France and later in England. Various local and visiting violinists performed his concerti, especially during the 1790s (Vretblad, 1918). For example, the local newspaper *Stockholms Posten* announced

⁵ It was Mooser (1978a, 203) who stated that Giornovich had visited Stockholm for the first time already in 1782-83, which has not yet been proved.

⁶ The research in libraries and collections in Stockholm and Uppsala was carried out in June 2015, within the European HERA project "Music Migrations in the Early Modern Age: the Meeting of the European East, West and South" (2013-2016). I am grateful to my Swedish colleagues Owe Ander (1956), Lars Berglund (1964) and Bertil van Boer (1952) for their suggestions and help.

the concert of vocal and instrumental music on Sunday, 24 February 1793, to the benefit of Johann David Zander (ca. 1753–1796), the concert master of the Royal orchestra. Zander himself was to perform – as declared – “Czernowichi’s violin concerto”,⁷ as well as pieces by Joseph Haydn (1732–1809), Leopold Kozeluch (1747–1818), Ignaz Pleyel (1757–1831) and Kraus. The same musician had already played one of Giornovichi’s concerti on 18 December 1789 in the Stockhlof Komedi-teater (Vretblad, 1918, 237). Violinists like Johan Abraham Fischer (1744–1806),⁸ Ferdinand Gramm (?–1801),⁹ Johan Gottfrid Zaar (1754–1818),¹⁰ Carl Adam Norman (1773–1812)¹¹ and Paul Erasmus Chiewitz (?–1815)¹² performed his compositions as well. The most outstanding Swedish violinist who played his concerti in public on 14 October 1797 was Johan Fredrik Berwald (1787–1861) (Vretblad, 1918, 266–267), a child prodigy since he was 8. Later he accompanied his father on tour as far as St Petersburg (1803–1812), and after his return to Stockholm in 1812, he was employed as violinist in the Royal orchestra.¹³ Similar data have been found in Uppsala, where the violinists Westerdahl and Chiewitz (Jonsson, 1998, 109),¹⁴ played Giornovichi’s concerti; in Åbo (today: Turku), the second largest (than still) Swedish city, the concert master Ferling of the Royal orchestra performed Giornovichi’s concerto and one Rondeau by his (possible) teacher Antonio Lolli (1725–1802) on 4 March 1794.

The majority of Giornovichi’s compositions preserved in Swedish collections was acquired from Hummel’s printing offices in Amsterdam or Berlin, from the publishers Günther & Böhme (Hamburg) and Jean André (Offenbach am Main), but a whole series of publications was brought from Paris, mostly published by Sieber.

However, until the end of the 18th century, no traces of Giornovichi’s activity in Sweden has been found. Nevertheless, during his sojourn in the Polish royal court in Warsaw in 1782, Giornovichi met the Count Otto-Magnus

⁷ Giornovichi’s name has been found in the journals in various variants, mostly as Jarnovich, Giarnovich, or Giornovichi (Stockholms Posten, 1793, 4).

⁸ Performance on 21 May 1786 (Vretblad, 1918, 237 / 229).

⁹ Performance on 5 January 1794 (Vretblad, 1918, 246).

¹⁰ Performance on 15 January 1797 (Vretblad, 1918, 261).

¹¹ Performance on 5 February 1797 (Vretblad, 1918, 262).

¹² Performance on 4 March 1797 (Vretblad, 1918, 263).

¹³ J. F. Berwald developed an outstanding career as composer and conductor in Stockholm, significantly influencing the musical life of the city.

¹⁴ It was Carl Johan Westerdahl (violinist from 1796 to 1820 in the Royal ensemble, concert master, 1801–1820) who performed with Paul Chiewitz Sr. (violinist, 1782–1803) who probably performed the same concerti a year earlier in Stockholm (cf. note 11). Jonsson mentions the participation of the pianist Zetterberg (Jonsson, 1998, 236).

von Stackelberg (1756–1800),¹⁵ who was Russian envoy in Poland,¹⁶ sent in 1791 to Sweden. Giornovichì undoubtedly recognised the importance of this influential diplomat and dedicated his 9th concerto to him. It might be that Stackelberg himself opened his path towards St Petersburg by giving him useful recommendations. In consequence, soon after his arrival in Russia, Giornovichì was hired for the private ensemble of virtuosos of the Empress Catherine.

It is not precisely known which route Giornovichì took on his way to Russia, although he probably went there via Minsk or Vilnius.

For his second trip to St Petersburg it seems that Giornovichì chose the maritime route. To be precise, after two especially successful concerts in the Berlin opera house in March 1802, when the Royal family applauded him (Schneider, 1978b, 187), the Copenhagen journals announced his concerts there already in October of the same year (Traerup, 1998, 13-26).¹⁷ He performed in the Royal theatre and at the court of Duke William Fredrik von Württemberg, the Governor of the city, and a week later also in the Frederiksberg castle, exclusively for the Royal family and their guests. After his departure on 18 December 1802 (Traerup, 1998, 19), the Danish journals continued to report occasionally on his tours and his life and success in Russia.

It was exactly on his way to St Petersburg that Giornovichì stopped in Stockholm. One of the dailies, *Stockholms Posten*, that regularly published notices on current cultural and musical events, published an announcement on 31 January (and reprinted it on 3 February) 1803, that:

“Mr. Giornovichì, who is already for three decades cherished and adored in Europe as a virtuoso of the first rank, sojourns in Stockholm and will soon be heard. Local music lovers asked Giornovichì to give a concert before his parting. He agreed, but asked if sufficient number of people in the audiences could be secured. Therefore, lists of subscribers have been established in the Rosenbad Society, Sällskapet Club in Kirstein House (Vasagattan 22) in Munkbron, Herrar Utters & Comp. and in Silverstolpe bookstore.”^[18] As soon as the lists

¹⁵ This outstanding personality found his place in some representative historical surveys, as, for example, in the book *Russian Portraits of the 18th and 19th Centuries* (Mihajlović, 1908, 142).

¹⁶ Count Stackelberg, although originating from Westphalia, was one of the most outstanding Russian diplomats of that time, at the same time the *éminence gris* of the Kingdom of Poland (at that time under direct Russian protectorate).

¹⁷ According to some news on renowned guests in the city, there is a note about Giornovichì who allegedly arrived from St Petersburg (Traerup, 1998, 14), which could not be true, because in the same year he – as mentioned already – performed in Berlin (Schneider, 1978b, 187). That is not an isolated example of the weak reliability of the reports of that time.

¹⁸ These institutions listed here were not only the places for buying entrance tickets, but also, for example, subscriptions for journals, like *Journal för Litteraturen och Theatern* and some others.

are completed, the entrance tickets, upon their payment, will be distributed to the gentlemen subscribers at the same places. All announcements on concerts will be given there, as well as in the newspapers.”¹⁹

A few days later, it was reported that the subscription lists would be closed on 16 February, while on 1 and 2 March the same newspaper brought announcements of the beginning of Giornovich’s concert series:

“The admirers of Mr. Giornovich announce with utmost pleasure that his concert will be given tomorrow, Wednesday, 2 March, in the great Knight hall, under the leadership of the *Kapellmeister* Haffner, and the following pieces will be presented: in the first part: 1) Haydn’s symphony, 2) Mozart’s aria, performed by Mr. Cellin, 3) Giornovich’s violin concerto performed by the composer, 4) Plane’s sonata for harp with the accompaniment of the violin, performed by Miss Sophie Karsten, 5) Reichard’s aria, performed by Mr. Karsten, the secretary of the Court. In the second part: 6) Lebrun’s clarinet concerto, performed by Mr. Crusell, 7) Zingarelli’s duet, sung by Mrs Karsten and Cellin, 8) Giornovich’s violin concerto, performed by the composer himself, and 9) Finale. The concert starts at 6 p.m.”²⁰

Giornovich gave three concerts of that kind on 2, 11 and 27 March, with similar repertoire,²¹ unfortunately, according to the practice, more precise

¹⁹ Herr Giornovich, hwilken i Europa redan ett tredjedels Sekel kännas och beundras som en Virtuös af första rangen, är nu i Stockholm, och ärnar snart begifwa sig derhrån. Åtskillige Musikålskare hafwa anmodat Hr Giornovich, att, innan sin bortresa, gifwa en Koncert, hwartill han samtyckt, endast han kunde försätras om ett tillräckligt antal åhörare. Att winna detta ändamål, har man inlemnat Subskriptionslistor på Societeten wid Rosenbad, Sällskapet I Kirsteinska Huset wid Munkbron, samt i Herrar Utters och Silverstolpes Boklädor. Så snart Subskriptionen är fulltecknad konna Herrar Subskribenter på nämde uttaga sina EntreBiljetter, mot erläggande af I R. stocket; hwarefter dagen till Koncertens gifwande, samt deß innehåll, stola i Tidningarne närmare tillkänna gifwas (Stockholms Posten, 1803a, 4; Stockholms Posten, 1803b, 4).

²⁰ Med Högwederbörligt tillstånd uppförer Herr Giornowichi Koncert uti Stora RiddarhusSalen, i dag Onsdag d. e Mars, under Kapellmästaren Haeffners anförande, hwarwid följande Pjeser gifwas: Första Afdelningen: 1) Sinfonie af Hajdn. 2) Aria af Mozart, sjunges af Hr Collin, 3) Concerto för Violin, af Giornowichi, spelas af honom sjelf. 4) Sonate för Harpa af Plane, med Violinaccompanement, spelas af Mamsell Sophie Karsten. 5) Aria af Reichard, sjunges af Herr HofSekretararen Karsten. Andra Afdelningen: 6) Concerto för Klarinett af Lebrun, spelas af Herr Crusell. 7) Duo af Zingarelli, sjunges af Herrar Karsten och Collin. 8) Koncert för Violin af Giornowichi, spelas af honom sjelf. 9) Finale. Koncerten börjas Kl. 6 e. m. (Stockholms Posten, 1803c, 4; Stockholms Posten, 1803d, 4).

²¹ Programme of the second concert in Giornovich’s series, on 11 March 1803: *Symphonie Militaire* by J. Haydn, Mozart’s aria (Hr. Collin), *Concerto for clarinet* ... (Crusell, his own piece?), Paisiello’s aria (Mamsell Viselius); *Violin concerto* Giornovich, Mozart’s aria with clarinet *obligato* (Hofsekretär Karsten, accompanied by Crusell), *Concerto for flute*, Viotti (arr.) (Hr. Brendter/Brendler), Finale.

information on the pieces performed is lacking. The second concert was announced as a benefit for Mr. Crusell, a clarinetist from the first concert.²² The place of the performance – the great Knight hall – was one among usual places for secular concert events. This palace, erected already in the 17th century, possessed a representative hall with coats of arms of the Swedish nobility (Vretblad, 1918, 8-10). Subscription benefit concerts were organised there almost every Sunday. Similar concerts were also organised in theatres (Royal theatre, Comedy theatre), and after the 1770s in the stock-exchange hall and in some restaurants and public parks as well (Vretblad, 1918, 10ff).

In any case, these few announcements in Swedish newspapers on Giornovich's sojourn and activity in Stockholm seem to be quite modest, especially compared to his schedules in other European centres. It must be stated, that the journals in Stockholm are not rich in reports on cultural events, but were more oriented towards merchants, trade and legal issues. However, there is one letter that could explain and clarify an unusual situation: a letter directed on 18 March 1803 by Carl Gustaf Nordforss to Freiherr Niclas Edelcrantz (Mörner, 1972, 97-102),²³ i.e. during Giornovich's sojourn in that city. Nordforss (1763–1832) was an officer in the Swedish army, a writer, theatre director and translator of opera libretti. During 1790s, he was the second director of the Drama theatre, and between 1799 and 1818, director of the Opera. His task was to supervise the rehearsals, but he could have also influenced the repertoire. Nordforss was also translator of dramas, and wrote several of them as well. The addressee, Freiherr Niclas Edelcrantz (1754–1821, from 1789 known under the family name Clewberg), a Swedish born in Finland, was a poet and inventor, until 1783 the librarian at the Royal academy in Turku, when he moved to Stockholm and lead the Royal theatre. Later he was private secretary to King Gustav III Adolf, and in 1804 became the first director of Royal theatres and court orchestra; from 1805 he was the curator of the Royal museum, etc.²⁴

Gustav IV Adolf, as mentioned earlier in this text, did not favour the opera and even wanted to dismiss it. On the other hand he wanted to help foreign musicians, especially the French ones who fled from the Revolution, to keep their jobs in the ensembles while, at the same time, the domestic ones were to some extent neglected, although often being better educated. When Giornovich arrived in

Programme of the third concert on 27 March 1803: *Symphony* (without the name of the composer), Meyer's aria (Mr Collin), *Violin concerto* Giornovich, Reichardt's aria (Herr Hofsekretär Karsten), *Violin concerto* Giornovich, Finale.

²² The price of the ticket for this concert was 32 crowns, which was – in comparison with other concerts at that time – usual for such benefit performances in Stockholm.

²³ My thanks go to Owe Ander, who brought this letter to my attention.

²⁴ For the entry on Abraham Niklas Edelcrantz (Clewberg) see on: Svenskt biografiskt handlexikon, 2016a).

Stockholm, the first director of the Opera was the Baron John Hugo Hamilton of Hageby (1752–1805). Nordforss describes in his letter the unhealthy situation among the musicians in the opera and guest performances of foreigners who additionally complicated already turbulent local relationships. Quarrels among local musicians occurred almost on a regular basis, as, for example, between the famous singer Cadet (about whom Nordforss had quite a bad opinion and often wrote negative reviews, but whom his admirers compared with the famous Italian castrato and singer Girolamo Crescentini) and the able Italian singer Garelli (sometimes written as Carelli; at that time active in the small theatre in the former arsenal, the Royal drama theatre). Giornovich arrived amidst these battles for audiences and performed his own compositions, which were not suitable for just anybody. The person who felt especially endangered by his presence was Christian Friedrich Müller,²⁵ the concertmaster of the opera orchestra, as well as his patron Baron Conrad Theodor von Schulzenheim (1768–1837).²⁶ Nordforss mentioned in his letter the flautist Johann Franz Brendler (*maestro di cappella* 1802–1807) who was the father of the well-known composer Eduard Brendler (1800–1831). Nordforss describes that Stockholm at that time was the showplace of artists and charlatans of every kind. After his arrival in Stockholm, Giornovich met Baron Hamilton (with whom he was allegedly acquainted from his Parisian years), who was furious about the local situation and told to the virtuoso: “Leave at once, go immediately to Russia, Sweden is not for you. Why did you come here at all without notifying me before? Leave at once. Tomorrow there is a caravan for Russia; I will connect you with some people to take you there immediately.” (Mörner, 1972, 100)²⁷ However, Giornovich refused this suggestion and tried to meet Müller, because he wanted to organise his concert with the orchestra. Still, they did not meet because of some misunderstandings; Müller felt offended, did not want to hear about Giornovich and turned the entire orchestra against the virtuoso. On the other hand, Giornovich was upset at such groundless animosity and at first did not want to perform in public at all. Nevertheless, in the meantime, the famous Swedish singer Christoffer Christian Karsten²⁸ took Giornovich under his protection and, skilfully organising a few

²⁵ Christian Friedrich Müller (Rheinsberg, Brandenburg, 1752 – Stockholm, 1827) was one of the German composers active in Sweden. The pupil of Johann Peter Salomon, he started his violin tour in 1780. In Copenhagen he fell in love with a singer Caroline Walther (born Halle) and eloped with her to Stockholm; in the same year he became employed as a deputy concertmaster. From 1787 until his retirement in 1817 he was active as a concertmaster (see his bibliography on: Svenskt biografiskt handlexikon, 2016b).

²⁶ On the biography of the Lieutenant C. T. von Schulzenheim, see: Svenskt biografiskt lexikon, 2016c.

²⁷ Nordforss and Giornovich, communicated in French.

²⁸ Christoffer Christian Karsten (1756–1827) was reputed as one of the greatest opera singers in Swedish history. He earned the title of the Royal secretary in 1791.

dinner parties and inviting the right persons, gradually humoured the orchestra members. Nordforss believed that Giornovich was very talented in elegant communication in the society (although he was otherwise mostly well known for his quite rude manners and bad temper). Yet, at this occasion he was obviously so charming that he captivated the musicians and calmed down their revolt. It resulted in the three aforementioned concerts, announced in the press. In these performances included the participation of his protector Karsten as a singer and his daughter Sophie,²⁹ the dancer, who also played the harp. The famous clarinettist Bernhard Henrik Crusell, an outstanding musician of Finnish origins (who also played at Giornovich's concerts), arrived in Stockholm in 1791, and two years later became the first clarinettist of the Royal court orchestra, at the time when it was directed by Abbé Vogler, with whom he studied music theory and composition.³⁰ Besides Nordforss, it is possible that Giornovich met some of these musicians earlier (for example, Crusell), elsewhere during his previous tours.

In any case, Giornovich's sojourn in Stockholm lasted some three months, because already on 17 April 1803 he was announced in the *St. Petersburgische Zeitung* as a soloist in the local theatre: between the first and the second act of Paisiello's opera *La serva padrona* he was to play one of his concerti and a solo. During his stay in the Russian capital, the reviewers praised the virtuoso, saying that "he did not fail to keep pace with the Giornovich of the previous 20 years" (Schneider, 1978b, 187), although already a new generation of violinists conquered this area with new techniques, styles and instruments (for instance, Pierre Rode).

During these three months in Stockholm, Giornovich planned a series of subscriber concerts, usually organised by figures like Salomon in London and many others. One among them was usually the so-called benefit concert, because the entire income was assigned to one of the musicians – in this case, it was the clarinettist Crusell. Considering the complicated relations and the weak cultural life at large, it is not known whether Giornovich performed in private as well; he was usually invited to play at royal courts in London, Berlin, Warsaw and elsewhere. Bearing in mind the winter season, the conditions for performing in open air were not suitable.³¹ As far as we know, there were no so-called "Zwischenakt" concerts organised with him in the opera, as the one in St Petersburg in the same year, and in many other places before. Giornovich

²⁹ Karsten's daughter Sophie (with the Polish singer Sophie Stebnowska) became the first dancer in the Royal opera (1805–1806).

³⁰ He also studied in Berlin and Paris, and was described as the best Finnish composer before Sibelius.

³¹ Such promenade concerts were mostly organised in city parks, and the audience enjoyed them sitting around the stage, pavilion, or promenading around.

himself, with the help of his friends and music lovers, organised his concerts, and the reaction and presence of the audiences seems to have been excellent. Thus, the undertaking was financially successful because he could obviously pay out the accompanying ensemble. On the contrary, that was not the case during his stay in Dublin in 1797, when his organisers (Dr. Cogan and the violinist Yaniewitz) cheated him.³² However, local intrigues in which he caught himself, probably prevented some more performances, but – on the other hand – enabled him to make a short stop during the cold season before starting for still cold Russia in April, when travelling might have been less complicated. Although already in advanced age – Giornovich was at that time already 55 – he was still in perfect shape and able to cope with all difficulties of a musician on a free market where he acted quite skilfully. Still, he could have felt the change of the cultural climate and the twilight of the once successful Swedish musical life, and Hamilton's letter to Nordforss clearly testified to that transformation. Therefore, it was not at all unusual that the violinist rushed to St Petersburg, where the audiences still remembered him and received him with enthusiasm; opportunities for public performances were still numerous, although his influential protector – Catherine the Great – was no more.³³ Yet, in Stockholm, there exists a souvenir that keeps Giornovich's name still in memory: a mechanical clock that, among other compositions, reproduces the Russian theme from his 14th concerto.³⁴

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³² On this case see more in: Katalinić, 2004, 21-30.

³³ The Empress passed away in 1796, when her son Peter I ascended the throne; when he was murdered in 1801, his son Alexander I was installed in his place.

³⁴ Swedish clockmaker Pehr Strand constructed this mechanical clock at the end of the 18th century; it is kept today in the Nydahl Collection in Stockholm. Besides the Russian rondo theme by Giornovich, it reproduces abbreviated versions of compositions by Haydn, Mozart, Gluck, Pleyel and others. For that information, I am grateful to Göran Grahm, the curator of this collection.

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OPERA *BALKANSKA CARICA* – FROM CREATION TO CONTEMPORARY PERFORMANCE

ANA PERUNOVIĆ-RAŽNATOVIĆ

Abstract: The following article is about the significance of the first Montenegro's opera *Balkanska carica* (*The Balkan Empress*) composed by Dionisie de Sarno San Giorgio, based on the drama of the same name – the piece by Montenegrin prince Nikola I Petrović, its importance for the given time (the end of the 19th century) and the territory (Montenegro), namely for when and where it has been created. Also, it is about the role of music and its connection with dramatic text, the contemporary adaptation of the opera and its performance.

Key words: the first Montenegro's opera; *Balkanska carica*; Dionisie de Sarno San Giorgio.

It has been over one hundred and thirty years since the publication of *Balkanska carica* (*The Balkan Empress*); a historical drama in verse, written by the last Montenegrin sovereign – Nikola I Petrović (1840–1921). From its very emergence, this piece has had a wide influence and significance for Montenegrin culture and the international affirmation thereof. Based on the said drama, Dionisie de Sarno San Giorgio (1856–1937) created opera *Balkanska carica*. It has been performed for a short period of time and then forgotten. At the beginning of the 21st century, this music piece again comes in the focus of attention. Radovan Papović (1950), a full-time professor at the Music Academy in Cetinje, has orchestrated the existing scores (originally for piano and voice) of opera *Balkanska carica*. After the premiere and performances in Montenegro, the contemporary version of the opera was first performed in Sarajevo, at the international festival “Sarajevo Winter” in February 2009.

Nikola I Petrović, the seventh and the last monarch of the Montenegrin dynasty Petrović-Njegoš (on the throne from 1860 to 1910 as a Prince, and since 1910 as a King) had a gift for writing patriotic poetry, epic poems, and drama in verse, with *Balkanska carica* as the most famous and most influential among them (Figure 1).

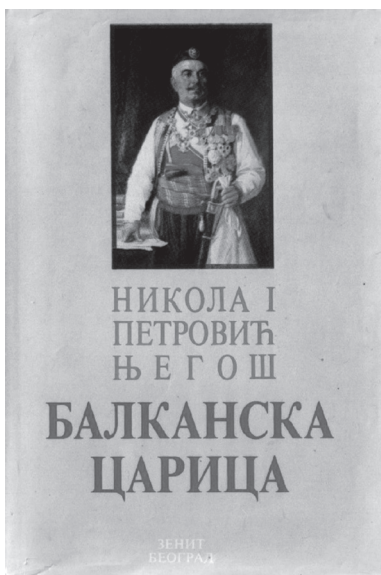


Figure 1. Front page of *Balkanska carica* drama by Nikola I Petrović Njegoš (Petrović Njegoš, 1989)

It is a romantic-patriotic drama, written in keeping with the national tradition, as well as with historical facts from the reign of Ivan Crnojević time (the second half of the 15th century). The drama is based on a historical tragedy, but also a noble and exalted ideal of love – between a man and a woman, as well as love for family members, the nation, and the homeland. The main characters are Danica (a daughter of prince Perun of Zeta), who is torn between the sense of duty and the feeling of love, and Stanko (a son of Ivan Crnojević, the governor of Montenegro and Zeta) who betrayed his nation, family, faith, homeland, and love for Danica. Nikola I dedicated *Balkanska carica* to Montenegrin women, giving them the recognition for their qualities and uniqueness. This is articulated in dedication at the beginning of the drama:

“But to you, Montenegrin women,
who can repay.
When only you can make
bitter tears to stop.

At the top of the thick smoke.
That weapon powder we burn.
Next to symbol: cross – freedom
we see your angelic figure.” (Antović, 2008, 21)

Another specificity of this drama is the way it got created. According to chroniclers, the Prince assembled his closest associates, intellectuals and aristocracy, during the evenings in 1883, and recited them parts of his *Balkanska carica* (Ivanović, 2012, 65). There were live debates about the drama text, and possible changes that would further enhance it, taking place in this group of people. During one of these literary gatherings, it got suggested that every one of the present ones should perform the drama as a reading rehearsal, and the Prince himself recommended who should perform which role. This drama, Prince's literary piece, full of romantic-pathetic verses, had its premiere public performance in the first days of January 1884 in Cetinje. That event marks the start off of organized and continuous theatre life in Montenegro, and can be tracked through documents (Latković, 1997/98, 105). Shortly thereafter, the construction of the first theatre in Montenegro called *Zetski dom* (completed in 1896) has been initiated. *Zetski dom* is still the only theatre in the country that has a "hole" for the orchestra, necessary for performing opera and ballet performances (Figure 2a and 2b).



Figure 2a. Royal theatre *Zetski dom* at the beginning of the 20th century (Anon., n.d.^a)



Figure 2b. Royal theatre *Zetski dom* today (Anon., 2016)

With the beginning of active theatre life, among other accomplishments, Nikola I Petrović wanted to have the Principality of Montenegro internationally recognized as a country that strives to peace, development and cultural prosperity in general, for that would bring it closer to progressive Europe. The most significant indicators of such intentions and aspirations were the main cultural and public events of that time: *Balkanska carica*, theatre performances, concerts, the beginning of the theatre building construction, and many other events of importance. All these activities have had a far-reaching effect on the overall social, cultural and musical life of Montenegro.

After the first public performances, the story about *Balkanska carica* spread rapidly across Montenegro, and then across European countries. The drama was first printed in 1886, and in the following decades translated into ten world languages (Petrović Njegoš, 1989, 219). Both the Montenegrin and the foreign newspapers wrote about the prince-poet, initiator and organizer of cultural events in his country. Moreover, it has been written about the translations of his drama, especially about its setting up on the scene and the reactions of the audiences.

Historically, it cannot be said with certainty where and when Prince Nikola met Dionisie de Sarno San Giorgio, an Italian diplomat, who arrived in Trieste from Kotor in 1886. (Figure 3).



Figure 3. Dionisie de Sarno San Giorgio (Anon., n.d.^b)

He lived in this area for seven years and made a strong influence on musical culture of (then Austro-Hungarian) Kotor and Montenegro. De Sarno San Giorgio has worked as a conductor, composer, pedagogue, and organizer of musical life.

While watching the performance of *Balkanska carica* drama, he got a vision of its musical adaptation. As it was written in the verse, it was very suitable for music processing. Some historians suggest that the Prince himself has made the selection of parts from his drama thus giving the basis for libretto. With his approval, de Sarno begins composing and in 1891 he completed the first Montenegrin opera *Balkanska carica*, which was printed in the same year, and performed in Cetinje, Kotor, and Trieste (Crnogorka, 1884). The complete score for soloists, the choir, and orchestra, as well as the opera libretto, have not been found so far, but the printed version of the piano and voice scores of opera *Balkanska carica* is kept in the Archives Department of the Museum in Cetinje. The content of libretto is as follows:

The action takes place in the 15th century, in Zabljak Crnojević – the capital of the Crnojević dynasty.

Act 1: Ivan-beg Crnojević, the Lord of Montenegro, together with tribal leaders, sent his younger son Stanko on the journey in order to form an alliance with neighbouring nations, so they could successfully fight together against invaders. Stanko is unsatisfied because he, as a second-born son, cannot be the heir to the throne, yet he craves for glory and power. Before leaving, he makes love promises to Danica, the daughter of one of the nobles, and they secretly engage.

Act 2: Stanko has concluded an alliance, but then receives an offer to change the side in the conflicts. He finally decides to betray Montenegro and his people, for he got promised the crown of the whole of Balkan – the fictitious Balkan Empire. During that time, Danica suffers for she thinks that Stanko is in captivity. When they finally meet, Danica who is dedicated to her people, faith, and the homeland, despises Stanko and his betrayal. He reminds her on their love and engagement, offering her to become a Balkan empress. Finally Stanko realizes that he cannot have both her and the Balkan empire, and in the act of jealous rage and despair, he wounds Danica and escapes.

Act 3: Ivan-beg mourns for his son, yet orders the retaliation for the betrayal of the homeland. In the battles that follow, the Montenegrins win and wound Stanko. Danica has recovered, and takes care of the wounded from the battlefield. She founds wounded Stanko. Through their dialogue, deep emotions are expressed for one another, but also the discord between their respective goals – Stanko's desire for fame and power, regardless to methods by which this would be achieved, and Danica's pure love for him, her nation, and the homeland. Deadly wounded Stanko begs Danica for forgiveness; she swears to fidelity and, after his death, throws herself in the river Morača, unable to simultaneously fulfil her duty to her homeland and to her fiancé – the traitor.

In the capital of the Crnojević dynasty people celebrate the victory of Montenegro and Montenegrin nation, and the first-born crown prince who had led the army to the victory. At the end, there is a prayer to God to maintain honesty, heroism, and patriotism in Montenegro, with the true exemplars (Sarno, 1891, 5-6).

Opera *Balkanska carica* is like a smaller romantic opera with a tragic note. It synthesizes elements of *opera seria* and Italian sense of melody with Montenegrin historical-national theme and elements of musical folklore. In relation to the original drama, the opera *Balkanska carica* saved the division into acts and scenes. Dionisie de Sarno San Giorgio made the concept of three acts that contain twelve scenes in which there are forty one music *numera* in the form of: aria (two-part form, three-part or developed form), *recitativo* (fragmentary form), combined *numeras*, choral *numeras* with or without a vocal soloist. The treatment of the *numera* lyrics is usually syllabic, and the facture is homophonous. *Balkanska*

carica is largely based on music sentence structures, which often integrate forming periods or sets of sentences. At the beginning of each act, there is an instrumental introduction with role of preparing the atmosphere for the further action in opera. De Sarno composed numeras to reflect the psychological states of the characters and to present the atmosphere in which the drama action takes place.

If the opera is critically analyzed and juxtaposed to the original drama of Nikola I, it should be noted that, due to the shortened text, the libretto is less dramatically persuasive. From the musical point of view, all the numeras in the opera are separate, complete segments that constantly carry new thematic materials, with frequent changes of tempo.

In the decades of the 20th century, marked by turbulent and frequent war events, as well as the marginalization of cultural events, both drama and opera *Balkanska carica* were eventually forgotten. At the beginning of the 21st century, with the renewing of state independence and returning interest in national cultural values, several respected Montenegrin artists-enthusiasts came up with the idea of revitalizing this piece of art and preparing it for music-stage performance. Radovan Papović, a full-time professor at the Music Academy in Cetinje, accepts a long-standing and demanding task of orchestration and writing music-scores for the symphony orchestra, choral ensemble, and soloists, on the bases of the piano score which is the only remaining document of *The Balkan Empress* opera existence. When this process was brought to an end, the prospect of performing this music piece became more realistic. *Balkanska carica* was about to be brought back to life. Radmila Vojvodić (1961), a full-time professor at the Faculty of Drama Arts in Cetinje, who is known for writing drama pieces and directing of theatre plays based on Montenegrin historical events and characters, entered this project by working on the adaptation of lyrics and later directing the opera. She accentuated: desire for power, fatal love, betrayal, revenge and death, as the most important topics summarized in this libretto.

In 2008, The Montenegrin Music Centre and the Montenegrin National Theatre¹, in cooperation with the Royal Theatre *Zetski dom*, the National Museum, and the Music Academy from Cetinje, finalized the most complex theatrical project that is of historical importance for Montenegro. One hundred and seventeen years after it was composed, the first Montenegrin national opera *Balkanska carica* was finally performed. The performance took place in the atrium of the former Government House in Cetinje, the night before July 13th (Montenegro National Day).

The contemporary version of this music piece begins with a gusle player on the stage, dressed in a modern ceremonial outfit. The sound of gusle, and loud

¹ Those are the most important cultural institutions in Montenegro.

steps of the dance ensemble after that, introduce elements of musical folklore through distinct melody and rhythm (Figure 4).



Figure 4. Performance the first Montenegrin national opera *Balkanska carica*, in Cetinje, Atrium of the former Government House, 2008 (dance and choir ensemble) (Miljanić, 2008)

The overture follows, and flow of sound-visual images afterwards lead through the scores. Past and present come together through music, historical theme, and modern interpretation. Solo roles were performed by guest singers from Serbia: Dejan Maksimović (?), Dragoljub Bajić (?) and Vladimir Andrić (1972), Croatia: Vedrana Šimić (1979), and Bosnia and Herzegovina: Ivica Šarić (1952), but members of the choir, the dance ensemble, and symphony orchestra were talented artists from Montenegro.

The further theatrical life of this libretto, score, and orchestration continues in Podgorica, at the Great Hall of the Montenegrin National Theatre, throughout 2008, 2009, and 2010 (Figures 5 and 6). As for the outside the Montenegrin borders, the opera was performed in Sarajevo at the National Theatre in 2009.



Figure 5. Opera *Balkanska carica*, in Podgorica, Montenegrin National Theatre, 2009 (soloists and the choir) (Miljanić, 2009a)



Figure 6. Opera *Balkanska carica*, in Podgorica, Montenegrin National Theatre, 2009 (soloists and the choir) (Miljanić, 2009b)

Balkanska carica project has shown that such a complex form of musical-stage production can be successfully realized in Montenegro, but the sustainability being a big question. The project significance is reflected through cultural and national identity, through the research and preparation of this project, and finally its realization, but also in the opportunity for contemporary artists to participate in such a masterpiece. The opera has been performed with a lot of success and always in front of a large audience. However, due to the lack of funds, since 2010 *Balkanska carica* hasn't been on the repertoire of Montenegrin theatres. Just occasionally, some of its parts have been performed; mostly solo-arias with the piano or chamber orchestra accompaniment.

Despite the need of keeping *Balkanska carica*, or having any other opera on theatre repertoires, it hasn't happened again so far. The opera remains waiting for some new enthusiasts and new theatre life, although that kind of art and performance are educationally and artistically necessary for the modern society.

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WORKS WITH MUSICAL TOPICS BY 16TH AND 17TH CENTURY CROATIAN AUTHORS PRESERVED IN POLISH LIBRARIES

STANISLAV TUKSAR

Abstract: This paper resulted from research conducted in various libraries of the Republic of Poland within the exchange programme between the Polish and Croatian Academies of Sciences in the period 2008-2013 and during my participation in the international HERA research project MusMig (Music migrations in early Modern Age: the meeting of European East, West and South) from 2013 to 2016.¹ The works under consideration were found in 20 Polish libraries in 11 cities in the form and range of 24 titles written by 10 authors and they exist in several dozens of copies. They form part of a much broader spectrum of all titles written by Croatian authors and published between the 16th and 18th centuries kept in Polish libraries in almost 300 copies in all.² In this paper I will briefly describe the authors and their works containing musical topics as well as the Polish book collections in which they have been preserved, with some remarks on both the possible origins of these titles and on the question of how they came to be purchased.

Keywords: Croatia; Poland; music writers; libraries; 16th century; 17th century.

Authors, works, contents

Bartholomaeus Georgievits³ (in modern Croatian: Bartol Đurđević; Zagreb,

¹ The full title of this HERA project reads: "Music Migrations in the Early Modern Age: the Meeting of the European East, West and South" (project leader: Dr. Vjera Katalinić, Department for the History of Croatian Music, Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Zagreb), more in: Katalinić, 2016.

² The field work carried out by the author of this article consisted in personal bibliographical research in the following Polish libraries (listed in alphabetical order of the corresponding cities): Gdańsk – Biblioteka Gdańska PAN, Kraków – Biblioteka Jagiellonska, Poznań – Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Toruń – Biblioteka Główna Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, Warszawa – Biblioteka Narodowa, Wrocław – Biblioteka Uniwersytecka. Data for all other libraries mentioned in this article were taken from the AGAD (Archivum glowne akt dawnych), i.e. the General Catalogue of Early Prints (books), Special collections, National Library in Warsaw. Thus, data taken from this source, compiled otherwise in earlier times, might not be complete nor accurate in a strict sense of the term.

³ There exists abundant scholarly literature on this Renaissance writer in both Croatian national and international terms. However, the only report on Georgievits' dealing with music topics published as yet is: *Vijesti o tursko-osmanlijskoj glazbi u spisu 'De Turcarum ritu et caeremoniis' Bartola Djurdjevića (1506?-1566?)* (Tuksar, 1983, 679-691; Tuksar, 1990, 17-26). The newest

1506 – Rome, 1556) is considered to be one of the three most important writers of the Renaissance period in the European West concerning credibility in his reports on the then contemporary Turkish-Ottoman society. After being held in captivity for 13 years in Asia Minor and the Middle East he escaped to the West where, from 1544 until the second half of the 17th century, his works were published in eight languages (Latin, German, Italian, French, English, Flemish, Czech and Polish) and 77 editions in all. These editions have been preserved in about 350 copies in 90 libraries in 17 countries of Europe and America. In his first work entitled *De Turcarum ritu et caeremoniis*, published in 1544 in Antwerp, being later either reprinted or modified and incorporated in several of his other titles, Georgievits included five fragments dealing with music in Ottoman Islamic society: on the place of music in Muslim rituals in mosques; on music in the ritual of circumcision, especially when Christians convert to Islam; on the issue of music in the creation of songs; on the function of chant in Muslim funerals; and on the afterlife of musical instruments (organs and bells) in Christian churches after Ottoman conquests. Nine editions in all of Georgievits' titles in Latin, German and Polish have been preserved in one Polish library (Warsaw).

Among all Croatian Humanists from the period under consideration, Matthias Flacius Illyricus⁴ (in modern Croatian: Matija Vlačić Ilirik; Labin, 1520 – Frankfurt/M., 1575) is the author with the most preserved titles in Polish libraries: his works can be found in more than 220 copies in 24 libraries in 16 towns (Warszawa, Cieczyn, Wrocław, Toruń, Leszno, Kraków, Gdańsk, Kamień, Kórń, Łódź, Szczecin, Olsztyn, Gościkowo-Paradyż, Ossol, Bydgoszcz and Bobol). He was born in the Istrian town of Labin (in Italian: Albona) and was educated in Venice. After converting early to Protestantism, Flacius became a close collaborator of Luther and Melanchthon, and was active in Augsburg, Basle, Tübingen, Wittenberg and Jena, where he co-founded the university and taught there as its first professor of Greek and Hebrew. Because of his theological and doctrinal radicalism, he broke his relations with the Lutheran leadership and ended his life as a refugee. Flacius published more than 140 titles in all. Up to now 15 works have been found to include observations on musical issues, dealing mostly with new Protestant church music. Five titles in six copies of

contribution on this text by Georgievits is by Monika Jurić Janjik; she presented a paper entitled *Svjedočanstva dvaju hrvatskih autora 16. stoljeća kao izvori podataka o osmanlijskoj glazbi* at the International conference "Odjeci bitke kod Sigeta i mita o Nikoli Šubiću Zrinskom u umjetnosti" (Music, Visual Arts, Literature), held in Zagreb on 2–4 November 2016 (Proceedings to be published in 2018).

⁴ There exists abundant scholarly literature on this Croatian-German theological writer in both Croatian national and international terms. However, apart from some scarce remarks scattered in various articles, the only short account on Flacius' dealing with music topics published as yet is *Hrvatsko-njemački protestantski teolog Matija Vlačić Ilirik (1520-1575) i problem glazbe u Interimima iz 1548. godine* (Tuksar, 1993a, 249-255).

Flacius' works containing musical topics have been identified in three Polish libraries (Toruń, Wrocław, Gdańsk).

Paulus Scalichius⁵ (in modern Croatian: Pavao Skalić; Zagreb, 1534 – Gdańsk, 1575) was primarily schooled in Zagreb, and later studied philosophy and theology at the universities of Vienna and Bologna. However, the destiny of this restless spirit was determined by his fanatical efforts to hide his modest origins (he was an illegitimate son of a female washer!) and to prove his false claims of his elite descent from the princes of the Croatian region of Lika, from the dukes della Scala from Verona, and even from the royal families of Bosnia, Serbia and Byzantium. Being unmasked twice, Scalichius had to renounce the lucrative positions he held at the court in Vienna and in the royal Prussian administration in Königsberg, which he gained owing to his extraordinary intellectual capacities and education. He converted several times to Protestantism and back to Catholicism, spending the last nine years of his existence fearing for his life and wandering around the German countries, France and Poland. He published 17 works in all, of which the most important is *Encyclopediae, seu Orbis disciplinarum tam sacrarum quàm prophanarum, Epistemon* (Basle, 1559; the first mention of the word “encyclopaedia” in modern European history!) where six entries deal with music. Among them, the text entitled *Discursus harmonicus* seems to belong to Scalichius himself. Three copies of Scalichius' *Encyclopaedia ... Epistemon* have been found in three Polish libraries (Gdańsk, Olsztyn, Wrocław).

Nicolò Vito di Gozze⁶ (in modern Croatian: Nikola Vitov Gučetić; Dubrovnik, 1549-1610) was a Ragusan patrician, philosopher and statesman who spent his whole life in his hometown. He exercised high state duties, being seven times elected the Rector (Duke) of the Dubrovnik Republic, and led the state treasury and the management of the economically and politically most important state saltworks etc. He published ten titles in which he treated various topics in the areas of philosophy, aesthetics, theory of love, political economy and theory of education. In three of them – *Dialogo della bellezza, detto Antos* (1581), *Governo della famiglia* (1589) and *Dello stato delle repubbliche secondo la mente di Aristotele con esempi moderni* (1591) – Gozze, from both the point of view of an active statesman and a speculative thinker, also dealt with some musical topics such as the questions of active and passive practising of music in youth and maturity,

⁵ Along with abundant Croatian and international bibliography on Scalichius, a new bilingual edition of his *Encyclopaedia* was recently published in Zagreb: *Epistemon* (Skalić, 2004). The author of this article published the most comprehensive article on Scalichius' dealing with music in the following: Tuksar, 1977, 97-122.

⁶ Gozze's oeuvre has been up to now mostly investigated by Croatian historians of philosophy. Recently his most important work, *Dello stato delle repubbliche* has been translated into Croatian (cf. Šišak, 2000). On musical issues in Gozze's works see: Tuksar, 1980a, 97-116; Jurić, 2013, 3-17.

the selection of harmonies, rhythms and musical instruments in music education etc., all in the typical late-Renaissance mixture of Platonism and Aristotelism with references to the then contemporary Ragusan society and his visions of modern *paideia*. Simultaneously, Gozze offered his evidence on music and his participation in the representation of some stage works written by the famous Ragusan Renaissance dramatist Marin Držić (Marino Darxa; 1508-1567). Two copies of Gozze's works containing discussions of musical issues are kept in two Polish libraries (Łódź, Wrocław).

Francesco Patrizi⁷ (Franciscus Patritius; in modern Croatian: Frane Petrić; Cres, 1529 – Rome, 1597) was a typical "uomo universale" of broad Renaissance interests and activities. He was primarily schooled in his native township of Cres on the island of the same name in the northern Adriatic, and later studied at universities in Padua and Ingolstadt. He spent his adult life as administrator of Venetian properties on the island of Cyprus, as educator at the court of the viceroy of Catalonia, and also tried unsuccessfully to launch his own trading business. During the last twenty years of his life Patrizi taught at the universities of Ferrara and Rome, being today generally considered as one among the three most important philosophers of nature and Platonists of the Renaissance. He published 27 works in all, dealing with such topics as utopian social theory, the methodology and philosophy of history, rhetoric, poetics, geometry, occultism, military affairs and above all with the philosophy of Nature, which he conveyed in his main work *Nova de universis philosophia* (two editions, in 1591 and in 1593). Patrizi dealt with musical issues in his work *Della poetica* (1586), where he advocated a concept of the unity of poetry, music and stage movement in the performance of ancient Greek theatrical pieces (Patrizi, 1586). By these ideas he quite probably influenced the ideas conveyed by the so-called first *Camerata*, the Florentine humanistic circle gathered around Giovanni de Bardi, active during the 1580s, which lead to the birth of opera. One copy of Patrizi's work *Della poetica* is kept in one Polish library (Kraków).

Faustus Verantius⁸ (in modern Croatian: Faust Vrančić; Šibenik, 1551 – Venice, 1617) was a Šibenik-born Humanist, lexicographer and inventor who was noted in late-Renaissance intellectual circles first of all by his ingenious work

⁷ Patrizi is along with Flacius and Baglivi the most well-known thinker of Croatian origins among all writers mentioned in this article. The bibliography on practically all aspects of his writings is huge and has been mostly published in international terms, among others by outstanding scholars such as Paul Oskar Kristeller (1905–1999), as well as musicologists Leo Schrade (1903–1964), Dragan Plamenac (1895–1983), Claude V. Palisca (1921–2001), etc. The modern edition of *Della poetica* was published by Danilo Aguzzi Barbagli (1924–1995), in 4 vols. On Patrizi's dealing with music see: Tuksar, 1978b, 67-87.

⁸ Verantius' dictionary was reprinted as *Rječnik pet najuglednijih evropskih jezika* (Vrančić, 1971). On Verantius' music terminology see: Tuksar, 1978a, 49-66.

Machinae novae (1617), in which he published a series of innovative proposals for new types of machines based on the idea of the water turbine basis and applicable in agriculture and in the regulation of water currents. His version of a parachute, whose prototype he allegedly constructed and successfully tried, received wide attention. Another valuable work by Verantius worth mentioning is his *Dictionarium quinque nobilissimarum Europae linguarum: Latinae, Italicae, Germanicae, Dalmatiae* (sic) & *Ungaricae*, firstly published in Venice in 1595, while its second edition – prepared by Peter Loderecker (?–1636) – was published in Prague, in 1605, being enlarged with terminology in the Czech and Polish languages. All three Slavic and Hungarian dictionaries are the first of their kind ever published. The first Venetian edition of this general dictionary also contains the rudiments of the first systematized music terminology in Croatian. Among 3581 words, there are 43 musical terms in all, denoting various musical instruments and performers, and even some elementary notions concerning the reception and theory of music. Verantius' *Dictionarium* is kept today in three copies in three Polish libraries (Warsaw, two in Wrocław).

The Jesuit missionary Jacobus Micalia⁹ (Giacomo Micaglia; in modern Croatian: Jakov Mikalja; Pescia, 1601 – Loreto, 1654) spent many years in Dalmatia (Dubrovnik), Bosnia and Temisvár (today Timișoara in Romania), collecting the general vocabulary of Slavonic dialects spoken there, later to be used in his Croatian-Italian-Latin dictionary *Blago jezika slovinskoga* (*The Thesaurus of the Slavonic Language*; published in Loreto-Ancona, 1649–1651). Among some 30,000 lexical entries there are 282 musical terms. They denote artefacts and phenomena in the area of music such as names of instruments and their parts, male and female performers, ways of performing, musical-acoustical products, music education, modes of reception, elementary theory of music, and music and dance. Especially richly denotated is the field of vocal music. Micalia's dictionary is kept in Poland in one copy (Biblioteka Tschammera in Cieszyn).

The Rector of the Zagreb Jesuit Collegium, Juraj (erroneously named in Polish as Jurje / sic!) Habelich¹⁰ (in modern Croatian: Juraj Habelić; Staro Čiče, 1609 – Zagreb, 1678) published several works in Graz which contain musical issues: *Pervi otca našega Adama greh* (1674) and the huge moral-didactical *Zerczalo Marianszko* (1667). In the latter Habelich reported on early Baroque music making in the Jesuit and Pauline churches in Zagreb in 1618, pointing at the fact that Jesuits brought the new music of the age to Zagreb – early Baroque, and highlighted the enthusiasm with which this new musical style was acclaimed by local “classy people of both sexes”. Habelich's Croatian-Latin

⁹ On Micalia's music terminology see: Tuksar, 1992a, 15–27.

¹⁰ Habelich's dictionary was reprinted 1989 as *Dikcionar* (*Dictionar ili Réchi Szlovenszke zvezega ukup zebrahe, u red posztaulyene, i Diachkemi zlahkotene*). On Habelich's music terminology see: Tuksar, 1992b, 29–35.

dictionary *Dictionar ili Réchi Szlovenske zvexega ukup zebrane, u red postaulylene, i Diachkemi zlahkotene*, which also included musical terminology was published in 1670 on the occasion of the founding of the University of Zagreb.¹¹ Only one among Habelich's published works has been preserved in one Polish library – *Zerczalo Marianzsko* (Wrocław).

The librettist, theatre and political chronicler, and poet Cristoforo Ivanovich¹² (in modern Croatian: Kristofor Ivanović; Budva, 1628 – Venice, 1689) migrated as a young man from the then Venetian small south-Dalmatian town of Budva (now in Montenegro) to Verona and Venice. There he made a name as a man of letters: as a librettist by writing five texts for “dramma per musica” between 1663 and 1674; as a chronicler of the first 50 years (1637– 1687) of Venetian opera repertory and as its first historian; and by his epistolary activities, as a theorist of musical drama and a critical observer of 17th century Venetian musico-theatrical practice in its then avant-garde early capitalist market orientation. Ivanovich's *Poesie* (1675), encompassing his selected correspondence is kept in one copy in one Polish library (Wrocław). His operatic-historical *Minerva al tavolino* (1681) has been found in two copies in two Polish libraries (Szczecin, Warsaw).

Gjuro (Armeno) Baglivi¹³ (Georgius Baglivi; in modern Croatian: Gjuro Baglivi; Dubrovnik, 1668 – Rome, 1707) was an exceptional personality of European 17th century scientific thought. Born into an Armenian-Croatian family in Dubrovnik, he moved in 1683, as a 16-year-old boy, from his native town to Lecce in the southern Italian province of Apulia, where he was adopted and later took over the name of Giorgio Baglivi. After studies of medicine at the universities of Salerno, Padua, Bologna and Naples, he held brief positions as physician in Padua, Venice, Florence, Bologna, as well as in the Netherlands and

¹¹ See footnote 10.

¹² There exists abundant international and to a lesser extent Croatian and other South-Slavic bibliography on Ivanovich, which started to be published since the mid-19th century. Especially valuable recent articles are: *Il contributo di Cristoforo Ivanovich nell'evoluzione del melodramma Seicentesco* (Milošević, 1992, 111-124); *Un dalmata al servizio della Serenissima. Cristoforo Ivanovich, primo storico del melodramma* (Dubowy, 1992a, 21-31); *Jedan Dalmatinac u službi Serenissime: Kristofor Ivanović, prvi povjesničar melodrame* (Dubowy, 1992b, 35-44); *Questioni di stile e struttura del melodramma nelle lettere di Cristoforo Ivanovich* (Cavallini, 1994, 185-199). For the newest text on some features of Ivanovich's relationship to musical issues see: *Cristofor Ivanovich – A Seventeenth-Century Dalmatian Migrant in Serenissima, Revisited* (Tuksar, 2016a, 49-63).

¹³ Baglivi seems to be, along with Patrizi and Flacius, the most well-known thinker of Croatian origins among all writers mentioned in this article. The bibliography on him and his work encompasses more than 200 articles and books. The most valuable recent publication is: Gjuro Baglivi, *De fibra matrice et morbosa / O zdravom i bolesnom motoričkom vlaknu*, 1997; bi-lingual Latin-Croatian edition by Mirko Dražen Grmek. It contains a seminal study on the life, oeuvre and the historical importance of Baglivi, written by the editor (Grmek, 1997). The newest text on the Baglivi and music issue is: Tuksar, 2016b, 295-312.

England. Baglivi moved to Rome in 1692, where he made a spectacular Italian and international career, becoming professor of theoretical medicine at La Sapienza University at the early age of 24 and the personal second physician of Popes Innocent XIII and Clement XI. His international reputation and fame eventually led to his election as a Fellow of the Royal Society in England, as a member of the Holy Roman Empire's *Academia Naturae Curiosorum* (Academy of Sciences Leopoldina) in Germany, and as "membre d'honneur" of the French Academy. His *Opera omnia medico-practica et anatomica* were published as early as in 1704 (at his age of 36!) in Latin, subsequently ran through some 20 editions up to the very end of the 18th century, and were translated into Italian, French, German and English. Known as an outstanding iatrophysicist, i.e. an advocate of the medical application of physics, Baglivi tended to explain physiological processes in the human body as being governed by laws and procedures of mechanics. Baglivi dealt with music topics only in his text *Dissertatio VI. De Anatome, Morsu, & Effectibus Tarantulae*, written in September of 1695 and forming part of his *Opera Omnia*. There he tried to explain theoretically the healing of the intoxicated human body resulting from the bite of the tarantula spider, as practiced in days of music and dancing in the centuries – long tradition of common people in the province of Apulia. Baglivi's collected works (*Opera omnia*, including the text on music in *Dissertatio VI*) have been found in 15 copies (consisting of 10 editions from, respectively, 1704, 1710, 1714, 1715, 1719, 1734, 1745, 1751, 1754, and 1788!) kept in 11 Polish libraries in 6 cities in all (Kraków, Lublin, Poznań, Toruń, Warsaw and Wrocław).

Libraries in the Republic of Poland¹⁴

The above-mentioned printed titles by Croatian authors of the 16th and 17th centuries are kept in the corresponding Polish libraries either in their general collections or in some special collections and not in their respective music departments. The reason for such a state of affairs lies in the fact that they are not specialised texts on music with specified music titles, but are found scattered either in general dictionaries (if music terminology is concerned) or in works dealing with some other scientific or scholarly field such as theology, philosophy, general aesthetics, physics, political sciences, theories of poetics and theatre, historiography, medicine and Turkology.

Owing to the fact that the didascalia on single copies of these books are scarce or even do not exist at all, and that library inventories are often incomplete, the possibility of precisely tracing how single copies found their way into specific

¹⁴ Most of the data on particular libraries and their specific features have been taken from various official internet sites during 2016 and are permanently accessible.

Polish libraries are mostly reduced to issues of probability or more or less plausible speculations. However, some titles offer more certainty in this aspect of research.

1) Cieczyn – Biblioteka Tschammera

The Tschammer library is the oldest, the most important and the largest Evangelical library in Poland and was created in the second half of the 18th century by the lawyer Bogumil Rudolf Tschammer (1711–1787). It also contains private collections of other Protestant personalities of German, Polish and Czech nationalities, but it seems that Micalia's dictionary might have belonged to the initial fund of Tschammer's library.

2) Gdańsk – Biblioteka Gdańska PAN

The Gdańsk Polish Academy of Sciences library has as its forerunner the "Library of the City Council" (*Bibliotheca Senatus Gedanensis*), founded in 1596 and based on more than one thousand volumes donated in 1591 by the Italian Humanist Jan Bernard Bonifacio (1517–1597). In subsequent centuries it was enriched with collections of then contemporary Gdansk theologians and lawyers, and again in the 19th century with the collection of the West-Prussian Historical Society (*Westpreussischer Geschichtsverein*). After the Second World War c. 80,000 volumes of incunabulas, manuscripts and early prints were also returned (PAN Biblioteka Gdańska, 2012). Two titles by the Croatian Protestant writers Flacius and Scalichius belonged with great probability to the earliest 16th century collection, the more so as Scalichius himself lived for a while and finally died in Gdańsk.

3) Kraków – Biblioteka Jagiellonska; Biblioteka Narodowa; Muzeum Książąt Czartoryskich w Krakowie

The Jagiellonian (Royal) Library in Kraków (Biblioteka Jagiellońska Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, n.d) is one of the greatest and oldest in Poland. It was founded in 1364 and opened to the public in 1812. In this library four among Baglivi's earlier *Opera omnia* editions (from 1704, 1710, 1745, 1751) have been found (including the text on music in *Dissertatio VI*), being almost surely purchased for the local special collection of medical literature, kept today in the Collegium Medicum – Biblioteka Medyczna. Otherwise, Baglivi's collected works have turned out to be a real hit in the research of this topic in Poland: they have been found in 15 copies kept in 11 libraries in 6 cities in all (Kraków, Lublin, Poznań, Toruń, Warsaw and Wrocław), consisting of 10 editions published in, respectively, 1704, 1710, 1714, 1715, 1719, 1734, 1745, 1751, 1754, and 1788! Of course, it is reasonable to presume that the purchasing of all these editions was

done almost exclusively for medical purposes, and not because of any specific interest in Baglivi's *Dissertatio VI* and its musical aspect, especially when taking into account that no such indications on motives and ways of ordering of this bestseller exist for copies found in the libraries of Lublin, Poznań, Toruń, Warsaw and Wrocław.

The only work by Patrizi which addresses musical issues, *Della poetica*, is kept in one copy in one Polish library: in Kraków – Muzeum Książąt Czartoryskich w Krakowie (The Princes Czartoryski Library, in: Muzeum narodowe w Krakowie) (Fundacja Książąt Czartoryskich, 2018). The collection was founded at the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries by Prince Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski (1734–1823) and Izabela Czartoryska (1746–1835) of the Fleming family. Patrizi's title certainly belongs to the oldest layer of the old Czartoryski collection, but it remains as yet unknown as to where and by whom the book was purchased.

4) Łódź – Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego¹⁵

Taking into account that the present University Library at Łódź (Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego) exists only since 1945, but that its initial collection originates both from the abandoned former libraries in the city itself and its vicinity and from donations from other institutions and individual private owners, it is highly probable that such an atypical title as Gozze's late 16th century dialogue on beauty (*Dialogo della bellezza*, published in 1581) entered the library collection via a donation from a private source. [The same might be true for another copy of this work kept in the Wrocław University library.]

5) Lublin – Wojewódzka i Miejska Biblioteka Publiczna im. H. Łopacińskiego; Uniwersytet Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej

Both libraries in Lublin – The City of Lublin Public Library (Wojewódzka Biblioteka Publiczna im. H. Łopacińskiego, n.d.) and the University Library (*Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej*, 2013) – keep one copy each of Baglivi's *Opera omnia* from 1704 and 1734, respectively. Of special interest is the fact that the first edition from 1704 in the University Library forms part of today's Medical faculty collection as one of the four oldest in this University. It was very probably taken over from some older local collection gathered during the 18th century.

¹⁵ Although often unreliable, but lacking any other source of information, we have consulted for this occasion the following site: https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Biblioteka_Uniwersytetu_%C5%81%C3%B3dzkiego.

6) Olsztyn – Muzeum, Biblioteka

The local Museum Library (Olsztyn – Muzeum, Biblioteka) (Muzeum Warmii i Mazur w Olsztynie, n.d.) was created after the Second World War following the gathering together of the book collections which originally belonged to various German institutions and abandoned private libraries. It now houses several incunabulas with works by Nicolaus Copernicus (1473–1543), the material of the Hospital of the Holy Spirit in Dobre Miasto (in German: Guttstadt) dating from the 1576–1594 period, and manuscripts and early prints from the 17th and 18th centuries from the former Jesuit Collegium in Braniew. It is reasonable to presume that the copy of Scalichius' *Encyclopaedia ... Epistemon* entered the collection via some earlier collection belonging to some ancient German Protestant circle.

7) Poznań – Biblioteka Uniwersytecka; Akademia medyczna

Both libraries in Poznań – the Adam Mickiewicz University Library (Biblioteka Uniwersytecka w Poznaniu, n.d.) and the Medical Library (Uniwersytet Medyczny im. Karola Marcinkowskiego w Poznaniu, 2015) – keep three copies in all of Baglivi's *Opera omnia* from 1710, 1715 and 1734, respectively. Although both were founded after the First World War, the University Library has an older prehistory. It was officially formed in 1919 on the foundation of the older Kaiser-Wilhelm-Bibliothek (1898), which in turn was formed by gifts of the Royal Library in Berlin and of many institutional and private donations. However, it was not possible to trace how and from which older German collections these Baglivi editions made their way to the present Poznań institutions.

8) Szczecin – Wojewódzka i Miejska Biblioteka Publiczna

The tradition of the Voivodship and City Public Library (Miejska Biblioteka Publiczna w Szczecinie, 2016) in Szczecin goes back to the old Pomeranian library (Książnica Pomorska), which in turn originates from the older Stadtbibliothek Stettin. As the city was one among important Hanseatic ports and the capital of Western Pomerania under Swedish administration from 1630/37 to 1713/20, it seems that the copy of Ivanovich's book *Minerva al tavolino* might originate from this cultural circle and points toward the interest in operatic issues of the local higher social strata (the so-called Hanseatic people or upper-class people).

9) Toruń – Biblioteka Główna Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika; Wojewódzka Biblioteka Publiczna

The first higher school institution in Toruń was the local Academic Gymnasium founded in 1568, as one of the first universities in today's northern Poland. Its professors in the 17th and 18th centuries were outstanding scholars in the fields of Polish and Prussian history. Concerning the three copies of Flacius' works containing musical issues (*Liber de veris et falsis adiaphoris*; *Refutatio missae*; *Duo capita Polydori Vergilii de nomine ac autoribus missae*) kept in today's Toruń's University Library (Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika w Toruniu, n.d.), the origins of their purchasing might go as far back as to the initial 16th century collection of the Toruń Academic Gymnasium. In addition, it is not known when and how the 1714 edition of Baglivi's *Opera omnia* entered the collection of the Toruń Voivodian Public Library (Wojewódzka Biblioteka Publiczna - Książnica Kopernikańska w Toruniu, n.d.).

10) Warszawa – Biblioteka Narodowa, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka; Seminarium Metropolitalne; Główna Biblioteka Lekarska, Biblioteka Medyczna

Three libraries in Warsaw keep 13 copies of works with musical topics by Croatian authors. The greatest concentration is in the National Library (Kłossowski, 1990; Biblioteka Uniwersytecka w Warszawie, 2016) with ten titles in all, among which are nine editions of Georgievits' titles in Latin, German and Polish. Especially interesting among them are the unique preserved copies of the three editions (two of them in Latin) of Georgievits' works published in Kraków in 1548, including the very valuable early version of the translation into Polish (*Rozmowa z Turczynem*; however, the copy of this version in Polish is incomplete and damaged, and does not include passages on musical issues). There are no traces of how the series of this respectable number of Georgievits' titles entered the collections of this prestigious library. Their preservation is all the more astonishing if we take into account the catastrophic losses which this library suffered through German WWII "librocide" from 1944, when the Nazis destroyed c. 80,000 early prints, 2,500 incunabulas, 26,000 manuscripts, 100,000 drawings and 50,000 musical and theatrical materials. This cataclysmical disaster was preceded by an earlier one, when in the 18th century its predecessor, the Żałuski library, was confiscated and partly damaged by the Russian Tzarina Catherine the Great. The National Library also houses the second preserved copy in Poland of Ivanovich's *Minerva al tavolino* and the 1754 edition of Baglivi's *Opera Omnia*, the purchase of which might have occurred during the late 1850s or 1860s for the needs of the Medical-Surgical Academy or the Medical Department of the Warsaw Main School. Baglivi's late 1788 edition of *Opera Omnia*, preserved in the Warsaw Seminarium Metropolitalne (*Wyższe Metropolitalne Seminarium*

Duchowne w Warszawie, 2016), was probably purchased directly for the Seminary's research and educational needs. This Seminarium also keeps a copy of Verantius' *Dictionarium*, and the Main Medical Library (Główna Biblioteka Lekarska im. Stanisława Konopki, n.d.) keeps another copy of the late edition of Baglivi's *Opera omnia*.

11) Wrocław – Biblioteka Uniwersytecka; Zakład narodowy im Ossolińskich

The University of Wrocław (in German: Breslau) was founded by the Jesuits in the mid-17th century and was confirmed by the Habsburg ruler Leopold I almost simultaneously with his confirmation of the Jesuit University in the Croatian capital of Zagreb (1669). The department for early prints and books of the Wrocław University Library (Miejska Biblioteka Publiczna we Wrocławiu, n.d.) keeps the most diverse number of titles with music topics in Poland written by Croatian authors – seven in all by six authors. It seems that the city's earlier population, mixed both in national and religious affairs, was reflected in the variety of purchased Croatian authors: the works by Croatian Protestants Matthias Flacius Illyricus and Paulus Scalichius coexist in parallel with the ardent Catholic writer Habelich, and scholarly authors such as Verantius and Baglivi stand along with the Renaissance Humanist author Gozze.

Concerning in particular the 17th century author Juraj Habelich, a potential link might be established connecting this Counter-Reformation Zagreb writer with Wrocław: Habelich, Rector of the Zagreb Jesuit Collegium and a person of great merits in the process of establishing the old Zagreb Jesuit university, could have been among the most ideologically desirable authors for the newly established Wrocław Jesuit university and its library.

Regarding Ossolineum and the two titles by Verantius and Ivanovich kept in its library (Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 2013) established in 1817 as the then second largest in Poland, it is very probable that the two above-mentioned titles dating from the 16th and 17th centuries belong to the oldest layer of this collection, i.e. the initial collection of its founder – the politician, writer and scientist Józef Maksymilian Ossoliński (1748–1826).

General Conclusions

- 1) The migrations of musical topics and contents in the form of various theoretical discourses in printed publications by Croatian authors are well documented throughout Poland;
- 2) Titles written by Croatian authors and printed in the 16th century encompass works by six writers with 19 titles in all, forming the larger group;

- 3) Titles printed in the 17th century belong to five authors with six works in all and form a smaller group; among them only one title (Baglivi's *Opera Omnia* with *Dissertatio VI*) was a bestseller found in 15 copies in 11 libraries in all;
- 4) Statistically speaking, it can be perceived that the number of authors and titles declines from Renaissance to Baroque times (the trend was continued also in the 18th century). The reasons might lie in the gradually diminishing number of Croatian authors relevant in European terms;
- 5) Works by Croatian authors containing musical issues are all kept in general funds or in specialized non-musical collections bearing no musically explicit titles; the conclusion follows that readers interested in music – not being aware of the existence of such topics within titles covering other disciplines – did not extensively consult them as musically relevant sources;
- 6) Some others were certainly not at all recognized to be of Croatian origins; that is particularly true for Patrizi, Micalia and Baglivi who have been perceived in international scholarship prevalently as Italian authors;
- 7) These titles were indeed not purchased because their authors were of Croatian or Slavic origins, but because of the relevance of their main contents; the nationality of the author was of no greater relevance during the period under consideration in the sense it had become important in the 19th century of revived modern nationalism;
- 8) Copies of these books found in Polish libraries are today well distributed throughout the country (in widely dispersed cities and towns such as Cieszyn, Gdańsk, Kraków, Łódź, Lublin, Olsztyn, Poznań, Szczecin, Toruń, Warszawa and Wrocław), pointing at a good network of book trading both in Europe and in Poland in the period under consideration; books by Croatian authors were published throughout Europe (mostly in Italy, Austria and Germany) and were available because of the use Latin or Italian (in which they were written) as the then universal *linguae communaes*;
- 9) The great variety of titles and topics elaborated by Croatian authors and found in Polish libraries is certainly the reflexion of historical circumstances concerning individual buyers or specific institutions in regard to their nationality, religious options and concrete socio-cultural needs;
- 10) It is a matter of far-reaching and even paradoxical implications, which this research has shown, that works by Croatian Humanist authors from the period of the 16th- and 17th centuries have been more often purchased and better disseminated during their lifetimes than those produced by our contemporaries in this allegedly so more informatically developed period as are supposed to be the 20th and the 21st centuries.

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HOW TO SPLIT THE HERITAGE WHEN INVENTING A NATION. GERMANY'S POLITICAL AND MUSICAL DIVISION.

MARIE-AGNES DITTRICH

Abstract: After the end of the old Empire in the Napoleonic Age, the states which are now Austria and Germany have separated gradually. But due to the rivalry which had emerged between Prussia and Austria in the decades before the new German Empire excluded Austria, the concept of "Germany" had to be redefined by differentiation not only from France, but from Austria too. Promoting the idea of an inherently "German" culture without admitting the superiority of practically all European cultural centres and especially of Vienna's rich cultural and musical heritage required a redrawing of the map of Europe's musical memory with the help of great dividers like religion or gender roles. Germans liked to believe that they were, as predominantly Protestants, more intellectual, progressive, and masculine, as opposed to the decadent, traditionalist Catholics in Austria. This "othering" of Austria affected the reception of composers like Beethoven, whom Prussia appropriated as German, or Schubert as typically Austrian. Similar differences were constructed with the shifting relationships between Germany and Austria after the WWI and after National Socialism, and when Germany itself was divided once more.

Key words: Germany; Austria; othering; ideology of music; gender; 19th century.

The topic of this essay is personal.¹ Born and raised in Germany, I became an Austrian citizen in 1993 and ever since then have been fascinated by the complex relationship between my two countries which have had been united within one empire for centuries.

The history of a German-nation state begins during the Napoleonic wars when the Emperor Franz II (1768–1835) named himself Emperor (Franz I) of Austria (1804) and, two years later, abdicated as Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation², which was then dissolved. After Napoleon's defeat many different states, principalities, and free cities within the former empire founded the Confederation (Deutscher Bund, 1815–1866). Since it was the successor of the old Holy Roman Empire, it kept its coat of arms: a black double-headed eagle with red beaks and red talons on a golden background. The democratic

¹ My contribution at the conference was a commented slide show, and this paper does not attempt to change the style of the verbal presentation. A reproduction of the many images shown would not be feasible, but nearly all of them can easily be found on the web. Links are only provided when the search keywords are not entirely clear.

² "Heiliges Römisches Reich Deutscher Nation".

movement of the revolution of 1848 chose these colours for a flag, which much later, after the Second World War, would be used again by the Federal Republic of Germany. Austria was the confederation's Presiding power (*Präsidiālmacht*) and Vienna, the old imperial residence, was like a capital.

But Austria had a rival within the Confederation, the fairly new kingdom of Prussia, which had competed with Austria at least since the 18th century. Many new conflicts between these two states and their respective allies (for example, how to divide a province that Austria and Prussia, once united, had taken from Denmark in the war of 1864) erupted into war in 1866. The winners were Prussia and his allies which then founded their own North German Confederation (*Norddeutscher Bund*) dominated by Prussia. Its capital was Berlin. Austria, on the other hand, had to give greater independence to some of its parts. Its official name since 1867 is Austro-Hungarian Monarchy (*Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie*).

When Prussia declared war on France in 1870, some of Austria's former allies fought on Prussia's side. After the defeat of France in 1871, the princes of these states made the Prussian king their emperor (Wilhelm I, 1797–1888), tactfully in the castle of Versailles. Paintings by Anton von Werner (1843–1915), at that time a very famous painter of historical scenes and so important to Prussian propaganda that he was said to be the artistic part of the great Prussian arsenal³ (Khaynach, 1893, 28.), show the moment of the emperor's proclamation.⁴

Thus emerged the second German Empire (*Deutsches Reich*, 1871–1918) which was dominated by Prussia and therefore continued to use Prussia's insignia, a one-headed black eagle and the black, white and red flag. But this new Empire also appropriated symbols that before had belonged to all Germans, Austrians included.

The separation between the two German states is shown by representations of "Germania", the personification of Germany which was, depending on the political context, an equivalent or a rival of the French "Marianne". A painting from 1848 (Veit?, 1848), attributed to Philipp Veit (1793–1877) and based on his *Germania* from 1836 (Veit, 1836), shows Germania with a sword, but with olive branches signifying peace in one hand and, at her feet, the chains of oppression by the princes, now broken. She wears the old Empire's coat of arms on her chest to indicate that the democratic revolutionaries wanted not to destroy the German Confederation, but to liberate it from the traditional despotism.

After the failed revolution of 1848, conflicts with France and nationalistic sentiments increased. A painting (1860) by Lorenz Clasen (1812–1899) shows

³ "die künstlerische Seite des großen preußischen Waffenlagers".

⁴ Werner painted three versions, to be found with the keyword "Kaiserproklamation", cf Bartmann, 1993.

Germania auf der Wacht am Rhein (Germania guarding the Rhine) as a warrior, ready to defend Germany against France. The title of the painting refers to a very popular song that praised the fact that the river Rhine – that is, the most important part of the frontier between the two countries – would always be watched over, defended and thus defined as a “German” river. (Cepl-Kaufmann and Johanning, 2003). The relationship with France had indeed been uneasy at least since the wars of Louis XIV. Clasen’s *Germania* looks, ready for battle, across the river to the left, towards the west and towards France. She holds a sword, but now no longer with an olive branch. But she still uses the empire’s coat of arms, and at her side she has kept its insignia. Thus, she represents once again Germany which included Austria.

Three wars later, a flag of the *Combattanten-Verein Ehrenfeld* (Association of Combatants)⁵ uses Clasen’s painting. By now, Germania’s accoutrements have changed. Although she has kept the old Empire’s insignia, thus declaring herself its successor, her coat of arms shows the Prussian one-headed eagle of the New German Empire. And, with the help of God – at least according to the inscription which includes the words “Gott war mit uns” (God was with us) – Germania has fought and won three wars, according to the dates in the medallions around her: two against foreign states, Denmark (1864) and France (1870/1871), but also one against Austria (1866). The reference to the victory of 1866 indicated that Austria was no longer regarded as part of Germany. For Austrians the lost war was a traumatic experience and has never been forgotten. The location of the decisive battle at Königgrätz near Prague is still well remembered in Austria: whenever Austria wins an important sports match against Germany, newspapers are prone to talk of Revenge for Königgrätz (*Rache für Königgrätz*)⁶. In Austria, the name for a North German is *Piefke*. This is not supposed to be nice. Johann Gottfried Piefke (1815–1884) was a Prussian composer who became famous for a March he was said to have composed on the very battlefield of Königgrätz. This *Königgrätzer Marsch* is particularly offensive because its trio quotes the 18th-century-*Hohenfriedberger Marsch* which celebrated a Prussian victory over Austria (and allies) in a battle of 1745. The message is clear: whenever Austria fights against Prussia, Prussia wins. The *Königgrätzer Marsch* enjoys great popularity even nowadays (Dittrich, 2011), especially with extreme-right nationalists (not a few of whom are Austrians longing for a reunification with Germany).

For Prussia, the victory over and separation from Austria fit into a narrative of success, according to which ancient Rome, decadent, had to be succeeded by the first Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, which in its turn had to give way to the German Empire: according to Hegel (1770–1831)⁷, history is determined

⁵ I could not find an image of this flag online; cf. Plessen, 1996, 34.

⁶ It is interesting how many and what kind of results a search of this phrase finds online.

⁷ For an introduction to Hegel as a Historian see Beiser, 1993, 270–300.

by a “Fortgang zum Besseren” (Hegel, 1961, 105), which is a progress towards the better. And, according to Hegel, the Protestant states were more progressive, because Catholicism was opposed to freedom, enlightenment and progress of thought. (Hegel, 1961, 590-601) Whereas Hegel’s philosophy of progress was embraced by Prussia, Austria was said to be as decadent as the old empire, since it was still based on Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz’ (1646–1716) philosophy of a pre-established harmony, clung to obsolescent traditions and impeded scholarship and science. (Boisits, 2004, 129-136).

For decades, “Germany” had been defined as a cultural entity which included what we now call Austria. The emerging Germany of the 19th century, a Nation-State without Austria, had hardly any cultural identity. Promoting the idea of an exclusively “German” culture against the factual superiority of practically all European cultural centres, and especially against Austria’s rich cultural heritage, required a reshaping of Europe’s memory.

Thus, Prussia’s cultural significance needed to be vastly exaggerated. The 18th century king Friedrich II (in Germany called the Great, 1712–1786), was praised as a patron of the arts because he was supposed to have suggested the Royal theme for Johann Sebastian Bach’s (1685–1750) *Musikalisches Opfer* (Musical Offering, 1747), and because he composed and played the flute. Adolf von Menzel’s (1815–1905) painting *Flötenkonzert Friedrichs des Großen in Sanssouci* (The Flute Concert of Frederick the Great at Sanssouci, 1850–52) showing him playing a concert (or even one of his own concertos?)⁸, was given a prominent place in the most important art museum in Berlin of that time⁹. But neither such meagre and isolated incidents nor the fact that most German philosophers and poets were Protestants could even begin to equal the rich culture of imperial Vienna. And thus the newly defined Germans devaluated their rivals by insinuating that Austria was not worthy of its great heritage.¹⁰

Old hostilities were revived, and since Prussia’s Protestantism dominated in the new Germany, religion was used as the great divider. Historians now speak of a German Proto-Nationalism which arose during the Reformation but profited from anti-Roman propaganda that was widespread even earlier – and which was also, and significantly, very gendered. For example, an engraving by Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528) shows *Das Babylonische Weib* (The Whore of Babylon, 1496/97) venerated by, among others, a monk. (Allard, 2008, 147f) There were many illustrations either of the Babylonian Whore wearing the pope’s tiara, or of a monster – a female figure with a donkey’s head, supposedly

⁸ The German term “Konzert” means both “concert” and “concerto”.

⁹ Today it is called *Alte Nationalgalerie*.

¹⁰ Since I have been interested in the “German” interpretation of Franz Schubert, much of the last part of this paper is based on previous publications, e.g. Ditttrich, 2001, 3-21.

found in Rome and used as *Papstesel* (pope-donkey) in Lutheran propaganda (Anon, 2018). Clichés about Protestants and Catholics abounded and were also gendered: The Protestants, reading the bible and supposedly forming their own relationship with God, liked to think of themselves as intellectually more independent and rational, and of Catholics, on the other hand, as emotionally dependent on authorities and superstitious traditions. In the 19th century even many Catholics believed in these differences, blaming the lack of a culture of discourse on the Counter-Reformation. A very famous drama by the Austrian poet Franz Grillparzer (1791–1872), *König Ottokars Glück und Ende* (1825), contains a description of Austria. (act III, scene 3) School children learned it by heart well into the 20th century. Austria is portrayed as a country of great natural beauty. Although Austrians are less intellectual than the Germans and less capable of controversy, they are more pious. And, significantly: Austria is like a youngster and Germany is a man. Grillparzer himself was criticised for a supposedly typically Austrian lack of dramatic force. (Suchy, 1965, 35f) 19th century clichés about Germany and Austria are full of binary and very often gendered oppositions for the purpose of “othering” Austria. One finds them everywhere, even in books and journals about music.

Among the many publications, the one by Richard Wagner (1814–1883) may as well have been the nastiest. His booklet *Beethoven* was written for 100th anniversary of Beethoven’s birth in 1870. Beethoven has been much venerated in Berlin already since the 1820s (Bauer, 1992) and the Prussian state profited by the fact that he had been born in Bonn, which had become a Prussian province after the Napoleonic wars. But centenary of Beethoven’s birth coincided with Germany’s attack on France, and Wagner’s booklet was a pure German nationalist propaganda. It promoted the idea, very popular at the time, that German culture was deeper felt and that Germany was ultimately superior to both France and Austria. Austria was (like France) rotten to the core, ruined by Catholics and the nobility, it lacked intellectual freedom, never appreciated its artists, and let Mozart die in misery. (Wagner, 1873, 79-151) Beethoven, although raised a Catholic and although he lived in Vienna, was considered as great because he had been inspired by German Protestantism. What he felt about Haydn is “like (what) a true man (feels) about a childish geriatric man.”¹¹ (Wagner, 1873, 80) Only in his youth he could have accepted Haydn as his teacher, but for Beethoven the man, there was only one leader (Führer): the great German Johann Sebastian Bach. (Wagner, 1873. 115 f) The idea that only German composers could create significant works continued to thrive in the 20th century. (Potter, 1998) Even Austrians subscribed to those ideas. Tragically, Arnold Schoenberg (1874–1951), born into an Austrian Jewish family, was eager to be part of this assumed

¹¹ “Es scheint, er fühlte sich Haydn verwandt wie der geborene Mann dem kindlichen Greise.”

“German” tradition which was believed to connect Bach, Beethoven (1770–1827) and Brahms (1833–1897).¹²

The German Empire defined itself as a warrior nation; founded during a war with France, and proclaimed at Versailles (1871) it also made sure that nobody would ever forget its triumphal origins. Its social structure and mentality – although the latter allegedly grounded in deep emotions – were defined by militarism. (Wette, 2008) In this context and under the influence of Hegel’s philosophy, much of Beethoven’s music was felt to be heroic. (Burnham, 1995) It was even said that the German chancellor Otto von Bismarck (1815–1898) had felt compelled to attack Austria in 1866 after having listened to Beethoven’s *Fifth Symphony*. This seems to be a myth, but it is significant that people actually believed it. (Dennis, 1996, 36-48)

Even Beethoven’s monument in Vienna (1880) by Caspar von Zumbusch (1830–1915) interprets him this way. Beethoven looks grimly determined, while Prometheus at the monument’s base stands as a symbol of his titanic struggle against fate. Although its political background is now mostly forgotten, this image of Beethoven remains in the heads of many conductors and causes misinterpretations. Just think of one of his most heroic works – how often does one hear the first theme of the *Eroica* played like the waltz that it is? (Voss, 2005, 103)

According to the later 19th century narrative, Schubert compared to Beethoven seemed “like a child playing among giants”¹³ (La Mara, 1868, 113). Schubert’s Vienna monument (1872) by Carl Kundmann (1838–1919) is situated in a park, because Schubert, according to the long dedication poem (*Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 1972, 254f), composed as easily as flowers spring from the ground. For Grove (1820–1900), Schubert’s music flowed through him from heaven (apparently he only needed to hold his pen). Grove’s comparison of Beethoven and Schubert shares the gendered interpretation of his contemporaries: “(...) compared with Beethoven, Schubert is as a woman (compared) to a man. For it must be confessed that one’s attitude towards him is almost always that of sympathy, attraction, and love, rarely that of embarrassment or fear (...) and how different is this (...) from the strong, fierce, merciless coercion, with which Beethoven forces you along, and bows and bends you to his will.” (Grove, 1883, 364) Binary opposition was also used in the Brahms-Bruckner controversy. The association of Brahms (a Protestant intellectual from a big city) and Bruckner (a Catholic country bumpkin from Upper Austria) was clearly connected to the underlying German-Austrian conflict.

¹² For a (much criticized) rendering of a German-centered music history cf. Eggebrecht, 1991.

¹³ “wie ein Kind, das unter Riesen spielt”.

But in spite of all the Prussian triumphalism, for Austrians the lost war of 1866 was not all bad. The loss of prestige of the military and the nobility became an advantage for the middle-class. For them, the unheroic Schubert was a symbol of identification, and his Vienna monument was a political statement of emancipation and liberty (as the dedication poem for the Schubert monument explicitly stated).

Nevertheless, many Austrians suffered from an inferiority complex and longed to be reunited with Germany. As we all know, their wish was granted when Germania looked like the one in Friedrich August von Kaulbach's (1850–1920) painting with the title *Deutschland August 1914*: very aggressive, behind her a flaming horizon in red and black. After the war, and after the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the much reduced new state of Austria was eager to point out its independence from Germany. Music, theatre pieces and films showed a child-like Mozart or an awkward Schubert to prove that Austrians were harmless, if a bit irresponsible, and very different from those masculine and over-organised Germans. (Mayer-Hirzberger, 2008) But, the old longing for political unity and German approval remained popular. A postcard from the 1920s shows a *Schubertfeier im Elysium. Forellenquintett* (Schubert celebration in Elysium. Trout Quintett): Austrian and German composers playing Schubert's *Forellenquintett*, while others (even "Germans" like Beethoven and Wagner) listened. And Schoenberg proudly announcing the predominance of German music for the next 100 years¹⁴ (Rufer, 1959, 26; Gradenwitz, 2000, 21), wanted to be seen as a German, not as a mere Austrian composer. The German *Walhalla*, a hall of fame planned after the Napoleonic wars, has since been filled with busts of Germans considered the great ones. What a triumph for one Austrian not only to have become Chancellor of Germany but also to celebrate the admission of a fellow Upper Austrian into this place of memory. A famous photograph of Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) shows him standing before the bust of Bruckner in 1937.¹⁵ One year later, Austria came "heim ins Reich" (home into the Empire), as the Nazi slogan went. The Third Reich, by the way, used the Prussian colours (black, white and red) for its flag.

Millions of deaths later, music was again used to define separate identities. Austrians once more let non-threatening music like Waltzes show their difference from the Germans¹⁶ and made very clear that they had not been supporters of Nazi Germany, but its first victims. In fact there is a saying, ascribed to different sources, that Austrians managed to convince the world that Beethoven had been an Austrian and Hitler a German.

¹⁴ "Vorherrschaft der deutschen Musik für die nächsten 100 Jahre".

¹⁵ Search for the key words "hitler walhalla bruckner" – but be warned: you might find it most easily on websites affiliated with neo-Nazis.

¹⁶ The film *Sound of Music* is a very good example.

The Germans, on the other hand, invented the idea of a “Stunde Null” (Zero Hour) in 1945, as if there had been no past, no history, no war, no genocide. Everything was new, also the arts and music, and the Darmstadt festival proclaimed a New Music appropriate to a country without a past. Now we know differently. There were still National-Socialists active in German politics and culture, to an extent that historians now wonder how Germany ever managed to become quite a respectable democracy.

A bit later the heritage needed to be divided again, when Germany was split into two states (1949–1990). To whom did Johann Sebastian Bach belong? On a Bach-conference at Leipzig (1950), West German musicologists claimed Bach as theirs, because he was a devout Lutheran; the East Germans, on the other hand, interpreted him as a crypto-socialist. (Dittrich, 2007) And both German states used the festivities to honour the German Bach’s anniversary to demonstrate to the world that they were a *Kulturnation*¹⁷, after all, and not the barbarians that they had shown themselves to be.

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¹⁷ The term *Kulturnation* is very problematic. It was first used to define the community of “Germans” before there was a German nation state, but later also to gloss over the fact that there had never been a democratic political procedure that created the new German Empire. Thus it indicated a minority complex in relation to more democratic states like the USA or France by emphasizing that Germans were more educated (“kultiviert”) and thus elevated above the mundane political business (from which most of them were excluded).

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CURRENT RESEARCH METHODOLOGIES FOR REDISCOVERING FORGOTTEN COMPOSERS: USING COMMERCIAL GENEALOGY AND NEWSPAPER DATABASES AND OTHER ONLINE ARCHIVES

NICO SCHÜLER

Abstract: This paper describes the reconstruction of the life and work of African-American composer Jacob J. Sawyer and the correction of one biographical aspect of African-American composer Edmond Dédé with the help of commercial genealogy and newspaper databases as well as online collections of music scores.

Key Words: Jacob J. Sawyer; Edmond Dédé; 19th century; African-American composers; minstrelsy; piano music; newspaper databases; genealogical research.

Introduction

I pursued my first extensive archival research project in Brno (Czech Republic) in 1995–1996. It was on the musical life of the Germans in Brno in the 1920s, and my main sources were (a) newspapers of the time, which I accessed in hard copy in libraries, and (b) biographical music dictionaries, especially those published during the 1920s, which contained entries on composers and musicians of the time. The project was very time consuming. Today, 20 years later, many such sources (newspapers and dictionaries) are available online in digital format, but searching in them is still very challenging. This paper discusses some experiences with searching in online databases and archives to rediscover forgotten composers. Specifically, I report on using commercial genealogy databases in the rediscovery of Jacob J. Sawyer (1856–1885) and Edmond Dédé (1827–1901).¹

1. Academic vs. Commercial Newspaper Databases

For the composers discussed below, I was looking for newspaper databases, as traditional research databases did not provide sufficient information. My goal was to find newspaper articles on the composers, so I could reconstruct their

¹ This paper presents revised and expanded research originally published as Schüler, 2015 and Schüler, 2016.

biographies. I found the following “academic” newspaper databases:

- 19th Century US Newspapers (Gale-Cengage Learning)
- Chicago Tribune (Historical from ProQuest)
- Dallas Morning News (Historical Archive from NewsBank, Inc.)
- Los Angeles Times (Historical from ProQuest)
- New York Times (Historical from ProQuest)
- Wall Street Journal (Historical from ProQuest)
- Washington Post (Historical from ProQuest)

Most of these databases contained very specific newspapers as indicated by their titles, none of which were published in cities where the two composers I consider had lived or worked. Only the 19th Century US Newspapers database had a more general focus that seemed useful for my research. Reading about this 19th Century US Newspapers database, I learned that it contains about 500 urban and regional newspapers, special-interest publications, and illustrated papers that were published throughout the United States during the 19th century; it contains about 1.8 million pages. Searching in this database, however, resulted in very few useful documents for this project.

After extensively searching in the world wide web, I came across several “commercial” genealogy databases and “commercial” newspaper databases:

- <http://www.ancestry.com>
- <http://www.genealogybank.com>
- <http://newspaperarchive.com>
- <http://newspapers.com>

These commercial genealogy databases have many more records than academic databases. For example, <http://www.genealogybank.com> contains more than 7,000 different newspapers with more than 1 billion records; it has an annual membership fee of about \$70. The commercial newspaper database <http://newspapers.com> contains more than 4,400 newspapers from the 1700s through today and more than 255 million pages; millions of additional pages are added every month; its annual membership fee (“access everything”) is \$150.

We can easily see that the commercial databases contain many more documents than the academic databases, which makes the commercial databases much more attractive for academic research. The following two sections provide examples of how these commercial databases provide valuable information for the rediscovery of these composers.

2. The Forgotten Composer Jacob J. Sawyer

For James M. Trotter's famous book *Music and Some Highly Musical People* (Trotter, 1880), only 13 pieces of music were selected for inclusion; one of these pieces was by African-American composer Jacob J. Sawyer². The inclusion of one of his compositions in Trotter's book marks Sawyer as an exemplary and well-known composer, despite his young age at the time of the printing (of Trotter's book), 24 years old. But when I came across the name Jacob J. Sawyer, I knew nothing about him.³ What I could find in traditional academic databases and publications was very limited. He is now nearly forgotten, and only a very sketchy biography published in Eileen Southern's *Biographical Dictionary of Afro-American and African Musicians* (Southern, 1982, 332) reminds us of him. This dictionary entry did not even include the exact birth date or any information about his death. The entire entry reads as follows:

"SAWYER, JACOB. Composer (b. c1859 in Boston, Massachusetts [?]; fl. late nineteenth century). Little is known of his career except that he was highly regarded as a pianist-composer during his time. He toured with the Hyers Sisters Company as a pianist in 1878 and wrote songs especially for the company. A press notice in January 1884 referred to him as Boston's 'favorite Professor Jacob Sawyer' when he played on a local concert. Trotter includes one of Sawyer's pieces, 'Welcome to the Era March,' in the 1878 survey. BIBL: Black press, incl. NYGlobe, 19 January 1884. Trot, p.2; 22-25 of the music section." (Southern, 1982, 332)

In addition to this dictionary article, John W. Finson mentioned Sawyer twice briefly in his book on *The Voices That Are Gone* (Finson, 1997). In his chapter on *Postbellum Blackface Song: Authenticity and the Minstrel Demon*, Finson writes:

"The heightened realism in the music of pseudo-spirituals and the increased attention to 'Negro oddities' for their own sake led to even more derogatory songs, as criticism of blacks gave way to deliberate malice. Jacob J. Sawyer admonishes the faithful in 'Blow, Gabriel, Blow' (1882):

Darkies pray fo' de time draws nigh,
Blow, Gabriel, Blow,
We'll soon be mountin' up on high,
Blow, etc.

² Trotter included Sawyer's *Welcome to the Era* march on pp. 22-25 of the Music Appendix. However, Trotter does not mention Sawyer in the main text of his book.

³ I originally came across his name when I accepted the invitation to write an article about him for the latest edition of the *Grove Dictionary of American Music* (Schüler, 2013, 353).

Chicken coops you mus' leave alone,
Blow, etc.
Or Satan 'll cotch you shu's you's bo'n,
Blow, etc.

This advice is accompanied by a strictly pentatonic and highly syncopated tune (Ex. 6.10⁴), which bears a distant resemblance to 'Gabriel's Trumpet's Going to Blow' as sung by Jennie Jackson of the Jubilee Singers. Presumably Sawyer employed his song in a major production number of the very famous and widely traveled Haverly's Colored Minstrels, whom he served as musical director." (Finson, 1997, 219-220)

It is not clear where Finson got the information, since no references to any Sawyer sources are given, but I assume that Finson's only sources were published scores, several of which identified Sawyer as the *Musical Director of Haverly's Colored Minstrels* or *Musical Director, Haverly's Colored Minstrels* on the title page underneath the composer's name. Later in the same chapter of his book, Finson mentioned Sawyer one more time:

"Skits featuring black target companies enjoyed a vogue in many minstrel companies, and for one of the largest, Haverly's Colored Minstrels, Jacob J. Sawyer wrote 'I'm De Sargent Ob De Coonville Guards' (1881), 'Coonville Guards' (1881), and 'I'm de Captain ob the Black Cadets' (1881)." (Finson, 1997, 225)

While Finson must receive credit for mentioning Sawyer and for placing him into a history of minstrel songs, Eileen Southern provided biographical information on Sawyer as far as it was known when I came across the composer's name in 2011.

About 22 of Jacob J. Sawyer's compositions are listed in WorldCat, a handful of which are available in two to three libraries each and most of them only in one library each. However, the digital collection *Music for the Nation: American Sheet Music, Ca. 1870 to 1885* by the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C., contains close to 50 of Sawyer's compositions, which have recently been scanned and are available online. Some of the scores contain information about the composer's affiliation with a particular performance ensemble, such as Sawyer's aforementioned position as "Musical Director of the Haverly's Colored Minstrels" in works published in 1881. These and other affiliations indicated in the publication of compositions by Sawyer are:

⁴ This example in Finson's book shows the beginning of the second stanza of Jacob J. Sawyer's "Blow, Gabriel, Blow".

1878-80	Pianist for the Hyers Sisters ⁵
1881	Musical Director of the Haverly's Colored Minstrels ⁶
1883	Pianist of the Slayton Ideal Company
1884-85	Musical Director of the Nashville Students



Figure 1: Title Page of Sawyer's *All the Rage Grand March* (Sawyer, 1880)⁷.

Since Sawyer turned 23 years old in 1879, and since he died in 1885 (as I later found out), it can be assumed that this list of affiliations is complete, or that these affiliations are at least his major affiliations. *The Hyers Sisters* were well-known singers and pioneers of African-American musical theater (Southern, 1997, 244), while *Haverly's Colored Minstrels* was a successful black minstrelsy group owned and managed by Jack H. Haverly (1837–1901) (Toll, 1974, 146). *The Slayton Ideal Company* was a jubilee troupe by African-American actor and singer Sam Lucas (1840–1916). Finally, the financially successful and very popular Chicago-based *Original Nashville Students* was managed by the African-

⁵ See, for example, Figure 1.

⁶ See, for example, Figure 2.

⁷ This score is contained in the digital collection "Music for the Nation: American Sheet Music, Ca. 1870 to 1885" in the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C.

American H. B. Thearle; it toured nationally, performing vocal and instrumental music, dance, and comedy.

Numerous publications of Sawyer's music also contain dedications. Information on the individuals to whom his music had been dedicated is subject to further research.

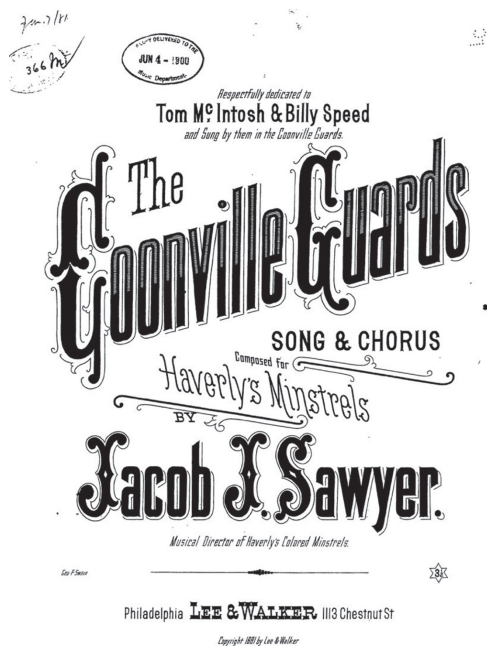


Figure 2: Title Page of Sawyer's *The Coonville Guards* (Sawyer, 1881).⁸

I found it intriguing that a composer whose compositions were widely published and even included by James M. Trotter would be largely forgotten. Not even his date of birth and date of death were known to Eileen Southern. To find more biographical information, I turned to the standard databases for research in music as well as in humanities in general – to no avail. I searched on the internet, which proved to be difficult, as “Jacob Sawyer” was a common name. I finally subscribed to several commercial genealogy and newspaper databases: www.genealogybank.com, www.ancestry.com, www.newspaperarchive.com, and www.newspapers.com. These large and rich commercial genealogy databases

⁸ This score is contained in the digital collection “Music for the Nation: American Sheet Music, Ca. 1870 to 1885” in the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C.

contained numerous documents about Sawyer. Searching in such databases is a task that requires much time and patience, as the vast majority of search results were either about other people named Jacob Sawyer, or the search results were faulty because “Jacob” may have appeared in one name and “Sawyer” in another on the same page of the document. In addition, not all documents are indexed correctly, as the optical text recognition may have been incorrect.

Most difficult was the initial search for the “correct” Jacob Sawyer, because Eileen Southern’s information provided a relatively large (and incorrect) window for Sawyer’s birth. The name Jacob Sawyer appeared in many census records, and I could only identify the correct Sawyer after weeks of going through many census records and many newspaper articles by noticing the name Ellen Sawyer in a newspaper article about the Nashville Students and Jacob Sawyer (*New York Globe*, 1884, 4.)⁹, which I could then match to one of the census records that listed Ellen underneath Jacob’s name as his sister. Thus, I could finally identify Sawyer in three census records (1860, 1870, and 1880).¹⁰ At this point, I had not yet found any information about Sawyer’s death, nor the date of birth, and so I continued looking for documents on Sawyer beyond the 1880s, up until the mid-20th century, to no avail. By comparing the dates on which the census was conducted with Sawyer’s age listed in the census records, the three census records enabled me at least to narrow his possible date of birth to between 30 July 1856 and 4 June 1857. It was not until many months later that I could find the birth record (see Figure 3) on www.ancestry.com, listing his date of birth as 5 November, 1856. While Sawyer is listed in this birth record as “Jacob A. Sawyer”, the middle initial must have been an error or possibly an abbreviation for a middle name later not used or changed; all other information in this record, including the names of Sawyer’s parents, match with other records on the composer.

⁹ This is also the article that names Jacob Sawyer as “our favorite Prof Jacob J. Sawyer” that Eileen Southern mentions in her 1982 article.

¹⁰ These census records were found via www.ancestry.com.

BIRTHS REGISTERED IN THE TOWN OF ROXBURY					
Age	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	Name of Parents	Sex	Religion
1895					
580	Mar 11 Macmillan	Ballinacorney	F V Paul	Mary	
581	Mar 22 Ann	Reath	F V John P	Mary	
582	Mar 12 John	Reath	M V Joseph	Mary	
583	Apr 30 William F	Reath	M V James B	Martin J	
584	May 3 Adèle A	Reath	F V George	Elizabeth	
585	May 12 Charles A	Reath	M V John	Lucia A	
586	May 20 Elizabeth	Reath	F V Charles	Barbara	
587	May 21 Andrew P	Reath	M V Henry	Catherine	
588	May 4 Ann	Reath (P)	F V James	James	
589	May 4 James	Reath (P)	M V James	James	
590	May 7 Horatio D	Reath	M V Robert R	Louise E	
591	Jun 12 Charles E	Reath	M V Francis	Catherine	
592	Jun 24 Margaret	Reath	F V Patrick	Ann	
593	Aug 9 Ewer	Reath	F V Anthony B	Mary F	
594	Aug 1 Lizzie	Reath	F V Francis	Elizabeth G	
595	Aug 7 James B	Reath	M V John	Rachel	
596	Aug 22 Kate	Reath	F V Charles	Jessamine	
597	Aug 7, Leonard	Reath	M V Francis	John	
598	Nov 28	Reath	M V James C	Lucilla	
599	Nov 5 James A	Reath	M V James	Elizabeth	
600	Nov 13 Ann	Reath	F V Bernard	Mary	

FOR THE YEARS 1843 to 1867					
Age of Birth	Residence of Parents	Occupation of Father	Place of Birth	Place of Birth	Date of Birth
1843					
1844	Reath	Master	Ireland	Ireland	580
1845	Reath	Pepperhanger	W L	Ireland	581
1846	Reath	Pepperhanger	W L	Ireland	582
1847	Reath	Pepperhanger	W L	Ireland	583
1848	Reath	Pepperhanger	W L	Ireland	584
1849	Reath	Pepperhanger	W L	Ireland	585
1850	Reath	Pepperhanger	W L	Ireland	586
1851	Reath	Pepperhanger	W L	Ireland	587
1852	Reath	Pepperhanger	W L	Ireland	588
1853	Reath	Pepperhanger	W L	Ireland	589
1854	Reath	Pepperhanger	W L	Ireland	590
1855	Reath	Pepperhanger	W L	Ireland	591
1856	Reath	Pepperhanger	W L	Ireland	592
1857	Reath	Pepperhanger	W L	Ireland	593
1858	Reath	Pepperhanger	W L	Ireland	594
1859	Reath	Pepperhanger	W L	Ireland	595
1860	Reath	Pepperhanger	W L	Ireland	596
1861	Reath	Pepperhanger	W L	Ireland	597
1862	Reath	Pepperhanger	W L	Ireland	598
1863	Reath	Pepperhanger	W L	Ireland	599
1864	Reath	Pepperhanger	W L	Ireland	600

Figure 3: Birth Register, Listing Jacob Sawyer Second-to-Last on this Excerpt. (Ancestry, 2011a)¹¹

With the newly gained information indicating the exact date of birth, I could eventually also find the death record (Figure 4), listing the date of his passing as June 3, 1885, and identifying the cause of death as tuberculosis.

DEATHS IN ROXBURY									
Date of Birth	Age	Date of Death	Name	Sex	Place of Birth	Place of Death	Place of Burial	Religion	Notes
1843	42	Mar 11	Macmillan	M	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland		
1844	43	Mar 22	Ann	F	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland		
1845	44	Mar 12	John	M	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland		
1846	45	Apr 30	William F	M	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland		
1847	46	May 3	Adèle A	F	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland		
1848	47	May 12	Charles A	M	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland		
1849	48	May 20	Elizabeth	F	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland		
1850	49	May 21	Andrew P	M	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland		
1851	50	May 4	Ann	F	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland		
1852	51	May 4	James	M	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland		
1853	52	May 7	Horatio D	M	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland		
1854	53	Jun 12	Charles E	M	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland		
1855	54	Jun 24	Margaret	F	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland		
1856	55	Aug 9	Ewer	M	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland		
1857	56	Aug 1	Lizzie	F	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland		
1858	57	Aug 7	James B	M	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland		
1859	58	Aug 22	Kate	F	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland		
1860	59	Aug 7	Leonard	M	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland		
1861	60	Nov 28		M	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland		
1862	61	Nov 5	James A	M	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland		
1863	62	Nov 13	Ann	F	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland		

DEATHS IN ROXBURY									
Date of Birth	Age	Date of Death	Name	Sex	Place of Birth	Place of Death	Place of Burial	Religion	Notes
1843	42	Mar 11	Macmillan	M	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland		
1844	43	Mar 22	Ann	F	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland		
1845	44	Mar 12	John	M	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland		
1846	45	Apr 30	William F	M	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland		
1847	46	May 3	Adèle A	F	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland		
1848	47	May 12	Charles A	M	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland		
1849	48	May 20	Elizabeth	F	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland		
1850	49	May 21	Andrew P	M	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland		
1851	50	May 4	Ann	F	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland		
1852	51	May 4	James	M	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland		
1853	52	May 7	Horatio D	M	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland		
1854	53	Jun 12	Charles E	M	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland		
1855	54	Jun 24	Margaret	F	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland		
1856	55	Aug 9	Ewer	M	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland		
1857	56	Aug 1	Lizzie	F	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland		
1858	57	Aug 7	James B	M	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland		
1859	58	Aug 22	Kate	F	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland		
1860	59	Aug 7	Leonard	M	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland		
1861	60	Nov 28		M	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland		
1862	61	Nov 5	James A	M	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland		
1863	62	Nov 13	Ann	F	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland		

Figure 4: Death Register, Listing Jacob Sawyer Second-to-Last on this Excerpt. (Anon, 2013a)¹²

¹¹ The original record can be found in Anon 2011b, 2011.

¹² The original data can be found in Anon, 2013b.

The first newspaper articles mentioning Jacob Sawyer are from Cincinnati in 1879, when he applied for a music teacher position. In the context of Sawyer's candidacy for the music teacher position, a misunderstanding by a reporter led to the publication of a local newspaper article in which Sawyer was mentioned as being a candidate for a college position; more specifically, Sawyer sent a letter ("card") to the newspaper to clarify that his candidacy was for a music teacher position, not for a college position (see Figure 4); because of this "card", we learn that Sawyer was examined and recommended for the music teacher position and that he was studying or taking lessons in music theory and violin at the Cincinnati College of Music at that time (at which Theodore Thomas was the director from 1878 to 1879). The Education Board meeting notes were regularly published, so that the newspapers reported about Sawyer's candidacy for the music teacher position and that he was ultimately not chosen.

A Card from Mr. Sawyer.
To the Editor of the Cincinnati Gazette.

In your paper of Saturday morning there appeared a statement in regard to my candidacy for the position of music teacher in the public schools. I thank you kindly for your reference to me personally, but you are, under a misapprehension with regard to the action of the College of Music. I was first nominated by the committee as teacher, but through some misunderstanding that nomination was revoked. I then went to Mr. Theodore Thomas and asked him to examine me for my fitness for the position, which he very kindly did and gave me a recommendation which has resulted in my re-nomination by the committee. Until this time I was not a pupil of the college, but Mr. Thomas thought I had better study the theory of music and violin, which I am now doing at the college. Under the circumstances, for which I am grateful to the officers of the college, I write this note in order to have it distinctly understood that I am not a candidate of the college, as implied in your article as above referred to.

Respectfully yours, JACOB J. SAWYER.

Figure 5: Sawyer Letter to the Cincinnati Daily Gazette (Cincinnati Daily Gazette, 1879).

Interestingly, one of the other applicants for the teacher position had bribed a Board member, which caused an investigation, about which, in turn, was reported in the newspaper. As part of the investigation, all applicants, including Sawyer, were questioned, and thus mentioned in articles reporting on the investigation.

Other newspaper articles reported on the publication of new music, and other newspaper articles reported about performances by Sawyer.

While his early death from tuberculosis led his legacy to sink into oblivion, it was with the help of online genealogy and music score databases that some of his biography could be reconstructed. While not long, the following biography contains much more information than E. Southern's entry in her biographical dictionary mentioned earlier¹³:

Pianist, composer, teacher, and arranger Jacob J. Sawyer (Jacob J. A. Sawyer) was born on November 5, 1856, in Boston, Massachusetts. He was the son of Jacob and Elizabeth Sawyer. From at least 1878 through 1880, he was the pianist for the *Hyers Sisters Troupe*, which brought him to Cincinnati, Ohio, no later than mid-1879. There, he took lessons in music theory and in violin at the College of Music of Cincinnati. He also composed the *Seventh Exposition Grand March* for piano (1879) for the *Seventh Cincinnati Industrial Exhibition* in 1879. He applied for a music teacher position in Cincinnati, but was not chosen. Sawyer returned to his home in Boston, where the 1880 census lists him as "Laborer." An African American composer, he wrote songs for the *Haverly's Colored Minstrels*, of which he was the Musical Director at least in 1881. A series of his compositions published in 1883 lists him as the pianist for the *Slayton Ideal Company*. Several documents from 1884 and 1885 name Sawyer as the Musical Director of the Nashville Students. All of Sawyer's known professional engagements resulted in extensive touring as well as in compositions specifically written for those ensembles. His work comprises numerous vocal compositions with piano accompaniment as well as dances for solo piano. James M. Trotter reprinted one of Sawyer's marches in his 1880 book *Music and Some Highly Musical People*. Sawyer died from tuberculosis at age 28 on June 3, 1885, in Boston.

3. The Myth of Edmond Dédé's Lost Violin

Music-historical research has its limits when it comes to detailed biographical information of composers who lived before the information age. Much information has been lost, and some information has been distorted. One such example of distorted biographical information is the myth about the lost violin of African-American violinist and composer Edmond Dédé (1827–1901). There may be numerous aspects of Dédé's biography that need attention, but this section focuses on the "lost violin myth", which continues to be spread even in most recent scholarly research on Dédé. To provide context, this section will start with a short biography, followed by a discussion of the origin of the lost violin myth. At the center of this discussion are newspaper articles – found in online archival research – which show that Dédé's violin was, in fact, never lost.¹⁴

¹³ An earlier version of this brief biography was first published as part of Schüler, 2013.

¹⁴ I discovered most of the newspaper articles on Dédé quoted later in this article in the Fall

Edmond Dédé was born on November 20, 1827, in New Orleans. He was a free-born African-American whose family roots go back to the French West Indies. Edmond first learned clarinet, probably from his father, then violin. Many sources call him a prodigy on the violin. Among his teachers was the French composer Eugene Prévost, who was the conductor at the French Opera in New Orleans between 1838 and 1862. After years of musical education in his native New Orleans, he lived in Mexico in the late 1840s and very early 1850s (from 1848 to 1851, according to Sullivan, 1988, 54). After his return to New Orleans, he mainly worked as a cigar maker, in addition to performing and composing, to save money for a passage to Europe. He left for Paris in 1857. According to all published biographical sketches, Dédé studied at the Paris Conservatoire, after which – in about 1860 – he moved to Bordeaux to work for several orchestras. He married Sylvia Leflet in 1864, and they had a son who also became a composer: Eugène Arcade Dédé (1867 – 1919). Edmond Dédé went to New Orleans from late-1893 to mid-1894 to visit family and concertize. He spent the last years of his life in Paris, where he died in 1901 (the exact date is unknown). Among Dédé's compositions are divertissements, overtures, dances, songs, an opera, and chamber music.

Although some of the biographical details have yet to be confirmed and may be exaggerations, the following newspaper article provides a glimpse at the nevertheless great achievements of a black musician born in the American south before the Civil War. The article was published on page 9 of *The Times-Democrat* in New Orleans, Louisiana, on Monday, December 11, 1893, which is shortly after Dédé's arrival in New Orleans:

“PROF. DÉDÉ’S BENEFIT

Pleasant Musical Entertainment Last Evening.

The Friends of Hope Hall, on Treme street, was filled to overflowing last evening with those who had gathered to attend the vocal and instrumental concert given for the benefit of Prof. Edmond Dédé. Every seat was occupied and the aisles and sides were packed by those standing.

of 2010 via Ancestry.com, Genealogybank.com, and Newspapers.com, after discussions with Christopher T. F. Hanson, who sparked my interest in Edmond Dédé as well as my skepticism in much of the published Dédé scholarship. (Hanson, 2011) An even greater spark – in both, interest and critical view of the literature – came from Sally McKee in an e-mail exchange in January of 2011, whom I had asked for information about Dédé's wife, Anne Catherine Antoinette Sylvia Leflet. Professor McKee graciously shared several of the biographical inconsistencies regarding Dédé in prior published research, including the lost violin myth. I would very much like to thank her for sharing some of her findings of her very extensive Dédé research, and I look forward to reading her forthcoming book *The Exile's Song: Edmond Dédé and the Unfinished Revolution of the Atlantic World*. (in press). New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017. (McKee, 2011)

Prof. Dédé was a passenger of the ill-fated steamer *Marseille* which was lost a short time ago, since which he has been visiting relatives at Galveston, Tex. He arrived in this city a few days ago and his friends made arrangements for a complimentary concert to be given him, the entertainment taking place last evening.

Prof. Dédé is a native of this city, being born here in 1827. He went to Mexico in 1848, but soon after proceeded to England, from whence he eventually took up his permanent residence in Paris, where he soon became well known and noted in musical circles. Having a natural aptitude for stringed instruments, he devoted his time to the violin, and soon reached a degree of proficiency that called attention to him.

Entering the Conservatory of Music, he became a pupil successively of Profs. Halévy and Alard, receiving from them the full benefits of their experience and knowledge. Upon leaving the Conservatory he carried with him several medals of the institution.

The professor became at once composer, chief violinist and orchestral conductor. For many years he most acceptably filled the latter position at the Grand Concert Parisian, one of the best known musical resorts in Paris. As chief violinist Prof. Dédé has traveled extensively over Europe with different orchestral organizations.

The most noted of the compositions coming from the professor are the “Abies,” “Les Faux Mandarins,” “La Sensitive” and the “Diane nea Aeteon,” all of which were published in Paris, and being ballet music were at once adopted by many of the leading theatres. He is at present engaged in composing a four-act opera to be called the “Sultan D’Ispahan,” and considers that it will eclipse all his previous efforts.

It is the professor’s idea that no man is master of the violin until, as he quaintly expresses it, the instrument can be made “to talk and sing.” His renditions last evening showed him to be a fine musician. While the theme was never lost sight of, the marvelous variations and wonderful execution were sufficient to show him to be classical, but it is not in classic music that he excels. In the sweet, low, dreamy notes of exquisite melody his subtle power came forth, and in them his full ability was shown. It was in them that the violin sang. His “Faust” was particularly fine, and the “Reverie” was superb.

Agnes Desdunes is a pleasing violinist, and her selections were well given, meeting with deserved applause. Basile Bares was perfectly at home at the piano, and the others were nicely received in their various renditions.

Prof. Dédé expects to return to Paris before May to take an engagement at the Theatre Quinconces.” (The Times Democrat, 1893)

The myth of the “lost violin” goes back to this 1893 visit in New Orleans, Dédé’s last visit in the United States. For the passage from Bordeaux to New Orleans, he took the steamship *Marseille*, which was disabled by a water leak during a storm in

October 1893. Most of the 47 passengers were rescued (by the English tramp ship *Palmos*), including Dédé, the only first-class (“Cabin”) passenger, but his beloved and very valuable Cremona violin was supposedly lost. We can find mentions of the “lost violin” in numerous publications, including this press release written on October 19, 1893, published on page 7 in *The Austin Weekly Statesman* (Austin, Texas) on Thursday, October 26, 1893, shortly after the rescue:

“Other scenes displaying bravery and presence of mind were enacted during the landing of the passengers on the *Palmos*. On board the *Marseilles* was Edmond Dede, a negro composer of some note, who lost a costly violin and all his belongings. He was on his way to New Orleans, his home, after an absence of 39 years.” (*The Austin Weekly Statesman*, 1893)

Since then, the story of the “lost violin” has been repeated time after time, without citing any source on this particular piece of information, and can be found on today’s websites about the composer:

“During his journey to the United States, he lost his precious Cremona violin. Forced to use a different instrument, he still performed to accolades.” (Wikipedia, 2016.)

“The ship on which Dede had booked passage from France to New Orleans had such a rough crossing that the vessel was compelled to seek port on the Texas coast. During the experience Dede lost his favorite violin, a Cremona. This misfortune, however, did not prevent his appearance in New Orleans – often in concert halls with poor acoustics – where he captivated his audiences even with a borrowed instrument greatly inferior to his lost Cremona.” (*French Creoles of America*, 2016.)

“Edmund Dédé returned to New Orleans only once, in 1893. He came ashore in Texas after the wreck of the steamer *Marseille*, *The Houston Daily Post* wrote on Oct. 22, 1893. Dédé lost his treasured Cremona violin at sea when shipwrecked en route to the United States, but his performances on another instrument were praised by critics and audiences alike.” (*African Heritage in Classical Music*, 2016.)

Early discourses on African-American musicians adopted the myth, too. For example, Rudolphe Lucien Desdunes wrote in his book *Our People and Our History*, originally published in French in 1911 as *Nos Hommes et Notre Histoire*:

“The ship on which Dédé had booked passage from France to New Orleans had such a rough crossing that the vessel was compelled to seek port on the Texas coast. During this experience Dédé lost his favorite violin, a Cremona. This

misfortune, however did not prevent his appearance in New Orleans—often in concert halls with poor acoustics—where he captivated his audiences even with a borrowed instrument greatly inferior to his lost Cremona.” (Desdunes, 1973, 86)

In her book *Negro Musicians and Their Music* from 1936, Maud Cuney-Hare wrote in a footnote: “Dédé was the owner of a valuable Cremona violin which was lost when he was shipwrecked.” (Cuney-Hare, 1936, 238) The story about the “lost violin” can even be found in most modern scholarly publications on Dédé, for example: “He was on his way home to visit relatives when, during a rough crossing, the ship on which he was traveling was disabled. In the confusion, his Cremona violin was lost.” (Sullivan, 1988, 57), or “On the journey to America, Dédé’s ship was caught in a violent storm and his treasured Cremona violin was lost at sea.” (Hanson, 2011, 7)

Searching more extensively in the commercial genealogy and newspaper databases, I found numerous articles that debunk the myth of the “lost violin”. Several newspaper articles of the time, based on first-hand accounts by the passengers, covered the disabled steamship and the rescue of its passengers, many of which state that Dédé lost everything *except* his violin. For example, the *Dallas Morning News* printed the following article – written on October 22 – on Monday, October 23, 1893:

“EDMOND DEDE

A Man Whose Life Has Been Remarkable Rescued from the Gulf.

Galveston, Tex., Oct. 22.—Among the passengers rescued from the foundered Marseille set ashore in this port by the Palmas, the only cabin passenger was Edmond Dede of Paris, France. Mr. Dede is a remarkable man. He is a full-blooded negro, born in the city of New Orleans in 1827, free born. He left his native city nearly forty years ago and has since made his home in Paris and Bordeaux. It is not his place of birth or French residence which stamps him as a remarkable man, but the fact that since his residence in France he has become one of the leading musicians of that republic. His business card introduces him as a composer of music and a chief of the orchestra of the Grand theater of Bordeaux, a member of the society of authors and editors of music, and a member of the society of authors and composers of dramatic music. Mr. Dede fortunately succeeded in saving his valuable violin, which is an Amati, purchased in France for 2000 francs.” (Dallas Morning News, 1893)

The Galveston Daily News (published in Galveston, Texas) published an article on Monday, October 23, 1893, that contains the following passage:

“Mrs. Erado says it is the intention of herself and her friends to got up a benefit for Mons. Dede, when the public will have an opportunity to listen to a master of the violin. Mons. Dede succeeded fortunately in saving his valuable violin, which is an Amati, purchased in France for 2000 francs.” (*The Galveston Daily News*, 1893)

The Brooklyn Daily Eagle (published in Brooklyn, New York) wrote on page 8 on Sunday, November 5, 1893: “Edmond Dede, who got ashore from the wrecked steamer Marseille at Galveston, with only his violin, is a full blooded negro. His musical works, including operas, number over two hundred.” (*The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 1893)

Other articles make no mention of the violin at all, such as a longer article on page 6 of *The Times-Picayune*, published in New Orleans, Louisiana, on Saturday, October 21, 1893, which contains the following two paragraphs about Edmond Dédé:

“The only colored passenger aboard the Marseille at the time of the disaster was Edmond Dede. He was saved and reached the city yesterday morning via the Southern Pacific Road. An attempt to locate him last evening, to obtain an account of his experiences, proved futile. He has a number of relatives here who reside in the Second district, but none had seen him since his arrival. They were all visited. Some had not heard of his coming, but a brother-in-law, residing on St. Ann, between Robertson and Claiborne streets, had received a letter from him posted at Galveston, announcing that he would reach here to-day. This brother-in-law is a steamboatman, and was compelled to be away from the city, which obviated his being able to meet Dede at the depot.

Dede was born in this city about 62 years ago, and resided in the French quarter. He left here some thirty-seven years ago, going to Paris, France, where he has ever since lived. His present visit was merely to visit his relatives here, it being his intention to return to France shortly, where his wife and son now are.” (*The Times-Picayune*, 1893)

Even the concert reviews make no mention of the violin. If the violin had indeed been lost at sea, then the violin would have been a central part of the benefit concerts for Dédé. The only mention of the “lost violin” in a daily newspaper immediately after the ship disaster was the article written on October 19, 1893, published in *The Austin Weekly Statesman* quoted above. The article was written the same day as the survivors arrived in Galveston. (*The Austin Weekly Statesman*, 1893) The circumstances of that article cannot be reconstructed,

but one can assume that the situation was still chaotic. All later articles make no mention of the “lost violin”. One may speculate that later authors may have had access to this first article, published in the capitol of Texas, Austin, but not to other newspapers from Galveston and/or New Orleans. But because the explicit statements in those latter newspapers that everything *except* the violin was lost and because of the lack of mentioning a “lost violin” in the benefit concert reviews, one must assume that the violin was, in fact, never lost.

Final Remarks

Commercial genealogy databases as well as digitized (online) collections of music scores were the main sources for rediscovering and reconstructing the biography of Jacob J. Sawyer and for clarifying some aspects of Edmond Dédé’s life. While neither research project is complete, the main biographical facts and the composer’s affiliations with important musical ensembles have been uncovered. Future research may continue searching for literature and documents on the well-known musicians with whom Sawyer as well as Dédé were associated, in the case of Sawyer such musicians as *The Hyers Sisters*, Sam Lucas, *The Haverly’s Colored Minstrels*, and *The Nashville Students*. While documents may still be found in archives or antiquarian music stores, online commercial genealogy and newspaper databases will continue to be important sources for the rediscovery of both composers.

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